

OXFORD

THE CLARENDON EDITION OF THE WORKS OF JOHN LOCKE

The Correspondence of  
John Locke

Volume IX, Supplement

Edited by Mark Goldie

THE CLARENDON EDITION OF THE  
WORKS OF JOHN LOCKE

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THE CORRESPONDENCE

## SCHEME OF VOLUMES

1. Two Tracts on Government
2. Disputations on the Law of Nature
3. An Essay Concerning Toleration and Other Writings on Law and Politics, 1667–1683
4. The Nature of Churches
- 5–6. Drafts for the Essay Concerning Human Understanding
7. Abridgements of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding and Other Philosophical Writings, 1672–1689
8. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding
- 9–10. Replies to Edward Stillingfleet
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- 12–13. Letters Concerning Toleration
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THE  
CORRESPONDENCE OF  
John Locke



*Volume Nine*

SUPPLEMENT

EDITED BY MARK GOLDIE

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Private owners, book dealers, and auction houses are often generous in allowing transcription of items for sale. When they are not, declaring, as one of them did, that 'the commercial value of the manuscript would diminish if the text were published', the scholarly editor feels keenly a tension that runs through contemporary controversy in the politics of knowledge: the right of private property versus the right of the scholarly commons. The characteristic sale price for a Locke letter in recent years has been £8,000–£10,000; in 2018 one reached £15,000.

This occasion may be taken to record that the recovery of letters from the Scottish Record Office and from the Locke MSS in the Bodleian Library which were printed by Esmond de Beer at the end of volume viii was owed respectively to the late Paul Hopkins and to J. R. Milton.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this volume are as follows. Some of the abbreviations which Esmond de Beer used in previous volumes differ from conventions in use today, and in these cases it would be misleading to persist with his: changes are indicated in square brackets. Where de Beer punctuated abbreviations, modern convention is not to do so.

- BL British Library, London [in place of B.M. (British Museum)]
- Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford [in place of B.L.]
- Bourne H. R. Fox Bourne, *The Life of John Locke*, 2 vols., 1876
- Cheves Langdon Cheves, ed., *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina*, South Carolina Historical Society, 1897; facsimile reprint, 2000
- Corr.* *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 8 vols., 1976–89
- Cranston Maurice Cranston, *John Locke*, 1957
- fo., fos. folio, folios
- HRO Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
- LL *The Library of John Locke*, eds. John Harrison and Peter Laslett, 2nd edn, 1971
- MS Locke Locke's papers in the Lovelace Collection, Bodleian Library
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 and online
- PRO Shaftesbury Papers in the National Archives [in place of S.P.]
- SHC Somerset Heritage Centre (formerly Record Office), Taunton
- TNA The National Archives, Kew, London [in place of P.R.O. (Public Record Office)]

'Clarendon Edition' refers to volumes in the Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke, published by Oxford University Press. Planned

### *Abbreviations*

to contain approximately forty volumes, this project began publication in 1975 and twenty volumes had appeared by 2021, of which de Beer's edition of the *Correspondence* comprised eight.

'Clarke Papers' refers to Edward and Mary Clarke's in the Sanford Collection in SHC.

'Karpeles Collection' refers to the Locke-Molyneux correspondence in the Karpeles Manuscript Library, Santa Barbara, California.

## CONVENTIONS

In transcribing from manuscripts de Beer silently altered texts in minor ways: ampersands were expanded (&/and, &c/etc.); superscript letters were brought in line; contractions were expanded (e.g. w<sup>ch</sup>/which, y<sup>r</sup>/your, B<sup>p</sup>/Bishop, L<sup>d</sup>/Lord, S<sup>r</sup>/Sir, Ma<sup>ty</sup>s/Majesties, Parl<sup>mt</sup>/Parliament, Ho<sup>ble</sup>/Honourable), except where modern usage still abbreviates (e.g. Mr, Dr); thorns were converted (y<sup>e</sup>/the; y<sup>t</sup>/that); and punctuation was occasionally added where there was a serious deficit. Contractions of names were retained and explained in footnotes (e.g. ‘the K’, ‘Sir W Y’). De Beer did not invariably record interlineation, minor amendments, or deletions. ⟨Angle brackets⟩ denote speculative readings or illegible or lost text, and [square brackets] denote other editorial interpolations. These conventions have been followed here. Ampersands are retained in transcriptions from printed texts.

I have retained de Beer’s practice of printing signatures at the end of letters in capitals, although this has no textual warrant. The layout of closing salutations has been standardized, by placement at the centre.

In citing modern books in footnotes, de Beer provided just the year of publication, without place of publication or publisher; I have followed suit.

I have retained de Beer’s system of numeration of letters, adding ‘A’ (or ‘B’ etc.) for newly recovered or newly collected letters, inserted in the chronological sequence at the appropriate point. De Beer himself occasionally used suffixes, when inserting a late find. Since most but not all suffixed items occur in the present volume, I have also calendared de Beer’s suffixed items in the Inventory of the present volume so that the reader may, without confusion, readily locate all suffixed items.

I have added an asterisk (e.g. 230\*) in cases where the letter is already present in de Beer’s volumes but new material or new information is now added in the present volume.

Since scholars often cite from the *Correspondence* by letter number rather than by volume and page, I have assigned numbers also to items in the Appendices (A1–14, B1–7, C1–2).

Monetary abbreviations: in the seventeenth century the pound sterling was divided into 20 shillings, and a shilling into 12 pence. These were abbreviated as *l* (or *li*), *s*, and *d* (librae, solidi, denarii). Modern equivalences for seventeenth-century monetary values are notoriously

## *Conventions*

problematic, but the Bank of England's online historical inflation index indicates that £1 in 1700 would be worth £166 in 2023.

This volume ends with indexes of names of persons and of Locke's works. A full index to all nine volumes of the *Correspondence* will appear as the tenth volume. Names of persons occurring in the present volume which lack a footnote to identify them are individuals who appear elsewhere in this volume and can be traced through the index, or whom I have not been able to identify.

In headnotes, designations such as 'Early colonial' or 'Masham Trust' to categorize letters are explained in the Introduction.

Dates follow the documents and are usually Old Style (Julian Calendar) within England, and New Style (Gregorian Calendar) for Continental letters, with dual dates given where needed. The Continent was ten days ahead of England until 1700 and eleven days thereafter. The year is taken to begin on 1 January (in Locke's time the convention was that the year began on Lady Day, 25 March). Note that the reproductions of Locke's letters in the online resource 'Electronic Enlightenment' converts all letter dates to Gregorian dates.

All website citations were extant on 30 May 2023.

# INTRODUCTION

## ESMOND DE BEER'S EDITION AND BEYOND

The eight previous volumes of *The Correspondence of John Locke* were published between 1976 and 1989, the magnificent achievement of Esmond de Beer, who devoted three decades to this project, having been commissioned by Oxford University Press in 1956. De Beer was a virtuoso of a rare sort. He never held a university post, being the beneficiary of a New Zealand chain-store fortune. Born in Dunedin in 1895, he took a degree at New College, Oxford, and settled in England after the First World War. Until after the Second World War the front door of his London home was opened by a uniformed parlourmaid. He never possessed a gramophone, radio, television, or motor car, but had eight thousand books, a Monet, and some Rembrandt drawings. Only sturdy walking holidays in Dr Johnson's Hebrides, the acquisition of rare books, and the committees of several learned societies—the Antiquaries, the Hakluyt, the Historical Association—distracted him from scholarship. In the 1930s he began work on an edition of John Evelyn's *Diary*. That took him until 1955, when it appeared in six volumes. Then he turned to Locke's *Correspondence*. Oxford University Press commissioned the project before it had committed itself to a full edition of the works of Locke. With iron determination and infinite patience, he found, collated, collected, enumerated, and transcribed, in longhand, 3,600 letters, and supplied thousands of erudite footnotes. The scholarly quality of his work is extraordinarily high. He was ninety-five when he died in 1990. Sadly, blindness intervened to prevent him completing the final, index volume, so that, ever since, access to his rich store has required tenacity on the part of his readers. De Beer left his rare book collection to the University of Otago library. Among the distinctions he accrued were honorary doctorates from the universities of Durham, Otago, and Oxford. Michael Strachan has published an affectionate account of him: *Esmond de Beer (1895–1990): Scholar and Benefactor: A Personal Memoir*, 1995. There is an entry in the *ODNB*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also D. Kerr, 'Esmond de Beer: Portrait of a Bibliophile', *The Book Collector*, 56 (2007), 329–44. Letters by de Beer, giving insights into his work on the Locke correspondence, are in Bodl., MS Eng. c. 7102.

## *Introduction*

In the three decades since de Beer's death a number of unknown Locke letters have come to light, as well as new material relating to known letters. These are presented here. The opportunity of this ninth volume has been taken also to provide the texts of a considerable number of further documents which fall under the rubric of correspondence, including epistles dedicatory and significant third-party letters. The volume concludes with a series of calendars which aim to assist researchers in navigating one of the greatest surviving bodies of correspondence in the early modern Republic of Letters. A tenth volume, the index, will follow.

The contents of the previous eight volumes are available online, by subscription, at the Electronic Enlightenment;<sup>2</sup> Oxford Scholarly Editions Online;<sup>3</sup> and Intelix Past Masters.<sup>4</sup> This volume will follow. Locke's letters are calendared in Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO),<sup>5</sup> and in John Attig's 'John Locke Resources'.<sup>6</sup>

Further unknown letters will no doubt emerge in due course. The likelihood is the greater with the steady increase in the appearance of online catalogues of manuscript collections worldwide. Some items likely to emerge in this way are 'orphaned' letters, which stand alone within miscellaneous collections: Locke's fame prompted nineteenth-century autograph hunters to buy a single item. There remain a handful of Locke letters inaccessible in private collections, which occasionally come up for auction.

### NEWLY RECOVERED, AUGMENTED, AND COLLECTED LETTERS

The main body of this volume comprises 270 entries, being newly recovered, augmented, or newly collected letters. In addition, the three appendices contain a further twenty-three documents. These are all listed in the inventory below. Something should be said about the criteria for inclusion. The most straightforward category is letters by or to Locke, previously unknown, which have emerged from various archives. Augmented letters are those calendared by de Beer but for

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.e-enlightenment.com>.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com>.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.nlx.com/collections/79>.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>. See also WEMLO, Women's Early Modern Letter Online, via the same portal.

<sup>6</sup> <http://openpublishing.psu.edu/locke>.

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which, for various reasons, it is now possible to expand, amend, or replace the texts supplied by him, or to include the texts of enclosures omitted by him. Augmented letters keep their de Beer enumeration but have an asterisk added. Newly collected letters are those which, while sometimes known to de Beer, he did not regard as properly belonging to his edition, but which I have judged should appear.<sup>7</sup>

There are various types of newly recovered, augmented, and collected letters, and the following paragraphs discuss them in greater detail. Some of these are overlapping categories. At various points the discussion prompts questions about what properly belongs under the description of 'correspondence'. The category 'letter' encompasses a diverse variety of rhetorical forms, from intimate 'familiar' letters to formal letters of petition, formulaic bureaucratic letters of instruction, or contractual letters of agreement. Ambiguities are bound to exist, especially among the literary productions of a published author, where the boundary between public and private documents is porous, and where a memorandum or a meditation or a draft paragraph for a book may elide with a 'letter'. Locke's letters sometimes constitute, or derive from, philosophical memoranda which surface elsewhere. For example, letters 684 and 687 to Damaris Masham coincide with meditations in Locke's journals; likewise, letters 328, 374, and 426, to Denis Grenville, concerning 'recreation' and 'scrupulosity'.<sup>8</sup> Many letters to Edward Clarke from the 1680s were woven into *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*; while others, to William Molyneux in the 1690s, contain drafts of passages modified in the second and subsequent editions of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Similarly, Locke's letter to Jean Le Clerc of 9 October 1694 (no. 1798), headed 'Libertie', appears to be a draft, not in fact used, for an addition to the *Essay*. Occasionally, opportunist publishers turned Locke's letters into putative essays. Three letters to Richard King were first published as if they were 'polite essays', under the titles 'Sentiments Concerning the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge' and 'Instructions for the Conduct of a Young Gentleman as to Religion and Government'. A letter to Humfry Smith appeared as 'Some Memoirs of the Life and Character

<sup>7</sup> His judgements occasionally seem eccentric. For example, he printed six of the third-party letters available in *The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke*, ed. B. Rand, 1927, but not the equally pertinent seventh.

<sup>8</sup> R. I. Aaron and J. Gibb, eds., *An Early Draft of Locke's Essay*, 1936, pp. 119–21, 123–5; MS Locke f. 3, pp. 69–79, 351–78.

## Introduction

of Dr. Edward Pococke.<sup>9</sup> A salient case of ambiguity is the category of epistles dedicatory appearing at the front of published books, which take the form of letters, but belong to a public genre, and for which generally there is no surviving manuscript. Such porosity justifies a somewhat more expansive definition of ‘correspondence’ than de Beer envisaged—though his own volumes are in fact pocked with ambiguities.<sup>10</sup> While de Beer’s boundaries have here been modestly extended, I have nonetheless kept in mind the overarching distinction that an edition of ‘correspondence’ is not the same as a ‘documentary life’. This criterion has been especially important in selecting third-party letters for inclusion.

### (i) *Newly found letters to and from Locke*

The most straightforward category is previously unknown letters by or to Locke that have come to light since de Beer finished his work. In most cases manuscripts have emerged from archives, found by a number of scholars; in a few instances the sources are auction catalogues or printed books. Strictly, a few of these were probably known to de Beer but he decided not to regard them as belonging to the corpus. A total of ninety items in this volume are by or to Locke. Many of these fall into a number of distinct groups, which are separately considered below.

The archive most fruitful for new material is the Somerset Heritage Centre (formerly Record Office) at Taunton. Locke’s intimate friend and principal voice in the House of Commons, Edward Clarke, left behind an immense body of political, family, and estate papers, now part of the Sanford Collection. The material has been recatalogued in recent years with the aid of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant, and a listing is available online.<sup>11</sup> The collection provides primary material for, inter alia, the study of local party politics, Somerset gentry society, estate stewardship, and child-rearing practices.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the most serendipitous

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 2846, 3321, 3328, 3339. All these appeared in *The Remains of John Locke*, 1714.

<sup>10</sup> Among items which de Beer included which are dubiously ‘letters’ are: nos. 1 (an oration), 185 (a skit), 277 (notes on Lapland), 428 (notes on a proof copy of Toinard), 523 (accounts), 751–2 (poems), 772 (a cipher code), 1024A (observations on Locke’s *Abrégé*), 2452 (memorandum on colonization), 2797 (memorandum concerning tenants). In the conspectus of the correspondence below there is a list of all documents which are not purely epistolary.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/SF>.

<sup>12</sup> The History of Parliament volumes made extensive use of the collection: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>. For other aspects, see P. Flower-Smith, ‘Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border, 1660–1715’ (PhD thesis, Exeter University, 1996); B. Clarke, ‘John Spreat, Steward at Chipley, Somerset, 1689–1720s’, *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*,

## Introduction

find printed here is a Locke letter which I found loose and folded several times, still serving as a bookmark in a Clarke account book three centuries after it was placed there.<sup>13</sup> Whereas de Beer printed just two letters from the Sanford papers,<sup>14</sup> the present volume includes thirty further letters, of which nine are letters by or to Locke (or with his postscript),<sup>15</sup> while the others are third-party letters having close bearing on Locke.<sup>16</sup> In a couple of cases they are ‘mirror images’ of previously known Locke letters, which is to say, Locke wrote two versions of the same letter, to different recipients.<sup>17</sup> Besides letters, the Clarke papers have also recently yielded draft parliamentary legislation concerning the regulation of elections, with annotations by Locke, and a draft of Locke’s memorandum of 1690 concerning allegiance.<sup>18</sup>

Second in number of finds after the Clarke papers are two collections in the Hampshire Record Office at Winchester, the Heathcote and Malmesbury papers, recovered by J. R. Milton and myself.<sup>19</sup> The material includes the longest letter printed here, and possibly the longest in all of Locke’s *Correspondence*, a 7,300-word disquisition by Samuel Heathcote, early in 1696, providing Locke with a public policy agenda for his impending membership of the newly formed Board of Trade and Plantations.<sup>20</sup> The Heathcote of Hursley papers are those of Samuel

148 (2005), 41–51; *idem*, ‘The Marriage of John Locke’s “Wife”, Elizabeth Clarke’, *Locke Newsletter*, 22 (1991), 93–114; *idem*, ‘Huguenot Tutors and the Family of Edward and Mary Clarke of Chipley, 1687–1710’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 27 (2001), 527–42; S. H. Mendelson, ‘Child Rearing in Theory and Practice: The Letters of John Locke and Mary Clarke’, *Women’s History Review*, 19 (2010), 231–43; A. Benzaquen, ‘Locke’s Children’, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 4 (2011), 382–402. Additional references to Locke are collected in M. Goldie, ‘John Locke in the Clarke Papers’ (forthcoming). For Clarke letters online see below p. I, n. 175.

