

Shaftesbury · Standard Edition

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,
THIRD EARL OF
SHAFTESBURY

STANDARD EDITION

Complete Works, Correspondence and
Posthumous Writings

Edited with German Translations
and a Commentary by

Christine Jackson-Holzberg, Patrick Müller
& Friedrich A. Uehlein

With the Assistance of Wolfram Benda

Advising Coeditor:

Rudolf Freiburg

frommann-holzboog

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Sämtliche Werke, Briefe und
nachgelassene Schriften

Herausgegeben, übersetzt und
kommentiert von

Christine Jackson-Holzberg, Patrick Müller
& Friedrich A. Uehlein

Unter Mitwirkung von Wolfram Benda

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Rudolf Freiburg

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III,3
CORRESPONDENCE

Letters 192–278
(23 August 1701–5 August 1703)

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The greater part of the manuscripts edited in this volume and cited in our annotations are held by The National Archives at Kew and the Hampshire Record Office in Winchester. Others are spread over the following public and private repositories: the Wiltshire and Swindon Archives in Chippenham; the Gloucestershire Archives in Gloucester; the British Library in London; the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; the Bodleian Library in Oxford; Julian Edison Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries in St. Louis, Missouri; St Giles's House, Wimborne St Giles in Dorset. We are extremely grateful for the friendly assistance offered in each case, also for the consent to our publication of the material. The texts of letters found in the Hampshire Record Office are shown here by kind permission of the depositor of the Malmesbury Papers. Details cited from original manuscripts kept at St Giles's House (Shaftesbury Muniments) appear courtesy of the present Lord Shaftesbury.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last four months of 1701, Shaftesbury was still “working day & night”, as he had been since early February, “for the Common Interest” of the Dutch and English, for the “Union” between them on which “all depends” (letter 160, 16–17). The course pursued within that “Union” was to be dictated by two unforeseen events, each also, in their own separate ways, of consequence for the Earl’s personal direction during these years.

The optimism expressed in his “Paradox” of 20 June 1701 – “*that Good People wishd well to our Divisions*” (letter 168, 27–8) – seemed, two months later, misguided: Whig efforts to exploit the ferociousness of those “*Divisions*”, the aim being to see Parliament quickly dissolved, had come to naught, and new elections were nowhere in sight. The death of James II in early September, however, changed the situation radically. Within just days, Louis XIV officially acknowledged the legitimate and immediate right of James’s heir to the English, Irish, and Scottish thrones, a declaration which, in England, “could not but be taken as a challenge to parliament’s right to regulate the succession and so to the whole Revolution settlement”: King William was therefore easily persuaded that, after just one session, his fourth Parliament had to be dissolved.¹ The energy and zeal invested by Shaftesbury in the elections that followed are visible in his correspondence, and the elation he felt on seeing the new Parliament assemble with a Whig majority, narrow as that was, is similarly palpable both there and, for example, in more paradoxes: his printed *Paradoxes of State*.

The Whigs’ newly recovered political confidence was shattered by a second death, that of William III in early March 1702: with the accession of Queen Anne came the swift return of a Tory ministry and, in July, when the Whigs saw themselves standing yet again at the polls, defeat for the former victors. Shaftesbury, aware even before the elections that any esteem and influence he had earned and seen acknowledged in the months before King William’s death were now lost, “return’d again”, as

¹ Thomson, 42. See below, Appendix I, p. 289.

his son later wrote, “to his retir’d manner of living”,² but this was no complete withdrawal. While his assessment of the situation in August 1702 was tinged with bitterness and anger, he appears to have retained a degree of optimism, basing it on two possibilities. First, in much the same way as he had believed in February 1701 that the King was “still managing with the same [Tory] ministers” because “not awak’d” (letter 153,36–7), he now thought that Tory “Violence” might “allarm & awake y^e People and *the People once awake England is safe*” (letter 261,47–8). And, secondly, just as he had hoped in June 1701 that the “*Divisions*” in Parliament could prove “to be a means of ridding us of such a dangerouse house of Commons” (letter 168,6–8 and 28), he was sure in August 1702 that, if any internal “Division” should arise among those in power, it could only be advantageous for the Whigs: “if they use their late Friends (the Harleys & Foleys) ill, then all that Party joyns again with those of y^e same Principle: & we shall have our own. Upon y^e whole, I am not disheartend” (letter 261,61–4).

The Earl’s words were perhaps in part meant to reassure his friends across the water that the common Anglo-Dutch interest was not under threat, but there can be no doubt that, bruised and “in every respect” weakened as he was after some two years of “Efforts in time of Extreimity” (letter 263,10–11), he still had the heart and strength to stay in England during the twelve months that followed the 1702 elections. That time was initially spent at St Giles’s House, then, from early December 1702, at Little Chelsea, and, as will be seen below, much of the year was devoted to estate business, personal interests, and family matters, chief among those being marriage negotiations for one of his sisters, Lady Frances Ashley. By early August 1703, he was in every sense ready – in spite of “fearing nothing so much as falling alive into French hands” (letter 274,28–9) – to leave England for a second long retreat in Rotterdam and, among other things, a return to his neglected private studies.

