

The life and correspondence
of
EDWARD CLARKE OF CHIPLEY
1650 - 1710

by

Bridget Clarke

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To read private correspondence, however long ago it was written, is a privilege, and never more so than with Edward Clarke's letters. He could not have guessed that they would be read three hundred years later by strangers, but in forty-five years of correspondence there is nothing to mar the picture of an affectionate son and brother, a loving husband and fond father, a staunch friend, a just master and an honest servant of his country.

And to read the private correspondence of a married couple brings a certain feeling of guilt that one is prying into a secret world that should never be made public; it is a great tribute to Edward and Mary that after an arranged marriage and tribulations that would have shattered most people, they ended their life together, as they ended their letters, a "truly affectionate and faithful" couple.

The letters of Edward Clarke and the members of his family form part of the Sanford family archive held at the Somerset Record Office. In 2004 the Record Office received grant money from the Heritage Lottery fund to re-catalogue and preserve the family's collection. The project is still ongoing but hopes to make the new catalogue available online by the end of 2007. Details of the project can be found on their website, www.somerset.gov.uk/archives. The correspondence of Edward Clarke and the rest of the collection can be viewed by visiting the Record Office - please telephone 01823 337600 to make an appointment and the staff will also be happy to answer any questions concerning the collection or project.

When I originally transcribed these letters I was very grateful for the encouragement of William Sanford of Chipley who at that time held the copyright, and would also like to thank the Llewellyn family for showing me the portraits they inherited via Betty Clarke. Dr Mark Knights kindly allowed me to see his summary of Edward's political life, which I have drawn on extensively to explain references in the letters. Somerset Record Office was most efficient in sending me photocopies and I spent some happy hours in their Reading Room in Taunton.

This is a selection from the vast collection of papers; I have left out most of the letters dealing with business matters and have used extracts from many much longer letters. As far as possible, the original writer's spelling has been retained, but Mary's letters were written with practically no punctuation, so I have inserted the minimum to make them easier to read. I have only used extracts from Locke's letters to illuminate the Clarkes' story, as his letters to Mary, Edward and the College would fill a book in themselves. His complete correspondence, edited by de Beer, is published by the Clarendon Press. I have also omitted most of his writings on the upbringing of the Clarke children, which can be read in "Some Thoughts concerning Education".

Bridget Clarke

THE CHARACTERS IN THE STORY

Edward Clarke of Chipley
Mary Clarke nee Jepp

Their children

Edward, Elizabeth and Anne - died in infancy

Edward "Ward"
Elizabeth "Betty"
Anne "Nanny"
John "Jack"
Mary "Molly"
Jepp
Samuel "Sammy"
Jane "Jenny"

His parents

Edward Clarke senior
Anne Clarke nee Knight
Elizabeth Clarke nee Lottisham - step mother

Her parents

Samuel Jepp
Elizabeth Jepp previously Watts nee Buckland

Other relations

Ursula Venner nee Clarke - Edward's sister
Gustavus Venner - his brother-in-law
Gustavus Adolphus Venner - his nephew
Anne Bacon nee Clarke - Edward's sister
John Bacon - his brother-in-law
Elizabeth Baber - Mary's grandmother
John Strachey - her uncle
Jane Strachey - her aunt
John Buckland - her uncle
Elizabeth Buckland - her aunt
Elizabeth Bluett nee Buckland - her cousin
Lady Acton - her cousin

The "family" of servants at Chipley - at various times

John Spreat - steward and attorney
Elinor Pike
John Barber - gardener
Thomas Spreat
Gabriel Spreat
Mrs Burgess
Isaac Heath
Elizabeth Beaulieu - "Babette"

Humphrey Bishop
Nan Trent
Kettren
Dorcas
Rose
Margaret
Nick Rugg
Thomas Draycott
Jane Turner
Thomas Welshman
James Gardener
Dick
Phil
James
John Parsons
Crispin Turner
Humphrey Wyatt
Charles Carwell
Shadocke

French Tutors

d'Uelly
de Grassemare
Passebon
de la Roque
Dubois
Coste

PART ONE

Introduction	
Childhood and Oxford	1650 - January 1669/70
London and the Law	January 1669/70 - January 1671/72
Smallpox	January 1671/72 - August 1673
Marriage	September 1673 - April 1675
The Settlement	April 1675 - March 1676
Childbirth	April 1676 - October 1677
Politics	October 1677 - June 1680
Building the house	June 1680 - May 1685
Monmouth's rebellion	June 1685 - December 1686
The search for a tutor	January 1686/87 - October 1688

PART TWO

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Member of Parliament	March 1689/90 - October 1691
Currency question	November 1691 - February 1691/92
Gustavus Adolphus comes to town	March 1691/92 - July 1692
Amorous affayres of two nephews	July 1692 - May 1693
'Concerning education' is published	June 1693 - May 1694
Commissioner of Excise	May 1694 - November 1694
Death of the Queen	December 1694 - March 1694/95
End of censorship of the press	March 1694/95 - June 1695
Miscarriage	July 1695 - January 1695/96
Coinage	January 1695/96 - February 1695/96
Jacobite plot	February 1695/96 - August 1696

PART THREE

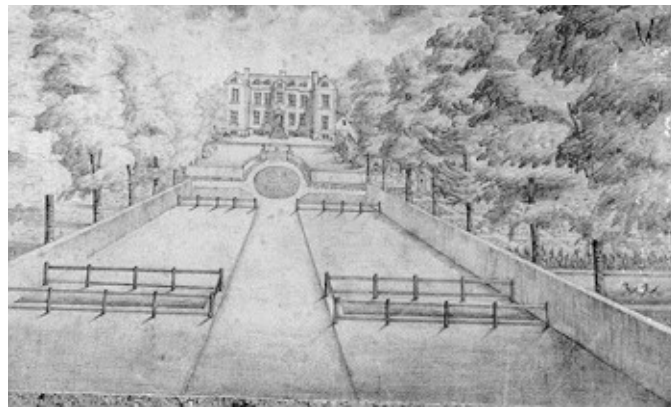
A constituency wife	August 1696 - September 1696
Problems at Chipley	September 1696 - October 1696
Trouble with Thomas	October 1696 - November 1696
Trade at a standstill	November 1696 - December 1696
Turbulent servants	December 1696
Two unhappy marriages	December 1696 - May 1697
Divorce	May 1697 - December 1697
Together in London	January 1697/98 - May 1698
Isaac Heath commits bigamy	June 1698 - January 1698/99
Monsieur's ill behaviour	January 1698/99 - April 1699
Ward's illness	April 1699 - July 1699
Apart again	August 1699 - February 1699/1700

PART FOUR

A husband for Betty	February 1699/1700 - June 1700
Peter King	June 1700 - September 1700
A career for Jack	September 1700 - December 1701
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Betty's choice	December 1702 - September 1704
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Family trees	
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PART ONE

Between Wellington and the small market town of Milverton in Somerset, among the rolling green hills and fields of the parish of Nynehead, a square of turf is all that remains of Chipley, the house Edward Clarke M.P. built to be a family home and a symbol of his rising fortunes. It rose there three hundred years ago, according to the latest design, next to the old-fashioned Somerset longhouse his father had bequeathed him; there he hoped his descendants would flourish and there John Locke the philosopher strolled with him and played with the children to whose father he dedicated his "Thoughts on Education".



That house is gone, but Edward's descendants still live in the old house, and the avenue of lime trees that Locke sent from Holland in the 1680s still stretches into the surrounding countryside. And through the letters the Clarkes wrote to each other over a period of forty years little Jepp and Sammy again clatter up the Great Staircase, Betty wears the flowered silk with silver tabby lining her father sent from London, Monsieur threatens to cut his throat, John Spreat their steward evades his drunken wife and Mary Clarke looks after her brood of children and "family" of servants.

CHILDHOOD AND OXFORD

1650 - January 1669/70

*Edward's family - Wadham college - sad news from home -
opening of Sheldonian Theatre - leaving for London*



Edward Clarke

Edward, born on 14 September 1650, could never have known his mother Anne, who died aged 32 in June 1652 when he was 21 months old, but his step-mother Elizabeth proved a devoted substitute to him and his two sisters Ursula and Anne. When, at the age of seventeen, after attending Taunton School, Edward left his close and affectionate family, living on their estate at Chipley, to be an undergraduate at Wadham College, Oxford, he wrote to tell her that he felt he was her real son:

Edward Clarke to Elizabeth Clarke

from Coll: Wad:

Jan 13th 1667

Honored Mother,

Your continuall using mee not only as your son-in-law but as a son of your own in the highest degree of affection, has soe lively engendered in my heart the never dying proof of your love, that I cannot but burst forth in acknowledgment of it; and am ashamed of my selfe in that I have bin soe negligent as not long ere this to have given you that reall though small reward to with my unfeined thanks for that your inestimable and never enough highly valued affection towards mee; humbly petitioning you to command either my sister or Will: to write oftener unto mee, for I have not heard from home this eight weeks, but have written both to my father, your selfe, my sisters, and Will to, but could never as yet heard from either, for which I am not a little troubled, but comforting myselfe with the hopes of hearing suddenly from you and of your welfare, I shall by your leave desire my duty presented to my father, your selfeand my reall love to my sisters with the rest of my freinds leave you awhileand subscribe my selfe, as I am, Your obedient son, Ed Clarke

It had been his father's second marriage in November 1652 to Elizabeth Lottisham that brought the Chipley estate into the Clarke family, for she was the granddaughter and ultimate heiress of Edward Warre of Chipley; before that the Clarkes had lived at Bradford-on-Tone, a few miles away, where Edward senior had been christened in the village church of our Lady of Bradford on 27 October 1616 and where his father had died in 1647. They had suffered during the Civil War when their estate was forfeit because Edward had fought on the King's side, commanding a foot company at Bridgwater, and had been taken as a prisoner to the New Prison, Clerkenwell, in London. He petitioned Parliament to receive the benefit of Ordinance (23 February 1645) to suspend sequestration; this was granted and he was released on 6 December 1645, having taken the national covenant and paid a fine of £40.*

* 27 March 1643 Parliament sequestered estates of those who had helped the King; wives could retain one-fifth for their living expenses. In January 1644 a pardon was offered to all Royalists who submitted before a certain date and this offer was extended until October 1645. Petitioners had to swear not to bear arms against Parliament, take the religious oath of covenant, declare the value of their estate and pay a fine of anything between one sixth and one half its value.



The church at Bradford-on-Tone where Edward Clarke senior was christened

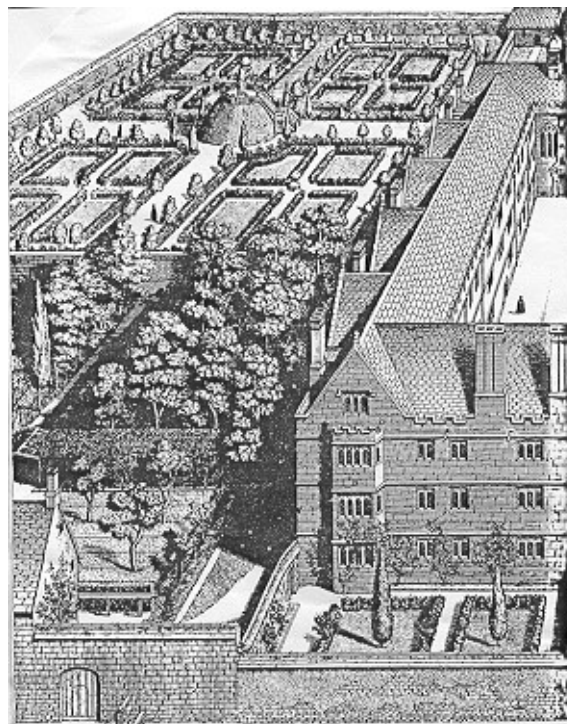
To educate his son at Oxford symbolised a further rise in society for Edward Clarke senior, and he was torn between pride in his son and worry about the amount of money it cost. Wadham College would have been selected because it had been founded in 1610 by a rich childless couple, Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, primarily for sons of West country families. £11,000 had been spent on a building resembling a Somerset manor house, three storeys high, with attics above and gravelled courts, surrounded by orchards. Each set of rooms off each staircase consisted of one large

room for living and sleeping, with a fireplace and large windows, plus three musaeola (studies or private closets) attached. Three scholars would share a set, but commoners like Edward might share with one other or have the set to themselves. The college only provided benches, tables and bed trestles, while shelves, firedogs, and hangings had to be paid for by the incoming tenant.



Wadham College

The Hall with its fine Jacobean screen and oak floor had an open lantern in the roof for smoke from the brazier to escape; it was so cold that water used to freeze on the table. The library still had many chained books.



Wadham College gardens

Edward did not take a degree at Oxford but would have studied classics, logic and philosophy, listened to disputations in hall every Wednesday and Saturday and

attended chapel twice a day, from 5 - 6 a.m. and 8 - 9p.m. At 9p.m. the college gate was locked and no-one was permitted to sleep away from college. Undergraduates were allowed to play cards on All Saints Day and Christmas Day, but could have no dogs or animals or any arms. It was a completely masculine environment; the only woman allowed to come to the gate was an aged laundress.

In 1648 Wadham had been immensely fortunate to have as Warden John Wilkins* who drew a remarkable group of men round him including Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke* and John Locke - making Oxford in the 1650s the scientific centre of England and resulting directly in the founding of the Royal Society. The emphasis was on experimental science, acquiring knowledge through direct observation, and expressing it in understandable language; "by this means there was a race of young men provided, against the next age, whose minds receiving from them their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly arm'd against all the enchantments of enthusiam."* Wilkins changed Dorothy Wadham's orchards by laying out gardens which were also a source for scientific inquiries; there were transparent beehives designed by Wren, a speaking statue and artificial rainbows; although Wilkins had left before Edward arrived at Wadham, his influence lingered and was the source of Edward's later interest in trees and gardens and improving his estate.

* Wilkins was preoccupied with communication of all kinds, and used inquiry into the created world of nature as a way to God. Even before the Civil War he had begun to popularise science with his best-seller, "The Discovery of a New World" and "A discourse concerning a new planet".

*Robert Hooke - an inventive genius who helped Robert Boyle run his laboratory at Oxford, he worked with Wilkins on models of a flying chariot with springs and wings, and helped Boyle construct the first air pump. He left Oxford in 1652 to be curator of the Royal Society and made inventions in barometers and astronomy, as well as becoming a leading architect.

* Thomas Sprat, historian of Royal Society

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll Wad

Jan 20th 1667

Honored father

I of late reading a letter of my sister, I had found the dolefull news of my mother's sickness, wch immediatly banished all thoughts of joy from my heart and left mee in the darke shados of sadness, where I have ever since continued, and from whence I doe not desire to returne untill I heard the lively description of her recovery which when I shall doe, I shall with prayers to God and comfort to my selfe, abandon these solitary places which are now my only pleasures, and enter the glorious tents of bliss and happiness; desiring you to present my duty to my mother, with my love to my sisters which is all at present that is desired of you .

Edward Clarke to Elizabeth Clarke from Coll: Wad:

Feb 5th 1667

Honored Mother

Will Trott's letter tells me of such inestimable favours as you day after day doe soe liberally bestow upon mee, kissing (as I understand by William) my letters representing my person, which I account is to mee the greatest honour imaginable and certainly is a most perfect symptom of your great affection

towards mee but (so much to my sorrow) reading most of his letter, I there found the continuation of your sickness which imediately banished all that joy which the former part of his letter had engraven in my heart, and left mee in the dark groves of solitude, where mallancholy imediatly layd his ugly claws uppon mee; all the words imaginable (though written in the blackest ink) cannot represent the true love of a sorrofull mind.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior From Coll: Wad:

March the 2d 1667

Honored father

I am not as yet in any want of cloths, neither doe I intend to provide any untill I have both orders from you and know the fashion; I doe, and will live as frugally as possible I can, desiring you not to thinke that my future expenses shall be in any manner soe much as my former.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Mrs Baseley's house
in Holywell March the 31 1668

Honored father

The dismall tidings of my Mother's death brought such sharp and dolefull carracters of greife and sorrow with them, and are soe deeply ingraven in my hart, that I cannot reflect uppon it but with horror and misery, but when I again fix my troubled and halfe distracted thoughts on your advise and injunctions, I cannot but with patience submit to the Almighty's wish, in that hee hath released her from the continuall pain and torments of this poore miserable world, and received her into an everlasting world of bliss and happiness into which place I beseech God when so ever hee calls us hence in mercy to receive us; and thus my duty and affection striveing with your advice and injunction having got the victory put mee in mind of obeying you and observing your command in giving you an account of the small pox in Oxon, which as far as I can understand doth not increase, it being but at New-Inne-Hall and some places in the City; Christ Church Oriall and Exiter are free the persons which had it being recovered, and the Gentelman of our house being about a weeke since recover of the pox, fell sick of a violent fevor and is now dead of it, this is all the account I at present can give you who am in good health, Your obedient son Ed: Clarke

George Fletcher*, fellow of Wadham College, to Edward Clarke sen
Oxon March 31 1668

Dear Sr,

I am very sorry for your greate losse, I am very sensible how unwilling we are to part with our deare freinds, notwithstanding we must consider wt ever affliction at any times assails us comes by the providence of God who knows wt is best for us, and this will prove a sufficient ground to remit our sorrow; your son is in very good health, God soe continues him, and I hope he will be able to sustain his losse with much patience, he understands wt reason is wch should conquer passion. Sr the small pox is very little in towne if we are not misinformed, we have made a diligent enquiry and cant understand but of two or three places in Oxford are infected with it. The gentleman that had this distemper in our colledge is dead, but not by his pox but by a high fever wch followed him after ye small pox had left him; as much care shall be taken for ye

preservation of your son as if your selfe was present, so with my humble service desiring to return thanks for your many favours, I remain, your faithfull servant Geo Fletcher.

* George Fletcher, gentleman, of Stroudwater, Glos, matriculated at Wadham College on 18 March 1657/8 and was a scholar in 1660 aged 19. A B.A. in 1661, M.A. in 1664 and a Fellow in 1666, he became Rector of St Martin Carfax in 1670 until his death on 6 Jan 1676, when he was buried in the college chapel.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior
from Coll: Wad:
May the 6th 1668

Wee have not at this present (prayed bee God) any sickness in our house; neither is the small pox now nigh us, but it is in Magdalen, Lyncon, Oriall college and St Mary Hall together with some places in the city wch I know not, I have by the advise of a doctor of our house taken a purge this evening and have been let blodd; Mr Venner has returned 20 pounds to mee, and I have by your order bought marestring for my mother, this is all the account I at present can give you, who am, in good health, your obedient son Ed: Clarke

* physic for a purge was taken once a year, usually in spring, whether ill or not

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **June 4th 1668**

I cannot see any of my freinds enter Wadham Gates but they come as it were loaded with tokens and letters filled with expressions of you great love and care over mee; and I can noe other way recompense you but with my reall thankes and with a promise (by God's assistance) to improve my time both to your comfort and the rest of my assured friends, and my own perpetuall happiness; as for danceing and fencing, I have allready left it, and (according to your commands) my principall study now is and shall bee to serve God and improve myselfe in philosophy, our house continues still in good health and soe doth hee who is, your obedient son Ed: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **from Coll: Wad:**
July 16th 1668
Honored father

I give you the reasons which I hope will satisfie and create a beleife in you that I never had any thoughts nor ever wish to make an ill use of whatsoever you shall at any time bestow uppon mee, for had I ten times the summ by mee which now I have there should not one know it neither should it at any time entice mee to spend any thing more then what was necessary and suitable, neither have I as yet spent the dimidium of that sum which I last received, but have enough by mee to discharge the debts of the insuing quarter and mony in my pocket; but this was the cause why I sent for soe much mony this last term, our house (as the fellows protest) has in these six last years run in debt four hundred pounds and upwards by the non payment of several persons which have left the Colledge, wherefore now they are grown more strict and required payment of all persons within ten days of the quarters end, which if not perform'd those named are imediately stopt, which is both a disgrace to them and a dishonour to those of the same quality, and I should not by reason of this long vacation have had any

opportunity to have received a bill from you before the time above mentioned would have been expired, thus have given you the reasons and I hope satisfied you why I received soe much mony this term who am in good health, Your obedient son, Ed: Clarke

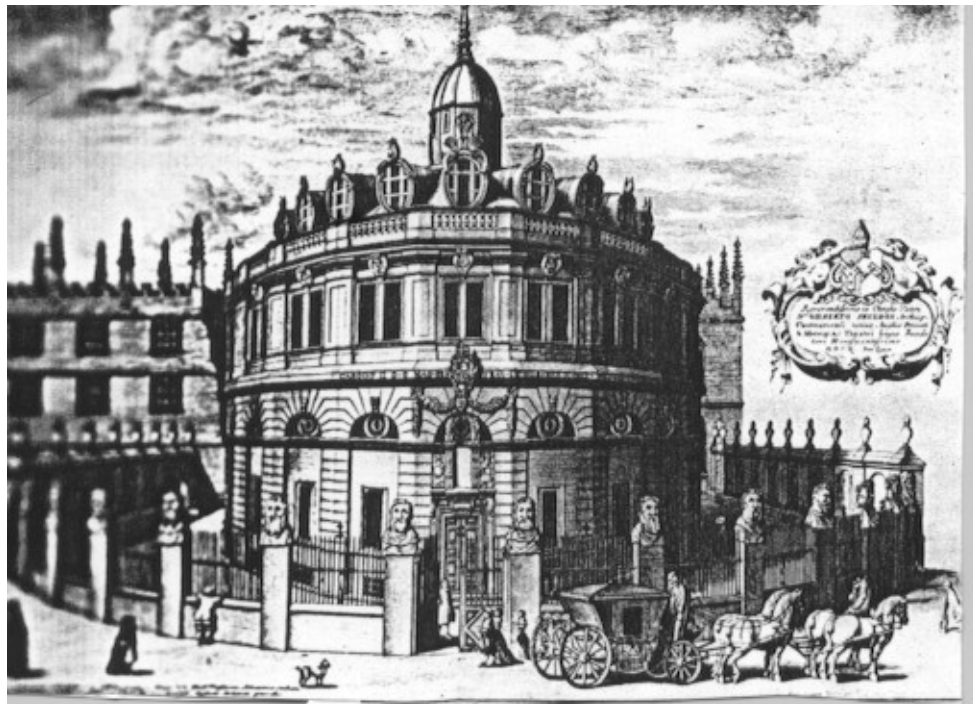
George Fletcher to Edward Clarke senior Oxon August 30th 1668

Mr Clarke behaves himselfe very civilly towards all men, and I assure you hath made a laudable progress in learning, soe wishing you all happiness, I remaine in hast, your most faithfull and affectionate servant Geo Fletcher

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wad:

Decem the 6th 1668

I must desire you to give mee leave to buy mee a new Vest, which I doe very much want there being soe sharpe an aire in New-parks; Mr Fletcher presents his service to you, and continues his former care and affection to mee; and as I remember Mr Venner tould me when hee was at Oxon that it was your pleasure if he continued his love and affection towards mee, to present him with a purse as a token of your thanks to him for it, and if it bee your pleasure, I will according to your next commands doe it, which I beleive will be very acceptable about Christ-Mas.



Sheldonian Theatre

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wad:

Feb the 9th 1668

The Theater* is now in a manner finished wanting nothing but a painted piece of cloath which is to bee hung up and fixed all round directly under the

roofe, and after I have desired you to remember my reall love to my sisters together with the rest of my friends I shall by your permission cease to write any thing more at present to you, and rest as I am in good health, Your obedient son, Ed: Clarke

*Sheldonian Theatre

Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, wanted to give the university an auditorium suitable for its ritual, and commissioned Christopher Wren to design it. The roof presented a scientific problem, being the largest flat space yet covered with an attic storey above. In October 1664 John Evelyn had visited Oxford --"thence to the new Theatre, building now at an exceeding and royal expense by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to keep the Acts in for the future, till now being in St Mary's church; the foundation being but newly laid and the whole designed by that incomparable genius and my worthy friend Dr Christopher Wren".

On 1 February 1668/9 Pepys visited Robert Streater, Serjeant- Painter, and "there I found him and Dr Wren and several virtuosos looking again upon the paintings which he is making for the New Theatre at Oxford, and indeed they look as if they would be very fine and the rest think better than those of Rubens in the Banqueting Hall but I do not fully think so".

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wad:
Febr the 11th 1668

I cannot but give you my reall thanks for that kind letter which you soe lately commanded Will: to write to mee, in which I to my great comfort and satisfaction found that you were in good health; and that Mr Sanford* when hee returns from the country does intend to call on mee at Oxon, and will bee very urgent with mee to accompany him into the North country, which you did advise mee to avoid and keep close to my studies, but to entertaine him hansomely and to render him my thanks for his civilities towards mee, at which (when I see him) I shall according to you commands willingly perform.

* The Sanfords of Nynehead Court were neighbouring landowners.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wadh:
March the 2nd 1668

I cannot but with ingratitude neglect to give you my reall thanks for that noble token (twenty shillings) which you were pleased to order Mr Venner to send mee as from you for a New-Yeares gift, hoping that by a new and a more seriouse way of studying and inploying my time to my best advantage I shall at last fully recompense you by being capable to answer what you expect from mee, which I believe is all that you will require of mee for that continuall care and affection which you have ever manifested unto mee; giving you notice that I have received uppon your account this term of Mr Venner the summ of twelve pounds to pay off such things as will bee due at the end of this quarter, assuring you that I will not spend any of it extravagantly.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wad
Aprill the 14th 1669

I have since my last letter to you taken a purge which did worke very well with mee, and I beleive has taken away a great many of those ill humors which did before soe continually torment and indispose me, for that paine of my head which did before soe much trouble mee, has now quite left mee, and I have since had a better stomach, and (praysed bee God) I have ever since been perfectly well.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior .from Coll: Wadh

May the 5th 1669

Deare father

Our Colledge together with the whole University is at this present in good health, and the University in now totally imployed in entertaining the Prince of Tuscany* who came into Oxon Munday night last, and has ever since been very civilly entertained by the University and was yesterday waited on from his Inn by all the Doctors, Masters, Bachelors and under-graduates in their formalities to the Schooles, where he was entertained with Musick and severall Latin and Italian speeches.

* On 5 April 1669 Cosimo de Medici, Prince of Tuscany, had arrived in London; as Pepys wrote, he "comes into England only to spend money and see our country." He was the son of Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany and his "Tour of England" was later published. Pepys says that he travelled incognito, and "intends to do all the time he stays here, for avoiding trouble to the King and himself, and expense also to both". But everyone in Oxford seemed to know who he was when he arrived there.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior

from Coll: Wadh:

June the 3rd 1669

I have this last week bought (according to your orders) a new sute of clothes for which I give you my humble thanks, and doe assure you that I will to the utmost of my endeavours imploy my time or as it may be to your great comfort, as well as my own future advantage.

All letters were addressed: *These to his ever honored father Edward Clarke Esqr at Chipley near Taunton in Summersett - present send this by the Western post post pd to London 2d*

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wadh:

July the 4th 1669

Deare father,

After my duty presented to you, lett this give you notice that Mr Fletcher and I understand by Mr Venner* that we shall not have the happiness and comfort to see you here this Act, which has soe long been by him expected, and soe often by mee desired and prayed for; and your absense will certainly take away a great part of that delight and mirth which otherwise wee should have taken in the Act, because it will bee this yeare soe great and splendid as the like was never before known in Oxon; it begins (by the Lord Chancellor's order) a day sooner than usually with speeches in prayse of the Theater, and to make it the more splendid all the Actors of the Duke's house are already come down from London and will act at the Guild-Hall in Oxon two playes a day for the space of twelve dayes; and to make it yet the more noble there are two or three that have their Doctor's degrees given them and severall others that by their standing doe this Act goe out Doctors, whereof two are of Wadh: Coll:

*Gustavus Venner, future husband of Ursula Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior

from Coll: Wadh

August the 1st 1669

Dear father

When Mr Venner was last in Oxon I found by discoursing with him, that you fully intended to settle mee in London this next terme, and I now write to give you my reall thanks for that resolution, which I hope will bee much more advantagious to mee then the place wherein now I am, I haveing been here a sufficient time already; and I allsoe write to give you notice how willing I shall bee to obey you at any time when you shall command mee to provide for London, but I think it would bee more convenient and I am sure less chargeable for mee (if you please) to leave Oxon at the ending of this quarter in the house, which will bee about the 14th day of September, for if I tarry to begin the next quarter, beside paying dues in the house, I must pay my tutor, and pay for my chamber, and all other persons as are equally paid at the end of every quarter, must bee then payd as fully as if I should tarry there untill December.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior

Deare father

I received your letter of the 18t instant four days since, for which I give you my humble thanks, but could not until now answer it, by reason of a violent cold which about that time had soe distempered mee that it sent mee into a feevor, but now (prayed bee God) I am free of yt but my cold continues still very violent uppon mee; I now write to assure you that I shall allwayes bee very willing to comply with you and obey you in anything which you shall thinke most convenient and advantageous for me when you please to remove mee from Oxon I shall bee very ready to goe, and as long as you please to continue mee here I am contented to tarry but when I seriously reflect uppon some expressions in your letter, they are the greatest trouble and affliction to mee in the world, and I cannot now but with a bleeding heart mention them, (I meane) those wherein you chide me for writing soe unmannerly and unwittingly to you, when (as God knows my heart) it has ever been my care and endeavour to serve him and obey and please you since I know what God or a father was; but I confess greife at heart that I wrote some such thing in my last letters to you as you took mee for, but as I never intended anything but obedience by it, soe I never thought you would have put soe severe an interpretation on it, but I humbly beg your pardon, giveing you notice that since my last letter to you, the Griping of the Gutts is very much in Oxon and the generality of people throughout the whole University and city are troubled with very violent colds and very few escape it without a fever; after I have desired you to present my reall love to my sisters and the rest of my friends, I assure you I shall quietly enjoy myselfe untill you have forgiven me my last error, who am, Your obedient son, Ed: Clarke

As for my gown, I cannot with credit weare it any longer, wherefore I must desire your leave to buy a new one

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior

from Mrs Bazeleys house in Holywell

November the 1st 1669

Dear father,

I have with great comfort and satisfaction received you letter, whereby I understand that you are in good health and that you have freely forgiven mee for that error which I soe lately committed in writeing soe inconsiderately to you, wherefore I cannot but give you my humble thankes, and promise never to offend you in that nature, but will allwayes endeavour to please and obey you in all things which you shall thinke will bee most advantageous for mee.

I wrote a letter to you about ten dayes since wherein I desired you to order Mr Jewell (your taylor in London) to send mee down a cloath sute of clothes, for the clothes which I now weare are soe thin that I cannot without endangering my health weare them much longer; the smallpox is is Wadh: Coll: wherefore I am removed into the City where noe sickness is nigh.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wadh:
Decem 9th 1669

I hope though I have of late spent more money then I formerly did that you will not impute it to any extravagance in mee, for I assure you that I have not spent anything as yet but hat has been for my credit and reputation, and you know that any person that has been in Oxon any considerable time is more known and more taken notice of in all respect than fresh-men are.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior from Coll: Wadh:
Febr 22nd 1669/70

Dear father

In my last letter to you I notified you that Mr Venner was not come Oxon way and I then promised you to give you a particular account how I should settle my businesse in Oxon before my departure I have sold the furniture of my chamber dividing it into three parts and abating one, which come to £4 6s as for my bed I cannot dispose of it without too great a losse, wherefore I have packed it up together with my trunk and bookes and have this day sent it away for London; I have allsoe according to your order presented a purse to Mr Fletcher as a token of your thankes to him for his great respect towards mee; I have entertained my friends as frugally but as creditably as possibly I could wch has cost me £2 7s. I have taken up my caution mony and have received £6 of Mr Venner which has paid all things in Oxon and just enough left to carry mee to London where I hope to bee (God willing) on Thursday night.

LONDON AND THE LAW

January 1669/70 - January 1671/72

London - Mr Pinckney's house - Inner Temple - cheaper lodgings - fireballs in the City - Ursula and Anne marry - trouble with the goldsmiths - Crown Jewels stolen - Gustavus Venner ill - Edward needs money -



The burned out City between Fleet Street and the river



The London to which Edward drove from Oxford in January 1669/70 was a City struggling to rebuild itself after the devastation of the Great Fire of 1666, when over 13,000 buildings had been burned between the Tower and the Temple. Labour and materials were now available for rebuilding houses, though not a single burnt church had yet been restored. But London, the centre of politics, law and favours, still provided an unequalled range of urban amenities.

Edward was to study at Inner Temple, one of the Inns of Court which controlled legal education and from whose corporate life young men emerged to serve the state. He transacted business for his father and sent news and London gossip to Somerset. Also in London at this time were his 'cozen Clarke' - William Clarke of

Middle Temple*, and "cousin Sandford" - John Sanford* who had inherited Nynehead, the neighbouring estate to Chipley, in 1663.

* William Clarke, admitted to Middle Temple 2 July 1660, son of Robert Clarke of Wembdon, Somerset.

