

PART TWO

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

November 1688 - February 1689/90

William of Orange lands - James II is overthrown - Locke returns to England with the new Queen - Edward appointed Auditor to the Queen - M Passebon takes over as tutor - Edward selected M.P. for Taunton -



William arriving at Brixham

On 1 November William's fleet set sail from Holland, helped by a “protestant wind” that veered to the East, driving the Dutch along the Channel and keeping James’s naval forces trapped in the Thames estuary. He arrived at Brixham with the cream of the Dutch army on 5 November 1688, the anniversary of another deliverance from Popery.

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer

Chiple y e 6th of Nov 1688

Deare Sr

I think it my duty to acquaint you that ye Dutch landed at Tor Bay yesterday, that Sr Wm Waller wth some horse under his command took their lodging at Sr Wm Courtnay’s house the last night, and I am credibly inform’d that ye maine body of their horse will bee in Exeter this night, their numbers are not yett known, but ‘tis said they are upwards of 20000: Wee think or selves verie unhappy to have ye ??? begin hear, but where it will end God only knows, I am intirely yrs, E.C.

Pray give my himble service to yr Lady and ye rest of the good company at Ivy Church.

My wife sent a box by the Taunton coach to yr Lady the last weeke, w th some basketts in it for her and for my Lady Shaftesbury, wch shee would bee glad to heare are come safe to yr hands.

William marched towards London and James's troops gradually deserted. Louis XIV had warned in September that France would declare war on the United Provinces if the Dutch Republic moved against James II, and two weeks after the landing in Torbay, France declared war on the Dutch. Louis XIV had counted on divisions in English society entangling William in a prolonged and inconclusive struggle in England and was astounded by the speed with which James was overthrown. It is a measure of how far James had managed to alienate his supporters that Sir William Portman and Sir Edward Seymour, the most influential West country Tory, joined William on 17 November at Exeter. The Exeter Association was formed to uphold William's cause until the kingdom was in no more danger of falling under Popery and slavery.

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer

London ye 18th December 1688

Deare Sr,

I recd yr kind letter with ye inclosed to Mr ferguson and return you my hearty thanks for yr last ffavor to mee at Ivy-church etc; this day the Prince of Orange came to St James's, with greater demonstrations of publique joy, and a universall satisfaction, than words can expresse, the King haveing about two howeres before prudently withdrawn himselfe againe down the river, in order, as tis thought, of leaveing the Kingdome, in wch designe tis believed there is care taken that hee may not bee againe interrupted; for other particulars of news I must referr you to yr own publique lettter, not haveing more time at present then to present my humble service to yr good Lady, and to assure you that I am yr most affectionate ffreind and ffaithfull servant, Edw: Clarke

Dr Goodall to Locke 27 December 1688

I know you can be no stranger to the wonderful success which God Almighty hath given to the Prince of Orange in his late undertaking to deliver our miserable and distressed kingdoms from Popery and slavery, which mercy we in England esteem no less than the Israelites deliverance from Egypt by the hand of Moses. I presume you have heard that the King went privately from Whitehall some few days before the Prince came to St James's with a design for France, but was stopped by some fishermen, and then returned again to Whitehall on the Sunday in the evening, but on the Tuesday (being the day the Prince came to London) he retired to Rochester and is said to have left the kingdom last Sunday.

Somers said that the King had forfeited claims to allegiance from his subjects. With excitement mounting, Edward was back in town on or before 27 December 1688.



The flight of James II

The new charter which had been issued for Taunton in September restricting the franchise to the nominated corporation, lapsed on the Dutch invasion. After William landed Tories struggled with Whigs for possession of the Crown as their instrument; Sanford quickly supported the Prince, and improved his interest in the town.

The election in January 1689 was contested between Clarke and Trenchard on the one hand, and Portman and Sanford on the other. The result was another disaster for the Whigs, who had overestimated their voting strength, and Sanford and Portman were elected. This was especially upsetting for Trenchard,* who had been marked down for high office in the new regime. He petitioned that a number of his supporters had been prevented from voting by men with "great cudgels or clubs" from the Three Cups, "which was a place where Sir William Portman's and Mr Sanford's servants and friends were." Many of the rioters were alleged to be soldiers in the regiment of Francis Luttrell II, presumably in mufti and without arms. The Angel, which was the Whig HQ, was attacked, the innkeeper knocked down, windows broken and customers had to flee. The petition was heard in the House, and rejected by 230 to 132 votes.

* Trenchard was however knighted, became Chief Justice of Chester in 1689 and Secretary of State from 1693 until his death in 1695.

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer

Janry ye 15th 1689

Sr,

Since ye generosity ? this Nation is such as to forgive all small offences as Parliamentary ??? to sell ye Nation, Power to destroy the Protestant religion, surrenders of Charters to roote out Corporations and thereby the Ancient constitutions of this Kindgome, evill and wicked councllors that did all in them lay to assist the two last Kings to make this nation as happy as France and to forgive the verie actors in murthers by a pretence of law and to make K James ye only Scape goate runn into the windernesse carrying ye sinns of the whole nations, it seemes most reasonable to mee, and I doubt not it will bee soe to you, that an Act of Indemnity may allsoe passe in this House this session for the late K James, and therefore as an honest man guided by Truth and Justice, I have sent you ready drawn a Byll of Indmenity for him as well as for ye rest, and doe hope it will have ye good favor of this House to passe into a law, in order to wch I hope

you will give yr helping hand and communicate it to the House, and if you find any to Boggle at it, as some may doe, gett but a Ballotting Box, and I dare warrant ye majority of ye house will be for passing this good Byll: I am
yr servant

An Act of Indemnity and ffree Pardon for James Stuart late K of England
Whereas ye late King James ye 2 without any evill councellors wicked judges or ministers through folly and weakenesse has been mislead into arbitrary designes agst the Governmnet himselve thereby becoming obnoxious to the Auntiant fundamentall laws of this Kingdome and the sd King, haveing broken the originall contract betwixt K & People for wch hee abdicatd the governt and the throne was thereby vacant, and whereas tis incident to Kings and Princes being gott to the throne to thirst after arbitrary power by the helpe of flatterers to their owne ruine and destructions, and for that the strict inquiry has been made to discover his accomplices yett none can bee found out, and it appeareing most playnly that ye late Kind did all of his own head for ye distroying of charters and murthering his subjects on pretence of law, there fore and for as much as doubts may arise about the matters aforsd, and to ???? that ye wonted clemency of this nation of England may bee perpetually had in veneration as well abroad as at home, Bee it enacted ???K & Qu most excellent Maties and by and with ye consent of the Lds spirituall and temporall and the Comons in this present Parliamt assembl'd and by the Authority afoesd that the sd late K James the 2d bee pardoned indemnified and saved harmelesse from all paynes penaltyes and fforfeitures what soever for or by reason of any misdeeds or omissions by him heretofore made or done contrary to any law of the land what soever untill the 25th day of December last past, and bee it enacted by the Authority aforsd that it shall and may bee lawfull to and for their present Maties and their successor not only to retayne and keepe in their most secrett councells and places of trust and office whatsoever any of the lat K James's servants councellors or officers, but allsoe the sd K James if their Maties shall thinke fitte for ye more sure settling and confirmeing their present Mates K Wm and Qu Mary in the govermnt of these kingdomes agst popery and arbitrary power and entertain him and them in any place of trust or proffitt whatsoever provided allwayes that ye sd King James and all his freinds and relations wch shall bee soe employed by their present Maties doe take the New Oaths mentioned in the Act made in this present Parliamt

Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer
Deare Sr,

London Janry ye 18th 1689

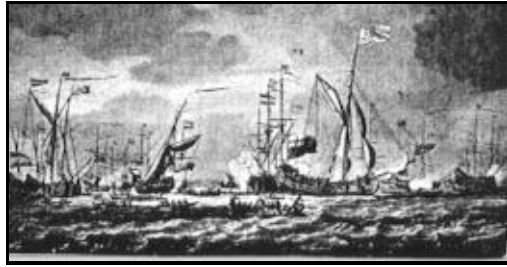
Thursday morning ye inclosed was directed to ye Speaker of ye House of Comons and left in his chayre, 'tis said by Jack Ayliff's ghost; wee have, though with much difficulty, obtained a new Tryall, of wch you shall heare more by the next oportunity but at present I am soe cold that I can write noe more to you but that I am yrs---

Locke to Edward Clarke 29 Jan/ 8th February 1688/9

The spring comes on apace, and if we be, France will not be idle. And if France should prevail with the Emperor for an accommodation (which is more than feared) I beseech you consider how much time you have to lose in England. I mention not Ireland because it is in everybody's eye.

I do not perceive that you stood to be chosen anywhere, which when I see you I shall quarrel with you for not a little; make not the like omission the next election.

Locke wrote to Edward on 8 February but wondered if he himself would reach London before the letter did. For on 12 February 1688/89 Princess Mary arrived at Greenwich and the next day William and she were proclaimed King and Queen at Whitehall. Among her travelling companions from Holland were John Locke, (who was asked by William to serve as an Ambassador but refused because of his precarious health) and Lady Mordaunt, wife of Viscount Mordaunt.



Princess Mary arrives at Gravesend



Queen Mary

Somers presided over the committee which framed the Declaration of Rights that William and Mary had to accept as joint sovereigns. Whigs regarded William as

their personal champion and expected him to rule with their help alone, but they had been out of office so long that they could not provide enough competent personnel, and the new King hoped to get cooperation from both sides. Under the Toleration Act William had signified his readiness to take communion if freedom of worship was guaranteed for others. Fifteen new bishops were created in three years, all Latitudinarian and in favour of the Revolutionary Settlement.

For the next two years Locke lived mainly at Mrs Smithsby's* at the first door on the left hand in Dorset Court, Channel Row, Westminster, where he rented an apartment for £5 10s a quarter. Dorset Court had been built after 1680 by Maurice Emmett and *"is a very handsome open place, containing but 6 houses which are large and well built, fit for gentry to dwell in, of which those towards the Thames have gardens towards the river."*

* Rabsby Smithsby, daughter of William Smithsby, groom of the Privy Chamber to Charles I, had been a friend of Locke and the Clarkes since 1679.

Locke to Clarke London 13 April 1689

I was then in treaty with a French tutor for your son; the terms I told him as well as I knew them. The main one, which was the salary of £20 per annum, I perceived he would willingly have accepted. I find him not forward to claim knowledge he has not, nor to undertake anything in the breeding of your son for which he is not prepared. Let me know how to convey him down to you, and the proper (directions) to me about the going abroad with your son whenever he went abroad without his mother, and whether he must lie in the same bed, or chamber. As to the bed, I answered positively no. As to the chamber, I left that to your determination. And I think it would be convenient (to permit) him in the same chamber, for that will gain so much time and talking. But then it would be convenient he should at least have closet adjoining, but unless I know your house better than my memory now retains it I can say nothing to that.

The other business, I writ to you of at the same time was a project I have in my head to get my Cousin Somerton* to be Auditor to the Queen's Majesty. My Lord Coote is treasurer to her. The salary is but £100 per annum. The perquisites, I am told, about so much more; the business not much, and such as Mr Bridges says he will quickly perfect my Cousin Somerton in. It is not the present advantage that put me on this for my cousin, but the entrance it gives him into the court, and the countenance it gives him in the country. And I will tell you how far I am advanced in it. The Bishop of St Asaph has promised me to move it to the Queen. Mr Dacome has promised me to second him with both these; I have made an acquaintance for this very purpose. And my Lord Coote has promised (who is very hearty in it) to do all he can when once the matter is moved.

* Somerton = Edward Clarke

Clarke to Locke Chipley 20 April 1689

As to the French tutor* I shall willingly give him £20 per annum as I gave Mr D'uelly, and shall contentedly bear the charge of his coming into the country, whenever we agree the certain. My wife and I have some thoughts at present of seeing you in London, and spending some part of this summer at Tunbridge, and of bringing the children with us, and if that should happen to be resolved on, it would be altogether improper to send for the tutor hither at this time.

As to the other part of your letter, I know not how I shall deserve either the honour or the favour designed me by you. If the place do not oblige me to a constant residence in town, and I am capable of performing it (of which you and Mr Bridges that know my failings are the best judges) and it can be obtained, I shall faithfully perform the service, and the trust that shall be thereby reposed in me, and shall ever acknowledge your favour and kindness therein whilst you permit me the title of

Your faithful friend and servant Edw Clarke

*M. Passebon

William and Mary's households were run by a comprehensive set of rules, and all accounts were carefully kept and checked; the counting house was re-equipped with standishes, counters, pens, ink, sand, wax and wafers, paper, parchments and books for accounts, carpets, chairs and cushions.

The Lords and Commons resolved to help William 111 against Louis XIV; as Yonge said "those who would have brought in Popery and slavery, if they had power, would do the same again." On May 1 came the battle of Bantry Bay, an inconclusive fight, after which William 111 created Herbert Lord Torrington. On May 4 Somers was made Solicitor General, and then on 7 May war was declared against France, a war which with the exception of the years 1697 to 1702, lasted until 1713.

The kingship of William 111 gave England international status, as he was experienced in continental diplomacy, and determined to prevent Louis conquering the whole of Europe. William 111 protected the English Roman Catholics against too many penalties as he was allied with Spain, Austria and the Pope; but despite efforts of the Whigs, the Test and Corporation Acts were retained.

On 17 May 1689 Edward paid 12s 0d for 2 gray lased caps and 16s 0d for 2 suites of children's knotts. On 24 May Locke signed an agreement with Thomas Bassett to print and sell the "Essay concerning Human Understanding", which was witnessed by Clarke and Freke. On 29 July Edward and Mary ended a visit to the Stringers at Ivychurch and set off for a summer at Chipley.

Passebon to Locke 22 October 1689

If I had followed my natural inclination I would have written to you frequently but I thought as the shortest of your moments are so valuable, I should spare your time until I had some news of Mr Clarke's progress to report. I waited a while before using the method you thought to be most correct for introducing him to Latin and for six weeks I am making him practise this method. I am sufficiently satisfied with his progress in the Sunday prayers, the symbol, the decalogue and the first 4 psalms. I hope Sir it (the method) will have

the effect that you thought it would. Before this, I made him touch upon declensions and conjugations. For his French reading, I make him use M de Condom's book and I do not let pass any historical matter pertaining to geography without making him point it out on the globe which you gave him. He does not seem to have made great progress in French however I can assure you he speaks it most of the time not losing sight of it from dawn to dusk and except for the time spent in reading Holy Scriptures, the rest of the time is entirely devoted to it. Would it be appropriate that having done the psalms, I should then make him read the Port Royal translation of the Fables of Phedre? if you agree would you ask his father to buy him this book and although he isn't advanced in arithmetic, to add to the list the "Elements of mathematics" printed by Pralard and the "New element of geometry" printed by Sauvreux according to the note you gave me shortly before my departure for London. Mr and Mrs Clarke are very honest and open towards me as whenever you have mentioned me in your letters they have told me. I have never seen a better run household than theirs. I hope you will continue to give me good advice about the education of their son.

Ward Clarke to his father (translated from French)

Most honourable father,

The more I think about what happened the day before you left, the more I recognise how much I made myself unworthy of your kindness to me if I continued in my stubbornness. My real displeasure at my faults has caused me to resolve not to rest until I have conquered my weakness, to which I add that I will do all that is necessary to regain your favour so that you should not regret your care of me and the expense of my education. I know only too well, Sir, that nothing more unfortunate could happen to me than that you should come to have no more tenderness for me such as you have always shown. The most important thing in the world to me is to give you joy, I assure you I shall work with concentration so that I may be worthy of being able to call you, with deep respect, Sir, my most honoured father,

Your humble and most obedient servant Edw Clarke

My tutor sends you his most humble respects and to M. Locke and the ladies.

Edward Clarke to Ward

My deare child,

I recd yr French letter by the last post and am soe well pleased wth what you have therein written to mee, that in case you carefully indeavor to performe what you have therein promised you shall not only bee forgiven all that is past, but restored to the former place you had in ye tender love and affection of Yr best freind as well as father Ed Clarke

Pray present my humble service to yr tutor, and give him my thanks as well as yr own, for his indeavors by that letter to reconcile you to mee.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke 26 November 1689

I was all that evening in attendance on my Mistris* upon her business, in my transaction of which, shee was pleased to owne herself well satisfied, and spoke verie graciously to me, which is some comfort amidst these misfortunes and losses I sustayne in the country.

* Queen Mary

Locke to Mary Clarke 12 December 1689

Madam,

I am at the Taverne with your husband and other blades of his gang as debauched as he, and therefore you must not wonder that I do not return you my thanks for the favour of your last kinde letter with all the civility that is due. What concerns my dear little Betty in it I have writ to Monsieur of, and if that takes, as I do not doubt, it will naturally draw in her sister and younger brother.*

* Daughters were fortunate if they had brothers for a tutor might then be in the house for a good many years and they would benefit from the same lessons; otherwise they would be taught dancing, music, needlework and French, but not the classics.

If William 111 had expected any gratitude from the politicians of England he was to be disappointed. The Commons was determined to limit his authority and began by refusing to grant him a revenue for life. At the end of 1689 the Declaration of Rights was put on the statute book, to William's resentment.

But it was not only William that felt resentful; the Whigs for years had been his secret allies, had been responsible for placing on the throne and wanted the sweets of exclusive power. The King, however, mistrusted the party of Exclusionists and Republicans and relied on the Tories for traditional support. With their loyalty to the principle of hereditary monarchy, the Tories found it difficult not to see William as an usurper, and many were secretly in touch with James and his court. The King soon found it was unwise to trust the Tories and communication with Parliament became more and more difficult.

The dissolution of the Convention Parliament in January gave Edward another chance of being elected, and he returned to Chipley to fight again.

Dr Thomas* to Locke Sarum 19 February 1689/90

Last night Mr Clarke came hither very much payned in his right arme, but being that night lett blood 16 ounces he was easier and this day set forward in his journey to Chipley.

* Dr David Thomas (d 1694) lived at Sarum but had practised in Oxford with Locke and had been an intimate friend of Shaftesbury, whom he had advised to consult Locke.

Mary Clarke to Locke 3 March 1689/90

Dearest Sir,

Your letter to Mr Clarke came safe to his hand, but he is not in a condition as yet to answer it, though he every day finds himself better, and I hope in a short time will be perfectly recovered of his rheumatism.

Sir I have nothing of news from hence to acquaint you with more than, that the election for this county is not yet determined, and there has been all the foul

practices imaginable in the management thereof, and it is thought there will be a false return at last against Sir John Sydenham and Mr Speake, in order to set up Sir Edward Philipps, being the great pillar of the Western church. Bridgwater has the same members as they had last Parliament, and as for the Taunton people they have not made their choice yet but it is now thought that Portman and Clarke will carry it, if there is not tricks played by the first mentioned.

Mary Clarke to Locke Chipley 23 March 1689/90

I thank God Mr Clarke's recovery was much sooner than I feared it would have been, though not so quick as yours. I hope now you are together you will take care of one the other, and not be guilty of so many debauches as you were last, which I believe was the occasion of all your disorders, if the truth were known. But I'll say no more on this subject till I see you, but have in the meantime, in pursuance of your commands, sent an account of the disorders and proceeding of Mr Clarke's servant, who I have desired to state his case himself underneath, that it may be the more perfect.

John Spreat* to Locke (enclosed)

"Honoured Sir,

I had in the first place several hard nobbs that did arise, some in the right side of my neck and one under my right arm, and after that, in some little distance of those nobbs small clusters of little pimples full of clear water. The places on which those pimples arose were very red and fiery, and very troublesome - like to the stinging of nettles. But (all humble thanks to your favourable directions) they with the nobbs are all long since dissipated and gone. And now what remains is a giddiness in my head that frequently surprises me without the least pain and soon leaves me again; and also a trembling mist that very often comes before my eyes, like as when one has gazed on the fervent sunshine, so that I cannot distinctly discern for some time; and I do very often bleed at the nose; Sir your former prescription for me was a diet drink, with four handfuls of elder flowers, one pound of common dock roots and 1/2 lb of dandelion roots, put into it, which I have carefully made use of, and I find it the most agreeable to me of any kind I drink. And if you please to give yourself the trouble of affording me your further direction touching my present case, it shall be carefully observed and thankfully acknowledged as the greatest of favours to your most obliged humble servant Jo. Spreat

*John Spreat, attorney at law and steward at Chipley

At the election Edward was successful and returned to London a Member of Parliament.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

March 1689/90 - October 1691

Edward's parliamentary career begins - his maiden speech - Mary joins him in London - Battle of Beachy Head - William III enters Dublin as James II flees - Ward's memory poor - birth of Jepp - Aunt Jane Strachey worries about her son -

Once Edward was elected a Member letters to him had a new superscription: *To Edward Clarke Esq. one of the membs of the Honoble House of Commons to be left at Richards coffee house near Temple Bar in Fleet Street London.* Coffee houses had become popular as meeting places for the exchange of gossip and as postal addresses.

*Richards Coffee House was established by Richard Turver in 1680 and lasted until 1855; it was situated at the rear of No 8 Fleet Street, overlooking Hare Court. In 1681 it was mentioned in Titus Oates evidence when Stephen College had borrowed £50 of Richard the coffee man, and was frequently mentioned in 18C e.g. Steele, Tatler, 27 Oct 1709. College's name was probably the source of the title given to the group of Clarke, Freke and Locke.



An early coffee house

The Commons met in St Stephens chapel *"with the evil smells descending from the small apartments adjoining the Speaker's chamber, which come down into the House with irresistible force when the weather is hot".**

* Charles Davenant to Thomas Coke 14 December 1700 HMC Cowper 11, 141

The leader of the government was Shaftesbury's rival, Thomas Osborne, Marquis of Camarthen and previously Earl of Danby. The original promoter of the marriage between Princess Mary and William of Orange, he had emerged from a long imprisonment to lead the Tories in James II's time and was one of the few Tories to openly oppose the King's policies. He was one of the seven men who invited William

to “come and rescue the nation” and carried the party over to William's cause at the Glorious Revolution. He was a superb organiser and his Toryism was free from Jacobitism.



Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds

The King wanted the court to be above party and thought ministers should do his bidding like officers in a battle. But he found that one faction might support one part of his plan but disagree with another part - for example the Whigs were more likely to agree to an aggressive foreign policy, while the Tories would support him in maintaining the prerogative. William did prefer the good supplies the Whigs could obtain for him, and many Whigs compromised and came to support the Court; men like Somers, Russell, Montagu* and Wharton were in search of great office rather than reform and were content to uphold his prerogative.

* Charles Montagu, born 1661, eventually Lord Halifax, Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer, educated Westminster and Trinity College Cambridge, in 1685 had helped Newton found the Philosophical Society at Cambridge; his talent for politics emerged in the Convention Parliament.

Placemen got offices in the Treasury, the Law and the Household and attended Parliament regularly; this made it extremely difficult for them to run their estates and they normally hoped to go home in the spring to attend to business. Edward strongly identified with the Court interest, because of being Auditor to the Queen, but he still disliked Tories and defended Whigs.

Edward's name appears as Auditor General to Queen Mary in a series of annual list of the Queen's establishment, showing the salaries paid to the Officers of her Household (Establishment Book 13), from 1689 to 1695. The Excise

Commissioners had to pay £1000 a week of the money of the hereditary excise into the Exchequer for the use of the Queen.

Officers of our revenues

<i>Treas & Rec: Gen</i>	<i>Richard Lord Coot</i>	<i>50 - -</i>
<i>Audito: Gen</i>	<i>Edward Clarke Esq</i>	<i>100 - -</i>
<i>The Auditors Clerke for his pains and attendance</i>		<i>10 - -</i>
	<i>ditto for paper and books</i>	<i>10 - -</i>
<i>The Treasurs Clerke</i>	<i>Mr Edward Godfrey</i>	<i>30 - -</i>
	<i>ditto for bookes paper etc</i>	<i>10 - -</i>
<i>Messengers</i>		<i>11 1 8</i>
	<i>Richard Handcock</i>	<i>11 1 8</i>
<i>The Secretarys Clerke</i>	<i>Mr Daniel Moreau</i>	<i>10 - -</i>

Our will and pleasure is that all the aforesaid Fees Pensions and other allowances whatsoever contained in this our Establishment shall be paid quarterly or half yearly as they grow due out of our revenue and receipts by our Treasur and Receiv Gen and whereas we shall have occasion from time to time to give rewards and gifts (as we shall see cause) unto divers persons those are therefore further to require our said treasurer that he pay or cause to be paid such severall gifts and rewards to any person or persons as we shall command him or signifie our pleasure to him by our officers and servants and alsoe such other gifts and rewards to any person or persons as our said Treasur shall think meet and necessary for services the same not exceeding in any one particular the sume of six pounds English and all such bills for grooms messengers watermen and others as shall be signed by our chamberlaine or vice chamberlaine as in like cases has been used and accustomed and our Treasur certifying the same under his hand writing to our Auditor shall be a Suff: Warr: to Audito to give allowance thereof upon a sd Treasurs accompt.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley March ye 23 1689

This letter of John Spreats was to have gone to Taunton but when it was gott hardly halfe way the messenger was forst to returne agen by reson of the hight of the watters; there was several going in the same company but none would venture through there being one drownded but just before. I heard but I know not wheare to believe or not that we are like to loose our knyabourgh the House at Ninehead being abdicated theyr hole family almost being gone to Aishford wheare tis sed they intend to live and by out old Mr Aishfords right; pray send down a list of the parlement that I may compare it with the last and satisfy myselfe how many of those are in agen that had a cross on theyr backes.

John Spreat to Edward Clarke Chipley March 21 1689

I hope you are safely arrived at yr journeys end and seated with satisfaction amongst those that heartyly contibute their utmost endeavors to the nations happiness and the peoples peace and welfare. Sir I doubt not but long ere this time you have had (news) of Sir William Portman who (left) this life upon Monday night last and have (as I herd yesterday in Taunton) left all his lands to Capt Henry Seymour and a considerable legacy to the town of Taunton.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke

Deare cozen

Yours received and am extremely glad to heare that you are all in helth, which pray god continew and I am well plesed to heare that you desire to live in the contry for I hard that my cozen had a gret place at cort and lodgens at Whithall, which make me think you desird to live thare we have now puld down the owld hows and have confind ouer selves to a litel apartment whill it is bilding I never was in so much dirt and dust in all my life I should be quite wery of it al redy but Sr Edward now will stay in the contry and tak som part with me I want much to be neare you and beg a line from you.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley March ye 28th 1690

Yesterday was the day of apeale att Taunton wheare John Spreat was to atend till twelve a clocke at night, wheare should seem Mr Sandford tooke care to be to helpe take of some of the mony though he would not be theare to see them rated, you know one is more oblidging then the other mony being scarce and theare was a whole new rate made for the parish of Hidflowance, I heare King in that parrish did apley himsele to Mr Sandford, and when it was done King gave him publick thanks in the name of the whole parrish, I heare theare was general reflecttions made on you as if you should be soe much for the Ks interest that it should incline you to opress the people.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley April 1690

My deare,

I have received all your kind letters and this day with the Votes of the House for which I thanke you and for all your other news but am very much concerned to heare that the ffrench are soe much forwarder then we are heare to have landed many men in Ireland. I am oblidged to you for your offer to send down my coronetts, but I have noe present occasion for them and thearefore will not give you that troble being in hopes you will bringe them your selfe before Easter or else some of the Wellington people will thinke themselves halfe undone. I hope Molly is well and that your rumatism is perfectly gone though you say nothing of either.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Aprill ye 12th 1690

My deare

I received your letter by the last post with great joy it bringing me the good newes of yours and our little girls health which is the greatest sattisfaction I have at this distance. John Spreat is at Taunton to meet the Commishioners we hope this will be the last day for we begin all to be tyred with it for in truth it takes up his whole time so that he is able to mind nothing at all else and by that meanes I find mysele not so much eased by him as I use to be, and yet in chonchince, I can desire no more for I wonder how he can do what he doss they leaving the whole burden of the business on him and none of theyr meeting are broke up till twelfe or one a clocke att night. I am sure I shall be very glad when the King has his money.

Edward was on the drafting committee of the Abjuration bill, where religion, liberty and security would all *"be lost if we hold not now together united in this government"*. All who recognised William as King should *"join in a solemn and public renunciation of the divine right doctrine that annuls his title"*. In his maiden recorded speech Edward said he was *"as much for the innocent Church of England men as any man, but not for the guilty of innocent blood lately shed"*.

He appealed to both republican Whigs and jure divino Tories to curb their excesses and unite behind the rightful King against France and Popery, thus justifying his ranking among the Whigs, although on the court wing of the party.

"The Prince of Orange came with armed force to redeem us. Those who will not own this to be done of right must take it for an invasion of an enemy whom they are willing to be rid of again--- and how ready they will be to join with ye King of France is easy to judge. That which makes such a Declaration as this more necessary is that many amongst us publicly declared against the Vacancy of ye throne which opinion I never heard they have publicly recanted but tis necessary they should --- the emissaries of Rome and France are busy everywhere to increase our want of union into a breach which will be sure to let in France and his dragoons upon us; I ask any the warmest Whig or Tory -- what he proposes to himself when he has let in a foreign force that are enemies to our nation and religion and thereby made his country the scene of blood and slaughter."

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley April ye 28th 1690

My deare,

I have received your letters that mention my coming to London and the last whearein you desire to know the time that I have apoynted to begin my journey you know I am very long in considering and hard to resolve, I am not yett come to any resolution what to doe neither doe I beleive I shall till I have had a letter or 2 more from you, not one of the family yett knowes that you have written any like it to me, but are in dayly expectation of your coming home; by the constant notes you send me I find that this parlement does such exterordinary things that I intend if I come to towne while it sits to put in a Bill to inable me to be att 2 places att once. I find they generally beleive when the Kinge is gone into Ireland your time will be out, for the men doe soe little good that when the Queene come to raine alone she will certainly have a parlement of women and see if they will agree anny better. Sometimes I thinke to bringe none of the children and then how Betty will bare it not to see her husband* I know not and how the others will indure to be left behind I cannott tell.

Pray lett me know whether the Whitlock Bulstrode* and his wife mentioned in the votes be our acquaintance or not and what they mean by provideing carragess for the Kinge and Queene in theyr progress.

*Locke

* Whitelock Bulstrode (1650 - 27 November 1724) member of Inner Temple, J.P. and Commissioner of Excise. He did not share his father's Royalist/Jacobite opinions and was strong anti-Jacobite. He wrote philosophical treatises and was a close friend

and executor of Kneller. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Dyneley of Charlton, Worcs and had 1 son and 2 daughters.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley May ye 10th 1690

I shall not be able to come from here till the Thursday following but some day that weeke I hope God willing to be at Mr Stringers and the beginning of the weeke following for London I know you are well acquainted with what difficulty I use to resolve of a day to get out, and I hope by this time as well acquainted with my desires to you not to come to Mr Stringers to meet me the time that weeke being soe uncertaine; and if I do faile of my first thoughts of setting out Tuesday pray be not to angrey nor censure me to hard till I see you at which time I hope to give you such substanshall resens for what I doe that shall very well satisfye you.

Mary Clarke to John Spreat London May ye 24th 1690

According to my promise I am to give you an account of the remaining part of my travells to London which I thanke God was with better sucksess then the begining, the day that you left Mr Stringers by Dr Thomasses advice I keep my bead all day and when I rose att night found my legg rather wors then better by which meanes I was earnestly importuned by Mr Stringer and his lady not to goe for London the next day and if I did to make what hast I could and compass it in two days; which I promised them to doe if I found I could not hold out, and when I parted with Mrs Stringer she was very positive it would breake, but when I came to Basingstoke I found it much easier and very good lodgings there and good atendance and good things, so not withstanding I came in by fower of the clocke, yet I resouled to stay all night and by that time supper was redy. We had a sett of musicke came to play to us and I wanted nothing but the company of my sone John and the rest of my children and a sound knee to have made me dance, but for want of all these things I soun discharged them, and went to bead at 8 and lay till 8 the next day, by which time I was innabled to goe on to Staines wheare ye House wheare we laye was allmost full of corronells and captaines and suchlike, and we was entertained with seeing of a new raised company exersised who was all new clothed and the next day marched with us towards London part of our way to Ditton wheare I found my little girle very well and doe intend to send for her in a day or 2.

This day the Kinge to oblige me hass ajourned the parlement till the 7th of July soe that I am now in great hopes of bringing my whole family together in a short time. I this day receved your letter inclosed in Mr Clarkes for which I thank you but it had such an exterordinary superscription that we could not but all read it Mr Clarke was of opinion it was writt on purpose to make me laugh, Elings thoughts ware you desined it for a grand complement and writt it seriously, but I hope your Master was in the right and if soe you have had you desire for I have laughed at you suffishiently for it and soe we have all, therefore for the future pray wright to me in the good old way and doe not racke your phancey for new complements for I am satisfied I have gott the better of Madam Clarke and am to be Mistress to you all.

I feare my knee will not be in a condition to waite of a Queene dureing my stay, though I thanke God it is better then it was, I have kept my bead all this day in hopes to cure it the souner.

Pray desire Mounsure to take the compass of his hatt in the head with a packthread and inclose it in your letter and send word what sort of hatt he would have and I will gett it for him and doe the same for one for Master.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat London May ye 29th 1690

J.S.

I write this only to desire you to take ye best course you can that the Assessors of Ninehead may not rate mee, nor yr Mistris, nor ye child, nor the three servants that are now with me, in the countrey, because wee are all rated here, and shall bee forced to pay here, of which the Assessors haveing timely notice by you, ought not to rate mee againe in the countrey, for if they doe soe I must bee forced to send downe a certificate of my haveing paid here, the trouble of wch I would not willingly bee putt to as I was the last Poll Byll, therefore pray acquaint them herewith and shew them my letter if you thinke fitt, tis in the Assessors power by this meanes to ease mee of ye trouble of being twice rated and sending downe certificates from hence, if they please, but if they will bee soe unkind as to give mee that trouble, I must ease my selfe the other way.

Mary Clarke to John Spreat London June ye 19th 1690

I receved yours by the last post with the lammentable account you give of my new raised regement, but I hope not to find soe many destroyed as you emagen, for some cowardly people will make great out cryes for small matters and a little blood will make a great show, thearefore never wish your selfe such a venemose creature as to reconcile theyr differance least you might come into danger for when they are soe angry as to burst they will cutt like a two edged sord, and thearefore if you could have had your wish I feare you might have soune had your head grone too heavy for your body or else cutt quite of, but since providence has preserved you in a whole skin, I desire you will lett Dorcass know I would have her to looke out some of the largest mouthed stone bottles that are not cracked and are very sweett and when they are very dry fill them up with goosberyes full gone and ye blackes and stalkes picked, but the goosberyes must not be grone soft, and when the bottles are full, corke them up very close and put them into a kettle of cold watter and lett them boyle an hower then take them out and lett them stand close stoped as they are till they are cold yn sett them away in the seller that I may see which will keepe best for use; I hope Dorcuss doe take care to provide good store of centrey and Cattren dont forgett to give it the children as I use to doe, my blessing to all my children and service to all my frends concludes in hast this from Your very loving frend M Clarke

Ward Clarke to Edward and Mary Clarke Chipley 23 June 1690

[in French]

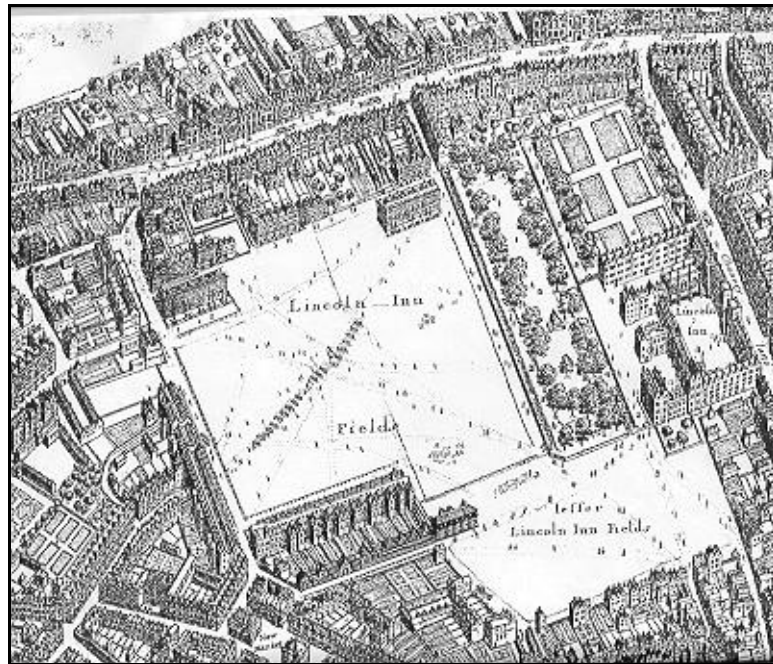
Most honourable mother and father

In having done me the honour of writing to me, I can only see the most powerful motivation for me to become all that you desire. Your letters reveal kindness and tenderness and they seem so touching to me that I read and re-read them with the same pleasure. If it were possible to be without faults at my age, your letters would have cured me. I beg you not to be too discouraged or those weaknesses I still have and I ask your indulgence. I carry out your instructions most regularly. My tutor has not changed my exercises in any way and they are

the same exercises I described to Mr Locke in the letter which I had the honour of writing to him some time ago. Please assure him of my respects, I am, most honoured father and mother your most humble and obedient son and servant,
Edw Clarke

My tutor send you his most humble respects and my brother and sister their love; we kiss the hands of my sisters, we do not forget Mrs Henman. Monsieur begs you to send his wig-maker 35/- in case he brings you a wig for him.

*Mrs Henman - landlady at Little Turnstile, between Holborn and Lincolns Inn Fields



Little Turnstile and Lincolns Inn Fields

While William 111 was in Ireland, where James 11 had raised an army, the French fleet with 75 ships, fought the Dutch and English with 58 ships, off Beachy Head on 30 June 1690. The Queen and Nottingham had told Torrington to fight but had underestimated the French numbers and 10 Dutch and 7 English ships were lost. Torrington retreated, and on 1 July the French commanded the Channel and put some French troops on to Devon soil for a few hours. There was some panic as an invasion was awaited but the nation was united. Louis XIV ordered his fleet to destroy ships in Plymouth and protect the French transports on their way from Ireland but Tourville merely bombarded Teignmouth on 26 July, then said all the sailors were ill and went back to Brest. Torrington was sent to Tower but not impeached because the result would be influenced by party faction. Meanwhile on 2 July James 11 fled from Dublin which was occupied by William two days later.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat **London July ye 8th 1690**
J.S.

Tho by treachery and cowardise in the Greate Officers of our Fleete, the French ryde master of ye sea at present, (our fleete and ye Dutch being come into the Buoy in ye Nore to Refitt) yett ye good News wee recd yesterday from Ireland of King William's victory there makes some amends of wch the inclosed is a true account; and this day by another expresse to the Queen wee have a certaine Account that King James is fledd from Dublyn, and the Duke of Ormond entred that place peaceably on Fryday last, and the next day King William dyned there, the body of our Army is encamped in Dublyn-Parke, but severall partys are gone out in pursuite of K James and his run-a-way Army; Drogeda is surrendred, wth vast quantities of armes and ammunition, soe that our Kinges successe in Ireland is as prosperous as wee could wish, the good news of wch will I hope disappoynt the ill designes of his enemyes here; yesterday the Parliamt mett and were prorogued to ye 28th instant; pray communicate this to my sister, and bee assured that I am yr loveing freind Edw: Clarke

Annotated by John Spreat : Victory in Ireland

The Battle of the Boyne was the ruin of Ireland because Irish Protestants ruined Irish Catholics, while English clothiers ruined Irish Protestants; they stopped the export of Irish cloth, so as to help West country clothiers.

Edward Clarke to Martha Lockhart* August 1690

Before the extremity of our danger of the French was over ye High Tory party began to show theire resentments that soe many honest gentlemen were made deputy lieutenants of this county and other of a different character left out etc and immediatly made theire application to the Bishops who (as if the Church were as much concerned in ye establishment of our militia officers as in settling of tender consciences) taking Sir Edward Phelips , notwithstanding all his notorious characters more black than the ink I write with, to be a pillar of this Church, they presently espoused his cause and purged the commission, matters of as ill consequence to the Church as even the landing of the French would have been could they have made good their church upon it . I have by this post written to my Lord Monmouth, hoping by his Lordships interest to prevent any mischief or inconvenience that so malicious a party may endeavour to do me with the Queen.

*Martha Lockhart, daughter of Sir William Lockhart and a third cousin of Sir Francis Masham. she was one of Queen Mary's 6 Bedchamber women earning £200 p.a.

Bitter local disputes plagued much of Edward's career, and resulted in many whispering campaigns against him. He had a lifelong distrust of High Churchmen, whom he suspected of sinister designs.

Martha Lockhart to Locke 1 September 1690

I just now receive a letter from Mr Clarke who tells me of a wonderful motion of the earth that has happened about him, which so apparintly shoke all the houses for nigh 20 miles round and without any noyse, by which the inhabitants was so terrified ran out of ther beds and quited ther houses with out clothes he

tells me the doges and cattles of all kinds manifested ther fear, and sence of it by very unusuall howlings and bellowing and extraordinary motions

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 1st September 1690

The enclosed from Monsieur of your son's proficiency not answering his expectation, I hope is rather from his great care and concern than any just cause of complaint, and I am the more encouraged to hope so because I find he complains also of the little progress my wife had made in French, which yet I found when she was in town was beyond what I could have expected. You must allow him to be a child and be like other children, averse to study and careless of what is for his future advantage; but an obstinate prevalency in having his will against the direction of his tutor, or an habitual idleness must not be indulged and the latter I am confident by the advances he makes it is not; and the former I guess consists more in a cunning elusion of Mr Passebon's orders than an open refusal or opposition to them. As soon as I get to town if the weather favors travelling I intend for the west for I long to see Madam at Chipley.