The first appendix to the letters in this volume³ presents a number of texts that document aspects of Shaftesbury’s and his fellow Whigs’ polit-

2 SE III 1, Appendix I, p. 369, in the fourth Earl’s biographical “Sketch”.

3 According to our reckoning, at least thirty-eight letters from the period covered here must now be considered lost.

ical campaigning in late 1701, while the second focuses on John Toland's activities in 1702 and 1703, the nature and notoriety of which cast an interesting light on the Earl's continued relations as patron with his testing client.

Editorial Practice

As the manuscripts edited below are in almost every case holograph letters or drafts, and the few exceptions all in contemporary scribal hands, the original spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation in the English texts has been retained throughout. Shortened or abbreviated words have not been expanded, and superscripts are shown above the baseline but without the accidentals (underlining and punctuation marks in varying positions) used in the manuscripts. Italics represent single underlining in the original texts.

Short Latin quotations or proverbial phrases have been consistently italicised and are translated in our footnotes; entire letters written in Latin are accompanied in each case by an English translation. The accents (or lack of such) in French texts and the original spelling there have been left virtually unchanged, but we have modified the opening *i* in cases where a *j* would be required today (e.g. *ie* for *je*). Our general principle for the English, French, and Latin used in the letters has been to emend only obvious slips of the pen or idiosyncrasies likely to baffle; such instances are rare and have all been recorded in our critical apparatus. Substantive deletions are also noted there, in angle brackets with dotted underlining (double for deletions within deletions); dittography has been silently emended. Visible signs of rethinking and revision in draft letters are shown in the main body of the text, again in angle brackets and with the same two types of underlining.

The layout of each letter as found in the copy-text – the positioning, for example, of the date at the beginning or at the end – has been retained, but with modifications designed to create a certain uniformity. The arrangement and justification of the place and/or date, the opening salutation, and the first line accordingly follow a set pattern, similarly the formulaic, but often sprawling closing phrases, which have been reduced to a maximum of three tidy lines. Indentations have been standardised, but new

ABBREVIATIONS, CITATION

a) Repositories

HRO The Hampshire Record Office; now part of Winchester's Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, it holds the papers of the Earls of Malmesbury; the deposited manuscripts include letters and documents which either originally belonged to the first Lord Malmesbury's grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Harris (née Ashley) and other members of Harris family, or were passed on to those by the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury and Thomas Stringer's widow.

Shaftesbury Muniments The deeds and papers of the Earls of Shaftesbury, also of the Ashley and Cooper families, held at St Giles's House, Wimborne St Giles, Dorset.

TNA: PRO The National Archives at Kew: Public Record Office; the papers of the Earls of Shaftesbury, as gifted in 1871, form the series PRO 30/24.

b) Frequently cited manuscripts

Accounts 1711–1719 TNA: PRO 30/24/22/6, untitled. This comprises a copy of the various schedules required after the third Earl's death in 1713 (e.g. inventories; details of properties, tenants, rents, and a rent roll proper for the years 1704–1711; the steward John Wheelock's disbursements "without Vouchers" between 2 July 1711 and 24 March 1714; outstanding debts) as well as other of the steward's accounts (expenses, receipts until January 1716, arrears, rents) reaching up to March (Lady Day) 1719.

Catalogus I TNA: PRO 30/24/23/10, "Catalogus Bibliothecæ Chelseyanæ Comititis de Shaftesbury. Londini annô 1708." The earliest of the three catalogues prepared by Shaftesbury's librarian and secretary Paul Crell, it lists all Greek and Latin works, ancient and modern, kept in the library at Little Chelsea; compiled over the winter months 1708–09.

Catalogus II TNA: PRO 30/24/23/11, “Catalogus Librorum Græcorum, & Latinorum utriusque Bibliothecæ viz^t Ægidianæ, & Chelseyanæ Comitis de Shaftesbury. Ægidiis Anno Aeræ Christianæ 1709.” A combined list of the Greek and Latin works found both at St Giles’s House and at Little Chelsea, probably put to paper between early February and mid-April 1709.

Catalogus III TNA: PRO 30/24/23/12, “Catalogus Librorum Anglicorum, Gallicorum, Italicorum, &c. utriusque Bibliothecæ viz^t Ægidianæ, & Chelseyanæ Comitis de Shaftesbury. Ægidiis Anno Aeræ Christianæ 1709.” This shows the English, French, Italian (also Dutch and Spanish) books in the Chelsea and St Giles’s libraries.

Day Book Shaftesbury Muniments E/A/24, “A Journall or day Booke From Lady day 1681” (also referred to by the third Earl as “Book of Expenses”: *Memorandums*, fol. 69^v). The entries document day-to-day expenses and receipt of moneys between 8 June 1681 and 15 April 1709. The third Earl’s records begin on 16 November 1699 and are in his own hand throughout.