<sup>13</sup> No. 1818A. Now conserved and filed separately.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 1490, 1879.

<sup>15</sup> Nos. 803A, 852A, 1417A, 1481B, 1756A, 1818A, 1861A, 2028A, 2855A. In addition, 2151\* has an enclosure recovered from SHC. Sadly, in a couple of cases the Heritage Centre has been overzealous in conservation of Locke’s letters using gauze, and their texts are now virtually irrecoverable, so that my own transcriptions, made prior to conservation, must stand as the versions of record.

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 763A, 930A, 1310A, 1324A, 1353B, 1470A, 1488A, 1683A, 1721A, 1735B, 1949A, 1956A, 1962A, 2017A, 2081A, 2102A, 2134A, 2137A, 2291A, 2733A, 3649. Philip Abrams’s Cambridge PhD thesis of 1961 (‘John Locke as a Conservative’) claimed that there were two unnoticed letters of Locke to Edward Clarke in the Wharton Collection in the SHC. A search by Priscilla Flower-Smith found none.

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 1962A, 2017A.

<sup>18</sup> M. Knights, ‘John Locke and Post-Revolutionary Politics: Electoral Reform and the Franchise’, *Past and Present*, 213 (2011), 41–86; M. Goldie, ‘John Locke on the Glorious Revolution: A New Document’, *History of Political Thought*, 42 (2021), 74–97.

<sup>19</sup> Nos. 304A, 860A, 1171A, 1981A, 1984A, 1996A, 2289A, 2333A, 2333B; and a third-party letter, 848A.

<sup>20</sup> No. 1996A.

## Introduction

Heathcote and his descendants. The Malmesbury papers are chiefly those of James Harris (1709–80), philosopher, man of letters, and musical patron (whose son became first earl of Malmesbury); he was a grandson of Anthony Ashley Cooper, second earl of Shaftesbury, and an intimate of the fourth earl.

The newly found letters to and from Locke, including all categories, such as dedicatory epistles in published books and routine administrative letters, yield several people not previously recorded as being among Locke's correspondents: Élie Bouhériau (523A), Edmund Calamy (3600A), Sir Robert Clayton (2138A), John Dunton (3503A), John Evelyn (279A), Richard Gardiner (161A), Francis Gwyn (279B), Griffith Jones (280C), Nathaniel Lye (272A), Stephen Nye (1960A), Edward Osborne (280D), Thomas Osborne, earl of Danby (280A), John Read (174A), William Samuëll (297A), Hendrik Schelte (2650B), and, technically at least, King William III (1209A, 1251B). This list is in part artificial, given that, for example, a petition to the Crown was scarcely likely to have reached the king's eyes, while Dunton's epistle dedicatory to Locke in a printed book was merely a commercial marketing exercise, though it is revealing of the polemical settings within which Locke's reputation was deployed.

### (ii) *Letters printed by de Beer and now augmented*

These comprise three sorts: (a) letters for which the original (or an alternative) manuscript has now been found;<sup>21</sup> (b) additional text omitted by de Beer;<sup>22</sup> (c) enclosures to letters which de Beer elected not to print (or was unable to locate) and which it is now judged should be printed;<sup>23</sup> (d) new biographical identifications or elucidations of the identity of correspondents.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Nos. 245\*, 355\*, 399\*, 405\*, 415\*, 1437\*, 1604\*, 1775\*, 2473\*, 2504\*, 2523\*, 2590\*, 2724A\*, 3088A\*, 3234\*, 3278\*, 3565\*, 3608\*, 3619\* (not including the Karpeles Collection). In a couple of cases the new source is from print rather than manuscript.

<sup>22</sup> Nos. 230\*, 231\*, 250\*, 291\*.

<sup>23</sup> Nos. 98\*, 155\*, 254\*, 1115\*, 1338\*, 1543\*, 2021\*, 2026\*, 2123\*, 2151\*, 2170\*, 2207\*, 2336\*, 2655\*, 2677\*, 2784\*.

<sup>24</sup> Nos. 169\* (Benjamin Woodroffe), 290A (Richard Lilburne), 307\* (Thomas Stringer), 677\* (Masham children), 682\* (Clarke children), 904\* (William Broadnax), 1906\* (Stephen Nye), 1950\* (Mary Burges), 1993\* (Samuel Heathcote), 2026\* (Peter Mauvillain), 2284\* (René de La Treille), 2588\* (Alexander Cunningham).

## Introduction

Of the first sort, much the largest cache is the Karpeles Collection of Molyneux letters, discussed separately below. All other instances of newly recovered original manuscripts (where de Beer was forced to use a later or less reliable source) are recorded in this volume, but new transcriptions are only provided where there is additional recoverable text or significant amendments to existing text.

Regarding enclosures, two points are worth noting. The first is that de Beer had certain blind spots. He tended to regard Locke's conduct of public, particularly political or administrative business as less pertinent, presumably on the basis of an assumption about the primacy of Locke's personal and intellectual life. The second is that the organization and cataloguing of Locke's papers at the Bodleian Library in the 1950s was ruthlessly modernist, in a manner that present-day cataloguers would avoid. That is to say, taxonomic logic prevailed over respect for contiguity. This meant that correspondence often became separated from memoranda enclosed with it, as belonging to different categories of document. For example, there are items now bound in among the colonial and trade papers in MS Locke c. 30 which were received by Locke as enclosures with letters that occur in the correspondence volumes (MS Locke c. 3–24), and which need restoring to their contexts.<sup>25</sup>

Letters for which the archival location is now different from that recorded by de Beer, but for which there is no other augmentation, are noted in the Calendar of Repositories.<sup>26</sup>

In a handful of cases, 'augmentation' means that images of letters are now available for viewing online. The fact is recorded in the main body of this book or in the Calendar of Repositories.<sup>27</sup>

### (iii) *Recovered manuscripts of Molyneux letters: the Karpeles Collection*

Locke's correspondence with William Molyneux is arguably the most important philosophical exchange in the whole of the correspondence. The letters were published soon after Locke's death in *Some Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and Several of His Friends* (1708), an edition

<sup>25</sup> One instance spotted by de Beer occurs at no. 2452: the enclosure at MS c. 30, fos. 127–8 belongs with the letter at MS c. 20, fos. 157–8. At no. 2533 the enclosure is at MS c. 11. Other documents are reunited in the present volume.

<sup>26</sup> Letters, the archival locations of which are now different from those recorded by de Beer, are nos. 353, 399, 405, 428, 542, 590A, 628, 652, 1060A, 1267, 1749, 1754, 1775, 1898, 1953, 2093, 2456, 2473, 2539, 2590, 2717, 2724A, 3009, 3088A, 3234, 3278, 3465, 3498, 3565, 3608, 3619; together with the Pforzheimer Library and Karpeles collections.

<sup>27</sup> Nos. 1209A, 2501\*, 2548A, 2640, 3590A, 3608\*; and a third-party letter: no. 2596A.

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brought to press by Locke's publisher Awnsham Churchill.<sup>28</sup> It was incorporated into Locke's *Works* from the first edition of 1714. It included sixty-seven letters between Locke and Molyneux, plus twelve between Locke and Molyneux's brother Thomas, and five between Locke and their friend Ezekiel Burridge. The originals of most of the Molyneuxs' side of the correspondence were acquired by the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library of New York (and since 1987 have been in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Austin, Texas), and these were transcribed by de Beer from that source. From these originals it was evident, as de Beer noted (*Corr.*, iv, p. viii, and in individual headnotes), that the editor of *Some Familiar Letters* had adjusted the texts, for example by amending punctuation and orthography, and, more significantly, by omitting some passages. With the originals available, de Beer was able to restore the missing passages.

The originals of Locke's side of the correspondence were, however, thought to be lost, and for these de Beer had to rely on the 1708 printed edition. (There were a couple of exceptions to this, where transcriptions from the originals had been made in the nineteenth century.) However, it has emerged that most of the originals have survived. Until 1985 they were in the possession of Henry Engleheart of Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk. They were then sold to a dealer, W. Thomas Taylor of Austin, Texas, who in turn sold them to the Karpeles Manuscript Library of Santa Barbara, California. The Karpeles Library, founded by David Karpeles in 1983, displays its holdings in several cities throughout the United States and is 'dedicated to the preservation of the original writings of the great authors, scientists, philosophers, statesmen, sovereigns and leaders from all the periods of world history'. It declares itself to be 'the world's largest private holding of important original manuscripts and documents'. The library's website captures an orthodox view of Locke in American public discourse: he was the 'initiator of the age of enlightenment and reason and an inspirer of the Constitution.'<sup>29</sup>

The Karpeles Locke collection initially comprised thirty-three letters: twenty-eight of the twenty-nine written to William Molyneux,<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Correspondence concerning this publication is printed in K. T. Hoppen, ed., *Papers of the Dublin Philosophical Society, 1683–1709*, 2 vols., 2008, ii, 739–43, 846–50.

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.karpeles.com>. The discovery of the originals was reported in M. Goldie, 'Locke, Charity, and the Rod', *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 5127 (6 July 2001).

<sup>30</sup> Nos. 1515, 1538, 1583, 1592, 1620, 1643, 1655, 1693, 1744, 1753, 1781, 1817, 1857, 1887, 1921, 1965, 1966, 2059, 2115, 2129, 2202, 2254, 2277, 2310, 2376, 2414, 2471, 2492. The missing item is no. 2243, for which there is no extant manuscript.

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together with four out of five to Thomas Molyneux,<sup>31</sup> and one to Ezekiel Burridge.<sup>32</sup> While David Karpeles generously supplied me with photocopies of all these, the letters, with one exception, are not normally available to view, nor is there a published catalogue. The exception is no. 1887, which contains amendments for a new edition of the *Essay*, for which an image was hitherto available online.<sup>33</sup> In 2018 the Karpeles Library sold one item in its collection,<sup>34</sup> which may be indicative of an intention to make further sales. The likely consequence would be the breaking up of the collection.

Examination of the originals demonstrates two points: first, in reproducing the material which he did print, the editor of *Some Familiar Letters* was generally remarkably faithful to Locke's text; but, second, he omitted a number of passages, as could be predicted from his treatment of the Molyneux side of the correspondence. The accuracy of the printed text of 1708 is such that a full retranscription is not justified here, particularly as it would be some eighty pages in length. The only general editorial changes made in 1708 were the insertion of additional punctuation, occasional modernizing of spellings (for instance, 'publique' becomes 'publick', 'schollers' becomes 'scholars'), a handful of corrections of obvious slips of the pen, the ignoring of deleted words (practically always so thoroughly scored through as to be irrecoverable), and the expansion of contractions (a practice followed by de Beer in any case). However, it may be worth providing one illustration of the differences between the manuscript text and the version in *Some Familiar Letters*. Here is the opening paragraph of no. 1643, followed by the transcription in *Some Familiar Letters* (as rendered by de Beer). It is a useful reminder that editorial practice is not (usually) intended to provide quasi-facsimiles of original manuscripts.

I had not been soe long before I had acknowledgd the favour of y<sup>r</sup> last had not I had a designe to give y<sup>m</sup> at large an account of some alterations I intended to make in the chapter of power wherein I should have been very glad y<sup>m</sup> had shewn me any mistake. I my self not being very well satisfied by the conclusion I was lead to, that my reasonings were perfectly right, reviewd that chapter ag<sup>n</sup> with great care & by observing only the mistake of one word (viz having put things for actions w<sup>ch</sup> was very easy to be done in the place where it is viz p. 123 as I remember for I have not my book by me here in town) I got into a new

<sup>31</sup> Nos. 1556, 1593, 2500, 2539. The missing item is no. 800, which belongs to another private owner.

<sup>32</sup> No. 2501.

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.karpeles.com/johnlocke.php>.

<sup>34</sup> No. 2501. Auctioned by Bonham's, 12 June 2018, lot 25; price achieved £15,686.

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view of things, w<sup>ch</sup> if I mistake not will satisfie y<sup>u</sup>, & give a clearer account of humane freedom than hitherto I have done, as y<sup>u</sup> will perceive by these summaries of the following §<sup>s</sup> of y<sup>t</sup> chapter

I had not been so long before I had acknowledg'd the favour of your last, had not I a design to give you at large an account of some alterations I intended to make in the chapter of Power, wherein I should have been very glad you had shewn me any mistake. I myself, not being very well satisfied, by the conclusion I was lead to, that my reasonings were perfectly right, review'd that chapter again with great care, and by observing only the mistake of one word (viz. having put things for actions, which was very easy to be done in the place where it is, viz. p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my book by me here in town) I got into a new view of things, which, if I mistake not, will satisfie you, and give a clearer account of humane freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by these summaries of the following sections of that chapter:

The fidelity to the originals by the editor of *Some Familiar Letters* is worth underscoring in light of the discovery of the extent to which some contemporary editors, notably John Toland, played fast and loose with manuscripts, notably in his edition of Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698).<sup>35</sup>

The present volume contains entries for all thirty-three of the newly recovered letters. The purpose is to supply omissions in the 1708 and de Beer versions. These are of two sorts, paratextual and substantive. As to the first, postscripts were often omitted, as were all of the recipients' endorsements (summarizing the letter's content), and the addresses. In the entries below, not every paratextual item is reproduced. Addresses are not generally given (because almost always 'For William Molyneux Esq. near Ormonds gate in Dublin'); nor is the standard opening phrase of Molyneux's endorsements ('Mr. Locke. Oates', followed by the letter's date): only unusual matter is recorded. I have recorded a handful of orthographic changes occurring in the body of the texts where they might be significant. The recording of the endorsements is useful because the epistolary practice of summarizing the content of an incoming letter indicates the receiver's sense of the letter's priorities. (Since the letters are available in the de Beer volumes, I have not provided footnotes to explicate topics in the endorsements.)

The substantive omissions in the 1708 edition cover four topics: Locke's pursuit of John Hawkshaw for a sum of money; his encouragement of a penfriendship between young Frank Masham and Molyneux's young son Sam; the character of a prospective tutor called Tanneguy

<sup>35</sup> Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch Tower*, ed. A. B. Worden, 1978, Introduction.

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Le Fèvre; and details of arrangements to secure paintings of Molyneux and himself from Sir Godfrey Kneller. The first, third, and fourth sets of omissions evidently stemmed from avoidance of giving offence to living persons, while the second topic was doubtless considered too trivial—or perhaps too immodest, since the same Samuel Molyneux was instrumental in bringing *Some Familiar Letters* to press. None of these missing passages is of paramount importance, though they do cast light on Locke's (and Damaris Masham's) attitude to child-rearing, his pursuit of small sums of money (and his sense of the relationship between charitable gift and debt), his frank way with character references, and the working practices of Kneller. In the case of no. 2492, the missing passage on Kneller constitutes half the length of the letter.

As well as omitting some material passages, the 1708 edition also made one other deviation from the manuscripts: the occasional omission of proper names in the midst of sentences. De Beer conjecturally supplied these gaps in his footnotes, accurately as it turns out. When Molyneux's son Samuel received a sample proof sheet from Awnsham Churchill, he was dismayed to find too many names left in. 'The familiarity of a private letter often makes mention of persons names, which one would be loath should come abroad into public view.' Churchill replied that Locke's friends had looked over the letters before they went to press 'and they assured me care should be taken not to mention any names that were not proper'.<sup>36</sup> The friends of Locke here mentioned were probably Peter King and Anthony Collins.