At about this time Locke moved from Mrs Smithsby's to Robert Pawlings, though Mrs Smithsby continued to buy clothes and necessities for him. Robert Pawling, a mercer and gentleman from Oxford, had been responsible for reception of Buckingham and Monmouth when they visited Oxford in 1680, and in 1685 had been arrested and sent to Oxford Castle at the time of Monmouths invasion. He occupied a house in Dorset Court from September 1690 or earlier and Locke kept rooms there continuously; even when he was at Oates Pawling looked after some of his affairs. In 1694 when duties were imposed on all legal documents he was appointed comptroller of the Stamp Office with a salary which eventually rose to £300. He moved to a house in Carey Street, near Lincolns Inn and Locke moved with him.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley ye 11 October 1690

My deare

I was very glad to heare of John Parsons that you gott safe to Saulsbury and that you theare mett with a cotch soe conveniently to carry you to London for I was very much concerned to thinke you should ride post the wether being soe exceding bad. I must not omitt to tell you that on Tuesday last between 7 and 8 of the clocke in ye morning just after Molly was carried into the nursary to be drest there was so great a trembling in my chamber that it make everywheare seem to be in motion and shook my bead as much as if I had bin in a cabin so that it quite turned my stomake, and Mounsr and master that was over my head att theyr bookes was shooke in ye like manner or more being higher, and master came running down and looked as pale as aish with the fright, but upon inquierry in the nursary and of all the people in the house we could met with none that had felt or heard anything of it, but the next day we was informed that severall houses in Wellington at that hour was shooke in the like manner, soe that now we conclude it to be like the former an earthquake what the consequence of these things will be God knowes and I hope it foretells noe ill newes perticulerly to this part of the country though I very much feare the

French the next springe, without the King and parlement do take very good care of us in the meane time.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **Chipley October ye 14th 1690**

Your sone being att the drawer wheare your watch was one day when I pulled it out was very disirouse that he might be soe much a man as to have the keeping of it till you come home and upon condition that he would be good in all things else and take care of it I did grant his request, which had made Betty soe impatient for a watch two that nothing would serve her but she would write to her father by the very next post to desire him to by her one also, but we all persuaded her it would be to noe purpose for that had soe many uses for his money that would not doe it, soe then she considered she would write to you in french and then she sed you must shew it to Mr Locke to interpret it by which means he would know she had a mind to such a thing and if you did not bye it she beleived he would, she pleased her selfe much with this piece of craft but I tell her it will never take.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **Chipley October ye 31 1690**

My deare

Yours received this day with the Votes for wch I thanke you I am sorry to heare allamode* is grone soe deare like every thing else that one is to by and what one is to sell is quite the contrary, money was never scarcer than tiss now and how the taxes will be raised tiss hard to know.

* allamode - a thin glossy black silk

The King's personal popularity was now at its height and his birthday on 4 November, a national holiday, was celebrated with splendour, the King and Queen dining in public.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **Chipley November ye 7th 1690**

We have such tempestuous wether heare that I have not bin able to stir out of doors and am redy to be drouded at this present within for the wett beates in at the windowes and eveywheare else just as bad as ever it did and what prejudice it will doe to the house noebody knowes but what cant be cured must be indured.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat **London November ye 13th 1690**

J.S.

By yr letter the last post I find myselfe in greate danger of looseing the debt due from Prickman, for wch Goodman Starr his tennant was bound; and doe therefore thinke it absolutely necessary that you forthwith rid to Churchill and informe yr self there as fully as you can what may bee most fitt to bee done in relation to yr secureing of the goods in my uncles house at Sydcott, and take what information you can there or elsewhere with respect to Goodman Starr allsoe, and then goe to his farme and if bee possible speake with him, and see what hee proposes for my security; I would by this post have sent you a writt against Starr that you might have taken him up if you had seen occasion but I want his Christian name, and for that you must looke into Prickman's and Starr's Bond, wch you will find in the lowest part of the cubbard of drawers in

the right hand corner of it, in my closett; tis the green cupboard that stands over the deske of drawers where all my other writings are kept, its amongst the bundle of Sydcott bonds not renewed since my Uncles death. Pray send mee his Christian name by the next post and I will send down a writt with my further directions to you at Churchill, that if you see occasion you may have him arrested.

Lett nothing induce you to goe into the house where Wm Selly dyed, in case there bee any manner of probability of any infection there.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley November ye 21 1690

It is very sickley all heareabouts but I thank God all our family holds well except a little cold or a sore throte or such a business.

Thomas Spreat tells me he has now almost done setting the elmes you ordered him but could not possobly gett any acurns the wether being soe extreame wett the people could not gather them, thearefore hopes you will not be displeased and John Spreat hopes you will not forget to do him the favour to by him a ream of Mr Doyles paper.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat London 22th November 1690

J.S.

The writt wch I therein sent you agst Starr's being not returnable untill the next Terme; and when I come home (wch I hope will bee before Christmas) I will give further directions in this affayr, in the meane time I thinke it not adviseable to bee too hard upon Starr by arresting of him, unless you have further cause to apprehend that Starr's promises for payment will not bee performed, and in case you have reason to bee of that opinion then when the writt comes to Chipley, I desire you to take care to gett him arrested and soe by that meanes gett good bayle to my action, or new security for my debt.

Ward to Edward Clarke Chipley 30th November 1690

Most honoured father,

When I had the honour of receiving your letter, I thought you would be reproaching me for my silence. However, I found such expressions of love in it, and strong encouragement to do well. After such kindness, if I do not do all you wish, I fear that nothing else in the world will make me change, for it is certain, that age and reason cannot always make one choose the best and wisest course of action. Therefore I shall make a great effort to carry out your orders.

My most humble thanks to Mr Locke for his message and my tutor and I send him our most humble respects. His mistress can hardly contain herself, so great is her joy at the thought that we shall have the honour of seeing him here with you, Sir, after this Parliament. I continue to work at Geography, reading history, conjugating and declining, the New Testament in Latin and French, a little chronology, and a few days ago, I have begun to work on the celestial globe. My brothers and sisters have the greatest love possible for you, and Monsieur sends his most humble respects and is obliged to you that you should remember him. I am respectfully and lovingly, dearest father, your most humble and obedient servant Ed Clarke

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London December ye 6th 1690

My deare,

Yr verie obleiging letter by the last post is now before mee and calls for the most hearty acknowledgments I can make you for that and all other demonstrations of yr reall affection to mee, and of yr extraordinary care of my family, for which I can never make you a return ample enough, but if the continuance of an unfeigned affection with all other those effects of a true freindshipp can expresse towards you will answer in any degree that love and tenderness wch you have for mee and mine, you may depend upon that as long as I have a being and what ever else shall bee any wayes in my powere to give you all ye satisfaction that this uncertaine world can afford . There being nothing that I soe earnestly long for as that of a speedy return to you, which wth my true love to you and my children, to Monsr and all the rest of my freinds concludes this from Yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 13 1690

I receved all your last letters but was sorry to find you was under such malloncoly apprehensions and doe hertily wish that all people would make it theyr buisness to indever to prevent our misfortunes in time that we may not be surprised the next summer as we was the last and not have our gunns to be cleaned when we should be discharging them, methinkes it should concern us as much to preserve the lives and fortunes of those that are already protestans as to take care to bringe up little new protestans before we know what will become of these, but stay I shall say to much by and by of what I dont understand the thearefore I will now come to the subject of topp notts and desire you to gett Mrs Buck* some time or other when she goes to the Exchange to by me a head redy drest I would have it genteel and fashionable and not a dear sute but that which is neat and trimmed according to the fashion with what ribbone will agree with my last new mantua and also with my purple mantua, I dont care to have it greene or red or yellow pray lett it come downe redy drest but not to backe from the face if the fashion be to have it soe, I have no hast of it but when you come home will be time enough that I may then appear a little cleane which is the hith of my ambition.

* Mrs Buck - a friend of Mary's from Hatton Garden days and wife of the vicar of St Andrews Holborn

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 17 1690

Yours also brought the account of my lord Torringtons* being aquited. It was strange newes but I have learnt to wonder at nothing now neither would it surprise me I should heare he is made a privy councillor for now I looke upon it he is in a good way to be prefered if possoble for it is noe matter now what the Dutch think of it the K's presens will make amends for all.

Everyone is complaining of scarcety of money, the tradesman for want of trade and the farmer that the tradesman payes all his work folkes at a deare rate with bacon and pease corne and everything else so that they can sell none of theyr goods for redy money.

*Torrington was courtmartialled on 9 December and acquitted; feelings had turned in his favour and against the Dutch, and the navy felt his trial an injustice. He defended himself with ability and said there had been an urgent necessity to preserve a "fleet in being". After the trial he sailed up to London and every ship in the Thames saluted him. William was furious and Torrington was stripped of his Admirals commission and never asked to serve again.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 22nd 1690

We of this knaybourwood weare in some hopes that you would have bin at home to have keep Christmas, but since it cannot be we must be content and I will take the same care of the poore as I use to do and for a feast* if I make any it shall be for ye blind and halt and lame for all others I hope they will be able to beare a disapoyntment; I find by most of your letters that you have bin under a perpetuall hurry and vexation ever since you went and thearefore did resolve to trouble you with no complaints from hence neither indeed have I had much reson so to do hitherto for both the children and servants have bin all as good as I could expect in your absence.

Now Jack grows bigger I find what a maid can teach him signifyes very little and he teaches his little sister to doe all sorts of dangerous boylke trickes just as his brother Edward did his other 2 sisters before him, and she will venture as far to break her neck with him as she is able, if you and Mr Locke thinks fit I should think Mounsr might begin a little with him to teatch him his french letters and to read french and by that meanes keep him up stayres with him and his brother that he might lerne to walke a little by rule and method and grow a little in feare of Mounsr which I think absolutely necessary now or that he should goe to some scoule heare abouts to lerne English or else he will never lerne I think though he is capable enough of that or anything else he will give his mind to, and is very stout he will turne his backe to noebody or will hardly cry for the greatest hurt he can receve.

I find Mounsr very carefull of Ward and keepes him close to his book but what improvement he makes I am not able to judg but sometimes Mounsr does make great complaint that Ward wants application as he expresses it and Nanny much more so that he has much the more troble with them and they the less advantage of what he tells them.

John Parson came to me yesterday without anything of anger or resen that I know or can yett understand and told me he desired me to provide myself in one in his place, for that he did not intend to stay longer than his year was up, I asked him when that would be and he told me a little before our Lady day and I told him I would lett you know his mind, not that I would have you provide yourself of one theare for I think London ones very improper for the countrey thearefore while I live heare I think I will have none from thence, I had rather continue my old place of school mistress and take the trouble of makeing them fitt for that place and soe be turned off by them when I have done than be plagued with one that have lived in London long enough to lerne all the rogueryes and cheates of it.

* Christmas feast - Mince pies were oblong in shape to represent the manger, and made with beef or mutton. Mince pies were thought Puritanical, and so were usually called Christmas pies after the Restoration. Plumb porridge was made of beef stock, raising, spices, currants, sugar, sack, claret and served in large bowl. Foreigners spoke of it with horror.

There was no Christmas recess that year but Parliament did not sit on Christmas Day. The House of Commons voted for a new naval yard to be built at Plymouth, plus 27 men- of-war.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 22nd December 1690

You who doe your friends' business soe carefully and soe exactly have noe need to excuse yourself for want of time when you write your letters. Lady Masham says that she concludes whatever hast you are in, that the Parliament will not sit in the holydays contrary to the privileges of the Church, which has a right to make people idle at some times, as well as eat fish at others. And she says whatever sort of recess you have you cannot keep your Christmas at Chipley and however great a lover of the town you may be she guesses that you may fairly by this time have your bellyful of it. This being soe she makes it her request to you that you would come and spend a few days here. Pray if you come hither do the favour to bring me a pair of drawers of swans skin.* If you wear them down on your own, they will do you no harm this cold weather.

* Swanskin - fine thick flannel

Parliament adjourned when William left for Holland on 16 January, and Queen Mary left Kensington - where the air suited William's asthma -to return to Whitehall Palace. In William's suite was England's greatest composer, Henry Purcell* and a party of 43 musicians, to play the martial music that William enjoyed.

* Henry Purcell had followed his family into service as a Royal musician. After the Restoration musicians were in a privileged position at court, where there was a 24 strong orchestra modelled on Versailles. In the late 1660s Purcell was a Chapel Royal chorister, then when his voice broke he looked after the instruments and the organ in Westminster Abbey. By 1677 he was composer to Charles II and in 1679 organist at the Abbey, and 1682 organist at the Chapel Royal. In 1683 he had to take the sacrament in public to prove he was not a Roman Catholic. After the Glorious Revolution he had to look beyond the Court, for the numbers of musicians were reduced, and so he composed operas and incidental music for the concerts that were flourishing for a wider public.

John Freke to Edward Clarke 27 January 1690/91

Ashton will be executed tomorrow. Preston they say confesses but I can scarcely believe it for there can be noe plott for ye subversion of any government but it must be founded (1) on foreign force, (2) on the humour of ye people or (3) on ye treachery of those in Trust or Authority; now for foreign force you see in these papers they renounce it and declare themselves enemys to it and for ye humour of ye people but open yr eyes and look wch way you will you shall see that strong for ye support of ye Government. Shall we then suspect the persons in trust or authority. If so to whom shall he make his discoveries and of whom?

Edward Clarke to Locke 7 March 1690/91

I would fayne answer that part of your last letter to me which relates to the present state my eldest sonn is in, both in respect to his mind and learning. But indeed the taske is soe hard that I know not well how to answer you expectations therein; and therefore, can only acquaint you that as to his mind upon the strictest observation, there is noe manner of disposition to anything that is ill,

neither can I find any inclination in him towards any sort of learning whatsoever, nor any pleasure that he takes therein. However, he goes on, tho slowly, and with a verie greate indifferency; Monsieur complaynes much against him for want of application to his businesse, and tells mee hee is capable, but too carelesse and indifferent in all things, and verie apt to forget what he learns tho never so perfectly, which I attribute more to the badnesse of memory than neglect in him.

Monsieur certainly takes great care and paynes with him. And the only discernible fault is, that he hath all along, and still does suffer himself to have too little authority over him by which means the child stands in little or no awe at all of him, the consequence whereof is so ill that thereby the childe has not that esteem and value for his instruction as I beleive he would otherwise have.

Monsieur writt to you about three weeks since, which I hope you received. And since that the eldest boy has been ill of the measells, but is now well recovered againe, only his eyes are something weakened thereby and there remains a cough, which I hope will wear off in a little time after being gently purged, which is intended to-morrow. All the rest of the younge fry continue as yet well. Your wife makes the greatest progresse in French of any of the children, but I find it verie difficult to gett them to speak French when they are out of my sight. But the greate misfortune of all is, that neither my wife nor I can speak the language; for I am satisfied that if either of us could doe that, the children would learn it with much less difficulty, and in halfe the time. But this I take to bee a disease without a remedy, the hurry of businesse I am constantly in not permitting mee opportunityes to learn it, and the naturall averseness there is in my wife to all sorts of learning and bookes, though of very good natural parts, keeps her from learning it. Upon the whole matter I fancy there is hardly anything but your presence with us here will mend any of our faults, and therefore as well as for many other reasons I hope you will beare being importuned to visit your own native country, and make us happy with your company here, without which I hardly think it possible to grow fatt here as formerly I have done, the generall complaints of others, and my own frequent disappoyntments and losses, by the breaking of tenants and otherwise, are preventives suffitient against increasing either in body or purse.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 16 March 1690/91

As to his not very much liking his book, pray consider what I writ in my last , and observe whether he who is a little coole in his studies be warme, intent and vigorous in other things, where he has the freedome to follow his own inclinations, and whether he will play heartily and with all his might. And next if you can, pray informe yourself, whether he more dislikes his tutor because of his booke, or his booke because of his tutor. When we know these things I cannot but think the remedye easilye attainable. The hardest part is that of his memory. How to mend that natural faculty, if it be any way weak, I confess, I scarce know, though I doubt not but time and health will be degrees restore it in him, for I look on it as an effect of his dangerous fever.

Two things mightily please me in your letter, one is that you find in him noe inclination at all to anything that is ill. This carries with it the promises of a great deal of satisfaction from your son. A good man will bring you more comfort than a great schollar, and very ordinary parts with a good disposition will make a better and more useful man than great abilities with vitious inclinations. I am

mightily pleased to hear he understands arithmetic so well- for that is a science not to be gotten without memory and reason.

If you take any notice of anything to your son, pray do it very sparingly and very gently, till we have resolved together what course to take.

By now Locke found the atmosphere in London impossible for his asthma and felt much better whenever he was at Oates, the Tudor manor house at High Laver where his favourite Damaris lived with her husband and extended family. He accepted the Mashams' offer of a home there, providing it was on his own terms - that he should pay a pound a week for his and his servant's keep, and a shilling a week for his horse. He resided in two rooms on the first floor, a study and a sleeping room. Soon his belongings, which included five thousand books, overflowed into other parts of the house.

On 20 March 1690/91 William's second Parliament began, which lasted 5 years, though William himself did not return to England until 12 April - Easter Sunday.

Mrs Buck to Mary Clarke **May 30 1691**

I will neglect no request of yours, I have inquired with ye same care as for myself; but I can give you little satisfaction, I went myself to three schools, Preists* att Little Chelsey was one which was much commended; but he hath lately had an opera, which I'me sure hath done him a great injurey; and ye parents of ye children not satisfied with so publick a show; I was att Hackney att one of their balls, I cannot commend itt, Kingsington was commended for a delicate air, but I cannot finde out what ye children are improved in; I finde ye way that ye ladys now take that live in ye country, when ye come to town they have masters home to ym every day.

* Josias Priest (d 1734) was a dancing master who with his wife kept a fashionable boarding school for young ladies, where music and the arts were cultivated; the scholars learned to "japan boxes and to dance". The first performance of Purcell's Dido and Aeneas (with a topical reference in prologue to William and Mary as Phoebus and Venus) was given there by the girls in July 1689. Priest commissioned the opera and arranged the dances. A notice in the London Gazette no 1567 of 25 November 1680 had said that "Josias Priest, dancing master, who kept a boarding school for gentlewomen in Leicester Fields, is removed to the great school house at Chelsey, that was Mr Portman's". This was Gorges House, built by Sir Arthur Gorges on the site of Sir Thomas More's house, which he had inherited. Priest was dancing on the London stage by 1667 and had been in trouble for teaching practising and executing music without a license in 1669. In 1672 he arranged witches dances for Daenant's Macbeth, and in 1675 for a Court Masque. After Dido and Aeneas his partnership with Purcell moved on to the public stage; he arranged dances for The Prophetess 1690, King Arthur 1691 and The Fairy Queen in 1692.



Gorges House

On June 18, at St James Clerkenwell, Sir Walter Yonge married, as his second wife, Gwen, daughter of Sir Robert Williams of Penrhyn. Later in the month Edward went to Escot to meet them. Mr and Mrs Stringer were there also and went back to Chipley with him, where he was still faced with building worries.

Edw Hildeyard to Edward Clarke June ye 23th 1691

I have received your letter with instructions about ye finishing your bill wh shall be sent to you by Saturdays post and yn I will give you a more particular account of it in ye meane while I take leave in hast to subscribe myselfe

Sr Your most humble servt Edw Hildeyard

John Bridges to Edward Clarke

Sir as to ye p tirkelars mentioned in your paper I have ----as to ye carpenters worke butt am nott able to give you that accountt p haps that you may expect by reason that there is a greatt deall of differance in ye nature of ye framing pt of your roffe and flourrs nott being sensible in whatt nature you intend your building as to ye means of your rooff and laying of your floors and as to your stair case and doors I am unable to give any accountt by reason their is a greatt deall of differance in the pris of those things as may be ----in ye ---- Mr Taylor I know to be a man thatt hath p formed very well in all business thatt hitherto he has undertaken butt till such time thatt I have a more fuller accountt of the severall p tirkelars thatt you have to doe in his way I cannott give you any accountt noe further than thatt the rates that are proposed sems to me to be very reasonable as to ye ruble worke itt is really worth 30s p rodd to be well done the glaising att 6 1/2 p foot to be done with strong lead ye plaistering att--- --- work and 4s rendering all materiall provided ye ---att 5 p squ ---

John Bridges

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley the 8th July 1691

And now give mee leave to observe to you that Madam's humour for the boarding schoole continues; and I believe nothing but the conversation of her freinds and acquaintance in London will change her opinion or resolutions in that matter. It is an affayre that I am as much sylent in as possible I can, but dare not contradict nor argue against it.

Monsieur, I hope, is very industriouse to improve my son, and with care hath amended in a greate measure what in my last discourse with you I complayned of. He and the child and your wife, and all the rest of the younge fry, with Madam and myselfe, are as much your servants as you can wish, and do all passionately desire your company here. In every one of your letters pray give us

repeated assurances of your intentions of seeing Chipley this summer, that if we should be so unfortunate to misse that real happiness, yett we may not want the good effects that the expectation of your company will certainly produce in the government of the family here.

From 8 August to 8 September Locke was in Somerset and probably visited Chipley for on 17 August Mrs Duke wrote that "*I will not fail to make my appearance at Chipley as soon as I can learn you are there*".

Mrs Elizabeth Bluett to Mary Clarke Bath Sept ye 10

Dearest cousin,

Both yours and my cosens kind letters I received and am heartily glad to understand by them that you gott so well to your jorneyes end and I heartily pray God to send you a good time when ever it comes. I am sorry for my Aunts death my uncle will find a great want of her, but as wee did not come together so wee shall not goe together, wee are yett at Bath and I think shall stay about a week more, thank God I doe find good by the waters as to my drouth if it dus not return againe when I come home; wee shall stay, when we goe hence, about a week at Harptry and so home to my poor old man whom I long to see, though I must tell you it I am a little jealous of him concerning a certaine lady yt he made a vissit to since I came away - as I desiered Mr Lock to her to whom I am highly oblided for all his good advise as also to my cosen Clark for the great favour of bringing him to my lodgings to both which I beg the present of my servis as all so to both misses and master - with my kind love to my cosens, all our family heare gives you their servis so doth her that is, Dear cosen, yours entirly till death E Bluett

Mary did not realise it then, but this was the last letter she would receive from her beloved cousin.

Edward Clarke to Lady Masham London 15 September 1691

I presume Mr Locke hath acquainted your Ladyship that my wife and I and our three eldest children are now in town, and hath done us the right to present our humble services to Sir Francis and your Ladyship, and hath likewise informed you of my intentions to have waited on you, but the constant indisposition Mrs Clarke laboured under will not I find (at least until after she is delivered) admit one that happiness. And, indeed, it is that makes me under the necessity of begging that by letter which otherwise I would have done in person. It is for your Ladyship's leave that my son may wait upon you, and spend a few days at Oates now whilst Mr Locke is in the country with you. And likewise let me deal plainly and like an old friend with you, my design being to give Mr Locke an opportunity of observing what improvements the child hath made under his tutor, and also the tutor's conduct in the management and education of him, in all which I am wholly incapable of making any judgment, being altogether a stranger to the French language. And therefore beg your permission to make use of this opportunity for my satisfaction in these particulars.

On 6 October 1691 Jepp was born at Mrs Henman's at 3a.m and was christened at St Andrews Holborn.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 9 October 1691

My humble service to Madam and my wife. My Lady presents her service to Mrs Clarke and is glad to hear she and her little son are so well. She wishes her much joy of him.

On 20 October 1691 John Spreat married a widow, Grace Stacy, at Runton . Ursula was looking after the children at Chipley while their parents were in town, and was finding that Locke's ideas of childcare did not always meet with approval from the children.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke October 28th 1691

Jack and his sister mostly are very well (and all ye rest there) ye washing of their feet in cold watter every night agrees with their constitution very well but since ye weather hath bin soe cold Jack says he wonders what Doctr Lock has to doe to order them to doe it, being not ther father.

Mayor of Taunton to Edward Clarke Octobr ye 30th 1691

Honble Sir,

You being one of the representatives in parliament for this place I presume to give you the trouble of this in the name of the whole towne to acquaint you of the unavoidable ruin of our trade if the woollon manufactors be not some way stopt in Ireland, every serge they make with like goodness with ours they can afford six shillings cheaper then wee in England can, so that in time wee shall not be able to sell any goods to be transported beyond the seas on which depends our main trade Wee understand that the linnen manufactorie is brought to some perfection in Ireland which if encouraged to supply England would prejudice the French and we could furnish Ireland with our woollon cloths Sr if the enclosed petition be to yr likeing wee desire you to gett it writ over again in London and our names sett to it. Yr most obleidged humble servt Francis J Cobart Mayor

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke October the 30th 1691

While you are in London I hope at your leasure times you will continue the kindness of writing a few lines to me, your continuall favours being an evidence that I am not out of your remembrance and the relation between our families I hope will tye us in those bonds of affection that will not be dissolved, for which end I have confidence to implore your goodness to asist me with my most weighty concerns of this life, that is to advise my children as ocation ofers in their conduct; my sone I hope hath waited on you and it is my desire you will as much as opertunity will permit let him know your afECTION obliges you to advise him to keep within the bounds of moderation in all his deportment for the future, and as you are the mother of children I hope this request will not be uneasie to you; I have known soe much sorrow and trouble for him already and I hope now he is grown to riper years it will not be a water spilt on the ground but that he will receive it with such consideration as that it may have good effect on him.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION

November 1691 - February 1691/92

Parliamentary work - Ward visits Oates - the currency question - M. Passebon leaves -

November 1691 marked the beginning of Edward's proactive parliamentary career. He spoke against several particulars of the Treasons trials bill, strongly opposing attempts to weaken the power of parliamentary impeachment. Although Locke did not agree with his view, he continued the attack, for on 5 January 1692 he condemned the Lords amendments as "*leaving the government destitute of all means to preserve itself against any conspiracy of the Lords or of any considerable number of the lords of ancient families.*" He put principle above party consideration, for the amendments were likely to favour Whig peers, but he argued that it was "*not parliamentary for the Lords to prescribe rule*" to the Commons.

Three other long standing concerns were revealed that session. With regard to the freedom of the press, on 12 November Edward moved that the House received a petition of the Whig publisher, Richard Baldwin. His regard for toleration was shown later in the month when he introduced a clause to excuse Quakers from taking the Oaths. The third interest was election reform, and he reported a bill in December 1691 to prevent false and double election returns.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 23rd November 1691

We all arrived here safe on Saturday in the evening, and Master, with the rest of the good company here, is very well, and presents his dutie to your and his mother. My lady presents her service to you and Mrs Clarke, and orders me to returne her thanks to you both for trusting you son with her, who is very welcome to her, and whom by her discourse with me I find she likes mightily. By what you said to me in haste upon the stairs going down just at our parting I do not well know what you expect from me concerning his returne. But this you may be sure, nobody here, and I as little as anyone, will set bounds to his stay, and I hope you doe not look for it from me.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 3rd December 1691

Though I finde everybody here in love with Master and particularly my Lady, who makes account of keeping him till Mrs Clarke comes to fetch him, now that Syl* had told her that Madam intends to make her a visit; yet I thinke it convenient you should send for them away as soon as conveniently your can. Do not perplex yourself to finde out the reason why I have so much changed my opinion since I parted with you. You will not guesse at it, and I promise you to explain it to you hereafter; only I assure you in the meantime that the child has behaved himself very well, and there is noething in it that will when you know it trouble you in the least. And therefore pray be sure not to alarme Madam, but find some reasons to satisfie her, why you send for him away sooner than perhaps she understood you intended. If you can find no better, you may tell her you hear there is company comeing sudainely hither, and that they here will be straitened in room, but if you can find other reasons of your own, it will perhaps be better.

* Sylvanus Brownover, Locke's secretary.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 7th December 1691

Your orders concerning your son have been obeyed though to the great dissatisfaction of my Lady, who is not well pleased that you have sent for him away soe soon.

Upon examination of your son I cannot owne that he has made all the proficiency I could have wished, or you might justly have expected. Mr Passebon himself is of the same mind. Where the fault is I cannot certainly say. Mr Passebon lays it wholly on the child's negligence and obstinacy and unconquerable aversion to him. He adds that it is not reasonable that you should be any longer at the charge to keep about your son a man that is not like to doe him good, though when he quits this employment he has nothing to subsist till he can find another, yet he cannot consent you should be deceived in your expectation concerning your son, but advises you, either to get an Englishman that speaks French who possibly may have more authority with him, or else put him to your French maid's brother to school, where emulation might excite his industry. I know not what you will think of him for a tutor, but this I dare say you will join with me in thinking him one of the fairest men you have met with of his nation, and one that deserves best to be kindly treated and taken care of.

George Musgrave of Nettlecombe to Mary Clarke Nettlecombe December 12 1691

Madam

I have this day made a visit to Chipley, where I found yr young family all well and hope to have obtained leave for them to spend the day here with my young crew but Mrs --- said yr ladyship had left express orders not to permit them to goe abroad without your allowing them therefore Madam an humble suitor begs as well on my wifes behalf as my own such an allowantz; and to answer objection wch yr care and tenderness of those pretty little ones may make, I will send my chariott to wayt on them forward and backward and Mrs Katherin and Dorcas may both find room in it and wellcum here.

My wife wishes you much joy of yr young son and presents you likewise with her humble service and soe doth all Yr most obliged servant G Musgrave

Edward Clarke to Locke London 15th December 1691

Monsieur has hitherto carefully avoyded all opportunity of talking with mee since his return from Oates, and has not said one word to me touching any discourse you had with him in the country about my son.

And lett my Lady know that the true reason why my wife hath not as yett performed her promise, is because the girles are not yet placed out, by reason of the Frenchwoman's indisposition where they were to goe.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 18 December 1691

What it is that which I intended to propose to you when Monsieur's leaveing your son was agreed was this, that before he went into other hands I would be glad to have him here with me some time by himself to trye his temper and see whether he has that aversion to his booke Monsieur complains of, or whether it were only to him and his method. Besides, too, that this would mightily gratify my lady, who is very fond of the child, and earnestly desires to have him here again.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke **December the 18 1691**

I am extremely glad to heare that you are so well recovered I hope this wil com to you by the hands of Sr Edward who I have desired to see all my prity cozens that I may hear how thay grow; Our hows gos on but slowly since Sr Edward is forst to be so much at London, did thay doe any good thar it wold never vex won but to atend to noe purpas but to tire themselves and thar contry it wold vex won wors. Pray let me heare from you how you doe and how many swet litell ones you have now.

Edward and Locke's worries about the currency were long standing. Lady Masham in her memoirs said that on his return to England Locke had said "*we had one evil which nobody complained of that was more surely ominous than many others wherewith we were easily frightened*" and "*we might laugh at it, but it would not be long before we should want money to send our servants to market with for bread and meat, which was so true five or six years after that there was not a family in England which did not find this a difficulty*". By mid-1690 the currency had deteriorated further, as troops had to be paid and the war upset commerce. In December 1691 Locke published "Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money", the proofs of which had been corrected by Edward. Somers was the unnamed MP to whom it was dedicated. Locke said the rate of interest cannot be regulated by law and that money must be left to find its own price in the market, but he did advocate government action re clipped coins. English coins made of gold and silver were easily clipped on the edge; although milled coins had been introduced in 1663 all were sent abroad or melted down, and the clipped ones were common currency at home. Nobody else had been particularly troubled by this earlier.

A Bill aimed to raise the value of money in order to prevent export, which was draining England of bullion, but Edward in notes wrote that the value could not be artificially raised - "*it was the quantity of silver that gives value to any coin*", not the denomination. "*Standard silver was and eternally will be worth its weight in standard silver.*" In the debate he said that "*money was a commodity and would rise or fall in interest according to the plenty or scarcity of money and was not able to be restrained.*" Despite his efforts, the bill was passed.

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner **January ye 19th 1691**

What I have now to begg of you is that as soune as conveniently you can after this comes to your hands, that you would be pleased to order Mr Edwards little beadsted and all that belongs to it to be brought downe into the nursery and the head of it placed against the dore that goes into the little roome that Cattren and Moll used to lye, that I thinke being the warmest and most convenient place for it to stand in the roome, theare being noe occasion now to goe in and out at that dore for the wood what they want may be brought the other way. Mr Locke did formerly advise me never to lett my boyes lye with the femall sex after they weare become old enough not to be taken care of in the nights, and has now repeated it agen, what his resen is for it I know nott, but in persuance of his desires, I did leave orders in my paper of directions that John Spreat should be Jackes constant bead fellow in my absence, but those nights he did chance to lye from home upon buisness which I thought then would have happened very

seldome, but when it did he was to lye with Dorcass because I thought shee, Molly and Jacke would disturbe one the other, but now the scene is changed and his beadfellow has otherways disposed of himselfe and I am to beleive I have noe more reson to depend on him then I thought I should, for I feare he is faine to doble his diligence a nights for the time he spends there a days, for I sopose the widdow cannot be satisfied till she lookes as bigg as you say the rest of her knybourghs does, and it is best resen she should have a penyworth for her peny, and thearefore I desire that Jack may lye constantly by himself in that bead till I come home otherways to dispose of him, for John Spreat writt me word that Dorcass had bin extream ill but is pretty well agen, but however I would not have Jacke lye with her agen for she may be weake and apt to swett and other inconveniencyes may happen, soe that I would have him lye with noebody, nor he need be subjectt to soe much change of bead fellowes, which may be to his prejudice.

I sopose I am not taken for a fond mother by any body, but I thinke it my duty besides my inclination induces me to have all the tenderness and care of my children as is possible, and I should not forgive myselfe if I should permitt any thinge that was to theyr prejudish for the sake of any person whatsoever, espeshally since I find by everydays experiance that the generallity of people are most concerned for themselves.

My 2 girles have bin placed out att a French scoole about a weeke and doe thinke Mr Clarke is now come to a resolution of placeing out his sone heare alsoe, it being to noe purpose to lett him drone away his prime time in a place wheare there is not conversation for his advantage. I could if I might wish the others wass heare too but wishing will not bring any thing to pass. I am heartily glad to heare that Mrs Betty Dike is married agen to the man she has soe long loved and waited for, and to have him att last sure is the greatest happiness this world can aford, and a dispoynment of that kind the greatest affliction.

Anxious about the Jacobite threat, Edward rejoiced when on 20 January 1691 the Earl of Marlborough was dismissed because he was suspected of Jacobite intrigues.



John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough

Edward Clarke to Locke London 23rd January 1691/2

The enclosed was publiquely delivered in the Court of Requests*, by which you may see to what height that business is carryd. But nothing is suffittient to make some men wise. For news I can only tell you: That the reasons of my Lord

Marlborough's* being turned out of All are not yett publicly known, but the general course is of a Cock-Pit-Design.* A little time will, I presume, discover the secret, and experience will convince that there ought to be noe medium between turning him out and putting him in the Tower. This day the Bill for Reducing the Interest of Money to 5 per cent passed the House of Commons. Several attempts were had upon the first, second and third reading of the bill to have thrown it out, wherein all imaginable reasons were used to that end. In which debates I was not a little pleased to hear all the arguments used that are contained in the "Considerations upon Lowering the Interest of Money", whereby it was manifest to mee that the greatest and best men in our House were obliged to that Treatise for all the arguments they used in these debates. But I am satisfied that if an angell from heaven had managed the debate the votes would have been the same as now. For it is not reason, but a supposed benifit to the borrower that hath passed the byll, and I believe it is that will carry it through the House of Lords likewise. I wish we may have better success upon the Bill of Coynage.

*Court of Requests - room in the Palace of Westminster formerly used by the Court was near the south end of Westminster Hall and part was used as a lobby for the two Houses.

*John Churchill, at this time Earl and future Duke of Marlborough, was dismissed from all his offices.

*The Cockpit was part of the Palace of Whitehall; Princess Anne occupied it from 1684 to 1701 and at this time was residing there.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 5th February 1691/2

If Madam resolve to come in the stage coach, the best place to set down at is Harlow, where your son was both set down and taken up by the Bishop Stortford coach. Thither I will take care my Lady's coach shall go to meet her on Tuesday next, if we hear nothing to the contrary on Monday. You need make no apology to my Lady for the trouble of such visitants. She was indeed troubled when Master went away, and has been every post since enquiring impatiently when he would come again, and when Mrs Clarke would make good her promise.

John Freke to Edward Clarke Feb 19 1691

Sir,

I have this day been with all ye French booksellers I cannot get ye Book you desire and they all tell me it is not to be had in London but that tis printing in Holland and that they expect it thence by Easter.

Sr Thomas Lee is dead. The Ld Mayor was this day sent for to Whitehall and there told by my Ld President that ye Crown was in great want of money and must borrow of ye city 200,000 li.

Prince Lewis of Baden is retired from Vienna in discontent. And ye Germans are in great apprehensions of ye Turks this summer. Orders are given to fill up the trenches made about Vienna when it was besieged and to repair the works and pallisades and that every inhabitant furnish himself with a whole years provisions.

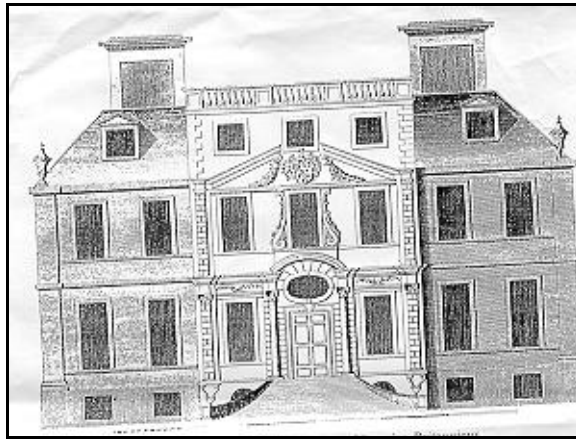
Sir Walter Yonge to Edward Clarke [on the same letter]

Dear Sir,

Monday next is ye day fix'd for my beginning my journey towards Escott where if your affairs will allow you to favor me with yr good company anytime

ye week following I desire you will by J Barber send me word wch day I may hope to see you, that I may get ye Joyner to meet you to advise abt my great staircase, and if you please to give an intimation to my carpenter I doubt not but he will be so kind to meet you wch will perfect ye obligation you will thereby lay on Yr most faithfull friend and humble servant W.Y.

If you please to bring with you a note of ye prices of ye colours and other things I had from you, with what boards you had from me, we may also adjust that account with Isaaks help.



Escot

On 22 February Edward spoke in the Commons on behalf of the Quakers, saying they were a useful people, but two days earlier he had spoken in favour of easy recovery of church tithes, which shows he supported the established church and was not, as his enemies often hinted, a nonconformist. On 24 February William vetoed the first attempt of the legislature to reform an important office i.e. that a judge would only be paid a salary, and not receive perquisites, and Parliament was adjourned.

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Edward Clarke 25 February 1692

My Lady and Mr Locke are so willing to have me stay here that I hope you will not take it amiss that my mother hath given me leave to stay.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 26th February 1691/2

Dear Sir,

I am satisfied about your son that he wants not parts, soe that if he has not made all the progresse we could have desired I lay it wholly upon want of application, which as far as I can guesse is owing something to a saunteringness that is in his temper a good deal to an unsteadiness of mind which is quickly tired with a bookish attention, which he takes noe great pleasure in, and a little to something of my young master. And I think all the quarrels he had with M Passebon was from a mixture of laziness and contempt and endeavour for mastery, assisted possibly by the folly and encouragements of servants, wherein he gained his point, and would noe doubt have a trial of skill with any other that shall succeed him. He does what I bid him, and has sometimes since he has been here spent several hours in the day by himself, and I suppose busy about what I set him. And sometimes I chide him, but still gravely in few words and without any passion, by which way of treatment I think he is better reconciled to his

booke, for he comes sometimes of himself to me to show me what he hath done and to ask what he shall do next; though he had not all the alacrity towards it I could wish, and I know not whether there be some cunning in it for fear I should represent matters so to you, that I should incline you to send him to Westminster School, of which and the discipline used there I have given him such a representation that I imagine he has noe great liking to it.

I know the question you will be ready to ask me, is, but what will you have me doe with him? To which I answer, I should be still of my first opinion of having a tutor for him at home. But that there are two great obstacles lie in the way. The one is that Madam, if I am not mightily mistaken, is utterly averse to it. The other is, Where shall we find a man with descretion and steadiness enough to manage him right, for he will require a constant attention and a due application to his temper.

I thinke Madam has not don amiss to leave him here for many reasons. I shall have the more time to observe his temper, and you will be eased of the feare and trouble of having him in town without a tutor. Madam, I hope, will return to you very well, and not a penny the worse for the wearing.

Monsieur Passebon desires me earnestly to return you his thanks for your great kindness to him in getting him another place.

On 28 February a bill was before the Commons encouraging privateers (because the nation was at war with France) and Edward proposed a clause giving privateers a full moiety of all such ships as they shall take carrying wool into France. The export of wool had been banned in 1660 and while Yonge wanted free export because he thought it would raise the wool price, Sanford was very much against it, saying "*it will give our woollen trade to foreigners and it sets aside the Hamburg Company which first brought this trade into the nation*". Edward however said that "*it is very strange that an open trade and a free exportation of any commodity should not be for the interest of this nation.*"

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 29th February 1691/2

I am very glad Madam came safe. My service to her. I like all in your son, except his cough, better than whilst his mother was her. His cough not amending at all I send to day to Bishop Stortford for one to let him blood tomorrow. As to any trouble your son is to me, you know me not as you ought, if you do not believe that were it ten times more I should take pleasure in it, whilst it is what his condition and circumstances require. And as for a trouble to the house I shall be as nice in that as you, and if I saw it was thought so by anybody, I should take this liberty with you as my friend to put an end to it. For my Lady in particular I can be answerable to you, that it was her desire ever since he went from hence to have him here again.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COMES TO TOWN

March 1691/92 - July 1692

Gussie arrives in town - English and Dutch fleets hold the seas - Ward goes to school - death of Mary's cousin Mrs Bluett -

Edward and Mary were by now very much the head of the family network; Aunt Jane had asked their advice about a wayward son and now it was Ursula's turn to ask a favour for her son.

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner **March ye 1st 1691/2 London**

Dear Sister,

I received yours of the 27th of the last month by which I understand you are now resouled to send my cozen Venner to London wheare without a promise or compliments I shall be very redy to give him the best assistance I am capable of in anything you or he shall desire and I hope his coming to towne will be noe disadvantage to him, and since you did thinke to send him, I thinke you have taken the best time for it, the towne being now as healthey as at any time, and the wether growing warmer people that come out of the countrey are not so liable to fall into great colds, which very often breed many other distempers; I find you desire he should lodge as neare us as he can, which I thinke will be very nessesary, he being a perfectt stranger heare and to the trikes of the towne which many times young gentlemen fall into att first for want of a frend to goe to when the evening drawes on, and so gett to a coughfy house or tavarne or wors to spend theyr tyme, but to prevent that nessesetty in my cozen while I am heare att least, I will gett a lodging for him in the same house wheare we are, for Mounsr being now gone we shall be able to make roome for him; I have left my sone in the countrey wheare I sopose his father will think fitt to lett him continue till he has prepared some place fit for him for his better improveing his time in all things; a mothers life is a very carefull one, to perform it as one ought, but if the children answare expecttation it will be thought a suffisient reward and a great blessing too.