Family Book TNA: PRO 30/24/22/3, “Family-Book”. This offers a record of the third Earl’s “Household Establishment” at St Giles’s House in the year 1707, from the named “Head Servants of the Higher Table” to the unnamed “Maid Servants” (noting in each case their wages); also listed are “Externs” (i.e. the bailiffs on more distant parts of the estate) and the three servants at Shaftesbury’s London home in Little Chelsea. The greater part of the document is then taken up with a fair copy of general instructions for the senior servants and specific ones regarding the duties of the stewards (court and home), the auditor, the housekeeper, the head woodman and gamekeeper, the house clerk, the head butler, and the bailiff.

House Book Shaftesbury Muniments SG/11, untitled. The manuscript records the names of all who were present for meals, lodged, or in some cases merely came to call at St Giles’s House between 16 December 1700 and 7 February 1701, then between 27 June and 24 September 1701; the entries distinguish between “My L^{ds} table”, the stewards’ table, and that of the servants. The names entered in a different hand for the period 10 February to 22 June 1701 are those of the visitors and dinner guests at Little Chelsea.

Memorandums TNA: PRO 30/24/19/1, “Memorand^{ms} of Houshold & Family Transactions Farms Livings &c:”. A notebook containing a small number of entries made by the second Earl (they record e.g. his marriage and the birth of his children), this was next used by the third Earl, first for some brief notes concerning chaplaincies (1699, 1701, and 1702), but in the main for his private “Memorand^{ms}”. Its 136 indexed pages document meetings, agreements, plans, and problems connected with the estate, Shaftesbury’s parliamentary interests in Dorset and Wiltshire, as well as his personal observations and thoughts on the management of his staff or “Family”, the trustworthiness of certain individuals, and his relations with neighbouring landowners. Date: largely 1700–1702, after that sporadically until 1707.

c) *Shaftesbury’s published works and correspondence*

The page numbers in our references to *Characteristicks* and other works are those of the Standard Edition (SE), with the corresponding numbers from the 1711 edition in square brackets. The SE volume numbers for the individual texts are:

- I 1 *Soliloquy; A Letter concerning Enthusiasm; The Adept Ladys*
- I 2 *Miscellaneous Reflections*
- I 3 *Sensus Communis; Instructions*, etc. for the 1714 *Characteristicks*
- I 4 Shaftesbury’s *Notes and Index to Characteristicks*
- I 5 *Second Characters (A Letter concerning Design; The Judgment of Hercules; Plasticks; The Picture of Cebes)*
- II 1 *The Sociable Enthusiast; The Moralists*
- II 2 *Inquiry* (1699 and 1711 texts)
- II 4 *Select Sermons (Whichcote); The Ainsworth Correspondence*
- II 5 *Chartae Socraticae*
- II 6 *Askêmata*
- III 1 *Correspondence: Letters 1–100 (December 1683–February 1700)*
- III 2 *Correspondence: Letters 101–191 (2 April 1700–22 August 1701)*

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- CCEd* *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* (online resource: <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>, last accessed 28 June 2019).
- Commons 1660–1690* *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, 3 vols, ed. Basil Duke Henning (London, 1983).
- Commons 1690–1715* *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690–1715*, 5 vols, eds Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, and David W. Hayton (Cambridge, 2002).
- CSP Dom. 1683–1684* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, Vol. 25 [October 1683–April 1684], ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1938).
- CSP Dom. 1700–1702* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III, 1 April, 1700–8 March, 1702*, ed. Edward Bateson (London, 1937).
- CSP Dom. 1702–1703* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Anne*, Vol. I [1702–1703], ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London, 1916).
- CTB* *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 32 vols, ed. William A. Shaw [1–26] with Francis H. Slingsby [27–32] (London, 1904–1962).
- CTP* *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 6 vols, ed. Joseph Redington (London, 1868–1889).
- JHC* 11/13 *The Journals of the House of Commons*, Volumes 11 [7 November 1693–23 November 1697] and 13 [16 November 1699–25 May 1702] (London, 1803).
- JHL* 17 *Journals of the House of Lords*, Volume 17 [30 December 1701–14 March 1704] (London, 1704).
- MSS Lords* *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, New Series, 6 vols (London, 1900–1949).
- MSS Portland* *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, 10 vols (London, 1891–1931).

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LETTERS 192–278

23 August–22 December 1701

At St Giles's House since 27 June 1701, Shaftesbury would remain in Dorset until 22 December, his long stay there dictated in part by King William's reluctance to dissolve Parliament and the need to be ready for the elections that the Whigs hoped would eventually take place.¹ Entries in the *House Book*, which end with 24 September, show that the Earl's brother and their three as yet unmarried sisters were with him in Dorset, as was the sisters' companion, Mrs Pack; Lady Dorothy and Edward Hooper, the remaining sister and her husband, regularly took their meals with the family and often stayed overnight rather than returning to their own home at nearby Boveridge. The artist John Closterman, Shaftesbury's guest since 9 August, was still there on 24 September,² and Benjamin Furly's youngest son, Arent, who had arrived for a visit on 16 August, stayed until 25 August.³ The *House Book* shows a daily average of forty "Lodgers" (including servants),⁴ and among the visitors listed as dining at Shaftesbury's table are many names already familiar from the first part of the summer and earlier.⁵

¹ See below, Appendix I, p. 289.

² For Closterman → letter 209,33–4 and p. 207 below; he may have stayed in Dorset until 4 November (see SE III 2, p. 218, n. 5).