A few other features of the manuscript originals, not recorded in the entries below, are worth noting. The substantive omitted passages are marked up for omission. The letters are generally signed 'J. Locke' rather than the 'John Locke' of the printed version. On several occasions Locke's protestations of his unalloyed pursuit of truth are perhaps accented by the fact that he writes the word 'Truth' with an initial capital, where the printed version uses lower case—for instance, 'a lover of Truth', twice in no. 1538. Locke writes 'god' in lower case, which becomes 'God' in the printed version. The printed version occasionally

<sup>36</sup> Southampton City Archives: MSD/M 1/2: Samuel Molyneux Letterbook: 5 August 1708 and 19 August 1708. Published in Hoppen, ed., *Dublin Philosophical Society*, ii. 846–7, 850. Samuel Molyneux expressed regret that *Some Familiar Letters* was not printed in folio 'with a new edition of all his works in 2 vols., as Mr Freak proposed'. Churchill replied that he printed them in octavo to match Locke's existing published works, so that 'gentlemen who had Mr Lock's other pieces might make them complete'; but he still hoped to produce the *Works* in folio (pp. 847, 850). The *Works* appeared in 1714.

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italicizes words and phrases which are not underlined in the manuscripts, but there are no cases where these supply emphasis, for they are instances of chapter or book titles, or quotations, or Latin phrases.

### (iv) *Letters calendared but not printed by de Beer*

De Beer allotted numbered entries to twenty items the texts of which he was unable to print or chose not to print, variously, because they were unavailable; or are (or will be) included elsewhere in the Clarendon Edition; or he deemed the content too tangential; or they survive in too scrappy a state; or because they are probable 'ghosts'. Of the first sort, one item is now available and another partially so and printed here;<sup>37</sup> of the second sort, four are now printed here;<sup>38</sup> and of the third sort, five items are printed here.<sup>39</sup>

The remaining ten letters (i.e. calendared by de Beer but printed neither by him nor in the present volume) are as follows. Nos. 280 and 288 are addressed to Locke purely in his role as secretary of the Council of Trade and Plantations. Nos. 786 and 846 derive from Benjamin Rand's edition of the correspondence of Locke and Edward Clarke and were stated by Rand to be too damaged and illegible to reproduce: they are, therefore, lost letters. No. 2177 also records a lost letter. No. 590A is in the Lovelace Collection but too fragmentary to attempt to reproduce. No. 1346 was recorded by Thomas Forster also as a fragment. The remaining three items are definite or probable 'ghosts'.<sup>40</sup>

### (v) *Epistles dedicatory*

De Beer did not include as correspondence the dedicatory epistles which Locke prefaced to some of his published works (or works intended for publication) or those which were addressed to him in books written by his admirers. Whether these should have been included is debatable. Perhaps they are a genre distinct from truly personal letters. Yet recent editions of Erasmus', Richard Baxter's, and Robert Boyle's correspondence do include such epistles.<sup>41</sup> The case for doing so is that the boundary between private and public epistolary

<sup>37</sup> No. 245\*, 2504\*.

<sup>38</sup> No. 108\*, 687\*, 791\*, 804\*.

<sup>39</sup> Nos. 165\*, 169\*, 281\*, 2123\*, 2183\*.

<sup>40</sup> Nos. 962, 2488, 3611. For ghosts, see below p. xxxviii.

<sup>41</sup> For strictures against their inclusion, see *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. N. Malcolm, 2 vols., 1994, Introduction, i. xlv.

writing was not precise. Equally, there was no exact boundary between print and manuscript ‘publication’, since until at least the end of the seventeenth century the practice of manuscript ‘publication’—the deliberate circulation of manuscript texts—remained commonplace.<sup>42</sup> A printed letter might be interspersed with unprinted letters in an epistolary exchange. Some of the printed dedicatory epistles by Locke, and to him, sit coherently within the conversational sequence of his private correspondence; and in other cases they were the cause of Locke striking up a correspondence with a person hitherto unknown to him. Instances of the latter are William Molyneux and Catharine Trotter (later Cockburn).<sup>43</sup> The present volume includes entries for all known dedicatory epistles. Although some of these texts are readily available elsewhere—most notably the dedication to the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*—they are printed here in order to collect together all instances of this genre. This will enable them to be approached not only for their relevance to the books to which they pertain, but also as instances of an important early modern literary genre, revealing of the rhetoric and dynamics of authorship, print publication, literary patronage, and controversial polemic.<sup>44</sup>

Of the twenty-one dedications included here, thirteen are by Locke<sup>45</sup> and eight to Locke.<sup>46</sup> General prefatory addresses by Locke ‘To the Reader’, where no particular person is specified, are omitted (except for his dedication to the readers of Robert Boyle, 1692). Also omitted, of course, are treatises which take the generic form of a ‘Letter’, such as Locke’s *Letters to the Bishop of Worcester*.<sup>47</sup> Also excluded are Locke’s

<sup>42</sup> M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*, 1999; H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 1993.

<sup>43</sup> Respectively, nos. 1284A, 3059A. To these may be added Samuel Bold: see 2207A.

<sup>44</sup> One edition of a book by Locke, published during his lifetime, contains a further, third-party dedication, not included in the present volume: ‘A Mademoiselle Anne Wolfgang, Femme de Mr. Philippe de la Fontaine’, addressed to ‘Mademoiselle ma Cousine’, and signed ‘Antoine Schelte’, in *De L’Education des Enfans* (Amsterdam, 1695). The book was Pierre Coste’s translation of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*; Schelte was the publisher.

<sup>45</sup> Nos. 108\* (for Gabriel Towerson?), 230A (Lord Ashley?), 239A (Ashley?), 523B (countess of Shaftesbury), 527A (Shaftesbury), 811A, 818A, and 853A (Nicolas Toinard), 1001A (earl of Pembroke), 1131B (Philipp van Limborch?), 1141A (Pembroke), 1428A (John Somers?), 1503A (Readers of Robert Boyle), 1611A (Edward Clarke), 1975A (Somers).

<sup>46</sup> Nos. 773A (by Robert Boyle), 1284A (William Molyneux), 1481A (Jean Le Clerc), 1735A (Richard Burthogge), 1878A (John Wynne), 1960A (Stephen Nye?), 3059A (Catharine Trotter), 3503A (John Duntton). This is two more than itemized in J. S. Yolton, *John Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1998, pp. xiv–v.

<sup>47</sup> There are several tracts in the literary form of letters to Locke, e.g. *A Review of the Universal Remedy for all Diseases Incident to Coin... in a Letter to Mr. Locke* (1696); and Richard Burthogge, *Of the Soul of the World... In a Letter to Mr Locke* (1699).

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congratulatory poems, which are, in a formal sense, 'dedicated' to those whom they celebrate.<sup>48</sup>

### (vi) *Letters of recommendation, dispensation, and petition*

Included here are four instances where Locke received, or was the beneficiary of, letters of recommendation: testimonials of character or licences for dispensation from university statutory requirements.<sup>49</sup> In addition, Locke wrote four letters of petition to the Crown, or to Crown officials, seeking redress or reimbursement.<sup>50</sup> There is one other letter of introduction for Locke.<sup>51</sup>

### (vii) *Translations of Dutch letters*

Locke's correspondence includes some 415 letters written wholly or partly in French and 240 in Latin; there are five in Dutch and one in Greek. De Beer provided translations of the Latin and Greek letters, and of one of the Dutch letters.<sup>52</sup> Few readers of the *Correspondence* will be able to read Dutch, and accordingly translations of the remaining Dutch letters are printed in the present volume.<sup>53</sup> Many modern readers in the Anglophone world will not be able to read French either. However, translations of the French letters would be a major undertaking and would fill several hundred pages, and are not feasible here.

### (viii) *Early colonial letters*

There are two bodies of letters relating to America and wider colonial and commercial matters, some of which are ambiguous in respect of Locke's authorial role. The first belong to the early, 'Carolina' period, and the second to the Board of Trade period.

During the years 1668–73, as the earl of Shaftesbury's client, Locke was secretary to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and, in 1673–4, to

<sup>48</sup> Oliver Cromwell, 1654; Charles II, 1660; Queen Catherine of Braganza, 1662; Thomas Sydenham, 1668; and perhaps John Greenhill, undated. See Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. M. Goldie, 1997, pp. 201–4, 209–11; Locke, *Literary and Historical Writings*, ed. J. R. Milton, 2019, pp. 189–99.

<sup>49</sup> Nos. 161A, 211A, 211B, 249A.

<sup>50</sup> Nos. 1209A, 1251B, 1688A, 1951A. Hobbes's letter of petition to Charles II is included in Hobbes, *Correspondence*, no. 210.

<sup>51</sup> No. 783A.

<sup>52</sup> De Beer wrote: 'I told my Latinist for Locke that I wanted the translations to be literal, accurate, and readable: the three requirements are incompatible, but the results are good.' De Beer to Michael Strachan, 13 Dec. 1964: Bodl., MS Eng. c. 7102, fo. 71.

<sup>53</sup> Nos. 1095\*, 1160\*, 1162\*, 1261\*. De Beer provided a translation of no. 1024.

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the king's Council of Trade and Plantations. A number of letters exist in his handwriting, but for which his role was that of amanuensis for his masters. His active agency in the composition of some of them cannot be ruled out, particularly given his involvement in the drafting of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669).<sup>54</sup> In her book on Locke and America, Barbara Arneil sometimes invokes such letters as indicative of Locke's positions; for example, one to Richard Kingdon, 16 May 1672, which records decisions of the Lords Proprietors, and which de Beer did not include, although he knew of its existence.<sup>55</sup> Most of these letters are available in print in a volume edited by Langdon Cheves,<sup>56</sup> and several are summarized in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and West Indies*. Of the papers in the Cheves volume, the following may be noted: four letters included by de Beer;<sup>57</sup> five further letters that are in Locke's hand, the two most significant of which are included in the present volume;<sup>58</sup> and several sets of summaries by Locke of incoming letters, of which the most interesting records truculent colonists appealing to parliamentary right against proprietary government.<sup>59</sup> In addition to letters, the Cheves volume contains other types of documents concerning Locke.<sup>60</sup>

Among the augmented letters printed here is Locke's important memorandum on 'Writers of Carolina', appended to a letter to Sir Peter Colleton. It is in fact a list of numerous writers on America generally, and of voyages to America.<sup>61</sup> Also important is Locke's letter to Lord Arlington, on behalf of the Council of Trade, calendared but not printed by de Beer, concerning Barbados.<sup>62</sup> Significant too is a letter, dating from 1673, which has Locke's signature in the margin, and which he probably drafted, containing the Council of Trade's advice on the recapture of New York from the Dutch.<sup>63</sup>

Among Locke's own papers there is a copy of a letter from Abraham Wood in Carolina to John Richards, treasurer and agent for the

<sup>54</sup> See Locke, *Colonial Writings*, ed. D. Armitage (forthcoming).

<sup>55</sup> B. Arneil, *John Locke and America*, 1996, pp. 129–30.

<sup>56</sup> L. Cheves, ed., *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina*, 1897, repr. 2000.

<sup>57</sup> Nos. 254, 262, 270, 272.

<sup>58</sup> Nos. 253A, 296A. The others are in Cheves, pp. 317–18, 371–2, 375–6. No. 290A is also in Locke's hand, but not printed in Cheves.

<sup>59</sup> Cheves, pp. 290–8.  
<sup>60</sup> e.g. Temporary Laws of Carolina (p. 325; cf. p. 367); and documents concerning the award of a landgravate to Locke, James Carteret, and Sir John Yeomans (pp. 314, 323, 475).

<sup>61</sup> No. 254\*.  
<sup>62</sup> No. 281\*. For a further augmented early colonial letter, see no. 291\*.

<sup>63</sup> No. 280B. It will be included in Locke, *Colonial Writings*. The remaining four early colonial letters in the present volume are more routine: nos. 278A, 279A, 280A, 317A.

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Proprietors in London, 22 August 1674, concerning discoveries in Carolina. It is not printed here.<sup>64</sup>

Locke continued to take a close interest in Carolina in later years, revising the *Constitutions*, a document he never repudiated.<sup>65</sup> Among Locke's trade and economy papers are notes in his hand, endorsed 'Carolina: Extract out of John Stewarts letters 90'. These notes continue the tradition of promotional laudation of Carolina's fecund potentialities and attractiveness to settlers, in which Locke and others had engaged for some years. They extol the climate, soil, rivers, and commodities—especially silk, rice, and cotton. I cannot trace Locke's source, but there are substantial similarities between these notes and letters written in 1690 by John Stewart, a Scot in Carolina who experimented in agriculture and extolled the colony's advantages.<sup>66</sup>

### (ix) Board of Trade letters

Locke was a founder member, for four years, between May 1696 and June 1700, of King William III's Commission for Trade and Plantations—usually known by the name it soon acquired, the Board of Trade. In this capacity, he co-signed around two hundred documents. Most of these were either Representations (policy recommendations addressed to the king or, in his absence, the Lords Justices); or formal letters of instructions or enquiry, directed to colonial or other officials, either on the Board's own authority or in execution of Orders in Council. A few of the two hundred are more informal internal administrative letters. A quorum of five members was needed for signature of these documents. This is not the place to discuss evidence for Locke's personal influence on this body or the (if we may so call it) ontological question of the nature of Locke's 'authorship' of a co-signed document. Suffice to say, it would be both contentious and impractical, given their bulk, to include such documents here. A further impediment is the difficulty of identifying them all. While those relating to America are summarized in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, the Board's documentation relating to other areas of its remit (international and domestic trade in general,

<sup>64</sup> MS Locke c. 30, fos. 12–17. It is summarized from another source (PRO 30/24/48/94) in Cheves, pp. 452–3.

<sup>65</sup> D. Armitage, 'John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*', *Political Theory*, 32 (2004), 602–27.

<sup>66</sup> MS Locke c. 30, fos. 31–2; 'Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop', *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 32 (1931), 1–33, 81–114.

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the Irish economy, and reform of the Poor Law) has laboriously to be extracted, via its minute books, from the eighty volumes of papers for the period of Locke's tenure held in the National Archives at Kew. Copies of American documents, particularly those sent as circulars to governors of the colonies, crop up quite frequently in American archives, and are sometimes reported as Locke letters.<sup>67</sup> It is my intention, in a future project, to calendar all, and print some verbatim, of Locke's Board of Trade letters, since they are fundamental to understanding his role in governing America and in guiding England's international and domestic economic policy.

However, some of the more personal Board of Trade material rightly surfaces in this *Correspondence*. De Beer included many letters which incidentally discuss Board business, particularly the Clarke/Freke and Molyneux series, but also some items that arose specifically from investigations which Locke made relating to Board business. Several more of this sort have come to light and are included here. They concern, for example, commercial arbitration and textile manufacture.<sup>68</sup> The existence of such letters is occasionally signalled in the Minutes of the Board, such as that 'Mr Locke delivered to the Board a letter from Sir R. Clayton to himself concerning lustrings.'<sup>69</sup> A particularly important body of new letters is those found among the papers of Samuel Heathcote in the Hampshire Record Office. These include the immensely long letter, mentioned above, providing Locke with an agenda for his impending membership of the Board.<sup>70</sup> One item is a fragment of a letter to Locke.<sup>71</sup> The several remaining Board of Trade letters printed here include third-party letters which bear closely on Locke.<sup>72</sup>

### (x) *Commissioner of Appeals in Excise letters*

Locke held a minor public office as one of the five Commissioners of Appeals in Excise, from 1689 until his death. Like the Board of Trade letters, most of the letters in this capacity which bear his name are co-signed, and letters to him are addressed to the Commissioners as

<sup>67</sup> For example, the Board's instruction to William Penn of 12 Sept. 1699 is indexed as a 'letter from' Locke in *The Papers of William Penn*, iii, 1685–1700, ed. M. S. Wokeck *et al.*, 1986. Another example is noted in F. Waldmann, 'Additions to de Beer's *Correspondence of John Locke*', *Locke Studies*, 15 (2015), 31–52, at 51–2.

<sup>68</sup> Nos. 2123\*, 2138A, 2300A.

<sup>69</sup> TNA, CO 391/9, p. 206 (4 Nov. 1696); no. 2138A.

<sup>70</sup> Nos. 1981A, 1984A, 1996A, 2289A, 2333A, 2333B.

<sup>71</sup> No. 2656A.