Edward Clarke to Locke **London 5th March 1691/2**

I am concerned to hear the childe's cough continues, and that he is thereby made so much the more troublesome to you, but am infinitely obleiged to my Lady and you to dispense withal for my sake. I am verie glad to understand that you intended to have him bled. I have this week been twice at my Lady Shaftesbury's to have spoken with her about the payment of your annuity, but missed her both times. However, that shall not discourage me from repeating my visitts, untill I can bee soe fortunate as to speak with her.

Locke to Edward Clarke **Oates 7th March 1691/2**

Master was let bloud on Friday, since which he finds his cough better; but yet not soe gone as I could wish, but I hope a little time will doe it.

My Lady desires you when you see Mr Robert King *to inquire of him what his sister's portion is, or what he will make it. She says if he will (as he offered not long since) to make it £4000, she thinks she can propose a very good match for her. She knows not whether £3500 will do, and therefore would not have you mention anything under £4000 to Mr King, but try what he will be brought to.

The gardener's boy Madam mentions I feare is in danger of a consumption. At present I thinke it best he should wholly forbear all wine and bear and drinke noe thing butt water, eat very little flesh but the cheif of his diet to be watergruell well boild with bread in it and sometimes milk. (*Annotated by John Spreat: the directions that Mr Locke gave for Humphry*)

* son of Lady King

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 11th March 1691/2

The hopes you gave me in your last of seeing you the next week pleased me at first sight extremely, but when I reflected on it again, and thought how probable it might be that you intended to take back your son with you, I was a little at a stand; desire to see you urging one way, and the consideration of your son weighing on the other. His cough since his bleeding is better, but not quite gone, and I should not think the town air fit for him till his cough be gone. Besides, if you are not yet provided of a place for him, what will you do with him in town? he will be much better here with me. I hope you will not be nice in the case, or think I am weary of him, and to everybody else I assure you he is welcome. My Lady, when I told her you intended to be here some time the next week, answered: I hope he does not intend to take Master away with him.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 19th March 1691/2

I would have written to you by the last post, but was dissabled then in one of my writeing fingers, but now I am able to hold a pen well enough; I am soe unfortunate as not to be able to wait on you as I fully intended, but am necessitated to visit Chipley for ten days and then return againe. I shall go hence Friday next, and be here again in Easter-terme. If I can serve you in anything here before I goe, or whilst I am in Somersetshire, you need but lett mee know it, and I shall rejoice in the performance of it.

Pray make my acknowledgments to my Lady for her last obleiging letter, and her great favours to mee, in her kindnesse to my sonn, and your willingnesse to continue my sonn with you yett a longer time is the greatest obligation imaginable.

Edward Clarke's Day book of Account

1693 March 25

<i>Halfe a yeares salary due to mee as Queens</i>	
<i>auditor this day</i>	50 00 00
<i>ditto to my clerk and payment for bookes etc</i>	10 00 00
<i>Rec'd the usuall allowance for making up the</i>	
<i>years accompt</i>	30 00 00
<i>Rec'd for one yeares office rent</i>	30 00 00
<i>Rec'd for usuall allowance for my clerke on</i>	
<i>making up for last years accompt</i>	6 13 04
<i>Rec'd one yeares allowance for rideing and</i>	
<i>charges due this day</i>	20 00 00

Ye 27th Rec'd then of the Right Honble Countesse Dowager of Shaftesbury the sum of ninety six pounds being for two yeares interest of 800£ due on a mortgage made by the late Earle of Shaftesbury to Coll Rumsey and by him assigned to Wm Treble for my use and due at Michaelmas last 96 00 00

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to Ursula Venner London Aprill the 21 1692

Honrd Aunt

Your kind and oblidging token I receved from my father at his returne for which I begg you to accept my most humble thankes, which is all att present I am capable to returne, but will allways study to be gratfull as I grow older I shall be more cencible of all your favors to me, and in the meane time will indevor to make a good use of your generossity and remaine, your most affectionate niece and humble servant Eliz: Clarke

My sister Ann desires me to present you her services and hearty thankes for her token allsoe, and is larning to wright as fast as she can, to be able to doe it her selfe, my brother Edward is still att Sr Francis Mashams, but I heare he is well, and so is my brother Jepp, and has too teeth, mine and my sisters duty to your selfe, and kind loves to our brother Jack and sister Molly and service to all our good frends.

Edward arrived in London from Chipley on 16 April, his journey up costing £2 16 4d. He found numerous bills to pay:

<i>fringe for Ward's gloves</i>	<i>11s 00d</i>
<i>2 payre of shoos for ye gyrles</i>	<i>4s 00d</i>
<i>washing cravatts</i>	<i>9s 00d</i>
<i>Mr Caverly 3 months teaching dance</i>	<i>6 00s 00d</i>
<i>Mr Desgaloniere - dyett and teaching girls at French school</i>	<i>10 00s 00d</i>
<i>Ellen half yeares wages due Xmas 1691</i>	<i>2 00s 00d</i>
<i>7 yds blew and sylver brocade to line mantua</i>	<i>1 17s 00d</i>
<i>13/4 yds blew cloth for Wards coat</i>	<i>1 06s 00d</i>
<i>3/4 Indian crape lyne</i>	<i>10s 00d</i>
<i>wascote striped lute string with silver spots</i>	<i>1 07s 00d</i>
<i>5 doz sylver buttons</i>	<i>05s 05d</i>
<i>Mrs Henman - 6 weeks dyet and lodging for myself and family and use of the dining room</i>	<i>12 00s 00d</i>
<i>new payre of boots except topps</i>	<i>14s 00d</i>

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner London Aprill ye 23rd 1692

I would have written but that I have not bin soe well of late as I could wish, but now I thanke God I am better and have taken the first opertunity I could to returne you my hearty thankes for all your favors, and particularly for your noble present to my 3 eldest children who I thanke God are all well now, they have had all violent colds this winter and tedious coughs, but I thanke God my youngest have had no such things, but growes a pace, and has had 2 teeth this month; he is now very like his brother Edward in face, but how he may alter I know not, and he is much such another child for lustyness; your sone is very well and the town agreess very well with him hitherto as I hope it will for the future.

My blessing to Jack and Molly; I am glad to heare they are well but Mr Clarke tells me Jack is very raggd, which I much wonder att, for I ordered them to lett him weare his cloth cote and his quilted wascote, and I sent him new britchess, all which I thinke cant be ragged yett, and if his wascote be durty tiss an easey matter for Kattren to take of the yellow frence and waish the wascote*, and sett it on agen all which would be done over night and fitt to weare the next morning so that he should have no need to be ragged I think, and pray tell her soe, for she have little business to prevent her from doing this as I know off.

.
* clothes were not normally washed frequently - households usually had a big wash every 4 - 5 weeks or once a quarter.

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner London Aprill ye 26th 1692

Dear Sister

The inclosed should have come to you, I desired Mr Clarke to write the direction accordingly, which he set it downe by me ready folded and I afterwards writt to my cozen Blewett and some other of my frends and they lying all together on the table with other papers and I in a great hurry when I came to seale them, sealed up the empty case without the letter but the next day when I found the letter I was never more surprised, being before wholly ignorant of my mistake but must depend on your goodness for a pardon, it being an accident that never hapened to me before but certainly it was enough to make you thinke me mad.

. James 11 still had hopes of regaining his throne; many politicians were in contact with him and he hoped Marlborough and Russell would support him. His daughter Anne too might have joined him for she was at this time furious with William because he had refused her husband the Garter. The French were camped on the bay of La Hogue, planning to take their army, plus remnants of James' Irish army, to Torbay. James sent out proclamations asking his subjects to help him against the usurper William.

Admiral Russell was at Spithead with 90 ships and 40000 men, and Queen Mary assured Russell's officers and men of her absolute confidence in them. On 2 May Sir John Somers was appointed Attorney General. The French set sail with 39 ships, and the Dutch navy arrived to help the English. There were 63 English ships and 36 Dutch ones. The French had 3240 guns, the allies 6,736 guns. The French tried to send an army across, but Admiral Russell caught them in hazy weather, they were defeated on the open sea, chased into Cherbourg and La Hogue and burnt. After this the English and Dutch fleets held the sea and French commerce was ruined.



The Battle of Cap le Hogue 1692

The Clarkes found somewhere suitable for Ward to be educated away from home for on May 5 his father paid £6 00s 00d for "entrance of Ward to Msr Meure" and his silver porringer, mugg, fork and spoon cost £3 08s 00d. On the same day Edward paid 12s 00d for 6 pewter plates, a chamber pott and bason, and £3 15s 00d for 3 1/2 yds tabby with gold and silver flowers for a wastcote. Nurse Trent was paid £4 10s 00d for 18 weeks.

Ursula Venner to Gustavus Adolphus Venner **June ye 1st 1692**

Deare Adolph,

I hope yr uncle and my willingness to comply with yr desire in all things that may be for your good will oblige you to do ye like and you will diligently imploy yrselfe for yr advantage with Mr Sowthell this long vacation as your uncle writs, and hopes you will, and I do not doubt but Mr Sowthell will doe his best for you and upon the confidents of your so doing, maks me willingly to agree to your so soon leaving London, which I pray God may be for yr frends sattisfaction and yr good and comfort, yr uncle will advise you to ye best time and way for your coming. I am sorry you like it in ye Temple no better.

During the summer Edward paid 14s 00d for "2 corner shelves, jappand", and bought 2 pictures of wyld beasts for £3 10s 00d from Mr Lloyd, a painter in Fleet Street. A coronet for his wife and ruffles for Betty cost 12s 00d.

Mrs Burgess to Mary Clarke **July 13 1692 Holcombe**

Deare Madam

When I wrot last week to you I little thought I should have had so dolefull a subject to have writt about for wch I want words to express our sorow for my deare freind and yr deare kinswoman who left this life for a better Thursday morning about 10 at the clock to her comfort and the greife of her deare husband wch was almost as surprising to us as it will be to you, who I know will share in this great loss we never suspected her death till Wedensday, her speech

began to alter and shee was strainingly restless still moving from place to place, finding ease no where but though twas sudden to us I believe it was not so to her for shee would be always saying shee should not live, Mr Bluett was very urgent to have sent for a Dr for about a week since but shee would not heare of any one nor lett it be named to her, he fell in a great pation severall times to see her so unperswadable but at length gott her to name Dr Toop of Bath who came too late to recover her for she was then past all hope; twould pittie your heart to heare the dolefull laments of Mr Bluett, poor Mrs Baynard grieves unmeasurably and you may believe I am not without a deep share my loss being irreparable the suddenness of the thing and our owne stupiditay in not apprehending it sooner adds waight to our greife, I find my selfe so disorderd that I cant write sence but shall conclud with Mrs Baynards service to Mr Clark and your selfe being a most disconsolat creature M Burges

Mrs Burgess to Mary Clarke July 19 Holcombe

Dear Madam,

Mrs ---- sent a letter from you directed to my late deare Mrs wch foreseeing the pation Mr Bluett would be in as he was with the receipt of one from Mrs Phillips I much dreaded the shewing it to him but in regard I knew he could not but resent kindly all expressions of kindness wch I presume yr letter was furnisht with I ventured to give it him who gives his service and thanks much desiring to see Mr Clark and you, though he says the sole comfort of his life is removed and could he have had his owne choice he should rather have begd his bread all days of his life wth her then to have seen this day, the day before shee dyed he desired her to speak how shee would have disposed of her things or to let me fetch ink and paper to write her mind but shee sd shee left it to his dispose shee had now other things to take up her time and thoughts and desired to be quiet, she was truly prepared for it, I find Mr Bluett resolves to make a new settlement at Mr Clarks coming I own I much feare this trouble will have an ill influence on him, he is very malincoly and has touches of his old pains.

Shee is to be buryed this week the house is very malincoly being now ahangng with black as are all our hearts haveing so bad a scenen before our eyes I shall say no more but beg yr prayers for this sad family especiall for her who is the most unfortunat and disconsolat M Burges

Pardon scribe

Ursula Venner to Mary Clarke July ye 23th 1692

Here was Jo Clattworthy a Thursday in ye afternoon to acquaint me yt deare Mrs Blewett was to be interd Satterday about one of ye clocke in ye affternoon, and invited me there, where I intend to go if pleass God I am able and yt it be faire weather, he told me yt master was indeferent well and all ye rest (only mellancholly) and presented there service to you, my bro and all my cozens, and wisht for you there and desired me to acquaint my bro of it, if he did chance to come here before ye time. Yr goods is all brought home safe from Frithcote and placed in ye great parlor at Chipley, Mr Jack and Miss Molly and all there are very well and present there duty to you and our service to all. Good sister, lett us beg you not to grieve yrself for this misfortune, yt must (and ought to be) submitted to by all, and I hope you will never want faithfull frends to be a comfort to you and yrs, you haveing deserved it from so many. My poor nighbor Haviland was last Thursday about 3 of ye clock in ye afternoon deliverd by (Mrs

Lane) of a lusty boy, and ye next day a.m.(by Mr Smith) of ye like girl, and God be prayed all very well.

Ursula Venner to Mary Clarke July ye 25th 1692

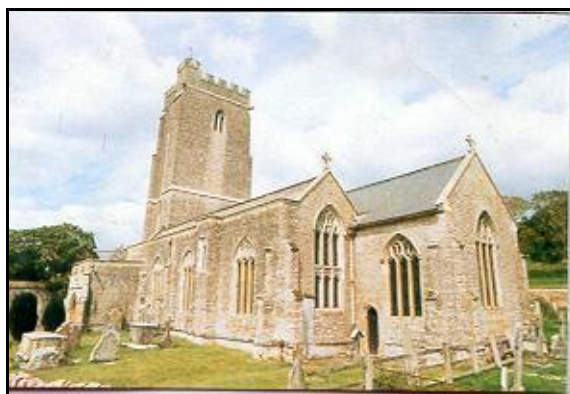
Deare sister,

I did at Satterday in ye afternoon (though it was a wett morning) come time enough to Hollcombe to wait on deare Mrs Blewets corps to her grave, where indeed I think there were more reall mourners than I ever saw at a funerall before, and ye testimonies of true respects to her memory, and a very hansome interment as far as I can judge, they all with Mr Barr and his lady and severall others present there service to you and wisht for yr company and were all much conserved to hear you were so much afflicted for her death, fearing you may much hurt yourself and yt love you by so doing, but I hope you will better consider of it, being to no purpose and yt which we must submit to, I heartily pray god to give us grace to prepare ourselves.

In Holcombe Rogus Church there is a Bluett tomb and a plaque inscribed:
"Here resteth the body of Mrs Elizabeth Bluet, wife of John Bluet of this parish esquire, and daughter of John Buckland late of West Harptry in the county of Somersetshire, who departed this life the 14th day of July Ano dom 1692 "To dye is gaine"
".



The Bluett's home at Holcombe court



All Saints Church Holcombe Rogus

AMOROUS AFFAYRES OF TWO NEPHEWS

July 1692 - May 1693

Gustavus in love tangle - Mary pregnant again - Gustavus wants to marry - Betty at Oates - Sammy born - Montagu proposes to raise £1 million loan - Jane Strachey's son entangled with a wild wench - Chipley still not complete -

Ursula Venner to Gustavus Adolphus Venner July ye 30th 1692

Deare Adolph,

I rec yr letter with ye Gazette and doe earnestly beg you to be very carefull to follow yr estate, to practtis these things you learn at a great charge whereby you may make such an improvement as may be for yr credit and comfort, and sattisfaction to all yr frends yt wish you well, yr uncle hath bin so full of business that I have not had an oppertunity to inquire how you have improved or behaved yr selfe, but when I can I hope to have a good account of yr indevors to follow his and the rest of yr good frends advise, which will oblige me to do what I can for you, and pray be thankfull to God and yr frends for giving you so good an oppertunity as not to spare a little painstaking to atain all those things that will I hope return you so much comfort and make you capable to do good, which yt you may be able and studdy to doe yr dutty, is the constant prayers of yr truly lo: mo: Ursula Venner

Ursula Venner to Gustavus Adolphus Venner July ye 30th 1692

Deare Adolph,

I rec yr letter with ye Gazette and doe earnestly beg you to be very carefull to follow yr estate, to practtis these things you learn at a great charge whereby you may make such an improvement as may be for yr credit and comfort, and sattisfaction to all yr frends yt wish you well, yr uncle hath bin so full of business that I have not had an oppertunity to inquire how you have improved or behaved yr selfe, but when I can I hope to have a good account of yr indevors to follow his and the rest of yr good frends advise, which will oblige me to do what I can for you, and pray be thankfull to God and yr frends for giving you so good an oppertunity as not to spare a little painstaking to atain all those things that will I hope return you so much comfort and make you capable to do good, which yt you may be able and studdy to doe yr dutty, is the constant prayers of yr truly lo: mo: Ursula Venner

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner August ye 2nd 1692

Deare sister,

I writt to you by the last post and thanke you for your constant intelligence of your owne and Mr Clarkes and all our good frends healths, and I am glad to heare you have receved your stomager it is such as is worren heare, and your sone have pd for it. Ward sent you a letter but sess he is ashamed to mention the pictures his father carried downe, but it is the first of his workes and he hopes in time to send you better, Betty had noe worke of hers fitt to send you and thearefore could thinke of nothing but a fan att present which she is very glad to heare you doe accept of, and Betty and Nanny desires you will lett theyr brother know that the 2 florished neckcloths theyr father brought was one of Bettys and the other of Nannyes worke and was tokens

Ward Clarke to Ursula Venner London ye 2 of Auguste 1692

These to my honored aunt Mrs Ursula Venner

Honrd Aunt

The nott knowing of my father sudden going out of towne prevented me returning you my humble thanks by him for your late kind token and thearefore I have beged the favor of my Mother to inclose this in hers to assure you that I am very cencible of that and all your favours to me, and will indevor and doe hope I shall improve myselfe soe wheare I am now placed as to give my father and all my friends sattisfacktion and in time make myself fitt some way or other to prove serviceable to them and to you in particular which is the great desire and ambition of, Honrd Aunt, your most obediente nephew and humble servant Edw: Clarke

Pray give my duty to my father and accept the same your selfe and my kind love to my brother and sister and all my frends; I am heartily sorry to hear of deathe of my good cozen Bluett

Edward Clarke to Gustavus Adolphus Venner Chipley September ye 28th 1692

I hope you beleive that no freind you have in the world except your mother would, or could, with so reall and unfeined an affection indeavor your interest and advantage in all things, as I am, and shall upon all occasions continue ready and willing to do; by which you may be certaine of a true freind to advise with and freely command the assistance of at all times, and in all cases of moment or difficulty, which as it is rare in this world so tis a happyness highly esteemed and valued by all the ingenious and experienced people in this world; and I hope will not bee rejected by you espetially in the most eminent and lasting actions of your life, but when you have anything of consequence or moment in your thoughts, you will freely communicate and readily take my poore advice along with you in it, as one who haveing lived longer in the world, must, without any affectation, bee allowed to have had greater experiance therein, that you can yet pretend to, though your improvement bee never soe great since I left you; and truly cosen, to bee playne with you, as I thinke every man ought to bee with his freind, I thought the frankeness of my former behaviour towards you upon all occasions, besides your repeated promises to mee, would have intitled mee to the first and earliest knowlidge of your thoughts in an affayre of so much consequence to you, as that which my wife (out of her true freindship and tender affection towards you) acquainted mee by the last post you have engaged your self in; bee it reall, or faigned, I cannot by any meanes approve of your conduct in it hitherto, and I thought I might have deserved better from you, then to have been so long left a stranger to an affayre of the greatest weight and consequence to you in the world, and wherein you have proceeded soe farr, that I am allmost at a loss what to say or advise in it; but this is playne and manifest to mee that there is the greatest hazard and danger imaginable to you if anyone steps further in it, whether by writing, talking, or any other way whatsoever, untill I can bee with you, and if the thing bee adviseable, to give you my best assistance in it, and therefore I earnestly desire you, for your own sake in the first place, not to proceed further in it till I see you, and if you have any regard for your mother (who should she know this would bee half distracted) or have any value for the freindship, affection or service I can doe for you, lett me injoyne you to avoyd the company of this young lady that you are so much smitten with, untill you have a freind to treat for you with that discretion and caution, as is absolutley necessary

in an affayre of this nature, and by the very next post lett mee have an ingenious perfect account of all that you have hitherto done in it, and if you direct it to me at the Post House in Bridgwater, I shall certainly receive it there upon Munday next, and shall be then so farr in my journey towards you, being to goe on from theare the day following to Sydcott and Churchill, and as my business will permit shall proceed in my journey towards you, and hope at my return to find you in perfect health and disentangled from this affayre which is the hearty prayer of your most affectionate freind and servant Edw: Clarke

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to John Spreat London September the 30th 1692 *on paper with ruled lines*

Mr Spreat

I recd your kind letter of the 26 for which I humbly thank you and am heartily glad to find thereby that my letter to my father was so well accepted, I am very glad to hear that your son speaks law so fluently and I cannott believe that you and your wife can have made such a forward child but rather that it is your fondness and want of being used to the noyse makes you thinke he cryes so much. Pray, present mine, my brother Edw, sister Anne and my cosen Venners humble service to my brother and sister to your wife with the rest of our friends which concludes this from Your faithfull friend Elizabeth Clarke

Pray present my duete to my father

Ellen presents her service to you your wife and the rest of her friends

Edward Clarke to Gustavus Adolphus Venner Bridgwater October 3rd at ten in the morning 1692

Dear Cosen,

Though you are pleas'd to tell your aunt and your mother in your last letter that you have formerly acquainted mee with your Amour, yet I have not to this time recd a word from you upon that subject, and doe assure you I was as much surpris'd at that part of your letter to your mother by the last post as shee herself was at the whole substance of it, she having before been a perfect stranger to all your transactions in that affayre; I cannot express to you the extraordinary concern I left your mother under, for fears this undertaking of yours and procecedure in it, as farr as you have done, without the knowlidge or assistance of your best freinds, may prove highly prejudiciall to you, and in the end fatal to her; the post being just going hence, I have not time to represent to you how distracted your mothers thoughts are, what to say or advise you in this great and last affayre of your life, all the resolution she could make in it when I left her was, that for the ease of her mind, I being to make some stay in Salisbury, you should come down as farr as Salisbury to meet me there to give me a full and perfect account of this whole affayre, and that then you should have her advice and direction in it; considering the great trouble and concern she is under, I think this is the least you can doe to give her satisfaction, who all her life long hath done so much for you and in confidence of your readyness to comply with hers, and my desires, herein, I have promised your mother to give her a verie exact and particulare account from you by the return of John Spreat, or sooner by the Post, if my stay be long there; you shall find me at Doctor Thomas his house or know there where I am, so hoping for a good meeting at Salisbury Saturday night next, I remain in all sincerity, your truly affectionate uncle and most faithful freind Edw Clarke

In haste

Edward Clarke to Ursula Venner London October ye 11th 1692

Deare sister,

I hope my cozen went safe to you, and I presume before this comes to your hands will have given you an intire satisfaction in all the circumstances of his amarose affayrs which I shall further inquire into as I can gett time and opportunity, wherein I assure you I will omitt nothing that may bee anyways for my cozens interest and advantage; beyond this I have no time at present to acquaint you with any more but that I found my wife and children here verie well.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 25th October 1692

I am commanded by Madam to acquaint you that shee intendes on Saturday next to send your wife in the stage-coach to wait on my Lady Masham and you at Oates. Ellen is to go down with her, and I begg you to thinke of some way or other with the least trouble to gett them from Harloe, where they are to be set down at the usuall place. Pray forgive this trouble yourselfe, and excuse it to Sir Francis and my Lady. This is Madam's frolic, and you know that women in her condition are not to be contradicted in anything.

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 31st October 1692

Dear Madam,

It was kind of you to send my wife to me, though I know not how it may prove if she be not very constant. For little master * is so mightily in love with her that he professes openly he will get her from me if he can. She shall not want books whilst she is here. And I doubt not, whatever you in your mother's way of talking say of her being troublesome, but she will so behave herself as to get the love and kindness of everybody here, which they have all expressed for her. Pray therefore trouble not yourself about us here. Think my wife safe with me, where I shall take care of her, and everybody love her.

Look to yourself and to the great belly, which I desire you may lay down with as little danger and trouble as may be. As to any other concernment of your health there is nothing else now to be considered or meddled with. I hope I shall now speedily have news that you are well delivered of a lusty boy.

*Francis Masham b June 1686

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 31st October 1692

My wife came safe and well hither on Saturday and you had completed the kindnesse if you yourself had come with her. But you could not part it seems with My Lord Mayor's show for your poor country friend, and a sermon to boot. This I tell Madam is the reason why you staid in town, though I doubt not but you have businesse enough; but yet I know you will not blame me that I desire to see you.

The House was preoccupied with the quarrel between Nottingham and Russell, which became a violent Tory/Whig conflict. Edward's main preoccupation was the conduct of the war and the mismanagement of the navy. He spoke in the

House on 11 November in defence of Admiral Russell; on 19 November he was one of the MPs who wanted to question Sir John Ashby about the conduct of the fleet after La Hogue and later with Yonge upheld the court's position about the conduct of foreign generals.

Edward Clarke to Locke 12 November 1691

For news I can only tell you that the House of Commons have given Admiral Russell thanks for his great courage and conduct in the victory obtained at sea this last summer.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke No ye 12th 1692

Deare brother

Pardon ye perpetuall troubles yt I and my son give you and continue yr assistance and advise to us, we have desired Mr Spreat fully to inform you with my sons inclination to settle himselfe, in order to which he desired my leave to wait on one of Mrs Cannon's daughters,* to make his applycation to her to axcept of his which I agreed to, how he was recd and how farr he hath proceeded in this affare Mr Spreat can better inform you than I can, he being there with him, and had a full discourse with her mother, but he begining his jorny ye next day I did not speak with him since, but when you have, I desire yr thoughts and advise what you think fitt for me to do, how to manage him, and my selfe, ye best I can for there good, and my own satisfaction if ye thing should take effect, I think I must desire yr advise wether it will not be best to leave his trunck and such books as he will not want for ye present in towne if it should be adviseable for him to return there again to his studdy, if you think it best, and he finds any incurragement to proceed in this affare, he will want a new saddle, holsters and I think a case of pistols, I should be glad to know how much a lether saddle only a little stiched and those other things sutable will cost, I desire they may not be any way to good for one of his quallity, but serviceable and gentill, and he will likewise want a winter sute or at least a cote and wascote and a few other things which I soppos may be sent with ye cloths he left behind him, in a box altogether, I will send a measure with ye perticulars of what he wants, since ye writing of this above I recd yrs with ye Votes come for my son for all which I return you my humble thanks and hope you recd mine by ye last and yt you will pardon ye trouble yt I therein gave you.

* Elizabeth Cannon, daughter of Mrs Jane Cannon

Notes re Gustavus Adolphus marriage by EC

A portion of 2000£ deserves 200 £ a yeare joynture and noe more; but 1000£ part of Mrs Cannons fortune being in landes remaining unsettled on ye husband, there ought to be noe settlement expected, nor made by him for that 1000£ in land, it being seldom or never thought reasonable for the husband to make any settlement for any other part of the womans fortune then what hee hath the powere to dispose of.

For ye 1000£ in money I am content to settle 100£ a yeare on her and her children, and what ever is done more I thinke is extraordinary.

But if the 50£ a yeare that is her land of inheritance remaines in her power, and there bee 50£ a yeare more of her husbands estate settled on her for joynture, (over and above the 100£ a yeare first above mentioned) then shee will have in all 200£ a yeare

joynture, wch is full as much as if ye inheritance of her lands had been conveyd to the husband.

And for that part of her fortune wch consists in other copyhold estate after her mothers death, it is not in a marriage settlement to be soe considered as to deserve any settlement by reason of the uncertainty thereof, but if it falls to her, shee will have the advantage thereof after her husbands death to her own use.

And in answer to ye advantage ye husband will have by injoyeing her landes dureing their joynt lives, the husband hath an estate in possession of 3 or 4 times the value thereof, wch she hath the like benifitt of dureing their joynt lives, and that does fully ballance that consideration besides what addition will bee made to the husbands estate after the death of his mother wch will undoubtedly bee verie considerable.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 28th November 1692

My wife's shoes are too little. We thought at first to send them back, but upon consideration that it will be longer much before another pair can come from London, and that the sending one and the other pair will cost almost the price of a pair of shoes, we thinke to send one of these new ones to-day to Bishop's Startford, and hope on Friday to have from thence a pair that will fit her.

I expected to hear from you to-day how Madam is, and whether the medicine did any good, but by your silence I conclude all goes well, and hope I shall not find myself deceived in your next. My Lady, my wife, and all here, are well, give their service to Madame and you, and wish you joy of the lusty boy.

While Betty had been staying at Oates Sammy was born at Mrs Henman's on the 23rd November 1692 at 7 a.m.

4th December 1692 - Edward Clarke's day book

<i>Gave Mr Manningham for christening my son Samuel</i>	
<i>one gynney</i>	<i>01 01 08</i>
<i>Gave Mr Charles for clerks of the parish</i>	<i>05 00</i>
<i>Paid for two cakes for the christening</i>	<i>1 10 00</i>
<i>Pd over and above the usual price of the cakes</i>	
<i>in consideration of the advance of currants</i>	<i>08 00</i>
<i>Pd for one dozen and 9 payres of womens kidd to</i>	
<i>give at the christening at 20s the dozen</i>	<i>1 15 00</i>
<i>Pd for 5 payres of mens kidd ditto</i>	<i>10 00</i>
<i>Pd for 3 payres girles kidd ditto</i>	<i>3 00</i>
<i>Pd for 1 payr Tann'd gloves ditto</i>	<i>1 00</i>
<i>Pd for 6 payr womens lambe ditto</i>	<i>6 00</i>
<i>Gave Mrs Blackmore the midwife 3 gynneys</i>	<i>3 03 00</i>

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to Mary Clarke Oates Dec the 5th 1692

on lines drawn on the paper

Honrd Mother,

I am very well and hope that you are so too. I desire to know whether my brother Jepp can go, My Lady and Mrs Masham and Master present their

service to my Father and you; pray present my duty to my Father and accept the same your selfe from Honrd Mother, your most Dutyfull and Obeidient Daughter Eliz: Clarke

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 9th December 1692

I and we all here are very glad Madame is soe well. As to her costiveness I know not what to say. I should not be forward to medle if I were upon the place, but at this distance it would be more than I dare doe. A little patience will now put her soe out of danger that she may have the assistance of phisic, if there be need. But I am apt to think that nature will return to her fair, natural, easy course without it.

Locke to Mary Clarke 30 December 1692

For I must often repeat that ,because I see it so generally overlooked, that the setting of children's minds right is the principal and almost the only thing to be taken care of. And when that is done and kept so, all the rest will in time easily follow; and without that, all the rest signifies nothing. My wife, which will now be the eldest at home, is very capable of it, and with very little trouble, if a right course be taken with her. But if that be not done, there are few so excellently good by nature, but they may be spoiled; and in the midst of the ordinary accomplishments be brought up with faults, that will scarce be made amends for or counterbalanced by all the acquisitions that gentlemen's children usually learn from masters. She being the eldest and set right will have a great influence by her example and instruction over all the rest, and you need not doubt but she will be a good proficient in anything that is taught her, for she is very capable and apt to learn. As your strength and vigour returns your sight will recover again, and therefore I would not advise you to be tempted to tamper at all with your eyes. Since I find no complaint of it in your letters I hope your costiveness begins to work off. Be sure to have your legs, feet and lower parts warm, and then I hope there will be no need of anything more to be done, and walk as much as your strength will allow: this and some few other things I writ in my last to Mr Clarke will I hope make an end to that inconvenience without any use of phisic.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 23rd December 1692

I have designed to draw you hither if you have any holidays. I long to talk with you, and mightily desire you should have a little refreshment in the air. But I fear I shall make you an ill compliment to invite you to a bedfellow, and such an one as I am. If you can dispense with that, pray come. You will be to everybody very welcome, I know and would be desired if it could be a civil invitation. The house will be so full when Mr Cudworth comes, who was expected with Mr Andrews and is looked for now every day, that Mrs Masham is fain to lie in a servant's chamber and bed in the passage to the nursery.

As well as promoting his local economy by presenting a petition from the clothiers of Wilts and Somerset, Edward (with Sir Walter) promoted an abjuration bill, attempting to attack Nottingham; Edward probably inserted the oath acknowledging that William and Mary were the "only lawful and rightful King and Queen". The bill was drafted by Somers, and Edward was now in close alliance with the ministerial Whigs. On 15 December at the Committee of Ways and Means, with

Somers in the chair, Montagu proposed to raise £1 million by way of a loan. Moneyed men were glad of an opportunity to invest their savings; they usually had to buy a property or a mortgage, but wanted somewhere to invest where they could get it out quickly if needed. Much money was hoarded in boxes and drawers but now began to be invested in new companies set up to promote industries like coal or fishing.

William was overcoming his personal prejudices so that before he left for Flanders in the spring of 1693, Somers was made Lord Keeper and Sir John Trenchard Secretary of State and Mordaunt, too, was one of the Council of Nine advising the Queen when the King was abroad.

On 31 December Edward spoke in the House against the bill to melt the coin, arguing that "*It would be of no advantage to this nation, because as much as we lessened our coin so much would the exchange abroad rise against us and it would be no good but put people and things in confusion.*"

Edward Clarke to John Spreat **31 December 1692**

As to the beating in of the Rayne, though I am much troubled at it, yet I know not at present what further can be done in it than to desire you carefully and nicely to observe the particular places where the Rayne does beate in, and sett them down in writing.

Mary also sent instructions to John Spreat; the making of sweetmeats had gone wrong at Chipley and they were not stiff enough for "*want of that great heat that used to come from the Little Hall chimney*". She suggested laying them on clean paper and putting them near the parlor or drawing room fire all night. She asked him to tell Dorcas to have a fire in the alcove room and bring the beds and bolsters from the old house and dry them in the new.

Locke to Edward Clarke **Oates 2nd January 1692/3**

I find by your votes of the 23rd December that you have resolved to continue the Act for printing made in the 14 Car 2. I wish you would have some care of book-buyers as well as all of booksellers and the company of stationers, who having got a patent for all or most of the ancient Latin authors (by what right or pretence I know not) claime the text to be theirs, and soe will not suffer fairer or more correct editions than any they print here whereby these most useful books are excessively dear to scholars, and a monopoly is put into the hands of ignorant and lazy stationers. Pray talk with A Churchill concerning this, who I believe will be able to show you other great inconveniences of that Act, and if they can possibly, I wish they could be remedied.

In the House there began a protracted struggle over an Act to make the river Tone navigable between Bridgwater and Taunton. On 20 January the King assented to Land Tax bill - this stipulated the number and strength of warships to be detached for escort and patrol duties re commerce protection

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke **Feb the 18 1692/93**

Honrd neece,

It is noe little satisfacktion you give me that tho I am not soe happy to see and injoy you are soe obliging to visit me by your most kind letters and therin not

only to acquaint me of the helth of your selfe and family but alsoe to intrest your selfe in the welfare of me and mine and by your good opinion of my son to give me hopes of his future conduct; I wish he may endeavor to deserve it and therby give me and all his freinds comfort of him which tho he cannot retrieve past errors, will alay somthing of the trouble for them, I expect to see him this day which will be both joy and greef to me, soe being in those circomstances that bars me of that sattisfacktion I had reson to expect in him but since he hath placed him in a low sphere I hope it will teach him trew humillitie, and learn me alsoe to see how vain it is to look for full content in any worldly injoyment. Our countrey is grown soe poor and roguish that every one is forst to be in a posture of defence in their family. About Pensford are 14 or more in a gang that almost every night endeavour to break up houses at Chelwood Publoe , and there some they have stript of cloths, cheese butter bread and many finding them and corrousing in their houses; the same trade is in Bristoll and most places and yet noe discovery is made to any purpose. My maid that fell in the well is now a widdow and they say left worth thousands.

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke February the 20th 1692

The truth is I fear my son hath laid aside all sivilty and humanity, and is infatuated to his own destrucktion, its my great greefe that his ways doe not corespond with my designe in breeding him and that he is now come to years that I did hope to have had comfort of him he doe cast of all thoughts of duty or indeed love to me, and give me the greatest trouble and affliction a mother can be capable of, the former offences were enough to cause any parent to cast of a childe, I have used him with all kind of indulgence threatned his ruin, and since he hath rejected all my admonitions and indulgence, and doe declare by his actions he will follow his owne ways, what can I expect but perpetuall miseries doe attend him; Maddam pardon me for it is not till the utmost period of my hopes I make you this declaration and beg you that by the neerness of your relation to him, and the consideration of a lost child, you will endeavor to reduce him to better courcess by arguing and reasoning with him, which I am sure would from you and my couzen be taken with him above all endeavours from any other freinds, he pretends an aversion to the country, and the mellancolly life heere that makes him resolve to live abroad in the world, which were it reall I have proposed all things can reasonably be desire to make home easie to him , or if he live abroad to doe it with credit, but the trew cause of his warlike resolution he will not acknowledge to me, which I have to much reason to doutp is the infatuation of a lewd strumpet who hath entangled him to his shame and he thinks nothing can deliver him out of the snare but that way. If any engagement to that wild wench without marriage doe constrain him if he be not enchanted, ways may easily be found out to discourage him beside is still the bar she is to his marriage if he be not cleared from her, and I shall fall in his designd ingagment in Flanders she will also be a sharer in his estate which before he went away he promised to make over to his sister but in a undutifull letter I had from him he threatens he will charge with such large bills that the remainder shall be of little vallue. My humble service to my couzen to whom as allsoe to you I could write a vollume my troble is so great but I know business of public trust takes him up.

I have another good child I bless God in his providence keeps me from sinking under such a triall otherwise I could not bear up for tho I have cause to

lay all thoughts of my sone as if he were not, I cannot, but in all my thoughts the care of him strikes terror to me and if posable I would not leave anything undone while there hopes of reclaiming him, I must needs say he deserves pittty for being soe young intrapt in a snare which I beleive he hath bin under soe much trouble about that he disentangle himself which is come to such a desparate fate that he will seek death in war rather than live in disgrace, I am weary of writing these bloted lines which are written with tears as much as ink and therby beg your pardon to your most afecktinate aunt and servant Jane Strachey

Edward Clarke to John Spreat February 21 1692

I desire alsoe that all possible care may be taken that ye plaistering and whitewashing may bee all finished and perfected by that time that there been nothing of that kind left undone anywhere about the house till my wife comes home; to this part of my letter I would not have you return me any answer lest it fall into yr mistresses hands and thereby a discovery happen, wch I would avoyd.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 6th March 1692/3

I am extremely troubled that your cold sticks so upon you. Pray drinke water and carefully noe wine, and be as little abroad in the evenings as you can. I know not what else to say to you unless you will come hither a little while for some country air. If your cold increases upon you, quit all business that you may serve your country, for when you are sick or worse you will not be able to serve it.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat 16 March 1692/3 London

The London session being now over I shall make all the hast I can home but am not yet soe much master of my businesse as to appoint the time when I shall begin my journey home.

Jane Strachey to Edward Clarke March the 27 93

Honrd couzen

By this time I hope your publick affairs are a little over and it may not be amiss to give you an acount that very lately I was enformd your tennant the widdow Veale doe commit great wast by cuting down trees on the tenament she is thought soe poore that neither her self or son can purchase farther interest in it and for that reason doe not care how it is ruend, if you please to lay your commands on me or any other to stop her just one word or 2 from you it shall be done; I r yesterday receivd my neeces letter fro which I return my most harty thanks and beg her pardon for not writing now to her for I have just writ 2 or 3 letters and am quite tired, I hope when you come to Chipley Sutton will not be out of the way and thos it be under a cloude your presence with you family will make it a sun shine, my misfortuns with my friends I hope will raise pittty not contempt which by my sons vissious practtice he hath brought on himself and me but though it make him soe mean spirited to ruen his fortune yet the hopes of his connicktion and reformation in some measure doe make amends I hope you will not cease to avise him in that perticular which is the greatest freindship you can confer on your afecktinate aunt and servant Jane Strachey

Lord Somers was not at first close to the King but gradually his civility and control appealed to William. When Somers became Lord Keeper in March 1693 he

controlled the Seal for seven years and was in the magic circle of the prime officials of the state, earning £4000 p a plus perquisites. He was the chief exponent of English justice in the House of Lords. The Privy Council met once a week and the Cabinet council more often as William III was so often away on the Continent leading the coalition against Louis XIV. Locke, Freke and Edward began regular meetings - a further step to the formation of the College -when policy was formulated and later put to Somers. By the end of the session, Edward was established as a Court Whig, violently anti-Jacobite, of independent mind and concerned with popular and local opinion. He supported an amendment to the game bill to allow every Protestant to keep a musket in his house, a measure condemned by Sir John Lowther as savouring of the "politics to arm the mob".

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 4th May 1693

I wish to your general opinion of his [Somers] ill state of health you had added some particulars concerning it, but for want of that, taking it to be some remains of that indisposition which made him once go out of the house, I am steadily of opinion that he should wholly leave off wine and wholly come to drinking of water. Another thing I think necessary for his health is to make himself as many holidays as possibly he can, and to disburthen his head of weighty cares every half-hour of leisure that he can get, and that he get some company to be with him those days who never had any other thoughts in their heads but to laugh and chat and be merry.

I have seen the verses on your mistress's* visiting ---on the Thames and admire the heroism of the action.

* Luttrell's diary: " the Queen went lately on board Mr Shores pleasure boat against Whitehall and heard a consort of musick". The boat was built for entertainment having 24 sash windows and 4 banqueting houses on top, and there was vocal and instrumental music.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 15 May 1693

Besides the desire I have to see you and Madam, my wife and all of you before you go into the country, I could be very glad I could have some discourse with you and our friend John to debate farther of these matters whilst you are in town, for knowing we aim at the same things I would be glad we might consider and propose them together. But I consider how few opportunities your short time and the term if like to give us with him whilst you stay, and how hard it is to bring four ordinary people together who have more leisure each than I am sure two of these four have.