³ → letter 194,3–8 with notes. Maurice Ashley left St Giles's House on the same day as Arent Furly, but returned three days later.

⁴ Only slightly lower than the average forty-five between the end of June and 22 August.

⁵ Oliver Horsey, rector of All Hallows (Wimborne St Giles) and one of the Earl's chaplains (see e.g. SE III 1, pp. 312–13), regularly took dinner at the house, as did neighbouring landowners: the Stillingfleets from Cranborne, William Morgan from Sixpenny Handley, and (once) the Hookes. Thomas Freke (II) dined with Shaftesbury on 15 September, and George Lewen, the Earl's deputy in the Vice Admiralty at Poole (→ letter 145, head-note), visited on 23–24 September. One new name was that of "Mr Sutton a minister", who stayed for five nights (18–23 September) and ate with Shaftesbury on those days; this may have been Edward Sutton (CCEd Person ID 51645), from 1679 until his death in 1728 incumbent at Winterbourne Whitchurch.

The pattern already established in July 1701 continued as before, with typical sporting pastimes⁶ and visits to Boveridge when the Hoopers themselves happened not to be at St Giles's House, but also with the usual close attention to the estate. On 9 September, for instance, Shaftesbury "made up accounts" with the teacher employed to give lessons in reading, needlework, and knitting at the school which he had set up in November 1700 for the orphaned or poor children of Wimborne St Giles; the teacher was also required to give him an account of the pupils, naming those who were doing well and those who were not (the children from one particular family, for example, were proving "idle & little seem'd to *mind God* or Goodness").⁷ A close watch was also kept on his estate workers, as on 14 October, when the Earl took the opportunity to form for himself an opinion of his woodmen's characters: one who had worked for the Shaftesbury family for over twenty years, and who appeared to be "an honest meek sober sensible plain man", was granted more money, while another, who, as the Earl knew, had been fined 18s. by a local landowner "for swearing", was viewed with suspicion, not least because of information about him provided by James Bishop, Shaftesbury's intelligence officer.⁸

The normal business of tenancies and leases or offers put to the Earl regarding specific properties were also scrutinised for any hidden problems or ulterior (calculating as well as unselfish) motives.⁹ On 20 Octo-

⁶ According to the *Day Book*, hare coursing (6, 19, 29 September and 10 October) and bowling on Sir Nathaniel Napier's greens (29 August).

⁷ *Memorandums*, fol. 58^r; see below, p. 203, also SE III 2, 59, n. 27.

⁸ *Memorandums*, fols 60^r and 72^v; for Bishop and his duties → letter 151. See also the suspicions noted on 3 October about an elderly farmer who, for years, had presented bills for the repairs he had had carried out, but was always unable to explain the items or "warrant y^e Honesty of the Workmen employd", being, as he claimed, "a poor ignorant Man"; Shaftesbury's frustrated comment: "yet has this always been y^e Custome for him to pay y^e Bills, & then be allowed it" (*Memorandums*, fol. 67^v).

⁹ Hatches (floodgates) built to the detriment of other properties, for instance, or attempts to prevent enclosures; see *Memorandums*, fols 66^r (28 August) and 62^v (30 August). The banishing earlier in 1701 of "y^e Lewd Woman of our Parish" (letter 22, n. 34) afforded an opportunity on 29 September to collude, for reasons of charity, with her brother. The latter had taken in his sister's legitimate daughter after agreeing with Shaftesbury that the duration of the girl's life would be added to a property agreement, but his wife, who wanted to see one of her own young relatives named instead, had been "hard upon him"; he visited the Earl without his wife's knowledge and requested

ber, Shaftesbury “kept Court” at Rockbourne, viewing “the Bounds” between his property and Damerham: whereas “we claim plain & strait & marked Bounds,” the others’ boundaries were “uncertain crooked & unmark’d except by their own fresh marks [...] quite different from their former”; this was not merely a question of private ownership, the lines drawn also being “County-Bounds”.¹⁰

The *Day Book* shows that a bricklayer was rewarded on 11 October for “finishing y^e Windows in y^e Picture-room”, and some “Painters” received a small gift of money on 11 November. The room in question appeared under that name in inventories dating from 1699, but the appellation had changed by 1713, when it was shown as “the Great Room”.¹¹ The inventory taken in that year lists among its contents “Pictures The first Earls, the second Earls, the late Earls with his Brother Maurices & his 4 sisters all in Frames in the Wainscott”,¹² and it was by then no longer the only “picture room” in the house. A letter written by the Countess of Rutland in 1702 in response to hopes expressed by Shaftesbury of acquiring further family portraits – those, she had been told, would hang in a “finely & nobelly adorned” room at St Giles’s House – suggests that John Closterman’s above-mentioned presence over the summer of 1701 and the work done “in y^e Picture-room” were both connected with protracted planning not only for additions to the existing collection of portraits, but also for the rearranging envisaged by the Earl.¹³

that the girl should still “have y^e Lease at her disposall after him”, but that “this might be done secretly” at St Giles’s House (*Memorandums*, fols 34^r and 70^v).