* John Sanford bap 2 Jan 1639/40, son of Henry Sanford of Nynehead, Somerset, which had been bought by his grandfather. His father took command of Parliamentary volunteers against Sir Ralph Hopton, though his Uncle Will fought for the King. As a younger son he started in trade and continued after the death of his brother in 1663, marrying before 1678 Elizabeth Knightley, daughter of a Hamburg Merchant living in Hackney. The Merchant Adventurers Hamburg (1567 - 1806) was known in London as the Hamburg Company, and merchants traded for their own profit, paying a levy for running costs, unlike the joint stock E India company, run by a salaried staff. He amassed a fortune as a Hamburg merchant himself, being Treasurer of the Company in 1676. Trade was not thought dishonourable if overseas or wholesale; England's economy was more elastic than France's, as there were more diversity of resources, better ports and internal roads; rivers were not impeded by tolls and customs. The wool and cloth industry were a world export and paid for England's imports. As an exporter of cloth his chief interest was in preventing raw materials reaching his rivals abroad. He was Remembrancer of London 1697/98 and M.P. for Taunton 1685 and 1689, and for Minehead 1690 and 1695.



Edward's address in London - the sign of the three squirrels

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Febr 24th 1669/70

Deare father

I yesterday came into London together with Mr Venner who mett me at Beaconsfeild (where the Oxford coach* lay the first night) and soe accompanied me hither, and has by his care provided mee a very convenient chamber nigh the Temple, he endeavoured to hire me one in the Temple but it is not at present to be done without paying allmost thrice the value of it. I was in very great want of all sorts of linning, and I desire you to pardon mee the liberty I have taken in furnishing my selfe without makeing you first acquainted therewith; I have allsoe bought a cloake, a sword and a belt.*

Sr You may direct any letter to mee at Major Pinkney's house a goldsmith over against St Dunstans church in Fleet Street

I will endeavoure to bee as frugall in all things as possible.

*Oxford coach - this was not the Flying coach which completed the journey to London in a day.

* Cloak, sword and belt - this had become standard wear for the man-about-town after the restoration.

Major Pinkney was Henry Pinkney, a major in the City Train band, who had set up as a goldsmith *about 1650; Pepys had visited him in December 1660. He was active in the parish affairs of St Dunstan's, holding various offices.

* His goldsmith's business turned into a bank later, and the heavy metal shield with the sign of 3 Squirrels made in early 17C pewter can still be seen on the site in Fleet Street, the business having first turned into Goslings Bank and then Barclays. His will was proved in 1678 with a request that he be buried in St Dunstan's where his wife lay.

Goldsmiths took deposits at interest, usually of 6%, giving receipts on presentation of which repayment was made. They kept running cashes which were interest bearing but had no formal receipts and were easily drawn on; they honoured customers drawn notes. They provided foreign exchange, bought and sold bullion and were money changers.

St Dunstons in the West had just escaped the Fire; gunpowder had been used to make some open spaces to defeat the flames and the church was saved although all houses north of its churchyard and from Kings Bench Walk to Fleet Street had been burned to the ground. Major Pinkney himself had lost four houses.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London March the 3d 69/70

I yesterday received your letter, which though it was full of the manifest expressions of your great love and care towards mee, (for which I humbly thank you) yet therein allsoe to my great discomfort and sorrow found that you are not only something displeas'd with mee for the expenses I have put you to since I came to London, but that you allsoe think I was prodigall in the management of those summs of money which you were pleas'd to bestow uppon mee in Oxon, which (God knows my heart) I allwayes to the utmost of my power endeavour'd to expend in those things which my tutor and I thought might bee most for my present credit and advantage there, and for my future reputation; and though I have since I came to London bought mee a cloake and sword, yet I doe assure you that I never intended either for that purpose as I to my great greife find by your letter you thought I did, to ramble the streets in, but I bought them as things absolutely necessary for mee in London though I seldom make use of either, for I am now in commons and have noe where to goe but from my chamber to the Temple, where I hope by my future carriage those that know mee will be able to testifie you I do not walke the streets more then necessity forces mee to; I have seen Mr Warrs gown, but its old, rotten and not fit to bee worn, but Mr Venner has desired mee to accept of his gown, (which is a very creditable one it being almost new and of the same mode with those which the students weare in the Temple,) and make use of it as if it were my owne, which is all at present, from your obedient sonne, Ed: Clarke

Received of Mr Venner in London the sum of 14 pounds

disburst

<i>Item: for carriage of my goods</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>from Oxon to London</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>00</i>	

<i>Item: for my coach hire to London</i>	10	00
<i>Item: for a paire of slippers</i>	03	00
<i>Item: for a standish and paper</i>	03	00
<i>Item: for four holland shirts</i>	2	08 00
<i>Item: for four paire of holland sleeves</i>	1	02 00
<i>Item: for two Cambrick Cravatts</i>	10	00
<i>Item: for two cambrick handkercheifs</i>	06	00
<i>Item: for expenses after I came into London before I entered into commons</i>	14	00
<i>Item: gave the butler and other servants of the Temple as the use is</i>	12	00
<i>Item: paid for my Bond before I entered into commons</i>	02	06
<i>Item: for a Cloake</i>	4	15 00
<i>Item: for a belt</i>	1	02 00
<i>Item: for a sword</i>	1	11 00

Summis 14 11 06

The societies of Inner and Middle Temple had grown up on land leased to barristers by the Knights Hospitalers of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, and originally owned by the Templars. The ground plan of Temple church, with its round nave modelled on the church of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, is unchanged since its foundation in 1185. But the regime at the Inns of Court was slack at this time, with less systematic instruction and Readings and Moots falling into decay, while Exercises testing legal proficiency were becoming empty forms. The Governors made some attempts to improve abuses, saying students had to wear gowns and could not be called to the Bar without completing a certain number of exercises. Much depended on the individual and who he found to be his patron; most members were sons of landed families, the clergy or lawyers, and there was a preponderance of young men from the south of England, particularly the south-west. Whereas the Universities concentrated on Common Law, the Inns were restricted to Civil and Canon law. although fees were not high, extra expenses like fencing and clothes were, so that probably £70 - £80 per annum was only just sufficient.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London March 24th 1669/7070**

Deare father

I have written to Mr Venner desiering him to send mee Cooke uppon Littleton, which hee voluntarily promised to lend mee when hee was in London, and I must allsoe desiere you to conveigh unto mee what other Law-bookes you can conveniently part with, which you thinke may bee advantagiouse for mee here, and in soe doeing you will both incourage mee and save your selfe a considerable sum of money for Law bookes are expensive ; as for news here is very little at present, only the King has sate in Parliament for three dayes together, and on the first day hee made a little speche wherein hee said that it had been a custom of his predecessors to sit often there, and that it had been too long neglected by him, but hee was resolv'd it should not bee for the future, and bid them putt on their hattes for (hee said) hee came not then as their Sovraigne but as a peere of

the Realme; and I was allsoe informed this day by my cozen Clarke that the bill for my Lord Rosse* his divorce from his wife is passed both houses, and that hee may now marry againe.

*Lord Roos - surviving son of Earl of Rutland, he married Anne Pierrepont on 21 July 1658. It was a disaster as he drank and gambled while she had affairs and two children. He divorced her a mensa et thoro but had to make the children illegitimate so they could not succeed to the title. This was accomplished by Act of Parliament Feb 1667 but he still needed to remarry to obtain an heir. In 1670 the Roos Bill (passed in April) was the first true Parliamentary divorce to safeguard the property rights of a particular family and was the main topic in society as Charles 11 took a great interest in the case which made people wonder if he contemplated divorcing his barren Queen, Catherine of Braganza, so that he could remarry and have legitimate children.



King Charles 11

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Apr 28th 1670

I have been very much troubled with something (I know not what to call it) that did rise to a considerable bigness uppon my eye-lid, and put mee to a very great paine, wheruppon I went to an oculist in London who gave mee a plaister that in two nights laid the greatest part of the swelling of it and very much eased mee; but there is a little thing still left uppon it, about the bigness of a small pease, which is very hard, and the oculist tells mee that it must bee cut off; which I am very unwilling to venture, wherefore I doe still keep his plaister to it hoping that may in time dissolve it; my cozen Clarke is gone for Somersetshire

with the Earle of Rochester*, and at his departure hee was very kind to mee, and lent mee his study with all his books untill his return, which I esteem as a very great favour.

* Earl of Rochester - Laurence Hyde, (1641-1711), son of Earl of Clarendon and brother of Anne, Duchess of York. He was admitted to Middle Temple a few days before William Clarke. He became Lord Treasurer to James II and his dismissal in December 1686 when he refused to convert to Roman Catholicism marked the end of Anglican support for James.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London May the 11th 1670

I received your kind letter by Mr Venner, and I can doe nothing but give you my humble thanks for it, and assure you that I will endeavour to deserve that kindness and affection which you there expressed towards mee, then which nothing can bee more comfortable unto mee, nor any thing make mee proceed with soe much chearfullness and alacrity in my studies, as the reading of such mild and affectionate expressions from you to mee; uppon the presumption of which I have in this letter written something more familiarly to you and in such manner as I never heretofor have done; you know I have hitherto lived from time to time giving you an acompt how and in what manner I have expended what you have bin pleased to thinke fitt to bestow uppon mee, and shall still continue soe doing if it bee your pleasure; but now my humble desire and petition to you is that you would bee pleased to allow mee a yearly stipent, for there are soe many occasions of expenses in London, that I shall never (I fear) bee able to give you a satisfactorie acompt in what particulars I doe disburse what you are pleased to send mee, and uppon this reason, and your affection I presumed to petition of you what you have allready read, for I know it will be much more convenient for mee and perhaps less troublesome to you; I desire noe more than what you think I may live creditably for in London, and I doe assure you that whatsoever you shall bee pleased to allow mee, I will endeavoure to expend it soe that it may bee as well to your satisfaction as my owne advantage and reputation. I beseech you Sr pardon the freedome I have taken, for it be contrary to your mind, I shall willingly submit to you; Sr that coagulated humor which was settled on my eye when I last wrote to you is much about the same bigness as then it was, otherwise I am very well, and have nothing more at present to desire of you but your blessing.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London May 31st 1670

I have bin for these three or four dayes last to bee continually tormented with a very violent distemper wch Doctor Witglow (to whome by the advise of my freinds I applied my selfe) termed The Stone in the Kidney; when it first tooke mee I was neither able to sit nor stand aright, and by the extremity of paine I feared it would have cast mee into a fever, but now by Gods blessing and the doctors medicine I am pretty well at ease, and I am very much comforted by the hopes that hee gives mee that hee shall in all probability absolutely take away the cause of this distemper, it being the first time that ever I was taken in the like nature, which praying to god hee may, I rest, Your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London June 11th 1670

I hope this letter will satisfie you that I was not in as bad a condition as perhaps Doctor Witglow thought at first I was, for uppon the takeing of his first

prescription, there was some gravell came from mee in my water, which made him conclude (as before he thought) that it was the stone in the kidneys, butproceeding that way and finding that it did not at all ease mee, but my paine rather increased, hee tould mee it was some huporondisarall distemper settled in those parts for which he gave mee pills to take for five nights without intermission, and a drinke which hee caused to bee made for mee which I took three times a day untill I found the paine quite taken away, and I am now (praysed bee God) in good health, but I doe still by the Doctors advise drink Epsome water every morning, which I believe does mee very much good for it works well with me.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London June 21st 1670

As for my chamber I can assure you there are severall chambers in Fleet Street not soe good as mine, lett for ten shillings a weeke, soe as you may easily know it is not particularly deare for all lodgings are lett at excessive high rates since the fire, but however I will try to get ye chamber which I am now in cheaper, or else use my utmost endeavours to gett mee another which may be soe.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London June 30th 1670

I have since Mr Venner came hither two or three times borrowed his horse to ride abroad and take the ayre which I found did very much refresh mee, and Mr Venner promises mee that as long as hee is living in towne his horse shall bee at my command, which I intend to make use of every evening after supper for an hour or two; I have allsoe since I last wrote to you used my utmost endeavours to get the chamber which I am now in at a cheaper rate then I have hitherto had it, but Major Pinkney was soe far from abateing his price that he tould me hee could have better rates of it then what I gave him; whereuppon I endeavoured to provide mee another lodgeing which I have now done, and though it is not as well furnished nor full soe large as Major Pinkneys chamber yet its alltogether as convenient for mee, and at fourteen pounds per annu: it is about three or four houses from ye Major's at the signe of the Three Flowers-de-Lis over against St Dunstans church in Fleet-Street and I shall enter into it on Saturday night.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London July 11th 1670

Deare father,

In my last letter to you I gave you an account that I had provided mee another lodging which I entered into about eight or nine days since, and for which I am to pay fourteen pounds per Annum, under which rather I doe assure you that I cannot gett any chamber that stands night the Temple, or hath any other conveniences fitt for a student as a closet or the like; when I left Major Pinkney's house hee was very kind to mee, and hee tould mee that if it should please God to visitt mee at any time with sickness hee would bee as carefull of mee as I were one of his owne relations for which and many other favours that hee hath manifested unto mee, I am very much obleiged to him; Sr I have received of Mr Venner this term the sum of twenty five pounds, I feare you may thinke it more then I can possibly have occasion for, because I wrote a letter to you by Mr Venner last term, wherein I tould you that I had money enough to buy mee a summer sute and to supply my necessaries untill Midsummer, but I doe assure you that a great part of that money that I had then designed to pay for my

cloathes was disburst and when I was last sick, I confess I took a summer sute before Mr Venner came thither this term, but I could not pay Mr Jewell for it before I had received some money of Mr Venner, (for which sute of cloathes I humbly thanke you) and besides I thinke I shall not have any convenient opportunity of receiving any bill from you again untill next terme, which you know will bee a long time and untill which I hope I shall not have any occasion to desier anything more of you, :but your blessing and the continuation of your affection towards mee, who am, in good health, your obedient son Edw Clarke

After the Plague and the Fire, the French and the papists were blamed for every unpleasant event, and papists in particular were said to be throwing fire-balls in London.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London July 26th 1670

Friday last there was a woman taken in London with severall fire-balls about her whereuppon she was carried before the Lord Mayor and uppon her examination shee confessed shee was hiered to fire the City, and that shee allsoe said, though shee were apprehended, yet there were others left to effect what she intended to have done, and accordingly there was a person taken that night in the very act of firing the George-Inn in Southwarke, but it being not thoroughly kindled it was again quenched without allmost any hurt done; but on Saturday night last there were four more houses burnt just by the walls of the Royall Exchange, and that person in whose house the fire kindled was together with two of his children and a woman sergant devoured by the flames notwithstanding the endeavours of several that ventured very much to have saved them; and yesterday about seven of the clocke in the morning the same George-Inn was againe fired and burnt to the ground together with severall others adjoining houses besides stables and out houses and this is all the account that I at present can give you of the sad affaires in London.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London August 18th 1670

On Munday last there broke out a fire in his Majesties Exchequer, but by what accident its not as yet known, but its generally beleived that it was done by some malitiose persons with designe to have burnt the Exchequer, but it pleased God not to suffer theire Devilish designs to take for it breaking out in the daytime, it was againe presently quenched without any considerable hurt done.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Sept 1st 1670

As for health I cannot say that the City is in the same condition as it was when I last wrote to you, for since that the Griping of ye Gutts* is grown very mortall but (I prayse God) I am in good health, which I will imploy in endeavouring to obey you in all things, and in studying to answer your expectations of mee, who am, Your obedient sonn, Edward Clarke

*Gripping of the Guts - this was one of the favourite entries in the Bills of Mortality kept in London; others were "stopping of the stomach" and "convulsions".

On 10 August 1670 Edward's sister Anne had married John Bacon by license at Nynehead, and on 8 September 1670 at Runnington, his sister Ursula, aged about

30, married Gustavus Venner. Gustavus told her father he proposed to settle lands worth over £2000 on her, plus furnishing a house in "ordinary manner" for £200, and £800 invested in land to be settled on her and her children, together with "whatever you are pleased to give her".

The next few weeks must have been extremely worrying for Edward Clarke senior as a complicated financial transaction nearly ended in disaster.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Sept 29th 1670 in hast

I received the letter which Mr Venner wrote to mee with the inclosed bills and delivered them to Mr Vine and I allsoe went with him to Mr Foote who accepted of the bills, and ordered Alderman Colvell* this day to pay us the money, who according to his order did soe, and as soone as wee had received it wee went with it to Hungerford house, where wee tendred it together with fifty pounds which Mr Vine this morning received of Mr Baker, in all one thousand and sixty pounds, but there was not any person there to receive it, whereuppon wee returned with it to Alderman Covells house, where wee left eight hundred pounds, hee ingaging by a bill under his name and seale to repay the same uppon fourteen dayes warning with the interest of five pound per cent per annum, and all the remainder wee returned to Mr Foote, unless ten pounds which Mr Wine has still in his hands, but hee would have left that allsoe with Alderman Colvell at interest, but hee would not meddle with it because it is soe small a sum , but of this I suppose Mr Wine has written more fully to you. Sr I shall have urgent occasions for some money before Mr Venner can possibly bee here, wherefore I desire you to give him order to send mee a bill of ten pounds or to order Mr Wine to pay mee that ten pounds which hee has of yours in his hands.

*Alderman Covell - J Covell, goldsmith, Alderman for the Ward of Cheap 1669 and Prime Warden of the Goldsmith's company 1669-70. Pepys did business with him and on 24 May 1665 had called him an impertinent fool".

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Oct 13th 1670

On Sunday last Alderman Covile (with whom yr money was left at interest) fell sick and died on Tuesday morning, but I did not heare of it untill yesterday morning or else I should have given you notice of it by the last post but as soone as I heard of it I went into the City to Mr Foote of whome I inquired in wt condition Alderman Covile died, and desiered his advice concerning what meanes might bee used to gett out your money, whereuppon hee tould mee that hee did not as yet know whither Alderman Covile had made any will or not, and soe could not give mee any advice what to doe in it, but hee said that hee did verily beleive that hee died worth three score thousands pounds at least; but haveing noe other satisfaction or information from him, I together with Mr Wine went againe this day uppon the Exchange* where wee mett with my cozen Sandford and others who all tould mee that they did not heare of any will that was yet found, or any administration taken or any order taken for the payment of any money yet, and tis beleived will not bee untill hee bee interred, but Mr Sandford assured mee yt as soone as it is certainly known whither hee died intestate or not or any order taken for the payment of any persons, hee would bee sure to give mee notice of it, and use his endeavours in the getting out your money one of the first, and desires to have his service presented to you.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Octbr 27th 1670

Dear father

Alderman Colvile being buried on Tuesday night last, I went yesterday to his house to enquire what order was taken for the payment of his debts, but there was not then any one there that could give mee any account concerning it, wherefore I went this day upon the Exchange, where I mett with my cozen Sandford and Mr Foote both which gave mee this assureance, that Alderman Blackwell*, and Alderman Viner*, together with severall others of the great Cash-keepers have ingaged to pay off all persons to whome Alderman Colvile died anything indebted, but they intend to pay all Marchants bills first; and then proceed to the dischargeing of all bonds and notes, its verily beleived they will begin to pay to-morrow; and my cozen Sandford (who desires to have his service presented to you) tould mee that if I would meet him upon the Exchange* to morrow hee would goe with mee to one of those cash-keepers who is his very good friend, and use his endeavours with him to gett out your money as soon as possible, for wch I returned him thanks and assure him I would wait on him; as for news here is very little, the King's speech to the Parliament (which I thought to have sent you) was by an order from his Majesty suppress, just as it was coming out, the substance of it was fr money this is all that I have at present to acquaint you with who am (something disordered by a cold) Your obedient sonne Edward Clarke

*Alderman Blackwell - Edward Backwell, Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths company 1660-61, creditor of Charles 11 for £300,000 in 1672; he arranged foreign exchange to pay for wars, managed secret service money and was one of founders of modern banking system

. * Sir Robert Vyner, knighted 1665, baronet 1666, Prime Warden of Goldsmiths Company 1666-67, Alderman of Broad Street ward 1666-69, Langbourn Ward 1669-86, Lord Mayor of London 1674-75. Goldsmith to the King, he lost £400,000 in the Closing of the Exchequer 1672. His country house was at Swakeleys.

*Royal Exchange -built at the angle of Cornhill and Threadneedle Street, it had a central courtyard open to the sky, surrounded by a covered walk. After the Fire, merchants returned in 1669 but the shops for luxury goods which lined the ground and first floors did not return till March 1671. It was busiest at noon when all the business men congregated to meet each other.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Nov 3rd (1670)

I now begin to feare that all our passed care and endeavours will bee to little purpose as yet, for on Munday last when the greatest part of Alderman Coviles creditors that were to bee paid upon demand came to his house there to receive their money, contrary to the expectation of them, and all others, they had not a farthing paid them but Alderman Backwell and Alderman Viner were both there and promised to pay them as soon as possible and contrary to what they had before given out, they tould them they must now proceed in the payment of Bonds first, in order to which they doe now pay the interest of what money's they have upon Bond to all persons that doe demand it, and I was there this day together with my Cozen Sandford where I made a demand for your money, whereuppon the persons that were there in the shop paying of money profered the interest of it to mee but I did not receive it; and they tould mee (as from Backwell and Viner) that they doe not intend to pay the principle of any Bonds untill they have received in such a stock as may pay off all Bonds together, and with this I this afternoon when I returned out of the City acquainted Mr Wine whereuppon hee tould mee that it would bee the best way to sue out an originall for the better security which hee intends to doe tomorrow morning.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Nov: 10th 1670

I wrote you the last weeke which I hope you received; and I now write to acquaint you that notwithstanding my cozen Sandford's, Mr Wine's and my owne endeavours, there is little probability of getting your money of Alderman Covile's Administrators under a considerable time, for they now proceed according to Alderman Backwell's instructions and orders, which (as I am informed by Covile's book-keeper) are, not to pay any person any part of their money, untill they have received in a considerable stocke, and then to pay unto every person that have money there uppon bond, soe much in the hundred as far as that stock will extend, and then to stoppe againe untill they have received in more money and then to pay unto all persons proportionably as before, is mentioned, and soe to proceed on in this method untill all his creditors be paid off, which I feare will not bee very suddenly.

*Covell was buried on 25 October 1670 and reportedly died £400,000 in debt, but with an "estate to satisfie his creditors to a penny and a very great estate overplus".



The Vyner family

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Decembr 15th 1670

Mr Venner by his care and his insinuation with Mr Bowls (Alderman Colvil's wife's brother) has very happily secured your money; he has received one hundred pounds of it and has Sr Robert Viner's Bond for the remainder; but hee was forced to give Mr Bowls the interest of the whole summe to this time, for this alteration of his security (together with severall little treats at which I was present) and wee have since acknowledged our selves very much obleiged to him too for I know of severall that have preferred to give more, but have been turned off with promises of being paid as soon as money should come in.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London December 29th 1670

There is little news stirring here at this time, only the last weeke one Sr John Coventry* a Parliament man was sett upon about twelve of the clock at night in the street nigh White Hall by six persons, who carried him into a by lane not far from thence where were more of the same company all in the habits of Life-gard men, and was there by them very barbarously used, he was wounded in many

places of his body, and had his nose cut from his face, and when this was done they fled and left him, where hee was soon by his cries discovered and carried to his lodging (which was not far from thence) where hee now lies languishing under those wounds which hee then received.

* The new strengths of Parliament were shown by the case of Sir John Coventry. The King could only revenge his own honour by getting a band of Monmouth's men to pounce on Sir John and slit his nose. Parliament then banished the offenders for life and made slitting of all noses a felony without benefit of clergy.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London Janry 12th 1670**

You may remember in my last letter to you I told you of one Sr John Coventry a Parliament man yt was sett uppon in the night here in the streete, and very much wounded, but the cause of it I did not then know, but it is now very credibly reported to bee this. At the last session of the Parliament before Christmas as they were consulting how moneys should bee rayseed for his Majesty, one of the Parl: proposed to have a tax sett on the Play-houses, to which proposall another made answer that it would bee very hard to lay a tax on the play-houses, in regard a great many of the Players had been very loyall subjects to his Majesty, and had nothing to live uppon but their places therein; uppon which this Sr John Coventry stood upp (and in a abusive way) desired yt the Gentleman that spake last to explaine himselfe whither hee meant that it were the Hee players or ye Shee-players that had been such loyall subjects to the King and such sufferers under him; and about this business the Parliament are now very seriously considering in soe much that they yesterday voted not to meddle with any other business untill those are proceeded against according to law that did thus assault him; Sr Thomas Sans and Captaine Obryan are uppon this business fled from Court.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London 26th January 1670**

I now write to acquaint you that I am in good health, humbly desiring you to order my Bro Venner to return mee ten pounds, for I have present occasion for it; as for news here is little at this time only Captaine Obryan and Sr Thomas Sans are to bee utterly banished if they do not come and yield themselves prisoners before the 14th of the next month, which is all at present from mee, who am, Your obedient son Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London Febr 16th 1670**

I have nothing at present to acquaint you with but that I am (praysed bee God) in good health, and that I was yesterday together with three other gentlemen chosen by the Benchers to perform the exercise of the house dureing this vacation (which is to argue publikely uppon severall queries in Dyer twice a weeke in English and once in French) which I will seriously endeavour to performe soe as it may bee for my reputation now and advantage hereafter. I desire you to remember my reall love to my sisters and their husbands, together with all others my friends, which is all at present from Your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

The Prince of Orange, * departed hence for Holland on Munday last.

*Prince of Orange - William, son of William of Orange and Mary, sister of Charles 11.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London March 2d 1670

I received your kind letter for which I return you my reall thanks, and I assure you that the exercise yt was lately imposed uppon mee, does not appeare either tedious or troublesome to mee, for I find little difficulty in it, and besides I perceive that a civill performance of it tends very much to my credit and reputation, which makes mee proceed in it with soe much the more satisfaction but it will now after the next weeke rest untill the Reading bee over, which will bee above three weekes, and as soone as that time is expired I will againe take it upp for the remaineing part of the vacation. And now my necessary occasions put mee in mind of desiring you to give my brother order to return mee 15 pounds as soone as conveniently he can, which is at present that is desired of you, (only your blessing) by Your obedient sonne, Edward Clarke
Here is little news more then that Edgar the Duke of Cambridge* is reported to bee dead, but the Court is not as yet in mourning for him.

*Edgar Duke of Cambridge - when the Duchess of York had her tenth child Catherine on 9 February 1670/71, only Princess Mary and Princess Anne and Edgar Duke of Cambridge had survived to be heirs presumptive to Charles 11.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London May 11th 1671

I wrote unto you by the last post, and therein tould you of a certaine attempt that was made by five men to steale the Crown out of the Tower; I could not then give you any particular account how those rogues had laid their Plott to doe this, or how they were discovered it being but that morning done; this dayes Gazette (if you read it) will give you some account of it; in my last letter I tould you there were five of them, (soe I was credibly informed) but the Gazette mentions only four, whereof three are taken, the cheife of them his name is Blood, an aged man and a notorious villein, hee has of late tried severall wayes to get his liveing, and about a month since hee habited himselfe like a divine, and pretending to bee a cuntry Parson, tooke uppon him the impudence to preach at White-chapple, where, by a nonsensical discourse of more yn ordinary length, and a fanaticall way of chanting of it forth to the ignorant people, hee was taken for an able divine, a man of the spiritt, and after sermon Mrs Edwards, wife to the man that shows the Crown, being more zealous than the rest of the fanaticall sisters that were then there came to him, and gave him thanks for his sermon, and hee then got such an acquaintance with her that hee came the next day to visitt her at her husbands house in the Tower, where hee allsoe got an acquaintance with him, and has since been often at his house, and did often bring his sonne to him (who was allsoe in this enterprise), who pretended love to Mr Edwards his daughter, and they bringing friends often to see the Crown, found that Mr Edwards was generally alone when hee did shew it and knowing that they could goe in and out of the Tower without suspition they came on Tuesday morning early to Mr Edwards with a third parson, and desired him to shew this person the crown, which hee consented to doe, and went with them to the roome where the Crown was kept; and as soon as hee had opened the doore they gagged him and wounded him, and then tooke the Crown, Septer and Globe concealed them under their clothes and endeavoured to make their escape, but were discoverd and taken, and how they were discovered the Gazette will inform you.



Colonel Blood

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London May 25th 1671

Sr I doe heartily wish that I could live creditably here with halfe the money as I have hitherto spent, which if I could, I should bee infinitely better satisfied with my selfe then now I am, in regard I am sensible how scarce money is in the countrey and at how great a trouble you are in making money of your estate.(I confess I have since Midsummer last, with this last byll received a hundred pounds of you, for all which I doe now give you my humble and hearty thankes) and I can truly say that I have been very carefull in the disburseing of it, and have not willingly spent any part of it otherwayes than as my necessary occasions have requiered, and I am certaine that I can (without vanity) say that I have been as frugall as I could with conveniency bee, and have lived as creditably as others that have spent much more and I shall allwayes next after serving God make it my cheifest endeavour to live soe as I may please and obey in all things who am, your obedient sonne Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London June 22 nd 1671

In my last letter to you, I told you that the Rogues that attempted the taking away of the Crown were yt day brought from the Tower to the sessions house where they every day expected their Tryall; but dureing that session there was not one of them called to the Bar but when the sessions was ended they were carried back to the Tower where they are still prisoners; here is little news at present more then that the City was hardly ever known to bee soe healthy as now it is, wch appears by the weekly Bylls of Mortality, and the last weeks byll informed us that there were more christned, then buried, which (as I am informed) has not been known these many yeares; Sr I desire you to order Will: to looke over your bookes and see if hee can find any of these bookes which I have under mentioned and if you conveniently part with them, I desire that they may bee conveighed unto mee the next Terme.*

Ld Cooks explanation on the statutes

Ld Cooks Jurisdiction of Courts

Ld Cooks Pleas of the Crown

Crookes Reports

Hobbarts Reports

Plowdens Commentaries

Moore's Reports

* Temple library had been destroyed by fire in 1667 and little provision was made for students afterwards.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London August 17th 1671**

I had not neglected writing to you the last weeke, but that the greatest part of my time was then taken up in a serious attention to that great learning which our Reader daily with a great deal of freedom imparted to us; who by that, and by the management of those noble entertainments which he provided for strangers, and by his civil and obliging deportment to all the Gentlemen of the House, has gained himself a never dying reputation amongst us; but amidst all our learning and jollities when my Ld ArchBishop of Canterbury together with my Ld Keeper and severall other persons of great quality were by the Reader entertained with a dinner in the Temple-hall) one Mr Paul, a young barrister of our house, at the table all of a sudden grew distracted, and within a few minutes his distemper increased to a high degree of madness, and soe it continued without any intermission for foure dayes, then his frenzy left him, and hee enjoyed his senses as perfectly as ever for a small time, in which hee settled his estate, tooke a solemn leave of his friends that were there present, and after some short prayers made hee quietly gave up the Ghost; this I have given you a short account of, because he was one of the hopefulest and most rising men we had of our house and was admired by all that heard him for that extraordinary witt and learning which hee demonstrated in arguing the Readers case the day before this fatal distemper seized him; this is all that I have at present to divert you with, who am, your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London Octr 5th 1671**

The last summe of money that you were pleased to bestow upon mee is now soe nigh disbursed that I shall suddainly (if not by your love and care supplied) want money; therefore I now humbly desire you to give my brother Venner order to returne mee twenty five pounds if you thinke convenient, for by soe doing you will supply my present occasions, and I shall not trouble you any more in that kind untill after Chrissmas, unless it please God to visitt mee with sicknesse or the like.

All the discourse now here is of an insuing Warr with the Dutch, and that Sr George Downing* is suddainly to bee sent over to Holland to demand satisfaction of them for not strikeing sayle; and to know the reason why they enter into a League offensive and defensive wth Sweden and Denmarke, which is contrary to their Triple League with England.

*Sir George Downing - Ambassador to the Hague in Cromwell's time, he had been Teller of the Exchequer when in 1670 Arlington again appointed him to the Hague, knowing the Dutch disliked him; it was part of a deliberate campaign to provoke them into acts of hostility and his brief was "to embitter matters to the point of rupture". He had been Secretary to the Treasury in 1667 and Downing Street was eventually named after him.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London Oct 19th 1671**

Sr here is little news at present, but the last weeke there were foure persons taken in Hartford shire, that have lately coyned many hundreds of gynneys, and

were then at work coyning more; in the beginning of this weeke a porter was found with one of these false Gynneys, and being asked by one that belongs to the Mynt where hee had it hee answered that when hee had that, hee did beleive there were many thousand more, and that it was at his Master Viner's house; upon this the Master of the Mynt gott the Kings Warrant and searched Sr Robert Viners house, but there was not one piece of that coyne found there; this making a noise on the town, I was quickly informed of it, whereupon I went presently to Mr Foote and severall others, (that have great summs of mony in his handes and were well informed in this businesse) to know the truth of it, and they all (to my great satisfaction) tould mee that they had heard the businesse fully, and that there is not the least cause of suspition to bee grounded on him, and that they look'd on their money to bee as safe in his handes as in their owne pockett; but I will dayly inquire further and if I find it to happen otherwise then they reported it to mee, I will gett out your money with all speed.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London November 30th 1671

On Munday last the Ambassador from the Crown of Portugall made his publick entree here, haveing been at Greenwich received by Sr Charles Cotterel* Master of the Ceremonies, and brought thence in his Majesties Barges to Tower-Hyll, where being landed, hee was saluted with the Great Guns, and conducted in his Majjesties coach through the City to his house at St James's, with the usuall ceremonies; hee has not yet had his Audience soe yt it is not known as yet what his business is here; the news of Sr Edward Spragge is by the dayes Gazette againe confirmed.