<sup>72</sup> Nos. 2130A, 2152A, 2450A.

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a body. The surviving quantity is far smaller, indeed only a handful. De Beer printed several;<sup>73</sup> and three more are included here.<sup>74</sup> The *Calendar of Treasury Books* record further, routine letters, summoning the Commissioners to meetings with their overlords, the Treasury Commission.

### (xi) *Secretary for Presentations letters*

Between November 1672 and November 1673 Locke held the post of Secretary for Presentations under Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury. This related to Crown appointments ('presentations') of clergy to parishes ('livings'). Appointments to most Church of England parishes were under the patronage of the laity—typically local gentlemen—rather than the Church hierarchy or the congregations themselves. A significant proportion lay in the hands of the Crown, in practice determined by the Lord Chancellor. De Beer printed one letter concerning this role;<sup>75</sup> and four more are printed here.<sup>76</sup> The Shaftesbury papers also include copies in Locke's hand of a number of petitionary letters of clergymen, requesting presentation to livings, and addressed to Shaftesbury, not printed here.<sup>77</sup>

### (xii) *Letters of attorney*

On a number of occasions Locke prepared letters of attorney empowering others to act on his behalf. These were of three sorts. First, long-term appointments of stewards of his estates in Somerset (Peter Locke, 1660–80; William Stratton, 1680–95; Cornelius Lyde, 1695–1704). Second, empowerments to act in all his affairs during his absences abroad (Thomas Stringer, 1675–9; Edward Clarke, 1683–89). Third, ad hoc empowerments for a particular financial purpose, such as to collect

<sup>73</sup> See headnote to no. 2103A.

<sup>74</sup> Nos. 2063A, 2103A, 2106A.

<sup>75</sup> No. 266.

<sup>76</sup> Nos. 272A, 279B, 280C, 280D. A fifth is pertinent: no. 297B.

<sup>77</sup> PRO 30/24/42/59. MS Locke c. 44, fos. 1–23 contains petitions to Shaftesbury, from Devereux Bellinger, Robert Clipsham, William Constable, William Fenwicke, John Forbie, Richard Hatton, John Heighmor, William Holloway, Thomas Jones, James Kettlby, Gamaliel Pretty, Arthur Shipton, Joseph Smith, John Spencer, Stephen Trappet, Nehemiah White. All these petitions were granted, with dates from December 1672 to October 1673. See J. R. Milton, 'Locke's Manuscripts among the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office', *Locke Newsletter*, 27 (1996), 109–30, at 116–17. For individual clergy, see the Clergy of the Church of England Database: <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>. For clergy promoted by Locke, see J. Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion, Responsibility*, 1994, p. 81.

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his salary. Such letters were largely formulaic, following standard legal protocols, and hence are not printed here in full; they are all calendared and significant phrases excerpted.<sup>78</sup> There is a lost letter of attorney for Peter Locke, 1665, in respect of Locke's absence abroad at Cleves, and another for Edward Clarke, 1694, for collection of a salary.<sup>79</sup> Locke records, in his journal, a temporary letter of attorney for Awnsham Churchill to collect his salary.<sup>80</sup>

### (xiii) Masham Trust letters

When Damaris Cudworth, the widow of the philosopher Ralph Cudworth, died at Oates in November 1695, her financial inheritance was placed in trust for her daughter, Damaris, Lady Masham. The three trustees were Locke, Edward Clarke, and Edward Fowler, bishop of Gloucester. Locke devoted considerable care to his role as trustee and Lady Masham's financial affairs constantly crop up in his correspondence. Nineteen letters in the de Beer volumes are wholly, or almost wholly, devoted to Masham Trust matters;<sup>81</sup> and as many again touch on Trust business.<sup>82</sup> These letters are now dispersed throughout Locke's surviving correspondence, even though some of them are endorsed 'Trust' by him, and were probably once filed together.<sup>83</sup> There is, however, a considerable surviving body of Trust papers remaining together, in MS Locke c. 16, fos. 18–80, where accounts, receipts, and memoranda are mixed in with twenty-two letters.<sup>84</sup> Of the letters, de Beer printed two, both by Leonard Addison to Locke.<sup>85</sup> Sixteen are written by Lady Masham to the trustees collectively, seeking their authorization for financial dispositions she intended to make.<sup>86</sup> It is apparent from these that she was her own financial manager, trading in Bank of

<sup>78</sup> Nos. 98A, 304A, 418A, 565A, 769A, 796B, 2008A.

<sup>79</sup> Referred to in nos. 177 and 1776.

<sup>80</sup> MS Locke f. 10 (6 Oct. and 2 Nov. 1697). And see temporary attorney to Thomas Stringer, 7/17 November 1678, recorded in no. 419.

<sup>81</sup> Nos. 2112, 2139, 2145, 2148, 2151, 2182, 2184, 2193, 2294, 2298, 2349, 2353, 2484, 2769, 2798, 2804, 2815, 2927, 3472.

<sup>82</sup> Nos. 2027, 2054, 2114, 2120, 2143, 2234, 2242, 2280, 2323, 2764, 2781, 2814, 2815, 2819, 2823, 3005, 3112, 3451, 3482.

<sup>83</sup> Nos. 2294, 2298, 2349, 2353, 2484.

<sup>84</sup> See de Beer's note on this material at *Corr.*, v. 466–7.

<sup>85</sup> Nos. 2145, 2298. MS Locke c. 16, fos. 23, 35–6.

<sup>86</sup> MS Locke c. 16, fos. 27, 30–1, 40–1, 43–4, 46–7, 51–2, 53–4, 55–6, 59–60, 61–2, 63–4, 69–70, 71–2, 73–4, 75–6, 77–8: 19 July and 26 July 1697; 12 Aug. and 21 Oct. 1698; 11 Apr., 22 July, 22 Aug., and 5 Nov. 1699; 23 Apr., 1 July, and 19 Oct. 1700; 12 Dec. 1701; 8 Feb., 4 Mar., 1 Apr., and 20 June 1704.

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England and East India stocks, and searching out suitable opportunities to lend money on mortgage. The trustees' signatures, denoting permissions, appear on most of these letters, and their consents were merely a formality. I have printed here two of these letters as examples.<sup>87</sup> I have also printed a letter addressed by John Willis to the trustees which closely relates to letters printed by de Beer.<sup>88</sup> I have not printed a letter from Richard Clarke to Lady Masham about a mortgage.<sup>89</sup> There are two remaining letters in this group, from the trustees to Peter King, one printed here,<sup>90</sup> both of which are closely related to a further Trust letter printed here, from Locke to John Churchill, which is preserved in a different manuscript volume.<sup>91</sup> The letters illustrate, inter alia, the trustees' practice, which Locke regularly used for himself, of investing by proxy, in the name of another person, usually Peter King.

### (xiv) *Lord Ashley's illness.*

In 1668–9 Locke, together with several other prominent physicians, advised on the diagnosis and treatment of Lord Ashley's (the future earl of Shaftesbury's) illness, which led to a life-saving operation. The full texts of all the relevant letters and opinions have now been published, Locke's among them. A medical historian would wish to read Locke's letters alongside the others.<sup>92</sup> Some augmentations of items included by de Beer are provided in the present volume.<sup>93</sup>

### (xv) *Thomas Aikenhead correspondence*

The Scottish university student Thomas Aikenhead was executed for blasphemy in Edinburgh in January 1697.<sup>94</sup> Locke took a keen interest in the proceedings, retaining papers and letters concerning the case, several of which he marked or corrected, and a couple of which are unique surviving copies. They were printed, from these manuscripts, in

<sup>87</sup> Nos. 2795A, 3052A. MS Locke c. 16, fos. 63, 69.

<sup>88</sup> No. 2816A. MS Locke c. 16, fo. 65.

<sup>89</sup> MS Locke c. 16, fo. 32. Mentioned by de Beer in no. 2534.

<sup>90</sup> No. 2587A. MS Locke c. 16, fos. 49–50; (the other is fos. 57–8).

<sup>91</sup> No. 2650A. MS Locke c. 24, fo. 31. Two further Masham Trust letters here are nos. 1417A, 2151\*.

<sup>92</sup> P. R. Anstey and L. M. Principe, 'John Locke and the Case of Anthony Ashley Cooper', *Early Science and Medicine*, 16 (2011), 379–503. The originals are in TNA, PRO 30/24/47/2. The other doctors consulted were Timothy Clarke, Sir George Ent, Francis Glisson, John Micklethwaite, and Thomas Sydenham. Two letters, by Thomas Strickland to Sir Gilbert Talbot, 26 Oct. 1668, and John Arnold to [Ashley?], n.d., are endorsed by Locke.

<sup>93</sup> Nos. 230\*, 231\*, 250\*.

<sup>94</sup> See no. 2207\*.

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*A Complete Collection of State Trials*.<sup>95</sup> Only the covering letter, probably by James Johnstoun, was printed by de Beer (which *State Trials* wrongly attributed to Locke).<sup>96</sup> Today bound into a miscellaneous volume, Locke's Aikenhead papers were described in the early nineteenth century as being 'in a bundle of manuscripts on the subject of Toleration'.<sup>97</sup> The material has been extensively used in modern scholarship on this important case, the last execution for blasphemy in Britain.<sup>98</sup> There are three letters besides Johnstoun's: (1) William, Lord Anstruther to Robert Cunningham, 26 January 1697 (fo. 98; the original letter); (2) copies of Aikenhead's letter to his friends, 8 January 1697, the day of his execution (fos. 99–102); (3) Robert Wylie to William Hamilton, 16 June 1697, concerning Aikenhead and the prosecution of witches (fos. 107–8; endorsed by Locke, 'Scotland Witches 97'). The first and third are printed here.<sup>99</sup>

### (xvi) *Addenda from vol. viii*

Several items were discovered by de Beer at a late stage of his project and were included by him in an addendum in Volume Eight. At the suggestion of advisers to this volume, these have been reproduced here, without amendment to the body of their texts, in order to ensure that the present volume provides a single sequential resource for all new finds.<sup>100</sup> I have, however, in several cases augmented the headnotes and footnotes. De Beer was rather sparse in these cases, omitting, for example, to explain that 'Payn' was Henry Nevil Payne, the last person in British history to be judicially tortured.<sup>101</sup>

### (xvii) *Newly collected third-party letters*

Arguably, third-party letters do not properly belong within the 'correspondence of Locke', and, as noted above, elasticity in this area is apt to cause slippage from an edition of correspondence towards a 'documentary

<sup>95</sup> Ed. W. Cobbett *et al.*, xiii, 1812, cols. 917–40.

<sup>96</sup> MS Locke b. 4, fos. 86–108: no. 2207\*.

<sup>97</sup> F. Horner, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 2 vols., 1843, i. 487.

<sup>98</sup> M. Hunter, 'Aikenhead the Atheist: The Context and Consequences of Articulate Irreligion in the Late Seventeenth Century', in *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. M. Hunter and D. Wootton, 1992; M. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment*, 2008.

<sup>99</sup> Nos. 2183A, 2277A.

<sup>100</sup> Nos. 298A, 747A, 1624A, 1640A, 1854A, 2717\*, 2839A, 2908\*.

<sup>101</sup> No. 1640A.

life'. While the present volume is more flexible than de Beer might have allowed, I have sought to avoid undue slippage by including only letters that are *substantially* about Locke—there exist many more that mention him *en passant*. Following de Beer's lead, there is a presumption here in favour of inclusion of third-party letters if they came into Locke's hands and are now found among the correspondence volumes in MS Locke c. 3–24. I have revisited these volumes, albeit that de Beer went meticulously through them, and selected some additional items for printing; any items that remain unprinted are listed in Calendars.<sup>102</sup>

The present volume contains seventy-nine third-party letters. They are here for several reasons—besides the presence of some of them among Locke's papers—such as that they summarize lost letters of Locke; are devoted to discussing Locke's publications; report information which had been directly sought by Locke; or were enclosed with Locke's letters.

In fact, de Beer himself printed as many as eighty-eight third-party letters between Locke's friends and associates. In most cases, he included them either because they were known to have been sent as enclosures in letters to or from Locke or because, while not (certainly) enclosures, they are found among Locke's papers, so that they must have been sent or given to, or copied for, Locke. In a few cases, de Beer included them because they occur in Rand's edition of the Locke-Clarke correspondence, in the Pforzheimer collection of Molyneux correspondence, or elsewhere.<sup>103</sup> Of the total in de Beer's volumes, thirty-one letters (indeed more, as some multiple items are grouped in a single entry) were enclosures appended to letters to or from Locke,<sup>104</sup> and fifty-seven were free-standing items.<sup>105</sup> It is possible that further letters printed by de Beer were in fact third-party letters, where it is uncertain that Locke was the recipient.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> W. von Leyden drew attention to the importance of several of these in his 1944 report on Locke's correspondence, as well as to items calendared by de Beer but not judged by the latter to be worth printing, including nos. 1208A, 2130A, 2183\*. Bodl., Library Records d. 948, pp. 43, 46, 48.

<sup>103</sup> All third-party letters, printed by de Beer or here, are calendared below at pp. 500–11.

<sup>104</sup> Nos. 363 (4 items), 562, 569, 664, 785, 1228, 1544, 1548, 1630, 1793, 1881, 1984, 1999, 2134 (2 items), 2192, 2204, 2238, 2243, 2260 (2 items), 2330, 2331, 2339 (2 items), 2877, 2952, 2956, 2961, 3115, 3182, 3440, 3467, 3485. Three are documents which are doubtfully letters: nos. 1630, 1999, 2243.

<sup>105</sup> Nos. 7, 26, 28, 31, 46, 56, 98, 123, 137, 185, 231, 277, 403, 419A, 462, 463, 523, 664, 756, 793, 794, 891, 1019, 1024, 1024A, 1027, 1028, 1053, 1064, 1142, 1281, 1416, 1612, 1770, 1812A, 1906, 1909, 1942, 1943, 1998, 2042, 2063, 2233, 2248, 2257, 2278, 2281, 2323, 2347, 2359, 2488, 2568, 2632, 2710, 2784A, 2797, 3418A. (Five of these are not properly letters: nos. 185, 277, 523, 1024A, 2797.)

<sup>106</sup> Nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 76, 90, 149, 190, 194, 268, 590A, 628, 1221, 1793, 2183, 2207, 2241, 2344, 2446, 2534, 2802. See 2183\* and 2207\* below. Additionally, no. 878 encloses a letter doubtfully to Locke.

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Third-party surveillance or 'spy' letters, reporting Locke's allegedly seditious activities in the period from 1681 to 1685, including those connected with his expulsion from his Studentship at Christ Church, are presented in Appendix A.

A number of modern editions of correspondences are considerably more generous than de Beer or this Supplement in including third-party letters. In Ralph Leigh's monumental edition of Rousseau's correspondence, thirty per cent of the first volume comprises third-party letters, while the final 750 letters, filling the last five volumes, are entirely third-party letters, and go well beyond the grave, the last being written in 1801.<sup>107</sup>

### (xviii) *Letters relating to Locke's death*

Locke died on 28 October 1704. While it would not be appropriate to include here the early memoirs of Locke,<sup>108</sup> several of which began in epistolary form, or later correspondence concerning reactions to Locke's ideas, I have printed here six letters, dating from November and December 1704, which directly relate to Locke's death: two by Peter King, and one each by Mary Clarke, Damaris Masham, Esther Masham, and the third earl of Shaftesbury.<sup>109</sup> Omitted are two letters, from Philip van Limborch to Damaris Masham, 28 November 1704, and from her to him, 26 December 1704, which begin a series which properly belong to early attempts to recount Locke's life.<sup>110</sup> Included earlier in the present volume, dating from 1690 to 1695, are three letters which constitute the earliest attempt, by Anthony Wood to gather information about Locke's life.<sup>111</sup>

## SOME EXCLUSIONS

The principal category of letters excluded from this volume is the two hundred co-signed Locke letters among the Board of Trade papers,

<sup>107</sup> *Correspondance complète de Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. R. A. Leigh, 51 vols., 1965–91. See R. Wokler, 'Preparing the Definitive Edition of the *Correspondance de Rousseau*', in *Rousseau and the Eighteenth Century*, eds. M. Hobson *et al.*, 1992. By contrast, for strictures against inclusion of third-party letters, see Malcolm, Introduction, in Hobbes, *Correspondence*, i. xlv.