Isaac Heath to Edward Clarke from Chiply May ye 20th Dom 1693

Honerd Sr

Finding yr coming home yet unsarting, I thought itt convenient to acquaint ye I have had in my travels some discorse with a very good glasier? yt workes for most gentellmen in this country, he dous not only promis yt he will be bound in a bond of £40 with tow sofisant men with him and will alow ---reasonable termes alowing a resanable price for ye lead and glase -I thinkd not to paint ye windows without farder order next week

Mary Clarke to John Spreat May ye 23rd 1693

John,

Now methinkes our coming home lookes nearer then ever, the worst thinge towards it is, the poore snipe geldings misfortune, and if that, nor noe other accident happens we desire to begin our journey hence on Wittson Munday and doe hope to be att home the latter end of that weeke, against which time pray tell Cattren she must make both the beads in the nursery, and that within for herselfe as usuall, and gett all things in order that belongs to the children, and if ever a won of the beads have not bin lain on, lett it bee laine on in the meane time to ayre it, my blessing to my children and my service to all my frends concludes this from Your reall frend M Clarke

Edward Clarke to John Spreat May ye 23rd

I am concern'd to understand by yr last that ye snipp-gelding is not like to bee in a condition to come the journey, I hope I shall have by the next post some further accott of his present condition, that I may gett a payre of leaders from hence to helpe bring mee home at the time appoynted, which I hope in God nothing will hinder, there being nothing as yett visible likely to prevent it, and I heartily pray God to send us all a happy meeting.

On 26 May 1693 Edward paid Nurse Trent for nursing the two boys for 7 weeks £3 10s 00d, and £1 for coach hire to fetch home Jepp. On June 3rd he paid for 12 weeks use of stables and coach house to Mr Roberts, costing £2 08 00d and the writing master, Mr Plantat, received £6 19s 06d.

“CONCERNING EDUCATION” IS PUBLISHED

June 1693 - May 1694

Edward's delight in the dedication - Mary pregnant again - Edward busy in Parliament - birth of Jenny -

Edward managed to get back to Chipley for some months during the summer, during which time Locke's book "Concerning Education" was published.

Edward Clarke to Locke **Taunton 22nd July 1693**

Dear Sir,

This morning I received (by the hands of one Mr Babb, a bookseller here) your Book of Education for Madam, which I will deliver to her this evening but I hear nothing of any more of them from Mr Churchill. The printing of that book is certainly a great service to the public, and a particular obligation on all that are, or shall be parents of children. But the dedication of the book to so inconsiderable a person as I am in the world will I doubt very much prejudice it. But the extraordinary honour you have done me therein, and the particular great friendship you have thereby (as well as in all other instance ever since I had the happiness of your acquaintance) manifested towards me and my family, is ever to be acknowledged and remembered with all the testimonies that a grateful sense of them can produce from

**Your most truly affectionate, most faithful and obliged servant,
Edw Clarke**

Edward Clarke to Locke **Chipley 2nd August 1693**

I think my wife is breeding again, I hope of another boy. Her legs swell much, and she has sometimes frequently the same pain of the lower part of the right side of her belly, that we have both formerly complained to you of; and she often makes that thick sort of water that you have heretofore seen. She is, I bless God, otherwise in perfect health; she eats, drinks sleeps and looks well. But I would gladly know your thoughts upon the whole matter, whether advisable to drink the Bath water, if she be desirous of it, whilst she is with child, or what else you think proper. I hope you will pardon the freedom I take with you, and accept the humble services of us all here, particularly of your wife, and believe that no man can be more entirely and affectionately your friend and servant than Edw Clarke

I just now understand that my wife hath this day written to you. I desire therefore you will take no notice in your answer to her of my having written to you at all on that subject, for she knows nothing of what I have writ, and perhaps I shall incur her displeasure by meddling. She is full of vapours as usual when with child, and so the more difficult to be pleased or satisfied. Sometimes she seems to be willing to go to Bath, at other times that she cannot be content or satisfied to leave her children here, and frequently asks if the bath waters may not be drank here at home with good success, so that I know not how to behave myself better than to be willing to go thither, or to send for the waters home, as shall be most advisable and she shall be most inclined, believing that if she could be content and quiet in her own mind, that would be the best physic to her, and the greatest satisfaction to me and all about her. Pray write fully to her and persuade her to be a philosopher if possible, and, that she may not suspect my having written to you, pray complain a little of my silence towards you, and

forgive me that I am thus troublesome to my best friend, and say nothing to me in any letter of yours touching her, lest it should happen to fall into her hands.

In August John Trenchard asked Edward, Freke and Duke to investigate those at Bath who rejoiced "*at whatsoever they hear to the disadvantage of their Majesties interest*".

Edward Clarke to Locke **Chipley 16th September 1693**

Poor Mrs Clarke hath had two severe fits of a quartern-ague*, and to-morrow expects a third, which together with the usual grievances attending her in breeding makes her look very thin. I presume she will not be prevailed with to take anything without your direction. She has now gone about half her time with child, and did formerly in the like circumstances take the Jesuit's powder with good success, though it passed through her without being digested in a remarkable manner, as I have formerly related to you. I beg your direction in this case. And as for going to the Bath, I have heard nothing at all of it since your last letters on that subject, and I dare not persuade in any case;

* quartain ague appeared every third day as opposed to quotidian which occurred daily and tertian which came every second day. Agues might last for months and were worrying and debilitating but not fatal.

Edward Clarke to Locke **Newberry, 29th October 1693**

Dear Sir,

I enclosed this to Mr Pawling that if you are in town it may find you there and obtain the favour of you (if it bee not very inconvenient to your affairs) to remain there till Wednesday next, by which time I hope to bee in London with my wife; or else that it may be sent to you at Oates, and bring you thence with the first opportunity that your health and business will permit, in order to the curing my wife of her ague, and raising of her again out of that weak condition which that distemper hath reduced her to. I am not out of hopes but that you may yet prevail with her to doe what by your kind letter you advised soe long since, and then (by the blessing of God) I doubt not of her recovery.

Locke to Edward Clarke **Oates, 30th October 1693**

I am sorry Mrs Clarke remains averse to the jesuit's bark, but in her case there is no contesting with it, but it must be left alone. Her aversion to the bark makes her not, I believe, in love with her ague, which I wish her well rid of. Pray remember me very kindly to her, and tell her she must eat hartily the well days, especially that after the fit, and drink wine more freely than she used to do. And let her often remember that I shall neither be pleased with her nor eased in myself till I hear she has got rid of her ague.

Locke sent that letter to Sutton but it had to be readdressed to Richards coffee house as the Clarkes had left Somerset. Locke was in town by 6 November; in November Roger Hoare told Edward that clippers of coin had joined with Jacobites in Bridgewater. On 4 December 1693 the Army estimates of £2,700,000 caused a storm in the Commons and the MPs demanded a sight of the treaties. There was much English resentment at the treatment of English soldiers who were believed to have been given all the worst work in the battles by William's Dutch commanders. The

Commons were now conscious of responsibility for conducting war, but were thwarted by the King powers, particularly of appointment to army and navy command.

The popular whig Admiral Russell was reinstated however.

Despite being a place holder, Edward was alarmed by the King's veto of the place bill. Edward was on a committee for elections and in January on a committee of inquiry into privileges of Parliament. He was a teller for a motion condemning the Admiralty, he attacked the E India Co, was on committees to encourage the clothing trade and promote woollen manufactures, and on a committee of inquiry into highwaymen.

On 12 December 1693, as well as paying Mrs Henman for lodgings for himself and Mary and two servants, Katherine Walker and Tom, Edward paid 7s 00d for casual meals for Mr Lock and his son, and £1 10s 00d for use of the dining room for 6 weeks.

Edward Clarke to Ursula Venner London Janry 11th 1693/4

I wish it were anyways in my power to doe anything further then I have allready towards the making up the differences that have happened, and reconciling all the misunderstandings that are amongst them, but the indiscretion and ill conduct of old Mrs Cannon in all her behavior both before, as well as since the marryage and the want of knowlidge and experiance in the young new-married people, renders that work extreamely difficult, if not altogether impossible, and I confess at present I know not what further to propose therein, tho this I am certain of, that tis the interest of the parties particularly concern'd all that wish them well, that for the preservation of their reputations at present, and for an intire and perfect reconciliation between my cosen and Mrs Cannon, whatever is done with respect to Gresley, for without that, I doubt my cosen and his wife will live but verie oddly and discontentedly together; I know not what further to say in this affayre, and all that I can doe is to pray God so to open all their eyes, that they may have a view of their own mismannagements and follies, and then will not be difficult to amend them.

Mary Clarke to Ursula Venner January ye 11th 1693/4

Deare sister,

I thanke you for your kind letter and good wishes of a new yeare which I hope will prove better to us all then we expectt, though I am sorry it does not begin with a reconciliation between the 2 brothers in lawes wch I know would be a great satisfaction to you and quiett to both the families, but all things in this world will not be just as we would have it and thearefore what is not in our power to remidy we must laber to beare as longe as we can; little Sammy came home very well with his nurss suckling last in order to fech another when it shall please God to send it.

Martha Lockhart to Locke 12 January 1693/4

Since I saw you my Mistress* has taken a fancy to have me read to her your **Rules of Education** most of which she seems very much to approve of.

* Queen Mary

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke **January the 19th 1693/4**

I hope ere this you are free from the dregs of your ague and recovered strength to bring forth another lusty boy or girle as an adission to the rest of the blessings you enjoy of that kind, and strenthen the estate you have in Chipley which your neighbors by their reports would make us beleive you designe or are forst to weaken by sale thereof, my son was soe bold to aferme in company lately that you were soe far from selling that you could purchase all that some knites neece it was worth whose envy can I sopose outdo my couzen tho their strength of braine cannot.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke **Jan the 20 93**

Deare cozen

I should have writen to you long since but I have had and still continewe such a sevear cold and cof that takes away my breth and I feare it will bring me to a fisick for I can not rest at all in the night and that maks me fit for litell in the day. I doe long to heare from you how you doe if I was well I should often wish my selfe with you I pray God send you a good ower.

On 9 February 1693/4 Jane (Jenny) was born at five in the morning, and on 13 February Edward paid Mr Manningham a gynney for christening her.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke **Aldenhham March 17 1693/94**

I am extremly glad to heare you have had so good a time after your illnes and that the litell one is so quiet I did conclude the name must be Jane because it was your grandmother's name before I had it in your leter.

Early in 1694 William signified his conversion to the Whig party by making it known that he would withdraw his opposition to the Triennial Bill, which said that Parliament must be called by the King at least once every three years and that it should not have a life longer than three years. Montagu became Chancellor of the Exchequer in April 1694 and the Whigs remained in office until 1698.

Edward Clarke to Ursula Venner **London Apr ye 14th 1694**

Deare sister,

My wife and I return you our affectionate and hearty thanks for your favors and kindnesses to all our children and particularly for the noble present you have made my son John in your last letter to mee; I hope as hee grows up hee will be more and more sencible of your favor towards him, I am sure my wife and I place a true sence of your extraordinary kindness towards them all; and for your kind remembrance of Jack I think the 10£ you have been pleased to give him cannot be better, nor more advantagiously disposed of for him, than to bee adventured in the lottery, wch, since you are pleased to leave me at liberty, I design to doe.

I am heartily concern'd at the indiscretion and mismannagement of the family at Fitzhead, wch I look upon to be the originall ground of all the indiscreet and unhappy differences that have happened, I pray God to give them all a true sence of their pass'd follyes, that they may discharge their duty towards one another with more prudence and affection than they have hitherto done.



The chest for the Million Lottery tickets

This lottery was part of the new long term borrowing that William's governments experimented with; in January 1693 there had been the Tontine loan, which raised £108000, and the single life annuities which raised £773,394, followed by another single life annuity issue in February 1694 that raised £118,506. Interest averaging 14% was paid by raising additional excise on beer and vinegar. In March 1694 the lottery began; 100,000 £10 tickets were sold and those lucky in the draw received variable interest for sixteen years. This was funded by new duties on beer, vinegar, cider and brandy from 1697 to 1711 and the duties were administered by the Excise.

On 25 April 1694 the Tonnage Act received the Royal Assent. This imposed certain duties for four years on incoming cargoes, together with additional duties on beer ale and vinegar, from the proceeds of which an annual fund of £100,000 was to be appropriated by the Exchequer for payment of interest of just over 8% to those who advanced a sum of £1,200,000. At the same time £300,000 was to be raised by annuities. The Crown was authorized to incorporate the subscribers if half the money had been subscribed by 1 August 1694. The Act had been bitterly opposed in the Lords, as many of the peers objected to the creation of a privileged corporation. The project was spectacularly successful, the subscribers including most of the Whig magnates in the City. By the end of the year the directors, conducting their business first in Mercers Hall and then in Grocers Hall, had lent the whole of the £1,200,000 to the state.

All these loans were guaranteed by Parliament and became a National Debt, which both Englishmen and foreigners were quick to realise was quite different from a loan to the Crown. Good money management was a factor in keeping William and Mary's throne*; it contrasted with the "gunmoney" James II issued when fighting in Ireland, which he promised to redeem if he returned to power, but one of his half crowns was only thought to be worth a penny.

* As Trevelyan wrote later, a regular method of borrowing helped a King who couldn't tax at will, outlast a despot whose subjects had nothing left.

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to Mary Clarke Chipley the 2nd of May 1694

Honrd mother,

I am very glad to understand by my fathers letter to Mr Spreat that you both have some thought of coming to Chipley wch news would have much more transported me had I not had a great affliction upon me; being informed (by a very good hand) that Mr Lock is to be married with Mrs Lockard; wch sad tidings puzzles my thoughts mightily and is the more likely, to be feared by me to be true because I know what she deserves. Mr Lock also loveing and being tooke with women of great witt understandings and parts, (as she is), in the mean while I can assure you that no sorrow shall ever hinder my dutys towards you and my father nor my respects to Mr Lock wch is all at present from Honrd Mother
Your most humble and dutyfull daughter Eliza Clarke

COMMISSIONER OF EXCISE

May 1694 - November 1694

Bank of England founded - Locke visits various gardens - Commissioner of Excise - Yonge made Commissioner of Customs - Edward meets friends in Bath - M Grassmeare thinks Jack should go to school - Rose gets a better post with the Sandfords - Ward has small pox - Mary has ideas for the garden - the College is formed -

The Crown, in perpetual need of finance, had realised that indirect taxes such as customs and excise were less unpopular and easier to gather than direct taxes. But because in 1689 William III had required the Excise Commissioners to make a capital advance to him before he renewed their commission, the excise had become dominated by men with interests in the City, and there was much corruption. Somers, Shrewsbury, Trenchard and Godolphin urged the King that Commissioners should be in the House of Commons to answer for their departments, Somers telling the King *"there is one thing necessary for carrying on your service, which was extremely wanting in these two commissions that there should be somebody of them who might upon all occasions give a satisfactory account in the House of Commons in what related to their proper business, which I hope Sir Walter Yonge and Mr Clarke will be very well qualified to do, if upon other accounts they be acceptable to you."* Shrewsbury agreed Edward was *"the most acceptable and proper person"*, and Trenchard believed that with Clarke and Yonge in posts the King's revenue would *"be always well explained and the debate concerning it well supported"*.

Rumours must have started that Edward would be selected, perhaps because he had aided the Treasury team in the House since January 1694. The Treasury had an influence on appointments of Commissioners because the Boards of Treasury and Excise worked together; they met once a week (usually a Tuesday) and carried on an extensive written correspondence. Both Treasury and Excise set standards of accuracy with systematic record keeping in letter, warrant and minute books. The Excise was usually less busy in August and September which may explain how Edward managed to snatch some time at Chipley in the summer. The Bank of England's principles of management were based on the Excise, for example the weekly committee meetings and the arrangement whereby certain members always stayed in London on a rota.

Edward Clarke to John Spreat London May 5 1694

The King and Queen have been speaking very favorably and kindly of mee on severall occations but I know of noe such employment as yet designed for mee as hath been reported.

The salary of an Excise Commissioner was £800 p.a., while a Customs commissioner was paid £1000. Commissioners, working in the Excise Office,* were at the head of a vast work force and had the power of disposal of places in the Excise worth £100,000 p.a.; there were 60 Commissioners in towns earning £500 p.a., who had to maintain two clerks, and 400 subcommissioners who had to provide efficient local 'gaugers', who had to do the rounds of local brewers by 'rides' or 'footwalks'. Gaugers earned £50 p.a. and their supervisors, who had to keep a diary, £80, while the

actual tax collector received £100 p.a. All these subordinate officials could affect local elections by their influence on inns and alehouses, so the King's ministers felt it important they too should be well affected to the government. Local officers had to give a security of between £200 - £5000, which made it a suitable job for sons of merchants and lesser squires; "inferior officers" had to know the Three Rs and be able to cast accounts.

* The Excise Office was situated in what had been the home of Sir John Frederick (Lord Mayor 1661-62 and M.P. 1660 - 1679) off Old Jewry, in the City.



The site of the Excise Office

Even before the selection of Edward Clarke and Sir Walter Yonge was announced, requests for the posts that the new Commissioners would have in their power started arriving.

P Kelynge to Mary Clarke May ye 25 Red Lyon Square

Deare Madam

I had waited on you yesterday but prevented by my daughter Lytton going out of toune but I shall do it ye first oppertunity to give you and Mr Clark all ye joy in ye world of his great place confeared upon him I wish you both happinesse and long life to injoy it and all things you can wish yrselfe in yt I was so happy to be so much in Mr Clarks faver to bestow one of his places upon a younger son of mine wch is quallified for such a imployment, it would not only be ye greatest faver in ye world he can do me but an ack of charity to me being a widdow. I cannot hope to obtaine so great a kindness of piece of freindship as this would be from Mr Clark without you will interseed for me to him.

On 28 May Edward paid Katherine Walker, a maid at Chipley, for wages and all other demands, £19 03 00. Staff often accumulated their wages with Edward acting as their banker until they left his service.

In June came an abortive attempt at an invasion of France; the Fleet afterwards kept to the Mediterranean and just cruised the Channel and bombarded the coast.

The main event of June 1694 was the founding of the Bank of England. The Bank had strong Whig connections; as far back as 1681, the jury which acquitted Shaftesbury of high treason had included Houblon and Godfrey, now top men in the Bank. Tories were suspicious of the Bank because of this as well as the Dutch connections. Although Edward was too exhausted or too diffident to be a Director, he wholeheartedly approved its founding, and left notes in his papers commenting how beneficial it had been both financially and politically, raising money "*cheaper than otherwise it would have been done, tying ye people faster to ye government*".

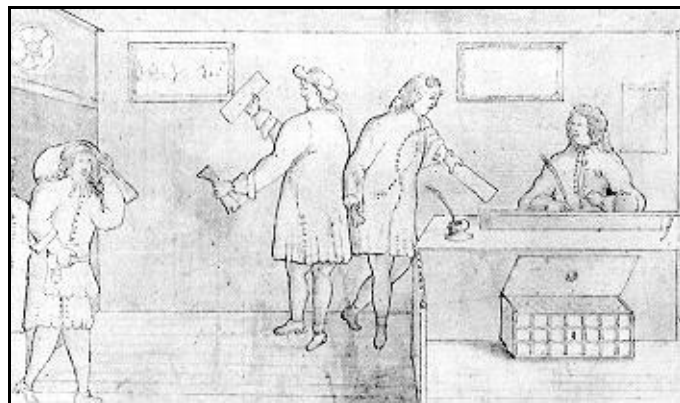
Locke to Edward Clarke **London 30th June 1694**

Tuesday last I went to see our friend J.F. Upon discourse with him he told me he had subscribed £300, which made me subscribe £500, and so that matter stands. Last night the subscriptions amounted to £1,100,000, and to-night I suppose they are all full.

Here is noe news of any action in Flanders or from the Fleet, but a buzz of peace I know not how grounded. Thursday last my Lord Keeper, whom I met by chance in the Gallery* going to Council, did me the honour to enquire about my stay, expressed a great desire to speake with me before I went out of town, and asked (for you know his civility) whether he might send to me when he found a leisure time.

* in the palace of Whitehall

On 30 June Edward paid the Bank of England £500 with a second payment of the same amount on 2 September 1694. In July he bought himself a riding coat for £2 19s 0d.



Accepting deposits at the Bank of England

Edward Clarke to Locke **Chipley 28th July 1694**

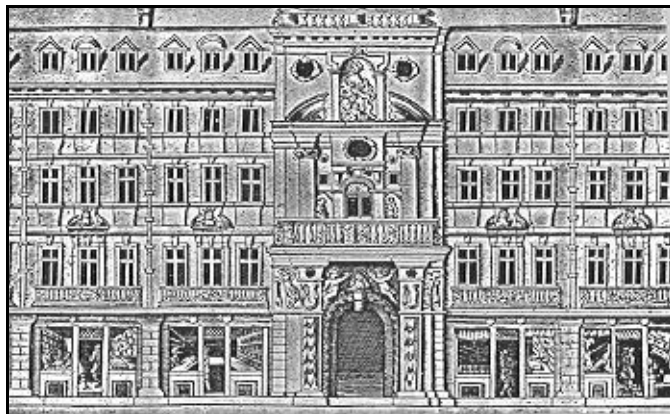
But your obleiging letter giving an account of your travels, and the wonders you have seen, dated the 12th came not to my handes until the last night, though it was sent out of London, (as I find by the post-marke on the outside of it) on the 19th. But the distant date of that letter from the post-marke, and the long time after it took up in its passage to mee, are not soe strange as the wonderous rarities you saw, and eate in your late ramble. I have communicated what you

writ mee to John Barber, who is verie hard of beleif, but verie willing to know the places where you found these rarities, and then I thinke hee will hardly sleepe quiet until hee has seen them. But I told him travellers were generally too cunning to make their relations soe particular, as thereby to leave it in the power of a busie inquisitor to contradict or detect them in anything they say. Upon which John hoped it might not bee all true which you had written, being verie desirous that nobody should have earlier or better fruite* of all kinds than his masters in these parts.

I bless God Madam is something better, but farr from enjoying perfect health, and therefore I hope shee will yet be prevayled with to go to Bath, and drinke the waters regularly there. Your wife and all my children here are well, and verie much your servants, but none so particularly as your wife, and your most truly affectionate and obliged humble servant, Edw: Clarke

I have made the best excuse I could to the Governours and Directors of the Banke of England. And desired them to choose another director in my place etc. My reasons I will give you at large when I am next soe happy as to see you, and I hope you will forgive my refusal, etc.

* Only a limited range of annual flowers were available to grow in gardens, and there were few blooms in late summer, so formally trained fruit trees were the chief delight in a garden.



The Bank of England's first home in Mercers Hall

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 6th August 1694

But if you continue to doubt of what I told you, you may go to Mr Controlers* at Winchington in Buckinghamshire and there have it verified to him that we ate there ripe Newington peaches* the beginning of July, which they there had perfect ripe and good in June, we gathering and eating the last that was left. At my Lord Ferrer's* we ate the ripe oranges and at the Earl of Chesterfield's* the ripe grapes, where also you may see oranges planted and thriving in the round. If John Barber will go to these places he will perhaps see ways of ripening fruit and having it early which he has not thought on.

I cannot imagine why you refuse to be one of the directors of the Bank. I look on it of no small consequence to you and to England, and therefore shall hope you will not persist in a refusal, at least without consulting your friends, who no doubt will be ready to hear your reasons.

* Newington peaches - listed by Evelyn in *Kalendarium Hortense* as ripe in July.

*Mr Controler - Thomas Wharton, Comptroller of the Household 1689-1702

*Lord Ferrers - Sir Robert Shirley. created Ld Ferrers in 1677, cup bearer to James 11 and Tory but supported William in 1688 and Privy Councillor to William and Queen Anne. He had homes at Staunton Harold and Chartley Castle, Staffs and was a great improver of gardens and parks.

*Earl of Chesterfield - Philip Stanhope 1633-1613 - an important supporter of William at Revolution but refused to take oaths and was disbarred from office. His mistress was Dryden's wife.

Sir Walter Yonge to Edward Clarke Escott Aug 6th 94

Dear Sir

I this evening recd a letter from My Lord Keeper and another from our friend Freke both pressing me to hasten to London, for that the long talk'd of alterations in ye Comr of ye Excise and Customes are now order'd and Mr Fr saies ye warrants are signed by ye Queen nominating Mr Chadwik Mr Clark of ye custom house and myselfe to be Comrs of ye Customes, and you and Mr Danvers and poor foot Onneslow for ye Excise, and as many displaced. I presume you have letters to ye same effect, therefore send this purposely to know wt resolutions you take upon it, and beg yr advice for myselfe. My present thoughts are to prepare to goe up on the stage-coach next Monday, and if I could think it of moment, I would strive to goe away next Friday, tho it would be very inconvenient for me; but it would please me above all things if we could goe up together for I shd be glad to be assisted by you in every step I make in these matters.

William Glanvill Esq.* to Edward Clarke Greenwich 7th August 1694

Dear Son,

I am not a little proud that you, Sir Walter Young, and Doctor Locke call me father; the esteem I have for you all three is I am sure not less than the respect and friendship which sometimes everyone of you says he hath for me. After this prologue I suppose you begin to think what next, neither compliment or business, only be pleased to know that on Friday last at a Cabinet Council, the Queen made you a commissioner of the excise, and your acquaintance Mr Danvers, one Aram is turned out. Sir Walter Young, Mr Chadwick son-in-law to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and one Mr Clark, a very knowing officer of the custom house, are made commissioners of the customs, and Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Worden and Mr Booth turned out. This I have from an infallible hand, and let me assure you that upon your and Sir Walter's account my joy is equal to my pride, that their Majesties have set their mark of favour on you both; for what good father is not pleased and proud when his sons come to preferment. Could I see my dear doctor Locke but rewarded according to his merit, which is almost impossible, my joys would be complete. Pray present my service to your lady, and believe me you have a very affectionate friend and humble servant in, Your poor father, Glanvill

*William Glanvill of the Alienation Office

Richard Lapthorne to Richard Coffin 11 August 1694

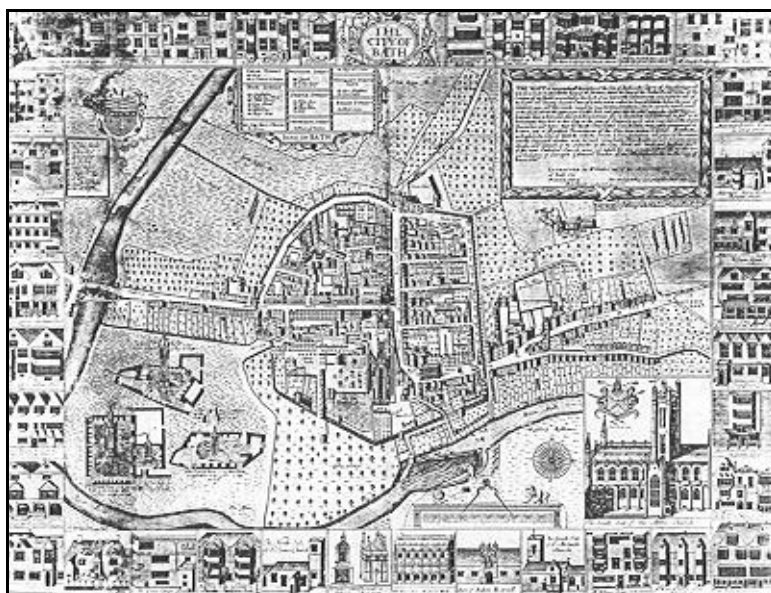
Some alterations have latly bin made in the Customes and Excise I meane as to the Commissioners. Mr Clerk of Somerseshire a member of Parliament is a commissioner in the Excise Office.

Francis Guy sneered that Clarke and Yonge "*at least had their bargain made good to them*".

Yonge was reliant on Edward's financial expertise but was probably the better orator. (A satire of 1701 said that Edward *spoke 'with such a parcel of knotty and convincing reasons as made both sides call out The Question, the Question, before he had a quarter finished'*.)

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke August ye 20 1694

This is only to assure that we are all well here, and doe hope this will find you well att London; I have drunke the bath water ever since you went and they pass very well but I phancey the way to make them effectuall is to lay all care and thought aside and that I cannott live without. I hope you will see Ward and Jenney with the first opertunity pray give my humble service to Mr ffreake to whose care I recommend and am your affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke



The City of Bath in 1694

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London August ye 25th 1694

My deare,

Presently after Gabrael was gone out of Bath Sunday morning with my horses, I accidentally mett Mr Bucks man in the churche-yard, who told mee that his master and lady, Mr Levens* and his lady, and young Mrs Gulston came to town late the evening before; I went with him immediatly to their lodgings, which is at one Mrs Bassetts neere ye South-gate just as wee come into Bath from Sutton, I payd my devotions to them instead of going to Church and spent ye whole morning with them, there being noe geting from them, my Lady Littleton comeing in to visitt them at ye same time, many verie kind inquieries were made after you and the children by them all, and many kind wishes for yr company. My Lady Littleton leaves the Bath with Sir Thomas* the begining of the next weeke, and dislikes it soe much, that shee frequently resolves never to come there again, as long as shee has the use of her limbes; I was very importunate with them all to see you at Chipley, before they return, and gave them the kindest and

best invitations I could thither, which were verie well recd by them, but Sir Thomas and my Lady excused themselves by the obligations he sayd he was under of returning to his office in the Tower the next weeke; and the rest of the company gave me but little hopes, being under greate discouragement by reason of the ill wayes and weather wch they have mett with in their journey down. The town is fuller now then it hath been at any time this yeare as Doctor Pierce tells me, wth whome I dynded Sunday. I left them yesterday morning in the most dreadfull rayne, that I thinke I ever travelled in, but being in the coach it did mee noe prejudice, but it was hardly possible for the coach-man and horses to beare it, however we gott safe and well to our journeyes end that night, and I arrived as safe here this evening and found Mr Freke well, and joynes with me in his true love and service to you and all the children

* Sir Thomas Littleton, (1647 -1710), member of Inner Temple, Clerk of Ordnance 1690-96, Commissioner of Treasury 1696-99, M.P. for Woodstock, Speaker 1698-1700, Treasurer of Navy 1699, he was a Whig Court supporter and friend of Montagu.

* Mr Levens - William Levinz,(1671-1732) eldest son of Sir Creswell Levinz, (Attorney General in 1679) married Ann Buck, daughter of Samuel Buck, vicar of St Andrews Holborn.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London August ye 25th 1694

My deare,

Yrs of 20th and John Spreates of ye 22th came both together to my handes by the last post but yrs should have come by the post before, had it not been delayed in the countrey, however it was verie welcome to mee bringing the most happy and desireable news I could have wish'd for, I meane that of yrs and yr childrens healths wch I heartily pray God to continue; I am alsoe verie glad to hear the Bath-waters agree and passe soe well with you, and I earnestly begg you to continue the use of them and lett Jo: Spreate take effectuall care wth Mr Freind that you bee constantly supplied with them fresh from the Bath as you have occasion; I visited my son Ward the next day after I came to town, and found him and all Mr Meure's family in perfect health, and I heare little Jenny is well, but I cannot yett bee certain when I shall bee able to goe to see her, but I promise to doe it with ye 1st opportunity, and in the meane time shall have a particular accott from her.

The Queen recd me wth more than ordinary favor, and inquired wth greate kindnesse for you; I have been soe taken up in the formes of being sworn and admitted into my New-Employment that I could not gett time to write to you by the last post as I intended, but I hope you will pardon me therein. Mr Freke is verie kind and carefull of me, and promises affectionately to perform yr trust concerning me that you have committed to his charge, and gives his true love and service to you, as I heartily doe, wch with my true love to my children, and my service to my sister and the rest of my freinds, concludes this from yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw: Clarke

I begg you to bee cheerefull in the enjoyment of our children and friends.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 28th August 1694

I had a letter from my wife by the last post, wherein she tells me that she continues to drink the Bath water at Chipley and that they agree verie well with her. But shee still complains of great dispiritedness, faintness, tremblings and fears of shee knows not what.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 3rd September 1694

The proper remedie for this would be more exercise and less thoughtfulness. If you can find a way to compasse that it would be of great use to her; in the meantime the best thing she can do is to continue the waters as long as she finds them agree with her and passe well.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley September 1694

When I consider our parting is I hope for the good of our children, as long as you are well I can very well bare it, for which resen I have resolved to continue heare as long as you shall think fit or I shall find it convenient or profitable for me so to doe, finding nothing heare indeede or any wheare else so troblesome as the uncertainty and temper of those we hire into our family a instance of which you will find by the inclosed letter which Mounsr brought me to inclose to you; I desired to discourse him about it first and thearefore desired to know in the first place if either I or anybody else had don anything to disoblidge him that made him weary, he said noe he should always own the civilities he had receved from everybody but he had taught Mr Jack as much as he could and he never did think to spend so much of his time in the country and that Jack would do much better at scoole; I asked whether if you sent for Jack he would stay with the rest, he sed no he hoped we would not force him to stay, I sed no, I was very sure that you, neither should I, desire that this place should be a prison to him; I sed if he went I might desire you to find out some other to be with the children this winter for that I should not be able to bare to se them run up and down and loose theyr time in makeing great noyses and larning nothing but forgetting what they had larnt, but Mounsr was very hard of belief that I should stay heare this winter; I asked him what he ment in his letter by your considering of him, he sed he had heard you say we did desire Mr Edward should travel and if you would send for Jack to scoole that you would permit him to travell with Mr Edward he should do it with all the care and zeale imaginable, I told him I thought you did not desire it yet.

To conclude I do beleve Mounsr has now some mony in his pocket and is perfect in English, begins to want a remove and if it was not more for Jacks sake and the rest he should follow Mr Pasbones fate this cold winter, but we must consider it is very inconvenient for children to change tutors and I do beleve he has a good way of teching having made Jack so forward and I think him a modest frenchman which must be considered now our girls are growing thearefore if you write to him thanke him for his great care without any expressions of fondness of him or anger to him, I find this silent indiffrent way agrees best with the frenchmans constitution; Sammys teeth trobles him a little and since I began my letter he has bled exceedingly at the nose, it makes him a little pale his blood was very thin but he is as lively and pert as usuall, pardon this long scrole and be assured that I am

Your affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke

I have not patience to read what I have writt and I wish you may if you can find time

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke September ye 7th 1694

I think it very necessary that either the master or mistress be they ever soe useless should be where the family is and therefore with your leave if nothing extraordinary happens that I cannot foresee I have no thoughts or desire of leaving this place for some time, finding myselfe nott in the condition you feared, and therefore our number will still continue even, as to children, but that my care and number of servants may be lessened, I have preferred Rose to a very good place where she is hired, and to goe the next week, and contrary to the way of our sex, I have done it soe privately that not one in the House beside my selfe and Mrs Burgess and Rose knew it till after she was hired. I am very happy in having done soe well for her having brought her so far and I hope it will doe very well on both sides.

I should be glad to know who was chosen one of the directors of the bank in your place and what is become of that buisness, I phancy I am as full of buisness here as you are at London.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley ye 15th of Sepbr 94

I thanke God all the rest here is very well also only Sammys teeth troubles him which makes him a little peevish and nott sleepe soe well a nights, I have drunke noe bath waters since the first barell that was brought the day before you went, but now I have gott another, but have not drunke any ye morning for I found the last when I did not sleepe well anights was very apt to fly up to my head and made me just like one drunke all confusion, and the roome would seeme to run round so that I was forst to catch hold of anything neare or fall. As to the buisness of Roses preferment it was altogether accident she asking leave it being fine wether with some other of the maids to goe to Ninehead church where for company Mrs Burgess went with them and according to custom Mrs Sandford sent to invite Mrs Burgess to dine with her which she did and after dinner they fell in talke on the subject and Mrs Sandford asked Mrs Burgess if I desired to keep them both, to which Mrs Burgess answered she thought not for she had heard me say if I could prefer Rose I should be very willing, so Mrs Sandford liked her carrecter very well and desired her to aske me if I was still in the same mind and to lett her know by a line or 2 as also what waggess I did give her which she did as also whether she should wait on her and Mrs Sandford sent her an answer to desire she might and she hired her immediatly and Rose is to go to her tomorrow, Rose is very well satisfied and pleased. Rose afforded me a great deal of laffer (to my selfe) at her returne when she told me Mrs Sandford told her to incorage her that the servant that went from her had lived with her five and twenty yeares, which makes Rose afraid she may come agen likewise but I tell her there is not such feare for she is a hundred and twenty mile off, but Rose ses if she does she is resolved to try no other service but get up mantua making and head dressing at Taunton, but I tell her providence will I beleve send her a good husband, Mrs Sandford being very fortunate in marrying her maids well.

Since I writt this I received yours that gave me an account of Wards indisposition which I am very much concerned at, and by the simtums am under sum apprehensions of the small pox; but the great satisfaction I have is, that you and Mr Freake are near him; and if it be soe I hope Mr Lock will not be long from him; it was this time twelfe month he was so ill with eating so many plums, and he promised me he would be more careful for the future, for that illness

hindered him from seeing Barthlemew faire; I hope to heare he is better by the next post.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke September ye 19th 1694

I was not a little concerned to heare by your last that Wards distemper proves the small pox which I feared from the first account you gave me of his illness, which I cant but have very mallancolly aprehensions and feares of for him, but the only comfort and satisfaction I have at this distance, is that you are so neare, whose care and concerne I am very sure is equall with mine, I pray God to bless the means used for his recovery and send us good news of him by the next post, I am concerned for Mrs Henmans house and persen, she never having had them.

I thank God all heare are well and present you theyr duty Mr Grassmeare his humble service and tells me he will answare your letter very quickly which was all he then sed to me, and what resolutions he will take I know not; Rose went hence yesterday to wait on Madam Sanford according to her promise and agreement.

1 October 1694

Pd Dr Pitt for care of my son £5 10 0d

bleeding 5 0d

Mr Shepherd attending him 2 0 0d

29 October

Mrs Henman while Ward had smallpox 3 10 0d



The Cross Bath at Bath

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley October ye 22 1694

As to my stomach I dont find any disorder there neither have I any moveable pains for that in my left kidney was constantly in one place from the time come till it went away but much more violent when I was warme in my bead then when I was up, but haveing a quantity of the bath waters in the house and being more aprehensive that it was occationed by the sider I began to drink the waters agen the day I had your letter, but shall go on more cheerfully now I have yours and Mr Lockes orders, I have my bottle and glas brought and set in the gallery window by my chamber wheare I walk and drink them with a great deal of

pleasure though all heare will have they have a nasty tast and do stinke, but I phancey I am at the bath and they are very pleasant and that the gallery is the bath gallery that looks into the hall which I phancey to be the Cross bath.* The company I have is my son Jepp and my son Samm with the rest of theyr brethren sometimes but they too are my bead fellowes and the most idle and I take as much pleasure in teaching Sammy to go as the fine ladies do in the hopes of having luck by drinking the waters.

I heard today that Sharpe has broke of Ilchester Jaille and gone and if so I know not what will be my lott this winter or how to make the house more safe.

Š Molly is very well but extremely costive* longer than I give her ruburbe in her beare and she is very apt to break out all over her face.

*Cross Bath - the original structure dates back to Roman times and by 1540 the bath was much frequented. In the late seventeenth century many of the Clarkes friends and relations went there to drink the medicinal waters, and after Queen Annes visits in 1702 and 1703 it became very fashionable.

* Constipation was thought more serious than vomitting as fundamentally unhealthy - a soluble state of the body was more desired.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley October ye 27

I writt to you by the last post and thearein aquainted you that I had receved no letter from you by the post before the resen of which I find since was occasioned by the sickness of the old postman who did not send the letter till the day after he should have done.

I have tryed my old horse once to Langford since you went and notwithstanding he is as mad and as briske as any old fellow in England when he is in the field yet he went theare with such difficulty of breathing that it would have bin as pleasing to me to have satt in the stakes as in the cotch so that now I dispare of using him any more to my great greefe.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 2nd November 1694

Dear Sir,

The favour of your last haveing noe business that required an answer but the kindnesse in it, I thought you would not be displeased if I returned my thanks by Mr Freke. He has since obleiged me in his kindness to my cousin King *and now in your turne I must beg you to return my thanks to him. I shall be glad to hear how Madam does and whether she continues the waters. In the meantime pray return my service and thanks to her for her letter, and doe not forget my wives, to whom also give my love.

* Peter King, who entered Middle Temple on 23 October.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley November ye 3rd 1694

I heare Sharpe is of certain gott out of gaile which I am sorry for , our house being but poorely garded but the way I take now is to tye up one of the mastyfes adays and lett him loose about the house anights which I phancey as good as a man but if you can directt me better I should be glad to follow it.

We have had pretty good weather heare of late which has tempted me to walke all over the gardens with Humphrey* who tells me you have ordered all the grownd that was the old orchard and the bitts neare it to be planted with apple trees and that which you call Blewetts nursery to be cleared, in which I

find a great many aple trees more than well sett that grown which he says you ordered to be sett in hedgrowes about the ground, which I could wish you would not doe for I phancy it does but ocation breaking the hedges and treading the grass by theeves to steale them, which in the end brings vexation, and many aples I cannott thinke of much profitt to a gentleman that must pay servants to mannage it, sider being sold heare now in many places for 6 shillings a hogshead and unless you could grind them and I mannage the press I phancey we should get but little, but since my walke I have thought of a proposall to make to you, which if you doe not like I desire you would not take ill however odd it may seeme to you, that is to sett that part which we call the Old house garden with aple trees which will answare the other part, and looke well on each side if you should ever be so luckey as to purchess that which Webber now rents and make a highway up to your house between the ponds and the walkes and codling hedge and philbert hedge; I beleve there may be a place found for the kitchen garden in that which they call the herbe garden and the cherry garden and the pond garden; methink it is not resonable that I should lay out part of my childrens fortunes to provide garden stuff for part of the knayborhood or else to lett it rott and at last be flung away, I could say a great deal more on this subject if you was heare on the place and would have patience to heare me and walke about with me from place to place, but I must remember that I am writing to a man of businesse and begg your pardon for interrupting you so longe, but if I did not some times rant you would forget theare was such a troblesome creature in being att this distance; I do please myself very often with the thought of Mr Freake and your housekeeping and do hope to lerne a great deale of good housewifery from you when I see you.