¹⁰ *Memorandums*, fol. 64^r. Shaftesbury was able to use the new map of the area commissioned by him and paid for on 30 September 1701 (*Day Book*), and his entry in the *Memorandums* describes the boundary in some detail (mentioning, for example, “an old Fortification” overgrown with furze and “a plain Ditch w^{ch} was some Line or work from y^e old Castle or Camp”). In 1701, Rockbourne, now in Hampshire, still belonged to Wiltshire.

¹¹ See Shaftesbury Muniments SG/9, 12, and 13. See also Voitle, 165 for a brief description of the house’s interior (its “rooms centered around an open court—a winter dining room, the formal dining room with drawing rooms, the withdrawing room, the cedar room, nurseries, and chapel”).

¹² Shaftesbury Muniments SG/13, p. 7.

¹³ See pp. 204–7 below.

SUPPLEMENT

151A. SHAFTESBURY TO ELIZABETH COOPER, c.5 February 1701

Family Book, fols 206–7 (loose sheet, slight text loss due to folding and tears); a set of instructions, nos 1–9 dictated to John Wheelock, the remainder, as well as four additions and slight changes made to Wheelock's portion, written by Shaftesbury himself. Folding created a cover page which the Earl marked "Instructions Housekeeper"; see also n. 1 below. The words "Old Instructions" were entered later, again by Shaftesbury, on the first page of the text proper, probably shortly before he assembled his new instructions for the housekeeper (dated 24 May 1707) during work on the *Family Book*.

Elizabeth Cooper, the housekeeper at St Giles's House, is first mentioned in a *Day Book* entry for 18 September 1700 and had taken up the post that same year. Addressed and almost always shown in documents as Mrs Cooper (her first name is recorded in *Accounts 1711–1719*, fol. 481^r and in the third Earl's will [Shaftesbury Muniments F/W/14]), she was evidently a widow (John Wheelock informed Shaftesbury on 8 January 1704 that "her son and Daughter came heither last night I suppose they designe a Week or 10 days Stay She hopes your L^{dp} will not be displeasd at their coming"). As housekeeper, she was one of the "Head Servants of the Higher Table" (*Family Book*, pp. 2 and 10); her duties in 1707 included, in the Earl's absence, the "Maintenance of the Family, & the entertaining and Lodging of Strangers," regular inspections of all rooms, "from the Garrets to the lower Floors, especially in damp weather, and on sudden Rains, or Snow" (ibid. pp. 72–82). Shaftesbury left her a life annuity of £15.

Date: year based on lines 2 and 7 (see n. 2); month and day taken to be approximately those of the instructions left by the Earl in February 1701 for James Bishop (his woodman, gamekeeper, and intelligence officer; → letter 151).

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To M^{rs} Cooper House-keeper

When I left the Family last Winter I settled them in my Absence at Board wages.

viz^t

- 5 (1) Two at y^c Stewards Table at 10^s a week p^r head

And nine at y^c Servants Table at 5^s p^r Week p^r head w^{ch} was 169 pounds a Yeare¹ There being now Your Self & more added to my Family; I shall

¹ These were in both cases the arrangements set out on 7 February 1700 for Henry Dalicourt: → letter 99, 21–3 and 23–6 (lines 26–9 there on the additional benefits correspond to lines 8–10 here). Line 2, "last winter" (1699/1700) and the addition of Mrs Cooper to the Dorset household by 18 September 1700 date the instructions above to the winter of 1700/1701.

- make up the allowance 180^{ll} w^{ch} is besides the Bennifitt of the Kitchen Garden the Pidgion house offall of y^e Swine wth the Convenience of the
10 Kitchen and other offices for Brewing and Bakeing &c^a Whatsoever else goes out of my Stock towards yo^r Housekeeping either out of the Dary or Granary or elsewhere must be accounted for as the Baly and Thomas Burbidge² and Dary made³ have been ⟨. . .⟩ and so for what is spent out of the ⟨Bread. . .⟩ you yo^r selfe accounting for it at the Vallue⁴
- 15 (2) As for Farmers or Tennants my order now is the same viz^t That for those who come and Dine here Dalecourt shall Charg a Shilling or what more a head he thinks fit, for every day they Dine, if it be a coman man or Livery man or any Freind or Relation of any of the under servants and such as dine at their table Hee shall charge sixpence or more as he think fit
20 But if any Gentlemans Steward or head servant, or any other of the Better Rank dine wth you I allow two Shillings or half a Crown or what more a Head he thinks fit to charge and wine when he or you think fitt to call for it. And take notice no other person is to be entertaind at either of the tables, but who is so chargd and allowd for
- 25 (3) And as to any of the Gentlemen if they are so kind at any time as to call here to see any of you or to enquire after me or if they bring any Friend to see the place That they be offered Wine &c^a And that Johnathan⁵ or the Housemaid (and Your selfe where proper) be always ready to waite on them wthin Dores as the Gardiner is to do wthout, and
30 this wth all Civility & Respect whether they give any thing or not this being a respect & service paid to me for w^{ch} it very unbecoming in any servant to seem to ask or receive any thing, as y^e common way is of some Servants.