<sup>108</sup> A separate volume is in preparation: *The Early Lives of John Locke*, eds. M. Goldie and D. Soulard.

<sup>110</sup> Amsterdam University Library, MS D.III.16, 53, MS M.31.b. They will appear in *The Early Lives of Locke*.

<sup>111</sup> Nos. 1280A, 1285A, 1925A.

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1696–1700, discussed above. Also noted above are Locke's secretarial letters during his earlier colonial engagements, and some of the Masham Trust letters. Some further excluded categories are worth comment.

### (i) *Addresses to Locke by his Christ Church pupils*

It has been suggested that these documents appropriately belong among Locke's correspondence.<sup>112</sup> They comprise Latin, Greek, and Hebrew exercises by Locke's pupils. They survive in MS Locke b. 7 and c. 41, Locke's herbarium (Locke mounted plants on the backs of these exercises). The items include poems, epitaphs, and quasi-epistolary addresses. The last often use the dative, e.g. 'Magistro Locke' ('to Mr Locke'). A total of about 130 of Locke's pupils appear, who matriculated between 1661 and 1664. Most are identifiable, though in some cases the signature has been cut off in binding.<sup>113</sup> Among the more significant of them are Henry Aldrich, William Coker, Morgan Godwyn, William Jane, Edward Pockocke Jr, James Vernon, and George Wall(s).<sup>114</sup>

### (ii) *Cleves letters*

In 1665–6 Locke accompanied Sir Walter Vane as his secretary on a diplomatic mission to the Elector of Brandenburg, at Cleves. Locke drafted Vane's official letters to the government, and they are preserved in the National Archives.<sup>115</sup> There are some drafts in MS Locke c. 22, fos. 181–9. Locke made copies of some of the correspondence: BL, Add. MS 16272. His copies of private letters are in MS Locke c. 24, fos. 246–58. The British Library volume contains thirty-nine letters in Locke's hand: to and from Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington; Sir William Coventry; Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon; and Secretary of State Sir William Morrice. With one exception, the letters in the official series were not printed by de Beer, nor are they included here. The exception is Locke to Joseph Williamson, Arlington's deputy (SP 81/57, fo. 30).<sup>116</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Waldmann, 'Additions to de Beer's *Correspondence*', 32n.

<sup>113</sup> A full index of names is printed in P. Long, 'The Mellon Donation of Additional Manuscripts of John Locke from the Lovelace Collection', *Bodleian Library Record*, 7 (1964), 185–93, at 190–3.

<sup>114</sup> See J. R. Milton, 'Locke's Pupils', *Locke Newsletter*, 26 (1995), 95–118.

<sup>115</sup> TNA, SP Foreign, German States, vols. 56–7 (SP 81/56–7).

<sup>116</sup> No. 183.

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Locke's personal letters from Cleves are another matter and do belong in the *Correspondence*, and were printed by de Beer.<sup>117</sup> His letter to Robert Boyle is known only from the printed version in the eighteenth-century edition of Boyle's *Works*.<sup>118</sup>

### (iii) *Orders for payment*

As was the practice of his time, Locke wrote many instructions for payments to be made from moneys held on his behalf by his associates, an early form of cheque. These take the form of brief letters, dated, and addressed. Three illustrative examples are included in the present volume.<sup>119</sup> About forty-five more survive in MS Locke b. 1, dating from 1695 to 1704, nearly all addressed to Awnsham (or John) Churchill, and a few to Edward Clarke, for payments to: Pierre Coste, Richard Clarke, Charles Cradock, Alexander Cunningham, John Freke, Roger Hazard, Peter King, Francis Limborch, John Lukin, Damaris Masham, Sir Francis Masham, John Mayhew, Robert Pawling, William Popple, Frances St John, and Elizabeth Williamson. De Beer printed two from this series, and one other.<sup>120</sup>

### (iv) *The Leibniz-Burnett correspondence*

The great German philosopher Leibniz, a close reader and critic of Locke's works, does not appear among his correspondents. They never communicated directly. They used the intermediation of Sir Thomas Burnett of Kemnay, one of the gentlemen scholars who oiled the wheels of the Republic of Letters. On one occasion, Burnett forwarded to Locke a letter he had received from Leibniz, which discussed Locke's controversy with Edward Stillingfleet, and mentions the *Two Treatises of Government*.<sup>121</sup> Several of Burnett's letters summarize or quote from letters he had received from Leibniz.<sup>122</sup> The substantial series of Leibniz-Burnett letters contains a wealth of information about English

<sup>117</sup> Nos. 175–84.

<sup>118</sup> Ed. T. Birch, 1744, v. 565–7: no. 175.

<sup>119</sup> Nos. 3573B, 3590A, 3643A. These are ones not included in MS Locke.

<sup>120</sup> Nos. 2308, 3136A, 3521A. He refers to another, dated 2 August 1704, at *Corr.*, viii, 366.

<sup>121</sup> No. 2709. Leibniz to Burnett, 2/13 Feb. 1700. The Burnett-Leibniz correspondence is printed in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, 1970–; and previously ed. C. I. Gerhardt, 1875–90. See W. von Leyden, 'Notes Concerning John Locke in the Lovelace Collection', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 6 (1952); P. Lodge, ed., *Leibniz and his Correspondents*, 2004.

<sup>122</sup> Nos. 2228, 2243, 2565, 2709. See also nos. 2236, 2254, 2629. See W. von Leyden, 'Notes Concerning Papers of John Locke in the Lovelace Collection', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 6 (1952), 63–9, at 66–7; N. Jolley, *Leibniz and Locke*, 1984. Leibniz to Burnett on Locke's writings on money (20/30 January 1699) is quoted in *Locke on Money*, ed. P. H. Kelly, 2 vols., 1991, i. 305n.

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and German scholarly life in the 1690s and has considerable bearing upon Locke.<sup>123</sup> No letter, however, appears to be sufficiently taken up with Locke to qualify for inclusion here.

### (v) *The Esther Masham Letterbook*

After Locke's death Esther Masham, the daughter of Sir Francis Masham, who lived at Oates and knew Locke intimately, transcribed a substantial collection of her correspondence with him and with her brothers and other relations. She destroyed or lost the originals, but helpfully added some contextual notes to her transcripts. De Beer printed the Locke-Masham letters. One of the remaining letters, from Henry Masham to Esther, is printed in the present volume, for it contains an answer to an enquiry Locke had made.<sup>124</sup> The others do not belong in Locke's *Correspondence* but are an important source for his biography. Yet in one sense many *do* belong if one adopts a more communal sense of epistolary practices, for Esther certainly read them aloud to the Oates household. For example, letter no. 3396 shows that the household had heard Winwood Masham's dramatic account, in a letter to his sister, dated 28 November 1703, of the great storm that had drowned 450 of his fellow sailors aboard the *Sterling Castle* in the English Channel. On another occasion, when she was away from Oates, Esther wrote out for Locke a long extract of a letter from her aunt in France.<sup>125</sup> The volume is now in the Newberry Library, Chicago.<sup>126</sup>

### (vi) *Further Shaftesbury letters in Locke's hand*

The Malmesbury papers in the Hampshire Record Office include two letters in Locke's hand, and perhaps drafted by him, acting as amanuensis for the first earl of Shaftesbury, as follows.

Shaftesbury to Thomas Stringer, 19 July [1674]

Written from St Giles, Dorset, to Exeter House in the Strand. Concerning arrangements for the transport of Shaftesbury's effects for his summer sojourn at St Giles, expected to be lengthy because the king, in May, had dismissed him from the Privy Council and ordered him to leave town. Bookshelves and books are to be sent by sea, 'but let the great wainscoat presses that stand in the gallery remain at London.' Instructs £300 payment to the Hudson's Bay

<sup>123</sup> See S. Duncan, 'Toland and Locke in the Leibniz-Burnett Correspondence', *Locke Studies*, 17 (2017), 117–41.

<sup>124</sup> No. 2607A.

<sup>125</sup> No. 3003.

<sup>126</sup> MS E5.M3827.

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Company for the purchase of shares. 'I am concerned the tradesmen should not remain unpaid.' Reference to financial dealings with 'the Prince' (Prince Rupert); Mr Bennet is to 'let the Prince know I am most devotedly his servant.'<sup>127</sup>

Shaftesbury to Thomas Stringer, 1 Aug. [1674]

Concerning the Hudson's Bay Company money. Also, agrees to the loan of his portrait to Mr Clifford and Mr Bennet to have an engraving and prints made. Contemplates giving up the lease on Exeter House, and in future taking lodgings. 'I have no thoughts of bringing my family to towne for some years'. There is a postscript: 'Neither I nor Mr Locke have received any bill for that £100 you mention you have returned to him.'<sup>128</sup>

The collection also includes a letter in the earl's hand to Stringer, which asks Stringer to convey 'My service to my dear Locke.'<sup>129</sup>

### (vii) Ghosts

'Ghosts' are sometimes called 'spurious' letters, but there is a distinction to be drawn between letters mistakenly attributed to an author, or misdated, and those deliberately concocted for ideological or other purposes. The former are scholarly errors; the latter are forgeries. Two forgeries are discussed and printed in Appendix C. The following is a list of ghosts.

William Coker to 'Locke', 14 December 1664 (no. 169): the recipient wrongly designated as Locke by de Beer; it is in fact Benjamin Woodroffe. See no. 169A.

'Locke' to -?-, 29 September 1675: wrongly attributed in an auction catalogue. See *Corr.*, i. 429.

<sup>127</sup> HRO, 9M73/G237/8. See K. H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1968, pp. 364–5. Shaftesbury, Thomas Stringer, and Sir Thomas Chichely were involved with Prince Rupert's patent for the production of cannon.

<sup>128</sup> HRO, 9M73/G237/9. In a further letter, 7 Nov., he instructs that forty copies of the prints be sent down to Dorset, the plate to stay in London. These two letters have been tentatively assigned to 1675 as possible evidence that Locke was with Shaftesbury at St Giles in the summer of 1675 and might then have drafted at the earl's behest the incendiary Country Party tract *A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country*: P. Milton, 'Pierre Des Maizeaux, *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr John Locke*, and the Formation of the Locke Canon', *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 3 (2007), 255–91, at 270n. However, they certainly belong to 1674: Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 364–5. It may here be mentioned that editions of Locke's *Works* included three letters by Shaftesbury, c.1677, to the king, the duke of York, and an unnamed lord, that had first appeared in *Posthumous Works* (1706), because found alongside Locke's memoir of Shaftesbury's life. See Locke, *Literary and Historical Writings*, 179, 374–5.

<sup>129</sup> HRO, 9M73/G237/3 (10 Nov. 1674).

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- Locke to the Royal Society, 24 and 30 May 1678. Described as 'a letter by Locke . . . present location . . . unknown' in J. S. Yolton, *John Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1998, p. 316. In fact an entry in Locke's journal, from which extracts were taken in two letters which Locke wrote to Robert Boyle (nos. 397, 478), and later printed in *Philosophical Transactions*, 19 (1697), 594–6. See no. 2219.
- 'Locke' to Thomas Stringer, 26 March 1681 (TNA, PRO 30/24/6/360): wrongly attributed in B. Martin and A. Kippis, *The Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1836, ii. 269–75; and W. D. Christie, *Shaftesbury*, 1671, ii, appx, pp. cxii–cxv. Perhaps written by John Hoskins.<sup>130</sup> See *Corr.*, ii. 390.
- 'Locke to Philip van Limborch', 10/20 September 1687 (no. 962): attributed in an auction catalogue: either lost or a ghost.
- Locke to Robert Boyle, 30 September/1 October 1687. Thus dated in Boyle, *Works*, 1744, v. 570–1. Properly belongs to 1688: no. 1001. See *Corr.*, iii. 277, 354.
- Locke to Philip van Limborch, 18/28 December 1687: thus in an auction catalogue: probably belongs to 1688 and is no. 1093. See *Corr.*, iii. 318, 525.
- 'Locke' to '?', undated (before 1689), concerning Bills of Mortality: wrongly attributed by K. Dewhurst. See no. 1604\*.
- Isaac Newton to 'Locke?', two letters, c. November 1690: addressed 'to a Friend', speculatively said to be Locke in *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, iii, ed. H. W. Turnbull, 1961, pp. 129–46. The letters continue discussion of Newton's 'Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions in Scripture', which he had sent to Locke (no. 1338). There is no evidence they were written to Locke, but it is not impossible. See *Corr.*, iv. 165n.
- Jean Le Clerc to ['Locke'], 18 February 1691. In fact to Robert Boyle. Royal Society, Boyle Letters, 3, fo. 123. Printed in *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, eds. M. Hunter, A. Clericuzio, and L. M. Principe, 2001, vi. 328–30; and Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, eds. M. Grazia and M. Sina, 4 vols., 1987–97, iv. 426–8. There is a possibility that the letter was addressed to Locke, and his name is given as addressee in the Royal Society's 1990 catalogue of Boyle's papers. However, the

<sup>130</sup> This letter sheds unique light on the Oxford Parliament's investigation into how a vital Bill passed by the previous parliament, for removing from Dissenters liability for prosecution under the Elizabethan recusancy laws, had been 'lost' and not presented to the king for his assent. Cited as a letter of Locke's in C. E. Fryer, 'The Royal Veto under Charles II', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1907), 103–11, at 107.

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- editors of both these published correspondences are almost certainly correct in identifying Boyle as the recipient. The letter is more formal than those of Le Clerc to Locke, and Le Clerc would scarcely need to remark to Locke on 'the community of the Remonstrants, of which I am a member'. The letter also refers to volumes of the *Bibliothèque universelle* for transmission to Boyle, a transaction referred to in letters of Le Clerc to Locke: nos. 1388, 1410. Le Clerc did write other letters to Boyle, in 1682 and 1688, though their texts are lost, and there is one surviving letter of Boyle to Le Clerc, 1689 (Boyle, *Correspondence*, v. 244, vi. 245, 258.) The present letter is mainly devoted to describing Le Clerc's project for a new Latin version of the Bible. I am grateful to J. C. Walmsley for information.
- Charles Willoughby to 'Locke', 17 April 1691, concerning Dublin Bills of Mortality: wrongly attributed by K. Dewhurst. See no. 1604\*.
- John Toland to [Locke?], 1694. It has been suggested that the first surviving letter in Toland's correspondence was 'very possibly written to John Locke': J. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722*, 2003, p. 27. The text is in *A Collection of Several Pieces of John Toland*, 2 vols., 1726, ii. 292-4. Not implausible, especially in light of the next letter, 1843A, but speculative.
- Isaac Newton to 'Locke', 19 September 1698 (no. 2488): wrongly attributed (as personally to Locke) in *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, iv, ed. J. F. Scott, 1967, pp. 282-4; intended for the Board of Trade collectively.<sup>131</sup>
- Patrick Dun to 'Locke', c.1698 and 2 March 1699, concerning Dublin Bills of Mortality: wrongly attributed by K. Dewhurst. See no. 1604\*.
- Locke to Nicolas Toinard, 2 July 1699 (no. 2739): incorrect date in sale catalogue; in fact 2 July 1700.
- Locke to -?-, 14 August 1704 (no. 3611): attributed in an auction catalogue: either lost or in fact no. 3613. See *Corr.*, viii. 377-8.