*Sir Charles Cotterell 1615 -1701. Master of Ceremonies 1661 -1686 and MP for Cardigan 1663 -1679.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 14th December 1671

Deare father,

I am verie much rejoyced to heare that you are in good health again, which I pray God long to continue; my brother Venner thought to have been at Chipley on Saturday next, and was accordingly prepareing for his journey, but was prevented by avoyding of some bloud downwards and Doctor Scarborough* (one of the Kings Physitians) being sent for to him, tould him it would bee dangerous for him to take his journey untill his body were again settled, and in order thereunto hee hath taken some physick, which has done him much good, but I beleive hee will not bee in a condition to travell untill the middle of the next weeke or thereabouts, hee hath written to my sister, this is all that I have at present to acquaint you with (only that the Duke of Somersett died yesterday of the small-pox) who am, in good health, your obedient sonne Edw: Clarke

*Dr Charles Scarborough b 1614? MD Oxford 1646, by 1655 he was on the committee of the Royal College.

Gustavus Venner to Edward Clarke senior

Sr I am very much troubled that I could not bee at Chipley to wayte on your selfe and Mrs Ursula as I expected, but being this accident did happen I am very glad it did not on the rode if it had it might have beene very dangerous.

Gus Venner

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London December 21st 1671

When I writt my last letter to you, my brother Venner was in a weake condition, though the danger of his distemper was then over, but the day before hee was soe ill that wee all verie much fear'd his life, which was caused by a great quantity of blood that came from him that morning; I would have given you this account of his condition in my last letter, but that he and I both feared that my sister might possibly have a sight of the letter, which would have been verie inconvenient for her in the condition shee now is; but by Gods blessing, and his physitions carefull endeavours hee is now as well as ever, and has a verie good stomach; only hee's by the losse of soe much blood still weake which I hope hee will soon recover in the countrey. Hee intends God willing to bee with you on the Saturday before New Yeares day and in order thereunto hee has given earnest to goe with the Exciter Coach from hence on Munday next; I wish you together with the rest of my friends a Merry Christ-mas, who am, Your obedient sonne
Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London December 25th 1671

Deare father

My occasions forced mee to take up fifteen pounds of my Brother Venner about a weeke before hee intended to goe out of town first, for which I hope you will not bee displeased, or thinke it too much though it bee but a short time since that I received twenty pounds from you; for I can (with truth) affirme that I wanted that money when first I writt to you for it (wch was about Michaelmas) and I was constrained to make use of part of a summe of money of my Brothers that lay then here in town to supply my occasions, and being now to furnish myselfe against Christ-mas with a sute of clothes, I was forced to take up this fifteen pounds, the greatest part of wch my Brother Venner knows I paid Mr Jewell for clothes and disbursed for other necessaries, and I have still some part of it left for my pocket, which you may assure your selfe I will not spend extravagantly; Sr I wish you together with the rest of my friends a Merry and happy Christmas, who am, your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Janry 2nd 1671

I am verie glad my Brother Venner drew out ye money from Sr Robert Vyner when hee was last in town; for its verie probable that all who have money now in his handes or any other of ye Gold-smyths in Lamboth-street, will bee great losers; for there is now a general stoppe of trade amoungst them, and they doe all at present refuse payments to all their creditors, what the issue of this will bee is not yet known, but the cause of it is apparent, for his Majesty has shut up the Exchequer*, and does at present deny payment to any of them.

*Stopping of the Exchequer - freezing of debt repayments by the Crown and interest due on loans

SMALLPOX

January 1671/72 - August 1673

Edward has smallpox - Sir George Ent - brother-in-law Bacon arrives to help - heavy costs of illness - Gustavus Adolphus born - more family sadness - called to the Bar

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **January 1671/2**

Deare father,

**I was taken ill on Saturday last, and on Sundaie I tooke my bed. My distemper proves to be the small-pox, but I prayse great God that they doe begin to come out verie well; Sir George Ent* is my phisitian, and he says that my condition is verie hopefull; I desyre you not to trouble yourselfe, for I hope in the Lord, I shall doe verie well; this day in the morninge the small pox appeared upon me, and I am much encouraged by the care and love which my friends show towards me; I have beene infinitely oblidged to Mr Jewell and his wyfe, for they have in a high degree manifested their care and love towards me; Mr Jewell hath supplyd me with money for the present, for the money wch I received of you last was almost expended when I fell ill which forced me to take up some money of Mr Jewell and I must desyre you to returne me some money with all speede, for this sickness is verie chargeable, and I am unwillinge to be oblidged to my friends to borrowe; I will gett my friends to write to you by every post; I would have written myselfe, but that my condition is such that it would not without an iminent danger permit me to doe it; Sr I desyre yr prayers for me, and yr blessings upon me, whoe am, Yr obedt: Sonne Edward Clarke
My reall love to my sisters and brothers
Mr Jewell and his wyfe beinge here present thier humble service to you
and to Mr Venner and his wyfe**

* Sir George Ent was born in 1604 at Sandwich and died 13 October 1689, being buried at St Lawrence Jewry. He was the son of Josias Ent, a Flemish merchant livin in London, and attended the Dutch church at Austin Friars; he had a MD from Cambridge and Padua and had also studied in Rotterdam. By 1645 with Scarborough he was one of a group of young Londoners meeting to discuss the new philosophy in Dr Jonathan Goddard's rooms in Wood Street and later at Gresham College, in which anatomy and physics played major roles. In 1646 he married Sarah Meverall, daughter of the president of the Royal College of Physicians, and in 1651 was in charge of the library. The Royal College allied with Cromwell and gained advantage over the Apothecaries. At the Restoration the College obtained the Crown's favour which resulted in a Charter in 1663. The apothecaries agreed not to practise physic as long as they could keep shops and administer medicine if a physician was not available. In 1665 Charles 11 attended Ent's anatomy lessons and knighted him, and in 1670 he was President of the Royal College.

Smallpox was thought to be the most deadly if pocks "struck in", and it was important to keep warm in bed to push the spots out. Violent pains in the back and head were experienced together with loss of hair and loss of sight. In the seventeenth century, recovery from an acute illness included survival as well as the relief of symptoms. A physician took the medical history of the patient and his "habit" - whether plethoric, sanguine, choleric or melancholy. The examination of the patient was linked to inspection and palpation, particularly to find out if the patient was hot, cold, moist or dry. The site of pain was thought to relate to what was underneath. Excrements were scrutinised and a careful plan was made to promote all forms of

excretion. Quinine was a new specific remedy which worked without evacuation and doctors of the time found it difficult to explain its success. A physician received fees for attendance, but an apothecary could only charge for providing medicine.



Sir George Ent

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 11 Januy 1671/2

Deare father

I wrote a letter to you by ye last post which I hope you recd, and I am prayed be God as well as I can expect to be in ye condition the small pox is indifferently thick upon me. Sr George Ent said yesterday they were all come forth; I am at present (thanks bee to God) free from those excessive paynes yt were upon me before they came out; the fever hath in a great degree left me, and I have noe other disturbance. Sr George Ent likes my condition verie well and soe yt by the grace of God I shall soone recover Sr I desyre you not to trouble your selfe for mee for I trust in ye Lord I shall soon be againe as ever. Mr Jewell and his wife continue their former kindnesses. Sr I pray remember my reall love to my sister, Bro: Venner and Bro: Bacon and all other my friends.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 18th Jany 1671/2

Dear father

I received your kinde letter by the last post, whereby I understand you are in good health, wch is a great comfort and satisfaction to me in this my condition, for which and for all other expressions of your reall love, I returne you my humble thanks. Sr my Brother Bacon arrived here safe yesterday morninge, and hath since taken care to supply me with money, where-with-all to pay Mr Jewell, and accomodate me for my other occasions, for which I alsoe humbly thanke you. Sr I am at this present (prayed be God) verie well, the danger of my distemper beinge over, but I am forced still to keepe my bedd, but Sr George Ent told me this morninge, that I should be in a verie fitt condition to rise in a few dayes when (God willing) I will write to you myselfe; this is all the account that I can give you at present of my condition; I am Sr yr most obed: Sonne Edward Clarke

Sr I desire you to remember my reall love to my sisters and the rest of my friends

John Bacon to Edward Clarke senior London **Janua 18 71**

Sir,

I found Mr Edward yesterday morning when I came to towne as forward to his recovery as a man possibly could bee in his distemper, for the pox are ---and the studs almost all gon, himsef very cheerfull and lively, this day Sr George Ent was wth him and told him that hee might rise in few dayes without danger; he hath written to you by this post,

Sr yr humble servant Jo Bacon

Mr Jewell and his wife give theire humble servis to you, who has been and still are very carefull of Mr Edward

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London 20 Jany 1671/2**

Deare father

Since the writinge of my last letter to you, I am (praysed bee God) recovered beyond expectation in-so-much as Sr George Ent gave order yesterday that I should rise, which accordingly I did and was up foure houres, and was that whyle as well as could be expected; I have beene alsoe up all this afternoone, and doe continue still as well as anyone in my condition is capable of beinge; Sr George Ent does not question but I shall be in my former health again in a verie

short tyme, wch I pray God grant. Sr I am at this tyme in a condition capable of writing to you, but that my eyes are somethinge weakened by my distemper and I cannot looke stedily upon any one object long, but Sr George Ent tells me I shall recover that together with my strength; Sr this is a true account of my present condition and is all at present I have to acquaint you with, who am, your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

Mr Jewell continues his former love and kindness to mee and desires to have his service presented to you.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior **London Jan 25th 1671/2**

Deare father,

I have ever since I writt last to you (I prayse God) been verie well, and I have since found my selfe much the better for the purge which I tooke that day; the Lord has given mee patience to undoe this distemper with courage, and I find my selfe now perfectly well, though as yet weake, and not yet out of Sr George Ent's hands, for hee tould mee yesterday I must be purged twice more and that then hee thought hee should leave mee in such a condition as I should soon recover my former strength; Sr I now write chiefly to return you my humble thankes for that tender love wch you manifested towards mee in sending my Brother Bacon hither to take care of mee, and to see that I should not want for any thing, which was a great comfort to mee; my Brother has accordingly been verie carefull of mee, but before my brother could receive any money here I was forced to borrow thirteen pounds of Mr Jewell, which as soon as I received money I repaid him with thankes; Sr this sicknesse has been verie expensive as well as troublesome and dangerouse which has forced mee to take up forty pounds, the greatest part of which my Brother whilst hee was in town saw disbursed, and yet I can with truth say that I have not put you to any expense more then was absolutely necessary for mee in this my condition; and I hope that this forty pounds will defray all the charges of my sickness and leave mee some money in my pocket. As soon as Sr George Ent has done with me and I have received the

Apothecary's Byll, I will faithfully give you an account in particulars, how that money which you have been pleased to supply mee with in this sicknesse has been disbursed, in the mean time I shall rest praying for the continuance of your health, Your obedient sonne Edw: Clarke

Sr the haire wch was left on my head was yesterday by Sr George Ent's advice cut

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Jany 27th 1671/2

Deare father,

My Brother Bacon went from hence on Thursday night last, (who I hope is before this time gott safe home) and has given you a particular account in what condition hee left mee; yesterday I took another purge by Sr George Ent's order, which (I prayse God) did worke verie well with mee, hee came last night to see how I was after my physick, and hee then tould mee I should take another purge about the latter end of the next weeke, and after that hee said yt hee did not question but I should soon bee in a condition to goe abroad; Sr I had the small-pox indifferently thick all over mee, my head was very full and they were as thick in my face as they could bee and not run alltogether; Sr George Ent sayes that the weakenesse of my eyes is nothing but what usually attends this distemper which hee does not doubt but I shall recover with my strength,

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Jany 30th 1671/2

Deare father,

I doe continue (I prayse God) verie well, and my strength is in a great measure allready restored to me, but my eyes continue still soe weake that I can hardly endure the fire or candle; (I thanke God) I can see verie well, but I cannot behold an object long but it makes my eyes smart extremely.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 6th Febry 1671/2

Deare father

In my last letter to you I acquainted you that Sr George Ent had taken his leave of mee, and I prayse God hee left mee in soe good a condition, that on Sunday last I went abroad, and returned againe to my chamber wth out takeing the least cold I was allsoe abroad againe yesterday, and have been soe this day, and I thanke God I find my selfe much the better and stronger for the enjoyment of the fresh ayre . I have since I writt last to you paid the Apothecaries Byll, which came to seven pounds sixteen shillings, but upon the examination of it, I found there were severall things sett down in it, which I never had, and those things being blotted out of the Byll, there remained six pounds eighteen shillings, wch I paid. I have allsoe paid for all other things that I had occasion to make use of in my sickness, and I am not now indebted to any person one farthing. I have inclosed sent you a Byll wherein I have faithfully given you a particular accompt what the Expences of this sicknesse have been, I am troubled to see it amounts to soe much, but I assure you that I endeavoured throughout my sicknesse to bee as frugall in all things as with conveniency I might, the inclosed Byll will informe you that I have not fifty shillings left of the forty pounds which by your order I received in my sicknesse, and I was soe bare of money when I fell sick that I was forced to borrow money of Mr Jewell the second day to fee Sr George Ent, and haveing now soe small a summe of money by mee, I am forced (not withstanding I have of late put you to soe great an

Expen) to desire you to return eight or ten pounds to mee as soon as conveniently you can.

Sr I have throughout my sickness been verie much obliged to Mr Jewell and his wife for their continued care of mee, and I have since my recovery often made my acknowledgments to them, and this day they being both with mee, I presented each of them with two payre of Gloves, together with my thanks for their great kindnesse towards mee.

Received £40

	£	s	d
Gave Sr George Ent 16 guineas	17	04	00
Pd one Nurse for two weekes	02	00	00
Pd the other Nurse for two weekes	01	10	00
for three load of billetts	02	05	00
for sawing of the billetts and bringing them up to my chamber	00	05	00
for possetts, water-gruell, sugar and other small necessaries in my sickness	00	18	00
for dyet since I did rise to this time	01	10	00
for a perrywigg	04	07	00
for two quilted capps	00	04	00
pd for the gloves that I gave Mr Jewell and his wife	00	10	00
Pd the Apothycaries Byll	06	18	00

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Febr 15th 1671/2

Sr I praye God I doe continue verie well, and I have now allmost recovered my former strength, my eyes are likewise much better then when I writt last to you, though I cannot as yet (without trouble) read or write by candle; I have great hopes I shall find Sr George Ent's words prove true (wch were) that as I did recover my strength I should recover my sight, and that my eyes would in time bee as perfect as ever, which I pray God to grant,

Sr here is little news stirring at this time; Sr George Downing* that went last Ambassador to Holland was on his returne here clap'd up in the Tower, and still remains a prisoner there, but what was the cause of his imprisonment, or what the event of it will bee, is not publickely known; this is all that I have at present to acquaint you with, who am, Your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

* Downing had to flee from Holland after William of Orange was appointed leader, and was put in the Tower on his return.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Febr 27th 1671/2

Dear father

I received your letter wherein you sufficiently manifested your care of mee by good advice which you soe affectionately gave mee, for which I doe now return you my humble thanks, assuring you that I will cheerfully endeavour readily to imploy that strength which it has pleased God in his goodnesse to restore to mee in Thanksgiveing for his gracious deliverance of mee from the perills of my late

sicknesse, and will allwayes next after serving God carefully and seriously endeavour to the utmost of my power to obey you in all things you shall either command or enjoyne mee. Sr when I consider these Tymes I am verie sencible that they are much more fatall to all countrie commodity than any other, and I doe dayly heare those Gentlemen that have estates in the countrie complain that they cannot make nigh the value of them; I have likewise a verie true sence of the great expences I have lately put you to as allsoe of all other you disbursements, all which I shall often reflect upon, and shall carefully endeavour to bee as frugall in all things as with conveniency and credit I can; Sr I have allredy paid my acknowledgments to Sr George Ent for his care of mee in my sickness, as likewise to all others my freinds that at that time manifested their love and friendship towards mee, especially Mr Jewell and his wife. Sr the last Gazette informed us that the States generall had with a generall satisfaction conferred on his Highnesse the Prince of Orange* the command of Captaine Generall Admirall for this campaign, that is, till hee arrive to the 22 yeare of his age, engaging that then his commission shall be renewed, with this additional clause dureing life; the States of Holland have likewise continued to another levie of 20000 men, as likewise the increase of this yeares equipage to 75 men of warr, besides fire shippes. They have likewise resolved to send forth with an extraordinary Ambassador to England, but the person they have not as yet nominated.

*William of Orange was given the title of Captain and Admiral General by the States General 25 February 1671/72, his 23 birthday.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Apr 18th 1672

Deare father

By the last post I acquainted you with my brothers and sisters safe arrivall here, which I hope came safe to your handes; and I now write to lett you know that about a month since finding my selfe something out of order I applyed my selfe to Sr George Ent, who presently put mee into a course of physick which I have now taken all out, and I hope I shall continue much the better for it, for (I prayse God) I am now in perfect health; Sr this casuall expence swept away soe much of that ten pounds which you were pleased to bestow upon mee in Febr that I wanted money at the last Quarter day to pay for the rent of my chamber, and to pay my Landresse, barber and other such quarterly creditors; and those people wanting their money I have since my brother came to towne borrowed seven pounds of him, wherewith I have paid them all and my humble desire to you now is that you would bee pleased to send mee a Byll for some money as soon as you can conveniently, that I may be able to repay my brother the seven pounds which he has lent mee, and have a supply for my other necessarie occasions. Sr I hope you will consider that I am to furnish my selfe with clothes this Terme for the ensueing summer which you know cannot bee done without a considerable expence, but you may assure yr selfe I will not buy any thing more then what is absolutely necessary, and will be as frugall in all things as with conveniency I can.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London Apr 20th 72

Deare father

I received your kind letter by the last post for which as for all other manifestations of your affection towards mee I return you my humble thanks assureing you yt I doe and allways will endeavour to the utmost of my power to serve my Brother and sister in all things that I may, and I will make it my businesse to comfort and hearten both of them as much as possible. Sr Charles Scarborough was since my Brother came to town obleiged by the Duke to goe to sea with him, and is to bee aboard the Prince with all expedition this hee acquainted us with, whereupon finding my Brother willing to apply himselfe to Sr George Ent, I went presently to him, and after I had informed him what my Brothers condition was, I desiered him to meet Sr Charles Scarborough at my brothers lodgeing, which accordingly he did yesterday in the afternoon, when they both consulted together for some time, and then prescribed severall things for him, to which I beseech God to give a blessing; they both met againe this afternoon, and upon consultation, ordered the repetition of some of those things which hee has allready taken, and prescribed a Pectorall Electuary *which is to bee taken often every day; my brother does not as yet find much good by what hee has taken, and continues weake, but Sr George Ent has great hopes of his recovery, for the perfecting of which, and the continuance of your health, there shall never bee wanting the constant prayers of, Your obedient sonne, Edw: Clarke

My sister is (I prayse God) verie well and presents her duty to you, and soe does my brother, and they will both write to you by the next post

*electuary - a medicinal paste or lozenge consisting of powder mixed with honey; the dose was taken on the tip of a knife.

Ursula and Gustavus's son, Gustavus Adolphus, had been born in 1671 and was only a few months old when his father died in 1672. His will named Edward Clarke of Chipley and Edward Clarke the younger of Inner Temple as trustees. Ursula then lived at Chipley to look after her father, and by August 1673 her sister Anne was ill:

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke

Chipley 2nd August 1673

Dear Bro:

I have indevoured to know whether my father intends to have you home this summer, but cannot fynd he will unless you desire it; I think you were best to write a letter to him to desire him to give you leave to come down and see him, and you shall be willing to returne againe the next term. Yr lo: sister Ursula Venner

My sister continuing yet ill, and wee being so busy in harvest, I desire you will excuse me for not writing sooner and oftener unto you.

Edward was still in London where he had been called to the Bar on 20 April 1673. Anne Bacon nee Clarke died in 1673 or 1674 and her father and husband became involved in an acrimonious legal case; Edward Clarke senior had lent Bacon money and hoped to prove that John Bacon had made no settlement upon Anne until 3 or 4 days before she died. The ensuing law case was due to be heard on 10 February 1675.

MARRIAGE

September 1673 - April 1675

Mary Jepp's background - John Locke - negotiations to marry - marriage - a home in Hatton Garden

Edward at 25 had lost a mother, a stepmother, a sister and a brother-in-law, but the girl he was going to marry had suffered even more. Mary Jepp was the only child and heiress of Samuel Jepp, who died aged about 30 in 1660 when Mary was probably about 4 years old. His mother, Elizabeth Crosse, ("born cross", as her family said of her) had married in 1626 Samuel Jepp senior, a London merchant, who died in 1631 when their son, Samuel junior, was an infant. She then married William Strachey of Camberwell (1596-1634) who died just before or just after the birth of their son John Strachey, leaving her valuable property in Westminster of 24 messuages and 12 gardens and a wharf. City widows being a particular target for remarriage because the customs of the City concerning the deposing of a man's estate were very favourable to the relict, Elizabeth was able to return to her Somerset birthplace and marry Edward Baber, who had taken the lease of a small fortified manor, Sutton Court, near Chew Magna.

Surrounded by battlemented walls and built on an imposing site with views to the Mendips, Sutton Court had been improved in Tudor times by Elizabeth St Loe (Bess of Hardwick) who added panelling and a minstrels gallery to the medieval hall, a wainscotted Great Parlour with window seats and a staircase of solid blocks of oak to the chapel above. On Baber's death in 1642, his widow bought the house with her son Samuel in mind, but after his early death, left it to her second son, John Strachey.

On 30 July 1655 Samuel junior had married "my deare heart",* Elizabeth Watts, nee Buckland, and after she was widowed she and her daughter Mary continued to live at Sutton Court with Elizabeth Baber and John Strachey. Mary's mother was sole executrix of Samuel's will, in which Mary had been left property in Westham in the County of Essex. She was a "*tender hearted mother*", but subject to ill health - "*a truce shee had sometimes with health, but never a firme league with it*".*

* in a letter Samuel wrote to her on 15 July 1654 from Sutton Court

* words spoken at her funeral

John Strachey had been educated at Westminster School with his great friend John Locke* and afterwards was at Lincoln College Oxford while Locke was at Christ Church, but when he knew he was going to inherit Sutton Court he quit his proposed career at Grays Inn and went back to Somerset.

* John Locke, in the course of his career, philosopher, teacher, economist, theologian, doctor and civil servant, was born at Wrington in Somerset on 29 August 1632 and was a pupil at Westminster School, and a student and don at Christ Church Oxford. In 1673-4 he supervised the education of the future 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, in 1674 was a bachelor of medicine and in 1677 was Caleb Banks' tutor on the Grand Tour. He thought that in a teacher wisdom matters more than learning, in a pupil formation of character more than acquired knowledge.



John Locke



John Strachey



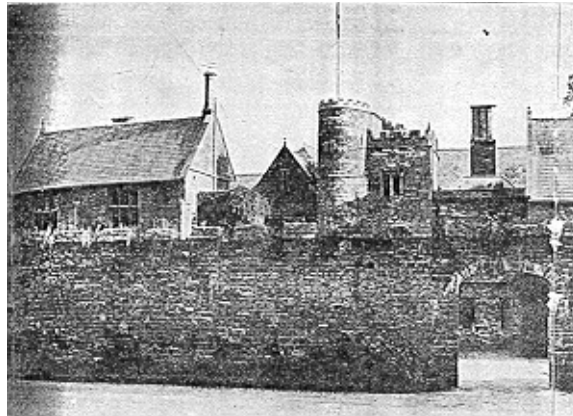
Elizabeth Baber

John Strachey to Locke 20 April 1662

Sir,

I had writt to you since had not a fatall accident arrested my penn and employd my thoughts about my Sisters sicknesse, which hath now to my greate greife carried her hence to a better place for herselfe. Her disease was the small pocks, her Physitian Dr Peicer, and after all our apprehensions that the danger

was past (it being the seaventeenth day shee dyed) her faire soul fled, and hath left mee here to mourne the losse of her company that made Sutton a City.



Sutton Court - entrance through Norman wall



Sutton Court

Elizabeth Jepp's will (dated 4 April 1662, and proved 18 April 1665 by Elizabeth Baber) bequeathed "*to my brother in law John Strachey my new turkey work chairs, my cousin Elizabeth Buckland my watch, my cousin Mary Walter a band and scarf and plain gold ring that was left to me by her mother, rings to my three aunts Mary, Frances and Barbara Buckland, my cousin Mary Crosse of Chew my best petticoat, my cousin John Buckland the elder a silver cup, my cousin Charles Buckland 2 pieces of gold*" and the residue to her daughter Mary. She asked "*my mother-in-law, Mrs Elizabeth Baber to take my daughter into her tuition and if she do not live so long and my aunt Barbara Buckland* doth survive her, she is to see this duty performed*".

*Barbara Buckland's will, dated 15 June 1670, was proved on 20 September 1670.

On 17 December 1662 John Strachey married Jane Hodges, (11 October 1643 - 30 October 1727), co-heiress of George Hodges of Wedmore, who became a kind "Aunt Strachey" to Mary and may have in some measure seen she had a happy childhood.

Nearly ten years later in 1671, Elizabeth Baber died leaving three diamond rings, a "jewel of diamonds", one small gold chain and gold bodkin, a wedding ring and a necklace of pearls, wearing apparel worth £40, plate worth £34 and £180 of ready money. More importantly to Mary's future, she left £400 p.a. to her granddaughter, to be paid out of land in Westminster, plus an inlaid cabinet and its contents, her largest ring of diamonds and a trunk of linen marked with her father's name. Later Mary wrote she wished her grandmother could have bequeathed her life's experiences instead, "although she had not given me a farthing".

Mary at seventeen was now a considerable heiress and John Strachey was anxious to arrange a marriage for her. He consulted Locke, by now starting his career as a don at Christ Church and secretary to Antony Ashley Cooper, a member of Charles 11's Cabal and Lord High Chancellor in 1672.

Locke to John Strachey **September 1673**

I had an opportunity to speak with Sir Walter Vane* who is uncle to the young knight Sir Nicholas Pelham, who received the proposition concerning my cousin Jepp very kindly, and told me that now going out of town into the country where he should see his nephew; the estate he tells me goes for £1000, -- and your young knight himself is really as sober and pretty a man as any I know.

* Locke had been his secretary in Brandenburg in 1665-66.

Mary also had another suitor known only as "Mr Co:"

John Strachey to Locke **10 February 1673/4**

It was not through neglect but choice that I made noe speedier an answer, for it was till now before the young Lady could come to any resolution, and truly as the case stands with Mr Co: Shee is not at all blameworthy, for though Shee might bee fixed against the Marriage, yett Shee thought it would have been very inhumanely don to have been instrumentall to his relaps, but now Shee thinks that hee is able to endure a deniall, Shee intends to breake through all difficulties and to lett him know what hee must trust to, as for the young Knight Shee likes his character and doth not except against the Particular nither doth her Uncle Buckland whoe was here this day, but whether they may like one another upon the interview is hard to prophesy, I find her backward to goe to London least it bee thought Shee goes a woeinge, otherwise you know Shee intended it, but I can't imagine how you will satisfy her in that Scruple of honour. The Particular of her Estate I shall not now send you, because I am a Person too much concernd, there beeing some questions in Law betweene us, but that they may bee fairely ended I intend to bring my writings to London and to stand to the Judgment of the best Lawyers, yett I doe not say but that I may doe more then what the Law will force me to, and truly I doe not exactly know her Concerne at Sydcott and therefore I thinke Mr Buckland would bee the fittest Man to send a Particular, in summe I beleive her fortune may well answer the Knights Estate.

Whether Mary did not like Pelham or whether her fortune was not sufficient for him, she did not marry him*. John Strachey looked for another suitor and received a letter from William Clarke, confirming the suitability of Edward Clarke.

William Clarke to John Strachey

I am now at Chipley where I find a house well furnished an estate fully stocked and great plenty of everything. My cousin is so desirous of issue and so well pleased that his son hath an inclination for your neice that if his son be soe happy to marry her he will settle his whole estate which is not less in the yearly value (even in those low times) than what I last represented it to you.

As for the young gentleman he hath been nine yeares a student and during that time I presume noe man hath gained either in Oxford or the Inns of Court more reputation for good humour, learning or sobriety that himself; he is now of a profession which in all likelihood may be better to him than his estate. The yearly value of estate was £973

But then John Strachey died on 11 February 1674/5 and Mary's uncle, John Buckland of West Harptree, became her guardian. He was a friend of William Clarke, so the negotiations continued.

*He married Jane, daughter and co-heiress of James Huxley of Dornford, Oxon, on 26 November 1674.



Gournay Court, the home of John and Elizabeth Buckland at West Harptree

The Bucklands lived at Gournay Court, opposite the church at West Harptree. John Buckland (b 1611) was a member of Lincolns Inn, a J.P. and a Member of Parliament in 1654, 1656 and 1659. His wife Elizabeth (b 1610) was the daughter of Sir Robert Philips of Montacute. Their only son had died in London of smallpox in 1668 and their only surviving child, Elizabeth, had married on 14 April 1664 John Bluett of Holcombe Rogus

So when Edward Clarke met Mary she had lost both parents, the grandmother who had brought her up, and the uncle in whose house she had lived all her life. When faced with another change she did not immediately accept Edward, for she

always found it difficult to come to a decision; she described her feelings in a touching letter 21 years later :-"*this coming to a resolution of parting with my plate I find the difficult thing I ever met with since resolving to marry, but then you sed you should be well pleased with it and in that assurance I did agree to it, and do find myself ever since most inclined to do that which I do hope is most pleasing and agreable to you*".



Mary Jepp

In a worldly sense it was a good match for Edward, as apart from her fortune, Mary brought with her connections with families of greater political and social importance in the county than the Clarkes, but Edward was fortunate in other ways too; "*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,*" wrote Locke in 7 May 1682 to Mary, "*without flattery or compliment*".

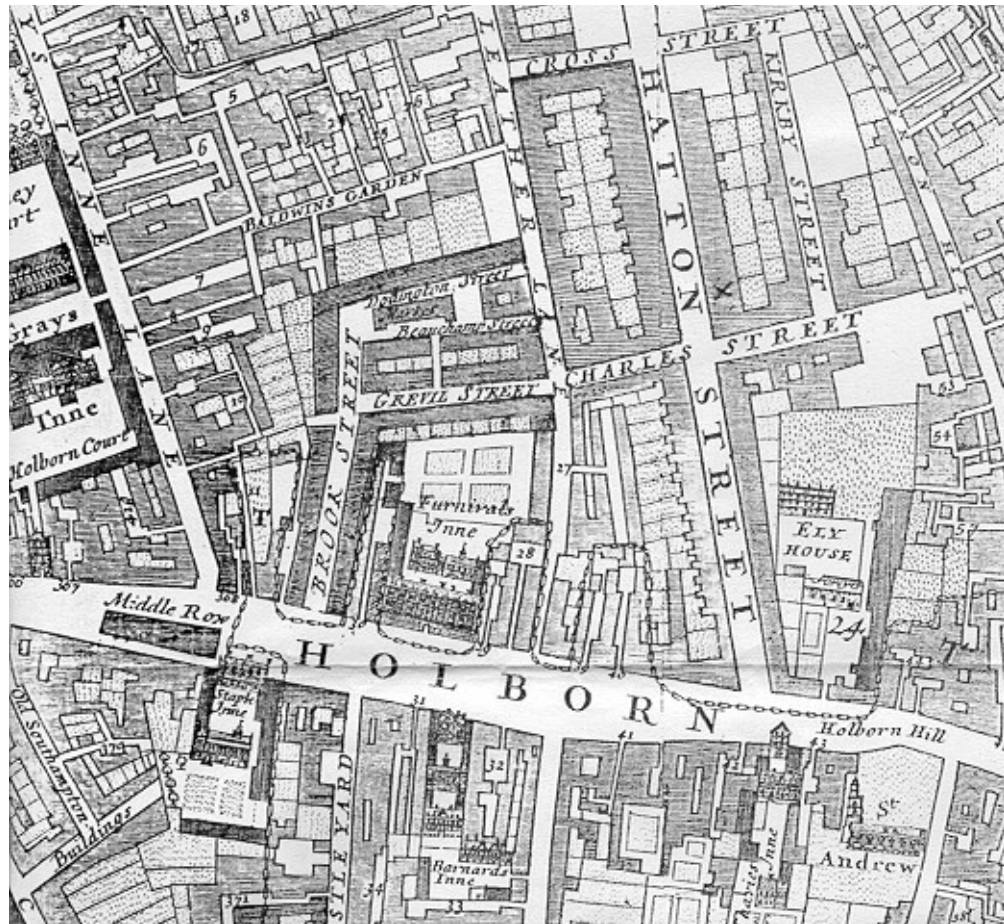
Edward's bride inspired his affection for thirty years, and her irrepressible spirits complemented his gentle but pessimistic outlook. Buckland felt satisfied too with his choice of a husband for his niece:

John Buckland to Edward Clarke **13 Dec 74**

I have taken measure more from your fathers and your candour and integrity than from any search and information of my own, hoping that wee shall all of us strive to acquit our reputations in a concern of an orphant (sic) in her minority as my neice is.