*Humphrey Bishop - one-time gardener's boy at Chipley.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London

My dearest,

I am exceedingly obleiged by yr kind and good advise to mee in yr letter of ye 3d instant, but as to what you propose therein touching the apple trees to be planted, which I ordered before I came from home, I earnestly desire yr assent to it, for I verie well considered that matter before I gave directions in it, and I thought the cleareing of the ground call'd Bluetts Nursery by planting out the trees that have been rayseed there, was one way of lessening the garden expense; and as to the planting the old house garden wth trees, and turning the herbe-garden, the cherry-garden and the Ovall-pond garden, into kitchen gardens as you propose, in my poore opinion that will rather increase than lessen my expense, however another yeare when you and I can fully discourse this matter upon the place I shall be ready to comply with whatever shall appeare to bee most reasonable, or most satisfactory to you, but in the meane time I desire ye trees I have ordered may bee planted out according to the directions I have given; I writt you in my last that Sharpe was retaken and sent to goale againe by Mr Stringer, and I hope at the next Assizes will bee secured from doeing further mischeife, but approve extreamely of yr keepinge one of the mastiffes loose in the house a nights wch if the dogg bee good, is better than a man lying there; there was a freind of mine yesterday wth our little girle at Ditton, and assures mee that shee is verie plumpe, well and lusty, and I heare Ward is well likewise, but I have not seen him this fortnight, and know not when I shall gett time to goe to him.

The King is not yet returned but is expected dayly, the Parliament was this day prorogued to Munday next. My worthy freind Mr Freke is verie kind to mee and gives his service to you. If you can contrive to send us anything that will beare carryage this farr, either potted-foule or potted-venison, or anything else that's eatable, it will bee verie acceptable to us.

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 9th November 1694

I hope my answer to Mr Clarkes enquiry about your farther drinking the waters came to your hands before I received yours of the 14th of October. Mr Clarke in his last informs me of your taking them again and the good success of it, the assurance whereof very much rejoices me, for nobody can be more concerned for your health and the health of all your family than I am. I am glad to hear all your little ones are well. My service to them, and particularly my love to my dear wife, whom I thank for her kind letter which I will very speedily answer.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke November ye 10th 1694

I doe assure you I shall allways give my assent to anythinge that you give your orders for and had I knowne that you had soe well considered that matter I should have bin soe impertinent, but as the old saying is, the mistress of the house is the best servant. I thought I should discharge that office best by laying before you my thought not of the little afaires heare, which doss not at all hinder your following your owne inclinations att last, but I find you did not understand me aright if you thinke I ment to make all those 3 gardens you mention into chitching gardens for my meaning wass to make one of them a cabbage garden and that which happened to be now growing in that garden might be removed to the others I mentioned not being able to judge which is the most proper ground for cabage of the three, but must leave that to John Barber, who I am of the mind will vote against it all; -I doe hope he will not forgett to consult you about a gate or some other way to secure and make the peare garden and cherry garden more privatt, which now in my poore opinion is much otherways, but I am not a little pleased that you thinke the time will ever come that you and I shall discourse these matters fully upon the place;

Heare is nothing soe scarce and deare as hay that falling very short every wheare this summer soe that you may be thankefull my 2 great store horses are not heare for if they weare I verily beleve they would eat every bitt you have soe that I find I save much money this winter by being without them and march to church with as much plesure with my poore broke legg horse and lame shouldred one as if they was the best in England.

I had a letter from Nurss according to the old custom full of wants which I have indevored to suppley by making heare what is to be made with old cloth and will send it up by the next oppertunity and doe desire you will send it with the things I have desired Mrs Smithsby to by as you will find by the inclosed letter to her which I desire you will delever to her with mony to pay for it and thearein you will oblidge your affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke
I cannott gett Mollys face well, it still keeps running from one place of it to another.

Mrs A Buck to Mary Clarke Novem ye 10 1694

Dear Madam,

Ide long before ys, told you that we ware all safe and well returnd out of your country; but ye day after I came home we was forc'd to pul down a good peice of our house, or else it would have faln, this was a dirty allay to our pleasant enjoyments at ye Bath; your good company there would have added much to our satisfactions, ye waters have not yet had the desird effect upon the dear Lady Littleton, nor upon an intire friend of yrs that shal be nameless; pray God send each of them, such another boy as our godson Samll; I hope now you'l in a short time take a house in town, your neighbour Sr Walter Young hath taken a very good house in Bedford Walk near Greys-Inn, he sets up great, I wish he dont make a scarcity att our end of ye town, al ye tradesmen here abouts, are striveing wch shall first oblige there new customer.

Langford Budville church - collection for the relief of distressed Protestants

<i>November 16 1694</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>Madam Ursula Venner</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Mr Gustavus Venner and his lady</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Mr John Haviland</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Mrs Haviland widow</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Mr Matt Haviland</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>

in all £1 11 05 was collected



Langford Budville church from Chipley

Edward Clarke to Locke London 27th November 1694

I must begg alsoe your direction in the following case. Mrs Clarke writes mee that little Molly has had a sharp ugly humour breakeing out all over her face, and has runn much, but is gone off without leaveing any scars or marks other than redness, and that about ten dayes since it swelled and gathered under her chinn, and about her throate, and it was verie hard and much swelled in those parts until it broke and began to runn. Mrs Clarke hopes by such a good dyett, and such purging or other directions as you shall thinke proper, the child will doe very well again. Shee bears it verie patiently, and is willing to take anything. My wife has endeavoured to purge her by an infusion of rubarb, but the child is

verie difficult to be purged, and therefore my wife earnestly desires your thoughts and directions upon the whole matter, which shee promises shall bee punctually observed.

On 29 November Freke wrote Locke the first of the series of letters from The College, which ended "*Mr Clarke's attendance in Parliament and at his offices keeps him so continually employed that he has scarce time to eat*". Clarke, Freke and Locke constituted the basic College, though Yonge, Masham and Lord Ashley might join in discussions and correspondence about policy. Locke wrote pamphlets, Clarke made speeches in the House and Freke recorded the opinion and policies of Somers.

DEATH OF THE QUEEN

December 1694 - March 1694/95

*Death of Queen Mary - problems over mourning - Sammy has a surfeit of wigg
- recoinage proposed - the Queen's funeral*

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London December ye 27th 1694

I heartily thanke you for the news you therein sent mee, but most particularly for the accott you therein give mee of my children, and I doubt not by the blessing of God but that Sammy will recover his strength in the spring. I could heartily wish that all the younger brothers were of Jack's temper, that being most suteable to the uncertaine state of mankind, and will best carry a man through the variouse fates and changes of this life, but since one can hardly have anything in this world just as one would wish, lett us continue to doe what is reasonable to bee done in all things, and quietly and thankfully submitt to ye Greate, Good, and Wise disposer of all things, who best knows what is fittest for us, and tho His Dispensations may in many instance appeare verie severe upon us, yett lett us remember tis in His Power to turn it all to our advantage.

I cannott without teares acquaint you how extreame ill the Queen has been ever since the date of my last letter to you, the physitians at that time thought her in little or noe danger, but that night there appear'd severall purple spotts upon her, and many other ill symtomes have attended her ever since, in soe much that her life is almost dispayred of, but Allmighty God, who hath done miracles for the saveing of the Nation, can yett rayse her, and by giveing her a long life and a happy reign, continue the greatest blessing that can happen to this poore nation, wch I heartily pray for, as I doe for the preservation of you and all my children, in Health, Peace and safety, and remaine, Yr truly affectionate and faithfull, but disconsolate, husband, Edw Clarke

I am just now told that ye Doctors doe all dispayre of the Queens life, and I feare shee will be actually expired before the post goes thence, my concern is too greate to enter further upon particulars.

At a quarter to one in the morning of Friday 28 December the Queen died, and tolling bells carried the news to a snowbound city. Edward was appointed to help draft the address of condolence to the King.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 29th 1694

I am more concerned for the Queens illness then I can express being full of thought of the dismall consiquences that may atend it and am allsoe full of hopes and feares what the newe of the next post may be I pray God it may be the best if it be his blessed will.

I did not write to you by the last post haveing the poore folkes and worke folkes to provide for which hindred me but by the post before I did with one inclosed to Mrs Henman to by me 2 peeces of sleasy dioper* to send in the box with the tippett but if it came to late or be any ways inconvenient pray lett it alone till I come my selfe and pardon all the other troubles given you by your truley affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke

*Sleasy - Silesia cloth, a superior linen fabric made in Prussia

* Diaper - linen fabric with small diamond pattern

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London December ye 29th 1694

My dearest,

Tis not without unspeakeable greife of heart that I must acquaint you with the greatest misfortune that could have happened to this Kingdom, I meane the death of the Queen, who expired yesterday about one of the clock in the morning, tis an irreparable losse to this Nation and all Europe. and I have too much reason to say tis greatest to mee and my family in particular than to most of her servants, or subjects, haveing lately rcd repeated assurances of Her Maties Grace and Favour towards me and my children, of wch number poore Jack is most imediately concern'd, hee being within a few dayes before her Maties sickness, promised some particular marke of Her Maties favour upon the next vacancy; but to enumerate her vertues, or the particular instance (of late more that ever) of her graciouse acceptance of my faithfull services, were to aggravate yrs as well as my sorrow, and therefore I will say noe more on this sad occasion, but under the deepest sence of such an affliction in sylene remaine, Yr truly affectionate but disconsolate husband Edw Clarke

The Withdrawing Room was hung with mourning and the Queen's body taken there while preparations were made for the Lying in state. An order from the Earl Marshal required all persons to put themselves in mourning, and by 13 January the Lords and all members of the Royal Household were ordered to have their coaches draped in black and their servants in black liveries. Normally Parliament would have been dissolved on the death of a monarch, but William and Mary had reigned jointly, and all that was necessary was to break the Great Seal and issue a new one for King William alone. Parliament sat briefly and presented the address of condolence to the disconsolate King.

Account book December 1694

<i>10th pd for a furr-capp for myselfe</i>	<i>00 08 06</i>
<i>Pd for caryage of the things Mrs Clarke sent me out of the countrey</i>	<i>01 03 06</i>
<i>Pd for a deale box</i>	<i>00 08 00</i>

31st

<i>Pd Mr Dearle for 4 yards and 1/4 of black cloaths for mourning and for 5 yards and 1/2 shalloon to line it, in all</i>	<i>04 13 09</i>
<i>Pd for a payre of black stoking</i>	<i>00 06 00</i>
<i>Pd for crape for a hatt-band</i>	<i>00 03 06</i>
<i>Pd for muslin crevatt (without necke)</i>	<i>00 15 00</i>

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke New Yeares Day 1694/5

My deare

The sad and lamentable newes you writt me by the last post has greved me to the heart, and the many considerations I have on the perticuler loss we have agrevates the misfortune very much, espeshally yt which relates to poore Jack, whose preferment yt way might have bin a great advantage to all the rest, and if that poynt had bin gained I did desire to have made another proposall to you which was that if you found the imployment you now had would requier your

constant attendance that you would make some intreat to gett lodgings in White Hall which I have heard have bin formerly allowed to those that had the honer to be in the place you was in, which I proposed great conveniency to my selfe and advantage to my children by in relation to their education as sounne as your affaires heare was brought into a little narroer compass which I have thought many times to my selfe would be much better for us in the circomstances we are in then the incombrances of a house, but now my thoughts and hopes are all defeated, and I know not what to say but do look upon this to be the greatest loss next yourself that could have fallen on your children, but I pray God to comfort us who knowes whats best for those that put their trust in him and I hope will be as he has hither to done, provide for them and us beyond what I could ask or think and give us hearts to be thankfull, pray take care of yourself and therein you will oblige, Your truly affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke

I thank you for the care and troble you have taken in bying my tippitt and thread but I know not what I am to weare now

Martha Lockhart to Locke 5 January 1694/5

So much in generall I cant forbear saying that the poor queen's small pox was I veryly belive of the worst sort that Could be seen and what severall of the phisitions say's in all theyr practice they never meett with but on the other Side I could have hartly wishet that Docttor Rattlif* had not made that fatall misstake of Calling it the Measles from the munday night till tusday night that from saying ther was noe danger it Came to the sad discovery of black spott's appearing in her face when the same Docttor Rattlife did assure uss she would be all over mortified be morning so that by this misstake some thirty hours was lost which tho the Case seemd desperate ther was so much strength that I cant tell if the course was afterward's taken had been try'd in time, what effect's it might have produced the Kings greife on this occasion seem's proportioud to his loss which is the greatest man could make, and he has as deep a sence of it as can be imagin'd has thought of noe bussnes nor scarce seen any but my lord Portland but the day he recev'd the adress from the parliament.31 Dec thus wee have all made the greatest and most unexpected experiment of the vanity of all the world calls great in the loss of this good queen who from a very perfect state of health in the prime of her age the best regulated dyat without any maner of accident ether fright or surffet dropped in to this desperate deseas and with the fewest Complaint's of either paine or sickness in five days caryed off. it has been the greates sermon on many account's I ever meett with and what I hope I shall never forget.

Her body with her poor afflicted Family was remov'd hether on Satturday night by order of Counsell, where we atend as if she was alive till the Funerall sollemnity's are prepar'd. they Call it not a publick Funerall tho the body is to ly in state and as I hear the wholle parliament be in long Clokes in the prosesion because they seem not willing to goe the higheth's som funerall's in our age has been. Tho it is writing at randome to give you any acount of ther proceedings for tho they have sate nine days they are yet come to noe resolution in any one perticular. it is like to countinue at Least a month or six Weeks longer all which time we are to waite and sit up every forth night.

How the king will dispose of us* affter this dismalle cerimony is over I kno' not. I find all are of opinion that the establishment will continue and our lodging's as soon as I have any Ceartinty you shall be suer to kno'-

*John Radcliffe 1650-1704 University College Oxford 1669 Fellow of Lincoln practised in Oxford, then came to London

* The Queen's servants were to be given places in the King's Household as they fell vacant but that would not apply to the ladies in waiting.

The Queen's body "*lay in State in Whitehall in a bed of purple velvet all open, the canopy the same with rich gold fring, the middle being the armes of England curiously painted and gilt, the head piece embroyder'd richly with a crown and cyphers of her name, a cusheon of purple velvet at the head on which was the Imperiall Crown and Scepter and Globe, and at the feete another such a cusheon with the Sword and Gauntlets, on the corps which was rowled in lead, and over it a coffin cover'd with purple velvet with the crown, and gilt in moldings very curious; a pall on all of a very rich tissue of gold and silver, ruffled round about with purple velvet which hung down on the ground, which was a halfe pace [dais] railed as the manner of the princes beds are; this in a roome hung with purple velvet, full of large wax tapers, and at the 4 corners of the bed stood 4 of the Ladyes of the Bed Chamber - Countesses - with vailles; these were at severall tymes relieved by others of the same. The anty chamber hung with purple cloth, and there attended four of the Maids of Honnour, all in vailles, and the Gentlemen of the Bed Chamber; pages in another roome, all in black the staires all below the same.*" *

* Celia Fiennes description.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Janry ye 5th 1694/5

My deare,

Yr mournfull letters of the last of December and the 1st of this instant came both to my handes by the last post, on which subject (though it bee never out of my thoughts) yett I cannot thinke it proper to entertaine you with the certain knowlidge I have of the greate misfortune the Nation hath sustained by it or the extraordinary ann irreparable losse Her Maties death is to you, to mee and all my children, but most immediatly to poore Jack, who would most certainly have been upon Her Maties Establishment at Lady day next, wch alone, as you observe, would have been noe small benefitt and advantage to all the rest; pardon mee that I aggravate yr sorrow wch I know tis impossible on this deplorable and sadd occasion totally to suppress, yett I must begg you for yr own, mine, and our children's sakes, soe to moderate yr greife as not to injure yr selfe by it, for without yr assistance and prudent conduct in relation to the education of my children, and in all other my affayres, tis impossible for me or them to bee happy, I pray God to preserve you and doe heartily begg you to take care of yourselfe; I heartily approve of what you disigned on New-Yeaes-Day towards Mrs Burgess and Mounsr and if God had bless'd the Nation and our family wth life, I presume yr other proposition might have been obtained, and I thinke, as you doe, that it would have bin a verie great advantage to us in the education of our children, but that all other the benefittes wee should have reap'd by Her Maties Grace and Favor, are now never more to bee thought of, but to aggravate our misfortune and therefore I beseech you, let them bee noe more mentioned, but lett us submitt with all humility to the disposall of that Almighty Providence, who in his greate wisdom, does allwayes what is best for us, and tis upon his mercy and goodnesse that wee must hope for protection and deliverance from all our difficulties and sorrows; pray accept my true love, give ye like to my children, and my service to Mrs Burgess, Monsr and all our freinds, and

remember mee kindly to John Spreat and the rest, I would have made him a present of paper, according to ye hints you gave mee but tis not to be sent in the box with your tippet, and the two peices of sleezy-diaper that you writt for, are pack'd up in brown-paper, and made up in a peice of bass-mat, and both sent hence by ye waggon yesterday; the town will tomorrow bee all in mourning, and next weeke I shall be able to write you what they weare, and what ever you please to send for, I will gett bought and convey it to you.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 9th 1694/5

It is an ease to me to talke of what is perpetually in my mind which I must indever to remove if possoble; for my sperrett have bin some yeares past soe opprest that I find ten time a smaller matter then this is apt to have a great deal of power over me. I find it a disadvantage to the children that there is soe many of them together of soe diffrent agess, the little ones being apt to presume and take upon them to doe what soe ever they see the great ones doe, and the great ones to play foollish and childish tricks to immitate the little ones and both sorts apt to be conceited in theyr way; and when I keepe them asunder I know not how to devide my selfe to keepe good order amonge both, and nobody else signifyes a straw except he with Jack and indeed I have noe troble with him Mounsr takes it all hetherto, he is prety sharp sometimes but I take noe notiss of it being cencible that our childrens temper must sometimes be treated that way, though I beleve Betty Jack Molly and Sam to be much easier curbed and improved then Ward Nanny and Jepp though I cannot complaine of any if we can be soe fortunate to hitt on the right ways and methards for them.

I heare Madam Sandford is very buisey putting her selfe and her 2 eldist daughters in morning if any other children or servants I know not, and whether you will think it nessesary for me to have morning for any body besides my selfe I desire to know whether for poor Jack he being perticularly concerned and for noe other, or for the 2 eldist girles or for all or for none according as you find other people doe or you thinke it convenient, they will all want cloths in the springe and if you thinke it will not looke well or respecttfull enough for them not to be in morning it is but making it 3 months sounner but of thiss you can judge better that are upon the place.

London mercers could not obtain enough black ribbons; as Defoe said, every lady wore black to convince people she was connected with the Court, and every shop girl wore it to convince people she was a lady. Increased imports of luxury foreign goods were paid for by increased exports of manufacturers and re-exporting, which was a function of the London merchants. Consumption of goods was now possible among the lower classes, and London was linked with every town by carriers and coastal vessels.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 11th January 1694/5

I hope this aireing of your son these holydays in the country will be convenient for his health and no prejudice to his learning. He was wellcome to everybody here and particularly to me, and I am glad to find him such a proficient in Latin, from which I conclude that in a little time now he will be master of that tongue. But schools I see still are schools and make schoolboys. I say this to make you observe whether it be not to be apprehended that the main benefit of a danceing master will be lost, though he dance constantly two or three

times a weeke, if those who ought to have the constant care of him in every part do not look after and mind his postures, carriage and motions, when he is out of the dancing master's hands, for without that the steps and figures of dances I think of no value.

Edward Clarke to Locke London, 15th January 1694/5

I cannot but repeate my thanks to my Lady and you for your extraordinary favour and kindness to my sonne whilst at Oates, and to you particularly for the account you gave of his profiency in the Latin tongue, and the hopes you thereby give me of his being master of that language in a little time. And I as heartily thank you for the hint you give me of his postures, carriage and motions, and the care that ought to be taken thereof by those whose businesse it is to mind his behaviour in every part, for without that I conclude with you that the steps and figures of dances signifie nothing.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 15th 1694/5

My deare

I received both your last letters and thanke you for the account you therein gave of the faishion for morning but in your first you being of an opinion that it was not nessesary for the children heare to goe into morning I thought noe more of it, but haveing a very good black cloth gound by me, that the moth had begun to taste, I have ripped abroad the skirt and sent it up in John Spreats box for it to be made up into a mantua I have alsoe sent a paire of stays for it to be made upon the stays are those that would take the least damage in carrage and if it is made fitt to them I can weare it upon any other that I have, the mantua woman that use to make for me is one Mrs How over against the new exchange one that Mrs Lockheart recommended to me but if she has left her for any resen and doe know of any other better or more convenient, as you and she please, I would have it made well it being a very good cloth and not a farthinge the worse for the weare more then what the moth has done; it was soe good that I was once of the mind to keepe it in a gound but then I must have had shape and other things to it, and haveing no prospectt now of any accation I shall have to go to cort I resouled thus; the pettycote is soe eaten by the moth that the extravagant heare have perswaded me not to send it up but to desire you to order enough to be bought to make me one faishionable fitt to weare with it, the skirt of my gound is very large and will make a very excellent good mantua with a longe train and some cloth left if they that doe make it doe not cheat, I have black gloves and black shoes by me as good as new but I must desire a fashionable head and paire of ruffles to weare with my mantua may be bought, and that Mrs Smithsby will by me a black silk apron, theare used to be pretty ones att the corner gound shop in the middle of the upper walke of the new exchange next the bell coney, and pretily made with bib and purse and pincushion and done all round with fringe.

But now your second letter have soe devided me that I know not what to doe about the children haveing lost the opertunity of sending up a paire of stays in J Spreats box to make theyr mantuas upon, that goeing hence yesterday ; and poor Molly and Sam are absolutely in want of cloths and the others will be soe in the springe but it will looke ugley for them to have morning and the others in colers soe that if I can find a way to send theyr stays in a short time I will and if soe I must desire you would gett them a mantua and peticote with a head and ruffles

and each of them a paire of gloves, and a capp for Molly and Jepp and Sam will gett stuff heare and make up for them upon old stays which will be much cheaper and less trouble to you, I am glad to heare Ward is safe returned to towne wheare me thinkes nothing should become him now but a black cloth sute he wearing one for King Charles and certainly much more reason now, and if you feare his spouleing of it or outgrowing his best, that which is his best may be brought to you to lay by to be made up for Jack when he wants it and that which is his worst may be worren every day within doores to save his black, if I send the stays you shall have a mesure for Jack which is all at present from Yours M.C.

Since I writt John Spreat has put up the stays in his baggs and I have sent all the mesures by him; one of the inclosed letters is from Nanny the other little durty one is brought me by Molly who has gott Jack to write it for her in a corner unknown to any body, she being very proud of what you writt to her; all heare are well but very cold as I am and in hast your affectionate and faithful wife M Clarke

*Feb 6 Oliver Weber for thread and work done by him for the children in makeing theyr morning 00 05 01
Laid out by Dick when he went to Taunton for thread and other things 00 03 00*

The death of the Queen brought about the reconciliation of William and Princess Anne; as the heir to the Throne she was a rising star and brought Marlborough back to the King's side, abandoning his intrigues with France and James 11.

John Freke to Locke 17 January 1694/5

The Princess was with the King Monday in private near half an hour and tis said he has dined privately with her since. The Ld Keeper yesterday waited on their Royall Highnesses and was introduced by the Earl of Marlborough as all the Nobility and officers of state and all in office under the King even to my colleague* have or must pay their visits to them at least tis expected and desired by both Courts that they should.

* Edward Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 18th 1694/5

Olliver tells me he has taken Jackes mesure verry carefully and longe but I beleve you was best to alow for turning in besides and if he has a wascote it must be very warme he haveing worn a blew cloth cote and a wascote of the same all this winter that wass made of his brothers old blew cote that I thrust among the thinges when I came down to keepe them from rubing and with the help of some of your little duck buttens it made him very sparkish, I doe assure you every body heare of any faishion is in morning of cloth soe that if it had not bin for your second letter we had like to have bin singular; Mrs Lancaster notwithstanding she had all new weding cloths have made a black cloth mantua and pettycote as fine or finer than my skirt I sent you up and severall others that I could name soe that we are not soe ignorant at this distance as you imagen us, to beleve that anything that is black with black gloves will pass for morning. the

heads that I writt for must be on very large commods for we have all large heads though little witt, and I desire mine may be very forward and full towards the face; the girls have a request to you alsoe that you would order like I desire you will send a pattren of it in a letter that I may match it in Taunton if I can; if John Spreat to by a paire or 2 of battle-dores and shuttlecockes to exercise themselves thiss cold wether and send it downe in the box with the other things and alsoe the play of Don Quicksett both parts if it is printed; I had forgott in my last to acquaint you that I had received the tippett with the thread and 2 peces of diaper very safe and doe returne you many thanks for it, it fitts mee very well and I beleve is a very good one, I am sure much better then I should have bestowed on myselfe had I bought it but I will take all the care I can of it to weare it hansome. I hope to heare att J Spreats returne when you will be in the countrey for we begin to want some body to call us to account for all falts and putt us in a good way agen for we seeme to be a great body without a head.

I have a good stock of bacon if you thinke it nessesary to send Mr Mure Mrs Henman or Mr Freake any. Those Norwich stuffs you speake of are best to be gott and cheapest I have heard in Smithfield att the Shipp and Ball, but I beleve Mrs Smithby may tell better she using to weare such often; as sounne as you have picked on what you not I must send for some to be sent down to make them cotes heare of the same stuff, my service to all my frends I thanke God we are all pretty well but very cold.

To the worshipfull Edward Clarke Esq member of Pliamt London

A black cloath mantoa wth a long train to bee made up on the stayes sent up, by Mrs How over agst the New-Exchange recommended by Mrs Lochart unless shee knows reason to the contrary there will bee some cloath left and to buy black cloath enough for a pettycote

A fashionable head wth a large commode, made verie forward and full toward the face etc

A payre of ruffles

A black-sylke apron wth bibb, and pincushion done all round wth fringe, to bee bought at ye corner gown-shop in yr middle of the upper walke of the New Exchange, next ye balcony

A mantoa & pettycote with a head and ruffles for each of them, a payre of gloves and capp for Molly

A coate, wast-coate and breaches for Jack

A payre or two of battledore and shuttlecocks

The play of Don Quicksott both parts if printed

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 23 1694/5

It is reported heare that John Spreate's going to London in his extreme cold wether is in order to gett a place of 2 or 300 a year which I beleve would agree very well with his wifes inclinations and way of liveing but this under the rose I pittty him; I am obliged to Mr Freake for his great care of you and kindness to me and I doubt not but you have a very agreable companion in each other and a very pleasant contented quiett way of liveing, but yet you must not forget you have the incombrance of a wife and family and children which are really a great deal of care, methinkes when I have taken all that I am able or capable to perform it often times turnes to very little account which almost disheartens me

but what am I doing, I did resolve never to trouble you with any complaints and I hope I have not since you went hence, but if I have said anything that I ought not to have said now, I hope you will pardon me that am your affectionate and faithful wife M Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 26 1694/5

I thinke I never felt such cold wether in my life all the park and other places about the house are frozen that it looks as if it were all water under and the steps so dangerous that we are faine to pass in and out at the dove-walke; I thanke God we are all pretty well here except por Sammy who has gone backward very much in his going since this cold wether came in and is now much out of order with a surfeit he tooke by overcharging his stomach with too much wigg*, but I hope it will weare off agen but it has give him a great deal of pain and me a great deal of trouble.

* wigg was similar to a hot cross bun

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke 27 January 1694/5

After I had writt he was worse which made me unsatisfied till I had spoke with Mr Smith* who I sent for and he brought some things with him to give him and tells me he will do very well and he is much better, its a great mercey they all continue so well for I find it much more afflicting to have them ill when you are at such a distance than when neare.

I am extremely obliged to you for the pains and trouble you take in bying those things we want which I know is a work very disagreeable to you but I hope Mrs Smithsby will give you what assistance she can for which I desire to wright her my thanks as sounne as I can gett time but I phancey I am as much employed in the care of my 6 children as you are with all your business in parliament and elswhere.

* Mr Smith - local apothecary

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 30th 1694/5

I am sorry Mrs Smithby and you have had soe much trouble in clothing us, in the midst of ye multitude of other buisness I know you must have; which I am very well sattisfied not to be an eye wittness of, since I heare you are in soe good a state of health, and I beleve my selfe more usefull to you heare, since your affaires lye att such a distance and I doe assure you I had noe other meaning in the word pleasant then the injoyment of Mr Freakes company I know is very agreeable to you and I thinke it the greatest expreshion of frendshipp he can shew to me in entertaining you under his rooffe, soe kindly, wheare the care I know he takes of you makes me very easey heare for which I desire you would returne him my perticuler humble thanks and be assured that I am your affecttionate and faithful wife M Clarke

I and my fireside doe all present our humble dutty and service to you and Mr Freake and all our frends they that can indure the cold heare this winter need never feare for I thinke I never felt the like, I sopose it will produce another Tames faire; I remember that was ye winter King Charles dyed.

John Barber, gardener, to Edward Clarke Escott January 30 94

I asked my Mrs what you writ they want to be planted she was not please to ansr me but sayed I know what you wood have them plant and why did I ask her now about it for shee wood have nothing to say now; I asked her for no other reason but yt I wood know my Mr named Broad field to be planted and I told her it was very uneasy to me to do anything yt she doth not like of Sr pray lett me hear from you.

Sr All ye work yt you ordered is all most doun and ye new bank at ye end of the walk next Lees is make and planted the bank is planted next ye Rook Wood under ye Aboll trees and all ye new banks round the cherry orchard and ye new bank in the western orchard and ye standard appel trees is planted in ye same orchard the hedge is made from the gate next crosses to ye cherry garden next ye park Mr Trott had had what appel trees he wants and Rixson pit is all planted out the swarfe orchard and ye cherry orchard had bin planted long before now if ye frost had not hindred it the pond is made and in ye dwarf orchard and I am (- -) that my Mrs like the pond now it is made very well I can but pray for your honnors good health and wellfare which is the desire of your faithful and obedient servant John Barber

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley Feb ye 2nd 1694/5

My deare,

I thanke you for the care and paines you take in getting our cloths, and I desire what black cloth Mrs How leaves of my mantua may be sent down, for I am sure theare must be some. I have sent to Taunton for some of the same stuff and theare is but 6 yards to be gott in the whole towne the Lady Warr Mrs Sandford Mrs Wyatts and I know not who haveing bin before me but I have bought a little black and white striped thing that cost me but twelf pence ye yarde that the 3 young ones will be very proud of and I could have had nothing so cheap in colers; and the truth of it is poor Molly and Sammy is allmost naked; I thank God Sammy is pretty well agen but has not bin down stayrs yett, he lookes thin and holow but I hope will gett up agen as the wether grows warme. Lett me know by your next for my own privat sattisfacktion whether a man that has a wife in a way of trade and they kep two purses and she trades in her own name yet if she should run out 2 or 3 hundred pound more then she is worth wether the husband is not liable to pay it or lye in a gaile; my thoughts are that he is but I would fain know yours, I beleve I shall have more law question to put to you in a while on which you must give me your opinion without a fee.

John Freke to Locke 4 February 1694/5

Mr Clarke thanks you for the grafts you sent him both of us being of opinion that tis the best fruit that ever we met with. He has written to J Barber for some grafts of the pears you like so but fears the trees are so small that you can have but few.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London February ye 7th 1694/5

You make mee soe many compliments for procureing the things you desiered mee to buy for you and yr children, that you thereby putt me almost out of countenance, which I thought I should never have been in ye performance of my duty; a principle part of wch as long as I live shall be to serve you cheerefully in all things wch shall bee in my power, and to take all the care I can to provide for

my children, and therefore I desire you for the future, that when ever you give mee an opportunity to expresse my reall affection and freindship towards you by performing yr desires, you will not lessen the obligation by makeing excuses for ye trouble you thinke you give mee therein; I blesse God Ward is well and presents his duty to you, and soe is our little girle at Ditton, John Spreat was this day there to see her, and assures mee shee is a verie fine lively lusty child.

Locke to the College 8th February 1694/5

I am glad the apples please you and the grafts came safe; I think it was a little early to send grafts, but the weather being seasonable, and the convenience of the messenger offering, I thought it noe losse to adventure these few. For security you shall have more towards the end of this month unless you for bid it. If John Barber send you any grafts of your pears, pray let my Lord Monmouth have them, for he having a garden neare there they may be grafted before they are spoiled, and from thence we can have them hither at any time.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 13th 1694/5

I find all the things I sent for in the boxes, except gloves for Jack and the girles, and if white ones will doe I have such by me, they are very proud that you have made them more women then I desired them by sending ym corranetts instead of capps, which I tell them they will soune make of another coler if they dont take care, the things look very well, and I beleve will fitt. I will indeaver as neare as I can to avoid any expreshion that may be thought complement, it being that I am celdom guilty of, but since you put me in mind, I thinke you make my great ones in your letters whearein you tell me you have persued my orders and obayed my commands, which are expreshions I blush att, and begg your pardon for, if I used them, but I hope it was a mistake, for as an acquaintance of allmost twenty yeares forbids complements of either side, soe I am certain it has not incoraged that sort of stile in me, for as far I can judge of myselfe, I dont find I am much inclined to be imperious, but with all submishion in everything doe subscribe myselfe what really I am, your affectionate and faithfull wife, M Clarke

Since I writt last I am grown very fatt on one side of my face being much swelled with the paine in my teeth which hinders me from writing to Mrs Smithby or Ward.

For years the English mint price had undervalued silver in relation to gold, with the result that it was profitable to export silver and import gold; from this imported gold, guineas were coined, which in their turn were applied to the purchase of scrap silver. Silver was coined at the Mint for 5s 2d per ounce, but abroad it fetched at least 5s 31/2d per ounce, so there was a regular exchange of silver for gold, chiefly with Holland and the East. Exported silver consisted mainly of clippings from the unmilled edges of old silver coins, and clipping and melting down, despite being petty treason, were a minor industry. Since 1672 silver coinage had depreciated by nearly 40%, and foreigners would often pay 18 pence only for half a crown.

By 1694 trade was at a standstill; the currency was so mixed that Plantagenet and Henry VIII coins were still circulating. Until William's reign coins had been stamped by hammer; he had them struck at the Tower by a mill worked with horses. Early in 1695 the Commons imposed restrictions on the export of bullion, but

the only result was that clipping increased as the clippers felt that time was running out for them. Montague resolved that there should be a recoinage and on 8 January Edward was appointed to committee of inquiry into clipping of coins and export of silver.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Febr 15th 1695

My deare,

If I had not been quite worn out with an attendance of 13 howers together without ever stirring out of the house on Thursday last, I had then acquainted you with the result of the longest debate I ever yett saw in Parliament, the subject matter whereof was the then currant price of ginneas, wherein gentlemens reasonings were verie different, as you may well imagine by the length of the debate, wch lasted from about 1 at noon, till 10 at night, in wch debate twas generally agreed, that unlesse gold and silver be brought and kept neere to a proportion in value to each other, that wch exceeds will eate out and carry away the other, and that unlesse Gold bee reduced to its reall-intrinsic-value, as well as silver, as it has allready devoured a greate part of the riches of the Nation, soe it will certainly ease you of the poor remainder of ye woole, and woollen manufactures, and of ye silver likewise, and in a little time effectually carry away more of the Treasure and Wealth of the Kingdom, than all the expence both of ye Fleete and Army together doth amount unto; and yett notwithstanding the reduceing that exorbitant imaginary value, wch hath been, for too long time pass'd, permitted to bee sett on gold all at once by a vote of Parliament was thought to bee of such consequence as to prevayle soe farr agst the arguments on the other side, that by a small majority, there a vote obtained in the Committee, and this day agreed to by the House, viz: That noe ginneas bee allowed to passe in any paymt above the rate of 28s, which tis hoped will prevent their rising higher; and I hope ye true interest of the nation will soon reduce them to their reall intrinsick value, for without that wee must in a little time bee all undone, and the nation ruined, therefore I desire that noe body concern'd for mee may receive any ginneas at more then 21s 6d, or 22s a piece at most; as for the silver coyn, I must referr you to my former letters, not being able to write more fully nor playnly then I have allredy done on that subject.

I hope Jack is plac'd at a good schoole that wch he is cheifely to learn there at present is, Latin, Writeing, Arithmatick, and Danceing, and I hope if God gives him life and health hee will make a good improvement there.

Mr Lock is not yett come to town, but hee and Ward are well and soe is Nanny, who John Spreate visitted this day; I am quite tyred, and must subscribe, as I am Yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband, Edw Clarke
My true love to you, my children and all my freinds.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley Feb ye 15 1694/5

John Spreate writt me word that nurss did begin to be in want of another cote for Jenney and I have one heare that is to little for either of these which I will send up by the first oportunity; the box was gon which I sent to Taunton yesterday the box was a box of heads in returne of those you sent me which I hope you will accept as the best this place afords, they are woodcockes heads and sowes heads with 2 gammons which you use to like and I hope will doe soe still theare is one gammon of this yeares and the other of the last not knowing which

you would like best, the woodcockes was put up in an ordinary pott for our owne use but haveing this oportunity and beleving they was prety good I did adventure to send them hoping you will excuse the whomelynes of them as they say in this country.

The box was derectted to you to be left att the wearehouse till called for the parcell is a flich of bacon sowed up in cloth and derectted to Mrs Henman to be left theare alsoe till called for.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 16th 1694/5

I would desire you would by a little booke the tytle of which is some frutes of solitude in reflections and maxims relating to the conduct of human life and present it as a small token from me to my sonne.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 19th 1694/5

If you remember I writt you word about Micklemas that Robin had bin very careless and overturned the put in fetching aples from Aish and did keepe very unseasonnable howrs att nights soe that I could not bare it and ordered him to provide himselfe against Cristmass, but he did not and soe it past over I being unwilling to bringe things to the extremity in your absence, but Satterday last he was sent out with the wagon in the morning two messenger being sent for him he had over turned the wagon, and I sopose was drunke, but I did not see him till Sunday in the afternoone, and then sed nothings to him but Munday morning called him before one of my cheefe councellers Mr Trott and discharged him which I beleve was a surprise to him, theare is noe good blood between Thomas and him but now I hope it will be better, Robin often pretended he could say severall things against Thomas when you come home and if he can now he is provoked and tis fitt you should know it att that time and till then I would have indured any inconvenience if I had found it for your interest.

This day my cozen Blewett sent me a very statly chine of beef and chine of mutton which I heartily wish I could as easily convey as this letter to Mr Freake and you.

All this time in Whitehall Palace, where thousands of yards of black cloth and purple velvet had been used to cover the walls, people had queued for hours to see the Queen's body lying in state on a bed of purple, under an embroidered canopy and separated from the crowds by a balustrade covered in black velvet. The flickering light of candles illumined the four Ladies of Honour who kept vigil at each corner of the bed.

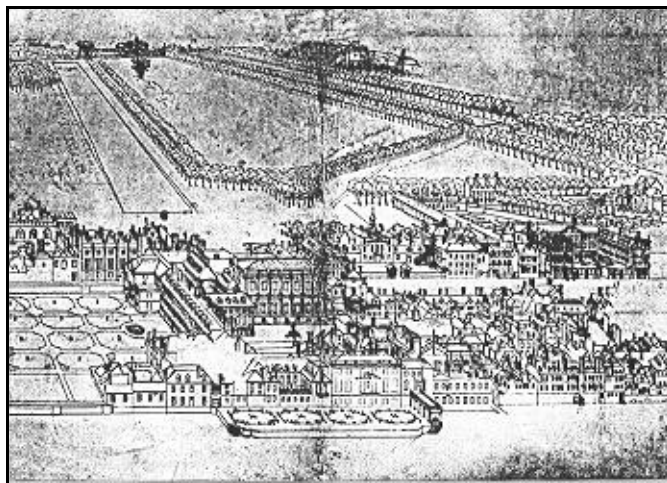
Outside, the funeral route was being prepared under the supervision of Sir Christopher Wren. Rails, covered with black cloth, stretched from Whitehall Palace to Westminster Abbey, with gravelled walks between. On 2 March 1695 Edward was the first-named to the committee established to search for precedents for Mary's funeral, and Purcell, himself to die before the year was out, composed two elegies and an anthem .

On 5 March in a driving snowstorm the Queen's funeral procession set off from Whitehall, the guns from the Tower firing every minute, and arrived in a bedraggled state at Westminster Abbey.

*" The Queen dyeing while the Parliament sate, the King gave mourning to them (500) and cloakes, which attended thus: their Speaker having his traine bore up, then the Lord Major the same, and attended by the Aldermen and officers all in black, and the Judges; then the officers of the Houshold, then the Guards, then the Gentleman Master of the Horse led the Queens led horse cover'd up with purple velvet; next came the open chariot made as the bed was, the cannopy the same all purple velvet, a high arch'd teister ruffled, with the rich fring and pall, which was supported by six of the first Dukes of the Realme that were not in office; this chariot was drawn by the Queens own 6 horses covered up with purple velvet and at the head and feete was laid the emblems of her dignity, the Crown and Scepter on a cushion at the head, and the Globe and the Sword and Gauntlets at the feete; after which the first Dutchess in England, Dutchess of Summerset, as chief mourner walked being supported by these Lords, the Lord President of the councill and the Lord Privy Seale, she having a vaile over her face, and her traine of 6 yards length being bore up by the next Dutchess assisted by four young ladies; after which two and two the Ladies followed and Lords, all long traines according to their ranke, the Bishops likewise, all on foote on black cloth strained on boards, from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey where was a sermon, in which tyme the body of the Queen was reposed in a mausoleum in form of a bed with black velvet and silver fringe round, and hanging in arches, and at the four corners was tapers and in the middle a bason supported by cupids or cherubims shoulders, in which was one entire great lamp burning the whole time".**

*Celia Fiennes

To the sound of Purcell's specially composed Funeral Anthem, 'Thou knowest Lord the secrets of our hearts', and after the long funeral sermon, the coffin was lowered into the crypt and the Household Officers broke their white staves and flung them, together with their keys of office, into the vault.



Whitehall Palace

END OF CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS

March 1695 - June 1695

Locke's reasons for repeal of censorship - Mary's decay of spirit - Edward made Recorder of Taunton -

There had been little censorship at the start of Charles 11's reign when everyone was in harmony but attempts at suppression had grown from 1675 -88, and in William's reign fear of Jacobite rebellion had encouraged this. A stream of publications were thought seditious or offensive, partly because both government and subjects were inexperienced in dealing with printed words that could so easily be passed around. Governments were not used to criticism and the reading public were not yet all aware that all printed matter was not necessarily right and authoritative.

The King and Council could issue Proclamations to seize an author or suppress his book, or issue an Order in Council with directions to the Lord Mayor or Stationers Company. Principal secretaries carried out the orders, with varying degrees of keenness. They could issue search warrants and examine suspects, and printers and booksellers could be kept in prison for several months.