## LOST LETTERS

It is, in principle, possible to construct tables of known lost letters, and some recent editors of correspondence have done so, such as those of

<sup>131</sup> By contrast, a letter of 1692, said in the Newton *Correspondence* to be 'perhaps' intended for Locke, has now been shown to be definitely so. See no. 1509A.

the correspondences of Robert Boyle and Pierre Bayle.<sup>132</sup> Such lists derive their information primarily from allusions in extant letters, and from historical inventories of letters which have since disappeared. The task of collation for Locke would be immense, and I have not made the attempt. From such a compilation we might learn the identity of persons otherwise not known to have been among Locke's correspondents, and we would have a more exact sense of the real scale of his correspondence over time.<sup>133</sup>

A few examples of missing letters may be offered. There are four from Boyle to Locke, their existence deducible from extant letters. For example, Thomas Sydenham wrote to Boyle on 2 April 1668 reporting that Locke accompanied him in visiting his patients and that 'Mr Locke hath troubled you with an account of my practice.'<sup>134</sup> In 1701 Lord Haversham thanked Locke for a letter of recommendation, but it does not survive.<sup>135</sup> Edward Clarke's promise to Locke to shield his name from the House of Commons' investigation of William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland* is not extant, and was perhaps destroyed by Locke, but is signalled in a surviving letter.<sup>136</sup> Locke and Robert Hooke evidently corresponded, but only one letter survives. The minutes of the Royal Society record that 'Mr Hooke read a letter from Mr. John Locke, dated at Padua, giving an account of the late total eclipse of the moon observed there by an ingenious acquaintance of his.' The two men were also in contact via John Mapletoft, for Hooke's journal records, 'At Dr. Mapletofts. Locks letter about Length of Pendule [pendulum]', while a note among Locke's papers tells us that, in reply, 'Mr Hooke sends me word by Dr. Mapletoft.'<sup>137</sup> Occasionally a recipient's summary of a letter by Locke survives on an outer sheet, the inner sheet being lost, such as this: 'Mr Lock touching the Resolutions of the Committee about Clipping and coyning etc: Received the 20th March 1694[/5]. And touching the College of Physitians in the Printing-Act

<sup>132</sup> *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, eds. M. Hunter et al., 6 vols., 2001; *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, eds. E. Labrousse et al., 13 vols., 1999–2016.

<sup>133</sup> In the present volume nos. 848A and 930A provide summaries of lost Locke letters. De Beer calendared nos. 786 and 846, although they are lost, because recorded by Rand.

<sup>134</sup> They date from before 4 Mar. 1667, before 12 Nov. 1667, before 2 Apr. 1668, and before 2 Apr. 1688. *Correspondence of Boyle*, iii. 274, iv. 1, 55.

<sup>135</sup> No. 2447. William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland*, ed. P. H. Kelly, 2018, p. 19.

<sup>137</sup> Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, 4 vols., 1756–7, iii. 448 (12 Dec. 1678); *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672–1680*, eds. H. W. Robinson and W. Adams, 1968, p. 401; MS Locke c. 42A, p. 88; P. Anstey, 'Locke on Measurement', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 60 (2016), 70–81, at 74–5. Birch's 'Padua' is a slip for 'Paris'.

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etc.' This must be Locke's lost letter of 18 March, referred to in Freke and Clarke's letter of 21 March.<sup>138</sup> A lost letter by Locke to the Arabist Edward Pococke, probably of 15 May 1680, concerning an edition of Maimonides, is recorded in a biography of Pococke published in 1740.<sup>139</sup> Occasionally, evidence of lost letters tells us that the duration of Locke's correspondence with somebody was longer than we know from what survives. For example, there are no letters from the Amsterdam bookseller Hendrik Wetstein extant after 1696, but in 1698 Locke records that 'Mr Wetstein tells me' about Dutch currency.<sup>140</sup>

In some cases, we can be quite sure that there have been substantial losses. An extreme instance is the disastrous fire of 1752 which destroyed the bulk of Lord Somers's archive. There will certainly have been many more letters between Locke and Somers than the few that survive. Other losses are letters by Locke to James Tyrrell and David Thomas, during the fraught years of the 1680s, which were probably destroyed. A further loss is correspondence with Samuel Pepys. There is only one surviving letter between the two men, dating from August 1678.<sup>141</sup> But in October of that year Pepys asked Caleb Banks, in whose education both Locke and Pepys took an interest, to apologize to Locke on his behalf for 'coming again into a fresh arrear to Mr. Lock', by which he meant an arrear in writing to him. He asked Banks to 'keep up my credit with [Locke] in that point', and to assure Locke he would write soon. It is plain, therefore, that a series of Locke-Pepys letters has gone missing, despite the assiduous curatorial instincts of both men.<sup>142</sup> There are other cases where it is a surprise that there are no surviving letters. William Penn, for example, was an energetic networker who certainly knew Locke and whose list of correspondents significantly overlaps with Locke's.<sup>143</sup>

Locke, like all scholars in the Republic of Letters, was the sender and recipient of complimentary copies of books. A number of letters in the extant correspondence are covering letters for donations of books. Other instances of book donations, if not made in person, in all likelihood were transmitted with covering letters, but the letters do not survive. A considerable number of people appear in Locke's distribution lists for copies

<sup>138</sup> SHC, DD/SF 7/1/66; no. 1862. The surviving scrap includes the address: to Clarke at Richard's Coffee House, Temple Bar.

<sup>139</sup> Life of Pococke prefixed to his *Theological Works*, 2 vols., 1740, i. 69; the relevant passage is quoted in the headnote to No. 542.

<sup>140</sup> MS Locke b. 3, fo. 130.  
<sup>141</sup> No. 405.

<sup>142</sup> No. 410A. Cited in K. Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his Books*, 2015, p. 200.

<sup>143</sup> Including John Aubrey, Benjamin Furly, Francis Nicholson, William Popple, John Tillotson, Sir William Trumbull, and Lords Bellomont and Monmouth (Peterborough).

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of his own books who do not have extant letters in the *Correspondence*.<sup>144</sup> The following are known to have given books to Locke but from (or to) whom there are no surviving letters: Isaac Barrow, François Bernier, Sir Josiah Child, Simon Clement, Daniel Coxe, Denis Dodart, John Harris, Richard Kidder, Bernard Lamy, Gilles de Launay, Daniel Le Clerc, William Lowndes, John Moore, William Penn, Nahum Tate, and Isaac Vossius. All these have their donations recorded in Harrison and Laslett's catalogue of Locke's library. There is independent evidence (i.e. not recorded in his library catalogue) for several other donors, for whom, again, there are no surviving letters: Maurice Ashley, Richard Bentley, Edmond Halley, Christiaan Huygens, Henry Martin, Martin Martin, and Sir William Petty.<sup>145</sup>

Evidence of lost letters is sometimes owed to Locke's parsimonious reuse of paper. The draft of his *Fourth Letter on Toleration* is written on the wrappers of discarded letters. The datable letters are from Awnsham Churchill (1 July 1702, 22 July 1702, 30 September 1703), Dr William Cole (26 May 1703, 'For the very much honoured John Lock Esq'), Anthony Collins (17 June 1703), and Peter King (14 July 1703, 8 Aug. 1704).<sup>146</sup>

While no systematic compilation has been done here, nonetheless a few further explorations in the field of lost letters may be offered. If we take a sample of 100 surviving letters received by Locke, beginning in January 1702 and running to February 1703, which he endorsed as having been answered on particular dates—and hence we are certain that he replied, and when he did so—we find that only 18 per cent of his replies survive. Of these eighteen surviving letters, eleven are to Peter King, and three to Benjamin Furly. We have lost the replies to, for example, Jean Barbeyrac, Elizabeth Burnet, Awnsham Churchill, Alexander Geckie, Jean Le Clerc, Martha Lockhart, and James Tyrrell. Given that, in total, around a thousand letters by Locke survive, we might deduce, from this sample, that he wrote around five and a half thousand. We cannot, however, know whether this period is typical. Let us take one further sample of one hundred letters, similarly endorsed, from the period January 1695 to November 1696. Here the

<sup>144</sup> The names can be gleaned from de Beer's list of recipients in *Corr.*, viii, Appendix 2.

<sup>145</sup> Nos. 2895, 3005, 3018, 3021; Newton, *Correspondence*, iii, 67; *London Mercury* (May–Oct. 1923), viii, 308.

<sup>146</sup> MS Locke d. 4. MS Locke c. 27, fos. 121–3, 'Synopsis Epistolarum Pauli', is written on the back of a letter from Awnsham Churchill of 4 Feb. 1703. MS Locke c. 27, fo. 207 uses the back of a letter from Edward Clarke of 1702.

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survival rate of Locke's letters is 33 per cent, which might indicate a lifetime total of around three thousand. While this is a very different figure from 5,500, we still have a picture of high attrition. We have, in this period, lost replies to, among others, Benjamin Furly, Pieter Guenellon, Jean Le Clerc, Martha Lockhart, and James Tyrrell.<sup>147</sup>

Important sources of evidence for missing letters are Locke's journals, which he kept from 1675 until his death. Around three hundred letters are recorded there; in fact more, for this is a figure for entries definitely involving written correspondence to or from a named person on a specified date. (In other words, it is not always clear, in other cases, whether Locke is summarizing information carried in epistolary form.) Of these three hundred, about half are lost letters. The apparently smaller attrition rate is chiefly explained by the fact that Locke mainly recorded incoming letters, which more commonly survive. But we need to be cautious about extrapolating, for Locke had particular practical reasons for registering a letter in his journal. His principal reasons for noting the content were to record financial and literary transactions: rents, salaries, expenditure, investments, loans; and purchases, loans, donations, and transmission of books. In some nine-tenths of cases Locke recorded a letter because of its financial information. Some of these letters were probably very brief, probably simple orders to pay or letters of credit.

It would be natural to presume that Locke would more readily discard such routine letters in due course. However, sometimes his notes mislead us about the character of a letter. Where the letters that he summarized do survive, they often contain much more of substance, and Locke only noted in his journal the purely financial information. Consequently, we cannot presume that the missing letters, known only from their summaries, were necessarily brief financial instruments or receipts. It is also worth noting that around 85 per cent of the three hundred letters recorded in the journals occur in the final volume, covering the post-Revolution period, 1689–1704 (MS Locke f. 10). This last journal was a more workaday notebook than the earlier volumes, which had contained substantial philosophical meditations and records of his experiences in travelling in France and Holland. In the last phase of his life, Locke's financial affairs were considerably more

<sup>147</sup> It would have been useful to try the exercise for an earlier period, but Locke does not seem, before the later 1680s, regularly to have included in his endorsements the date of answering.

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complex than hitherto, chiefly because of his salaries from public office and his investments.

A significant body of information yielded by the journals comprises the identities of the senders and receivers of lost letters. It is convenient to divide the period of the journals into two parts, 1675–88 and 1689–1704. In the earlier period the losses are as follows, with the number of lost letters in brackets (counting incoming and outgoing letters without differentiation—nearly all are incoming), and then the years in which they occur: John Brisbane (1), 1679; Edward Clarke (5), 1683–8; Thomas Dare (2), 1683[4?]; John Hoskins (3), 1677–80; Peter Locke (1), 1676; Peter Percival (5), 1681–4; John Richards (2), 1680–1; William Stratton (1), 1681; Thomas Stringer (6), 1676–82;<sup>148</sup> James Tyrrell (2), 1681–3; George Walls (1), 1681. Of these, three correspondents do not have any extant letters elsewhere in the corpus of surviving letters, and so add to the list of Locke's known correspondents. John Brisbane (d.1684) joined the Navy administration in the 1660s, was 'agent marine' to the embassy in Paris 1676–8, embassy secretary 1678–9, and Admiralty secretary 1680–4; he is mentioned in Pepys's and Evelyn's diaries.<sup>149</sup> Thomas Dare of Taunton was a goldsmith-banker, jailed for sedition in 1680, who fled to Amsterdam, witnessed the earl of Shaftesbury's will, and associated with Robert Ferguson 'the Plotter'. The English envoy at The Hague demanded his expulsion; he sailed with the duke of Monmouth's expedition in 1685 but was accidentally killed by Andrew Fletcher shortly after landing; there is one extant letter to Locke from his widow.<sup>150</sup> Peter Percival was also a goldsmith-banker, who is first mentioned in the extant correspondence in 1679, married Thomas Stringer's sister, and was apparently one of the earl of Shaftesbury's bankers.<sup>151</sup>

To turn to to the period 1689–1704, the senders or recipients of lost letters are John Bonville (11), 1692–1703; Awnsham (and John) Churchill (58), 1691–1704; Edward Clarke (9), 1692–8; Sir Stephen Evance (1), 1692; Thomas Firmin (1), 1697; John Freke (4), 1695–7; Benjamin Furlly (2), 1690–1; Benjohan Furlly (1), 1704; Peter King (15), 1697–1704; Jean Le Clerc (1), 1694; Francis Limborch (1), 1704;

<sup>148</sup> Other lost letters, from Locke to Stringer, with specific dates, can be gleaned for the period 1675–8, from nos. 307–9, 311–12, 315, 333, 354–5, 389, 430.

<sup>149</sup> J. Lough, ed., *Locke's Travels in France*, 1953, pp. 176, 194, 203–4.

<sup>150</sup> See nos. 781, 826. Dare appears in several books on the Monmouth Rebellion.

<sup>151</sup> See nos. 317, 529. Haley, *Shaftesbury*, pp. 207, 586, 656, 725.

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Cornelius Lyde (1), 1704; Damaris Masham (1), 1693; Robert Pawling (4), 1693–1703; William Popple (5), 1698–9; Thomas Robinson (1), 1690; Rabsy Smithsby (2), 1701–3; Peter Stratton (1), 1697; David Thomas (1), 1694. None of these is a hitherto unknown correspondent of Locke's.

All this information will be available when Locke's journals are published in the Clarendon Edition. Some summaries of letters were printed by John Lough in *Locke's Travels in France*, which contain the journals for 1675–9.<sup>152</sup> In no case is Locke's summary of a letter sufficiently substantial to justify inclusion in the main body of the present volume. However, the following are a few of Locke's more significant entries.

[George] Walls to Locke, received 10 February 1680 (MS Locke f. 4)

Mr Wall writes me word that he had received Magnols botanicum Monspelienfe of Jacob Bobert.<sup>153</sup>

John Richards to Locke, under entry for 30 August 1680 (MS Locke f. 4)

Mr Richards writ me word about ten days since to Bexwells<sup>154</sup> that he had received all my plate of Mr Percivall.

John Richards to Locke, 5 April 1681, under entry for 3 May (MS Locke f. 5)

Mr Richards writes me word in his of 5th Apr that he had received of the East India company my 450 pounds and [£]5-4-6 for use

Locke to [Thomas] Stringer, under entry for 9 November 1682 (MS Locke f. 6)

Writ to Mr Stringer to give directions to Mr Dando<sup>155</sup> (by whom my Cosin Stratton writes me word 2 Nov. 82 that he had returned me 50 *li* to London) to pay the 50 *li* to Mr Percival, and upon receiveing Mr Percivals note, to give him the receipt I sent inclosed in my letter to Mr Stringer

[James] Tyrrell to Locke, 3 October 1683, under entry for 9 October (MS Locke f. 7)

By what Mr Tyrrell writes me 3d instant I suppose my box of M.S which were at Mr Pawlings are removd to his house wherein was also Thevenots voiage in

<sup>152</sup> e.g., pp. 113, 159, 188.

<sup>153</sup> Pierre Magnol, *Botanicum Monspelienfe*, Leiden, 1676. LL 1870. Jacob Bobart, botanist. *Corr.*, i. 314. For Walls, see J. R. Milton, 'John Locke, George Wall and George Walls: A Problem of Identity', *Locke Newsletter*, 22 (1991), 81–91.

<sup>154</sup> Bexwells, near Chelmsford, Essex, was the home of Thomas Stringer until 1682. Peter Percival, goldsmith-banker.

<sup>155</sup> Simon Dando, Somerset friend of the Locke family. *Corr.*, i. 274.

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fol.<sup>156</sup> I conclude also my quilt and blankets and two turkey carpets are there. for he thanks me for the Turkie Carpet I sent his lady which was packed up with them. And writes me word all was done by D Tho[mas] and Mr Pawling as I directed those things to be soe done.

[Edward] C[larke] to Locke, 9 October 1683 (MS Locke f. 7)

Mr Clarke by his of 5th instant tells me He hath sold my candlesticks and Standish<sup>157</sup> weighing 55 5d wt at 5s 2d per [space] for [£]14-5-5

[Edward] Clarke to Locke, 5 December 1684 (MS Locke f. 8)

My box of physical M.S. with Thevenots fol are in Mr C: hands. see his of 5 Dec.