Edward and Mary married at West Harptree on 13 April 1675 and set off to London to begin married life. The young couple soon moved from Edward's old lodgings to the newly built up area of Hatton Garden, near Holborn. Building had started there in 1664 with sites leased on condition lessees built to a set standard; the

majority were built by speculators - masons, bricklayers or carpenters . There were four types of house, 22' being the standard frontage on Hatton Street; there were two rooms to each of the three main floors, a basement and sometimes an attic, a wide oak staircase and carved wooden entrance doorway. There were oak floors, rooms were panelled in pine and balconies were gay with blue and gilt paint. The houses had lead cisterns and pumps for filling them from wells. The best houses on Hatton Street had coach house and stables. Their design was ahead of their time and the area was very convenient for lawyers; the average let in 1693 cost £40. Edward and Mary lodged in Mr Symkin's house, "a little beyond the first in Hatton Garden", and some of their new neighbours became lifelong friends.





A staircase in a Hatton Garden house



Mr Symkin's house in 1996

This is a copy of ye 2 notes that I left with my Aunt Strachey when I went first from Sutton Court to London MC

2 looking glasses 15 00

2 barrells 4 00

2 low chayres and 1 low stoole 12 00

of green searge

3 armed chayres 15 00

1 red leather chayre gylt 4 00

2 leather stooles 8 00

1 large chayre of twigs 10 00

1 syde cupboard 10 00

1 curtain rod in ye gt parlor

In ye arched rooms

1 pr of large brasse andirons with fire pan and tongs

In ye hanged chamber

1 hanging shelve

In ye yellow chamber

1 bedstead and 1 wainscott chest

In ye great chamber and room within

One case of drawers and one spruce chest

In ye greate parlor

2 syde table bords and six joynt stools, my father and mothers and my owne pictures and 3 other old pictures

In ye buttery

1 little box stool

THE SETTLEMENT

August 1675 - March 1676

Settlements - Edward Clarke senior worries too much about his son - Mary writes to "dear Neddy" - Mary pregnant - Ursula dispatches feather beds -

The strict settlement which developed after 1660 meant that a landowner could turn his heir into a tenant for life of an estate settled on trustees for contingent remainders, which could include children yet unborn; it saved the patrimony for the eldest son while safeguarding the widow's jointure and making provision for other children. It involved three generations, usually when the eldest son was twenty-one or on his marriage, and contributed to proper estate planning. Land, the best investment and safest way to hold capital, had to be protected from potential wastrels. Although not finally sanctioned until 1697, *Duncombe v Duncombe*, by 1680 it was the usual form of marriage settlement or pre nuptial settlement. It worked better than a will which was usually a hurried deathbed affair, and though limited to three generations it had the capability of being continued for ever, as it could be renewed when the last named person, the tenant in tail, came of age. While it was possible for the heir to refuse to resettle, in practice none of them did, as they were left, deliberately, without income until they settled. Its main importance was that it made a landowner feel he was a guardian for life of his estates, with a duty to pass on an improved and intact estate. But to a man set in his ways like Edward Clarke senior, it must have seemed alarmingly modern, and as his health failed the new position of his son worried him.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford May 24th 1675

Dear Cous:

I was at Chipley according to my promise, and found your father yielding to his distemper. and shed much discontent and you must bee the object of it, and all your concern rould in his discontented mind, I knew not how better to ease him for the present, and setle him for the future, then to sticke at the matter of your profession, and injoyn with him that it is your best way to take lodgings for your lady near the Temple, keep to the businesse of the law hee sayes conversation is the life of studdy, that of an idle hand comes to noe good, and with half a dozen more old sawes and proverbs hee is confirm'd in the opinion which I gave a helping hand to, that unles you follow your calling with effect, you must bee a beggar in a very few yeares, then againe he relapst into the old business of your keeping house at Chipley, which I told him you ought and was willing to doe as in duty bound; but upon consideration of the aforsd matter of a profession and that journys are chargeable, losse of time irrevocable and your conversation with students soe considerable as aforsd wee came to this conclusion, and I am orderd to tell you tis his comands that you setle yourselfe to your calling and your lady in London; I am sure for your part, you have noe other way to live a quiet hour, distance being the only expedient to free your selfe from the ill effects of his mistaken care, twas troublesome to mee to hear him tell the story of your late reception at Chipley with your lady, how much he was afflicted and how passionate he was, that you did not give him then assurance of sticking to your profession (as he calld it) which he expected from you, but above all to hear him discours over again the matter of the settlement of his estate, and repent his kindness, is I must confess a trouble beyond my patience, and how you can avoyd

this, and bee in the west of England is worth your consideration, as to the settling the remainder on the family of Sandford,* I begin to despayr of it.

*Until Edward had an heir, the Clarkes at Sandford would inherit Chipley

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Sutton the 20 August 1675

My deare Husband,

I returne you my hearty thanks for sending Hugh to me that I might heare how you have done ever since you left Sutton and I am extremely sorry to understand by him and your letter that you have bin soe much troubled with the paine of the head but I hope you will be perfectly recovered at your returne which may be sooner than the time you have opoynted for I cannot possibly live any longer without the sight of him that is Most Deare to me and thearefore pray make all the hast you can to dispatch you buisness; give me leave to tell you that there is no Hors to be got that is fit for your use but I heare that there is a very great hors faire at Glastonbury about a fortnight hence wheare you can hardly miss of one to serve your accasions; I wish I could know your mind concerning the hors thear but that is impossible and thearefor I must content myself till I see you and in the meantime I subscribe myselfe my dear Neddy your affectionate wife and faithfull friend Mary Clarke

I am just going to bead and I wish I had your pickter to pin at my beadshead till I could have the substance

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Harptrey Sep the 11th 1675

My deare

I made use of this oportunity only to lett you know that wee are all well heare att Harptrey wheare I thought to have bin very merry but now I finde all the company that was most plesent to me heareto foure is now nothing without you and thearefore if you have any regard for your frends and concerns in these parts pray lett me see you in some short time, your store hors is worse lame then ever, and we have sent to sevarall farriers about him and they all judge his shoulder is out of joynt and when he will be well God knowes; they all heare present you with theyr service and desire you will give my duty and service to all theare and except the same your selfe from she that is Deare Neddy yours eternally Mary Clarke

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke Falstone December 15 75

Last night I received your other letter from Sutton with the survey of Brewar's yard and would have bin glad to have found it in leases or to grant them now though at some loss but I find the houses being so decayde none will take leases of them so that I am constrained to be at a charge to repaire and let them at what rates I can, besides some of them may be claimed by Mr Strachey brother* who is in Virginia so that I cannot secure those that would buy them.

* William Strachey [son of William who had married Elizabeth nee Cross], came back to England from Virginia in 1676 to try to win the title to some valuable property in Brewers yard St Margarets Westminster, left by his father to his half brother John, and now kept by Jane for her son. They tried to come to an agreement in 3 May 1677 but by Jan 13 1678 there was a suit in Chancery C7/330/4 which William won in 1681.

Edward was kept continually busy looking after the interests of his family and their relations, carrying out any commissions that needed to be attended to in London, and writing to them with the latest information about their property and law suits. In December 1675, for example, he wrote three times to Aunt Strachey about her property in Brewers Yard, Westminster, to Uncle Buckland about an annuity, to Mr Watts desiring his assistance to arrest one Jones, (who later fired a pistol at the bailiff who was trying to arrest him), bought a saddle for Mr Bluett, wrote nine times to his father, mainly about the quarrel with Bacon, (Mr Bacons cause against Edward Clarke senior was set down to be heard in Court before the Lord Chancellor on the 10 February 1675/6) but also about Mr Sanford and the River Tone not running in its ancient currentage and about a new waistcoat, three letters to Ursula, one to Aunt Buckland about her visit to London and one to William Treble asking him to use his endeavours to get some money from the tenants arrears at Chipley. He also had to cope with family shopping:

Things bought for my Aunt Strachey

<i>For 3 ells of ell-wide sasnett at</i>	
<i>8s p ell</i>	<i>01 04 00</i>
<i>for a shade of haire</i>	<i>00 02 00</i>
<i>for a hood and peake</i>	<i>00 05 00</i>
<i>for a payre of pendants</i>	<i>00 01 00</i>
<i>for a sute of white crape</i>	<i>00 07 06</i>
<i>for a sute of knotts</i>	<i>00 01 00</i>
<i>for making ye petticoate</i>	
<i>see the taylors byll</i>	<i>00 03 06</i>
<i>for a box</i>	<i>00 01 00</i>
	<i>2 14 00</i>
<i>due more from her for the interest of</i>	
<i>£500 from Christmas last</i>	<i>07 10 00</i>
<i>due by agreemt at Christmas last</i>	<i>10 00 00</i>
	<i>20 04 00</i>

Edward was also busy getting the best out of the properties acquired via Mary's inheritance; there was a petition in Chancery on 10 November 1675 about lands in West Ham, when W. Lingham, a friend of Samuel Jepp, had a grievance. In 1655 he had taken a 21 year lease of Jepp's very ruinous Moated House in West Ham, the rent of which was £31 p.a. and £20 allowed for repairs. *"I spent £600 on repairs but then had to live far away, so let to tenants who became insolvent. Jepp died leaving land to his infant daughter; her mother could do nothing and is dead."* The daughter had married Edward Clarke, said Lingham, *"who caused me to be arrested very unhandsomely for £400 debt at common law"*.

By 22 December 1675 Mary was pregnant, for when John Bluet wrote thanking Edward for the saddle he sent *"my service to your lady thats breeding you a baby"*. The birth of a baby would establish a new generation to inherit Chipley, but Mary's pregnancy was not easy, and at much the same time, Edward Clarke senior's health worsened. Little Gustavus Venner was growing up and presented his service to Nunkle and Aunt Jepp and sent them *"a kiss a peece for a New Years gift."*

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford Feb 19th 1675/76

Dear Cous:

I came lately from Chipley where I left my cous. your father strangely recovered in his memory and very well contented with the resolution of the Court of Chancery in his concern with Bacon, hee neither repines at his adversaries success, nor blames his friends for their endeavors, hee is intent now on nothing more then executing the conveyance and managing his tryall, at the Assize; and towards both these I find your company is expected at the Assize in Taunton, and truly I doe hartily wish that your ladys sickness will not keep you in London, nothing else (if you will take my opinion) ought to hinder you from coming into the country; I hope you will borrow a little time from the embraces of your lady to see your weake father and assist him in these (tho little matters) yet great concerns of his, your father pasionately desires your company for a fortnight or three weeks and tis not without his request I have writ soe earnestly, for which pray pardon your most affectionate kinsman and humble servant Wm Clarke

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 22 Febr 1675/76

Dear father,

The decretall order against you adj Bacon is not yett settled, Bacons agents here insisting to have the farms and mannor of Heatherstone expressed therein to bee conveyed to Bacon, though by their Byll they clayme nothing but the farme of Heatherston with the lands thereunto belonging, nor did not at the heareing nor ever untill now mention any thing more than the farme and therefore I shall continue my uttmost care to keep the word Mannor from being inserted in the order and that in a double respect, first my regard there bee some small rents and parcells of land that will not pass by the word farmes and by consiquence will remain upon tenancy, secondly that you may not at any time bee troubled to distingueish the lands that belong to the mannor of Bradford from those that belong to the mannor of Heatherston, for I feare if the word Mannor bee included in the conveyance to Bacon, he may give sometime or other a trouble by getting up a clayme to some part of the mannor of Bradford under colour that it is part of the mannor of Heatherston, but this I will take all the care imaginable to prevent; as for the conveyance you are to execute to Bacon, it is to be directed by Sir Miles Cooke a Master in Chancery, wch cannot be done in the countrey and therefore it will bee necessary for mee to continue of the place till that bee settled least there should be any arts used with the Master to corrupt him, wch I shall indeavour to prevent and will use all the interest that I can anywayes make my freinds or otherwise keepe the Master upright in the performance of what if referred to him, as for yr tryall against Bacon they are both in such a readynesse as you may proceed therein this Assizes if your thinke fitt, wch I presume will not bee convenient for you in regard of yr weakness, for I am certaine the concern of any business upon you will at this time be verie prejudiciall to yr health, wch ought to bee preferred and taken care of beyond all mannor of business whatsoever.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke 1 March 1675/6

I have acquainted my father with yr desires concerning bedding, and he is able to furnish you with a couple of beds and bolsters, and I think pillows, but cannot conveniently send you any blanketts or ruggs. I am very glad to hear my sister is pretty well again I pray God so to continue her and begg her to excuse

me for not writing to her, I hope she doth not think it is not for want of any respect to her, I shall be glad to hear whether she be quick with child and how long she hath been so.

Gussie presents his service to Uncle and Aunt and would fayne come along with the letter by the post but he is affraid it will raine.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 25th March 1676

I have sent you 2 feather bedd 2 bolsters and 2 pillows by Mr Powells waggon wch was to go for London yesterday and will be there about Wednesday or Thursday next. The white bed by our weights was 61 lb 1/2 and by Mr Powells it weighed but 60 lb the bolsters weighed 42 lb and by his weight but 37 lb, the pillows by our and his weights came alike to 56 lb so pray get somebody to get them weighed again and observe if it be any where newly found for feare they take out any feathers; he will not take less than three half pennys a lb for carriage wch is left to yr paymt there.

CHILDBIRTH

May 1676 - October 1677

Childbirth - Uncle Buckland not well - Mr Freke in the Tower - a great sorrow - family problems - a severe winter -

Baby Edward was born at 4.15 a.m. on 6 May 1676 at Hatton Garden. Following the contemporary rituals Mary would have invited female relatives to be present; the lying-in chamber would have had all daylight excluded and been lit day and night by candles. A midwife would have helped her give birth, strengthening her with caudles, a hot drink of wine and gruel sweetened with sugar, and swaddled the baby before he was given to her by the women participants - the "gossips" or god-sibbs.

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 13 May 1676

Good cosen,

The happy tydings of my cosens being safely delivered of a sonne had been congratulated ere this, but that I waited for the return of my wife home for a farther confirmation thereof, and sent my daughter's coach for them on Thursday according to appointment to attend them at Bath but it seemes it hath pleased God, who disposeth all things, since to exercise my cosens patience, knowing how to bring good out of evill; and I am very glad that providence soe ordered it, that my cosen had her friends about her in such a tyme of need. You have done me an honour in nominating me a God father to yr first borne, I pray God graunt him his blessinge and that hee may live to yrs and his mothers comforte; my infirmityes minde me of my change, having been lately under the sore visitation of the winde cholick, wch hath not a little shaken my decayed cottage; I have given a hinte thereof to my wife least it should be represented worse unto her by some other hand; I blesse God the sharpest paynes have left me for some dayes, and I have used remedyes with success. I shall but add my respect to yr selfe and my cosen, wishing you both all happiness in yr sonne, wth my affectiones to yr selves and my thanks for yr kindnes towards us concludes this, Yr affectionate uncle Jo: Buckland

Edward Clarke to John Buckland London 15 May 1676

Honrd Uncle

Being desirous to lett slipp noe opportunity of tendring my services to you, I take the liberty at this time to interrupt the better entertainments you will receive from my aunt and my cozen Blewett to which my wife and I are infinitely obleiged for their good company but more particularly for their stay with us in the time of our greatest trouble, when nothing was nor could be soe much comfort to us as their presence, the kindness of which action as well as all yr favors to me, I shall never forgett nor never have opportunityes to requite, but by my constant service of you and them will indeavor to manifest that neither of you have bestowed yr freindshipp on one that is insensible or ungratefull; as for newes here is none publique worth yr knowlidge save only that his Majesty orders strict inquiry after the author of a scandelouse and traterouse lampoone lately come abroade, which allready discovered to have passed through the hands of severall gents and other, and one Mr Freake* a gentleman of the Middle Temple being impeached, and refusing to discover from whom he had

it, was on Fryday last committed to ye Towere where hee is still a prisoner; what more will be done in it noe man knows; Sr the residue of the £1000 wherewith the estate settled by my father on me and my wife is charged was paid on ye 5th instant to my father by my order, and I must desire you when you are at Holcombe to request my father to indorse his receipt on settlement for this as well as the former 500 that soe the settlement may appear on all occations to be dischargd of the £1000; I have presumed to write a form of the receipt in the bottom of my letter, wch when tendred to my father I suppose he will sett his hand to it.

*John Freke of Winterbourne Stickland, Dorset - this is the first mention of Edward's lifelong friend, a fellow lawyer of financial and political shrewdness and a member of the Earl of Shaftesbury's inner circle, though not a conspirator. The proceedings against him failed through lack of evidence.

Edward Clarke senior to Edward Clarke 17 May 1676

Sonne

I recd yr letter and am very glad to hear that my daughter is somewhat better, I pray God to bless you and her and yr child and incorage strength and continue your child well.

Edward must have by now been known to Lord Shaftesbury's household, for on 5 June Thomas Stringer, an attorney and secretary to Shaftesbury, told Locke that Mary had a son and "*methinks looks prettily for a mother*".

John Buckland to Edward Clarke Bath 14 June 1676

Good cosen

Being at this place to make tryall of the Bath waters, and neare the Post house and at liberty in the afternoone, when the Dr hath done with me, to salute my freinds, I could doe noe lesse than greet you hence, hoping these lines may finde you and my cosen, wth the little one, in good health. I hope to have been able to give you an accompt of returns of money for you, but trade of cloath and stockins being dead, returns are soe too, espeshally towards St James tyde, when the Londoner vent soe much wors in these parts; I came from home on Monday and God willinge intende to bee there again on Satturday. All our news here of contrivance to burne cittyes and townes proves false.

Edward Clarke to Ursula Venner London ye 15th June 1676

Deare sister,

I received yrs and Wm Trebles letters by the last post wch brought mee the sad tydings of my fathers relaps into his former condition of sickness, the knowlidge whereof hath been and is the greatest trouble in ye world to mee, being truly sensible of the great danger thereof, from which I beseech God to preserve him, and by giveing a blessing to ye meanes prescribed, restore him to his former health to the accomplishment whereof that there may be nothing omitted which the art of man can doe for him, I do most earnestly desire you forthwith to get Doctor Jarvis to state his condition and send it up to me by ye next post that I may take the advise of the best phisitions here, and return you back an account with ye first opportunity, without wch should my father o otherwise than well it would be a great augmentation of my grief and sorrow, and in the speedy and carefull performance of this I presume I shall bee much more serviceable to my father than if I were at present with him, and tis this

which is and shall bee the only motive of my stay here untill I have a perfect and full account from you of his condition, though my fathers business with Bacon in ye circumstances that it now stands does verie much require my presence here for some time whereof you would be the better able to judge should I acquaint you with what ye Ld Chancellor yesterday did for him, but my heart is too full of trouble at this time to give you a particular account of that, and shall defer it untill I see you and in ye meantime Mr Seaman and I will use our uttmost care and endeavours to hinder Bacon from what he so furiously and by sinister means and foull practises imaginable drives att.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley June 16 at 3 o'clock in the morning

Yesterday my father took a potion by Doctor Dykes* direction wch wrought well with him and give him sixteene stooles he is very weake and I cannot yet get the doctor to him but I find by the apothecary that if this doth well with him he intends to be here Tuesday next.

My father hath slept about 3 houres since I wrote this and I fynd him to be pretty comfortable and speakes much better.

* Thomas Dyke 1613 - 1689, matriculated St Mary Hall Oxford 1631, Doctor of Medicine 1642, to whom there is a memorial in St Mary Kingston, Taunton.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 19th June 1676

Dear bro

I recd yr letters to my father and me by the last post, but did not show it to him according to yr desires, he being in such a condition that we dare not let him know anything that shall give him the least trouble and I think he expects you here as soone as you can with convenience, I told him of yr sorrow and that yr stay was only to get the best advice for him but he is extream melancholy and troubled at every little thing, and hath little or no stomach to his meate. I have not been in my bed this sennight.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 24th June 1676

My father is something better Thursday last he took three pynts of --- water wch did work with him till after we had given him a glyster* yesterday he took five pyntes of it wch wrought with him, I beleive, 10 or 12 tymes and he intends to take it again today. The oyle of scorpions is good to annoynt yr little boys shoulder between the swelling and the body and so likewise about his knees and thighs that it may not enter into the body any farther it must be annoynted just above the swellings.

*glyster - an enema usually administered with a metal syringe or animal bladder

This letter crossed with one written by Edward on 24 June 1676 to Ursula saying that the baby continued very ill, and on the 27th, having written of "*my child's desperate condition*", he had to add a postscript saying that little Edward had died.

Edward Clarke to Elizabeth Buckland 29 June 1676

A whole masse of blood being vitiated by a waterish humour wch they attributed to his being borne before his time and all they could doe could not

anywayes expel the water, my poor wife being under so great a sorrow for his loss I am forced to spend my whole time in endeavouring to comfort her.

Eliza Buckland to Edward Clarke July the 4th 1676

Your lines mett with a sadd reception bringing us the tydings of the death of your deare little one, truly I am very sencible what a wound such a dispensation makes in the heart of a parent, myselfe haveing felt the smart soe lately, but God who is rich in mercy has not left us comfortles in that perticular, haveing promised to be one God and the God of our seed, soe that we may confidently, yea and joyfully, waite for and expect the performance thereof, which cannot be made soe manifest in this world but is reserved for the other where we shall rejoyce to see ours make up the heavenly quier; let this, deare cousen, comfort our hearts, we shall goe to them they cannot returne to us, and let us learne to love the world the less from whence they are taken, and heaven the more whither they are gone before us.

My husband being ill commands me to give you his respects and is very sorry for your loss.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke July the 7 1676

Cosen Clarke

I received your letter and doe condole your losse which I know by sad experience to be a great trouble but when I consider the condition the pore babe was in and the unlikelines for him to escape out of it, it gives me hopes that both my neece and you will be the better sattisfied that it pleased God to take him before he had longe suffered under it. It is not for me to give you any directions how to submit your selves to the will of God for I know you are both wise enough to consider that it was not your own but a lone and he that gave it you could not be limmited at what time to call for it again, and will no dought if you submit make up your loss againe.

Thomas Stringer to Locke

8 July 1676

Mr Clarke and his lady in Hatton Garden are very well, but very lately buried their young son, which hath been a great trouble to them, and she was the more unwilling to part with him because it caused her so much payne and difficulty to bring him into the world.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 8th July 1676

My cozen Cuffe is very importunate with my father to weare a suite of mourning for her brother to wch purpose she hath gotten this measure to be taken of him, and so my father desire you to get it made very fashionable for a man of his age, he is now by reason of his takeing of the water much thinner in body than hereto fore, therefore desires you to take care that the taylor do turn it well in at every seam so as it may be much enlarged if there be occasion, pray send with it stocking shooes gloves and all other things for his mourning.

Edward Clarke to Eliza Buckland London ye 11th July 1676

Honrd Aunt

Yr kind letter of ye 4th instant came safe to my handes together with another for my wife, in both which you were pleased (as soe many demonstrations of yr

reall affection towards us) to make use of the most prevailing arguments imaginable to induce us patiently to submit to ye affliction it hath pleased God to lay on us and to teach us not to place our hearts too much on ye things of this world, the serious consideration of which have already in a great measure produced the wished for effects in us, and would certainly in a short time have placed us in our former state of contentment had not our sorrows been revived by the sad news wch those letters brought us of ye continuation of my uncles distemper without any amendment, the dismall consequences whereof have left noe small feares and trouble in our hearts, though our constant hopes that God in his abundant goodnesse and mercy to us and the whole countrey will yett spare him and blesse him with an addition of many yeares to his life wherein wee may learne to imitate him whose example for the service of his countrey, his integrity and justice to all persons, and his particular affection towards his relations is unparelled, for these and many other reasons in the interest of us all to pray for ye restoration of his health for the happy accomplishmt whereof the earnest and hearty prayers of yrs etc.

William Clarke to Mary Clarke Sandford Sept 13 1676

Madam

If this letter comes to your fayr hands to bee opened, I know it will find you troubled for want of your husbands company, who of all things in the world desires youres, I left him in great doubt whether he could without manifest breach of duty to his father (which noe man doth more idolize) arrive at the blessing of your embraces on Fryday next, the day this hopes to kisse your hands; if hee be soe unfortunate to bee imprisond longer at Chipley, I begge the favor of you to send the inclosed Bill as directed and to let your servant recieve the £50 due and pay it according to such directions as shall bee given you, by my brother of Wadham Colledge in Oxford and excuse this trouble from madam
Your most humble servant Willm Clarke

My wife and sister give their humble service to your lashipp

Anthony Clarke* to Edward Clarke Barford Sep 16

When I parted with my Br he promised to return to you by way of Bill of Exchange £50 and made me give him a general release wch he diliverd in to my sister Dorothys hand to be given to him upon yr receipt of the money. I have since seriously reflected on the Bill, and find I have no right in my Br James's estate in case he should dy before me. Therefore I have now given him an Acquittance wch is very fair on both hands i.e. a discharge of what money I have had of him, and why I should give him a release of all money that should be claimd on my Fathers will I do not apprehend, and give up my right in my Br Oglanders portion, wch I am told on all hands is my due. Therefore pray Sr send him a copy of this discharge by the next post, wch mentions the money and send me word what he says. I my selfe will write to him. When I have received yr letter I will direct you where to pay the money. I shall be in Oxford the 18th day . My love to yr Lady. I am yr most affectionate kinsman Anthony Clarke

* Anthony Clarke 1654? - 1689 was brother to William and son of Robert Clarke of Wembdon. He entered Wadham College in October 1671 and would achieve his M.A. in January 1677, having become a Fellow in 1676. In 1675 he was Moderator Novae Classis, in 1677 Moderator in Philosophy and in 1678 Humanity Lecturer. He resigned his Fellowship after becoming Rector of Enmore in 1679 and was Rector of Charlinch in 1681. He was buried at Luneham, Devon on 26 July 1689.

Anthony Clarke to Edward Clarke Wadh Sep 28

Dear Cosen

The lett wch you sent me was by mistake kept at the post house till last night so that I could not then advise you what to doe with the money not knowing whether you had then received it. Since therefore you have taken so much pains upon you as to write to my Bro as I desired you, I would have you keep the money in yr hands till you have an answer from him. I hope he will be so reasonable as to accept of that receipt without desireing a full discharge, wch he has from my Br James and (I hear) from my sister Dorothy. If you hear he has the former discharge in his hands, and will not part with it, then without any more ado I would have you send me the £50, seing then I shall be forced to trust his courtisy. I have this post writt to him. You may keep the Bill I sent you, and pay the money when occasion shall serve, I am sorry I should put you to this trouble. All the return at present I can make is to subscribe myself yr humble servant and most affectionate kinsman Antho Clarke
My service to yr Lady.

Anthony Clarke to Edward Clarke Oxon October 8 76

Dear Cozen!

By my brothers former love and kindness to his younger brs and sisters, I could guess no less than that he would have willingly accepted of so fair a discharge as I sent him. And since he is for silence, I think that way (as affairs stand) my best and so trust to his good nature and religion. I hear since he has forct a discharge from both the girls, wch I think does sufficiently demonstrate our rights to what he is so loth to confess. But that you might not partake of my misfortunes and be any more vexed with a business that does not concern you, I desire you to pay the £50 according to the note I sent you and send the discharge by the return of the post, for I have occasion for ye money. How I can requite you for yr care and trouble at present, I cannot imagine. You know the reward of being a Friend to the Fatherless. All you must expect is to be rewarded in the other world, for if things go on as they begin, I shall be but in a bad condition of being gratefull to any in this. But I hope noe can deprive me of the will of being thankfull to my benefactor, and subscribing myself yr affectionate kinsman and humble servant Antho Clarke

Know all men by these present that I Anthony Clark of the City of Oxford Gent do acknowledge to have received of my brother William Clark Esq of Sandford in the County of Somersett executor of the last will and testament of my father Robert Clarke Esq. decd the sum of two hundred pounds being given me on my fathers said will, and do hereby acquitt, exonerate and discharge him the said William Clarke his executors administrators and assignes of and from the said two hundred pounds given to me by my fathers will as aforesaid, in witness whereof I do here putt my hand and seal the 16th day of Sept Anno domini 1676

Signd seald and deliverd in the presence of John Tutt James Twogood

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 11 October 1676

Sir,

Hearing lately that you were gone for London I have taken this opportunity of saluting you and my cosen, accomptinge the tyme long since I hard of yr welfare.

My wife and I have had much adoe to hold up or heads by reason of or Infirmityes, yet for my own parte I am bound to blesse God for his mercy in staying that flux, wch had continued in my eare and in my head for 7 months together, it ceased on Sunday last, Our parts yeild nothing of newes, yr friends at Sutton Court and Sydcote were lately well; I can neither send to nor heare from my sister in Shropshire only I heare shee lately sent some letters that never came to the handes they were directed, and this caused me to put a trouble upon my cosen, by appointeing a freind in Bristoll, in case hee could not convey a letter from me to my sister thence, then to send it to London to my cosen, who I presume might find a conveyance there. Since the tyme draws on for the election of sheriffes, when I presume you will be enquiring about in the behalf of a neare relation now I desire you will doe me that favor to give me notice as soone as you can have intelligence who are upon the first list, what their names are for this county; it may concern a good freind of myne to know it in tyme.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 1st Jan 1676/7

I sent yesterday to Dr Dyke and he hath directed a vomit for my father wch he sayth is the only way to help him, but my father is altogether averse to the takeing of it all wch mightily troubles me doubting the effects of it and not knowing what is best to goad him to do, he complaines of his sickness and paine at his stomach, wch he imputes to his eating of a little plum-broth at Xmas eve haveing never had any appetite to eat anything since.

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 20 Jan 1676/77

Good cosen!

I recd yr lettr and wee are very glad to heare of the welfare of yrself and my cosen, and that you beare up soe well in this severe season, wch makes us old folkes to fly to corners. Should I give you an accompt of the greate and manifold distresses it putts multitudes to, both in citty and country in these parts, it would fill a volume soe many artificers and tradesmen sett still, being lockt up by the frost, that it occasions pittifull complaints espshally in townes, where their livelyhood depends upon manufacture. And in ye country, there is little employment for ye day labourer but only in ye barnes, all kept holliday soe long before Christmas, that now they are forced to keep fasting days for it. Our loudest outcry was for bread agst Xmas, our water mills being generally broken by ye ice, or frozen up by ye cold could not perform their office, leaving only a few short mills, wch went day and night otherwise some of our wealthyist householders must have had noe bread to theyr meate. The wind mills stood still for want of wind, and many sent corn 5 or 6 miles and ye millars that could grind had 100 bushells upon their handes at a time in their mills. But ye frost being mittigated, ye defect is now pretty well supplied again, only I beleive there is much adoe for water now, as there was for bread, our common wells in many parishes that never fayled in the memory of man, being quite dryed up, and the private wells, yielding water but slowly, soe as we are forced to have recourse to ye rivers, for brewing and washinge, and it is a difficult matter to be supplied with pott water wch takes up most of the housewifes tyme; and for ye husbandman it is his whole employment to drive his cattle to water, wch yet he cannot with safety performe, ye wayes being soe slippery and glassy, that neither man nor beast can well stand without falling.

Thomas Stringer to John Locke 13 July 1677

Mr Clerk and his Lady are at Tunbridge for her health, where the poore Lady hath been surprised with a miscarriage.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior Sutton Court 20th October 1677

Deare father,

Being disappointed in ye performance of my business at Wells upon Wensday last by its being putt off to their next Court day (wch is Munday) I shall not bee able to accomplish my business in these parts to goe hence soe soon as I intended, but if please God to blesse mee and my wife with health I shall not fayle of being in London on this day sennight, where I shall bee verie carefull of everything that relates to you and particularly to preserve you from being chosen Sheriff; in pursuance of yr directions I make bold to trouble you with these following things in relation to yr intended settlement on my cozen Clarke, viz: 1st that as yr draught is now penned, yr maine designe and intent therein (yr preserveing the estate in yr name and family) is lyable to be frustrated and made voyd by my cozen Clarkes son when hee comes of age, for as the settlement is now drawn, his sonne is Tennant in Tayle, whereby at his age of 21 yeares hee will bee impowered to dock ye intayle, to sell give or settle the estate on whomsoever hee pleaseth, and all the remainders over which should continue the Estate in yr name and family according to yr intent, will bee alltogether insignificant and fruitlesse, being thus subject to being annulled and rendred ineffectuall at ye wyll of yr Tennant in Tayle; the 2nd is that as the draught now stands my cozen Clarkes son will have a larger part of yr estate than I shall, for hee is thereby Tennant in Tayle of ye whole, and I am but tennant for life of a great part by which I shall be disabled to charge those lands with moneys for releife, in case I should by accident of warre or otherwise bee reduced to never soe greate necessity and want; for ye rest I must referr you to yr queries that are left with yr draught; which is all at present from him that will bee ready on all occasions to serve you to ye uttmost of his power, and to manifest himselfe in all things yr truly affectionate and obedient sonne Edw: Clarke

A note of my wifes things left at Sutton taken ye 20th of Octobr 1677

In ye spruce chest:

One green velvett side saddle with ye furniture thereunto belonging:

Two red petty coates: one cloath, one stuffe:*

Two white wrought petticoates:

Three wrought whittles: 2 greate ones: 1 little one

One knitt sheete:

Two wrought swathes:

One red-cloath Mantle:*

Fower wastcoates: 2 wrought: 2 plaine:*

One rideing savegard & hood

One mother of perle cupp and spoon:

One transparent baskett:

One little enamelled cabinett, with about five pounds in severall coyne choyse peices: one sylver thimble, one sylver fire pan, cizers

*little spoon, skimmer & sylver key in it:
One green velvett cabinett with drawers full
of little pictures & severall other pretty things
off value with eight rings whereof
three are dyamond rings, one with blew stones, ye rest
gold: and one little red sylk bagg with about
28 pounds in it of choyse peices of gold:
One in-laid cabinett with drawers full of
severall prety things, and about seven pound
in choyse peices of sylver
One pinked white lute string mantle
One garter with gold fringe:
Two painted paper boxes full of pretty things*

* Petticoats were not underclothes but a ground length skirt

* Mantle - a trailing ceremonial cloak.