At the end of 1692 the Act for the Regulation of Printing, which enabled the state to censor the press, had been up for renewal by Parliament. Opposition to its renewal had come because of the monopoly the Stationers Company had over printing, to the detriment of independent booksellers and printers, who were longing to print the popular literature the public was demanding. Locke in his opposition was concerned with the cost of imported texts as the Stationers Company prevented the printing of good new editions in England. The Act was however renewed in 1692.

After Queen Mary's death the question came up again and Locke now emphasised the importance of the freedom involved. *"I know not why a man should not have liberty to print whatever he would speak and to be answerable for the one just as he is for the other, if he transgresses the law in either"*. In particular he wondered that the peers and gentry would agree to a clause that gave Government agents powers to search any house for suspect books.

In February 1694/5 John Freke and Edward Clarke were on a small committee of the House of Commons to prepare legislation; through them Locke's views reached the Commons, who voted for a repeal of the Act. Although the Lords wanted renewal, after the Commons gave the Lords a papers with eighteen reasons for repeal, which followed Locke's theories and emphasised the commercial constraints, the Act was abolished. On 2 March Edward presented a bill which was *"so contrived that there is an absolute liberty for the printing everything that tis lawful to speak"*.

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 22 March 1695

I hope by the time this is got to you the frost and snow will be gone. As soon as that is I think it will be seasonable for you to return to the use of the waters. When the physician was with the child and you found he had done him good you ought to have consulted him about the rickets he was a better judge upon the place than I who am in the dark and at this distance. I hope you did,

and then you will not venture your child's health upon the use of a remedy grounded upon no better light than your guesses that is inclined to the rickets.

As to the management of your great and little children, this I think; that the bigger may be made useful to you for the governing and instructing of the less, if they be once set tight; which I think they never can be if they be very frequently chid, and for every little fault rebuked with displeasure and made uneasy. If every little slip brings them under such correction and into the forfeiture of your good thoughts of them, they will conclude there is no avoiding being chid, and so they will not be very careful not to deserve it. The first thing you must endeavour must be to give them a taste of the pleasure it is to be in your favour and good liking by doing well, and when they see they are able to keep possession of it by a little care, and every small mistake does not forfeit it, they will be unwilling to lose it, and you will have a hold on them.

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 22nd March 1695

Had your letter come but a day sooner I should have said something to Betty concerning those faults you complain of, but a letter I writ to her was gone the day before. If blowing her nose be a thing which after your gravely telling her of it she neglects, you must change your countenance to make her sensible that you are displeased, and keeping her constantly with you let her find some uneasiness from your displeasure, and restore her not to your favour till that fault be cured, and then after a little while, that she has found the ease and pleasure in satisfying you by curing that fault advise her of the next. But still remember that the faults of childhood that are not like to produce ill habits but that age will cure you must not trouble yourself or them much about.

Pray tell Betty I wonder how she spends her time. For I hear she has not yet learned out her Catechism, which she went so far in when she was here at Oates. I can scarce believe it, and should be very much ashamed, if it should be true Master Edward was very welcome to everybody here and to me in particular and my Lady makes it her request to you and Mr Clarke that he may come hither whenever his school business will afford him soe much leisure.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke April ye first 1695

My deare,

I received yours by the last post, and do heartily thank you for your good directions, which I should have had much ado to have performed if there had bin occasion Mrs* never suffering me to be in the room alone with him; many other passages I could mention but dont think it fitt, till I am next so happy as to see you; and do hope that John is now past danger for this time; there had bin nothing wanting in me for his recovery and I will take what care I can to lay before him the necessity of following your kind advice and directions the first convenient opportunity I have shewing him the conveniency of it, for if it had not pleased God to have abated the violence of his distemper, he must have bin dead long before yours could have reached my hands, and then I should have had the most difficult and unreasonable woman to deal with as I ever yet mett with, but I thanke God he has heard my prayers and ordered it otherways which is a great satisfaction to your affectionate and faithfull wife M Clarke

I delivered John your letter with the first opportunity but for the other papers I think to say nothing to him of till he can come to Chipley. I verily beleve now I shall be a loyer in a short time and the office of Justice in your absence I am fain

to take upon me allredy so that I shall meet with more titles in the countrey then you at cort if you are not very fortunate.

*Mrs Spreat, John's wife

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Aprill the 15th 1695

My deare

Yours, which I had not time to answare by the last post, I have since considered as well as I can, and doe find it is more easey to me to answere the perticulars to you then to Mr Lock; as to sickness I thanke God I cant complaine of any, but very often I find a great decay of spirritts, and as you have often heard me express my selfe I want something that is good, that is somethinge to support me, but I know not what, which is a disease subjectt to our sex too often; but as to the matter in hand, the trobled with for some time, but some times more, and some times, less, but as to that which we women are subjectt to once a month, I have as regularly as any body, not missing 24 howres of its time in a month, and that as well colered, and in the same proportion, as I have had thiss 20 yeares, but I observe the other grevance is more before that time and after, then any other, except it be when I have any great troble upon me, and that I find increases that disorder very much, as for instance the concern I had for the Queens death, increased it soe very much, and brought soe grat a weakness in my back, that I could not stoope down to have had anything of ever soe much vallew, nor sitt downe nor stand up, without very great difficulty and paine; which after a while grew somthing better; but Sammys illness I found in great mesure had the same effectt on me, as to the inconvenience I could concele, the difficulty of sturing not returning a gen, soe that I find when any thinge doss afectt and disturbe my mind, it doss thuss refenge itselfe upon my body, beyond the common rate that it dose att other times, and by thiss meanes keeps me very leane and low sperrited, and hindred me as I beleve from gathering that stranth by the bath waters as Mr Lock expected; which by the observation I made on my selfe in the drinkeing of them gave me a stoole or 2 in the drinking of them, according as I mannaged them, which was thuss, the warmer and quicker I dranke them the more they wraught that way, for when I dranke them coole and leasurely, which Mr Lock advised if you remember to keepe them from fleying up in my head, then I observed they wrought alltogether by uring, but when I filled my selfe soe full as I was redy to burst, but was sure to give off without vomitting, then they certainly gave me a stoole or 2, and some times three, but that was not common, which is all I can say as to the bath waters; and to the use of spice I beleve no body uses less, haveing bin formerly told by Mr Lock that it was very prejudishall to any ones health, perticularly nutmegg in beere or otherways, nay if you remember hee would hardly alow any spice to be put in a cake etc; whose rules I have so great a vally for, hat I allways perform them with all exactness to the utmost of my power, and for that resen have avoided eating gallengen and nutmeg mixed togher, which I wase told was a very good thinge to carry allways about one and often to use of it, if you remember when I was in London I told Mrs Blackmore how apt I was to thiss disorder and she advisd me to eat caishia in the cane and accordingly I did gett some but I found it a very troublesome sort of a sweet stuff, and very fidling to get out of the cane, and noe good by it, when I had all done, and I am apt to think such little buisnesses will doe me but very little good, but I am extreamply

oblinded to you and Mr Lock for your care and concerne for me, and will take care to gett some bath waters with the first opertunity; as soone as the wether is a little milder; and will send the prescription to Mr Smith for the pills soe as to have them redy a gainst the time the water comes.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 20th April 1694

I received the enclosed from Madam by the last post, but by the date doe find it should come the post before. I am extreemely obleiged to you for your greate care and concern for her. It is her modesty only that occasions her writing to mee rather than you touching her present state of health. But I have told her I shall communicate her letter to you, and doe earnestly beg your further directions, as you shall see occasion. Her preservation is the greatest concern I have in the world, and therefore your continued care of her health is the greatest obligation you can lay upon, Your most affectionate faithful servant Edw: Clarke

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 26th April 1695

Haveing now at more leisure perused Madam's letter I am confirmed in the opinion of the method I have prescribed her. That decay of spirits and want of something she knows not what is a very right description of her disease. I know it very well, and I know noe thing soe good for that as the Bath waters, and if they should noe other ways help what she last complained of, but by hindering her from being soe often and soe much disturbed with anything that may come cross her, yet in that they would be very useful to her in allaying and abating that other symptom. But besides that I look on them as directly helpful for that too, especially if she will be carefull to drink them as I have directed, to which I have at present noething more to add of directions to be sent to her, if you have received the letter sent you the last post, and I hope we shall soon have an account of her being better. If it should not be soe soon let it not give you any apprehensions of her life being in danger. The last ill she complained of is sometimes obstinate and will not presently yield to remedies, but as it often hangs on long, soe patients support themselves long under it, and it very seldom proves mortal.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 17th May 1695

I have sent a gentle remedie for your little one at Ditton* which possibly may doe without any greater businesse. In your next pray send me her age. Let Mr Shipton tie the ingredients in a thin rag, and so let it be hung in a bottle of small beer, which let the child drink of and no other. As the beer is drunk out let fresh be put in till it has no more taste nor purgeing, and then let me know how it succeeded.

* Jenny, still with the wet nurse

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London May ye 18th 1695

As to ye politics in relation to further discoveryes of corruption in Parliamt and touching the coyne of this Kingdom, and the like, I must reserve those for personall discourses with you, because the subject matter of them is not soe proper for a letter, not knowing whose handes it may possibly fall into; but I thinke you are a little too severe upon mee in yr letter of ye 16th for not visitting

our little girle at Ditton oftener, I must say in my defence on that subject, that twas not either want of care of affection wch occasion'd it, and having all along an accott constantly from Mr Trent and Nurse that ye child was well I thought the multitude of businesse that lyes upon mee and the great fatigue I have been forced to undergo would have soe farr excused mee to you, as that you would not have been left under soe much wonder at my behaviour in that particular, espetially having told you in one of my former letters as soon as I hear'd anything of the childs indisposition, that I resolved to goe to see her wth ye verie first opportunity, and accordingly went Tuesday last, and gave you an Accot in the best manner I could, and will certainly continue my utmost care therein; I am in dayly hopes of seeing Mr Lock in town, and that I shall in a little time bee enabled to give you a better accott of the childs condition; what my cosen Strachey came to town for principally, I know not; but hee hath at last consented to joyne with mee in a lease for the New building ye Old-house at Westmr and hee tells mee that hee hath sold all his interest and estate in Brewers-Yard; as for Sr Thomas Littleton, the place that hee hath been soe much talk'd of for, is one of the Comrs of ye Treasury, but I doubt another gentleman, of a verie different character from Sr Thomas, will have the place, that being still the prevayleing interest, and I feare will continue soe, but you shall know more of my thoughts in that particular when I am next soe happy as to see you.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 23rd May 1695

Whether the Bachelor* will drink the waters, or what hee will doe when hee gets to Bath, or how long hee will stay there, or when hee will return, I can noe more tell than when a certain gentleman now within the moated castle will visit the College. I thank him most heartily for his care of Madam's health, of which shee is not pleased to give me any account, having other complaints to fill her letters withal. And I fear by her silence shee has not put to practice the directions you were so kind to send for her. And I pray God shee may not have cause to repent it.

* John Freke

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 25th May 1695

I beg you, therefore, to send me word precisely as near as you can the day you intend to go out of town and the time you intend to stay in the country, that I may order my journey so as to have as much time with you in town as possible, for I have a great deal to say to you and talk with you, and will if possible see you before you go into Somersetshire. I shall, I think, in the beginning of July have some money paid me in, and perhaps some sooner. Pray tell me whether I cannot refuse clipped money, for I take it not to be the lawfull coin of England, and I know not why I should receive half the value I lent instead of the whole.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 28th May 1695

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 25th by Syll. came safe to mee. And I hope this warm weather will speedily bring you as safe hither likewise. For, indeed, it is next to impossible for mee to send you the precise time of my going out of town. It depends much on the pleasure of the Treasury. But my intentions are to begin my journey hence some time the next weeke, if possible I can compasse it, soe that if the

weather and your health will permitt, and you come to town any time this, or the beginning of the next weeke, you will certainly find me at the College. But afterwards at Chipley for six weekes or thereabouts, if I can get leave for so long.

I think you may lawfully refuse all clipped, or other money that is diminished in the weight more than by reasonable wearing, or otherwise you may in a very short time be forced to receive a quarter part of what you lent instead of the whole.

While the King was on the continent a Council of Seven, including Somers and Pembroke, governed the nation. Somers persuaded the Council to call Locke into consultation about the coinage. William Lowndes, (1652 -1724) Treasury official since 1679 and now Secretary of the Treasury, wanted to reduce the silver content of the coin, but Locke said it must be recoined at full value. In the end Locke's view prevailed.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley June ye 3rd 1695

My deare

I receved both your last kind letters and do return you my hearty thanks for your concerne for my health, and do hope I shall be able to give you sufficient resens for my not comeing to the bath att this time, I hope Sammy goes somethinge better than he did and I am glad to hear nurss has some such hopes of Jenney also, I pray god to increse both theyr strenths but I am glad you intend to wait on Mr Lock to see her, before you come downe; and will also take it in your rode to see Ivey church wheare if you find Betty troblesome you may take her home with you if you come in the cotch, but if you have to come on horss back I believ your old gray mare will be able to performe the journey well she being in pretty good case, and if you think you shall not continue long in the countrey it will not be worthwhile to by another, and for borrowing won, Thomas tells me theare is none heareabouts better than what you have allredy unless it be his brother Johns which if you think fit I sopose you may command his as your owne, and he tells me he will take it as a favor, but for steeling I know not what to say to that for we have like to have bin counted oxen stealers alredy and if we should stele a horse you would soun be rid of us all, for we should not want frends enough to hange us no doupt, for theare is an old saying that some people may steale a horss better than others may look over the hedge;

I am oblidged to you that you have and will take care of my head and my heels and provide me another head for by woefull experiance I feare when you come home that you will have resen to thinke 2 heads would have bin much better than won in this place

Edward returned to Chipley as Recorder of Taunton, and spent £3 in July treating the Mayor and Aldermen at the swearing in, when he received a congratulatory address from the corporation and the town's innkeepers, who acknowledged his pain and trouble to serve his constituents.

MISCARRIAGE
July 1695 - January 1695/96

Another pregnancy - Edward is ill - Mary feels guilty that Jenny is still at Ditton - the Stringer's son leaves debts behind him - miscarriage - Edward rushes from London to Chipley and back again - Nanny goes to school - Sammy is poorly - Mary's slow recovery - Mr Freke's recipe for chocolate - Jack nearly drowns in the brew house -

While staying at Chipley during the summer of 1695 Edward paid Mr Clutterbroke, ye plumber, £11 5s 0d on 24 July for laying the pipe from the well to the cistern. Humphrey Bishop was paid one years wages, £6 00 00d.

George Trent to Edward Clarke **Ditton August the 19th 1695**

Sir,

**Mrs Jenney continues very well the powder agrees with her body it made her something looser at the first taking but she is now in very good ordr shee breakes very moderatly and is better in all respects and in a very hopefull way of recovery. Sir I am your most humble obedient servant Geo Trent
Sir be pleas'd to aske Mr Lock if the two granes should make miss more loos wheather they may be continued.**

In August Edward returned to London, and by 22 August was ill in London , paying Dr Cole £3 00 00d for his visits; his indisposition was not improved when he received some perhaps not altogether welcome news.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **Chipley August ye 24 1695**

My deare

I receved yours of the 20th with your thanks for my present which is not very great yett but I am as thankfull to you, that you will be so just to father it however; but I am concerned if it should make you thinke of working the harder when me thinks you are over wroat all redy, thearefore if it must make any alteration with you lett it be in lessening those superflueties that we abound with to very little purpose and since you cannot be heare to take delight in it under the rose for a man with so many children it looks a little vain. Pardon me that I cannot forbear medlinge with those matters, it is my infirmity, and when you have made me with child I am more fretful and impatient at then than at another time, this world is such that everybody has alays to theyr happines and theyr state and condition be what it will they cannott be happy unless they think themselves soe and if they can but do that the most miserable may be such in this life.

I am glad to heare Ward is well and that poor Jenney is better whose circumstance has bin and still is a very great troble to me and from the best resolution I can make I thinke I will never be so longe from a child so young at such a distance while I live, though I beleve all things are done that can be, yet methinks I have neglected my duty. I thanke God we are all well heare as you left us and Sammy gathers stranth every day and talks for himself and Jepp too.

Locke to Edward Clarke 25th August 1695

Dear Sir,

When I began to read Mr Engeham's letter written in your lodgings I began to be frighted. But the sequel of it and Mr Pawling's which was writ after his, pretty well satisfied me with the hopes that the pain and danger is now well over. I flattered myself when I parted with you that your distemper was at an end for that time, and would be kept off with a little care two or three days, though I know it soe apt to return that one is not very secure till one's health be confirmed by some days continuance. Let this be a caution to you not to be too forward in venturing abroad or eating anything but plain meat, and be sure for this good while to keep your stomach and belly and feet very warme. I think the Doctor has done exceeding well in bleeding and purging you upon the return of your pains. This I have great confidence will prove an effectual cure, and I see your body was so disposed that there was no getting it off at a cheaper rate; and not withstanding my hopes to set you right an easier way, yet had I been in town I should have been forced I conclude to come to the same discipline. Have a care of your self. I hope to hear by the next post that you have no remains of your pain.

Pray send Mr Trent word that I do not think that two grains will purge the child or at all make her looser; but that they may continue to give it her if she be a little loose, if it does not directly purge her, for if it does they must then forbear.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke August ye 31 1695

My deare,

Yours of the 27th was earnestly expected and joyfully received by me though you did not in words of length tell me you are in perfect health agen yet your haveing sed nothing to the contrary gives me new life in hopes it is soe; for nothing but that and the assurance of your being best pleased with what I do can make me easey or my life comfortable and without it I am very unfortunate.

I now remember that winter I lay in with Jepp you was trobled with those collicke pains and we thought it was occasioned by drinking bad wine thearefore pray take care of that and everything else that may prejudice your health.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Augst ye 31th 1695

Yr verie kind tender and obleigeing lettr by the last post came safe to my handes; I am exceedingly obleiged by yr extraordinary concern for mee, I blesse God I am now perfectly recovered, but am still to continue the use of the waters as prescribed for mee untill the middle of the next weeke; Mr Lock is gone into Essex, but returnes againe the latter end of the next weeke; Mr Freke is obleiged by yr kind remembrance of him, and returns you his hearty service, I sent the thread you writ for by the last post, and hope it went safe; and I have this day sent hence by ye Taunton-waggon yr shooes, together with a small parcell left with mee by Mrs Wormell for Mrs Burges, and a bobb-perruke for my cosen Bluett, all tyed up together in a little bundle, made up in canvas and directed to you at Chipley neare Taunton; the waggon will bee in Taunton Fryday or Saturday next at farthest; I wish yr shooes may fitt you, but they were made before yr directions came touching the lyneing of them. There is a paper amongst the prints I have sent you by this post, touching ye prices of Stamp'd paper and parchment wch I design'd for John Spreate and desire you to give it him,

because it may bee of use to him to produce it when ever hee has occasion to buy anything of that kind; I thank God Ward is perfectly well, and by a letter I recd yesterday from Mr Trent, he tells mee or little girle there is better, wch, with my true love to you and my children concludes this from yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley September 2nd 1695

Yours by the last post confirmed the good news of your health which made it very welcome to me ; your threads also was very welcome and pleases very well theare being no such to be got in the countrey. Young Mr Stringer came here a Saturday and goes hence this day to Taunton he being to begin his journey homewards in the stage cotch Tuesday next, Mr Stringer I heare have not been well and she indisposed. I beleve the feares of theyr son the old troble is the foundation of these disorders I pray God to send them comfort of him at last. The good news you sent me of Namur being surrendered and Admiral Russells bombarding Marseilles with good success came in other private letters to Taunton and sent the bells all ringing for joy I pray God it may be confirmed .

Things at Fitzhead* look very ill but I desire to sleep in a whole skin.

* Fitzhead - where Gustavus and his wife lived.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley September ye 4th 1695

Mr Stringer went to Taunton yesterday morning in the stage cotch and I hear by the by has left several little debts of about 40 or 50 shillings behind him and methinkes he seems to me to be more and more idle, but I hope it is my phancey for I wish him very well; I thanke you for sending my shoes and I will take care to send to the carrier for them and will carry my cozen Blewetts periwig to him myself if I can get time.

Mrs Burgess to Edward Clarke Sept 11 1695

Honrd Sir

Mrs Clark being much out of order and unfitt to write last post was loth my hand should be seen least you should be frighted thinking her distemper would have worn of again haveing only some fainty cold sweets but afterward was perswaded to let us send for Dr Smyth who though fitt to let her blood and shee seemd better but yesterday shee was extreamly ill in a miscarying condition very often fainting away Mr Smyth is now with her applying those things yt he sees nesicary for her he says he has hopes yt when shee has miscaryed things may do well againe but Mrs Elin says shee never saw her so ill in all her life, I mightyly repent I had not writ to you last post but Mrs Clarks reasons prevailed too farr with me she earnestly longs to see you I hope youl pardon this freedom yt I tell you so plainly for we cant but be ectreamly concerned to see her so very ill,

I am Sr yr humble servant Mary Burges

I have endeavord but cant prevaile to have any other Dr sent for though we have mentioned severall but she is very averse she is very sencible of all yt is done to her and of what she takes Mrs Clarke says if you are not perfectly well shee would not have you put yr selfe in the least dainger to come to her it would afflict her more then yr absence for shee hopes she may be better before you.

Mrs Burgess to Edward Clarke Sept 16 95

Honrd Sir

Mr Spreit haveing given you an account last post, I think it now an indispensable duty in me to let you have a just account of Mrs Clarks condition who though shee continues extream weak yet the Drs give us great hopes yt time may remove her distemper, the greatest trouble shee now labours under is an extream paine in her stomack wch seems to overcom her at fitts the Dr say tis a kind of a convulsion in her stomack for wch he gives her frequently some powders wch he says is in order to remove it tis as he says a sharp humor in her stomack wch occasions this paine and what he has given seems to give check to it espetiall when shee getts sleep after wch she has some ease and quiet the Dr came heer Fryday night and has bin heer till Monday morning he says these powders being often repeated will proove the best allay and tis given in order to soften the humors and prepaire the body for a gentle purge wch he has ordered to be given her 2 or 3 days hence I find he acts very cautiously in all his methods and does not follow her with many medicents wch he says doe more harm then good he forbids beer as the most pernicious to begett or increase the sharp humor in her stomack wch he says is partly from salt humors her face was once swollen and a great spitting wch he says falls into her stomack and affects yt part, he says the paine will return at times till after the purge wch he hopes may remooove it. I desired Dr Musgrove to tell me seriously what he apprehends of her condition he sd he could not for the present see any cause to beleeve she would dy unless any unexpected alteration should hapen I find shee often thinks of you and wishes yr helth and affairs could admitt yr coming and yt you will so dispose of yr concerns yt nothing but urgent occasions may cause a delay and I beleeve yr presence will be her best cordiall this is the truest account I can give at present and hope you will not question but yt all endeavors by me and all yt are concernd about her shall to their utmost be performd with all sincerity whose helth is most pationatly desiered by Honrd Sr Your faithfull servant M Burges

Mrs Venor gives her service to you shee has bin heer ever since Mrs Clarks great illness and intends to stay if able till you come home.

The Dr says after the purging is over and her stomak cleard of this humor then other methods are to be used he has put a plaister to her stomack of galbinum and other things her vomiting is stopt.

Pray pardon this scribble

* Galbunum - gum resin from ferula galbunflua - used as antispasmodic expectorant and external rubefacient

Luckily work at the Excise usually slackened in August and September, for Edward was soon on the road to Chipley again; as well as Mary needing him, an election had been called and in spite of his attitude to electoral bribery, it was still necessary for him to spend £60 on 19 September in "*expences in relation to ye election.*" He had drafted a letter to the new Mayor of Taunton assuring him that "*if your corporation and town shall think fit to intrust me, I shall diligently and faithfully serve them even to the utmost of my powers.*"

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley 30th September 1695

Dear Sir,

Though I know not certainly, yet I guess at the contents of the enclosed, which was just now brought to me sealed up to be conveyed to you. And upon the presumption that I guess right, I will only say that I take it to proceed from the vapours, which frequently puts my wife upon fancies that this, and that, and t'other particular, will only tend to the restoring her to health again, and now your presence is what I hear is harped on. I know your friendship is soe real to her and mee you would not refuse us anything that might be for the real good of either of us. But since I look upon the enclosed to be the effects of mere fancy, and that a journey hither at this time of the year may bee gratly inconvenient, and perhaps prejudicial to your health likewise, I think a dexterous excuse may satisfy if you put it on your necessary attendance on the Commission for Appeals, or what else you think fit. But let mee be concealed in the matter. And pardon the liberty that in all cases is taken by Your real friend and servant Edw Clarke

Mary Burges to Locke 30 September 1695

Honoured Sir

I am desierd by Mrs Clarke who is now (beyond expectation) yett amongst us to returne you her hartly thanks for your kind letter, as also for your perswation of Mr Clark not to venture himselfe under his Circumstans to come in a more speedy way then he did; though his presence was a great support to her when he came and shee really was in hopes you would have accompanied Mr Clark hither, often wishing in her extreimity that shee ware with her deare husband and Mr Lock, and then shee beleived shee should soon have ease, she is still weake and low, often wishing to me that you ware heer expressing her selfe that you had often promised her to let her see you heere, and does hartly wish that this may be the time, and therefore desiers me to tell you that (if it consists with your health) that you will be so kind as to take a jorney down by the next stage Coach, which shee veryly beleevs that and nothing else will be a lengthening to her days, and theirfore Impatiently waits for your resolution by the next post, and shall esteem it as the greates frindship and obligation you can every lay upon her, this is what I have orders to tell you from her, beging leave to subscribe myselfe, Honoured Sir, your most humble servant Mary Burges.

Mrs Clark gives her service to the good family at Oats she is still confind to her bed.

Edward Clarke to Locke Chipley 7th October 1695

Dear Sir,

Your obleiging letter of the 30th of September came but last night to my handes or you should sooner have received my thanks for your kind direction therein with relation to my wife, who indeed continues still extream weake, and hath had many pull-backs since my letter of 21st of September to you. The payns and swelling which (in one of my letters about ten days since) I gave you an account of in her right foote, legg and thigh, were verie troublesome for five or six days, but by fomentations used are now removed thence, but are fallen in like manner upon the other foote, legg and thigh, and are a very great affliction and trouble to my wife at this time, being very paynfull upon the least motion. But I hope time, care and patience will overcome it all, which I heartily pray for.

Because of the success at Namur there was a Whig majority at the election; Edward was returned again on 26 October and then journeyed back to London.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke No ye 8th 1695

Deare brother,

I hope you and my cozen* are safely arived in London before this time, where I wish you much health and happyness, I was sorry yt I had not courage enough to come and take my leave of you, I hope you will excuse my infirmitys, and except my hartty thanks for all your favours, I have bin at Chipley this afternoon and left my sister indiferent well, much as she was when you were here, she complains of ye continuance of those swellings and pains in her legs, but gets a little strength as she did hereto for, I wish she may be carefull of her self and not take any colds, methinkes dwarf elder roots, ground ivy and some such things made into a dyett drink might be good to sweeten her blood and to help to carry away this waterish humor, I pray God to direct ye best things for her and keep you and yrs. All heare joyne with me and my son and daughter in presenting you and my cosens our duty and service with humble thanks for all yr favours, pray give our service to Doctor Lock, Mrs Henman and all our frends, as you have oppertunity.

* Nanny, going up to school in London.

Locke to Mary Clarke London 9th November 1695

Madam,

I was very glad to see Mr Clarke last night returned safe to town with other looks in his face and a lesse weight on his heart than when I last parted with him here at his going out of it. It was welcome news to me to receive from him an assurance that you were upon your legs again, and such an account of your health, which though yet distant from your former strength, yet I conclude there is noe more required to bring you to it again but a little time, and a little care in the management of yourself. He tells me your legs are a little apt to swell sometimes. You know I am not a man very fond of wine, and therefore I may be trusted when I advise it. I think it very necessary in your present case to drink a small glass of good wine once or twice a day, and I think it would be best warmed. Set a little silver cup to the fire till it be very hot, pour your glass of wine into it, and pour it back presently. This will warme it without wasting the spirits, and thus drunk it will comfort your stomach, strenthen your spirits, and hasten your recovery. For you want a restorative diet, little and good and oft, and if in convenient cases you use nutmeg and other spices more plentifully than you used to doe it will not be hurtful to you. I know I am at a distance and that under the care of so good a physician as you have my advice is needlesse. But where one has great concern I find one cannot be wholly silent. I return you my thanks for your kind letter by Mrs Burgess's hand. I hope some time or other to convince you that your obleiging invitations are not lost upon me. I wish you a daily increase of your health, and am, Madam, your most humble and most obliged servant, John Locke

Pray give me leave to present my service to Mrs Burgess and the little ones. Though I have not had the leisure to-day, yet it will not be long before I visit Miss Nanny.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Novembr ye 9th 1695

My deare,

If I were only to seeke my own pleasure and happynesse in this life, and were only to pursue my own inclynations and desires, I should thinke of nothing but how to spend the remaining part of my dayes with you, in whose company and society is the only true comfort and enjoymt of my life, and therefore you may easily imagine that it was not without reale reluctancy and uneasinesse of mind, that I was at this time forced from you, but I hope God of his infinite mercy to us both, as well as all or children will preserve you and restore you againe to yr former health and strength wch shall bee my constant and earnest prayer for you. I bless God, Nanny and I with Mr Dyke and the rest of or fellow-travellers arrived safe and well here last night in ye evening, we found Mr Stringer and or daughter Betty verie well in Salisbury, the two sisters were much surprised to meete each other and Nanny offered to exchange with Betty, and to stay at Ivychurch with Mrs Stringer, soe as Miss Betty would take her place to London, their dialogue upon that subject was pleasant enough as was most of their other conversation, Miss Betty was verie thankfull for yr kind token you bidd mee deliver to her, and desired mee to return you her duty and humble thanks; Mrs Stringer was indisposed of a cold, soe that I could not see her, but Mr Stringer is as well as ever I saw him (his lameness excepted) in all my life, hee and his lady (by him and by Betty) sent you their hearty service and verie frankly and kindly promise the continuance of their care and kindness to Miss Betty, who held up her head verie well all the while shee was with us, wch was till neare nine at night, and then they went home by the cleere moon-shine; and the next day by three in the morning we proceeded in or journey and gott safe and well thither about five in the evening yesterday; I went directly to Mrs Smithsby lodgings wth Nanny, where wee were verie kindly recd by her, wth all the kind inquieries after yr wellfare, and the rest of my children, imaginable and after haveing spent an hour there, I went to Mr Locke and luckily enough found him at home, where all our time together was spent in his inquieries into all the circumstance of yr case, and yr present state of health, and he desires (by Mrs Burgess) to have a constant accott from you.

When I acquainted him how often you had been purged, and in what manner and with all the particular circumstance of its operation, he seem'd to bee of the opinion that you had been purg'd enough, saying that continueing to purge oftner would keep you weake, and hinder the strengthening of yr bloode and therefore thought it proper to purge but seldome for the future, unless Doctor Musgrave requires it as absolutely necessary, but to procure a stoole in two or three days at most, by suppositer glister of some such other gentler way, and hee doubts not but strength will increase, and that you will be restored to yr former health, which is the hearty prayer of yr truly and tenderly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw: Clarke

My true love to you and my children and service to all the rest of my freinds.

I was verie kindly recd by Mr Freke who presents his hearty service to you, and sayes hee can best express his respects to you by takeing care of mee, wch hee does with all the kindness imaginable.

The King is not yett return'd to town, soe that there is noe news at present here but hee is expected Tuesday next.

I shall as constantly as possible write to you but would not have you undergoe the fatigue of answering any otherwise than by yr secretary's Mrs Burgess or John Spreate, unless there be need of communicating anything to mee, wch you thinke is improper for either of them to know.

In London Locke, Somers and the College were meeting to discuss the reform of the coinage. Edward championed a recoinage which contained no element of devaluation; it was an uphill task as the public feared recoinage would prevent silver being available for commercial transactions and the price of guineas gold rose from 22s to 30s in a few months. The government wanted a balance between gold and silver; they also feared a reaction among those who paid 30s for guineas and found they were forced to change them for 22s. Edward and Locke did not agree on all counts; Locke did not want the rate of guineas set by law and Edward did. Locke thought silver the only true currency and that it should be worth the silver content, and did not think gold had intrinsic worth. .

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke **November ye 12th 1695**

I return you my thanks for your very kind letter by the last post which brought me the good news of yours and your fellow travellers safe arrivall which quieted my mind very much and I hope Nanny was not very troblesome to you I should be glad to know if she was sick and how she behaved herself otherways and whether the sisters cried at meeting or parting; I thanke you and Mr Locke for the kind directions he gave me in your letter as well as in one from himselfe which I shall indevor to follow though my stomach does not like wine yett no more than it did nor anything that is hot; I take this very kindly of Mr Locke but methink it would have shown more of true frendship if he had come down with you when I was in that situation methinks this looks like those men that came to Kinge William when they were shown the danger was over and K J was gone to make believe what they was redy to do it occation but we find by experience they must not all be depended upon; pardon the comparison and burne my letter.

On 16 November Mrs Cudworth, Damaris' mother, died at Oates and Locke had to return there; he and Edward were trustees of her estate. Parliament met on 22nd November 1695.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke **Aldenham Novmb the 16 95**

Deare cozen,

About six weeks since I writ to you to know if you had any thoughts of coming to London this winter but I never hard anything of you til yesterday I hard that you have bin sick for which I am extremely troubeled and I doe beg you as sone as this coms to you that you wold let me heare how you doe I decired to be in town most of the winter with most of my family but one of my garls is extremly ill of a rumitsem which now I feare will prevent me and our lodgings which we had taken in Burford Bildings is burnt which much dishartens me knowing noe other convenient lodgings for so many as we shall be I wold have a dining rome and 2 lodging roms of a flowere and be somewhare nearar Wesmister ore Saint JAMES but I know noe body at that end of the town I hope your illness is nothing but breeding but I pray God to send you your life and your helth to see all your children bred up that you may have comfort of them; Sr Edward givs his sarvis to my cozen Clarke I see they will met again in the Parliment Hows with my true

love to your self with all my prety cozens is all from her that is Your most affectinat kinswoman M Acton.

Mrs Burgess to Edward Clarke Nov 18 95

Honrd Sir

As wee may beleeve their can be nothing more acceptable to you than an assurance of Mrs Clarks health so we know you expect a constant account, and I am glad we have reason to send a confirmation of it for Mrs Clark bids me tell you yt shee hopes shee is evry day gathering strength as much as may be expected at this time of the year though she cannot as yett reconcile her stomack to any hott thing, Mr Bowering hears that the town of Tiverton has petiond the King yt the post at Wellington be removed thence and yt they have gott a graunt for His Majesty to have it at Columton againe, but whether it be so or no is not yet known Mr Bowering is of the mind that you could prevent it, Mrs Clark repeats her desiers of the sawboats she haveing no shoose yt she can ware. This Sir is the only account I can give at present who am Your most oblided humble servant M Burgess

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 22nd November 1695

Though I could wish you had no pain at all, yet I think those which are the marks of returning health (as I look on yours to be) ought not very much to fright us, and may be borne with the more patience. The pains and swelling in your leg which returns sometimes you have a remedy for it. You have tried and cannot I think have a better than the Queen of Hungary's water*. But perhaps that will be made more effectual if you first foment the part with flannel soaked in brandy made as hot as you can endure it over a chafing dish of coals, and when you have repeated the hot brandy flannels three or four times, or as often as you can bear it, then put on hot flannel soaked in the Queen of Hungary's water, and so let it lie on all night. This fomentation I would have used when you are in bed. And in the morning rub the part, if you can bear it, with a piece of dry flannel fumed with the smoke of amber powdered grossly and thrown upon some live coals.

You complain, I perceive, of another swelling in your legs increasing towards evening without pain. This I think is to be cured by diet. I would advise you to drink as little as you can, but especially to forbear much small drink. And be sure to drink every day a glass or two of good wine such as you like best, or good mum* oftener, if you can get it. And for your meat, let it be fresh meat such as you like best, and let it be but of one sort at one time; eat not of varieties at the same time. But when you have a stomach again and fancy anything else, let it be got ready for you. In your case it matters not to observe hours, or set meals,. Only I would not have you eat any flesh after candle lighting, for by that time I think convenient you should be in bed. Good, light, well-baked bread of the best flour you can take, and this I recommend to you.

My Lady is in great affliction for the loss of her mother.

* Queen of Hungary water - Rosemarinus distilled in wine, a legendary formula invented in 1235 by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary.

* Mumm - heavy ale made from wheat and matured for two years.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Novembr ye 9th 1695

My deare,

If I were only to seeke my own pleasure and happynesse in this life, and were only to pursue my own inclynations and desires, I should thinke of nothing but how to spend the remaining part of my dayes with you, in whose company and society is the only true comfort and enjoymt of my life, and therefore you may easily imagine that it was not without reale reluctancy and uneasinesse of mind, that I was at this time forced from you, but I hope God of his infinite mercy to us both, as well as all or children will preserve you and restore you againe to yr former health and strength wch shall bee my constant and earnest prayer for you. I bless God, Nanny and I with Mr Dyke and the rest of or fellow-travellers arrived safe and well here last night in ye evening, we found Mr Stringer and or daughter Betty verie well in Salisbury, the two sisters were much surprised to meete each other and Nanny offered to exchange with Betty, and to stay at Ivychurch with Mrs Stringer, soe as Miss Betty would take her place to London, their dialogue upon that subject was pleasant enough as was most of their other conversation, Miss Betty was verie thankfull for yr kind token you bidd mee deliver to her, and desired mee to return you her duty and humble thanks; Mrs Stringer was indisposed of a cold, soe that I could not see her, but Mr Stringer is as well as ever I saw him (his lamenesse excepted) in all my life, hee and his lady (by him and by Betty) sent you their hearty service and verie frankly and kindly promise the continuance of their care and kindness to Miss Betty, who held up her head verie well all the while shee was with us, wch was till neare nine at night, and then they went home by the cleere moon-shine; and the next day by three in the morning we proceeded in or journey and gott safe and well thither about five in the evening yesterday;

On 29 November 1695 Nanny went to Mrs Beckfords school at Hackney, a pleasant and healthy village three miles from Cornhill which was becoming a popular venue for girls boarding schools.

John Freke and Edward Clarke to Locke 30 November 1695

We hoped yesterday to have got an Address to make Clipt mony goe by weight but the Grave Squire* was deserted tho the night before the K had commanded the Courtiers to press that matter and if possibly carry it and very frankly and publickly declared that his opinion and his inclinations were right in that matter.

* Grave Squire - Edward Clarke -even the College's friends were liable to leave "*the Grave Squire in the lurch and never seconding him*".

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley December ye 1st 1695

J Barber was gone hence to Escott before your letter came to me but he sed he would carry your letter to the Dr as soun as he did returne agen and if he did not find him he would leave it with his wife or mother. I had the sabbutts safe by the cotch for which I thanke you they are much to bigg in the morning but by night they are more fitt though I thanke God my leggs are not soe bad as they have bin neither; I am glad to heare that Nanny has bin to wait on Mrs Buck Mrs Brigess and the rest of yours and my frends I hope she will make some advantages of everythinge she sees by observeing to lerne without much troble and not allways be mindless and careless every where; Mrs Sandfords

daughters came home Fryday last before dinner and the bells rung all the day after for joy and the next day I sent Isake to inquier how they all did who tells me they are much less then Nanny and he did not find them such fine ladys; I have discorsed Thomas about selling your corne and he will talk with Franke Trott and doe that which they beleve most for your advantage.

Jane Strachey to Mary Clarke December the 7th 1695

Honred neece,

I will assure you I was not a day without reall trouble after I first hard of your danger till I hard hopes of your amendment and tho it have bin long suspended I hope it will be now perfected and the remaining part of your time will be more helthfull after such thorow cleansing, God is pleased to order all things for our good and I doe not at all doubt but you make the right use of his visitation, this winter doe prove very sickly in many places and great mortallity in some towns as Sallisbury Froom and many others. Our little town of Pensford have had a dangerous feavor but now they say tis prety well.

A.Levinz* to Mary Clarke 7 December 1695

I'm sure twas absolutely my duty to have acquainte you before this time of the great danger my dear mother has been in; but ye extreamity of that, and my concern for it, will I hope, gain me your pardon, who know as well how precious her life is to me; but I bless God I have now ye joy to tell you, that she is much better than she has been; tho she is still in ye Docrs hands and continues very faint, as you may imagine after so severe a disorder as ye Docrs wanted a name for, she particularly commands me to tell you that she joyns with me in congratulating most sincerly your recovery, for Madam I beg and am sure you will beleive that ye news of your dangerous illness was a very sad addition to ye affliction; judg then Maam how great a surprise I was in, when at our return out of Hertfordshire for there we spent ye summer, I heard you my dear friend was given over by ye Docts; indeed twas almost incomparable to everything but my satisfaction to hear by worthy Mr Clarke and your charming son and daughter that they had great hopes your health would be in time established wch we all pray god it may. Your pretty daughter is so much grown and so much a woman in every thing, that your son had much ado to peswade me twas she; certainly I never saw anything so much improved and we all thought her fitter to instruct others, than to learn anything at a Boarding school; I am sure you would have been of yt opinion, if you had seen how exactly she behaved herself in a room ful of company wch we happend to have at that time. I wish she may light into a school to your mind, tho I dispair she should meet with any half so instructive and advantageious to youth as your company is, as well as diverting; whenever the weather will permit me I will be sure to go and see her to tell you all ye observations I am able to make of her and her mistris. Are you resolved never to see London again? Good madam give me some hope ont in your next.

* Mrs A Levinz, daughter of Mrs Buck.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London December the 10th 1695

Mr Lock is not yett come to town and Doctor Cole's further advise in relation to or deare little Sammy, is, to keepe him as much as possible from eateing any

thing that is salt or sharpe, or drinking any stale-beare, for hee lookes upon the childs distemper to bee rather the heat and sharpnesse of brine than the stone or gravell, but hee sayes there is little to bee done for soe young a child more then keeping him to a good dyett, and letting him drink nothing but good smooth soft liquids and now and then giving him something to keepe his body oppen, by an infusion of rhubarbe or some such thing. You shall have a further accott from mee when I can bee soe happy as to speake and consult Mr Lock upon this subject.