[James] Tyrrell to Locke, 7 April 1686 (MS Locke f. 9)<sup>158</sup>

Mr Tyrrell, in his dated palme sunday, tells me that his eldest son, daughter,<sup>159</sup> and foot boy had all the small pox, that the daughter was let bloud after they appeard and the two other before they appeard. that they were all up and about the room in 10 or 11 days and without marks thanks (says he) to Dr Sydenhams cooling method<sup>160</sup>

Locke to Awnsham Churchill, 11 December 1691<sup>161</sup>

Writ to A Churchill to deliver Pocock on Joel in quires<sup>162</sup> to Mr Wright directed thus.<sup>163</sup> For Mr Le Clerc in Amsterdam. To be left with Mr Benjamin Furly in Rotterdam and with them two considerations of Lowering interest etc.<sup>164</sup> one for Mr le Clerc and the other for B. Furly

Locke to Awnsham Churchill, 29 August 1692

Writ to Mr Churchill to send one of the answers to the 5 letters concerning inspiration<sup>165</sup> to Mr Wright directed to Monsieur Le Clerc

Locke to Thomas Firmin, 12 April 1697

Writ to Mr Firmin to give to the pore out of the interest due to me [£]5-0-0

<sup>156</sup> Melchisédec Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (Paris, 1663–72). LL 2889. Thévenot is cited in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and in ‘Some Thought Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman’.<sup>157</sup> An inkstand.

<sup>158</sup> The entry, however, occurs under Wednesday 18 September. Cf. MS Locke f. 24, fo. 175.

<sup>159</sup> James, who became a soldier and MP; and Mary, later Aldworth.

<sup>160</sup> Recommended in Sydenham’s *Methodus Curandi Febres* (1666). Tyrrell’s commendation is significant because his cooling regime was widely criticized, e.g. in Gideon Harvey, *A New Discourse of the Smallpox and Malignant Fevers*, 1685. Noted by Peter Anstey.

<sup>161</sup> The following entries are in MS Locke f. 10.

<sup>162</sup> Edward Pococke, *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, 1691. LL 2362. ‘in quires’ indicates unbound.

<sup>163</sup> Probably William Wright (d. 1693), formerly alderman of Oxford. *Corr.*, ii, 354.

<sup>164</sup> Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest*, ‘1692’ [1691]. There is no surviving distribution list.

<sup>165</sup> Jean Le Clerc, *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1690; translation from the French. LL 2599. William Lowth, *A Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Writings of the Old and New Testament. In Answer to a Treatise Lately Translated out of French* . . . , Oxford, 1692. LL 1817.

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Locke to Awnsham Churchill, 20 December 1697

Writ to Mr Churchill to send Dampiers voyage<sup>166</sup> to Mr Daranda<sup>167</sup> for Dr Guenellon from me

Peter King to Locke, 29 January 1698 (entry for 1 February)

My Cosin King in his of Jan. 29 writes me word That he paid for the 2d part of the Gentlemans Religion<sup>168</sup>—for Mr Coste [£]0-1-2. Mr Coste paid me.

Awnsham Churchill to Locke, 14 January 1699 (entry for 15 January)

Mr Churchill writes me in his of the 14th that he had received of Dr Molyneux [£]5 for my account. This was his brothers Legacy to me.<sup>169</sup>

Locke to Benjohan Furlly, 12 June 1704

I writ to Mr Benjohan Furlly to lay it [£5] out in a peice of plate and present it his father from me.

Locke's journals also provide general information about letter-writing, for example, frequently recording his expenses in posting letters, and their (post town) destinations, such as Bristol, Clapham, or Salisbury.

Peter Anstey has recovered three lost letters for which a modicum of information survives:

William Charleton to Locke, [25 April 1678?]

In MS Locke d. 9, p. 39, there is an entry in French, under the heading 'Ficus' (Figs), dated 1679, ending 'This account of figues about Montpeiller Mr Charleton sent me from Dr Magnol.'<sup>170</sup> Copies or similar texts in MS Locke c. 31, fos. 161–4, with a date, at fo. 161, of 25 April 1678.

William Charleton to Locke, [before 23 September 1678]

In MS Locke d. 9, p. 118, under the heading 'Brignol' (a type of plumb), Locke writes: 'Mr Charleton also writes me word that those with stones are far better then those without. 78 p. 297.' In the Journal entry at f. 3, p. 297, there is a similar remark, with the date 23 September 1678.

Henri Justel to [Locke], [20 October 1679]

BL, Add. MS 15642, p. 177, entry for 22 November 1679: 'Mr Read is publishing a booke of plantes of the Indies he was 22 years there Q whether it were not he that published the Hortus Malabaricus Mr Justel 20 October 1679.'<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> William Dampier, *A New Voyage around the World*, 1697. LL 910.

<sup>167</sup> Paul D'Aranda (1652–1712), merchant. *Corr.*, iii. 567.

<sup>168</sup> Edward Syngé, *A Gentleman's Religion, Part II & III*, 1697. LL 1241.

<sup>169</sup> Upon the death of William Molyneux in 1698. His brother was Dr Thomas Molyneux.

<sup>170</sup> Pierre Magnol (1638–1715), botanist, of Montpellier, who names magnolia. *Corr.*, i. 685.

<sup>171</sup> Hendrik van Rheede was the compiler of the *Hortus Malabaricus* ('Garden of Malabar'), 12 vols., Amsterdam, 1678–93, a richly illustrated account of Indian flora.

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Finally, we may note evidence of an important but lost letter apparently written by Locke two days before his death to Pierre Coste. Locke was anxious to secure a new translation of the *Two Treatises of Government*, being unsatisfied with the handling of the *Second Treatise* in the translation made by David Mazel, published in 1691. He urged Coste, who lived with him in the Masham household at Oates, where he served as tutor to Francis Cudworth Masham and as translator of Locke's writings, to undertake this project. Coste demurred. Locke tried again, this time deviously it seems. Just before his death he secured Coste's promise to translate an unnamed book, with a promise of financial reward. When Coste opened a package left for him, he found inside an annotated copy of the *Two Treatises*, accompanied by a letter, which is summarized in Charles de La Motte's 'Vie de Coste'. Coste made a start on a translation, but when he learnt he was to be paid a pittance and that he received nothing in Locke's will, he abandoned the project and destroyed what he had done.<sup>172</sup>

### LETTERS REPRODUCED IN RECENT EDITIONS

Esmond de Beer provided a history of the publication of Locke's correspondence prior to his edition.<sup>173</sup> Locke's letters have since continued to be re-edited in other collections. The most significant are Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, eds. M. Sina and M. G. Sina, 4 vols., 1987–97; *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, eds. M. Hunter, A. Clericuzio, and L. Principe, 6 vols., 2001 (available online at Intalex Past Masters); *The Correspondence of Anthony Collins (1676–1729)*, *Freethinker*, ed. J. Dybikowski, 2011; Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, *Sämtliche Werke / Complete Works*, eds. C. Jackson-Holzberg, P. Müller, and F. A. Uehlein, Band/Series III, *Briefe / Correspondence*, 3 vols. so far, 2017– (where the density of explanatory footnotes is greater than de Beer provided). Two letters between Catharine Trotter Cockburn and Locke appear in J. Broad, ed., *Women Philosophers of Eighteenth-Century England: Selected Correspondence*, 2020. The Locke-Sloane correspondence has been calendared, and the texts will in due course be available online.<sup>174</sup> Transcripts, by Bridget Clarke, of many of the

<sup>172</sup> Charles de La Motte, 'La vie de Coste', in *Que la religion chrétienne est très-raisonnable [et autres textes]*, eds. H. Bouchilloux and M.-C. Pitassi, 1999; D. Soulard, 'The Christ's Copy of John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*', *Historical Journal*, 58 (2015), 25–49.

<sup>173</sup> *Corr.*, i. xli–l. See also Yolton, *Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography*, pp. 385–97. For publication of Locke's letters down to 1720, see below, pp. 447–50.

<sup>174</sup> <http://www.sloaneletters.com>.

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Locke-Clarke letters are available online, interleaved with other letters from the Clarke family correspondence.<sup>175</sup> Five letters were reprinted in John Locke, *Political Writings*, ed. D. Wootton, 1993;<sup>176</sup> and three, from Anthony Collins to Locke, in *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, eds. E. Labrousse, *et al.*, xiii, 2016.<sup>177</sup> The present project was originally undertaken in the preparation of *John Locke: Selected Correspondence*, published in 2002 (paperback edition, 2007), which reprinted 244 letters to and from Locke, the Introduction of which provides an account of the character of the corpus of Locke's correspondence.<sup>178</sup> Several of the letters published in the present volume were earlier reported or published in journal articles by their finders.<sup>179</sup>

### THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

Besides the editions of correspondence listed above, a number of other editions of letters in the European Republic of Letters have been published in the period since de Beer completed his edition. These are of writers who corresponded with people with whom Locke also corresponded, although they did not directly correspond with Locke himself. 'Network analysis' of the Republic of Letters is currently a growing field. Editions include the following: Aubrey: *Two Antiquaries: A Selection from the Correspondence of John Aubrey and Anthony Wood*, ed. M. Balme, 2001; Basnage: Jacques Basnage, *Corrispondenza da Rotterdam, 1685-1709*, ed. M. Silvera, 2000; Baxter: *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, eds. N. H. Keeble and G. F. Nuttall, 2 vols., 1991;<sup>180</sup> Bayle:

<sup>175</sup> <http://www.nynheadarchive.co.uk/index.php/history>. Also (by subscription) in 'British and Irish Women's Letters and Diaries': <http://www.alexanderstreet.com>. The first does not provide SHC file references; the second does not identify SHC as the archival source. A further online resource, the Stanford University Mapping the Republic of Letters project, unfortunately cannot be recommended, as the Locke section is compromised by factual errors. To give a singular instance: John Churchill, the brother and partner of Locke's bookseller-publisher Awnsam Churchill, is identified as John Churchill, later duke of Marlborough, who is thereby spuriously turned into a correspondent of Locke's.

<sup>176</sup> Nos. 75, 81, 175, 808, 1102.

<sup>177</sup> Nos. 3495, 3503, 3626.

<sup>178</sup> For a further account of the corpus as a whole, besides de Beer's Introduction to *Corr.*, vol. 1, see W. von Leyden's substantial report for the Bodleian Library of 1944: Bodl. Library Records d. 948.

<sup>179</sup> J. R. Milton, 'Locke Manuscripts among the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office', *Locke Newsletter*, 27 (1996), 109-30; *idem*, 'Some Recent Additions to Locke's Correspondence', *Locke Studies*, 1 (2001), 229-34; Waldmann, 'Additions to de Beer's *Correspondence*'. For individual letters: L. Davison and T. Keirn, 'John Locke, Edward Clarke and the 1696 Guineas Legislation', *Parliamentary History*, 7 (1988); J. C. Walmsley, 'Locke's Agent Cornelius Lyde: A New Letter in the Bodleian Library', *Locke Studies*, 11 (2011), 107-22.

<sup>180</sup> A project for the full publication of *The Correspondence of Richard Baxter* is in progress, gen. eds. J. Harris and A. Searle, 9 vols., Oxford.

## Introduction

*Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, eds. E. Labrousse et al., 13 vols., 1999–2016; Conway and More: *The Correspondence of Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642–1684*, ed. M. H. Nicolson, revised S. Hutton, 1992; La Motte: *Lettres de La Motte à Pierre Des Maizeaux*, eds. H. Bots, S. Drouin, J. Schillings, and A. Thomson, 2021; Evelyn: *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*, eds. D. C. C. Chambers and D. Galbraith, 2 vols., 2014; Flamsteed: *The Correspondence of John Flamsteed*, ed. E. G. Forbes, 3 vols., 1995; Graevius: *Publishing in the Republic of Letters: The Ménage-Graevius-Wetstein Correspondence, 1679–1692*, ed. R. Maber, 2005; Hobbes: *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. N. Malcolm, 2 vols., 1994; Leibniz: Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, 56 vols. so far, 1926–; *Leibniz's 'New System' and Associated Contemporary Texts*, eds. R. S. Woolhouse and R. Francks, 1997; Limborch and Le Clerc: *Arminianesimo e tolleranza nel Seicento olandese: il carteggio Philipp van Limborch e Jean Le Clerc*, ed. L. Simonutti, 1984; Molyneux: Roderick O'Flaherty, *Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux, 1696–1709*, ed. R. Sharpe, 2013; and see above, p. xix, n. 28; Pepys: *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn*, ed. G. de la Bédoyère, 1997; *The Letters of Samuel Pepys, 1656–1703*, ed. G. de la Bédoyère, 2006; Tonson: *The Literary Correspondence of the Tonsons*, ed. S. Bernard, 2015; Wallis: *The Correspondence of John Wallis*, eds. P. Beeley and C. J. Scriba, 4 vols. so far, 2003; Wanley: *Letters of Humfrey Wanley: Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672–1726*, ed. P. L. Heyworth, 2014. See also the Matthew Prior Project: <http://conan.lib.miamioh.edu/prior>.

## EPISTOLARITY

In the period since Esmond de Beer undertook his project, scholarship in the field of 'epistolarity' has flourished. Studies have encompassed the rhetoric and protocols of early modern letter-writing; correspondence as a form of life-writing; as evidence of networks of kinship, sociability, patronage, and economic enterprise; and as instruments of scholarly communication in the Republic of Letters. Locke often crops up in these accounts. Instances are J. G. Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form*, 1982; E. T. Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1680–1820*, 2005; H. Bots and F. Waquet, eds., *Commercium Litterarium, 1600–1750: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters*, 1994; C. Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and*

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*British Culture*, 2006; R. Chartier, A. Boureau, and C. Dauphin, *Correspondence: Models of Letter Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, 1997; J. Daybell, ed., *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700*, 2001; J. Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practice of Letter Writing, 1512–1635*, 2012; J. Daybell and A. Gordon, eds., *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1690*, 2016; G. Di Biase, *John Locke e Nicolas Thoynard: Un'amicizia ciceroniana*, 2018; K. Dierks, *In My Power: Letter Writing and Communication in Early America*, 2009; R. Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945*, 1999; A. Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750*, 1995; L. Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing, and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England*, 2016; J. How, *Epistolary Spaces: English Letter Writing from the Foundation of the Post Office to Richardson's 'Clarissa'*, 2003; P. Lodge, ed., *Leibniz and his Correspondents*, 2004; L. C. Mitchell and S. Green, eds., *Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing*, 2005; L. C. Mitchell and C. Poster, eds., *Letter Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, 2007; L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World*, 2015; C. Pal, *Republic of Women: Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century*, 2012; B. Redford, *The Converse of the Pen*, 1986; G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700*, 2005; A. G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720*, 2007; P. Trolander, *Literary Sociability in Early Modern England: The Epistolary Record*, 2014; E. Vailati, *Leibniz and Clarke: A Study of their Correspondence*, 1997; T. Van Houdt et al., eds., *Self-Presentation and Social Identification: The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times*, 2002; R. Whelan and R. Zuber, *West Coast Connections: The Correspondence Network of Élie Bouhèreau of La Rochelle*, 2017; S. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660–1800*, 2009.

There is a more extensive bibliography, including lists of editions of early modern correspondences, at the 'Cultures of Knowledge: Networking the Republic of Letters, 1550–1750' website.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>181</sup> <http://www.culturesofknowledge.org>.

## INVENTORY

This inventory lists all the entries included in the present volume. Archival location is given (except for items where the only augmentation is fuller biographical identification than de Beer was able to provide). In many cases, a category of document is indicated. These are discussed in the Introduction above. A phrase of explanation for their inclusion is provided in cases of augmentations of existing de Beer entries (i.e. those whose numbers carry an asterisk)—except for items from the Karpeles Collection, which are all instances of additional text derived from the recovered original manuscripts which were unknown to de Beer. Entries in italics refer to texts which appear in the appendices (surveillance letters, A1–14; publishing agreements, B1–7; spurious letters, C1–2). Entries in square brackets are letters previously published by de Beer, in volumes i–viii, which carry a suffix (and which are not augmented here); entries suffixed by de Beer which appear in the Addenda to vol. viii are reproduced in the present volume, and do not carry square brackets. The inclusion of all de Beer suffixed items ensures that this inventory serves as a finding aid for all suffixed items throughout the nine volumes of the *Correspondence*.

- 98\*. John Strachey to John Locke Sr, 24 May 1660.  
MS Locke c. 18, fos. 195–6. Locke's notes on verso.
- 98*A*. Locke to Peter Locke, May and 29 October 1660.  
MS Locke c. 26, fos. 11–12. Letter of attorney.
- 108\*. Locke to [Gabriel Towerson?], 11 December 1660.  
MS Locke e. 7, fos. 35–6. Dedicatory epistle, *First Tract on Government*.  
Calendared by de Beer; now printed.
- 155\*. Henry Townshend to Locke, 4 February 1663.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/10, fo. 10. Enclosure.
- 161*A*. Dr John Fell, Dr Edward Pockocke, and Richard Gardiner to  
Locke, 4 October 1663.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/22, fo. 7. Letter of recommendation.