* Waistcoat - a close fitting jacket bodice, more comfortable than stays and often worn at night for warmth.

POLITICS

October 1677 - March 1679/80

Tunbridge Wells - Anglo- Dutch treaty - another baby - death of Uncle Buckland - politics in Taunton - Popish Plot - Monmouth's western progress - William Clarke stands for Parliament - Edward Clarke's health fails - the monument in Nynehead Church



James Duke of York and Anne Duchess of York

During these years in London Edward was mingling with the up and coming men of his generation, and was particularly involved with people connected with the South-west of England. Through his wife he had met John Locke, and through him, Anthony Ashley Cooper. By now created Earl of Shaftesbury, Ashley Cooper was determined to ensure that James, Duke of York, the Roman Catholic heir to the throne, was "excluded" from the succession. Shaftesbury had hoped the King would divorce Catherine of Braganza and provide a new heir, but this the King refused to do. Being anti-Dutch, Shaftesbury preferred the claims of Monmouth (Charles II's illegitimate son) to those of Mary, James's Protestant daughter, who married William of Holland on 4 November 1677. Shaftesbury's Green Ribbon club, situated at the Kings Head Tavern opposite Inner Temple and west of Chancery Lane, was a meeting point for lawyers, poets, politicians and plotters.



Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury

Cousin William Clarke was a Shaftesbury man, and other "exclusionist" friends were Sir Walter Yonge, 3rd baronet,(1653 - 1731),of Colyton in Devon, MP for Honiton in 1679, and Richard Duke of Otterton, married to Yonge's sister Isabella. These two and Edward were known as Spa friends, for they would all go and take the waters at Tunbridge Wells together. Yonge was noticed as "honest" by Shaftesbury and was a member of the Green Ribbon club.

It was in 1606 that the 3rd Lord North had found himself suffering a lingering consumptive disorder and went to stay with Lord Bergavenny at Eridge; on his return journey he saw a strange scum in a stream which reminded him of the waters at Spa. He had a sample analysed, returned to drink it next year and recovered from his illness. Lord Bergavenny then got the consent of the Lord of the Manor of Rusthall, who owned the land, to clear the site, dig a well and improve the roads so that aristocratic visitors could get there; success was assured when Charles 1 and Henrietta Maria visited in 1630.

By 1632 Dr Rowzee's book instructed visitors that the waters should be drunk early in the day and on the spot, under medical direction, and emphasised the importance of walking to the well from the lodgings which grew up in Tunbridge and Rusthall, (still a pretty wooded place just outside the Wells and named after the rusty colour of the water).

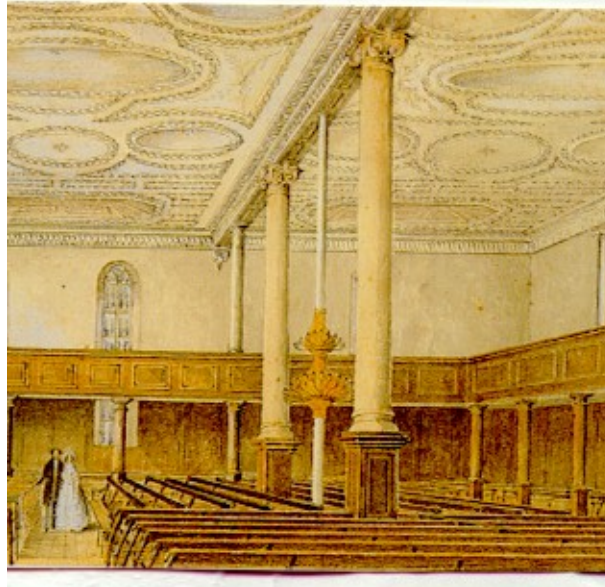
By mid-century a very select company met there between May and October for pleasure as well as health. There were shops selling toys, silver, china and wooden wear, coffee houses to visit, lottery and ninepins to play, a bowling green at Rusthall, and music in the morning at the well and in the evening for dancing. Spa etiquette was not yet ritualised and everyone, even the gentry, bought their provisions at the market where farmers' daughters came with cream, cherries, quails and wheatears (little songbirds).

Not until 1678 was there a church, and the Church of King Charles the Martyr was founded by subscriptions from the visitors. Amongst these were Edward Clarke (ten shillings), Richard Duke (five shillings) and John Freke (£5 5 6d).

These gatherings at Tunbridge of a circle critical of the Court foreshadowed the Whig summits held there in the 1690s.



Tunbridge Wells



The church of King Charles the Martyr

Edward was now receiving a regular income from the estate at Chipley. William Treble kept a rent book of "what rents and other sums of money have been received by me to ye use of Edward Clarke ye younger Esq". In 1678 the sum total of receipts (made up of sums like Nick Rugg - half years rent £3) came to £327 07 02 and disbursements were £257 12 05.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke **Chipley 15th April 1678**

I found my father upon his riseing to have such a weakness in his legges yt he hath not been able to go over the room without being held, yesterday he kept his bedd and sweated somewhat, but continues very weak.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke **Chipley April ye 21th 1678**

I am sorry to hear yt she is not well, but I hope her distemper will soone go off again, well knowing yt women in her condition are very subject to such accidents and hope there will be no danger of what you fear.

The people of Milverton have been so rude about pulling downe the rookes yt they have broken down the hedges and I know not how to remedy it but by sending you the names of some of the most sufficient of them to have a writt to arrest them if you think fitt.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London ye 23rd Aprill 1678

Deare father,

Ever since I arrived here I have diligently endeavoured for an opportunity to meet with Sr George Ent and Doctor Needham to gather to advise with them touching yr condition of health, which yesterday I had the happinesse of and after I had informed them of yr weaknesse and fayntnesse of yr stomach, ye decay of yr memory, the paynes in yr lymbes, ye passion which commonly overwhelms you could thinke of, they consulted together upon it, and at length concluded yr distemper to bee alltogether hypocandriacal and that ye passion which you are soe often overcome withall is occasioned cheifely by a malancholly wynd that suppresses yr spiritts, and leaves you for a time without strength to support you agst it; but I found them verie unwilling to prescribe anything of physick for you, unlesse you were in a place where they might see both you and yr operation of what they should prescribe for you, but however as the best and safest things they can thinke of for you, they doe advise you to forbear all things in yr dyett yt are looked upon to bee anything wyndy, and in all yr and the generall indisposition of yr body, with all the circumstances liquor that you drinke to make use of such wholesome spices as are esteemed good against wynde, and in yr broths to continue the use of opening herbs and now and then to eate some preserved orringe pyll, ringoe rootes, cittern or any other preserve that is expulsive of wynde, and by yr constant use of these ordinary things, with a continual care to voyd all things that are wyndy, they doe not question but you will receive greate benefitt butt above all these they advise you agst being malancholly alone, which they say is a great promoter of yr distemper, and likewise that you endeavour to be cheerfull and merry in yr injoyment of yr neighbors and freinds herein by degrees they are verie confident you will find great advantage; I allsoe gave them an account of what course Doctor Dykes hath taken with you, and they verie well approve of his bleeding you with leeches at yr emradds, and his purging of you, they likewise approve of his cordiall electuaries that hee gives you, supposing the designe of them to bee both cordiall and expulsive of wynde; and they say they have known many a man in a weaker and worse condition then you are to have been perfectly recoverd and restored to his former strength, and I hope ye Lord in his mercy hath the same blessing in store for you wch is the hearty prayer of yr truly affectionate and obedient sonne
Edw: Clarke

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 24 Apr 1678

Good cosen,

My next neighbor intending for London to morrow, I would not let slipp the oppertunity of letting you know that both yr ltrrs came safe to our hands, yr last mentioning the change of two Speakers in one day; I'm much wondred that the Parliamt hath another vacation soe soone; it is noe small trouble to hear that the Terms of the League between us and the Dutch are not ascertained, but some particulars in dispute. God grant all may end well now that or day of humiliation is solemnised possibly it will appear whether wee shall have warr in earnest or not.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 7 May 1678

Deare father,

Since the writeing of my last letter to you ye House of Commons have spent all their time in consideration of those Allyances which his Majestie hath made with Holland and the rest of ye confederates, but came to noe resolution thereon untill Saturday last, at wch time they voted, That ye Allyances made are not pursueant to ye Addresses of that House, nor any wayes consistent with ye goods or safety of this Kingdome, and after this they adjourned to Munday, when as soon as the House was Sate, his Majestie sent them this following message, viz:

Charles Rex

His Majestie haveing been acquainted with ye votes of ye House of ye 4th instant is verie much surpris'd both with ye matter and manner of them, but if his Majestie has had exception to neither, yett haveing asked the Advice of both ye Houses doth not thinke fitt to give any answeres to anything of that nature, till hee hath ye concurrant advise of both Houses; given at ye cort at White-Hall this 6th day of May 1678: upon reading of this message the house was much disordered but put off the debate of it for ye present, and went upon private businesse and adjourned to this day.

Mary Clarke to John Buckland London May ye 1678

Dear Unkle

I am much concerned to understand by my Aunts letter and the bearer theareof that your distemper continues on you but am in great hopes it is not soe much incresed as to hinder your intentions of a journey to London, to advise with the ablest phisiones heare, which I hope would prove much for your advantage and I am sure to the great sattisfacktions of all your frinds espeshily myselfe who should mightily rejoyce if my house could once entertain a relation whose company is soe much valleded and desired both by my husband and my selfe as yours is and I cannot but thinke if you would please to undertake the journey in my cozen Bluetts coach with short dayes journeys in the coule of the day you might be able to performe it, but of this you are the best judge and if you cannott be perswaded to it I pray God to bless the meanes that is now used for your recovery for which theare shall never be wanting the constant prayers of your truley affecttionate and oblidged neece and faithfull servant Mary Clarke

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley May ye 11th 1678

My father recd yr letter by ye last post, for wch he thanks you, but though he doth come down the chamber yet ye continues very weak and is forced to be ledd about by a strong man.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 14th May 1678

I wish you both health and her a good time and safe delivery. Gussie presents his service and thanks to you and my sister for his new cloaths of wch he is not a little proud, showing them to most yt come into ye house.

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 15 May 1678

Good cosen!

This bearer Tho Sargeant can by word of mouth satisfie you and my cosen how affairs stand here with us, wee are but in an indifferent state of health, much like to the state of publique affairs with you above, wch wee understand

are languishing and in a declining condition, soe as wee stand in great need of Gods helpe, whom we cannot expect to find propitious unto this nation, unless we really repent and amend our lives, and show some more evident signs of a publique reformation that a formall observation of a Day of humiliation, I am very sorry to hear upon all handes of the present difference between the K and Parl wch will sadden our freinds and rejoyce our enimyes, and is a sadd omen (espetially in this junction of tyme as affaires now stand) of grate dangers hanging over our heads. I heartily wish His Mtye would take the advice of his grand Council, as the only means under God to make himself and this nation happy; but by compareing the Comon Intelligence for London, I have cause to feare the contrary. God preserve the Ks life and direct him in his counsell for the good of christendom, if hee should miscarry, who knows wt confusion may ensue; by that time this bearer returnes I presume it will bee disposed whether peace or warr shall take place.

Edward Clarke to Eliza Buckland London ye 28th of May 1678

Honrd Aunt,

The relation given mee by Thomas Sargeant of my uncles declyneing condition hath been an occasion of noe small greafe and trouble to mee, wch hourelly augmented by ye consideration how great a misfortune the continuance of his sickness is to you and all other his freinds and relations; but I hope the events of his distemper will not prove soe fatall as you apprehend, but that the Lord will in mercy restore him to such a measure of strength as to inable him to undertake a journey to this place and personally to advise with the ablest physitions here whose learned indeavors may deserv success, but in case the contrary should happen and that ye Lord should thinke it too great a blessing for us any longer to injoye soe good a man amongst us, yett this would bee a great satisfaction to ye minds of all his friends that survive him that there was nothing omitted wch ye art of man could contrive for his recovery. And I heartyly assure you it would bee esteem'd noe small happynesse to me to entertaine my uncle and you here, or to have any opportunity to discharge my selfe from those many obligations laid on mee both by my uncle and yrselfe.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke 10 June 1678

Mr White owes my father a sum of money for wch Wm Holliar of Taunton (yt was at Taunton school with you) stands bound.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke June 1678

They doe all think yr mare to be with fole but yt shee may be rid some short journeys when you come home and my father will lend you his young mare for yr owne rideing and if my little horse wch is now in very good case, can do you any service for Christopher to ride, you may command it.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke June the 13th 1678

Worthy cousen

I know not how it is with my good cousen your wife and therfor shall not at present give her the trouble of my lines, for that I cannot be the convayer of any good tydings to you concerning my deare husband, who indeed grows worse every daye, this day he has bin seized with his old fitte of the chollicke which

torments him, he gives you and my good cousen his truest affections and begs your excuse for not returning you thanks for your last let under his owne hand but makes use of mine for that purposs, we should be glad to heare from you that my cousen had well over come her painfull hower which now I suppos drawes neare. My prayers shall be for a happy and joyfull time for her and with my true respects to her I conclud and will ever remaine Sr your really affectionate aunt Eliza Buckland

I begg the favor of you that when my taylor come to you, that you will paye him his bill which is £4 1s 6d

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 28 June 1678

My disordered spleen continues to molest me, without any successfull remedy as yet.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke Falstone July the 4 1678

Your letter doth imply a necessity of my coming to Londone and my inclynations I confess have bin very much bent that way if nothing of business had bin or hope of being partaker of part of that philisity which I sopose you have by this time in a little babe, my desires are very full with the hopes of hearing my neeces safe deliverance, which if she hath not allredy past I wish her as much ease as possable therein.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley ye 9th of July

My cozen Clarkes wife as I heare is safely brought a bedd, but whether of a boy or maide I cannot yet acquaint you.

A daughter was born to Mary and Edward at 3.45 p.m. on 13 July 1678 and christened Elizabeth. Edward immediately asked Aunt Frances Buckland to be godmother, telling her, *"my wife was in labor part of last night and this day but is now safely delivered"*. A mother would expect to spend a week or so "lying-in" in bed, and some time "upsitting" in a curtained room, with only female visitors. This would be followed by two or three weeks in the house when male relatives could call, and then the churching ceremony which brought the mother back into the world.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 17th July 1678

Dear Bro

My father and I recd yr letter by ye two last posts and we are all very glad to heare yt my sister is safely delivered of a child and do pray God to keep both her and the child well, the news of ye continuance whereof will be very comfortable to us; my father is indifferent well and remembers his true love to you and my sister and so do I my service wishing you much joy of yr young daughter, I rest yr lo sister Ursula Venner

I writ to you by ye last post to desire you would buy a sugar loaf to present it to young Lady Warr as from Gussie to make a gossips cupp*; and now I desire you will buy two more of ye best sugar to present them to my sister, one of them from me and ye other as from Gussie wch I hope she will accept of and what you lay out for ye same I will faythfully pay you.

* A sugar loaf was need for a "gossip's cup". It was a sign of social success to have a christening at home, even though it negated the purpose of a public admission to church. Sponsors were often chosen for their social importance.

John Buckland to Edward Clarke West Harptry 19 July 1678

Good cosen!

I must congratulate the happy newes in my letter from you, of my cosens beeing safely delivered of a daughter. The little one will shortly grow up to bee a pleasant play-fellow for you both. Yr letter came to my handes the last night concerning the Adjournment and the worthy acts past this session, they will help the printer to a little money and serve to fill the statute book, but will scarce bee worth to the publique the 1000th part of the price given for them; however the House of Comons have now good work for their money wither pece or warr remains yet doubtfull, I suppose a few dayes may determine it.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke July the 29th

Worthy cousen

I hope by this time my cousens health and strength are increased and the little one hopefully well I pray God give you the comfort of long injoying them, I should be glad if I could send you any desierable tydings from hence, but God is pleased as yet to deny us that mercy. The Doctr was heare on Wensday my Mrs brought him in her coach and he returned that night, his patients not admitting his longer staye soe that my husband proposes to goe to Bath on Tuesday and continue there 2 days only to take the docters full advice and direction, who for ought I could perceivethinks his condition doubtfull but suspended his judgment till farther consideration, but sayed he did not expect to have found him soe weake, that he could not now venture on the course he had intended, I shall waite for the effect of the next converse and pray that God will add his blessing to all meanes used for his recovery.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke July the 30th 1678

I receved your letter that brought the good newse of my neeces safe deliverance of a daughter and doe hartily wish the continuance of a good childbed to her and to you both as much comfort of the little babe as the world can afford. I want noe desires to bring me to the sight of soe pleasing an object, but seeing that happiness is denied me I shall not fail to wish the prosperity of it and the increase of those blessing to a good olde age. I wayt for my peoples coming to carry me home every day, the time limmited for my return being a weeke since past but methinks I reape soe much content in the enjoyment of my freinds that I could wish the time was now begining .

John Buckland to Edward Clarke 8 August 1678

I am glad to know that all is well with you, my cosen and her little one. The Dr finds my distemper stubborn and intractable, what he gives mee helps not at all, I cast up all I tooke when I was with him, and hee was forced at last to allow me an easy vomitt, (contrary to his first intentions) wch at last drained me of some of my ill humors. I find him very safe and carefull, and although I dispair of a cure, yet I hope I shall find some releife that my malady may be the more tollerable.

We are in daily expectation to hear of ye determination of peace or warr, all trade and commerce being at a stand.

In March 1678 Louis XIV and 160,000 took Ghent, defeating William of orange and threatening the whole of Flanders. Despite the Anglo-Dutch treaty of January 1678, England did not help William, (because Louis was subsidising Charles 11 to keep him from fighting), but by July Charles could not resist the pressure of the Commons and the people, and said England would enter the war if peace was not signed by 11 August. English troops helped William at the battle of Mons on 13 August, William saying afterwards that he had not heard of the treaty being signed on the 11th.



Prince William of Orange

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke **Chipley Aug ye 28th 1678**

Dear Bro

I will be carefull to send Crispin to wayte on you with horses at Bath on Tuesday next according to yr order and I desire you will buy for me a plaine shade of haire, and the book you mentioned was made by the same author yt set forthe ye booke intituled the Whole Duty of Man, and bring the same down with you. I think the book is called the Art of Contentmt; since my father took his physick he hath lost his stomach to his dyett and is much weaker than he was before. The rest here send their love to Mrs Ellen*.

* The first reference to Eleanor Pike, who stayed with the Clarkes for fifty years

In August 1678 came the sad news of Uncle Buckland's death; he was interred on 31 August at West Harptree.

* In his will he left his wife the messuage and demesne lands of the manor of West Harptree, manor of Martock, lands in Eastsoke, house and lands in Chew, tenements in Timsbury and Paulton. Everything else went to his daughter Elisabeth Bluet, who was executrix. He left Fox's Book of Martyrs to West Harptree church. and a large charitable bequest to the parish for apprenticing poor children. He desired that the "best Table Board in the Hall with fower Lyons on the Fower Leggs may remaine in the like manner". He asked his daughter "to have respect to such trusts committed to her, and the God of Heaven direct her in the preservation of my small family distracted by the death of my only son, as may lead most to His glory and their good".

Edward now began to get involved in local politics at Taunton, as did cousin William at Bridgewater. Taunton, "the sink of all rebellion in the West" was notorious for its hostility to the Stuarts ever since Blake's defence of the town in 1645 had contributed to Charles 1's defeat at Naseby, and dissent flourished. Since 1661 it had been represented in Parliament by Wyndham, a Presbyterian, and Sir William Portman, an Anglican. In 1669 the town was threatened with the loss of its assizes and in 1677 was given a new charter limited to Anglicans whereby the recorder and town clerk were removable by the Crown, and six magistrates had to be authorised by the Lord Chancellor to act as justices in the borough.

In September 1678 came the excitement of the Popish Plot. Titus Oates produced evidence of a Roman Catholic conspiracy to murder the King and install the Duke of York on the throne. On 28 September Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, leader of the Court party, brought up Oates' evidence at the Privy Council, and five Roman Catholic peers were named as leaders of the plot, whereby fanatics would murder Londoners, burn the city and assassinate the King. Charles 11 did not believe this and went on a trip to Newmarket.



Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey

On 12 October, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, who had taken Oates testimony, disappeared and on the 17 October was found dead on Primrose Hill, two patrons of the White House Inn at Chalk Farm having seen a sword, belt, stick and gloves lying by a hedge and then finding a body skewered by a sword in a ditch. The capital was hysterical with fear, a panic encouraged by the Whigs, and Shaftesbury and his mob marched shouting "No Popery". On 30 October the corpse of Sir Edmund made a state entry into London, laid out in the open street for two days as people marched by, and on 1 November he was buried in St Martins in the Fields, attended by a train of 1000 nobles, gentlemen and clergy. The autumn Parliament banished all Roman Catholic peers, an exclusion that lasted until the Victorian era.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke Sept the 16th

I am glad to understand by your Let that you have received the mony I returned to you by Mrs Strachey, it remains that I render you my most hartly thanks for all your love and care for me and my concernes I should be glad to heare that you resolved to see the country this next Assizes and my neece alsoe, for we apprehend you in noe little danger in that place if these troubles proceed, and being cheifly aimed at by these plotters, I pray God bring to nought all their wicked designs and once more deliver this sinfull nation form his and their enimys, we were alarmed this weeke that their was 40000 French landed at Weymouth in Aug and marching towards Lond for the rescuing the Lords and other prissoners their, but God be blessed twas a false lie, however it has done this good it has made the country to put themselves into a posture of defence.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke Oct the 5th 1678

Worthy cousen

I have received yours of the 5th instant wherby I find how my obligations multiply in that you are pleased to owne pittty and assist a poore miserable woman, in this my sorrowfull daye, as for my resolves in the present concerne, I shall with reference to your better judgment, consent to the haveing a commission in the country but privatly in my owne house, though I am told it must be done in the church, which I shall not admitt off, for that it is my resolution never to sett foott in that church wher my deare dearest husband lyes dead, the 2 ministers I pitch upon are Mr Evans and Mr Cowly, and I desier it may be sent downe with all the speed possible for that when my sonne returnes which will be about a fortnight hence, I intend God permitting me to hasten out of this most disconsolate place, I am againe advized to prove he will in chancery but I desier to know what convenience or inconvenience may be towards me or my daughter, if I should doe it that way or not, I see greater estates doe pass by will in this court, and I suppos that would be a much more chargable way then this, but when I have told you all I desier in this affaire, it to doe it the most privat and most seurest way, I shall then wholly refer the managment therof to you and most satisfactorily aquies in what ever you doe hearin, I am glad you found my cousen in soe hopefull a way of recovery, I pray God longe to continue you together and bless your little one I am, deare cousen, Your most oblidged aunt to serve you, Eliza Buckland

If Scotland Yard be inquisitine what condition I am left in, I desier you would extenuate it what you can, and in noe case augment it, but to my deare Mrs otherwais injoyning her silence.

Mr Moulton has bin heare and I have pd him and bespeake a gowne of him when he returnes againe, but my morning gowne of blacke mohaire I shall give you the trouble off, to be sent when my cousens health will permitt her to goe abroade to buy the other things, if they were aprons* sutable to ther vailes I desier one, deare cousen, and a paire of shoes but no stockings now as I desiered in my first letter being now provided , gloves* I would have and shall desier that the things for my neck may be very large, pray send an allamodd hood with the rest, My servis to you all.

* aprons were elegant accessories and gloves were always worn or carried out of doors, made of worsted, silk or leather.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke

Worthy cousen

I received the commission this day and this evng I was sworne and according to your direction have layed hold on the first oppertunity to returne it againe unto you ; the cobby of the will is alsoe fixed to it, but my desier is it may be sent downe againe when the probate comes for I supposs they need noe other then the originall to keepe, as for producing an Inventory I hope ther will be noe need, ther being none to claime any debt, nor is ther anythinge undischarged which is mentioned in the will all persons concerned being fully satisfyed, it remains that I render you my hearty thanks for all your care and trouble in my buisnes.

Edward Clarke to Mrs Betenson (landlady) 14 October 1678

Madam,

I was lately at yr lodgeings to have paid you the rent that I am now in arrears, and to have acquainted you with my intentions of leaveing yr house at Christmas next unlesse you and I can agree upon terms more reasonable then those that I am now under, haveing for about three yeares last past paid much more when other houses here in ye Garden of the same dimentions are lett for, or the house is fully worth; but being disappointed of meeting you there, I take the liberty to trouble you with these lynes, which are only to informe you, that I have now the refusall of severall houses of ye same biggness with yrs and some of them much more convenient at ye rent of thirty six pounds, and if you please to accept of that yearely rent for yrs, and supply mee with some conveniences wch now the house verie much wants, and noe other tennant will bee contented without, I shall continue in it but other wise not, and to this I desire yr immediate answare that I may be otherwise provided, and you procure a better tennant, which I am certaine will hardly bee gotten considering the many houses that now stand empty in this Garden and all places. Pray lett mee have an answare forthwith from you wch will bee an obligation upon Yr (humble servant) Edw Clarke



Moving Sir Edmund's body

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London ye 31st October 1678

Since ye writeing of my last letter to you the Parliamt have spent their whole time indeavoring to discover this damnable plott of ye papists, which was to distroye ye King and subvert ye governmt, and have by ye providence of God make a considerable progress in ye discovery thereof, and have committed five Lords and diverse other persons to ye Tower and to other prisons, being accused as contrivers and agents in ye sd plott agst whom I hope there will be such evidence proved as may fully convict them whereby they may bee brought to publique punishment to ye terror taken to preserve his Majesties person whome I pray God long to continue amongst us, and tis hope by all honest men that there will bee ye like care taken by ye Parliament, not only to make a full discovery of this hellish designe, but firmly to secure the Protestant religion as tis now established in England wch is the hearty prayer of E.C.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley 2nd Nov 1678

My father was for a day or two after his blooding very subject to ye passion of weeping, but we give him the best ordinary cordiall yt I could think of to make for him, I thank God yt yesterday and this morning he hath been somewhat better.

On the 27th day of October last it was 62 years since my father was baptised.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke 3rd Nov 1678

We all heartily pray God to preserve the King, and that the truth of this wicked plott may be discovered, and that the actors in it may be brought to punishment, whereby others may be deterred from the like, here is a great talk of it in the country but we putt little credit thereto more than what wee heard from you.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke Sutton November the 9th 1678

These few lines are to let you know that after a disconsolate journey I came safe home where I found my little boy weake but I bless God in a way to recover beyond all peopls expecktation - his condition was much worse then represented to me by my father Hodges letter and that which he called fears was great reallitys for the child was for some time ded the Thursday night before I came home which I hope was the very creses of the distemper for since that time his feavor hath lesned and this day he hath sat up a little and is as well as can be expected after soe great weakness I hope God will be pleased to let me have the injoyment of him as song as I live, but he is now a poore skelleton, and soe fretfull that poore childe he is a torment to himselfe .

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke Sutton November the 16 1678

Honred neece

I receivd your kinde letter and give you my most harty thanks for your good wishes to my poore boy who I bless god I found in a much better condishon than I could expect for indeed he was by the relation of all that ware about him restored from the very jaws of death for which mercey I cannot be enough thankfull to Almighty God, I hope he will quickly recover for he doth begin to pick up his crumbs prety handsomely. Maddam I beg the favour of you that the

little token that I left with Mrs Ellen may finde acceptance with you and that you will be soe kinde to me to lay it out in some small trifle that you think best for my little cousen, your favors have bin soe great and those that my couzen hath bin pleased to confer upon me, that I quite dispaire to attempt to gratifie either of you, and therefore thought a little mite to your little daughter would be more acceptable.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London ye 10th December 1678

Deare father

Since my last of ye 5th instant to you the House of Commons have brought in a Byll for ye preservation of the Protestant Religion, and for the more easy conviction of the Papists, and have sent five Members of their own house to the House of Lords in ye name of ye Commons of England to impeach the Lord Bellas the Lord Arundell of Warder, ye Lord Powis, ye Lord Peters and ye Lord Stafford of High Treason in being concerned in this horrid Plott, and have ordered a committee to draw up Articles of High Treason against them; but tis thought they will hardly come to tryall untill after Christmas.

Yesterday there was a Byll brought in for putting all ye Penall laws in execution agst the Papist, and afterwards both Houses of Parlmt attended his Matie with an Adresse for securing the most considerable Papists throughout the Kingdom by requireing sufficient suretyes for their good behaviour and if they refuse, then to imprison them; and resolved £180,000 be raysed for disbanding all ye forces raysed since September 1677 by an additionall land tax to commence from ye 24th November last at a Moyety of ye present tax for twelve months; but what they have this day done I cannot give you any account at this time and soe praying for ye increase of yr health and strength, I rest, yr truly affectionate and obedient sonne Edw Clarke

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Dec 12th 1678

Dear Bro

I recd yr letter by the last post and sent you one by the same and am truly grieved yt yr poor child continues still soe extreame ill, I pray God to help her and give to all grace to submitt or wills to his; but I have known severall children brought near to deaths door in breeding of tooth, yet it hath pleased God suddenly to restore them, and pray let her gums be rubbed and oiled as often as you can wch I hope will be a meanes to breake her gummes. I have not acquainted my father of yr childs illness but I thanke God he is much in the same condition he used to be and is helped down from his chamber into the parlor every day.

Edward Clarke to Edward Clarke senior London 26th December 1678

Deare father

Since my last letter to you the House of Commons have spent their time cheifly in taking further examinations touching this Horrid Plott, whereof it hath pleased God miraculously to make further discoveries to us, by bringing in one of those murtherers of that worthy Gent: Sr Edm Godfrey who was ye first Magistrate that publiquely appeared in the discovery of this Plott: to make a full discovery of ye rest of ye murtherers, and who they were hyred by to comitt that horrid fact, severall of which are allready apprehended, and I hope the rest will not escape, but will bee all brought to receive the punnismt due to

their villanyes, their designe being by ye murder of this gentleman (who had made greate discoveries of this Plott) to have putt a stoppe to any further proceeding or inquiry after it; the House of Commons have likewise impeached Thomas Earl of Danby Ld High Treasurer of England of High-Treason, and severall other high crymes and offences, the are as followeth, viz:

1st That hee hath Traiterously assumed to himselfe regall power in treating with forreigne ministers about matters of peace and warr without ye knowledge of ye King or ye secretaryes of state

2ndly that hee hath traiterously indeavored to subvert ye Governmt of this kingdome, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical way of governmt

3rdly that hee traiterously designing to alienate ye affections of his Majestyes good subjects from his royall person and governmt did negotiate a peace for ye French king upon termes verie disadvantageous to his majesty and this kingdome, for which hee did procure summes of money from ye french king ye better to cary on his treasonouse designs

4thly that he hath traiterously concealed after hee had notice ye late horid and bloody plott contrived by ye papists ags his Majestyes person and governmt and hath suppressed the evidence in ye discovery of it in favor of popery

5thly that hee hath wasted the Kings treasure in pensions and secrett services within these two yeares to the value of £231602

6thly that he hath by indirect meanes procured from articles that they have exhibited agst him are verie tedious, but ye heads of them his Majesty for himselfe diverse gifts and grants of inheritance of ye auncient revenues of ye crown, even contrary to Act of Parliament

This is all ye substance of ye articles exhibited agst him, and this is all that I have at present worth yr knowledge, and soe praying for ye increase of yr health and strength and wishing you a happy Xmas I rest yr truly affectionate and obedient sonne Edw Clarke

After the furore caused by the Popish Plot, the Duke of York was forced to withdraw from the King's Counsels; Shaftesbury and the Whigs were strongly opposed to excessive Court influence and therefore to the Court Party (nicknamed Tories) whose leader was Danby. A great administrator, he had been the prime mover of the Anglo-Dutch alliance and the marriage of Mary of York to the Prince of Orange in 1677. But he had been persuaded by Charles to negotiate the secret subsidy treaty with Louis XIV, and Shaftesbury exploited the anti-Catholic hysteria by having him impeached by the House of Commons for treasonable dealings with France and sent to the Tower for five years. Charles dissolved Parliament but the Whigs had a majority in the new Parliament of March 1679. James went to Brussels in exile; Shaftesbury introduced the first Exclusion Bill, which laid down that if the King died without issue, the Crown was to pass to the next Protestant in line; this would mean Mary, and her husband William. Shaftesbury was not really attracted to this idea, and felt that Monmouth, Charles's thirty year old illegitimate son, would prove an ideal puppet king. But Charles would not agree to anything which prevented the rightful successor inheriting, proroguing Parliament in May and dissolving it in July.