² The bailiff was John Gibbs (→ letter 65, n. 6). On Thomas Burbige, a long-serving member of the household, → letter 99, n. 7.

³ Read “maid”.

⁴ An unfinished note added by Shaftesbury beside no. 2 in the broad margin left for that purpose belongs more properly here: “The Washing now in y^e house of those y^t washd before”. → letter 99, lines 29–32 and 132–3 on laundry “out of the house”.

⁵ → letter 264, 28–32.

4) Any Poole, Weymouth or Shaftesbury People to be perticularly well
35 received⁶

5) Strangers especially Forreigners that seem of any Note or Condition
to be Hansomely received takeing their Names Down to acquaint me wth
it as well as of other things by letter

6) Johnathan in my absence is to assist you as groome of the Chambers
40 in keeping and looking after the Furniture of the Roomes and Wardroab
removing Aireing and putting up Bedds and hangings &c^a

7) The managemt of y^e Dary is to be under your Inspection & y^e Dary-
Maid (as well as all y^e Maid-Servants of my house) obedient to You &
under you: And all tho' she manages the Dary under my Bayliffs direction
45 (he being to give me an account of y^e Profitts of it) yet I expect y^t you
should be able to satisfy me concerning it & give account of the Cheese
& Butter as it is made set & deliverd out to be spent having a key of your
own both to y^e Dary & Places belonging⁷

My other orders concerning the Family w^{ch} I acquaint you with are these

8) that of the married Servants no more then one at once should lye out
50 of the House for Feare of Accident by Fire or Robbery

9) That none sett upp after 10 at night and that Johnathan make it his
Practice to goe about at night to all the Chambers to see that the Fires and
Candles bee all put out and that you take Great Care of this in the Maids
55 Chambers I enjoyn you as y^r Duty to acquaint me of whomsoever you
finde Careless of Fire Whether of the men or Women⁸

10) I hope you will allways think it your Duty to inform me of y^e Be-
haviour of y^e Servants in my Family (especially those are immediatly under

⁶ See the Earl's later instructions for his Dorset housekeeper as regards "Hospitality":
"As for People that resort to the House more than is necessary or convenient, some
allowance is to be made for those who have been Serviceable to the Family-Interest on
Publick Occasions, & particularly y^e Friends of this sort that come at any time from
Shaftesbury, Pool, or Weymouth" (*Family Book*, fol. 239^r).

⁷ Mrs Cooper's duties would later (perhaps by 1713) be confined to overseeing the
"Dary & Stillery" (*Accounts 1711-1719*, fol. 481^r).

⁸ → e.g. letter 264,97-105.

APPENDIX I: ADDRESSES AND INSTRUCTIONS

The addresses with which, in July and August 1701, the Whigs hoped that William III could be persuaded to dissolve the Parliament he had prorogued on 24 June – petitions to which the Tories responded in like form, implying, for instance, that the Whigs were attempting “to divide this nation in the reign of the best of kings”¹ – failed to bring about the desired effect, leaving Shaftesbury to sense by 26 August that “Things with us grow wors & wors through the Delay of that Dissolution w^{ch} all good People hopd would be pretty soon: but now think despairingly of” (letter 194, 15–17). Events on the Continent in early September, the death, that is, of James II and France’s acknowledgement of his son as James III, rightful King of England, Ireland, and Scotland,² “pretty soon” led, however, to a build-up of the pressure necessary. On 26 September, the “common council” of the City of London prepared an address declaring that it would “support his majestie and government vigorously against the power of France”,³ and by the time the king returned from Holland on 4 November, more than fifty addresses, Whig and Tory, from the counties were ready to be presented, the greater part of them, in addition, already printed, e.g. in the *London Gazette*, over the course of late September and October. The Whig declarations, numerically stronger, provided Lord Somers with reinforcements for his (in the end successful) attempt “to make a persuasive case for calling a new general election”,⁴ reinforcements which in fact formed part of a propaganda campaign headed by Somers himself.⁵ Shaftesbury’s own participation in these efforts, then in

¹ And, of course, at a time “when we have the best house of commons, excepting that which brought his majestie to the throne”: Luttrell 5, 88 (9 September), citing the recent address drawn up by the grand jury at the Devon Assizes; → letter 194, 28–30.

² → letter 196, n. 8.

³ Luttrell 5, 94.

⁴ Horwitz, 296.

⁵ See Downie, e.g. 42 (in his chapter on “The paper war of 1701”: 41–56). See also MSS *Portland* IV, 25, Godolphin to Harley, 21 October 1701: “I do not doubt but the addresses you speak of will have a very good effect both at home and abroad where we hear all addresses of that kind are very well liked.”

the follow-up, a wave of printed instructions and advices from the constituencies for their representatives in the new Parliament, is documented to some extent in his correspondence, but also by a small number of other items found among his papers.

