

The Lost Library of Anne Conway

Abstract:

The philosopher Anne Conway (1631-1679) owned a large library, and her reading and book ownership shaped her intellectual life in distinctive ways. Until now, however, almost nothing has been known about the details of her reading or her book collection. Current scholarship assumes that her library, like that of her husband, the third Viscount Conway (c. 1623–1683), was lost or dispersed after her death. This article presents previously unrecognised evidence of Conway’s book ownership, and identifies, for the first time, the only books currently known to survive from her personal library. It traces their path to their current location in the Old Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, through the library of the soldier, book collector, and Cambridge Fellow Francis Sterling (c. 1652-1692). The article demonstrates that the newly identified books reveal previously unknown patterns of intellectual exchange amongst Conway’s family, and argues that they have significant implications for our understanding of her early intellectual development.

Keywords: Anne Conway (1631-1679), early modern philosophy, female philosophers, libraries, book ownership

I.

The philosopher Anne Conway (1631-1679) inhabited a painful, bookish world. The universities and institutions of learning that welcomed her male contemporaries were closed to her and, for much of her life, constant pain and her deteriorating health prevented her from travelling far from her homes in London and Warwickshire. For significant periods of time, Conway’s intellectual life was conducted through correspondence, and through reading. Her experience of philosophy, and her one philosophical work—the posthumous *Principia philosophiae antiquissimae et recentissimae* of 1690, translated in 1692 as *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*—were thus shaped in a distinctive way by her access to books. Recent scholarship has emphasised that this was an experience she shared with other female philosophers, such as Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673); women whose social status facilitated book ownership on a large scale could mitigate other restrictions on their intellectual lives.¹ Consequently, most modern accounts of Conway’s life emphasise the paramount importance of reading to the development of her philosophy. The editors of the most recent edition of Conway’s *Principles* are typical in arguing that her “voracious reading” was a characteristic apparent from her first correspondence.² One of her earliest surviving letters, written to her father-in-law in October 1651, is an erudite performance that discusses Sir Henry Wootton’s *Elements of Architecture* (1624), George Hakewill’s *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God* (1627) and John Donne’s *The First Anniversarie: An Anatomy of the World* (1610).³ Her letters to other correspondents, such as the philosopher Henry More (1614-1687) and her brother, Sir John Finch (1626-1682), also show her discussing her reading, and sending and receiving books. The implications of Conway’s reading were not merely philosophical. Writing to More in 1675, her deepening engagement with the Quakers, which appalled him, was signalled by the judgement that “The reading of their books lately had in a great measure freed me from former prejudicate opinions[...].”⁴

After her marriage in 1651, her voraciousness was fed by the library of Ragley Hall, the seat of her husband Edward Conway (c.1623-1683), later third Viscount Conway and

Killultagh, and first Earl of Conway. The Ragley library has been described as “one of the finest private libraries in the country.”⁵ At its core was part of the vast collection of the second Viscount Conway (1594-1655), Edward Conway’s father and an omnivorous bibliophile, whose library was probably the largest in early Stuart England.⁶ The second Viscount’s book collection, housed both in London and at Lisnegarvey in Ireland, contained around 13,000 volumes.⁷ It had a dramatic history. In 1641, Irish troops burnt the Lisnegarvey library: the London portion was sequestered by Parliament in 1643.⁸ The catalogue of Conway’s books in Ireland, compiled by William Chambers and Philip Tandy between 1636 and 1640, and a list of the sequestered London books drawn up by the bookseller Robert Bostock in 1643 demonstrate both the vast range of the second Viscount’s bibliophilia and the presence of philosophy books in his collection.⁹ Bostock’s book list indicates that the second Viscount owned much late renaissance natural philosophy, including Jean Bodin’s *Universae naturae theatrum*, Cardano’s *De subtilitate*, and Caspar Bartholin’s *Enchiridion physicum*, as well as works by Tommaso Campanella.¹⁰ The sequestered London books were eventually reclaimed by the second Viscount Conway and passed to his son. An indenture dated March 10 1648/9 records that Edward Conway was given “all the bookes and manuscripts whatsoever” of his father—in practice, this seems to have been only those present in London—in return “for the payment and satisfaction of divers summes of money” on his father’s behalf.¹¹ After taking possession of the surviving portion of his father’s library, Conway continued to buy books on his own account.¹² The Earl of Conway’s library was dispersed after his death in 1683, and its contents can be reconstructed only on the basis of his father’s library catalogues. Nevertheless, it is clear that Anne Conway had access to a very wide range of philosophical, literary and theological books.¹³