Charles 11 and courtiers on Horseguards parade, the Banqueting House and Holbein Gate behind.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke New Year's Day 1678

I am heartily sorry to heare that my deare cozen is so ill and alsoe that my sister is soe much disheartened and weaken'd thereby and pray God to restore and strengthen them and to send us all comfort. I have not been well these two or three days but I hope it was only a cold and by takeing of possetts and keeping myselfe warm I praise God it is pretty well worne off again. Good Bro: let not the child have too many medicines given it, but use ordinary meanes to prevent a fevor.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke Sutton January the 17th 1678/9

I am hartily sorry for the sickness of your prety babe whose little image hath made soe great impresshion in my thoughts that next to my owne, I never had soe much affection for any of that bignes that I ever saw, and should hartily bewaile the loss of her which I hope before now you have noe cause to feare, many children are brought very low with the paine of teeth and yet doe escape and live to men and women, but if God hath decreed otherwise for this I hope you and my neece will bare up in this affliction with the same christian patience as in former afflictions of like nature, for children you know are but lent to us, as other comforts are and therfor wee should arme our selves to part with them at their owners call. I doe really participate of your trouble and the more for that I have bin lately in the same concerne, and would willingly take the same advise I give you though I must strugle very much to bring my selfe to that submissive temper, mine have bin sick both the last weeke which put me in feare, but I bless

god now they are well againe only Jack continues in the same purging condition as came with his sickness.

On 13 January Sir Walter Yonge's wife and infant daughter died.

James Seaman to Edward Clarke 10 February 1678

Your sister told me she thought her father would dye because he went alone up into the chamber where your mother dyed (where he had not been since her death) and there lay down and rested on the bed.

Truly I think he is more rational but there is a great defect in his memory and utterance - he cannot find words to express his meaning.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke Feb 14th

My cousen wrote me the good tydings of the hopefull recovery of your little one, I pray God perfect it, they are tender and deare things and sitt neare the heart of a parent.

In the election of February 1678/9 William Clarke stood for Bridgwater, a town of 380 voters, but was unlucky. He unfortunately had fallen out with Lord Shaftesbury's bailiff over some land reclamation at Pawlett Caunt near Bridgwater which threatened William's land across the river, so his connection with Shaftesbury did not help him in this election,

William Clarke to Edward Clarke 14 February 1678/9

Dear Cous:

I was soe zealous for Sr ffra Role* upon my Ld Shaftesbury's comands that I have lost my election at Bridgwater this day for want of three voyces. Sr H Tyne* is chosen of all sides, Coll Stawell by the Capitoll Burgesses and Sr ffr Role by the comon I offered Sr ffra who appeared himself all my interest with the capitoll Burgesses being 10: of 22: but he stuck wholly to the other interest where hee had 42 voyces, and this day all is ended. I think never man met with more knaves in soe few men than I have done in this corporation beeing fayld of fine promises and fayr encouragement from all the Rest; it is verily believed that Sr Will: Portman will fayl of Taunton, and Sr Will Wyndham hath given offe Mr Prideaux and Mr John Trenchard will be chosen then---- if I have obligd the Earl of Shaftesbury in my relinquishing I have gaind more than if I had carried it much money will be spent in the contest above wch I cannot so well spare as Coll Stawell and Sr ffr Role.--

Your obliged kinsman and humble servant

Willm Clarke

* Sir Francis Rolle - he had visited Shaftesbury in the Tower and was marked "thrice worthy" on Shaftesbury's list. He was defeated at Bridgwater in 1679 and later returned for Hampshire where he had been MP in 1675. He was regarded as one of the leaders of the "disaffected party" in Somerset.

*Sir Halswell Tynte (1649 -1702)- classed as "doubtful" by Shaftesbury but it was the support of the country party that later got him into Parliament.

Sir William Portman did not fail at Taunton and was elected with John Trenchard, a man who had no conventional interests in the borough and depended for

his election on local activists. Portman had inherited his baronetcy as a baby in 1645 when his father died a prisoner of the Parliamentarians after the Battle of Naseby and the estates at Orchard Portman were sequestered. After the Restoration (and three prosperous if childless marriages) his fortunes revived and although opposed to Roman Catholicism he was a firm supporter of the King and the Church, and a great benefactor to Taunton.

Elizabeth Buckland to Edward Clarke March ye 21

Worthy cousen

Haveing by invitation spent these two dayes at Ninehead and sending to Chipley to know how your relations did, we had a returne very unsuitable to our desiars which was that your wife and child were both ill, and that therupon your intentions of coming into the country was prevented. I assure you this news did not a little disturbe me, but this after noone before we came away, Crispian brought over little Gust, and told us your sister had this morning recd a Let from you and ther was noe mention of any sicknes amongst you, which has a little composed my thoughts; I must now againe returne you thanks for your care and kindnes in putting me out of debt, I did it by Let already, but I perceive I have the ill happ to have my lets miscarry, both those I send and those I should receive, yet I shall continue to ventur while I am in this place which my sonne sayes shall be till after the Assizes, I confes that place will be most disconsolat to me, in the want of my dearest husband, my passion crosses my pen soe that I am forced to conclud with my deare love to your wife and little one, I am Sr Your truly affectionate aunt Eliz Buckland

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley Apr 13th 1679

This afternoon my cozen Seaman sent me word by Mr Haggley that he did understand that two gent: of the Grand Jury intended by presentment on this wise to get my father put into the Starr Chamber about this Rookery and that some of Milverton were ready to give evidence to them what spoyle the rooks did unto the countrey, I have reason to beleive that Wm Spreat is one of them, in report of Thursday last he took an occasion in a publick house at Wellington before many people highly to abuse my father in, and among other things said that if the Devill had him not already, he would have him for preserving of the Rookery. It is a great grief to me to see my father trampled on by such fellows.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley June ye 21th 1679

Doctor Dyke was here with my father on Wednesday last and then my father did, with a great deale of help, come down into the Hall unto him, wch he hath not done since now in about fortnight before and hath been but little out of his bedd more than while it hath been makeing. He behaved himself with the Dr much as he doth with all other people and I think never spake above 4 or 5 words to him all the while he was here, but by them the Dr apprehends him to be sensible as to himself, but cannot show or express it so to others, being so oppressed with ye melancholy, as the Dr called it, and also told mee yt he never saw any person in the like condition and was of opinion that he should never be able to recover him out of it, but he would do his best indevor for him as long as he lived, and yt he should not take it amiss but would be willing to consult with any able physitian about him, if wee desired it, but absolutely resolves not to

joyne with them in giveing directions, haveing been heretofore abused in his so doing.

I heare my sister is breeding again and should be glad to heare it confirmed by you and do wish her health and strength in her condition.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Chipley July ye 23th 1679

Here hath been of late severall persons of Taunton to see my father and to inquire for yr coming home, and by some word that I have heard I have reason to beleive that they have thought of offering you to be chosen for one of their burgesses. Mr T they say stands again but Sr William Portman hath refused it and for what reason know not. My father continues weak but I thank God he is very patient and says but little to any one all the day long.

Another election was going to be held in September 1679 and William wrote again trying to persuade Edward to stand for Taunton.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke 28 July 1679

Dear Cousine

Wee have now numbrd the People of Bridgewater and if wee may beleive theyr promises there are for Coll Stawell 310: for mee 225: for Sr Halswell Tyne 121 and for Sr ffr Role 103: and for Sr Jo Malett 000 soe that I have more than all the knights. I was Saturday at Taunton, and find that Mr Prydeaux hath given over there he is promisd at Lyme Sr ffr Role makes noe party being set upon Bridgewater Sr Jo Cutler nor Mr Sydefin have noe interest --- I should think that you by the strength of my Ld Sha: might put very fayr for it I durst not mention you without your order I have some ffreinds there you have a great many among them. Pray let me have you comands for I should bee gladd to doe something for you who have done soe much for mee.

Edward Clarke to John Trenchard? London ye 2nd August 1679 (draft)

Sr

Being credibly informed that Mr Prideaux stands at Lyme and yt there is noe person yett fixed upon to bee joynd with you to serve in this next Parlaimt for Taunton, and haveing received greate encouragemts from ye Earl of Shaftesbury my Noble freind and diverse considerable men of that place wch are pleased to thinke well of mee to stand there at ye next Election I thought my selfe obleiged to acquaint you with it, and soe farre to presume on or former acquaintance as to desire yr assistance in ye making an interest for mee, being well asured by ye experience ye Town have had of yr constant worthy behavior in ye last Parliamt, they will be wholly guided in their choyce by yr recommendation, and if you can thinke mee as deserveing of that, and as well qualified to serve ye towne as any other that is or may bee proposed to you, I hope you will not deny it mee espetially since I can with greate sincerity assure you that it is not any private ambition of my own but ye perswasion of freinds and ye earnest desire I have to serve faithfully ye publique that hath induced mee to offer my selfe thus to you, but if you are allredy ingaged for any person that you thinke fitter to serve then myselfe, I desire this my request to you may bee kept private, being resolved not publicquely to appeare (notwithstanding all other encouragemts) without some

assurance of yr interest, but with greate satisfaction to acquiesse in seeing any other person chosen that you have an assurance of.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke August 6 1679

Dear Cous:

You put mee soe much in your Debt by outdoeing mee in ffreindshipp that I never enjoy soe much pleasure as when I am doeing you service and to this end I have endeavoured to know the true state of Taunton in relation to a new election: Mr Trenchard will certeinly bee chosen one of their members at theyr own Expense as long as he votes well wch I beleive will bee as long as hee lives, they will chose neither of the three Sr W P proposed to them for each one say they will serve him, not us, as beeing more beholding to him than to us for his election and for this reason Mr Trenchard will not propose you because hee can doe you noe good by it, but there is a way by my Ld Sh his interest to make you election as sure as Mr Trenchards, and that is this, Mr Prydeaux hath once (you know) been slighted by them, and his security at Lyme proves a mistake, now Sr if my Ld Sh will write to Mr Prydeaux in steed of Mr Trenchard desiring him to write to Mr John Hucker to make an interest for you, you need not spend 6d to bee chosen for setting aside all manner of equivocation they resolve to chose Mr Prydeaux or his ffreind, and beleive mee this is your safe way and there is noe other, as to my little concern at B those 240 who promised mee make noe scruple to get it under their hands or markes my man hath 195 already and hee soe far enough that I beleive before this letter come to you he'll have above 250, wee hear Sr ffr Role hath the promise of all the gentry of Hamshire to bee chosen their Knight of the shire wch if hee does not take, hee is ill advisd for hee will never bee chosen at B till people doe forgett that by his persecution the hundred of North Petherton are easd in their taxes, and those layd on that Burrough for whereas they usually payd but a 5th last ---and halfe, with a halfe a last before then a sixth Sr ffr Role hath causd them to pay one third with the hundred to all taxes, for that all rich men of the Burrough pay double what they did, and till men forgett this they will rather chose Sir Timber Temple or Sir Chimney Sweep than Sr ffr Role, and I wish some freind of his would let him know soe much.

Edward did not stand for Taunton and William did not succeed at Bridgewater; Sir John Cutler (Portman's father-in-law) and Trenchard were elected at Taunton, though three months later Prideaux petitioned and Cutler was unseated.

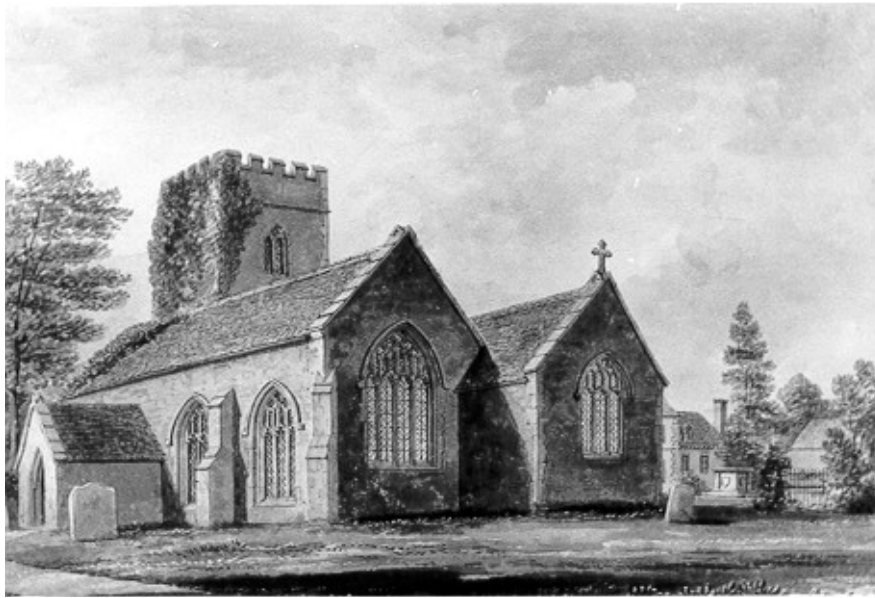
Edward Clarke senior died in September 1679 and in his will, which was proved on 29 October, he left lands to my dear and only son Edward, "*to my daughter Ursula Venner of whose care and kindness in my present weakness I am very sensible, £100 and to her son Gustavus £100 - to my daughter in law Mary Clarke as a token of affection £20 for a ring - to my kinsmen William Clarke Esq and James Clarke, gentleman, 20/- for rings*".

Mary gave birth to another daughter, Anne, on 12 November, but the baby died soon after. So the young couple, with their daughter Elizabeth, were now the centre of the family network, and upon Edward rested the responsibility of running the estates and confirming the family status in the eyes of the world.

One of the first things Edward did was to complete the monument to his father and step-mother in Nynehead church. At the south-east corner of the fourth aisle, it is a grand mural monument of stone, on the base of which are the effigies of a man and woman kneeling on a cushion, with a reading-stand and two books open before them, the man is in black, with a long flowing cloak; the woman is in black gown, the tail of which is tucked behind and tied to her waist. The sleeves are large, short and tied close round the arms above the elbow, with short ruffles below; she has a black hood tied close under her chin. The inscription says “*to the memory of Elizabeth, wife of Edward Clarke of Chipley Esq., eldest daughter and heir of William Lottisham Esq and Mary his wife who was daughter and co-heir of Edward Warre of Chipley Esq.. She died the 15th March 1667 aetat suae 42.*”



The monument to Edward and Elizabeth Clarke



Nynehead Church

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke **Chipley March ye 3rd 1679**

Dear bro

I recd yr letter by ye last post and according to yr order Wm hath copyed out ye verses on ye Monumt at Nynehead wch are as followeth viz:

Over my father's picture it is thus:

Blest soule,

*My sad attendance and these trophies show
The dear affection to yr worth I ow
Yr virtues bid me not approach yr throne
Unless with groane and ? yr loss I mourne
Wth grief in vaine lamenteth for withstand
None can ye force of ye Almightyes hand
The comfort left me is, I trust, to view
And shortly share eternall joyes with you.*

Under this is a space left to sett down ye tyme of my father's death.

Under my mother's picture it is thus viz:

*This happy soul exchanged by her decease
The lands of Warre unto the fields of peace,
Whether in triumph by her virtues led,
Grace had advanc'd and glory crown'd her head.
As sire and grandsire's heire, she here possest,
But knowing heaven's inheritance is best,
She parted hence to be a sacrifice
Whose ashes fall and spirit in flames does rise.
Blest soul!*

I thought best to acquaint you that her will be but three cows and one heifer and to know whether you will have any more bought; if my sister hath not

sent away her things, I desire she will buy for me a dozen of patty pans to bake small pyes in.

A note of my wifes gold taken 22 day of September 1679 which was all left at Holcombe in ye box of writings

1. *one parcel*
2. *8 pieces of 2 and twenty shillings and a piece of King James his coyne another parcel*
3. *Fower pieces more of King James his coyne of 20 shillings a piece This is in ye third parcel*
4. *Seven twenty shilling pieces of King Charles his coyne This is in ye fourth parcel*
5. *3 twenty shilling pieces This is in ye fifth parcel*
6. *? and pieces with the ship signet This is in ye sixth parcel*
7. *13 angel pieces of King James his coyne This is in ye seventh parcel*
8. *Three ? of King Charles his coyne and of King Henry the 8 This is in ye eighth parcel*
9. *Eleven guineas This is in ye ninth parcel*
10. *One 5 guinney 5 two and twenty shilling pieces of King James his coyne ten 20 shilling pieces of King Charles one piece with ye shipp signet, 4 guinney 2 half guinney and one 5 shilling piece pinn'd up in paper*

A note of all my plate both in London and ye country taken ye 14th of Octobr 1680:

Imps *One Salver; one bason -----In London*

One large tankard guilt

One other large tankard

One tanckard more wth a foote

One little tanckard guilt;

Two large cupps wth covers to them -whereof one in London

One little cupp with a cover

One plain cupp wth 2 handles

One large salt; 4 little salts

One large salt guilt wth a cover;

One little old-fashioned salt wth screws

One skillet wth a cover to it ---in London

Fower plates; fower porringers - one of ye plates in London

One cawdle cup, covered with a porringer ---in London

One sugar-box, and spoon ----in London

One sugar-caster

One pepper-caster

One mustard pott and spoon

Six new-fashioned spoons

Fower forkes

One dozen and halfe of plaine spoons

One Wessayle boole, tippd with sylver

Two stone muggs, tippd wth sylver

One standing sugar dish guilt

One nutt typpd and footed with sylver

One childs spoone

One sweet-meate spoon

One payre of large candlestickes with

snuffers and snuffe dish---in London
One tea-pott --- in London
One payre of chaffin -dishes
One sylver ladle
One sylver sucking bottle ---in London
One sylver inke-horn
One suite of fashionable plate
for a dressing table -----in London
One little sylver beaker---in London

BUILDING THE HOUSE

June 1680 - May 1685

Shaftesbury flees - Mary visits Shropshire - Ward's birth - building the new house - birth of Elizabeth - Rye House plot - Locke leaves for Holland - birth of Anne - Locke sends seeds for the garden and advice on child rearing - death of Charles 11 and accession of James 11

In mid-September 1679 Charles 11 had deprived the Duke of Monmouth of his commission as Captain-General and required him to go abroad, but he returned in February 1680. Locke by November 1679 was living in Lord Shaftesbury's house, and from 3 February to 8 April 1680 visited Somerset where Shaftesbury wrote to him at Sutton Court in March. Edward and his friends would have had opportunities to discuss his political views and theories of government. His later Treatises of Government (with the object of establishing "*the Throne of our great restorer, our present King William: to make good his title, in the consent of the people, and justifie to the World, the People of England, whose love of their just and natural rights, with their resolution to preserve them saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin*") were planned during the years 1679-83, and are therefore "not a rationalisation of revolution in need of defence, but a demand for a revolution yet to be brought about. *"

* English Revolution and John Locke's 2 Treatises of Government - Peter Laslett Cambridge Historical Journal vol 12 pp 40-55)

Even in a tiny village like Nynehead, events in foreign lands affected the inhabitants. In the Nynehead churchwardens accounts for January 1680 there is a list of the money collected "*towards the release and ransom of the Captives in Turkey*".

	£	s	d
<i>Imprimus John Sanford Esq and his Ladye</i>	2	4	0
<i>Nicholas Ayshford gent</i>		5	0
<i>Henry Pring and his wife</i>			3
<i>and servant maid</i>			1

After the death of his father, Edward and his wife devoted the next few years to increasing their family, widening their circle of friends and improving the estate at Chipley.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke Chipley June ye 9th 1680

My deare,

I hope these lynes will find you safely arrived at Sr Edw Actons, the knowlidge of wch will bee noe small comfort and satisfaction to me, as I am confident this will bee to you, espetically since it brings you this account that at my returne home Fryday night wch was about ye same time as you arrived at Harptrey, I found my deare little gyrl verie well, and I have reason to beleive that my deare child is allsoe better than shee was, for shee hath not had any of those faint sweates since I came home that shee was formerly troubled with and sleepes well and quietly and I hope God will give a blessing to ye things shee takes, and in his good time restore her to perfect health and strength. I shall only add my earnest and hearty desires to you to bee carefull of yr selfe, and to bee

cheerfull and merry in yr progresse and that you may return in safety to mee there shall never bee wanting ye constant and hearty prayers of yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw Clarke

My sister and all here present theire humble service to you and y r little daughter her duty, and hopes you will bring her home some goodee goodees.

A note of my expence in my journey to Shropshire

<i>Pd for a new shew and beare for the men and horses at Glassenbery</i>	<i>0 2 6</i>
<i>Gave amoung the maids at Harptrey</i>	<i>0 5 0</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge of our dinner at Bristoll</i>	<i>0 3 0</i>
<i>Pd for my sd horses haye and oates at Bristoll</i>	<i>0 3 0</i>
<i>Pd for a paire of black silke stokens</i>	<i>0 7 6</i>
<i>Pd for 2 cravatts to give the men</i>	<i>0 6 0</i>
<i>Pd for a crape shape and ruffells and little scarfe and shew strings</i>	<i>0 7 8</i>
<i>Pd Gorge Nickless for 8 new shewes and cureing the horses foot</i>	<i>0 5 0</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge for our selves and horses at Thornbery</i>	<i>0 12 6</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge for our selves and horses at Gloster</i>	<i>0 16 6</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge for our selves and horses att Worster</i>	<i>0 18 6</i>
<i>Pd for all the horses and the halfe charge for ourselves at Bridgnorth</i>	<i>0 5 6</i>
<i>Pd Gare my Ladyes wett nurse</i>	<i>0 2 6</i>
<i>Pd for toyes att Shrewsbery to give the children heare</i>	<i>0 2 8</i>
<i>Gave the gardner and the maide that showed the house at Appley</i>	<i>0 3 0</i>
<i>Pd John what he laide out for standing of the horses and a new shew for ye gelding Mr Clarke rode att Bridgwater and for mending ye poll peece theare and for 2 new shews and remounts att Aldenham and for my letter</i>	<i>0 4 7</i>
<i>Gave the servants att Aldenham</i>	<i>1 19 6</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge for our selves and horses att Worster</i>	<i>0 16 0</i>
<i>Pd for 2 yards of lase that I bought of the pedler att Aldenham</i>	<i>0 4 4</i>
<i>Pd ye halfe charge of our selves and horses att Worster</i>	<i>0 19 0</i>
	<i>9 4 3</i>
<i>Pd the halfe charge for our selves and horses att Sudbury</i>	<i>0 14 0</i>
<i>Suma totall</i>	<i>9 18 3</i>

The food supplied by Sir Edward and Lady Acton,* Mary's cousin, was lavish, as noted by Mary's memo. At Sr Ed Actons ye night we came in a brest of veale and a neck of mutton fryd with sundry sase, a neck of veale rosted and chickens rosted, a dish of pease a dish of silly pubs with a bason of strawbryes and creame in ye midst ye Sunday being ye next day we had a legg of mutton and a cupple of neates tounes in a dish with turnupes and carretts, a large peise of rost beefe and quarter of lambe a pigg rosted and a sallet, a large elle cut and fried a cupple of c---with sorrell soppes and goosberyes 13 tartes in a dish a dish of straberryes and a dish of cherryes, on Fryday dinner 3 large carpes a calves head rosted and laide upon y henge that was haished or minsed with savory sase and slices of bacon fryed and laide by tureen and the tounge sliced and laid between it allsoe, a shoulder of venison rosted and brest of mutton a --- of salmon and a dish of tartes at night a neck of veale rosted and a shoulder of mutton a dish of fryed artichokes and a cold quarter of lambe, and a dish of pease a dish or harts the next day a dish of stewed carpes a loyne of veale a cupple of rabbitts a dish of trouts fryed a dish of boyled artichokes a dish of cherryes at night a fillet of veale rosted fower rabetts and 6 chickens rosted and both put in a dish a quarter of lambe cold, a dish of sullibupes and a dish of tartes, the next day some of ye lett of veal and some of the shoulder stued and made into pottage with balles a hinder quarter of mutton rosted and a cupple of grene geese rosted a dish of fish fryed a dish pease a dish of frute the next day a midl peese of gammon boyled very well with good sase a brest of veale a very handsome dish of fish with halfe a dozen boyled trouts in the midle and severall other sorts of fish fryed and layed round it as plaise and soles a dish of boyled artichokes and frute att night a neck of veale rosted and a loyne of mutton a dish fryed fish the deares sweetbreads with ye liver and ye stones and the fat cutt with butter sase a dish of pease a dish goosberyes and creame

For dinner a Sunday a peese of beefe and a neates tounge with carrotts in a dish, a hench of vensen rosted a pigg rosted, a venson pasty a quarter of lambe some cherrys at night some sliced beefe a shoulder of venson rosted a cupple of rabetts a dish of pease, the next day a legg of mutton and 4 chickens with carretts and lettis boyled and a loyne of veale rosted a quarter of lambe rosted and cold a dish of peese a gole of sammon at night a necke of mutton and broath a brest of veale a loyne of mutton rosted a dish of peese the next day a dish of pottage with some of a shoulder of veale boyled in it a hench of venson rosted a cold venson pasty fower rabbetts rosted a dish of tartes att night a neck of veale rosted a brest of mutton rosted the cold pasty a cupple of rabbetts rosted a dish of tartes ye funerrall day a cold sirloyne of beefe a cold vension pasty a cold quarter of lambe a gammon of bacon and a cupple of dried tounes att night a neck of veale rosted, a shoulder and loyne of mutton rosted a dish of rabetts rosted a dish of peese a dish of tartes the next day a leg of mutton and carretts boyled a loyne of veale rosted rabbetts cold lambe and a gole of sammon; next day att Shrowsbery wheare Sir Edward treated us a dish of beanes and bacon a leg of mutton rosted and a loyne fryed in stakes and laide under in the same dish with savoury sawes a large elle boyled and cutt and very prety sawes made with pickled oysters and pickled cockles, a dish of fowle rosted there was 2 young duckes 2 young tourkeys and fower chickens a gole of sammon and a hole sammon pickled whole with a plate of pickled cokkles and a plate of butter on each side of the dish, and a stand with fine goosbery creame and all sorts of frute

the next day att home a peece of beefe boyled with carratts and a legg of mutton rosted, ye cold vension pasty ye cold gammon and tounes some coddling and cream att night I forgett what the next day for dinner a calves head rosted and stuffed with youlkes of eggs and the braines with small hearbs done as it used to be and ld under it in the same dish with raishers of baken fryed and the tounge slitt and led aboute it and over it with some slices of lemmon a chine of beefe rosted a loyne of veale rosted.

* Mary Walter had married Sir Edward on 8 December 1674

In the summer of 1680, Monmouth made a "western progress", in an area where non-conformists were anxious to exclude James, visiting members of the "country" party like Edmund Prideaux at Forde, Sir Walter Yonge at Colyton on 30 August and Richard Duke at Otterton on 31 August. Arch-Tory Colonel Stawell of Lowham thought the country opposition was planning to take over the militia from him and Colonel Phelips of Montacute.



Duke of Monmouth

Sadly sometime between June 1680 and June 1681, the first Elizabeth died, but the longed-for replacement for their dead son arrived at 3.30 p.m*. on 29 January

1680/81 and was again christened Edward, known always as Ward and sometimes as “Master”.

* Astrology was still thought by people to explain variations in health and John Evelyn for example always noted the exact times of birth.

However fond Edward was of his father's house, there is no doubt that it must have seemed old fashioned by the time of his father's death in 1679, particularly to a couple used to the fashionable areas of London. It was a home combined with a farm, and although a new parlour and parlour chamber had been added some time before, domestic life still carried on in the old ways, with innumerable beds in each room, no corridors so that rooms led directly into one another, probably privy shafts in the walls (as there is only one close stool mentioned in the inventory taken on 14 October 1679 by Francis Trott and John Croad), and little modern furniture added to the chests and trunks used for storage. The improvements, a very early example of classical style in Somerset, that his local rival John Sandford had made to Nynehead in 1675 must have been a source of envy, and Edward must also have felt that Mary had spent her youth in a far grander house than he had to offer her. To build a new house with all modern refinements would confirm their position in Somerset society and improve the estate for his heirs.



Nynehead Court



Nynhead Court

Edward must have been among the earliest of the country gentry to adopt the post Restoration court style, for houses like Belton (1685-87), Tring Park (built by Wren for Henry Guy, Gentleman of the Privy chamber and subsequently secretary of the Treasury) and Denham Place (1688) were all constructed later. One of Edward's closest friends, Sir Walter Yonge, was also planning to build, as plans had been drawn up for him by Robert Hooke, Surveyor in the City of London, in February 1677.

One of the main influences on the design of Restoration country houses was Sir Roger Pratt (1620 -85) whose rule was that the ground floor should be raised and approached by a flight of steps to add height and majesty to the house and improve the views, and that there should be a "*very good storey*" below to keep the servants from encumbering the upper parts of the building. This change in the social organisation of country houses was made possible as owners began to live in town for months at a time; fewer servants were employed, and they could have their meals in the kitchen, leaving the Hall to be used for ceremonial occasions.

A great staircase linked the two main floors but any back stairs served the whole height of the house. There were no longer privy shafts in the walls but chamber pots and close stools (kept in the servants' quarters till required) which required emptying; the family did not want to meet the servants engaged on this task, so back stairs became a necessity. Corridors enabled main rooms to be reached without going through other rooms. Owners now wished for privacy, and what had once been furniture, for example a locked writing desk, now became a room with a lockable door.

Personal servants were still found from among the sons and daughters of yeomen, and slept in rooms near the family, while lesser servants made do with mattresses in basements and attics. Because women earned less, they began to be employed more than men, as parlour or kitchen maids, and housekeepers were then needed to supervise them. Maids wore what they liked and changed situations frequently; they had occasional days off and friends could visit or be visited. Perquisites included presents at New Year and new clothes each year. "Chairwomen" were hired by the day if there were extra guests.

There was not necessarily an architect on site when a house was being built as craftsmen were well trained but Edward employed William Taylor; he was a member of the Carpenters Company in the city (where his father was Master in 1658) and Surveyor to Charles 11 and in 1671/72 had worked for Sir Robert Clayton, the wealthiest citizen in London and an associate of Shaftesbury. In 1678 he had remodelled Sir John Banks house in Kent, and as Locke had been tutor to Banks's son on a tour of Europe, he may have recommended Taylor to Edward. (It is also a possibility that Sandford had already employed Taylor at Nynehead., for as a City Merchant he would have known Clayton and Banks).

By January 1680/81 Articles of Agreement were drawn up between "*William Taylor of ye Parish of St Thomas Apostle London Carpenter,*" and Edward, agreeing that "*Wm Taylor together with a sufficient number of able workemen shall and will doe and pforme in and about a certaine messuage or mansion house and other appurtenances intended forthwith to bee built upon a certaine parcell of ground belonging to ye sd Edward Clarke situate in ye parish of Ninehead in ye county of Somersett in ye best most workemanlike and substantiall manner now used All and singular ye Carpenters, Ruffe-Masons, Free-masons, Briklayers and Plaisteres Worke wch shall bee needfull or necessary to bee done and performed*" and "*Wm Taylor and his workemen shall and will well and substantially and in ye best and most workemanlike manner hew, saw, double-frame and lay or rayse all ye floores and summers in ye second third and fowerth storyes in ye sd intended messuage or mansion house*" and that Edward "*shall and will over and besides ye several rates and prises before mentioned well and truly pay or cause to bee paid to the said Wm Taylor ye full suma of one hundred pounds for his particular care and paines in and about contriveing building finishing of ye sd House and out-houses thereunto belonging, that is to say, the suma of fifty pounds at ye laying of ye foundation of ye sd house, and fifty pounds more when ye sd house shall be covered in and finished as aforesd*". The first payment was completed on 17 February 1680/81 "*recd then by ye handes of my wife £4 of Mr Clarke and ten pounds more I recd of him in January last in all ye suma of fifty pounds being ye first suma payable to mee by ye Articles I say recd £50 by mee Will Taylor*". Edward, ever scrupulous about financial matters, annotated this "*if Mr Taylor gave mee any rect for ye £10 that was pd him in Janry, if hee did it must be redelivered to him*".