1. *Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 13 October 1701*

On 18 October 1701, Shaftesbury mentioned to Benjamin Furly that, on the previous day, his own brother had left Dorset for London with “an Address to the King from the Corporation he serves for” (letter 210,47–8), a petition, in other words, from the united boroughs of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, for which Maurice Ashley first sat from 1695 until 1698 and which, on 3 January 1701, he had once again been elected to represent. The Earl was able to cite several lines from that address in his letter to Furly, evidently taking them from a manuscript version in his or his brother’s possession. An entry in the *Day Book* for 17 October 1701 records the 10s. given by Shaftesbury to “M^r Langrage’s y^e Mayor of Weymouth Man when my Bro^r went to Town with y^e Weymouth Address”, and a copy in the Earl’s own hand of a letter sent by Maurice Ashley to said mayor, the merchant Charles Langrish (in office since late September) fills in the details:⁶

S^t Giles’s Oct: 16. 1701.

M^r Mayor

Yesterday I receivd y^r Address with your Commission to your other Members & my Self to present it to the King. I this day leave S^t Giles’s in
5 order to acquit my self of y^r s^d Charg w^{ch} I shall do with g^t Satisfaction, & a hearty Concurrence wth those just & honest Sentiments to his Majesty &

⁶ TNA: PRO 30/24/22/1, fol.92, marked by Shaftesbury as “Coppy of my Bro^{rs} Letter to the Mayor of Weymouth?” and again on the reverse as “My Bro^{rs} Letter to y^e Mayor of Weymouth Oct: 16. 1701.”; Pooritz I, 250. For Charles Langrish see Ellis, 230. Line 4, “this day”: according to Shaftesbury, his brother did not leave until the following day (→ letter 210,46).

his Governm^t y^t are expressd in y^r Address, together with an Abhorrence
& Resentm^t of y^e Arbitrary & tyrannicall proceedings of y^e French King

10 Tis a great Satisfaction to me to see my Opinion & constant Vote in
Parlem^t justified & supported by my Principalls, & especially now y^t it has
been my Misfortune (& I think likewise y^e Misfortune of my Country)
to have seen Sentiments of another kind to apt to prevail & take place
amongst us

I heartily Congratulate y^r p^rsent honour as our Mayor

15 & am &c.

It is difficult to determine in how far the Earl and his brother were directly involved in the actual drafting of the borough's address, the contents and language of which identify it as a product of the concerted Whig campaigns in the counties. The tactics consisted in presenting "new manifestations of popular zeal for the war and of opposition to the present House of Commons", the aim being to persuade King William "that it would be both advantageous and safe for him to venture upon fresh elections":⁷ the now considerable power of public opinion could be utilised by seemingly giving voice to the electorate.⁸ Shaftesbury, as will be seen in the final section of this appendix, certainly did play an active role some two months later in the next round of propaganda, in the drafting, that is, of the instructions sent by Weymouth and Melcombe Regis voters to their representatives in the Commons. Writing to Benjamin Furly on 21 July 1701, moreover, he had already defined the Whigs' "Part" – their contribution to the furtherance of King William's reported "good resolutions ag^t y^e common Enemy" and to the political exploitation of the recent "Glorious Success of the Imperialists under Prince Eugene in Italy" – as "now only to animate our People the best we can in this Intervall of Parlemt^t" (letter 175,5–9).

⁷ Horwitz, 295.

⁸ See Downie, 53: "The whigs appealed to public opinion to secure a dissolution, and to defend themselves from reprisals. They put up a smokescreen to obscure their real motives for upholding the rights of the electorate. [...] If the whigs managed to force a dissolution, it would be the voice of the 'people' that would be heard on the issues of the preceding parliament."

APPENDIX II: THE INCENDIARY

In the eyes of Willem Heysterman, John Toland “promiseth much, if Bound to Human prudence & Conduct” (letter 183,26–7) and could, if thus governed, “doo a speciall Service to his Country & all that Love Religion & Liberty” (letter 223,111–12). That was an assessment quite evidently shared by Shaftesbury, who continued to support Toland privately even after Lord Somers had informed William III in early 1699 that the man “was a ‘notorious Socinian and no less an incendiary’ whose activities were in need of constant surveillance”, whereupon Toland’s “comings and goings on both sides of the Channel” began to be “carefully observed.”¹ Only as of 1704 would Shaftesbury cancel the annual allowance of £20 granted Toland an unknown number of years previously in what had virtually been a form of contract, and the Earl’s reasons for terminating that were twofold: not just “because of my private affaires y^t require Retrenchment of things of this kind,” but also, revealingly, “because of the Person, whose prophane & loose Ways over-ballance all the Good (I think) that either he has done or can do, unless he reforms much more.”²

Toland’s potential for doing the particular kind of “Good” referred to by Shaftesbury had been most visible in his “treatise upon republican kingship”,³ *Anglia libera* (1701), persuading the Earl at the time to help secure a place for him on Lord Macclesfield’s mission to Hanover in July 1701⁴ and, later, to use him as a convenient screen behind which the author of

¹ Jacob, 7, citing a letter from James Vernon to Lord Portland of 29 April 1699 (British Library, Add. MS 40773, fol. 333). Those “comings and goings” certainly included Toland’s visit to Rotterdam and beyond in May 1699, not very long after Shaftesbury himself had returned to England (see SE III 1, letter 74,35–7 with p. 267 there).