In ye meanetime give me leave to tell you that Mr Freke's way of making jocalett is this; hee allowes two ounces of jocalett to a quart of the best and softest water, and putts the jocalett when scraped or cutt thin, into ye water when cold, and then setts it over the fyre, where there must bee greate care taken that it does not rise up and runn over, (as it will bee verie apt to do) untill it comes perfectly to boyle, for if it runns over the best of ye jocalett will bee lost; then let it boyle gently for halfe an hour or more and sett it by in the chocalett-pott open and uncovered till ye next morning, when being againe heated, it will be fitt for drinkeing and hee sayes that all jocalett is the better for being made over night that is to bee dranke the next day, but you must bee sure to lett it stand open, and you may use a greate or lesser quantity of jocalett to a quart of water, according as yr jocalett is in goodnes, and according to yr pallatt; Mr Freke and I both heartily thanke you for ye box of peares wch came verie safe with the little things for the child in the box, which I will take care to convey to Nurse by the first safe hands; and doe hope that ye hamper of wyne and Mumm that I sent hence by the Taunton-waggon on Saturday last will goe safe to yr hande, there is in it one dozen bottles of as good Mumm as any this town affords, the rest is some of the wyne I told you Admirall Russell presented mee wth, and is extraordinary good of its kind and much valued here, but how many bottles certaine there are of it in the hamper I cannot directly say, but the hamper is as full as it can hold only the six pound of salt-peter you writt for is putt in on the topp of the hampers and pray order Thomas from mee that there bee all the care possible taken in the fetching it home, that none of ye bottles bee broken.

Anne (Nanny) Clarke to Edward Clarke Hackney December ye 13th 1695

Honrd father

I received yours with the inclosed for wch I humbly thank you, I desire you will be plesed to buy me an English byble and comonpraer book; and to send the inclosed in to the countrey, one to my sister and the other to Mrs Burges; pray give my duty to my mother when you write and my love to my brother and sister; Mrs Beckford gives her services to you; be pleased to accepte my humble duty from Sr yr dutifull daughter Anne Clarke

I shall be very glad Sr to see you hear as soon as your business will give you leave.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 13 1695

I should be glad to have Mr Locke know Sammys case and have his thoughts on it, he is very merry now and has a good stomacke but we will indevor to keepe his body open by glisters when theare is more ordinary occation for feare rubarbe should not answare expectation for he was actually drinking rubarb beare when that disorder came upon him and had bin for some days before and had 2 or 3 stooles a day and what the occation of this great disorder was God

knowes and I pray God to keepe him from the like extremity of pain agen. I am extremely obliged to Mr Freake for his recipe to make jocalett he told me when I was in London but I had forgot it.

Jack is in very good health now and lookes well and methinkes grows fat and I am persuaded if he has the fortune to be placed in a good scoole he will make a good genteele and usefull man, for I am apt to think that Mounsr and he begin to grow weary of one the other, though Jack will not own it for fear of being put to scoole but in truth I cannot blame him if he be so, for Mounsr is not company for him to divert himself with, and to be in the kitchen he ought not ,and when he is above in the nursery with his little brothers he puts so many freakes into their heads that they sounne drive him down thence, and to be with me in my chamber tis impossible he should endure that long and many time for want of other diversion between dinner time and 2 oclock which is the time he goes to his booke he gets away to the saw pitt and makes a visit to the sawere and such like places; the other day Eling going into the brew house after dinner chanced to look up and at the top of the ladder saw the lower part of Jack, his upper part being all leaning over into the cistern but when he heard her he soon came down and begged much that I might not be told of it and he would do so no more; but when I consider what danger he was in if he had fallen over he must certainly have been drowned and might have laine 2 or 3 days theare and we have searched all the ponds and hunted every place and not have found him, there is a great providence over children which I hope will preserve him.

(Mary then suggested that if Edward can find a school for Jack, he should write to Monsieur suggesting he stays at Chipley to teach Molly and Jepp at the same salary).

If Mounsr dont like this proposall which I would have him know nothing of till Jack is sent for, then he may come up afterward upon his own charge when he thinks he can provide better for himself; upon reading one of the papers of husbandrey there was an inquierry for 2 honest Frenchmen that could speak french very well and they could be well recommended he could help them to preferment which run so much in Mounsr head that he was so silley to desire me to wright to you to inquier of the man further about it, but I had the grace to tell him that I thought you had so much business it would be impossoble for you to serve him hearein, and that any other of his frends might do it as well or better for him and I phancey he did write but what his answare was I knew not for I have heard no more of it but methinks it a great fall from the thoughts of being Tuter to the D of Gloster to go to the office of intelligence, but I find these french people are all alike, unsettled when they have a little money, but yet I am still of the same mind that Ms is the best we have had and therefore if he will stay and teach Molly and Jepp as long as he has patience it may be for theyr advantage and no great loss to you.

On 19 December came the Proclamation calling in all the clipped coin; there was a time limit after which no debased money could be passed as legal tender except on payment to Government, then a further time limit after which it would only be taken at bullion value. The cost fell on the Exchequer.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke December ye 29 1695

My deare,

I ordered John Spreat to inclose Mr Lockes letter to you that you might read what related to Samys leggs* the description of which I cannot well give better

by way of letter, but before John Spreat come to town with Jack I desire he shall see them and examen them very carefully by which meanes he will be better able to tell you by word of mouth, and then those that you advise withall will be better able to judge whether he will out grow it without help or not which I should be very glad to be assured of being unfit for a journey myself and have nobody fitt to send with him in which we are both very unfortunate; as I am to heare of my dear frend Mrs Bucks relapse which I feare will prove fatall, I pray God it may not but in my opinion she looked ill and declining when I was last in London wheare I feare I shall loose all my best frends and then it will be worse for me than any other place.

If it be not too great a troble I would pray you to desire Mrs Smithsby to by me a small mans gound to put over all my clothes when I go out in the cotch of what silk you and she shall think fitt for that purpose for I have now none to use but your great stuff one and that grows scandalous in a sun shining day as is thought by others otherwise it is all one to me.

* rickets had been identified in 1645 and all types of remedies like sunshine and splints were tried. It was the outstanding children's disease of seventeenth century medicine.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke New Years Day 1695

My deare,

I receved yours this day by which I understand you live on the hurriing life still and am glad you have your health so well; I would desire also that Mrs Smithsby would by an ordinary head for Mrs Burgess of about ten or fifteen shillings as one better than that would not be agreeable to the rest of her cloths, if you have a little partition made in the box that the gound comes in just big enough to hold it, it will come very safe without further charge or troble and shall be presented to her as a New Years gift from you to her as I desire to accept my night gound* though I have nothing to returne; pray do me the favor also when you goe into the City to by me 4 scains of the red thread according to the patten enclosed I use to give 6 pence a scaine but if you find a quarter of a pound will come cheaper that way, then send me soe much.

Mr Beare called here yesterday in his road for Taunton to London and would not be gone till I had given him a token for Mr Edward so I was forst to lode him with 2 new half crownes which is a great rarity to be seene heare about for the people are much trobled what mony to take and they father the misfortune all upon Mr Hore and you so that as far as I can find Mr Beare has merrited more by staying to take care of his children in the small pox in the countrey than you in spending your time and mony to serve them.

* night gown - this was not worn at night but was made of rich material in a loose unbuttoned style to be worn indoors or out.

COINAGE
January 1695/96 - February 1695/96

- Reform of the coinage - Jack goes to school in London - John Spreat's marriage comes to grief -

John Freke to Locke 2nd January 1695/6 8 at night
Sir,

The House of Commons is just up. They have been all this day in a committee concerning trade, and about an hour since came to a question and 175 carryd it against 174: That commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament. The Lords have gone through the Coynage Bill and made severall amendments to it, and added severall clauses, but I can't learn what they are in particular, only there is a clause to hinder the importation of gold and for the exportation of coin, and it is said they have provided that an account be taken of what clippt money is in everybody's hand, and what its deficiency is, and that then it shall goe by weight.

Addition by Edward Clarke

I am soe neare tired with the fatigue of this day that I should not write a word to you were it not that I have the expresse order of the Lords of the Treasury to call you to town againe to attend the Appeales appoynted to be heard Tuesday morning next. They lay great stresse on the cause, and your being present at the decision of it, and therefore expect you should not be absent in the first instance where the Government will want your assistance in your office. They say the whole management of the Revenue or Excise is struck at in these appeales. This I have in command to tell you, and am therein but a faithful reporter and your affectionate friend and servant E.C.

Mrs Gelsthorp* to Mary Clarke Jan ye 2 95/96
Madam

After so long a silence I must confess a letter of this nature appears not very well but I doubt not but your goodness will pardon me and therefore will not trouble you with many excuses. My business is to beg the favour of you to send me my mothers pickture which my brother hath given me that you have being the origenall and I will pay for the carrage the cobby lyes at the painters reddy for you when you pleas to have it pray forgive this trouble from, Madam,

Your humble servant E Gelsthorp

*Mrs Gelsthorp was Sir John King's daughter, and was married to Dr Peter Gelsthorpe 1661 -1719 MD Leyden FRCP 1691. The name Gelsthorp features as lessee on the Hatton Garden map of 1694.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 4th January 1695/6
Dear Sir,

I write this in bed, which I know not whether I shall rise out of today or noe. I shall always readily obey the orders of the Treasury to the utmost of my power, but I doubt not but they will excuse my not comeing to town, if anyone has so much charity left for me as to represent to them the very ill state of my health, wherein I at present suffer more from my lungs than ever I have done since their first disorder. I am not soe averse to the town so as to have left it as this time if I

could have borne it any longer, and I needed not so strong an invitation to return as that extraordinary message you sent me were I in a condition to come.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 6th January 1695/6

I have here enclosed writ to Mrs Clarke. I guess that which Mr Smith calls hypocondriacal wind was a little touch of gravell, though I am not certain of it. If it returne again I shall be better able to judg of it, but I imagine it will not probably very quickly, and soe shee need not be discomposed about it till she be better confirmed in her health by observing those rules which you know we have difficulty enough to make her observe already, though they are but few and easy

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates, 6th January 1695/6

Dear Madam,

The marks of your concern for me will always be welcome to me. And you cannot interest yourself more in anything that you think a good fortune to me, than I shal always rejoice in the health, prosperity and happiness of you and all your family. I am sorry that you have any painful accidents that make you at all suffer in your return to health. This last I am glad is so well over that you are only concerned for the name. That which Mr Smith gave it I think as good as any, and will serve your turn as well as a Greek or a Latin one, so you have no returns of it I desire you to observe those few easy rules I formerly sent you till you have recovered your former strength, and then if the hypocondriac wind should trouble you again I shall talk further with you about it. As a farther direction for your son Sam I have writ to Mr Clarke to send you an yellow powder, whereof I would have you give him two grains every morning in two or three spoonfuls of black cherry water till you can get any of the herb arsmart*, which I would have you distil as you do roses, and then give it him in that. I wish you an happy new year. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant, J Locke
Your son is here and well. He sends you his duty, and my lady her service.

* waterpepper

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 6th 1695/6

My deare

I receved yours by the last post with the Votes by which I find you are all very busy in finding out ways to raise money, and now tis like to fall upon the window*, it would never vex me to pay for ours if they would but hold water, but the last thunder lightning and rains found its way in at every place so dreadfully that it was a very mortifying sight to see; I could wish that Parliament would sit some whole summer and that your other business would permit you to be heare more in the winter that you might be more sensible of the inconvenience that may attend the house by it, I verily believe the great fault is wheare the cornice should be by its maner of coming in.

I am heartily glad to hear my good frend Mrs Buck is better for I was much concerned for her; heare is a great grumbling among the middle sort of people and complaints among the poore about the money.

* Edward may have been responsible for the window tax, as seven years of the tax made up the £3 million deficit caused by the recoinage.

Mary suggested Edward wrote the following letter to Monsieur:

I received both your last letters but being in the utmost hurry of buisness heare can hardly mind my own concernes as I ought but have made use of the first oportunity to returne you my thanks for your being so desirous to forward Jack in his larning and also for your being so free with me as to let me know that you think it will be better for him to be in a good scoole and for that resen since your letter of 6 Decembar I have inquired for one and have very latly heard of one that is accounted such, and therefore have written to John Spreat to bring him up with him he being forsted to come to towne this next term upon his own buisness; and have nothings further to add but that I have not bin wanting in doeing you all the service I have bin capable of in everything you desired but have not heard of anything yett worth your acceptance but shall not fail of my further indevers for you as oportunity shall offer, and in the meantime if you please to continue in my family and give Molly and Jepp what instruction they are capable of either in speaking or reading or larning to write you shall be very wellcome and receive the same sallary as now you do till I or some other of your frends can meet with such preferment as you may think worth your acceptance which I should be very glad to be so fortunate to do that am Your reall frend and servant.

Methinks I cannot but blush to thinke that I should direct you what to write but all I have to say for myself is your desires that it should be so and my being upon the place can know more the matter.

I have bin told that Molly has followed him about with a pen I know not how often to desire him to teach her to wright that she might be able to write to her sisters, and Jepp is very fond of him and he seems to be so of him but never offers to teach him any french, though he is now really capable of larning and understands most common things that is sed and with a very little troble I beleive would be able to speake it for Molly talkes it very pretily and reads french to Mounsr every day and talks it to her brother Jepp but theare being no body that seems to be a master to him he is so much like all the rest of his brethren that he will not take the troble without it; and this I must say for Mounsr, he is a very sober man and a hater of drunkenness and all such example. I asked Mrs Burgess what he sed to Molly when she asked him, to put her off and I find it was that he did not know how soune he might be gon and then it would be a disadvantage for her to lerne of him, but I am apt to think he will not find preferment so plenty though I veryly beleve he has put himself into that weekly paper I had and may still have great hope from it.

John (Jack) Clarke to Edward Clarke [in Latin] **4th January**

Dearest father,

I had certainly not forgotten to write to you on the first day of this New Year. If I had prepared such a letter reasonably well, it would have been written with the same care with which you would have read it but although it is late, and although I have not been especially busy now is rather more convenient, and I ask that I may show you my devotion to you, together with my greatest respect and I beg you to consider it in good faith that I am your most obedient and attentive son J.C

Edward Clarke to Locke London 9th January 1695/6

I have only time to tell you that I am heartily concerned at your indisposition, and have made your excuse to all the Lords of the Treasury, and allsoe to my Lord Keeper, who is much concerned likewise for your illness.

At the beginning of the year King William visited Princess Anne and promised her only surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, the Garter for his seventh birthday. William and Mary had always been fond of him, and no quarrel between Mary and Anne had lessened their affection.

Mrs A Levinz to Mary Clarke January 11 1695/6

Ah madam what a fatal alteration is here, since my last; then I was full of joy, for my mothers fancyed recovery but how dismally was I mistaken? for quickly after all her illnesses returned with much greater force than ever, and with ye addition of a fever, occasioned by a violent pain and hardness on ye right side of her body, wch still remains unmovable; judg then madam if you can, of the extreimity of my grief, to see the best, ye tenderest, ye most beloved and loving mother in ye most dangerous and painful condition; you Madam who knew her so well can best gues what an affliction ye loss of her must be to me, who hav not only been made happy with her tenderest love of me, but in her familiar freindship too. Oh dear Madam pray to God that I may be enabled to submit with a due resignation to his Holy Will in everything. We have joynd with Doctr Gibbons one Doctr Barnett to doe ym justice I beleive they have great skil and do the utmost for her; but all their endeavours prove unsuccessful and I have ye terrible grief to see her grow every day worse you would wonder to see how she is wasted, she is nothing but skin and bone, only her belly infinitely sweld; ye Doct say she has an inflamation in her gut, wch causes yt continual pain on ye side of her belly, they purge her violently, yt she is faint to ye last degree, and she eats nothing but water gruel, but drinks a vast deal for she has a great drought; I verily beleive ye Docrs do not know what her distemper is, whatever it is, there is very little reson to think she can ever recover. I beg your pardon for troubling you with this long account of my sorrows; indeed I would not have done it, for fear of affecting you too much, but Mr Clarke who does us ye favour to call often here, told me you knew the danger she was in, by him.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates January 13th 1695

In my last to you I enclosed one to Mrs Clarke. You will find by that, that I think it not convenient at present to trouble her with any new rules about her health, fearing that if we multiply them too much we shall have none observed, and those few I formerly sent her will, I hope, if kept to bring her to her former strength, and then if she feel or fear any return of the pain she complained of in her last to me we may give directions about it. The ens veneris I advised for your son Sam. in that letter was not intended to thrust out the use of mana and syrup of Althaea directed by Dr Cole, but will consort very well with it, only omitting it these days that he takes either the mana or the syrup I see by the Votes that your house dissents from the amendments of your bill about the coin made by the Lords, but what those amendments are you chiefly stick at I cannot see by the votes, nor what the amendments were. I suppose they were good for nothing because your house has rejected them. But is it true what I hear talked that false money, not standard silver, is to pass?

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Edward Clarke Oates January ye 13th 1695/6

Honoured father,

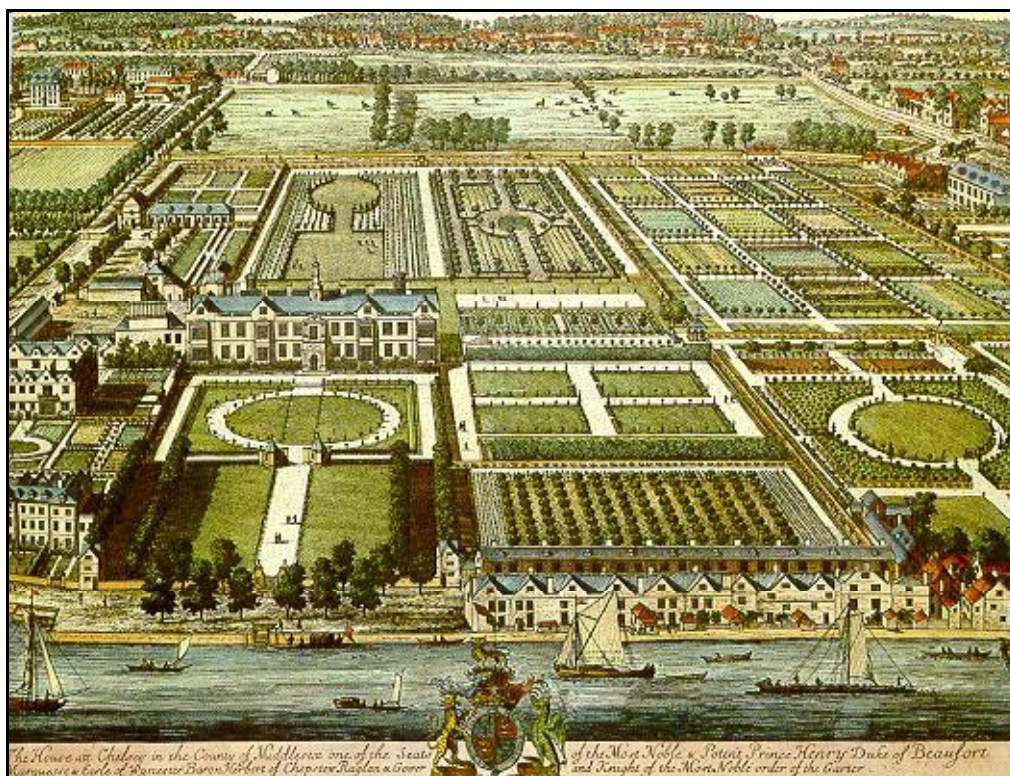
I am in great hope you receiv'd my last letter, but on ye tother hand I am mightily affrai'd it miscaried because I have hear'd nothing of it neither from you nor by Mr Lock's letters, where fore I hope this will have better luck; I shou'd have write to you ofterner, but yt I am so taken up with ye good company we injoy hear yt it makes me something more backward in writing then I shou'd to manifest and acknowledge ye duty I own you; I wou'd write more unto you but yt I am straitened in time because ye man stays to carry the letter, wherefore if you'll be plesed to cast a favorable eye upon this hasty scrall, you will mightily augment ye abundant favours you have already confer'd on, Your ever dutiful son, Edw Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley January ye 13th 1695/6

I was glad to hear that you had gott a good scoole for Jack who is really a very pretty cencible boy, and when he is drest looks as well and stands as stronge of his leggs as those that have had the advantages which he have not of dancing master and such like, and is a boy of good corrage and will not be abused by anybody, but Babett and he has come [chersmages] sometimes as I heare at second hand, but do take no notiss of it, but not long since at supper they had some word and [she gave him] a good shove towards the fire and Jack makes no more ado but atte her agen and so laid her down in the ground and putted of her head cloths and throes them almost in the fire but I do desire that nothing may ever be sed of it, but I am apt to think Babett beleves herself in falt because she did not come to me with any complaint and have taken such care that never a won of the children has lett fall the least word before me of it, not so much as the little one of all, who you know is all tongue; I confess servants in generall are a difficult sort of people to mannage with so as to be quiett and I think it requires more patience and discretion than I have, but I am faine very often to put Queen Elizabeths way in practiss, sometimes to show my selfe angrey, and sometimes to whedle.

Goodman Jening dined heare this day and sent me word by Isake (I not haveing made one meale below stayrs yett, not being able to bare the smell of the meat) that his buisness was to borrow five pounds and he feared he should want so much to make it up having so much mony that he thought they would not take, and I sent him word that I had a letter from you this day that it was voted in the house that all manner of clipped mony that was silver should pass agen and the old man sed if it was so he beleved the bells would ring every wheare for joy.

I am so tyred that I have nothing to say in answare to Mr Locke at this time but that I am glad Mr Edward is with him at Otes he have given a short answare to what I writt about myself and taken no notiss at all what he thinks of Sammys leggs which to me is a matter of great moment.



The gardens at Beaufort House, Chelsea, near Jack's school

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to Edward Clarke Ivychurch January ye 14 1695
Honrd father,

I return you my most humble thanks for your kind letter, I am very glad to hear that my brothers and sisters are in good health, I beg you, Sir, to send ye inclosed to my sister Anne, and be pleased to tell my brother Edward and my brother John that I will write to them by ye next post, so with my humble duty I rest, honrd father, Your most dutyfull daughter, Elis: Clarke . Mr Stringer and his lady and son gives you their service

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke January ye 15th 1695/6

I heare contrey people coming to the markt and haveing clipped halfe crownes would sell them to anybody for 10 pence apiece; I was happy the King did not put out his proclamation before the parliment satt, for the people would have bin horrid angrey with him and it was well thought of to lett the taxes be pd in such mony as nobody else would receive, which made ye people much more easey and willing to part with it; I must tell you theare was one had a small parcell of mony to receive among which there was some clipped halfe crowns which he refused but there was a milled half crown among it which he tooke for a rarity, but after he had it 2 or 3 days, he found it begin to change coler and looke a little coperish on one side and it proved to be a copper half peny that had bin collered over and I have bin told that the mountibanks do sell stuff that will make bad mony look very well and passable.

I confess I should not care to keep any frenchman in the house if you weare to be in London which is the place I beleve Mounsr would be now glad to be in;

being able to read write and speak English I beleve as well or better than most french men, for he has made the children teach him as much or more than he has them and methinkes he has improved his hand writing as very much, for that letter of his you sent down last was very well and as I remember the letters I had from him when I was in London was writt very sorofull so as one could hardly read it, so that he has made good use of his time to his own advantage as well as I hope he has to Jackes.

My cozen Blewett dined hear yesterday and was saying that he not long since such a parcell of mony that out of 20 he could hardly find 3 that was tollarable and Mrs Bridgett for her own satisfaction took fifteen shillings and put in a scale and a crown piece outweighed it.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Janry ye 14th 1695/6

I am verie glad to find both for John Spreats sake as well as my own, that wee are like to have soe good a tennant for Wood-House and the rest of the estate that was Mr Fursdons. Pray encourage ye treaty all you can, and for greate Burdenhill-Close containing about 10 acres, and Little Burdenhill-Close containing about 2 acres thereto adjoining and greate Vauxhall containing about 15 acres, I am verie willing should bee lett with Wood-farm, if you can agree for it with the person that has soe fayrely begun a treaty for it; indeed as well as I can judge at this distance, Thomas has offerr'd to lett it altogether at a moderate value, in threescore and ten pounds a yeare, considering how well the ground is in heart at this time and how well dressed over it hath all been by mee lately, but rather than loose a good tennant, if you find Mr Wood will not bee brought up to that price, I will bee content to take threescore and seaven or eight pounds a yeare according to Frank Trotts proposall for it or what ever other summ that you, upon further consultation wth Mr Trott, shall thinke reasonable and doe submitt it intirely to you and him to doe therein as you shall thinke best and I hope the matter will be soe mannaged as that there may bee a reasonable allowance made mee for my corn and dressing in ground, and sufficient provision made for the necessary preservation of the young trees planted in any of those grounds.

The inclosed from Nanny came to mee yesterday by the Penny Post from Hackney and indeed shee sent me one before to bee conveyed to you but it was by mistake in mee being in a hurry of business sent back to her when I intended to have conveyed it to you, and thought I had soe done, for wch I hope you will forgive mee, and I will make my peace with Nanny the best I can for that mistake when I see her wch I have not yett had time to doe since shee went to Hackney but I heare she is well and soe is or little girle at Ditton, and Ward is still at Oates with Mr Lock, and I heare Betty is well at Ivy-church; but or good freind Mrs Buck is relapsed againe, and I doubt is in a verie dangerouse if not desperate condition, out of wch I pray God to rayse her and restore you to yr former health and strength to the joy and comfort of all yr freinds but most particularly of, yr truly and tenderly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw: Clarke

Mr Freke is extraordinary kind to mee, and give you his hearty service and wee drinke yr health every day over the verie good brawn you sent us.

Lady Acton to Mary Clarke London Jan the 23 95

Deare cozen

I receved yours by my cozen Clark who I was extremly glad to see but he was so much in hast that I cold hardly aske for all my litell cozens but he promised me that I should see my cozen Edward but I have never had the hapiness to see eather of them since nether doe I know whare my cozen Edward is or elce I wold have given him a viset but I will see my cozen Ann as sone as the wether and ways are good; sairtainly the parliment men are grown gret ore elce they have more then ordinary bisnis for I have sent several times to Mr Sanford that I might see him to inquier after my frends for you cannot emagin how hartily glad I am to see any one out of that contry, but he will not com but I will make him a solom invitacion and if he should not com then I should feare I was growen scandilous in that contry I have a gret deale of good company since I came to town but yet I much want yours pray let me know how you recover in your helth and strankth which is dayly praid for by Your truly affectinat kinswoman M Acton

Locke to the College Oates 27th January 1695/6

The Grave may know that his son is well and by me whilst I was writing this letter. He presents his duty and thanks for the letter he received. Give me leave on this occasion to repeat what I minded you of before I left the town, viz. that you would provide him masters against he returns to fill his hand with businesse, that for want of it he may not fall into a sauntering habit or ill company, both which are to be prevented as much as may be espetially care is to be taken at his first coming out into the world (as I looke upon this to be) concerning these matters, and therefore, if you could finde him a fit and safe companion of about his age, or a little older, I think it would be usefull and better for him than to have one of his own finding, which he will certainly doe if you doe not, for it is not to be expected he should live without company. I should beg your excuse for this freedom had not your commission and long custome authorised me in it.

Mrs Stringer to Mary Clarke Jan ye 31st

I humbly thank you dear Madam for ye favour of yr very kind letter by Mr Spreat; Mr Stringer and I had proposed much pleasure in going to Salisbury to meet Masr John but ye afternoon proved so exceeding wett yt we could not goe but his sister was att Coll Hearsts wheare they supped and were very merry together; the Col and his lady were so kind, they had orderd their coach to be made redy to goe and meet him on ye road; but it was so very wett yt Miss Clark would not suffer ym to stirr out; they were all highly delighted with Masts company; they tell me he was as merry and pleasant and well acquainted as if he had know ym all his lifetime, realy Madam they are so very kind and were so very importunate yt I could not refuse ym Deare Miss's company for one week, but I'm satisfied she must be ye better and not ye worse for being with ym, they are great huswifes and very pious good people; pray Madam satisfie yrself and be assured we will take all posible care yt she may not suffer ye least inconvenience whilst she is with us; I assure you Madam upon my word we have as true a concern for her wellfare as if she were our own child or ye greatest princess in ye world; I doubt not but you beleeve it by yr great confidence you have so kindly reposed in us perticularly in favouring us with her good company so long; I'm sorry to heare you ventured out to gett cold before ye winter is more

over but now you are pretty well recovered I hope you will have patience till ye weather is warm and dry.

At this time the Tories were trying to start a Land Bank to rival the Bank of England; no one could be a shareholder in both, but it collapsed after a few months.

Locke to Clarke Oates 5th February 1695/6

But pray are the Bank, Lottery bills, Annuities etc of Christmas quarter paid, and in what money? I am told that clipped and counterfeit half-crowns go freer now even in London than before the Proclamation and act. I wonder not at it, for as I understand it the Exchequer must pay it, which is like to grow rich as a tradesman who buys by light weight and sells by heavy. But pray is there any milled money coined in the Mint, and what becomes of it? the gold you say the Cadiz fleet has brought will help to ease us of it. But how to reduce guineas to their true intrinsic value any otherwise than by making light and bad money go for its weight in silver, I do not see. I hear of a new proclamation about money, but cannot yet learn the contents of it. But will proclamations alter the Act?

The coinage crisis came to a head in mid-February when proposals to allow gold guineas to pass at a rate higher than the silver standard threatened to reintroduce devaluation by the back door. It was necessary to have a gradual reduction in the silver value of the guinea, so in a series of votes from 15 February to 26 March 1696 the price of guineas was set at 28s, then 26s and finally 22s, which Montague (who had wanted it to be 24s) agreed to. Clarke and his allies were therefore responsible for outflanking those who sought devaluation through an artificially inflated value of gold.

In 1696 came victory for Locke and Edward with the Act to remedy the ill state of the coinage which provided for full recoinage at the old standard, with the cost to be paid by the public.

Locke to the College Oates 14th February 1695/6

I thank you for the printed paper you sent me, but whether it be for the stopping of clipping or for the encouragement of clippers you must pardon us dull country folks if we are not forward to speak our opinions upon once reading, and perhaps may be more amazed after a second.

I admire the Grave's constancy, and applaud him highly for it. It is a just and a noble cause, and if he can carry his clause he shall, by my consent, have a statue of better metal than the courser alloy that now passes in the Exchequer, and he will deserve it.

Edward Clarke to Locke London, 15th February 1695/6

If I had not been quite worn out with an attendance of thirteen hours together without ever stirring out of the House on Thursday last, I had then acquainted you with the result of the longest debate I ever yet saw in Parliament. The subject matter whereof was the then current price of guineas, wherein gentlemen's reasonings were verie different, as you may well imagine by the length of the debate, which lasted from about twelve at noon till ten at night. In which debate a few gentlemen forced the adverse party generally to agree: that

unlesse gold and silver bee brought and kept at a parr to each other, that which exceeds will eat out, and carry away the other. And that unlesse gold bee reduced speedily to its real intrinsick value as well as silver, as it has already devoured a greate part of the riches of the nation, soe it will certainly ease us of the small remainder of our wooll, and woollen, as well as other manufactures, and of our silver likewise, and will in a little time effectually carry away more of the treasure and wealth of the Kingdome than all the expense both of the fleet and army togather doth amount unto. And yet, notwithstanding the reducing that exorbitant imaginary value which hath been permitted to bee set on gold for soe long, all at once by a vote of parliament was thought to bee of such consequence as to prevayle so far against the arguments on the other side, that by a small majority there was a vote obtained in the Committee, and this day agreed to by the House, viz: That noe guineas be allowed to passe in any payment above the rate of 28s, which it is expected will prevent their rising higher. And I hope the true interest of the nation will soon reduce them to their real value. All this is chiefly owing to the Monkey* and some others of his brethren, who have still strong inclinations to alter the standard and raise the silver to the present imaginary value of the gold, by which you may be satisfied they are as wise and as honest as ever.

* possibly Montagu

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 15th 1695/6

Pray let John Spreat know that his day of sale was this day and great many things sold at a good rate and I beleve it will take up a days or 2 time more to clear it; madam did not come this day and I am of the mind will not now come at all but I heare she sess she wishes that what every one do by may sett on fire theyr howses; but not with standing I have ventured by Mr Trott to by the store table and some chairs and some other od things which I am afraid you will thinke to deare; I do beleve madam is very invettrate but the nett which she laid for others she is in some mesure fallen into herselfe.

I thanke you for your visit to Jenney and I am glad to heare she is well and lookes well and should be much more glad to heare she was a good foott woman; I beleve the people theareabouts thinke me a very unnaturell mother to leave a child at such a distance and not to see it in so longe a time, methinkes it would sound strangely to me if I was a stranger to my owne circomstances but it cannot be helped I hope you will say what you can in my behalf.

Because of his wife's addiction to drink and running up debts, John Spreate's marriage had finally collapsed; there was no chance of a divorce which would allow the parties to remarry - *divortium a vinculo matrimonii*, for that needed an Act of Parliament, but it was possible to obtain a divorce from bed and board - *divortium a mensa et thoro* - in the ecclesiastical courts which was really a legal separation, leaving the parties unable to remarry.

Locke to Clarke Oates 17th February 1695/6

I am sorry that soe plain a question should hold soe long a debate, or indeed that the house should tire itself about that which ought to be noe question at all. You may as well regulate the price of wheat as gold. Silver alone is our money.

Let the several species and pieces of those species be of the weight and finenesse the law requires and they are pretended to be, and all other things, gold as well as other commodities, will finde their price.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 18 1695/6

My deare,

I received yours by the last post and do veryly beleve as you do that unless Guinneys be brought back to theyr old vally and settled it will be of ill consequence to the nation, but this I do beleve that if they had knocked in the head all at once the grasers such as Hurtnell and other farmers that may have sold a great deal and under a promise of receving theyr mony in Guinneys at 30s would have bin at great loss and under great discontent thearefore I am apt to think it will be more content to the people to have them fall by degreese as they did rise then all at once espeshally if theyr vally be setled be it what soever is thought convenient this is my poor thoughts of this matter and now I am to tell you that I have agreed with farmer Hurtnell to be your tennant for another yeare.

John Spreats goods are now all sold into a trifle and I think most of them at a very good rate and madam had not corage to come theare but I hear railles sadley sometimes.

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Edward Clarke Oates February ye 18th 1695/6

Tho' you had write me word you hop'd Mr Lock wou'd be in town in a few dayes, yet I hear'd noe talk of it neither doe I see any liklewood of it yet; however I know not whether the bad wheather yt we have had here, might not hinder him from coming up, but now yt wheather is alter'd and we hope it will hold fair.

Mrs A Levinz to Mary Clarke

It is wrong for me to grieve at my loss, when she is so vast a gainer by it; but alas, tis perfectly out of my power to avoid it; and oh may you never now, how very terrible it is to part wth what one so pasionatly loves, but I fear I shall renew your malancholly, wch I hear has already been prejudiciall to your health, so I must end this sad but dear subject, after I have told you that it pleased God to continue her singular easy chearful temper, as long as her life lasted; tho for ye last seven weeks she never had one moments ease from ye most violent pain that can be imagind, wch still increased to ye last extreamity, till she dyed, but such a resignation she had to Gods Holy Will, that under all this severe tryal she preserved her serenity, and never uterd one impatient expression, but was thankful to God that amidst all her pains she had the perfect use of her senses to ye last minutes, wch she always made her earnest prayer to God for, and he was graciously pleased to hear her, but here I must take my leave for I am overcome with grief; good God do not you strangly wonder to think she is dead, and I alive? for my part tis my dayly admiration! but to be sure as long as I am so I shal continue, my dear Friend, your disconsolate and faithfull servant A Levinz

I heartily pray to god to continue you long to your children; certainly you have ye finest apprehensive ones that ever was, your pretty son Jacky strangly diverted me when he was in town.

JACOBITE PLOT

February 1695/96 - August 1696

A Jacobite plot - Oath of Association - old coins withdrawn and new ones issued -

On 24 February 1695/96 Edward paid I guinea entrance for Jack to school at Monsr Lefebvre and 15 shillings extra for dancing and writing. On the same day the nation was stunned by the announcement that there had been a Jacobite plot against the King's life.

The Duke of Berwick, James 11's illegitimate son, was to have organised a general Jacobite rising after the planned assassination of the King by Sir George Barclay and Sir John Fenwick on the way back from hunting at Richmond. Two of the conspirators turned informer, followed by others when the King's hunting plans were cancelled, and fourteen ringleaders were rounded up in London. The trained bands in England were raised and armed, and the fleet under Russell cruised the Channel, while James waited in vain at Calais for the bonfire blazing on the Kentish coast that would have been the signal to launch the French armies across the water.

Sir John Fenwick was a long term Jacobite supporter; in 1691 he had swaggered round Hyde Park with his friends when the King was suffering reverses against France and had been rude to the King; in 1689 he had been in the Tower after fomenting trouble in the North of England. Fenwick alleged Shrewsbury and Godolphin were privy to the plot; then Monmouth told Fenwick to embroil three of Monmouth's enemies, i.e. Marlborough, Russell and Salisbury. Fenwick's wife betrayed Monmouth who was accused by the peers of concocting incriminating papers, and sent to the Tower for three months.

Godolphin resigned as he had corresponded with James. He may not have been sorry; as a Treasury minister he had said that the *"life of a slave in the galleys is a paradise in comparison of mine"*. There were Treasury meetings four days a week morning and afternoon, often beginning at 7 a.m., and the House of Commons called on the Treasury to explain, justify and defend the accounts.

A wave of patriotic fervour swept through England, and many of those who had supported King James in the past were alienated by this assassination attempt and the thought of a French invasion. The suggestion of an Association for the defence of their sovereign and country was enthusiastically taken up by Parliament, where Edward was a teller, and then by the whole country. The Association, which required an oath of allegiance to the King, was immediately signed by Edward and circulated by him in Wellington. It was now recognised that the restoration of James would mean the subordination of the country to France. The whole business community had a vested interest in the continuation of William's reign, and those who had lent money to the State knew it would be totally lost if James returned. Some Tories however could not accept this test of their loyalty and were barred from being magistrates.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Feb ye 29th 1695/6

My deare,

I receved yours by this post which gave us great comfort in confirming the newes of the discovery of ye late horred plott against the Kings person and to

invade the nation by the french which God forbid and make us thankful for this wonderful discovery; this dredfull newes put all people into great confusion and as I am told almost spoyled Exeter fayre.

I find Ward is still in the country and tis thought he will not go to scoole any more, if he does not theare is a chest of drawrs and 2 paire of sheets that I was to have agen when he came from the scoole and perhaps they may serve Jack if you are to send any such things with him, and you do take them away from there which I think will be best, the drawres and shets was new when I sent them but how they are now I know not.

Since I writt my letter I find by John Spreat that Jack is allredy provided in a chest of drawrs and sheetts and perhaps those I mention may be as usefull to Ward wheare he goes next or to some other of the younger ones if you thinke is convenient to remove them.

Ursula Venner to Edward Clarke Febr ye 29th 1695

And for what other acknowligment you think is fitt for my son to make to Mr Freke for ye trouble he hath taken in peruseing ye wills and makeing querys one them, if you please to present him with it I will take care to repay you. I pray God to raise my sons means and frends yt may prevayll with them to put an end to ye differance yt are between them, which are very afflicting to me, I understand yt Mrs Cannon hath imployd Mr Pratt to bring down a presapy and concord in order to my daughters acknowlidging a fine at this assises but says she shall not do it except my son be prepared with his jointure settlements at ye same time according to ye articles of agreement, a copy of which I shall make bold to trouble you with and desire yr advise to my son to do those thinks yt you shall think is fitt for him to do.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke March ye 3rd 1695/6

Mounsr went from hence this morning with the assistance of 2 of your horses and Gabarell as far as Bath, wheare he desired to drinke the waters and soe on to London wheare I wish everything may answare his expectation; he sed he had told Mr Clarke when he was in the countrey that the countrey did not agree with him and that he desired to go to London in the spring wheare I wished all things might answare his desires which was all I thought necessary to say about it, and have had no more words about it since, but have continued the same in conversation and frendshipp as before till his departure; when peoples thoughts are running on preferment and they begin to be uneasy in their buisness, I realy think it is nobodys interest to keep them in such circumstances if they weare ever so fitt for them before; pray do you be as compleasant to Mounsr as I have bin when he waits on you which I suppose will be to receve what remaines of his sallary*.

* On 11 May 1696 Edward paid de Grassmare in full account £54 12 0d.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke March ye 7th 1695/6

Gabarell returned safe with your horses from Bath last night wheare he left Mounsr resolved to drink the bath waters for a week, he is a monied man now and he was a frenchman before, though I think still (this last action excepted) the wisest of the 3 we have had though not so much conduct as can make me repent his departure.

I beg the favour of you when you have a convenient opportunity by Mr Beare or any other hand to send me half a dozen pounds of chocolate in round cakes.

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Edward Clarke Oates March ye 8th 1695/6

Honoured father,

The reason why I have bin something more than ordinary silent in writing is, because I assur'd myself yt you were not only in a constant hurry of business, but alsoe yet much more occupied since ye discovery of this horrid conspiracy, which being so happily found out we are in great hopes will prove ineffectual and rather advantageous than fatal to us if well look'd after, the worst being past; the Militia has bin rais'd here, amongst which was ye Troupe of horse under ye command of Sir Francis Masham who came down here some few days agoe upon yt account, they were commanded to be up during fourtine dayes, but by a fresh order of council they continu'd up but four dayes, and are now disbanded until tomorrow morning; I have beg'd ye favour of him to deliver this letter unto you, which is all at present from Your ever dutiful son, Edw: Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke March ye 9th 1695/6

I have no more to say at present on that subject but that Mounsr seemed to concern himself so little with the children of late that I think I never missed anyone that went out of the family so little in my life and as to the buisness of Wood I can now tell you we have had so many hesitators about it that it seems to me to be as far from being lett as ever for notwithstanding you complied with Will Littlejohn in all he desired yet upon agreeing with him for the wheat in the ground he expected to have it so much under vallew as that it would have lessened the rent so much that Mr Wood was a better chapman in proferring you 6 and 40 pounds a year than Littlejohns 8 and 40 so my counsellors thought it not advisable for me to accept of it.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke March ye 17 1695/6

I told Molly and Jepp that you had sent them theyr tokens that they might be sure to speake french to one another and to Babett, and that Molly should read french twice a day to her, and to incorage her, I gave Molly one of the new shillings you sent me, telling her that you had sent it her to give Babett to incorage her to heare her read and to talke french to them, which I must desire you to own if theare should ever be occasion, for nobody in the house knowes to the contrary.