Chipley in the nineteenth century

Chipley was a large two range house, 100ft long on the north and south sides, and 96ft on east and west, both elegant and convenient. As Locke wrote later, *“I have never seen a house that I have like better and that in all respects I have thought so prudently built and suited to all purposes.”*

It had a basement, ground floor and first floor, plus four dormer buildings and four stacks of chimneys, and was built of brick (cool in summer, warm in winter) faced with white ashlar.* There was a *“great muddilan* cornish like that of St Brides steepell. The main front had a “great frontispiece according to the dorick order, with such carving as the order allows”, and there were frontispieces to the garden front and stable yard; these enabled the house to be used from all sides, as did the central hall. The outer door cases were six foot and twelve foot a pair, with pairs of double doors with a bar to slide into the walls. There were 28 windows with 300 lights, 11’ high on the ground floor and 10ft on the second, plus 16 Lutheran (lucarne) windows.* The main floor had 12 doors and door cases with mouldings at 8s a piece and 4 door cases with pairs of doors at 40s a piece. On the upper floor there were 20 doors and cases with mouldings at 8s a piece. On the third floor the truss to hang up the floors and carry the roof cost £10.*

*Ashlar - a smooth surface achieved by employing thin slabs of stone to face rubble or bricks; the blocks are squared and finely jointed in level courses. The rough shaping is done at the quarry but freemasons, working on the cut freestone, worked on site; some was finely carved for "dressing" - architraves, quoins etc. Stone had a social cachet and so was used even though transport from the quarries was difficult to arrange.

* Brackets when carrying the upper members of a cornice were termed modillions.

* lucarne - windows in a sloping roof

1680 was unusually early for a brick built house in Somerset* , but Edward’s contract with John Kingston brickmaker of Taunton, was signed in September 1680, Kingston covenanting to begin digging the earth a fortnight after Michaelmas, to start moulding in the spring and firing in May. He was paid 6d per thousand bricks for turning the earth, 3s per thousand for moulding and 18 pence when a thousand were burnt. All the bricks were made at Chipley, the contract showing that it involved “turning the clay”. This meant the topsoil was removed and the clay exposed to wet and frost, after which ashes were added; then it was moulded in wooden moulds, with

the upper surfaces of the brick sanded and left with the air circulating; when partially dry a vast number were removed to the clamp in which small flues are left in the lower levels and filled with dry wood. The clamp was surrounded by old bricks and plastered with clay, the fire was lighted at the mouth of the flues, which are closed when burning well. Twenty-five to thirty days later the bricks were burned and ready. The best were stock bricks, the next place bricks and the inferior, clinker. Edward had to provide 150 sacks of coal, the sand and “stand the loss of melting my brick”.

*Clifton Taylor cites Ven House, Milborne Port of 1698 as the first house of considerable size

Edward wrote various reminders to himself -” *memo: to end to him Saturday next to begin and digg ye earth according to ye Agreemt*”, *memo: the sand must bee brought in a little before ye moulding of ye brick*”, “*memo: I must make ye frame myselfe and must stand to ye losse of melting my brick if it runs*” and “*memo: there must bee about 150 sacks of coale a little before ye Clamm is to be kindled*”. By January fifty shillings had been paid for turning the earth for 100,000 thousand bricks, and in February another 50,000 had been contracted for.

The whole estate was involved in the building, as Edward was responsible for bringing all the necessary materials at his own cost to the building site. So a saw pit was dug and a lime kiln built in February. The foundations were dug in the winter and the brickmakers were regularly paid for bricks; Mr Taylor signed a receipt for payment of £50. In March 10,000 tyle stones arrived, costing 3s 6d per thousand; by April 1681 the ground had been cleared and Mr Skidmore was paid £12 for oven tyle stones for Mr Taylor's use and in June the stones were squared and pynned. In July ragg stones were brought by 3 horses, the carriage costing 3s 6d and 20,000 lasts were made, William Hall being paid to make lasts 3ft long at 17d per thousand and 4ft long at 20d per thousand, and Charles Granger being employed to saw elm wood into boards.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford April 15th 1681

Dear Cous:

The bearer hereof Ed Needs promiseth mee that hee will lay your Hall etc with polishd stone cheaper and better then Mr Musgrove offerd in behalfe of English, I have therefore sent him to you, I think him to bee very honest, and as able a workeman as any in this neybourhood.

By 23 April 1681 the foundations were in at Chipley and the walls of the lower storey up to the first (ground) floor were measured and described by Edward and Mr Taylor. There were three ways of paying for the work on a building - by day, by measure or by great.* Pratt and Wren preferred measures, Wren saying “*it gives me light on every particular, and tells me what to provide, but you must have an understanding trusty measurer*”.

* by great - a lump sum contract where the architect paid the contractors.

Although there are no plans or pictures of the interior it is possible to deduce what rooms there were from the measures, from the” carpenters proposalls” and from descriptions in the Clarke correspondence. Inside the house was a Great Hall 45’ x

32' with a floor of polished stone and two great windows with an architrave moulding a foot high. The Great Staircase of "*Walnut Tree Wood*" had 34 steps with fashionable rails and bannisters (costing £25) and there were 3 great pairs of back stairs and a little back stairs. All floors were of double framing 14 inches deep except the cellar floors which were single framing. The four trusses that hung up the floor over the Hall cost 50s a truss. There was a Little Hall with a room within it, Edward had a study and there was a drawing room.

On the first floor there was a long gallery overlooking the hall - these galleries usually ran through the middle of the house, generally facing East/West to get sun late morning and evening - and a nursery on the top floor above Mary's room. There were modern apartments - bedchambers with dressing room and closet, one of which was reserved for Locke's visits.

As much as the back stairs it is the high service basement that shows Chipley's modernity, for it had a workmens hall for the servants and groups of rooms for different needs - for food there was a kitchen, scullery, (for washing up) pastery, (with hot oven for baking and roasting) and a larder (probably dry for spices and wet for meat), for drink, a greate sellar, (for storing wine and probably under one of the Great rooms) strong beere sellar, 2 beer sellars, buttery for serving wine, butlers room, sellar stayre case, and service rooms like the labratory, mylke house and little room. To reduce smells the kitchen was vaulted. The chimneys had to be of convenient width "*without any tymbre neare ye funells of them and in suche manner as they may carry ye smoake cleare without any annoyance.*" Pratt had emphasised the need for running water and Chipley was well supplied; the "drayne" which brought water in was 163ft long, and a modern invention, one of Morland's forcing pumps was used.

. For the next few years, the house was both an excitement and a worry; already by June 1681 it was behind schedule, and Edward left Mary in town while he went up and down to Chipley on business and to look at the building work :

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke Chipley ye 7th June 1681

My deare

**I writt to you by ye last post but had then noe time to give you any accompt of my affayres touching my building, nor can I now give you soe good a one as I could wish, for indeed ye workemen have gone on but verie slowly by reason of mine and Mr Taylors absence soe long, but what they have done is extreemly well, and Mr Taylor promises to retrieve the time that is lost, and finish according to his contract, wch I heartily wish hee may bee able to perform, the dry season hath helped mee much in ye bringing in of my materialls, and I hope that in two month's time I shall have in all upon ye place, soe that I am now well assured they will not stay for anything on my part. As for all ye goods in ye house, it continues in ye same posture as you left it, all verie safe and well; and Ned continues verie weake but I beleive will not dye untill towards ye wynter. As for other news I have none but that Nell Watermans child was christened in greate pompe yesterday but what tis called I have not heared as yett; I pray God to continue yrs and our little boyes good health, and I desire you to give my service to Mr Stringer and his lady, to my Lady King and ye rest of my freinds and conclude what in reallity I am, yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband,
Edw Clarke**

Mr Sanford and his lady and my sister and ye rest of yr freinds here present their services to you.

There were many new theories about the improvement of lands and crops; the country was ceasing to be the product of a vernacular peasant culture and beginning to reflect aspects of the sophisticated mainstream of European civilisation; and it was not only a source of economic goods but of political influence too. John Evelyn at Sayes Court had set new standards for gardens, which were becoming an open and spacious scene of "*all terrestrial enjoyment*", and he had written about the need for new timber for the navy. After 1670 many books about horticulture were printed, and Edward with the influence of Wadham behind him looked forward to putting the new ideas into practice. Avenues of trees were being planted out into agricultural land, in the Dutch style, and apples were to be grown for cider. Tree lined walks, hedges, pools and fishponds featured in the new schemes and would soon be found at Chipley.

By May 1680 the wages book for ye estate of Edward Clarke of Chipley kept by William Treble shows that various workers being paid for work on the garden pond and the mill pond, and the normal days wage was one shilling a day.*

* This compared with the cost of 6d for 2 lemons and an orange at Christmas, or 6d for half a hundred oysters.

By 1681 Edward and Mary had moved their London lodgings from Hatton Garden to Salisbury Court, just off Fleet Street and to the east of the Temple, with a garden sloping down towards the Thames. Their landlady was Lady King, widow of Sir John King* (1639-77), Bencher and Treasurer of Inner Temple, K.C.

* King had been Attorney General to Duke of York, an affable and industrious man whose health had broken down under the strain of his large Chancery practise, his fees in 1674 being £4700. He had married Joyce, daughter and heiress of William Bennett of High Roding on 20 February 1666, and they had two sons and five daughters. He was buried in Temple church.

A receipt for Wednesday 8 June 1681 says "received then of Edward Clark Esq ye sum of twelve pounds being in full for dyett and lodgings for him and his family from 11 of May last to ye date here being 4 weeks. Recd by me Joyce King £12. Their relationship was one of friendship as well as business.*

*A later entry in Edward's account book records paying Lady King £54 for board and lodging, and then he adds "besides this there is due to my Lady for nurse and ye children being in town about a fortnight - for this my lady would not receive anything".



Sir John King



Salisbury Court

The main source of information for these years is the correspondence between the Clarkes and John Locke, who at this time was a fellow at Christ Church Oxford. While Edward helped him with business matters, the Clarkes consulted him on medical problems and asked for advice on bringing up their children. Locke's letters to them about the care of children formed the basis for his "Thoughts on Education", and was the masterplan for the upbringing of most English children for centuries after.

Also lodging at Lady King's was Damaris Cudworth,(18 Jan 1658- 20 April 1708) daughter of Ralph Cudworth* She had grown up in her father's Cambridge Platonist circle and was described by Mary as her "pretty overhead neighbour". It was at this time that Damaris's friendship with John Locke began, which after her marriage to Sir Francis Masham resulted in Locke's regarding their home at Oates in Essex as his own.

*Ralph Cudworth 1617 -1688 Cambridge theologian and philosopher . He was born in Somerset, the son of a chaplain to James 1, became Master of Clare Hall in 1644, Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1645, Master of Christ's College 1654 and was leader of the Cambridge Platonists and a Latitudinarian (i.e. a believer in rational theology .) His wife had been previously married to Thomas Andrewes, Lord Mayor of London, a republican knighted by Oliver Cromwell.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke Sanford ye 7th of September 1681

My deare heart,

I returned hither ye last night from Sutton and Sydcott and those parts, and am now going to Chipley. I found all well at Sutton, all yr old acquaintance thereabouts came to see mee and inquire after yr wellfare and presented their services to you, Mr Lyde continues ye same violent lover as ever, and had verie lately in a battle between my Aunt and him and some of her maides, like to have knock'd out ye braines of ye cookmaid but ye blow fortunately missing her head and falling on her arm, that only was hurt; I allsoe found my Uncle Watts and his old servants in good health, who were all verie glad to heare of yr wellfare, and my uncle was more kind to me now then ever hee was in his life, and ordered mee to draw a codicill to be annexed to his will, wherein he hath given you an additionall legacy of £300, which codicill I did accordingly draw up for him, and hee told mee that hee would forthwith joyne it to his will; all at Churchill present their services to you, and tis said here that my Coz Clarkes lady is with child againe but shee does not yet owne it, this is all at present more than my hearty prayers for yrs and my boyes good healths, and with my humble service to my lady and ye rest of my freinds, and my reall love to you I conclude, yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband, Edw Clarke

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford October 2 1681

Mrs Talcott would have us believe Maud is married to one Hopkins, lecturer* at Covent Garden; the news is too good (I fear) to be true.

* Lecturer - one of a class of preachers in the Church of England usually chosen by the parish and supported by voluntary contributions; their duties mainly consisted of giving afternoon or evening lectures.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford December 31 1681

I bless God my ague is gone, and my strength pretty well recovered, my wife is allsoe well recovered of her ague, my bro Anthony is about to marry Mrs Kate Howley without a great portion and not a very clear reputation and because I did advise him to looke before hee leapt he fell out with mee, sayd I never shewd myself like a bro or a freind and being aprovd by some of the company hee sayd hee had now more learning and he thought more wits then I had, and soe in anger left my house in anger, threatning to tell Mr Howley all I had sayd to deter him from marrying his daughter I appeal to you if I am now well rewarded, I beleive I shall loose all the money I have layd out for him, for he is beginning to keep house at Enmoor and must be in a goal within three years, this I thought good to let you know because hee has writt to lay his comands on you to expend some money for his first fruits and bee bound for more; I am provoked enough to leave him as poor as I found him, I know I could do it, I am your most obliged kinsman and humble servant W Clarke

Edward Clarke to Locke London 14th February 1681/82

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 mee to myself again, I shall use my best endeavours to make a more suteable return. In the meantime I begg this further favour to be informed where I may get the true spa-water* you advised mee to drink, and what quantity I shall take, that in case my unfortunate distemper continue, I may seek a remedy therein. My Lord

[Shaftesbury] and his Bayle were discharged yesterday with greate respect from the court,* which is all at present from Your verie troublesome but most truly affectionate and faithfull servant.

* Spa in the Spanish Netherlands

* The jury would not bring in a true bill.

Locke to Edward Clarke Ch Ch 16th Feb 81/2

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. But I hope I talk 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. He lives at the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane, and pray go to him in my name.

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.

Locke to Mary Clarke Ch Ch 7 May 1682

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 your self 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 your self 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.

Mary Clarke to Locke London 23rd May 1682

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 forsted to read the superscription ten times over before I could satisfye myself that I had not opened the letter that was desined for my pretty overhead neighbour which deserves them all, but on me you ought not to have throne away halfe soe 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 you thoughts to entertain you, for I do assure you, dear cozin, half a word att any time would make me seryouse in a journey to wait on you were it ten times so far to do you the least service, but now I hope to see you in towne wheare we will discorse of a journey to Tunbridge, that being more proper for this hott season, and leave the billet subject* till the next winter; and in the meanetime I must tell you tis a great peice of charity to lett us see you now we are under great malloncoley for the loss of Mrs Cudworth's company, who is lately gone to Cambridge.

* the supply of firewood

In August Mary, pregnant again, and Edward were staying at Rusthall, near Tunbridge; Ward, as was customary, was looked after by a nurse outside London. On 2 August Locke had written to Mary that he had worried that a visit to Tunbridge might inconvenience her as abundance of company had filled all the lodgings, but her reply had told him she had "*kept a chamber for me on purpose.*" Locke went to Tunbridge on the 8th, and next day went to Rusthall.

Damaris Cudworth to Locke 25 September 1682

I understand by a letter from Mrs Clarke yesterday that she does designe to have him (Little Master, i.e. Ward) home ere it be long.

On 25 October at 8 a.m. the second Elizabeth was born at Lady King's. Mary usually travelled to town for her confinements and then the babies were sent

outside London to Ditton into the care of a wetnurse, Nurse Trent, until they were weaned or supplanted by a new Clarke baby.

Edward Clarke to Locke

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 dayly hopes at the same time to give you an account of my wife's being safely delivered, which now I thanke God I can doe, she being yesterday well brought to bed with a girle, and is in as good a condition as can bee expected. But the childe is weake and feeds very little, so that we are at present under some difficulties in that particular; but I hope if the child bee not better by to-morrow my wife will be content to try it with a breast.

* The use of a wet nurse stopped rich women benefitting from the birth control effect of breast feeding, but the social climate was against breast feeding and anyway constant pregnancy was welcomed.

Locke to Edward Clarke

20 February 1682/3:

I have not seen a business go easier than that about little Miss's remove to Ditton. We were at Ditton, your Lady and I the day after you went. We found Master well and lusty, and so he continues. Miss will be sent for from Stanmore and put into (Nurse's) 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.



Outskirts of London - Chiswick in the 1670s

Locke to Edward Clarke **22 February 1682/83**

I write this in your closet, your Lady by me, and Miss in the cradle in the next room. She was sent for today and Nurse Edeling came with her though not sent for. The child is thriven since we saw it there, but yet your Lady is resolved to put it into Nurse Trent's hands tomorrow, who is also come to town, 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.

Between 1680-84 the Country party's hold on towns was destroyed by the Crown's cancellation of borough charters and replacement of corporations. At Taunton in the March 1681 Oxford Parliament election, Prideaux and Trenchard were elected unopposed, despite the mayor's efforts. Trenchard thanked the voters who "*did with such inflamed zeal, with such undaunted courage and resolution, endeavour the security of our religion, liberty and property against the accursed Popish faction who were the invaders of them*".

But the King now had enough money for three years from Louis XIV and could manage without a Parliament. There was a royalist reaction in the summer of 1681 and royalist mayors were installed in boroughs. Although Shaftesbury had been acquitted at a trial in November 1681, when the jury would not bring in a true bill, by September 1682 he was in hiding when Monmouth was arrested and he fled to Holland on 25 November. Before he left he conveyed to Edward Clarke and others property for his wife during his lifetime and for her sole use after his death, which occurred on 28 January 1682/83. For all his faults, the Habeas Corpus Act was the result of his efforts, and he hated persecution which divided the nation and upset commerce, which was his main interest and speciality.

Edward was gradually being drawn into dangerous affairs of state. At the end of March 1682/3 the whole family went down to Somerset, and were joined by Locke at Chipley during the summer, before they returned to London with Mary again an expectant mother. On 12 and 13 June Locke bought the manor of Bradford from Edward for £800 and re-demised the property to Edward in return for an annuity of £100 p.a.

1683 was a bad year for the Whigs, for in June they were suspected of proposing to kidnap the King and the Duke of York at Rye House, in Hertfordshire, on their return from Newmarket races. The King actually returned to Whitehall earlier than expected, but when the secrets of the plan came out, Essex, Russell and Algernon Sydney were arrested. Monmouth escaped to Holland.

* Russell was executed in Lincolns Inn Fields on Lord Howards information, Sidney was also executed and Essex cut his throat in the Tower.

Locke was under suspicion; his movements were watched and he realised he too must leave England. He turned to Edward for help with his papers and finances and on 22 August gave a Power of Attorney to Edward or his cousin Stratton. By 7 September 1683 he was in Amsterdam, having arranged a cypher to use in his correspondence: *Countess of Shaftesbury 1, 11, 21, 31*

Dr Thomas 2, 12, 22

Edward Clarke 3, 13

John Locke 4
Mr Tyrell 5
Mrs Mary Percivall 6
Mr Prince 7
Mr Pawling 8
R Smithsby 9
My cos Stratton 10

When Locke fled to Holland, he was fifty-one years old, and had had a mixed career as a diplomat for a few months, as an Oxford scholar and as a holder of humble government posts, but he blossomed there and made contact with English political exiles.

Locke to Edward Clarke 26th Aug 1683

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.

What news the Old Bailey affords from time to time I would gladly receive from you.*

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 consideration 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.

* the trial of Russell and four other Rye House plotters

Edward was one of the few to know about the manuscript of the "Two Treatises on Government." Locke's rooms in Christ Church were broken into and his books taken, but he may have disguised his "Two Treatises" as a tract, and entrusted it to Edward, for he asked him to send it to him in Holland on 21 November 1683.

Edward Clarke to William Treble 8 November 1683

Honest William,

I am glad the trees went safe down. Mr Wyne has given the liberty to take white thorn plants from his woods.

Your loving freind, Edward Clarke

Anne was born in London at 4.30 a.m. on 14 November 1683. It was a bitterly cold winter, with the Thames frozen and booths set up on the ice; a Blanket Fair was held on the Thames above London Bridge.



Frost Fair on the Thames near Temple stairs 1683

Locke to Edward Clarke 21 November 1683

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 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.

Locke to Mary Clarke early February 1683/84

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 you 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 you hand in. But pray do not mistake and conclude from hence that I shall expect a letter but once a year from you.

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 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, maks them not that I have observed weaker or more unhealthy men and women. I wish you and 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. 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 her) 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.

*Betty always remained Locke's favourite and she in return was fond of him and known in the family as his "wife".

Aunt Elizabeth Buckland's will was proved on 18 February 1683/84; although Edward was only 33 and Mary 28 years old, they had few relatives left older than themselves. Throughout this time the building was continuing at Chipley. In an undated reckoning by Mr Taylor, the first storey had cost £175 13 4d, the second £268 18 0d and the third £268 00 0d, the roof and chimneys and dormers had come to £250, the plasterer was paid £100 and his own time was put down as costing £150. The house was obviously a talking point for the neighbours.

Mary Burgess [housekeeper at this time to Mrs Bluett] to Mary Clarke March 16 83/84

Dearest Madam

I am very glad to heare yr little family is so well; heer is no news only the jorney to Harptry is deffered upon the account of the small pox being theyr I beleeve it will be at the time of yr comeing downe and then I hope we shall all meet theire and come downe together Mrs Bluet has oft deluded me with hopes of showing yt we may see all the roomes the house is very takeing but the walks and gardens sets me a longing for what ever proves prosperous and you must by consequence be maker of joy to her who is Madam yrs in sencerity M Burges

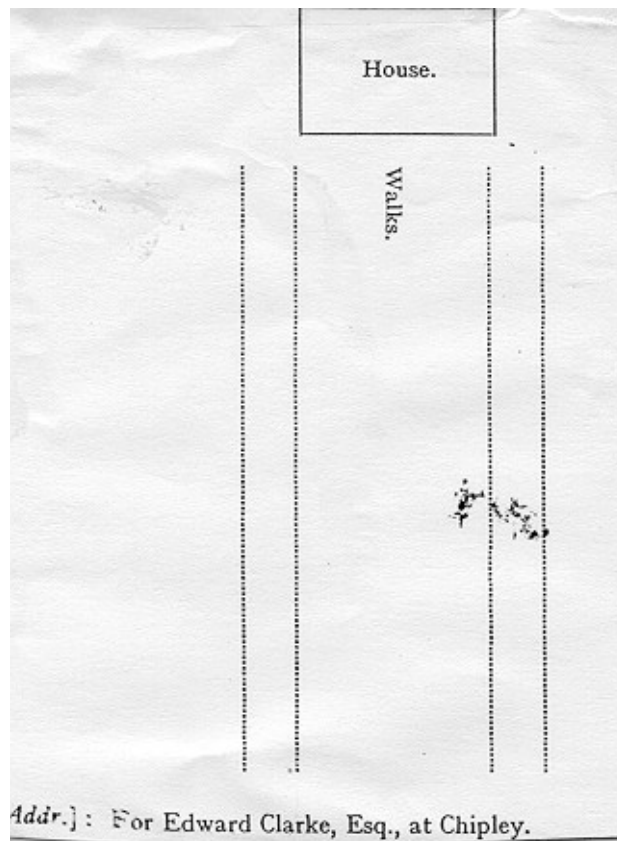
Locke to Edward Clarke 17 March 1683/84

I have since thy 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 ere 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 that 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 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 t would do well at Chipley.

* Plaster of Tarras - found along the Rhine and used for lining cisterns



Locke to Mary Clarke 18 March 1684

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.

In the spring of 1684 Edward's association with Shaftesbury and Locke and the Green Ribbon Club men such as Laurence Braddon (who in 1692 appointed him to receive donations for his relief in prison) made Edward politically suspect, and he was "*presented as dangerous*" by a jury. William Clarke suspected John Sanford had been the prime mover, making use of the fact that Edward had signed a petition to Charles 11 in January 1680.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 1st July 1684

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

Locke to Edward Clarke 19 July 1684

I very much approve of 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 and that I cannot love them without concerning myself about them. 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.

You know I am a meddling man in all your affairs---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 ----

This was the first of the letters with instructions for the education of Ward. apart from suggestions about learning, Locke had an immense influence on children's clothes and freedom to play and run around. When Locke's suggested however that it would be a great advantage to have "*his shoes so made that they may leak and let in water whenever he treads on any marshy place*", this did not catch on in the wider world, though it is noticeable that English babies usually have their feet bare in portraits, in contrast to continental paintings.

While Edward was at home during the summer he drew up Articles of Agreement between Sir Walter Yonge and William Taylor for the building of Yonge's new house at Escot in Devon, an estate he had bought for its beautiful situation in 1680.



The Oval Pond at Escot

The earlier plans by Hooke seem to have been abandoned, and Taylor agreed that to "*ye best of his skill and judgment*" he would "*contrive designe and draw out in paper*

one capitall mansion house with such convenient barns stables brewhouse and all other offices and out houses gardens corts and yards” as Yonge should desire. The house, which resembled Chipley, took even longer to build. The Spa friends began to be known as “The Row”, as Chipley, Escot and Otterton, (Duke’s home) were in a line almost due north to south on the map.

In November 1684, after reports reached England of the political contacts Locke was making in Holland, he was expelled from Christ Church.

Mary Clarke to Locke **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 infinately obliged both his father and me, who shall be very carefull to observe and follow every perticular of it, and I hope that will encourage you to wright a second part, and that will be as great a satisfacktion as can be next conversing with you.

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 choyce of in our house and is ever since reserved a purpose for you. And I am sure you can take no better a way to keep Mr Clarke's vapors from returning than to let him see that his building proves any ways serviceable to one that he has so great a valew for as yourself. And I have one thing more to tempt you, which is the best turnips and carrots that ever wase eaten; and instead of makeing walkes of them, I thinke they have walked for all our friends theareabouts 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 cannott blame them, for if you will beleive me I think them the best that ever wase eat.

Your mistres is now very prety company.

Locke to Edward Clarke **6th Feb 1685** (recd 2 February in England)

Since you so well like the roots of this country, I have got for you the following sorts, which will be sent you by the first opportunity:

**Seeds of white sand turnips lb1/4
yellow sand turnips lb 1/4
Early or summer turnips 311
Leyden carrots 31
Horn carrots 31
Early carrots 31
Worden parsnips 31
Sarsafrey 31
Sugar roots 31
Sugar ray roots 31**

What the last two sorts are I know not. They say the sugar ray roots being boiled may be either eaten hot buttered as turnips, or cold with oyle and vinegar as a salad.

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 glasse painter here.

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 one the three other sides, oaks on one, elms on the other, and witch elms on the third as you like best. And for winter trees, if you will be ruled by me, use none but ewe and holly. They will make hedges or standards as you please, will indure 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.



The avenue of trees at Chipley

On 6 February 1685 Charles 11 died; there was no lying in state and no elaborate funeral. The Roman Catholic Duke of York became James 11. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (which had given toleration to Protestants) by Louis XIV confirmed the English view of Roman Catholic behaviour.

Locke to Mary Clarke 7 February 1685

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 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 Clarke are there with

your little ones. 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 they are ten sorts of them. Sarsafra 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.

*abele - white poplar

* Edward's chief gardener was John Barber, whom he seems to have shared with Sir Walter over the next twenty-five years

Locke to Edward Clarke 12/ 22 March 1684/85

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 ought I know, so charm me, that perhaps by that time will have his promised them. I 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 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.

Locke to Edward Clarke Utrecht 22nd March 1685

Dear Sir,

The unwelcome news of your Lady's sickness came first to me yesterday; 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 continuance 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. 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.--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.

*Cortex Peru - cinchona bark - quinine

Locke to Edward Clarke **Utrecht 5th April 1685**

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.

Locke to Edward Clarke **3rd May 1685**

I am very glad to hear you are got rid of your ague since it treated you so severely. Pray let me know whether his (Ward's) 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 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. 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.

* Jacob Bobert was in charge of the Oxford Botanic Gardens.

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION

July 1685 - December 1686

Edward's arrest - Monmouth's arrival - Edward and Freke at Tunbridge - William Clarke describes Monmouth's defeat - Jack is born - Yonge, Freke and the Dukes visit Locke - Ward very ill

The succession of James II resulted in the summoning of a Parliament to vote supplies. Edward stood in the March 1685 election, being set up by the "damnable crew" as a Whig candidate together with Trenchard. They were unsuccessful against Portman and John Sanford. James packed Parliament with 400 new MPs from the remodelled corporations and was voted a revenue for life. James hoped to exempt Roman Catholics from the penal laws, thinking the Church of England only hated nonconformists and would not mind Roman Catholics being part of the governing class, but before he could carry out his plans, Monmouth attempted to wrest the Crown from him.



Duke of Monmouth

Disaster nearly overcame the Spa friends at the time of Monmouth's rebellion. Even in exile Locke had to go into hiding as on 7 May 1685 his name was included in a list of those in Holland whose surrender was demanded as plotters against peace. On the 19 May Yonge was arrested and imprisoned, the authorities remembering that he and Richard Duke had entertained Monmouth on his journey through the West in 1680. This time however Yonge was "very cool" to Monmouth, although some of his estate workers abandoned the building of Escot to join the rebels. On 8 June Edward was taken into custody on the suspicion that "he held correspondence with traitors". The warrant was issued by Robert, Earl of Sunderland, the man who had ordered Locke's expulsion from Christ Church Oxford. Edward petitioned the King, via Lord Jeffreys, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, for release, partly because his father had suffered in the Royal cause during the civil War,

and because he had not done or said anything to incur his Majesty's displeasure. He was released after bonds were given for his appearance before his Majesty's commissioner if he were summoned.

Monmouth landed on 11 June 1685, and the way was open to Taunton where he was proclaimed King. His promises to grant freedom of conscience and liberty of worship appealed to many, but he received little support from the gentry he had hoped to attract. Although Mary and the children were at Chipley, Edward took the waters at Tunbridge with Freke, far away from the West country. Sir William Portman was in London and was ordered by the King to ride to the west. Monmouth's army was defeated at Sedgemoor on 8 July 1685.

William Clarke to Edward Clarke Sandford July 29 1685

Dear Cous:

I had not patience enough to tarry till I could hear how you did from yourself, but sooner then I could without fear of danger I adventured to Chipley where I found your lady and three children well and received the same account of your well being at Tunbridge wch your letter confirmed to mee.

Wee liv'd for a month with the most fearfull apprehension of any people by reason of my neybourhood to Bridgewater for from my house I did not stir till God by a wonderfull victory declared the D. of M. rebell. My house was seven times in a day searchd by the rebels, and at last by them plundered of all the ediments and bibaments; saddles , bridles and armes went at first, but at length Dick Goodenough would have made mee a usurer against my will and most unjustly threatned to plunder mee of all I had left if I would not lend his King 200l. But nec lex nec arma cogunt ad impossibilia, I had not the mony nor could borrow, soe the paymaster left me in great fury and the next morning I must expect the utmost a beggarly enragd enemy could doe; but before that time came they were soe beaten and dispers'd that hardly enough remayn'd together to rob mee and my servants, especially beeing soe disheartned that two mayds are sayd to have disarmd five of them. This is the account of your humble servants at Sandford.

As to the victory, it may truely bee sayd God fought for us, for the D of M drew his men soe quietly out of Bridgewater Sunday about 12 at night that the spies wch our party had there went to bed secure that hee would not move that night. Hee sent all his carriages towards Bristoll giving out hee would follow them, but in stead there of hee led his army consisting of about 8,000 between Chedzoy and Bawdrripp and soe past all their out guards and scouts and came within halfe muskett shott before our sentinells discovered them. Hee designed then to have past the great royn between Weston and B at a place on the right hand of the way as you pass from B to Weston and did not misse it ten yards. Had providence sufferd him to have past there, hee had seizd 14 feild peices and brought his army amongst the King's camp while the officers were in their beds in the adjacent villages and the souldiers asleep in their tents. But God to preserve us blinded his guides soe that as hee marchd by the royn seeking for a place to get over (notwithstanding pretending himselfe to bee the D of Albemarle hee deceivd for a while the K's forces) hee was discoverd by my Ld Dunbarton's regiment who soe briskly fird upon them that the rebell's horse beeing never usd to fire (for the D in all his musters never discharged to save powder) they presently disorder one the other and at the second charge ran all away. The foot

stood a little longer but never came to handy blowes soe that there is not one of all the K's party hurt with a sword and but one with a sife. One desperat fellow stood the whole army and had a stroke for his life wch provd not mortall. The rebells were about two to one. I doe not hear that the number of the slayn in the fight was much greater on the rebells part than on the K's, but in the flight a great many rebells were destroyd, near 100 hangd but most those were wounded men who without surgeons (which is not allowd to any) must have dyed however. But the greatest wonder to me is that since about 7,000 men ran away and the King's party was not more than 3,300 men that the cowardly roggs (who knew they must be hangd) could not bee prevayld withall to make a stand but God would preserve us by their disunion. for the honour of the gentry of England I doe not hear of one gentleman amongst them, but such tagg ragg rogues scarce worth a hanging. That beggar old Buffet was a Coll: hee is taken and soe is Cap: Hucker. the goals are stufft with the common rout and yet a world in our woods and cornfields. Now I think I have tired you and am your most affectionate kinsman and humble servant

Willm Clarke.

Monmouth abandoned his troops and fled, getting to the New Forest where Sir William Portman, who had formed a line of men watching from Poole to North Dorset, caught him near Ringwood; although dressed as a peasant he had the Garter insignia in his pocket. He was taken to the Tower and executed.



A medal showing Justice triumphing over the executed Monmouth and Argyll

The rebels were all pursued and transported or hanged after Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes. John Trenchard fled abroad but his and Edward's election agent, a serge-maker, was hanged. Also executed were Yonge's men, "hanged at a crossway about a mile from Escot, as a specimen of his (Jeffrey's) goodwill, or rather of his suspicions of my grandfather" wrote Sir George Yonge in 1793.