² Letter to John Wheelock of 30 November/11 December 1703 (from Rotterdam). The decision to end the payments was more properly a termination agreement suggested by Toland himself: see n. 6 below.

³ Champion 2003, 120.

⁴ → letters 169, n. 8 and 170, n. 19. While Robert Harley similarly endorsed the idea that Toland should be included in Macclesfield’s party, Shaftesbury’s voice may well have tipped the scales: Macclesfield, to whom the Earl clearly felt himself somehow accountable for Toland’s personal conduct (→ letter 175,22–7), was wary not only of Toland (→ letter 175, n. 4), but also of Harley (→ letter 223,60–7).

Paradoxes of State could remain anonymous.⁵ Toland was in a position to ask Shaftesbury for “the Favor” of a “Recommendation” in March 1702 (letter 242,3–5), also to contact him in November 1703 when in financial straits;⁶ he wrote to the Earl again in September 1705, their patronage agreement long ended, to say that he was “in some manner about altering my Circumstances”, having received an offer from “the present Ministry”, and, on 22 October of the same year, he sent another letter, together with a copy of his newly published *Memorial of the State of England*.⁷ The last extant letter sent by Toland to Shaftesbury (late December 1709, probably from Amsterdam) shows its writer hoping both to serve his country with his recent publication, *Lettre d'un Anglois à un Hollandois, au sujet du Docteur Sacheverell*, and to regain the trust once placed in him by the Earl but then somehow forfeited.⁸

In addition to six letters exchanged by Toland and Shaftesbury (only one of them from the latter), the Earl's papers offer further evidence of their relations during the period which ended for him in frustration over his client's “Ways” and for Toland in the loss of regular income: a letter sent from Utrecht by Toland, signing himself “You know Who”, to an unnamed, untitled addressee and dated 12 February 1703 NS. It opens with the mention of another letter written by Toland and meant for the eyes of someone who is also not named, but was clearly so well known to the addressee that the mention of his rank as lord sufficed; the letter referred to was, moreover, quite probably not so much a personal com-

⁵ → letters 234, n. 11 and 235, n. 3.

⁶ Shaftesbury's letter to Wheelock of 30 November/11 December 1703 indicates that Toland had asked him in a letter for an advance on his next allowance; when that was refused him, Toland wrote to an intermediary (Benjamin Furly) “renouncing all Pretence to any Payments for y^e Future” if the Earl would agree to give him “two hundred Guilders” now, a proposal to which his patron agreed.

⁷ The offer mentioned in the first of these two letters (undated, but probably written in early September) came from Robert Harley, who would cover Toland's living “and all other expenses” personally, “out of [his] own pocket” (MSS Portland IV, 409; Toland to Harley, 16 May 1707), and for whom Toland produced the *Memorial*; see Champion 2003, 57–9 and *passim*.

⁸ Certainly by early 1709, when Pierre Coste evidently felt no need to hold back with his own opinion of Toland as “ce mal-honnête homme” (letter to Shaftesbury of 15 February 1709). On the *Lettre*, see Carabelli, 146–7.

munication, but the manuscript of a work that Toland hoped to publish. This raises questions for us about the possible extent of his continued contact with Shaftesbury at a time when the incendiary in Toland was causing considerable outrage in certain quarters. Some context is needed, then, before we turn below to the letter itself.

May–November 1702

The accession of Queen Anne in March 1702 not only triggered the swift changes that saw the Whigs forced, as Shaftesbury put it, “to struggle for Life” (letter 246,20) – with personal consequences for the Earl himself and for Junto members such as Halifax and Somers⁹ – but must also have dampened whatever was left of the optimism felt in December 1701 by John Toland, “qui ce promet des merveilles” of the new Parliament.¹⁰ Those wonders included, at least according to Leibniz, Toland’s personal hopes that he might receive an official appointment as tutor to Hanover’s Electoral Prince, Georg August, an aspiration he would allegedly voice in the first part of the pamphlet which, in mid-December, he was rumoured to be preparing¹¹ and which was published on or by 30 December (then coupled, as it were, by mid-January 1702 with Shaftesbury’s *Paradoxes of*

⁹ Also, e.g., for Gilbert Burnet, who “lost the royal favour that had allowed him to play such a prominent role in ecclesiastical affairs throughout the 1690s”: Martin Greig, *ODNB*. For Halifax and Somers see p. 164 above.

¹⁰ *Sic* Electress Dowager Sophia to Leibniz, 1 January 1702 NS, citing letters written by Toland to Georg Christoph von Braun, an officer of her court: Leibniz, *Briefwechsel* I 20, no. 98.

¹¹ Leibniz, as he warned Sophia on 27 December 1701 NS (*Briefwechsel* I 20, no. 87), had heard in Berlin that Toland was about to raise “de nouvelles questions” in print, amongst those the idea that he be offered such a post. The comment added by Leibniz – that this would be a step on “le chemin pour l’Eveché ou Archeveché” which Toland was already hoping to attain – suggests, however, that the rumoured dream of a tutorship possibly had more to do with the sceptical and dismissive view taken by some (including Leibniz) of the man’s endeavours than with an idea not expressly brought up by Toland in the text he was about to publish.

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