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- 165\*. William Coker to Locke, 31 January 1664.  
Bodl., MS Rawlinson D286, fo. 6. Calendared by de Beer; now printed.
- 169\*. William Coker to Benjamin Woodroffe, 14 December 1664.  
Bodl., MS Rawlinson D286, fo. 6. Calendared by de Beer; now printed.  
New identification of recipient.
- 174A. John Read to Locke, enclosed with Read to Robert Boyle  
[autumn 1665?].  
Royal Society, Boyle Letters 5, fo. 35.
- [183A. Locke to William (later Sir William) Godolphin,  
19/29 January 1666.  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr.*, i. 257–8.]
- 211A. Edward Hyde, first earl of Clarendon, to Dr John Fell,  
3 November 1666.  
TNA PRO 30/24/47/8A; copies: MS Locke, c. 25, fo. 11; BL, Add. MS  
14269, pp. 151–2 (fo. 76). Letter of dispensation.
- 211B. King Charles II to Dr John Fell, 14 November 1666.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/22, fo. 9; copies: MS Locke c. 25 fo. 11; TNA, SP  
44/14, fo. 103. Letter of dispensation.
- 230\*. Locke to [Christophe?] de Briolay de Beaupreau, [late 1668/  
early 1669].  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/2, fo. 18. Lord Ashley's illness. Note on re-editing.
- 230A. Locke to [Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baron Ashley, later  
first earl of Shaftesbury?] [1668].  
MS Locke b. 3, fo. 1. Dedicatory epistle, *Some Considerations... Lowering of  
Interest*.
- 231\*. [Christophe?] de Briolay de Beaupreau to -?- Browne,  
April 1669.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/2, fos. 40–1. Lord Ashley's illness. Text expanded.
- 239A. Dr Thomas Sydenham [and Locke] to Sir Anthony Ashley  
Cooper, Baron Ashley, later first earl of Shaftesbury [c.1669].  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/2, fos. 60–3. Dedicatory epistle, Sydenham's essay  
on smallpox.
- 245\*. Locke to Frances Manners, countess of Rutland, 23 August 1670.  
Private ownership: duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle. Calendared by de Beer;  
now printed.

*Inventory*

- 249*A.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baron Ashley, later earl of Shaftesbury, to Dr John Fell, 8 December 1670.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/10, fos. 3–4. Letter of recommendation.
- 250\*. Locke and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baron Ashley, later earl of Shaftesbury, to [Christophe?] de Briolay de Beaupreau, 20 January 1671.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/2, fos. 58–9. Lord Ashley's illness.
- 253*A.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baron Ashley, later earl of Shaftesbury, to William Sayle, 13 May 1671.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/48/55, p. 91. Early colonial.
- 254\*. Sir Peter Colleton to Locke, [early summer 1671?].  
TNA, PRO 30/24/48/82. Early colonial. Locke's memorandum on writers on America.
- 267*A.* John Aubrey to Anthony Wood, 3 February 1673.  
Bodl., MS Wood F. 39, fo. 196.
- 272*A.* Locke to Nathaniel Lye, 1 July 1673.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/42/59, fos. 26–7. Secretary for Presentations.
- 278*A.* Sir John Nicholas to [Sir Robert Howard], October 1673.  
BL, Add. MS 28075, fo. 25 (p. 2). Early colonial.
- 279*A.* Locke to John Evelyn, 17 October 1673.  
From auction catalogue. Summary only. Early colonial.
- 279*B.* Francis Gwyn to Locke, October 1673.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/42/59, fo. 51. Secretary for Presentations.
- 280*A.* Locke to Sir Thomas Osborne, Lord Osborne, later earl of Danby, marquis of Carmarthen, and duke of Leeds, 25 October 1673.  
From auction catalogue. Summary only. Early colonial.
- 280*B.* Council of Trade and Plantations to King Charles II, 15 November 1673.  
TNA, CO 389/5, fos. 40–2. Early colonial.
- 280*C.* Griffith Jones to Locke, 1673.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/42/59, fos. 56–7. Secretary for Presentations.
- 280*D.* Edward Osborne to Locke, 1673.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/42/59, fo. 64–5. Secretary for Presentations.

*Inventory*

- 281\*. Locke to Sir Henry Bennet, first earl of Arlington, 6 January 1674.  
TNA, CO 1/31, fos. 4-5. Early colonial. Calendared by de Beer; now printed.
- 290A. Richard Lilburne to the Bahamas Adventurers, 9 August 1674.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/49/5, fos. 58-9. Early colonial. Includes biographical identification.
- 291\*. Isaac Rush to Locke, 10 August 1674.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/49/5, fos. 60-1. Early colonial. Text expanded.
- 296A. William Craven, earl of Craven, Sir George Carteret, and John Berkeley, first Baron Berkeley, to Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury, 20 November 1674.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/48/95. Early colonial.
- 297A. William Samuëll to Locke, 28 November 1674.  
MS Locke, b. 1, p. 20.
- 297B. William Fuller, bishop of Lincoln, to Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury, 27 January 1675.  
MS Locke c. 8, fos. 243-4. Secretary for Presentations.
- 298A. Locke to Richard Lilburne, 12 May 1675.  
MS Locke d. 9, pp. 87, 236. Addendum from vol. viii.
- 304A. Locke to Thomas Stringer, 11 November 1675.  
HRO, Malmesbury Papers, 9M73/G242. Copy: MS Locke c. 39, fo. 19. Letter of attorney.
- 307\*. Thomas Stringer to Locke, 25 November 1675.  
Biographical identification.
- 317A. Sir Thomas Osborne, earl of Danby, later marquis of Carmarthen and duke of Leeds, to Sir Robert Howard, 20 August 1676.  
MS Locke c. 39, fo. 16. Early colonial.
- 353\*. Locke to William Charleton, 31 August/10 September 1677.  
Hanover: G. W. Leibniz Bibliothek, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Noviss. 52. Recovered MS.
- [390A. Locke to Nicolas Toinard, 11/21 July 1678.  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr.*, i. 586-8.]

*Inventory*

- 399\*. Locke to Nicolas Toinard, 10/20 August 1678.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Philosophical Society, Misc. MS 1169. Recovered MS.
- 405\*. Samuel Pepys to Locke, 29 August 1678.  
Greenwich: National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, p. 823. Recovered MS.
- 405A. Samuel Pepys to Caleb Banks, 29 August 1678.  
Greenwich: National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, p. 821.
- 410A. Samuel Pepys to Caleb Banks, 10 October 1678.  
Greenwich: National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, p. 827.
- 415\*. Locke to William Charleton, 26 October/5 November 1678.  
From auction catalogue. Partially recovered text.
- 418A. Locke to Thomas Stringer, 5/15 November 1678.  
MS Locke c. 18, fo. 74. Letter of attorney.
- [419A. Jacques Horutener and Jacques Selapris to Moïse Charas, 7/17 November 1678.  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr.*, i. 630–1.]
- 437A. [-?-] to C[aleb] B[anks], 1678.  
MS Locke c. 23, fos. 198–9.
- 491\*. Henri Justel to Locke, 2 October 1679.  
MS Locke c. 12, fos. 75–6. New date.
- 523A. Élie Bouhéreau to Locke, 1679.  
MS Locke b. 2, fo. 24.
- 523B. Locke to Margaret Ashley Cooper, countess of Shaftesbury, [c.1679].  
New York: Morgan Library and Museum, MS MA 232; copy in Bodl., MS Film 70. Dedicatory epistle to Locke's translation of Pierre Nicole, *Essais de Morale*.
- 527A. Locke to Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury, 1 February 1680.  
TNA, PRO 30/24/47/35. Dedicatory epistle, *Observations upon... Vines and Olives*.
- 565A. Locke to William Stratton, 30 August 1680.  
MS Locke c. 26, fo. 68. Letter of attorney.
- [590A. Anonymous to Locke (?), 9 November 1680 (fragment).  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr.*, ii. 290.]

*Inventory*

- A1.* *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 25 October 1681.*  
*BL, Add. MS 28929, fo. 77.*
- 677\*.* Damaris Cudworth, later Lady Masham, to Locke,  
6 January [1682].  
Biographical identification of the Masham children.
- 682\*.* Edward Clarke to Locke, 14 February 1682.  
Biographical identification of the Clarke children.
- 687\*.* Locke to Damaris Cudworth, later Lady Masham  
[c.12 February 1682].  
MS Locke f. 6, pp. 33–8. Full text now supplied.
- A2.* *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 14 March 1682.*  
*BL, Add. MS 28929, fo. 95.*
- A3.* *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 19 March 1682.*  
*BL, Add., MS 28929, fo. 96.*
- A4.* *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 24 October 1682.*  
*BL, Add. MS 28929, fo. 100.*
- 747A.* Henri Justel to Locke [late 1682 or early 1683].  
MS Locke b. 2, fos. 37–8. Addendum from vol. viii.
- 763A.* Edward Clarke to William Clarke, 10 April 1683.  
SHC, DD/SF 7/1/21. Clarke Papers.
- A5.* *Sir Richard Holloway to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 13 July 1683.*  
*TNA, SP 29/428, fo. 272.*
- 769A.* Locke to William Stratton, 10 August 1683.  
MS Locke c. 19, fos. 22–3. Letter of attorney.
- 769B.* Locke to William Stratton and Edward Clarke,  
22 August 1683.  
MS Locke b. 8, no. 11. Letter of attorney.
- 773A.* Robert Boyle to [Locke], 22 December 1683.  
Boyle, *Memoirs for the Natural History of Humane Blood*, 1683/4.  
Dedicatory epistle. Text from printed book.
- 783A.* Nicolaus Blancardus to Philip Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen,  
10/20 August 1684.  
Amsterdam University Library, MS Ba. 10. Letter of introduction.

*Inventory*

- A6. *Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, to Dr John Fell, bishop of Oxford, 6 November 1684.*  
*TNA, SP 44/56, p. 141.*
- A7. *Dr John Fell, bishop of Oxford, to Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, 8 November 1694.*  
*TNA, SP 29/438, fo. 160.*
- A8. *Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, to Dr John Fell, bishop of Oxford, 11 November 1694.*  
*TNA, SP 44/56, p. 143.*
- A9. *Thomas Chudleigh, to Charles Middleton, second earl of Middleton, 11/21 November 1684.*  
*BL, Add. MS 41810, fos. 187–8.*
- A10. *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 12 November 1684.*  
*BL, Add. MS 28929, fo. 110.*
- A11. *Dr John Fell, bishop of Oxford, to Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, 16 November 1684.*  
*TNA, SP 29/438, fo. 169.*
- A12. *Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, to Dr John Fell, bishop of Oxford, 20 November 1684.*  
*TNA, SP 44/56, p. 145.*
- A13. *Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 22 November 1684.*  
*BL, Add. MS 28929, fo. 112.*
- 791\*. *Locke to Edward Clarke, [late November 1684].*  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Library, MS Eng. 860. Calendared by de Beer; now printed.
- 803A. *Locke to [Edward Clarke], 3/13 January [16]85.*  
SHC, DD/SF 7/1/66. Clarke Papers.
- 804\*. *Locke to Edward Clarke, [c. 5/15 January 1685].*  
BL, Add. MS 38771, fos. 51–2. Calendared by de Beer; now printed.
- 811A. *Locke to Nicolas Toinard, [February 1685].*  
BL, Add. MS 28728, fos. 56–7. Dedicatory epistle. English version of *Adversarium Methodus*.
- 818A. *Locke to Nicolas Toinard, [March 1685].*  
MS Locke, c. 31, fos. 69–70. Dedicatory epistle. Latin version of *Adversarium Methodus*.

*Inventory*

- A14.* Sir Bevil Skelton to Charles, earl of Middleton, 2/12 November 1685.  
*BL, Add. MS 41812, fo. 224.*
- 848A.* Edward Clarke to Thomas Stringer, 20 April 1686.  
*HRO, Malmesbury Papers, 9M73/G293/4.*
- 852A.* Sir Walter Yonge to Edward Clarke, with postscript by Locke,  
4/14 June 1686.  
*SHC, DD/SF 7/9/2. Clarke Papers.*
- 853A.* Locke to Nicolas Toinard, [July] 1686.  
*Bibliothèque universelle*, ii (July 1686), 318–19, ‘Methode Nouvelle de Dresser des Recueils’. Dedicatory epistle. Text from printed journal.
- 860A.* Locke to Margaret Ashley Cooper, dowager countess of Shaftesbury, 14/24 August 1686.  
*HRO, Malmesbury Papers, 9M73/G235.*
- 904\*.* Thomas Papillon to Locke, 2/12 February 1687, with a letter from [William] Broadnax.  
Biographical identification.
- 930A.* Mary Clarke to Edward Clarke, 30 April 1687.  
*SHC, DD/SF 7/1/30. Clarke Papers.*
- 936A.* James Tyrrell to Robert Boyle, 25 May 1687.  
Boyle, *Works*, ed. T. Birch, 1744, v. 620–1.
- 960A.* Locke to [H. D.?], 5 September 1687.  
*MS Locke c. 9, fo. 15.*
- 1001A.* Locke to Thomas Herbert, eighth earl of Pembroke, [c. January] 1688.  
*Abrégé d'un Ouvrage intitulé Essai Philosophique touchant L'Entendement*, 1688. Dedicatory epistle. Text from printed tract.
- [*1024A.* Christian Knorr von Rosenroth: Observations on the *Abrégé* of Locke's *Essay* [1688].  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr., iii. 399–405.*]
- [*1060A.* Hendrik Wetstein to Locke, 20/30 June 1688.  
*De Beer suffixed item: Corr., iii. 478–9.*]
- 1095\*.* Mevr. Cornelia Maria Guenellon (born Veen) and Dr Pieter Guenellon to Locke, 22 December 1688/1 January 1689.  
*MS Locke c. 10, fos. 192–3. Translation of Dutch letter.*

## *Inventory*

- 1115\*. Benjamin Furlly to Locke, 19 February/1 March 1689.  
Enclosure from printed item (Algernon Sidney to Furlly, 1666).
- 1131A. John Clarke to [Edward Clarke?], 27 April 1689.  
MS Locke c. 26, fo. 70.
- 1131B. Locke to [Philipp van Limborch?], [April] 1689.  
*Epistola de Tolerantia*. Dedicatory epistle. Text from printed book.
- 1141A. Locke to Thomas Herbert, eighth earl of Pembroke, 24 May 1689.  
*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1689. Dedicatory epistle.  
Text from printed book.
- BI. *Publishing agreement with Thomas Bassett, 24 May 1689.*  
MS Locke b. 1, f<sup>o</sup>. 109.
- 1160\*. Mevr. Maria Veen (born Arminius) to Locke, 15/25 July 1689.  
MS Locke, c. 23, fos. 11–12. Translation of Dutch letter.
- 1162\*. Mevr. Cornelia Maria Guenellon (born Veen) to Locke, 16/26 July 1689.  
MS Locke c. 10, fos. 194–5. Translation of Dutch letter.
- 1171A. Locke to Jane Stringer (born Barbon), 3 and 6 August 1689.  
HRO, Malmesbury Papers, 9M73/672/22.
- 1206A. Whitelocke Bulstrode to Edward Clarke, 20 November 1689.  
*The Correspondence of Locke and Clarke*, ed. B. Rand, 1927, p. 27. Text from printed book.
- 1208A. Sir Peter Pett to Charles Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth, later third earl of Peterborough, 27 November 1689.  
MS Locke c. 17, fos. 72–5.
- 1209A. Locke to King William III, [c. November 1689].  
Christ Church, Oxford, MS 375/3. Letter of petition.
- 1251A. John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys, 26 February 1690.  
Cambridge: Pepys Library, Magdalene College, MS 2421.
- 1251B. Locke to King William III, [c. February 1690].  
MS Locke c. 25, fo. 47. Letter of petition.
- 1252A. Isaac (later Sir Isaac) Newton to [Locke], February/March 1690.  
MS Locke c. 31, fos. 101–4.