James was encouraged by Monmouth's defeat to think that he could use a regular army of 30,000 men to convert England to Roman Catholicism, but most of the English soldiers were Protestants. However, in Ireland he was forming a Catholic

army, which Englishmen feared would be used in England. The Whigs felt their future lay with the House of Orange; and even Tories in the Government were being replaced by Roman Catholics and Jacobites; it was almost a necessity to be a Roman Catholic to be a minister. In November 1685 King James prorogued Parliament because it refused to repeal the Test Act, the King saying his prerogative could dispense with it.

In the winter another baby arrived - John, always known as Jack - who had been born at Chipley at 8 a.m. on 28 December 1685.

Locke to Edward Clarke 8th February 1685/86

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 blessing to you as children can be to a father. Please 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.

Locke to Edward Clarke 15th March 1685/86

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 or cost to get such a 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.

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer

London Apr ye 22th 1686

Deare Sr,

I acknowledge yr last kindnesse to mee at Ivy-Church and all other yr ffavors, and in pursuance of yr commands trouble you at this time wth an account of my safe arrivall here Tuesday night, and that I found my little boy at Ditton in good health and all or ffriends here well, as I hope this will find you and yr good lady and ye rest of yr family; And I must allsoe acquaint you that yesterday I recd a Letter from or ffreind Mr L wherein hee earnestly desires mee to gett in all ye money that possibly I can for him, and to return it over to him wth all that speed that may bee, in pursuance of wch I must begg you to give mee an Order to Mr Percyvall for the paymt of soe much of his Annuity as is now in arrears from my Ldy to Him, and I will give you my receipt for it im ny return to Chipley, my Acct Booke not being in town I cannot certainly say to what times it was last paid, but to ye best of my remembrance there was one yeare due to Him at Christmas last, wch yr booke and my last Rect will ascertain, concerning wch pray give mee a lyne with the first opportunity.

The terme began with ye turning out of ye Ld Ch Justice Jones, and making Bedingfeild Ch Justice of ye Common Pleas, Charlton allsoe out of ye Common Pleas and placed again Cheife Justice of Chester, and Sarjeant Mylton and

Sarjeant Lutwith Justice of ye Common Pleas Ld Cheife Baron turn'd out of ye Exchquer and Baron Atkins in his place and Sarjeant Heath made a baron, and tis said that Baron Nevill is allsoe out; Sr John Holt, Mr Mylton, Mr Powell, Mr Tate, Sr Amb: Phillipps, Mr Killenworth, Mr Rawlinson, Mr Hugh Hodger, Mr G??? and Mr Hutchins are made Sarjeants, but tis thought Sr Jo: Holt is not ap present verie likely to bee further advanced by reason of his absolute refusall at this last sessions at ye Old Bayley to pass sentence on a souldier who was tryed and convicted for running away from his Colors, declareing that by ye law of England a soldiers deserting his Colors in ye time of peace was not according to ye best of his understanding a capitall offence, this is look'd upon to bee an ill president and may possibly encourage more deserters; Sunday last Mass being openly read at ye New Chapple in Lyme Streete London, the rabble verie much disturbed the congregation and ye preist was soe pelted wth dirt that hee was forced to fly into an house neare adjoining for safety some of ye rioters are taken and will undoubtedly bee punished answerable to their deserts, wch being all that I have at present worth yr knowledg concludes this from yr reall ffreind and humble servant

Pray give my most humble service to yr lady and neece etc this afternoon Mr Sarjeant Tate is made a Baron in Nevill's Place

Locke to Edward Clarke 4 May 1686

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.

* perhaps Locke himself

Edward Clarke to Locke 30 Aug 1686

I thank God I am with my wife, children and my whole family at present in perfect health, and do rejoyce 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 with the first opportunity.

* Sir Walter Yonge

In the summer of 1686 Locke was visited in Holland by Sir Walter Yonge, Richard and Isabella Duke and John Freke. Locke's most influential friend at the Hague was an English exile, Charles Viscount Mordaunt who, having made an anti-Popish speech in the House of Lords against James II, had fled to Holland, where he was the first aristocrat to ask William to come to England. His wife Carey was daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser, physician to Charles II, and had been a maid of honour to Queen Catherine.

Mrs Isabella Duke to Locke 29 September 1686 Otterton

I have seen Escott, which looks very well without, but there is little done within, not one chamber finished or fit to receive my brother, I am afraid twill give him much pain before he finds any pleasure there yet.



The stables at Escot

Edward Clarke to Locke 2 October 1686

The sinkes are now come to safe to Chipley and will bee verie usefull when set up.

Locke to Edward Clarke 31st October 1686

With them (abele trees) you will also receive some Muscovy or Russion 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, haveing 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.

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. 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.

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 in to the history of my travels, if I were with you to tell them.

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. I am glad to hear 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.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 5th November 1686

My wife joins with mee in thanking you for your favours in supplying our gardens and plantations with such variety of the best things. And my son desires mee to assure you, that hee 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 shee is certain shee loves you much better than hee 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 bee 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 mee, 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 mee leave to pay for them.

Your Spa friends I saw altogether in Devon, and some of them were afterwards with mee 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 mee how wee 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.



Sir Samuel Morland

*Sir Samuel Morland Bt 1625? - 1695 born Sulhampstead, scholar and fellow of Magdalene, and tutor to Samuel Pepys. He was a diplomatist, mathematician and inventor; he was sent on embassies by Oliver Cromwell but became disenchanted with the Commonwealth and promoted the Restoration. Charles 11 appointed him "magister mechanicorum". He invented an arithmetical machine and one for casting up sums of £.s.d. "which is very pretty but not very useful". Hydrostatics was a means of raising water by having an airtight cistern, where air had been expelled by a charge of gunpowder; water below rose to fill the vacuum. He was regarded by most as a knave, and could not stay solvent despite his inventions.

Richard Duke to Locke 10 November 1686 Escott

John Barber has gotten an ugly cough and saies he finds himself decay as if he were three score years of age, so that if you do not cure him, the new Gardens in the row will be spoild, and that I suppose you would not have lay at your door.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 25 November 1686

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 soe 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 verie 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 mee to have your assistance; but since that cannot bee, I shall acquiesce in what they doe, and pray God to give a blessing to their endeavours and restore the child to his former health and understanding.



Dr Charles Goodhall

Edward Clarke to Locke 4th December 1686

Our freind J F 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 mee. 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 mee. My little boy is, blessed be God, every day better, though still verie 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.*

*Modern medical opinion is that it was an upper respiratory infection followed by acute encephelitis resulting in motor inhibitions, slow reactions, a certain form of amnesia and psychopathic attitudes. Educational Theory vol 17 1967 p 298 Janice L Gorn



Dr Sydenham

Locke to Edward Clarke 4/14th Dec 1686

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 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.

Locke to Edward Clarke 17 Dec 1686

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 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.

THE SEARCH FOR A TUTOR

January 1686/87 - October 1688

M. Papin proves useless - the lime trees arrive - Mary's opinion on Locke's lack of resolution - M. Duelly - Isaac Heath works for Edward but "moonlights" - presents for Monsieur - Mary pregnant again - birth of Molly - the Queen gives birth to a son and heir -

Locke disapproved of schools for boys whose parents could afford a tutor, so by the beginning of the next year Edward was trying to find a suitable one for Ward, someone who would carry on Locke's principles of education when Edward was too busy himself. London was full of French Protestants who had been forced to flee from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, but Edward and Mary were handicapped in their search by the fact that they did not speak French themselves. Locke's friend Monsieur le Clerc recommended M. Papin, a Protestant student of divinity.

Locke to Edward Clarke **Amsterdam 10 Jan 1686/7**

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.

Edward Clarke to Locke **25 January 1686/7**

Yesterday I again met Monsieur Papin, and with Sir W.Y. (who in all our meetings hath been our interpreter when it was necessary) had a full discourse with him upon our design for the education of my son, and the proposals I had made him for that end, which were to this effect, viz: that hee should live with mee by no means in the degree of a servant, but as my friend, for whom I would have my son and all belonging to mee have the greatest value and esteem imaginable; and that hee should have the liberty of my house and servants in all respects equally with myself; and twenty pounds a year salary. The terms hee 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, hee seemed to think the nature of the employment, the instruction of a child, to bee 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 soe much of his time as would be necessary for the instruction of the child. But in case I would not expect hee 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, 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 mee to contract

with him on these terms, especially when he had declared the nature of the employment to be so disagreeable so that after ordinary civilities we parted.

Edward Clarke to Locke 28 January 1686/7

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 hee will unavoidably (in my absence) spend his time withal. Of which I have already this experience, that as hee increases in age hee 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. And I will only at present acquaint you that hee 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.

Sir Walter Yonge to Locke 28 January 1686/7

Mr Clarke is daily in search for a tutor for his son but can not yet fix upon any but hope to find one for his purpose before the spring, when he returns to his House and I to my building, in which durty work I am too farr engaged not to goe on a little further, especially since Mr Taylor* is leaving our country after this summer, and I would willingly get beyond the need of an architect before he gets out of my reach.

* The same William Taylor who had worked at Chipley

Edward Clarke to Locke 8 February 1686/7

I have contracted with one Monsieur Foukett to go into the country with mee to be my son's tutor; hee approves well of the method proposed in your letter of the 21st of January for the beginning towards the child's instruction, and promises carefully to pursue that, and such further directions as you shall think most proper.

Mary Clarke to Locke 8 February 1686/7

Mr Clarke did yesterday fully agree with a tutor for our eldest son, he being one that has a very good carrecterr; 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 chuseing a wife for him this is as great an afaire 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 ayred for you, and you would be the welcomest stranger that had ever bin in that house, both to Mr Clarke and your real friend and most obliged humble servant, M. Clarke All my little ones are soe much in hast to be known to you, and to present you with their humble services, that I cannott tell which I must hear first.

Locke to Edward Clarke 18th February 1686

I think 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; 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. It is a great deal better that your children should be alone together to play in place where (they may be watched) than to have them in the company of admiring servants who will be teaching them one way or other ill tricks and habits.

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley 26 March 1687

And I hope the person that I have contracted with for that purpose will answer out 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 I beleive I shall also embrace your very kind offer touching the Freezland ewes. But of that you may expect to hear further from mee in a short time, and also of the lime trees you sent mee, 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 mee leave to send you my wife's, my own, and my sonn'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 bee 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 mee what use I shall make of it. The poplar cuttings that you sent mee 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 freinds have planted several of both sorts of them also, and I believe wee shall not in a little time bee certain whether the abele cuttings will grow or not. Pray send mee word in your next which of the two makes the finest tree in Holland.

M Fouquet can not have recovered in time, for M. Duelly went with them to Chipley.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **Aprill ye 30th 1687**

My deare,

I receved your letter by Thomass Welshman and this day that from London and am heartily glad to heare you got well theare and found all our frends well and was able to give so good an acount of our sone John and heare came another for you from Mr Locke a long letter, and I beleve a pretty deal of it to little purpose besides Mr Strattens business and that I beleve you have had a great part of in former letters, he sess he has receved Dr Sidnams book and he wonder he heares no more from Adryan who in his last of ancient date talkes of another viage, he hopes he has given you the Carolina constitutions with the additions to them which he desires you to lay up safe for him and prays you not to forgett to put the minnits of aconomy and husbandry into the square box and he begs the favor of you whilst in town to pay Mr Churchill what he had laid out for a hatt he sent him; he desires you also to consider if you think it convenient to have any of the breed of the Freeseland sheep and whether it be best to have a ewe and a ram or 2 ewes after they have taken ram and are with young that order may be taken accordingly, he allsoe sess a great deal of trees and some further orders he gives about the tree he ordered to be cutt but I think it is needless to troble you about it wheare you are and besides I know not wheare you may not be home agen by that time, he also sess a great deale about our sone much to the same purpose as formerly but now I resoule never to wonder yt he has lived so long a battcheller he being so hard to resoule of any thing; he sess he cant tell which to do whether to be glad or sorry that we have gott a tutor for him or not, for it is so hard to gett a good one that it is allmost impossoble, and if we have got a good one we ought to vallew him as a great jewell, but he sess in truth it is so hard to gett such a one that if it was to do agen he would put me in such a way that I should teach him Latten as well as any tuter of them all, I confess I cannot conceve how the greatest philosopher of them all should make me know how to teach that I dont know my selfe, but I am very glad he had not this maggatt before, for of all his advice I think this of haveing a tutur was the best and I hope will be for his advantage, for the way he was in would have ruined him for in your absence, he valued not what I said neither was it possoble I should ever have taught him Engliss much more Latten, and I hope Mr Duilly will prove if possible such a man as Mr Locke may like; I do not see anything yett but that he is very soberly inclined and is very desirous to forward Master as much as he can and in what way you will proscribe, so I think now I have given you an acount of what is most meteriall in the letter but if you have a mind to see it I will inclose it and send it you, if you give me your order, at the bottom of it I find that he desires of you whilst in town to call at the printers for the 4th book De Intellectu which he ordered to be left with him for you ; and if one Mr Moll be still in towne by whome he sent these to things he begs the favor of you to send him a peruke by him of a middle color betwixt black and flaxen You will heare of Mr Moll at Mr John Ward's a marchant on Laurence Puntry Hill; I have nothing of our one affaires at present to acquaint you with and thearefore will conclude as I really am, your most affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **May 1687**

I have according to your desire heerein closed Mr Lockes letter and also a mesure for a new cote for Mrs Betty I would have it of redd turkey tammy* and if the faishion be not to have it stiff yet I desire hers may be so, she being so apt to hold out her belly that if it be not stiff before and behind it will sounne be worth nothing; I desire also that you would put something about Mr Lockes stand that is in our chamber to preserve it from hurting and send it down by the wagon some time before you come home for I want such a wone and I beleve the owner will not have accation for it; I thanke you for your newes, and I have only this to acquaint you withall in return that this day heare came Coronell Lutterell and his brother and Captain Kaiman about eleven of the clock and did me the honor to dine with me we drunke your health and they desired me when I writt to give theyr service to you. Poor Mounsieur have had a prety hard days work to keep them company they loveing drink beter than he does he tells me if any more come he must begg theyr pardon for keeping them company if they will drink so much, for which I am now lauffing at him but he is so good-humored not to be angrey.

* tammy - fine worsted, often with a glazed finish.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **May ye 10th 1687**

In my last I writt to you for a new cote for Betty but I had forgott to tell you that I would not have it with a train* it being to weare everyday and will never be sett downe, I must desire you to bye a paire of stokens for Master I know not what to think about cloths for him for I feare these that he weares everyday will sounne be wore out and whether it is best to have any now or no for him I know not -

I have nothing but to lett you know that our wine seller is as ill-furnished as it has bin since we keep house, and I understand by my Cozen Blewett that Sr Edward Acton and his lady is expected here before it be long att Holcome*, and the Coronell Luttrell made a great many speeches to me for not bringing his lady hither which he was now resouled very quickly to do and I am sure if either of those familys should come they would drink our seller dry in one days time, thearefore if you have an opertunity of furnishing of it where you are, or what other way you think fitt to do it, for there is a necessity of it, if you can light of any storgion if you please to by some and send it down I think it may do very well.

* Girls were usually dressed like their mother, with whalebone bodices, a petticoat fastened down the front by buttons or bows, indoor caps, and aprons .

* Holcombe Court in Holcombe Rogus, the home of the Bluetts, which had a 14th century tower and Great Hall and Long gallery and a dovecote.

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer **London May ye 10th 1687**

Deare Sr,

Since my last Sr Tho: Chichley, Mr Eyres, Mr Marshall and I have had another meeting and have now perfectly settled or Briefes, and Proofes in all particulares for ye Tryall, and what ever there is more to bee done of yrs or my part shall not bee neglected, Mr Marshall will not be satisfied unlesse you or I

can bee present at the Tryall, soe that I have promised him not to goe out of town untill that bee over, I will attend with him at ye office upon ye settling of ye jury, and wherever else I may bee serviceable in this affayre; I have been wth Mr Chasell and have putt him in the best way that can bee for ye disposall of his horse, and doe not doubt but in a few dayes hee will goe off, but not at soe greate a price as you mention in yr letter to mee, the horse being too small for a Commander, I will continue to doe him what further service lyes in my power for ye selling of the horse, and that to the best advantage, and I hope my indeavors will not bee altogether unsuccessful; Saturday last ye Vice chancellor and eight of ye Learn'd doctors of the University of Cambridge wre summon'd before ye Lds Commissionrs where after being verie severely reprimanded by ye Lord Chacellor for theare disloyall stubbornness in refusing to obey His Majestys Mandamus espetially in soe reasonable thing as that of making ffather ffrances a Master of Art in that University, the Vice Chancellore was by sentence of that Court deprived of his office of Vice Chancellor, suspended from ye office and proffits of his place, as head of ye College, and made incapable fo any office or place whatsoever in ye University sureing ye Kings displeasure, a punishmt too small I thinke for soe great an offence, the rest of ye Doctors are to attend againe on Thursday next ot receive their sentence, at wch time 'tis not doubted but their punishment will bee answerable to their desets, in case they doe not in ye meane time make ffull and free discovery of all others espetially heads of Houses in the University that advised and promoted this disobedience to ye Kings Mandamus, for tis not fitt that any one of them should ontinue in ye University lest they shouldinfect the young loyall gentry there, and keepe out others more deserving and better fitted for those preferments. this is the most considerable news that is at present talk'd off here, but there is the Marquess of Warocester being turn'd out, and ye Ld Bellasis his son has his regmt, and severall other in ye army are newly dispalc'd tis said that Grayam and Burton are tun'd out, or will bee within a few dayes, wth severall officers in ye Custom-House, and tis thought wee shall have more changes in Westm-Hall betwixt this and the next terme; pray give my himble service to yr good Lady, and accept the like yrselife from

yr most truly affectionate freind and faithfull servant, Edw: Clarke
I had allmost forgott to acquaint you that on Saturday last I paid in to Mr Percyvall on yr accompt one -----

Edward Clarke to Locke London 13th May 1687

I hope the tutor I have got will strictly observe them [Locke's rules] hee being (as far as I can discern) thoroughly convinced that the methods proposed are in all parts the most rational hee ever met withal. And that praise and shame are certainly the best rewards and punishments, for 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 bee forced or governed by the fear or terror of those that are placed over them.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke May ye 14th 1687

Mr Duelly gives his humble service to you and desires you will bye Littletons dictionary and bring down with you which he tells me is much wanted and will be of great use to Master.

You may see by my writing that my pen and ink is very much out of order as everything else now you are not hear I hope you stay will not be long.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke May ye 21 1687

My deare,

I receved both your kind letters that with Isakes in it and that with the other 2 concerning the wine which I think not to make of use of unless those people in my last mentioned comes before you come home, I am sorry to hear yt our little boy is no forwarder yett of his feet*, but I hope time and the warm weather will bring him forward and thearefore I would not have him to much tampered with, he is but young yett and have had very bad coughs which has very much weakened him, thearefore we must have the more patience to wait for his getting strankth; I thanke God we are all well heare and Mounsr tells me yt Master does improve and that he has great hopes he will continue to do so more and more every day.

I receved yr box by the stage cotch with the cravett, cuffs and hood all which I like very well, it being impossoble I should do other ways of any thing Mrs Smithsby byes, her phancey and choyce being so good in all things.

I have read Isakes letter and considered of it and discorsed him as wisely as I can concerning his being heare or not being heare, and I found his discourse to be as uncertain as his letter to you, and much to the same purpose for he seemed to have a mind to serve you, and a mind to do all the painting worke he has or could gett, not being willing to quitt either, so I desired him to consider of it that I might writ something or other to you that you might understand better then what he had writt before, and that I could not tell what advice to give him for that I thought he was willing to undertake that which at the years end he might get most by, if he could tell which that was and if he should happern to take the contrary he would be dissatisfied in it afterwards, thearefore I thought he was best to do that which he thought most prudent and which ever twas not to repent it afterwards, and he now tells me that he has considered of it and he is very willing to be at a certainty that is to know what wages you will be pleased to give him, that thare may be no difference afterwards; he hopes you will give him as much as another, I told him I thought he need not question that, and to avoid all mistakes I desired to know what he did expect, he sed my Lady King did give him 5£ a yeare waggess and a sute of clothes and to find himself cloths he thought he could not have less than 8£ a yeare and if you please to give him so, he would get what help he could and finish his worke that he had undertaken as soun as he could and that he did hope he might do it all except Sir Walter Yongs by midsummer or a little after and that he thought you would be willing to give him leave to go some times when he had best lesure to Sr Walters to do yt there; he has second primed the gates, they being apt to be injured by the sun and wind, I desire you will be pleased to bring down half a dozen bookes of leafe gold with you when you come home, pray dont forget it.

* Jack

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley May ye 29 1687

My deare,

I received your last letter and the ash is felled according to order and yesterday I sent for the barell of sturgion it cost 7s the carriage of it. Sir Edward

and his lady and all the family at Holcome dined here last Friday but they would not then stay all night the Gentlemen would but the Ladies would not then; I made them as welcome as I could and as merry they drank your health and prosperity to your family severall times they began to be very glad and good humored before they went but my Cozen Blewett was not very well and she would be gone.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke May ye 30 1687

I desire you would send therein for me a white sash hood, and if you please to by a good handsome laced cravat and cuffs for me to give Mr to wear on Whitt Sunday I think it will doe very well and incourage him to continue his willingness to forward the children as much as he can and if you think fit to bring him anything your selfe to give him when you come home if you find he has deserved it or to ly by till occasion serves I believe it will be taken kindly; I believe a fashionable paire of gloves or tokens or what else you think may be of use to him I believe he is not overstoked with any of those things.

Sarah Griffin is gone to her new place and Isack was here for 2 days and then was sent for to make an end of Mr Anstells business so that all prefer I am butler which is well enough while you are not at home and we have no strangers but then it would be very inconvenient therefore pray get one in Wills place that may be able to doe Isacks business when he is not here.

I thanke God the children and all here are well and give their duty and service to you and all where you are and so does Mr Dally which is all at present from your affectionate and faithful wife M Clarke

I would not have the cravat and cuffs coarse stuff but that which is good and handsome.

In June there arrived an incredible addition to the national stock of bulion; treasure reached London that had been saved by an English company from a Spanish ship lost 40 years before.

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley 29 September 1687

You have also much increased my debt to you by your kind present of the Freezland 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 mee 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 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; 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.

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 and 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

Locke to Edward 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.

While bringing up the family was the main interest at Chipley, great changes were taking place in the nation. The magistracy and army in England were being put in Roman Catholic hands but there were so few middle class Catholics that James had to seek nonconformist help against the Anglican Tories. James was also wooing the Whigs; Edward was nominated Deputy Lieutenant but there is no evidence he complied with any of James' policies.

King James's electoral agents reported on Taunton in December 1687: *"the burgesses are chosen by the whole town. Edward Clarke of Chipley may be probably chosen here. If John Trenchard be pardoned, he and whom he shall propose to stand with him for the town will be chosen. This corporation must be totally altered."* Eight burgesses were removed from the corporation of twenty-four in the following month.

By then, Edward, Mary and Betty had left Chipley for London, to be established at Lady King's in good time for Mary's next confinement. In January Edward told Locke that he had delivered *De Intellectu* to Lord Pembroke.

Locke to Edward Clarke 6 February 1687/8

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. 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. I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman than these two.

It seems possible that Locke had realised that Ward's illness was going to have a long lasting effect on his memory, and he was trying to prepare Edward and Mary to accept this.

Mary Clarke to Locke 16 February 1687/8

Mr Clarke is now in the country 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.

I thanke 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 Inglissh since Mounsr came to him, that being what he has most applied himself to; which indeed wase by my perticular 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 prittily and distinctly. He can also give an account of what he reads. And he is very much pleased with his larning to write. I hope he will in a short time be able to wright you a letter of thanks himself. And I find by your letter you are soe much for business that you would have him of a trade. And of all your trades you never have thought of one that could 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 naile.

I have two daughters, one you are pleased to honor with the title of your Mistress; not to recommend her to you, but she is more afectedt 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 burches help. She is extremely like her brother when he was of her age and exactly of his humour, but more merry.

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 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.

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 himseef 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.

I brought only your mistress to town with me for a nurss when I lie in, but instede of that I have been hitherto forst to nurss her, she haveing had the

measells since her father went into the country but now I thank God is very well again.

Sir Walter Yonge to Locke 17 February 1687/8

We have wanted Mr Clarkes company this fortnight; he was called into the country to bury his lady's old uncle who had left her sole executrix but what this windfall will be worth to him I know not.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 21st February 1687/88

Dear Sir,

Soon after writing my last of the 27th of January, I was suddenly and unexpectedly called again into the county by the death of my wife's old Uncle Watts of Sidcott, and am but newly returned from thence. 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 businesse will unavoydably 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 againe, hoping in a short time thereafter that madam will be in a condition to begin her journey towards Chipley.

In the meantime (because you desire it) I must acquaint you that my brother builder* is in town and received your letter, but J.F. 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 putt in, and the world is full of change. But I am still the same unalterably, your most affectionate freind and faithful servant

* Sir Walter

Locke to Edward Clarke 9/19 March 1687/8

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 time the advantages in it.

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.

Edward Clarke to Locke 16 March 1687/8

I have also gotten you a good beaver hatt made by the diameter of the inside of the crown of the band exactly according to the dimention marked by the two black lynes in your letter of the ninth instant. A peruke I have allsoe bought for you, pursuant to your directions in the same letter, as neare as possible I could . And these, together with six flannel shirts (bought and made up by your very

good friend Mrs R.S.) and a cloake, which in the buying and making up I gave her my best assistance, I have sent hence by your old friend Adrian.

But now I think I must take a time by your directions and in your presence to doe it* which if God bless my wife with an happy lying-in, and noe extraordinary business prevent, my inclynations do very strongly prompt mee to. But since there are soe 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.

* make a journey to Holland.

On 23 March 1687/8 at 2.30p.m. Mary (Molly) was born at Lady King's. Meanwhile in Taunton things were not going the King's way. In April 1688 it had been reported: "*Taunton is a corporation; the election is popular and consists of about 700. A new charter is requisite, for till then the inhabitants are awed by the country gentlemen, who are the magistrates. A quo warranto is sent, on which their charter will be delivered. The greatest part of the town are dissenters and do propose to choose John Trenchard and Edward Clarke, both right; but if your Majesty be not satisfied in Mr Trenchard, they will choose William Clarke or who your Majesty will name or Mr Brent recommend.*"

This last proviso by the local Whig collaborators was unfortunate, particularly because William died a few weeks later. The King or the 'Popish solicitor' distrusted Trenchard with good reason and pitched on Sir Humphrey Mackworth, a high Tory.

Edward Clarke to Locke 5 June 1688

Everything has seemed to conspire against mee. First many crosse accidents in my own affayres have happened besides the death of Lady King, which brought mee into a trust for her children. And immediately upon that the sickness and death of my cousin Clarke's lady here, hee being at that time extreamely ill, and since dead in the country, leaving the care of his estate and four young children upon mee, hath so much increased my affayrs and troubles that at present I can hardly see a way through them. But notwithstanding these and many other unexpected misfortunes that have happened, yett Madam and I are not totally without hopes of seeing you before we return into the West.

A son was born to the Queen, Mary of Modena, a live baby after fifteen years of marriage, giving James a Roman Catholic heir and displacing the Protestant Princess Mary and Princess Anne in the line of succession, to the despair of those who felt they might have remained loyal to the King if the threat of Roman Catholicism ended with him.



The Seven Bishops

On 8 June the Seven Bishops who had refused to read a Declaration of Indulgence to Papists ordered by the King, were sent to the Tower; John Somers* was one of the counsel for the defence and made the brief but brilliant winding- up speech, and on 30 June they were acquitted. There were widespread celebrations throughout London and time was running out for James. William of Orange was desperate to keep England a Protestant country so that James and Louis XIV could not form an alliance which would enable France to dominate Western Europe and had suggested that he be sent an invitation to come and rescue “the nation and the religion”. This invitation was sent by seven leading politicians the day that the Bishops were acquitted.

* John Somers (1651 - 1716) met Locke in the early 1680's and always wrote to him for advice. He was at the start of an amazing public career, achieving the highest offices in the land.

William Clarke's will of 2 March 1687 was proved on 4 July. Other trustees looking after his four children, John, Edward, Elizabeth and Bridget, were John Bowles, his wife (already dead), and George Musgrave of Nettlecombe. A codicil after his wife's death asked them to defend his children from Popery, showing how frightened the country gentry were of the King's intentions.

Locke to Edward Clarke 22 June 1688

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.



John, Lord Somers

To Thomas Stringer Esqr att Ivy-Church neare Salisbury Present
Salisbury

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer

London ye 30th of June 1688

Deare Sr

I recd yr last kind letters, and at present can only thanke you for them, and acquaint you that ye Tryall of ye Bspps came on yesterday morning before nine of the clocke and lasted untill about seaven at night, wherein the Bspps counsell who were Pemberton, Sawyer, ffinch, Pollexfen, Treby and Summers behaved themselves wth greate courage and conduct, and spoke such Bold Truths concerning the Dispenceing Power as have not of latter yeares been mentioned in Westmr Hall, or any where else out of Parliament, the particulars are too many, too late, and alltogether unfitt for a Lettr, and therefore I desire it may suffice at present, that ye Jury lay by it all night and agreed not of their verdict untill eight of the clock this morning and all the Bspps wee Acquitted to ye greate satisfaction & ye unexpressable joy of all Good Protestants, signified by their loud acclamations even in ye Hall sitting all the Courts of Justice, wch, by the multitudes of the people there attending was soe greate that they were plainly hear'd through most parts of ye City. I am in greate hast, Intirely yrs E C

In the summer of 1688, Edward, Mary and Betty visited Locke in Holland, Locke writing to a friend on 20 July “ *I am interrupted by friends from England.*” They stayed first in Rotterdam, then in Amsterdam from 13 - 17 August, went back to Rotterdam and then to the Spanish Netherlands. The visit had long been promised, but perhaps it was not a coincidence that it happened at the time English statesmen were negotiating with William of Orange, and when John Locke’s political philosophy was coming to a triumphant conclusion. - that it was the duty of citizens to

get rid of a monarch who was a tyrant and was trying to perpetuate tyranny. In 1679 the Tories had had better propaganda than Shaftesbury and his supporters, but nine years later the Whigs were in the ascendancy, thanks to the effect of Locke's writings.

On 21 July the news was out that "*Mr John Trenchard having had his pardon is come into England*". *

* Richard Laphorne of Hatton Garden in the Portledge papers.

Edward Clarke to Locke Salisbury 16 September 1688

By this you will see I am not yett gott home, being forc'd to leave madam in London, Bartholomew Faire affording soe much businesse twas impossible to procure such a dispatch as to gett her out of town with mee. However, shee promised to overtake mee here this evening where I have been forced to spend the greatest part of the weeke past in the execution of the trust for my cosen Clarke's children.

In September the King was told bluntly that "*Taunton will choose John Trenchard and Edward Clarke. Sir Humphrey Mackworth is a stranger and has no interest there, and if they shall endeavour his election they may hazard the whole. For Sir William Portman and Mr Sanford, their last Members, a party are making in that town, but will fail if the first two stand.*" Between August and September Sunderland was persuading James II to make concessions to his opponents but it was all too late.

On his way to Somerset Edward called at Wilton to discuss Locke's essay with Lord Pembroke. Ivychurch, the house outside Salisbury frequently visited by the Clarks where Thomas Stringer and his wife lived, belonged to the Earl of Pembroke, who had converted the ruins of Ivychurch Priory.

Edward Clarke to Locke 30 September 1688

Soon after my last of the 16th from Salisbury to you, I was taken ill of an ague, with an ill feaver that attended it, which soe much weakened me that it was not without great difficulty I got hither, but by use of the Cortex Peruv. I thanke God I am now able to tell you that I am at present free from both, but am not in a condition to goe abroade to dispatch the businesse I came into the countrey for, which you may imagine (my circumstances considered) is noe small disappoyntment and trouble to me.

You have exceedingly obleiged my gardener by your junkills and the large nasturtium indicum seed you have sent him, which wee heare are safely arrived at Topsom by Spicer, and I hope some time the next week to get them safe hither. The lyme tree seeds, and the turnip seeds you mention, will bee noe less acceptable when they come.

Locke to Edward Clarke 9/19 October 1688

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 3vi, summer turnip seeds 3vi, yellow turnip seeds 3vi, carrot seeds 3vi, red cabbage seeds 3iii, 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 must 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 complimentary 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.

Isabella Duke to Locke Otterton Devon 20 October 1688

Tis full three weeks since we were told the Dutch were on our coast and would be landed before the newsletters could reach our remote country. As yet we hear nothing of their being come.

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley 24 October 1688

The turnip-seeds, carrot-seeds and red cabbage seeds will be verie 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 tumber whatsoever; the one if taken sufficient care of when first planted being a good provision for posterity, and the other only serves as to please the palate and destroy hunger.

There has never been a time when sheep, cattle, corn, wool and everything else that the countryman should raise money by, sold at such poor mean rates as they now 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.

J F was lately with me here and is now at Escot.

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