Conway’s pre-eminent modern biographer, Sarah Hutton, has argued that, in addition to the Conway family collection, Anne Conway probably maintained a personal library.¹⁴ It seems unlikely that, given her serious and developed interests in metaphysics and natural philosophy, Conway would have been confined by her husband’s library, however large, or that her reading would have been mediated by his interests.¹⁵ The assumption that Anne Conway maintained a library distinct from the larger collection at Ragley Hall is further supported by her correspondence, which shows that she sought and received books from Henry More and her half-brother John Finch, amongst others.¹⁶ On several occasions More, who sent many books in Conway’s direction, gave copies of his own books both to Edward Conway and to Anne; he also distinguished books sent “for my Lords Library” from those intended for her.¹⁷

Anne Conway’s commitment to book collecting is also implied by the fact that she seems to have employed her own librarian. A letter from John Finch, dated November 10/20 1651, asks her to “remember me to your library keeper Mrs Sarah.”¹⁸ Hutton identifies this “Mrs Sarah” with Sarah Bennet—Conway’s companion, perhaps a relative, who appears frequently in her correspondence from the early 1650s onwards, and who witnessed her will in 1673.¹⁹ Finch’s description of Sarah Bennet as a “library keeper” may be ironic, rather than a reference to a formal office.²⁰ Nevertheless, the implication—that Conway owned enough books to constitute a library, and to require a keeper—is significant. No further evidence of Sarah Bennet’s duties survives.

Sarah Hutton notes that the current library at Ragley Hall no longer contains any of Edward and Anne Conway’s books.²¹ We do not know how, or indeed when, Anne Conway’s books were dispersed after her death in 1679. They may have been sold on the open market: if they were, no record survives. Her will records bequests of £300 to her friend and physician Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, £400 to Henry More and £500 to

her brother Sir John Finch, but does not mention her books specifically.²² After Anne Conway's death, her husband inherited her property. There is no evidence that he dispersed her books; his interest in book collecting implies that this is unlikely. Edward Conway remarried twice, rapidly, before his death in 1683; first, in 1680, to Elizabeth Booth, who died in 1681, and secondly, again in 1681, to Ursula Stawell.²³ After Conway's death, his estate passed, in murky legal circumstances, to the family of his cousin Edward Seymour.²⁴ Here, the trail fades. It seems that Anne Conway's book collection, like that of her husband, entered the forlorn ranks of libraries that did not long outlive their owners.²⁵

Scholars in disciplines beyond the history of philosophy have good reason to be interested in the uncertain fate of Conway's books. In particular, the question of Conway's library sits within a wider field of scholarship on women's book ownership in the early modern period. What a recent edited collection terms "women's bookscapes"—that is, the material, cultural, and intellectual landscapes in which early modern women engaged with books—are the subject of increasing attention, not least because it is increasingly evident that female readers and book owners were less rare than was once supposed.²⁶ The reading and book ownership of Conway's philosophical contemporary Margaret Cavendish have been examined, but no comparable study exists for Conway.²⁷ Conway's case is a particular, privileged example of the kind of female book ownership described in current scholarship; her aristocratic status, the large collection to which she had access, and the sparse surviving evidence of her personal library set her apart from many other female readers who have been studied recently, such as Frances Wolfrestron (1607–1677).²⁸

Conway's reading and the Ragley Hall library have been widely discussed in recent accounts of her life and philosophy, partly because they imply close engagement with the central philosophical currents of the period.²⁹ Conway the voracious reader was a philosopher of real originality who addressed central questions in early modern metaphysics and theology. Recent scholarship, following Sarah Hutton's emphasis on "the dialogic nature of Anne Conway's conduct of her intellectual enquiries," has explored her engagement both with philosophers she knew and debated, such as Henry More, John Finch, and her physician and philosophical collaborator Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, and also with those who she discussed in the *Principles*, but never met, such as Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes.³⁰ Emily Thomas points out that the chief differences of opinion amongst Conway scholars concern the precise shape of this dialogue, and the relative weight attributed to her interlocutors.³¹ Jacqueline Broad has recently added the physician Walter Charleton to this list, arguing that Conway disputed Charleton's conception of the "intimate presence" of the soul in the body.³² As Broad notes, however, the full extent of Conway's engagement with contemporary philosophy remains imperfectly understood.³³ A fuller understanding of the books Conway owned and read would bring this engagement into sharper focus: it would also cast new light on the intellectual development of one of the seventeenth century's most significant female philosophers.