I have just now writt to Betty at Ivey church which puts me in mind to ask you wheare you have done any thinge in order to a present for her to give to Mrs Stringer for really methinkes she looks like an inhabitant theare without any consideration whatsoever; pardon me for trobling you agen in this matter if it be not yett convenient to by any such thing as plate.*

* On May 11 Edward bought a silver monteth for Betty to give Mr and Mrs Stringer costing £20 16 s 5d.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates, 25th March 1696

I am very glad the designe of fixing a rate on guineas, especially at 25s, was defeated. The thing I looke on to be ill in itself and worse in the intention. The subscribers will not now be able to put off their guineas at an high rate to the

cost of the Government, nor the raisers, I hope, be able to compass their soe long laboured design of raising the denomination of our coin. Did I not see soe steady a motion towards both of them, espetially the latter, I could scarce imagine that any Englishman could harbour a thought soe destructive to his country as I apprehend these to be. But what may one not believe of Englishmen when there are those amongst them that would favour a French invasion!

Locke to Mary Clarke Oates 25th March 1696

I hope the spring, with the assistance of the steel course proposed by Dr Musgrave, will so invigorate your blood as to make it able to concoct and master those undigested humours which now fall down into your legs and swell them. He is a learned man, and has managed your last great illness with great skill and care, which would exempt me from saying anything were I not very much concerned for your health. Give me leave, therefore, to add to his medicines some small directions for your diet. Eat nothing but meat of good nourishment and easy digestion, and but little at a time, espetially towards bed-time; and with all that you eat take a good quantity of light and well-baked bread, which is the best nourishment you take in your present circumstance, and itnit there is noe fear of excesse. For your drink, let it be as little and as strong as will serve to quench your thirst. Be carefull never to sit up late, and if you lie pretty long in the morning I think it will do you noe harm. And when you are up be as much in the open air as the season will permit, and walk or ride as much in it as your strength will allow you.

Mrs Gelsthorp to Mary Clarke March ye 29th 1696

Madam

I had sooner returned an answer to your obligeing letter, but I was desirous first to know from my brother how he had disposed of the picture you had copyed for your self, he tells me it was left by your order at Mr Verelst's two years since, to be put up with Miss's picture. I beg the favour of you, Madam, to send the picture up in the same case I shall send down the cobby in, least coming with other things it may be spoiled, and when it comes to towne I will send to my brother to receive it form Mrs Clarks own hands, as you desire. Madam, I hartily beg your pardon for this trouble, were it the picture of any person else, it should be at your service, I am dear Madam, your humble servant E Gelsthorp Fryday next I shal send the picture by the carrier.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 30th March 1696

I was very glad to understand by yours of the 26th that you had fought it out soe bravely, and carried the point about guineas and clipped money, if the Act passe I think you must take some care that the clipped money shall goe by weight, else I feare the want and hoarding of weighty money when the Parliament is up will make such a scarcaty of it that necessity will either make your law be broke through and give passage still to clipped money, or else cause horrible confusion.

Edward Clarke to Locke London, 31st March 1696

The Lords have this day passed our Byll wherein guineas are reduced to 22s apiece, and clipped money rendered impassable after the 4th of May next, the receiver to forfeite double the value of every peice of such money by him received

after that time. And when the Royall Assent is given to that Byll I thinke wee are then safe against all further ill attempts upon our coyn during this session, where we have often been soe neare to utter ruin and destruction that I cannot but wonder at our deliverance from that part of the plot, as I do at the miraculous discovery of the rest etc.

Edward and his allies had outflanked those who sought devaluation. Commercial life in England came to a standstill when on 4 May the old coins were withdrawn from circulation and mints all over the country worked night and day turning out the new coins. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lowndes, Secretary of the Treasury, reorganized the Mint, which began to issue the new milled coins at an unprecedented rate. Clipped coins were melted down in ten furnaces set up in the garden behind the Treasury. In June Montagu arranged for their to be Mints in the chief provincial towns, York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester and Norwich. By the end of the year these Mints together were producing £20,000 worth per week, while the Tower Hill Mint using a mill worked with horses instead of coins being stamped with a hammer, produced about £80,000 per week. Most of the new coins were hoarded and so it took time - until 1699 - for Locke's principles to be seen as workable, particularly as the annoyed goldsmiths organised a run on the Bank of England, making the summer of 1696 a critical time for the new money; but between 1691 and 1697 more than £8 million's worth of clipped money was brought to the various Mints. Eventually the currency, which soon included paper money, acquired a measure of security without which England would never have become a great trading state.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 2nd April 1696

I think the nation extremely obleiged to you for gaining the two clauses about clipped money and guineas to stop the leake that would certainly have sunk us if we scape all other rocks. There is only, in my opinion, one thing wanting, viz. to contrive if one could that standard clipped money should goe by its weight, for, as I told you in my last, I mightily apprehend great disorder for want of current money, if your clause about clipped money prevent its passing after the 4th of May, and if it does not we are still under the ruin of clipping and coining.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London Apr ye 4th 1696

Last night I recd a letter from John Spreate dated ye 1st instant wth one inclosed from Thomas, wherein he gives mee the particulars of my liveing stock and tells mee there is noe ground now left more than what will keepe ye horses, and find hay for them and for the deere in the parke in winter, and desires mee to order him to dispose of some of those goods; now my desire to you upon this subject is to consult Fran: Trott and then talke with him and Thomas together or a sunder, as you shall judge it most convenient, and dispose of such parts of the stock as shall been thought most advantagiouse for mee, it being altogether impossible for mee, being not upon the place, to give any particular orders, therefore I must begg leave to referr it wholly to you wth this addition only, that tis my opinion, all sorts of goods yield a better price now, than they are like to doe hereafter, when ye money is once sett right again, for then I am pretty confident you will see the price of all sorts of liveing goods, and of all sorts of corn and grain allso fall verie much, and therefore I desire you to hasten out my corn as fast as may bee wth conveniance, now whilst the clipp'd money has a

currency, for after the 4th of May money will be verie scarce and difficult to be gott for anything, but sell nothing upon trust, but only to such as are undoubtedly responsible; these are my reall thoughts upon this subject, but I thinke tis not my interest they should be known to any but yourselfe; at least untill I have sold all I can.

I did nott thinke you had been soe much in earnest when you ask'd my opinion in a former letter touching elopmts, as by a 2nd letter to have desired it againe of mee, but since you expect it I must tell you plainly, tis clearely my opinion, the husband makes himselfe lyable not only to pay more debts to bee so contracted, but to father more children to bee gott, lett who will have the begetting of them, and indeed any elopement admitts of none of those familiar lyes or diversions without ye consequences mentioned on the other syde upon the husband; I heartily pittie all that are any wayes concern'd in the question, and shall willingly promote the Byll designed for a cure of those evils, when ever it comes into ye House, but of that I see noe likelihood this session. Sr Wm Perkins, and Sr John Froud were yesterday executed at Tyburn.

enclosed note

Fower oxen; one cow;

Fower coach-horses; the lame mare; the gray-mare; the little- mare; and a young-mare not taken up. Twenty-eight ewes and lambes; forty hogg-sheep of twelve month-old; ten sheepe of two year-old; five other yeos and five rammes.

These are the particulars of the stock mentioned in Thomas his lettr to mee, and I could wish it might bee soe ordered that I might keep the best ram and some of the best yeo's.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke April ye 6th 1696

I am very glad theare is so many of the plotters taken and I hope theare will be everyday new discoverneys till all theyr hellish desires are found out if possoble.

Locke to the College Oates 6th April 1696

For the keeping down of guineas now they are down is of infinite moment, and the observance of the law, and reduceing clipped money. And since you ask my opinion, and would have me think of ways that may contribute to it: This I think first, that London in all these matters of money gives a rule to all England, what is done there the rest will follow, and therefore it should be begun in London.

Secondly, that as to the making it: take in London a good number of substantiall citizens who understand the matter and see the dangers we are in of certain ruin, if clipped money be not stopped, should agree together not to take any clipped money, but as bullion for its weight, and should endeavour to bring in as many as they could into this necessary obedience to the law by joining in a preparatory lawful practice for the benefit of everybody. And what, too, if you should, as soon as it is seasonable, begin to pay clipped money by weight at Richard's Coffee House the talke and example would spread. Thirdly, to this purpose I am apt to think that it is of moment that those who practise it should besides scales have those species of our coin by them, a penny, two pence, three pence, a groat and six pence, besides bigger pieces of our milled money against which to weigh the clipped. These I think much better than brass weights,

because everyone knows not the value of those weights in silver, and so may suspect he has not the full allowance of his clipped money; but when he sees it weighed against money everyone must presently be satisfied.

Mrs Stringer to Mary Clarke Aprill ye 12th (Easter Day)

Yr good daughter has received the sacrament with me this day Deare Madam she very redyly complied as soon as ever I proposed her reading to prepare herself for it; telling me she beleevd twas yr desire, alas yr godson is not so good tho he read good bookes and ye greek in order to fitt himself for it; he told me this morning he found himself so dull and listless yt he durst not doe it; but desired to be excused a little longer as if it were an evill day; I wish my boy were a girle but tis in vain I must be content and make ye best of a bad mater I must take more pains with him.

I must intreat you Deare Madam yt you will please to give yr consent yt yr daughter may have another paire of stays made at London for these I gott made att Salisbury are not well made, they make her look stooping at ye shoulders, some of our neighbouring gentlewomen comended him but I doe not like his work by noe means, I'm sorry it happed so ill but cannot help it, if you please send mee direction to send her measure to yr taylor, or if you had rather I will send it to my nephew Sam Stringers wife to have ym made by a French man she imploys she allso wants another mantua and petty coat. If you please to send up her silver tabby ye gound and petty coat with ye new breadth I beleeve it will do with eking ye petty coat behind. I beg yr orders as soon as you can conveniently write because she will want her things.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Aprill ye 13th 1696

My deare,

I received yours by the last post by which I am very glad to find you are very well, though very tired, as I feare you have often resen and thearefore do some times order J Spreat to writt my excuse to safe you the troble of my letters and that you may the better bare ye reading a longe one when it comes; I hope Thomas will think it your intrest to keep some of your best sheep as many as the ground will receive after mowing time if he highers grass for them in the mean time the oxen he mentions have not done any works a pretty while, they being now fattening for the butcher and are in a pretty good state, and was had to Wellington fair last Thursday in order to be disposed off, wheare he was offred £36 for them by Mr Raymon but thought them worth more and so brought them home agen, and when they are sold we shall have but one cow, and the horses and deare and if it will not keep some sheep I think we weare best lett out all the ground and by hay for the horses and then I shall be able to keep horses that will deserve the name he has given them of cotch horses, for these may be really stiled as they are, cart horses and hackney at pleasure, for I have used them but 3 times to Langford and Heathfield since you went hence and once to Burnt Hill wheare I gott cold and have not stirred out since till yesterday to church which was the first time I have bin theare since my illness; these 4 horses and the poor old mare are the 5 that now does all your work and the other 2 that makes 7 one is poor Will Trebles little mare which goes with panners and such like carrages as does the gray mare in her turn, and the colt is the little mares of Will Trebles that I sed should not be parted with but kept for the use of my daughters which I do hope you have concented to she being really a pretty creature for that use.

The gray mare will never be fit for your riding agen so I have ordered John Spreat to inquier if he can find one fit for you and I will make you a present of it when you come home and I hope you will accept of it as a poor present proposed on this day being the 13th of Aprill which makes it 3 seven yeares that I have served you, and like my aprentisshipp so well that I hope tomorrow to begin for one seven yeare more, since the plotters have no better suckcess which that they never may in such bloody and ruinous desires is the hearty prayer of your affectionate and faithfull wife M.C.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 22nd April 1696

I have discharged you commission to my Lady. She bids me tell you, you very much mistake her if you think you ought to be out of countenance for having trusted your son some time with her, which she takes as a mark of your friendship for her, and a confidence in her which she thinks you would not have granted everybody. She says he has been very welcome to her, and shall always be soe whenever he and you shall agree to afford her his company. As for Sir Francis, you must make him your compliments yourself, for as I writ you word Monday last, you will see him before I shall, and therefore your son and I shall expect new order from you about his journey to town. As for myself, I have been so long accustomed to take care of your son that it is now habitual to me, and I fear that may have made me sometimes forget that he is almost as tall as his father, and therefore have been as plain with him as if he were my own son. Whether it has been of any use to him I know not; I thought it would be acceptable to you. But it is time now for me to change that way of living with him as with a young gentleman of my acquaintance, whom I wish well to and shall be ready to serve for his own and his father's sake, without any marks of authority.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke April ye 23 1696

We have had abundance of wet heare abouts and before that the most cutting winds that ever was kept the spring very backward I think I told you in my last that your 4 oxen was that day driven to Sandford faire and I told Thomas the night before that it was your desire the fairest bidder should have them for I beleved ye was willing they should be sold before ye corrancey of money was over, so Munday evening Dick brought them back agen and I called to him and asked him if they was sold and he sed yes, and when he came in I asked him for what, he sed he could not tell justly but he thought near forty pound, I asked him in what money, he sed all brave new mony, that Mr Tho was gon to Tiverton to lye at his brothers and would be at home in the morning; but it was 3 or 4 oclock in the after noon and I being above stayrs he send me word he was going to Wellington if I had any buisness, so I went down and met him the stayrs coming up; I laughed and told him I thought he had stayed so long to by up all the good bargens for himself, he sed no but five bullocks, I told always the byers thought things deare and the sellers cheepe and desired to know what he had for your 4 oxen, he sed £39. What all in new mony sed I, no he sed, he had none, so I told him Dick told me it was to be so and that he saw some of it paid and it shined bravely; he sed it was his mistake, I asked what then he was paid in, he sed in Guinneys, I asked at what rate, he sed 22s. He sed his mony was so small that nobody would take it, they would take none but guinneys or new money, I asked how he pd for his bullocks then, he sed yes he had paid for them, so I sed no

more but you may guess as I do that it was with your guineys, and so he went away and drove your oxen into Wellington where he was to meet the man that had bought them. These are my remarks upon Dicks discourse and I will wish Dick may not receive a reprimand for saying so much which he really did very inosaintly; I asked Thomas when he came from Wellington what he had done about your sheep, he said he had not had time yet to draw them out and mark them but he would do it as soon as he could, I certainly know that ever since you gave orders for grass to be hired they have bin in his clover which he can allow himself for, and having sold all his own sheep it will be no inconveniency to him; it appears to me as if Thomas and you kept but one purse and that your stock and his was all in common; I think your interest so much mine that it makes me more observing but do take the greatest care I can that no body may take notice of it thinking it highly reasonable that you should be upon the place some time and make up all your accounts with him without showing the least suspicion; therefore pray take care that all my letters of this kind to you be burnt, for if the least word of it should be known he would have reason to wish I had dyed.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 27th April 1696

My Lady desires you would let him stay here till somebody from hence goes to town that may accompany him in the coach. Since I see you have some debate in yourself, whether he should be ventured up in the coach alone amongst strangers, I shall leave that to be agreed between you and my Lady, and shall exactly follow those orders you send. But yet shall not forbear to tell you that I think it of great concern to your son to be in town under your eye and under the direction of masters who may keep his hands full of business, and this the sooner the better. The reasons whereof I discoursed to you when I was in town.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 30th April 1696

However (in a hurry) I expressed myself at that time, I never intended he should remain there until some of the family or that neighbourhood should happen to come to town. I therefore now renew my desires to you to send him up by the first convenient opportunity, I mean by that only the first stage-coach you can conveniently send him up by, for I am not so foolish as to think he may not be trusted alone to come up in the stage-coach. But I beg the favour of you to direct Mr Brown to tie up his clothes and things all in one bundle; and return my hearty thanks to Sir Francis and my Lady for their great favours to him.

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Mary Clarke London May ye 5th 1696

Honoured mother,

This being ye first post since my arrival here, I thought fit to acquaint you that I came safe to town last night, and left Mr Lock behind me in ye country altogether uncertain of ye time of his return to town, but he desires to be kindly remember'd to you, and is in perfect health as well as all ye rest of yt family; I always wish yt you were so also, however my Father tells me yt you grow better and better every day, as fast as ye heat comes on, which puts me in great hopes that Mr Lock and you will meet together here this summer; last night I hear'd ye surprising news of my brother Jack's being come up to town, and put out to school, whom I have not yet seen, but do intend it as soon as possible I can,

which is all at present from, Your ever dutiful son Edw Clarke

The Act of 21 January 1696 had not only said that clipped money could only be accepted in payment of taxes until 3 May but had also provided that of the unclipped, hammered money (which was most likely to be tampered with, because it was unmilled) all the pieces having both rings and most of the letters were to be marked with a punch, after which, if they were clipped, they ceased to be legal tender. For the next six months these punched pieces, plus sixpences and gold coins, formed most of the current coin of the kingdom.

Locke to Edward Clarke Oates 6th May 1696

The questions put to me were:

1. Whether a man who had punched money which had been clipped but so little that above half the letters were left on, was under the penalty of forfeiting the money if he tendered it in payment.

2. Whether by the greatest part of the letters were meant the greatest part in numbers or greatest part of the height of each letter.

To the first of these I thought the true answer was No. To the second above half the letters in height. But my opinion, not being of authority, I would gladly have that from you which might be so to make this matter easy to those who are willing to have the law obeyed, and yet would neither lose the benefit of broad hammered money in commerce, nor yet let it go unpunched for the benefit of clippers, nor yet be exposed to the fancy or humour of a justice of peace. I would be glad of your assistance herein to help our honest neighbours, and to hear how it goes in London.

Locke to the College Oates 11 May 1696

I perfectly agree with your interpretation of the Act about punching, and could wish something were published about it for the direction and quieting of honest men's mindes about it. And if it were strengthened with the opinion of some of the judges it would be of real use, for this is the trick now made use of to continue clipped money.

Edward Clarke to Locke London 14th May 1696

If the Lords Justices, for preventing the endless disputes and controversies that doe and will arise amongst the people upon the punched money, and hindering any further dammage to the nation by a new currency of clipped money in that shape, will bee prevailed upon to issue a proclamation for quieting the minds of the people, by instructing them plainly and clearly in the intention of the law, as to that particular of punched money, I beleive it would bee of infinite good use, and therefore you may depend upon it shall bee industriously laboured to be obtained. The College have allready prevayled, by the methods they have taken, to procure an order from the Lords Justices to Mr Attorney General to prosecute all such persons as shall presume so much as to offerr or tenderr any money, (not allowed to pass by law) in any payment whatsoever.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London May ye 14th 1696

My deare,

I have spent this whole day at Ditton wth little Jenney; I thanke God found her in all appearance well and cheerefull, but shee is verie little and in my

apprehension weaker than either Jepp or Sammy was at her age; Mr Trent and Nurse both assure mee that shee sleepes well and quietly all night without drinkeing or takeing anything, and they are both in greate hopes shee will gather strength as the weather grows warmer, the breeding her teeth has been verie troublesome to her, and they beleive that to be one greate occasion of her being soe backward of her feete, and the other trouble wch Mr Trent meanes she has had are that she has often been troubled with a cough about the time that her teeth have cutt, soe they have allwayes observ'd, have much disordered and weakened her; I cannot discern that her joynts grow big but there are knobbs upon her ribbs, and she seems to fetch her breath short but her leggs and all her limbes are strait, and Nurse assures mee that shee does sett her feete better to the ground now than shee has done, and by the blessing of God doubts not but by the use of the oyntment (wch shee is now makeing fresh) and warmer weather, shee shall bee able to give you a better accott of the child in a short time; Mr Trent and Nurse both assure mee that there has not been any neglect, nor never shall bee any care or diligence wanting in them towards the child, and they both earnestly desire you to be satisfied therein and Nurse protests that shee constantly attends the child and does not trust her to others, and that what business shee has to doe about ye house her selfe, is allwayes dispatch'd before the child wakes in a morning. This is in all particulars the truest and best account I can give you, wch I have written without any reserve to the end you might have a full and true relation of all circumstances relateing to the child; I have left Sammy's coate with Nurse, wch shee sayes shee will make the best use she can of for the child; I begg of you not to afflict or torment yrselfe, that I cannot at present give you a better accott of the childs condition, and begg you to bee satisfied there shall bee nothing neglected that is to bee done for her.

On 11 May Edward had paid M de Grassemare in full of all demands £54 12 00 and on the 22 May he paid £12 14 6d to Mrs Beckford for "*half year and things*".

J Stringer to Mary Clarke May ye 26th Ivychurch

I heartily wish you would be prevailed with to come down hither and try ye change of air for some time, I'm strongly perswaided it would perfectly recover you in a very little time; the great loss of my most deare and ever honrd Lady Dowager is still so fresh in my memory yt you canot blame my passionate concern for you. Your godson is very regular and easily mannged with as much better yn he was at first in all appearance he is not so much inclined to drink but I canot prevaile with him to apply himself to his study he has got such a habit of liberty and being slothful I doubt twill be a very difficult thing for him to bring himself to it I often fear nothing but necessity will prevaile with him, he reads Plutarchs Lives and some other od things yt his fancy leads him to write a little sometimes in his President book, his father and he never communicates but yts noe new thing however I improve it as much as I can.

Another young man turned to Edward with a plea for help.

J Stringer (the son of Mr & Mrs Stringer) to Edward Clarke May 30th 1696
Sir,

I am truly under the deepest --- imaginable of your many great favors and true freindship to me upon all occasions, and am allsoe as sensible of my own

unworthiness which makes me ashamed to beg the favour of your further assistance, tho I stand in very great need of it both to advise me now and discourse my father when you see him in my behalf to prepare him that he may not be troubled nor displeased with me when he comes to pay those debts I have soe foolishly contracted. As for Doctor Bacon I agreed with him for seven pound ten shillings, three to be paid at first but I could not doe it and tho----till I am perfectly well which I am not as yett for there is some running appears yellowish, Sir if it be not too great a liberty I would intreat the favor of your opinion, whether Bath waters may not be very proper for me, for my Doctor does not approve of them but I would willingly be advised by some abler phisitian if you think it convenient Sir I beg your pardon for this trouble, and give me leave to subscribe myself, yr most obedient servant JS

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke June the 1st 1696

I received yours by the last post writt in so much haste that makes me hope the hurry you was then in is in order to dispatch your buisness so as the next letter may bring the certaine time of you coming home, which begins to be earnestly expected by most heare and when it is I desire you would do me the favor to bringe with you for me a black allamode* hood.

* allamode - thin light glossy black silk.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London June ye 2nd 1696

My deare

Yr obleiging lettr by the last post came safe to mee for wch I return you my hearty thanks but Babett had been wth mee in the morning before to receive the remaining part of her wages, which on her produceing the accompt stated by you in her hands, I paid her the remaining £9 1s 6d, and tooke her rect in full for wages and all other demandes and had noe further discourse at all wth her, only shee desiered to know where the Taunton carryer setts up in London, wch I gave her a note of, and soe shee went from me.

Mr Lock is now come to town and hath promised to goe wth mee to Ditton, either Saturday next or the beginning of the weeke following, hee gives his service to you, but I have not yet had time to discourse at all with him; (hee has been soe taken up with the greate folkes) either touching yrs, or Sammy's or Jenney's present state of health, but I shall let slip noe opportunity to doe it. The inclosed came to mee yesterday from Nanny, to bee conveyed to you, she is verie well, and soe is Ward and Jack and they all present their duty to you, their love to their brothers and sister, and their service to all their freinds, Jack is with his brother these Holydays at Mr Pawling house where Mr Lock lodges.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London June ye 13th 1696 at 9 a clock

My deare,

I heartily thanke you for yr verie kind and obleiging lettr to mee by the last post and am mightily rejoyced at the good acct you therein give mee of the late improvement in yr health, I heartily pray God for the perfect establishment of it, that I may never againe know ye want of that wch I esteem the greatest blessing and happynesses that can happen to mee in this world.

This day Mr Lock, my son Ward and I spent at Ditton, and are but just now

return' thence, wee found poore little Jenney verie lively and briske delighting to bee much upon her feet, but indeed has verie little strength to use them, the dissease has visibly effected her leggs, and made them crooked as is usuall in all cases of the ricketts, Mr Lock and I saw her undress'd and carefully examined and viewed all parts of her body, the knobbs on her ribbs are more on one syde than on the other, and indeed the dissease seemes to effect one side more then ye other of the child from head to foot, but Mr Lock verily believes and gives mee greate hops that shee will dayly recover strength and outgrow it all in time, but is much agst tampering or perplexing the child about it; I have done all I can to putt matters in such a posture there as that all things may comply with yr earnest desires of haveing the child brought down with mee at my return; as to the time when I shall gett leave from my present master the Lords Justices to come home to Chipley, I cannot yet bee certain but doe verie much feare it will not bee till the beginning of the next month, which I look to bee a greate misfortune as I am sure it is the greatest trouble and dissatisfaction to mee imaginable, but tis what in the present juncture of affayres cannot bee avoyded by any meanes possible, and therefore desire yr patience and pardon.

In answer to that part of yr last lettr wch relates to Coffee, it is commonly sold here at 12s a pound but it may bee had from ye marchant in great quantity at 10 or 11 shillings a pound, but not under at present.

I have this day sent hence by the Taunton-waggon a hamper directed to you at Chipley wch will be in Taunton Saturday next. It may verie well bee carryed home from thence on a pack saddle with panniers; in it there is 11 bottles of such anniseed water as I used to buy formerly and one bottle of double annyseed water wch had a parchmt ticket tyed on to it; one bottle of aqua mirabilis with a parchment ticket, 2 bottle of right spirit of wyne writt on ye corks; 2 bottles of the best brandy I could buy anywhere in town; the corkes notch'd and there 4 bottles of admirable good and right French brandy wth Mr Frekes seale upon it, which hee sends to you as a present from himselfe; hee is wonderfull kind and obleiging to mee upon all accotts, and gives you his hearty service as does Mr Lock who I presume will write to you sometime the next weeke. There is likewise in the hamper in a gally-pot six pounds of verie good anchovis and in a parcell of Tuexberry Mustard, a little of it scraped on a plate and vinagar put to it makes verie good mustard for present use, when ever you have occasion there is allsoe a paper booke of the topp of the hamper wch I desire John Spreate to take into his possession, to enter all his rects and disbursements in that hee receives or payes for my use, when his other booke of accts is writt wch I suppose it is verie neare by this time. The bell rings for the letters and I am Yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw: Clarke

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke Chipley June ye 17th 1696

My deare,

I receved yours and am very thankfull to you and Mr Lock for visitting poore Jenney but am heartily sorry to heare she is soe backward of her feet and soe far gone in the ricketts, I could wish now, (if it was to any purpose) that I had had her home the last summer, but I hope change of ayre now and the jumblinge of the cotch may be some thinge for her advantage and that in time she will recover agen, if that weekness of one side more then the other be not accationed by a fall or any other accident; Sammy goes very weekly still for one of his age, though he

is visibly stronger and better since Babett went away; I am cheefe nurss now my selfe and with the helpe of every one in the house in theyr turnes, I phancey the children doe better then when she was heare and had nothings to doe but look after them, for then they had a great many falls and accidents, and now they have few or none; I doe for the generallity dress and undress them all 3 my selfe and look to them all the day after, they being all the company I keepe, and devertion I take; and they all 3 lye in my chamber, I haveing to beads theare besides my owne, the 2 boys have laine theare from the very night you went hence, and Molly from the time Babett went, for when they are under the rooffe with me I love best to be wheare they are night and day, for I find then they doe best; and if they was all at home I beleve I must make my bead in the Great Hall, and have soe many little beads as I have children sett up all round about and then to lye downe in peace and quiettness in the midst of them with a prospectt of theyr all doeing well; who could be more happy then I, espeshally when I should thinke you would be pleased with the sight alsoe.

I humbly thanke you for the hamper of things you have send me out of towne and Mr Freake in a perticuler manner for his kind present and all other his great kindnesses to you and mee which I must ever acknowledge I find you have mentioned a great many things that are in the hamper but have send nothings of the Hungary water, chocolett and storgion which makes me feare it is forgott the 2 for I have a great vallew for finding a great deale of good in my extreem weekness by the Hungary water and since in the chocolett, which I really thinke now doss much increase my stomack; I will delever the booke you mentioned to John Spreat when it comes.

Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke June ye 18th 1696

If it might not be to Wards prejudish what if you did give him leave to come with you for the time you stay heare, and so go up with you agen; but I do not ask this as the request of a fond mother, purely to see him, but upon the account as I understand he is in lodgings and the time of the yeare such that most of your frends and acquaintance will be then out of town and it may be a convenience to him to be out of temtation; but I leave this and all things else wholly to your better thoughts being upon the place and knowing better than I can who will be in town and who not, that will be so much yours and his frend as to have an eye over him, and if there be any such and you think that coming down heare may make his thoughts run on the place or on an ugley lazey life, then I would be no meanes have you think of it for I am much better pleased to hear they do well abroad and like to make good and usefull men to themselves and theyr countrey and what shall ever belong to them, then to see them idle away theyr time heare to no purpose; I am glad to heare Nany and Jack doe improve; I hope theyr removall will answare my expecttation I am sure the latter part of theyr time heare did not turn to much account, as I have found by my long stay heare many other things have not, some of which I have bin able to remedy myselfe, the remainder is a worke for you to do when you come home.-I love to know my own and what I may call so, which have bin of late years I beleve allmost impossoble for me, theare being such a sort of mixture in your fields as in your gardens, that those that are wiser then I would have had a hard matter to find out which was the masters and which was the mans, which is a sort of liveing I never was used to, nor dont like; for it makes a sort of master of them and innables them to live of themselves and then those that set them up have no thanks for it, and when

they are got into such a way and they have found what advantages they can make by it, it must never be otherways in that service with content, for no remedy to be found for such a growing disease but parting.

Now I mention mony agen which is the beginning or end of all discourses, what if there was a proclamation that the King would take one quarter of 2 of his tax mony in that mony which people have by them which is not punshable I have a phancey it would take with them and please them, espeshally if we had some of Queen Elizabeths counsellors to word it in that whedling way with which she wone the hearts of the people, for this tax is to make good the deficincy of that mony which is pd to the King as well as to all others is it not; thearefore he can be no looser by inabling those people that have such mony to be ridd to it, at a better rate then to sell it for its wait and stand to the loss of all the alay; for my part I have no such mony thearefore I have no resen to propose bareing share of the loss with such as have which will then be pd by those that pay the tax; this is private thoughts of my own thearefore if you find them very silly dont expose me to Mr Freake and Mr Lock etc; the people heare abouts also say that ginneys are grone scarce to; and have a notion put into theyr heads that they pass for 6 and twenty shillings in Holland and other places abroad and they being brought to 2 and twenty heare that they are all bought up and sent away and that all the new mony is sent away to as fast as tiss made, which forces me to muster all my little arguments together to sattisfie those I meet with as well as I can and it would make you laugh to heare our discourse.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London June ye 18th? 1696

My deare

Yr obleiging lettr by the last post I have now before me, and doe find by it that yr conversation in the country is much on the same subject wth us here; the businesse of money being here, as wth you, the begining or end of all discourses whatsoever, and is the comon subject of all conversation here, but as to yr proposition of a Proclamation for the Kings takeing in a quarter or two of his tax to make good the deficiency in such clipp'd money as people have now by them that is not punchable I cannot by any meanes approve thereof because tis directly agst law, and therefore cannot possibly bee done and would not only dispencc wth all the laws made to prevent the currency of clipp'd money but certainly lett in all such mischeifes againe upon us as will bring certaine ruine and distruction to the whole nation; I shall keep yr secret and not lett Mr Lock or Mr Freke know any thing of yr proposition on this poynt; as to ye notions put into the peoples heads of ginneas passing for six and twenty shillings in Holland and other places abroad, and that they are therefore bought up and sent away from hence, you may depend upon it that those who are the authors of such reports are noe freinds to this government, it being alltogether false, and spread abroad only to amuse, discontent and disfail the people at this time; but in case it were true, I thinke tis demonstrable it would be an advantage and not a losse to England, for if the people of England could all send their ginneas into Holland, or elsewhere abroad, and exchange them for six and twenty shillings a peice and bring back the money here, it would certainly bee a greate gaine to every individuall person that should soe exchange his coin into silver and bee a mighty advantage to the whole nation, but the truth is soe much ye contrary at this time that ginneas may be bought in Holland or elsewhere abroad at £1 1s 6d each in mill'd money soe that the reports as to ginneas is as false as the other part is, that

all the new money is melted down and carryed abroad as fast as tis coyn'd, you may depend upon it there is noe truth in either wch I could easily satisfie you in, were I soe happy as to discourse with you, which is the earnest and longing desire of yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband Edw: Clarke

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke London June ye 19th

I am glad to heare the bucks are gott all into the parke againe, and I thinke the method you have taken with ye Excise-officers for finding out our mastive-dogg is the most proper that could have been thought of to bee taken, and I hope for success by it, but advise you to keepe the method you have taken as private as the nature of the thing will admitt, least the person, who ever it is that has the dogg, knocks him in ye head for feare of being discovered.

Mr King and his sister, ever since you sent up the copy of my Lady's rects for the mony laid out by her ladyship for my cosen Bluett, have been considering upon it, and last night desiered mee to meete them at Mr Nicholls his chamber in the Temple, where they both own'd that they did beleive the paper sent up by you was a true copy of the rect given by my lady, but notwithstanding had the confidence to affirme the money was not paid, and Mr King press'd verie unreasonably as well as rudely for the payment of the money; I could not but verie much admire their behavior, espetially his particular confidence in the matter, and had the grace to refuse the payment of the money over againe, espetially haveing soe good a discharge to produce for my Ladyes being paid the money in her lifetime; I presume by their carriage wee are to bee utter strangers for the future, and I am to bee rayled at by them. They are both grown so fatter that you would hardly know them, she I thinke is as bigg as my lady was. Mr Lock is come to town and gives you his service, Mr Freke allsoe gives his service to you, as I doe my true love.

Edward Clarke's account book

23 June pd into ye Exchequer in Bank Bylls and interest due on them £611 10 6d and in money £18 9s 6d being fower yeare and halfe purchase for the reversion of my annuities after the lives of Elizabeth, Ann and Edward Clarke

Mary Clarke to John Spreate July ye 15th 1696

I have sent by the bearer forty shillings and I would have bought one hundred of houssold cheese, you must not chuse altogether for the pleasantness of it, for then it will slipp away like butter against the sune, a bushell of white salt and a bushell of sand, 4 flagg broomes and 2 scrobing brushes, to naile on the blokes if it be wett and salt be deare I would have nothing bought for I must send agen before it be longe, pray dont forgett the sayle cloth if you find by seeing any such thinge whether it will be usefull or not I thinke there are not many 4d nailes or 6d nailes or bord nailes in the house which is all I can thinke of att present.

Locke to Edward Clarke London 28th July 1696

I was very glad to hear by yours of the 18th that you and your little girl got so well to Chipley and found all well there. On Sunday, about 10 in the morning, my Lord Portland arrived here and he declaring he would be glad to speak with my Lord Keeper, somebody officiously went to Powis House, but finding my Lord was gone to Church went thither after him. This calling my Lord Keeper

out of church mightily alarmed the town, and caused various reports of the business of his coming, which at last terminates in the opinion of most men to be for money, which they say is mightily wanted in Flanders.

Elizabeth (Betty) Clarke to Edward Clarke Bath August the 6th 1696

Honrd father,

I trouble you with these few words to assure you of my duty and to beg your pardon that my last letter was so ill writt but for the time to come I shall take care to writt better; pray Sir give my humble duty to my mother and be pleased to accept the same your self from Honrd father, your most dutyfull daughter
Eliz: Clarke

Mr Stringer and his lady gives there humble service to you and my mother

After less than a month in the country with his family, Edward was forced to return to London.

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke Bridgwater August ye 12th 1696

My deare,

I send this only to satisfie you, that I gott safe and well hither last night, and am now ready to take horse for Churchill.

I hope God Almighty will inable us both to beare with patience this cruell separation forced upon us by the pride and malice of the most wicked and revengefull men liveing, and I trust in Him that they will never bee permitted to injure either of us further than they have done allready by depriveing mee of the comfort and satisfaction of yr company; I pray God to comfort you under this and all other the misfortunes and crosses of this world. And I begg you soe to ordr matters (if possible) that our enemyes may not have the satisfaction of beleiving that it is in their power to disease either of us; I assure that I will take all possible care of my selfe, and begg you will doe the like, and then I doubt not but by the blessing of God, wee shall meete againe in joy to triumph over all the barbarouse designes of our malitiouse and wicked enemyes; when you send up Gabrael with ye horses for Miss Betty, pray doe not forgett to send in the little portmantua a rideing hood and safe-gard (or such like) in case of rayne or ill weather. I beseech the greate God of Heaven and Earth to protect and preserve you, and bring us speedily togather againe in peace, which will be the greatest comfort and satisfaction imaginable to yr truly affectionate and faithfull husband

Edw Clarke

Edward (Ward) Clarke to Edward Clarke London August ye 13th 1696

I went over some few dayes agoe to see my sister Nanny, whom I found in good health; she looks as well as when you left her, and presents her duty to you. I went also some few dayes agoe to visit my brother Jack, of whom I can give ye same account; he also desires to have his duty remember'd to you, the appointed time of his breaking up being now near at hand, I was willing to acquaint you of it, yt I might know whether you think fit he should come to town with me, or stay where he is, with those yt doe remain, of which he says there are several; for my part I doubt he will be more melancholy here than there, because Mr Pawlings daughters and grand daughter are gon out of town, and most of my time

will be taken up with those gentlemen yt come to me, besides Bartholomew-tide being reckoned one of ye most sickly times of year.

Locke to Mary Clarke London 13th August 1696

Madam,

Though business has kept me longer from returning my thanks to your last kind letter than I intended, and so you may perhaps blame me in your thoughts, yet you have this advantage by it that you have thereby escaped an importunity I had designed for you. And I have nothing to do now but to commend you for the course you have put yourself into under Dr Musgrave's care, instead of persuading you to do so. This was all the advice I could have given you at this distance for the swelling of the legs. To which I can only add that you should carefully follow his prescriptions. This, I think, I might have spared, because it is in itself so reasonable, but where I am so much concerned as I am for your health and perfect recovery I could not forbear saying something. I am very glad to hear your son Sam is better. I hope the little one that Mr Clarke took down with him will find the advantage of the change of air and other things. Mr Clarke enquires whether she should take the powder again which she did at Ditton, to which I answer yes, for I believe it will do her good. Your son * is very well, and presents his humble duty to you and Mr Clarke.

* Ward

Edward Clarke to Mary Clarke Sutton Court August ye 17th 1696

My deare,

I writt to you Wensday morning from Bridgwater and I bless God I can now assure you, that since that day I have had nothing of that payne in my shoulder, wch was soe severe upon mee a day or two before I was forc'd to leave you, but have been verie well ever since, except only in the payne of being driven from you altogather agst my own judgement at a time when I proposed soe much comfort and satisfaction to my selfe in the enjoyment of you and my children.

I am well assured in my own mind, there would have no danger accrew'd to mee had I continued wth you during the remainder of my stay in the countrey, but since Providence hath soe farr permitted the malice of my enemyes to prevayle as by their wicked speeches and menaces to deprive mee of you, my greatest comfort, I will endeavour to submitt wth as much patience as I can, and manage the matter soe on my part, that they shall not have the pleasure of knowing they have any wayes disturbed or diseased mee, by any of their malitiose causeless and wicked plotts and contrivances agst mee; and I doubt not but yr great wisdom and good conduct will induce you how uneasy soever our separation may bee at this time to us both to doe the like; and I doubt not, but in a little time God Almighty will bring us happily togather againe in peace and prosperity to the confusion of those who, without any just cause, seeke our ruine to the utmost of their power.

At Bridgwater I found noe clipp'd money would passe otherwise than by weight and the generality of the people there soe sencible of the cheats and abuses that has been put upon them by the shopkeepers and other in takeing such money only by weight and forcing it upon the poor again by [value?] that they generally see the clipt money cutt a sunder at the time they part with it by weight, that they may not bee cheated over and over again wth the same money

as they are now sencible they have been severall times allready, so that if this method were generally practised in all other places, wee should soon get over all the difficultyes that the enemyes to the King and Government have willfully and malitiously brought upon the nation in reforming the coyne.

From Bridgwater I went to Puriton where I spent part of that day in my affaires there and from thence arrived safe at Churchill that evening, found all my cosens there in verie good health and full of verie kind inquieryes after you and all my children. The next day I spent wholly at Sydcot and haveing put my business in the best posture I could, both in relation to the letting of the estate and secureing the rents there, I returne'd again that evening to Churchill, and on Fryday in the afternoon I came to Sutton Court, being overtooke by a storm on Mendipp, wch wett mee allmost to the skin; I found my Aunt perfectly alone, my cozen Strachey and his lady being both at Falstone, and my cosen Betty at the Bath drinkeing the waters for her health, I spent Saturday and Sunday with my Aunt but visitted her good neighbour Mr Lyde, who though in all appearance is but ye shaddow a man, yet is as violent a lover as ever, he has lately been extreame ill and is verie much altered and decayed since I saw him last. There is Mrs Stringer the apothecary's widow with ye youngest of her daughters with him, who by sickness and fits had lost the use of her tongue and her right arm, and is to be carried the next week by her mother to the Bath for cure, but her circumstances appeare to mee to be such that neither the Bath nor anything else will restore her; the whole country thereabouts rings of the scandalouse death of Mr Buckland, his widdow is turn'd home to her own relations at Wranton, both poor and miserable, the estate at Harptrey was not purchased from the King, till within a few howers before the young sparke's death, and then had it not been for the industry of Mr Yourke whose son is to marry one of Mr Buckland's daughters, it had certainly fallen into the Kings handes.

The noble generous Major of the other syde of the way has made his exit allsoe, and after all his blustering and swaggering in the countrey, is now become a poor prisoner in the Fleet-Prison in London, where he is like to spend the remainder of his dayes and many that have trusted him, tis sayd will bee utterly undone by him; his uncle who is bound for him must allsoe become a prisoner, or fly the countrey, the old gentleman is become a perfect idiott, and tis reported and beleived his grandchildren will come to the parish for a maintenance; I am sorry to give you this melancholly account of both these unhappy families, who have willfully brought their ruine upon themselves. I am just now arrived at the Bath, where I found Mr Stringer and his lady and our daughter verie well, but my cosen Betty Strachey lookes extreame ill, and I feare is consumptive.

Edward had had a high profile in Parliament over the coinage and it damaged his local position when money was short. He felt the crowd had been deliberately misled by his local rivals and Mary determined to clear his name.