II.

This article presents previously unrecognised evidence of Anne Conway's book ownership. The Old Library of Jesus College, Cambridge holds four books that contain her signature on the front free endpaper. They are:

- 1) [John Wilkins], *A Discourse concerning a NEW World & Another Planet in 2 Bookes* ([London], Printed [by John Norton and Richard Hearne] for Iohn Maynard, & are to be

sold at the George, in Fleetstreet neare St. Dunstans Church, 1640). 8° Shelfmark: H.10.1. ESTC: S119973

2) [John Wilkins], *Mathematicall MAGICK, or, THE WONDERS That may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry. In two Books. CONCERNING MECHANICALL POWVERS MOTIONS BEING ONE OF The most easie, pleasant, useful (and yet most neglected part of MATHEMATICKS. Not before treated of in this language.* By I. W. M.A (London, Printed by M[iles] F[lesher] for Sa[muel] Gellibrand at the brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1648). 8° Shelfmark: H.10.2. ESTC: R6164

3) Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica: Or, ENQUIRIES INTO Very many Received And commonly Presumed TRUTHS.* By THOMAS BROWNE D^r of Physick. The Second Edition, Corrected and much Enlarged by the Author. TOGETHER With some Marginall Observations, and a Table Alphabeticall at the end. (London, Printed by A. Miller, for Edw. Dod and Nath. Ekins, at the Gunne in Ivie Lane, 1650) 4° Shelfmark: M.8.25. ESTC: R2160

4) [Richard Verstegan] *A RESTITUTION of DECAYED INTELLIGENCE: In antiquities. Concerning the most noble and renouved English nation. By the studie and trauaile of R. V. Dedicated vnto the Kings most excellent Maiestie* (Printed at Antwerp by Robert Bruney, 1605. And to be sold at London in Paules-Churchyard, by Iohn Norton and Iohn Bill) 4° Shelfmark: N.4.12. ESTC: S116255.

These are the only books known to contain marks of ownership by Anne Conway. ESTC lists two of them (Wilkins's *Discovery* and *Mathematicall Magick*) as present in the Jesus Old Library, but their provenance and the significance of Conway's signature in them have never been noticed or recorded.³⁴

In three cases—in Wilkins's *Discovery* and *Mathematicall Magick*, and in Verstegan's *Antiquities*—Conway's signature has been crossed through in another hand (most likely that of a later College *bibliothecarius*), but is still legible. The italic hand of the signature is clearly Conway's; this is most apparent on the uncrossed signature on the front free endpaper of Browne's *Pseudodoxia*. All four signatures have several letter shapes found both in other examples of her signature on letters and throughout her correspondence—in particular, a majuscule A with a distinctive stroke that joins the top of the left hand vertical, and an elision between the lowercase n and w of “Conway.”

When signing letters, Conway used various forms of her name: “A.C,”³⁵ “A.Conway,”³⁶ and “Anne Conway.”³⁷ Conway's signatures on her correspondence are not consistent, so it is not possible to date the signature in these books with certainty. The form of the signature (“Anne Conway”) in all four books most closely matches that on several letters to her husband and to Henry More dated between 1652 and 1661.³⁸ In every case, the inscription—although not necessarily the acquisition of the book—must post-date her marriage to Edward Conway in February 1651. An unpublished preface to Conway's philosophy composed by Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont and Henry More, which was printed in Richard Ward's 1710 biography of More, referred to Conway's philosophical manuscripts as “only Writings abruptly and scatteredly, I may add also obscurely, written in a Paper-Book, with a Black-lead Pen.”³⁹ The published preface to the 1690 Latin edition of the *Principles* also refers to her “very small and faint handwriting” (*plumbagine saltem & caractere minutissimo*) in this manuscript.⁴⁰ The signature in these books is similarly faint.

Like many early modern books, these four bear the material traces of multiple readership and ownership. In several instances, these traces offer significant evidence of their provenance, both before and after Conway owned them. Three of the books—Wilkins’s *Discovery* and *Mathematicall Magick*, and Browne’s *Pseudodoxia*—are bound in contemporary calf, the other—Verstegan’s *Antiquities*—in vellum. The bindings of all four books are worn, but the copies of *A Discourse concerning a New World* and *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* have some blind tooling still visible. None of the bindings has the distinctive “moor’s head” armorial binding stamp of the second Viscount Conway, or other marks of ownership indicating that they belonged to the third Viscount.⁴¹

One of the front free endpapers of Conway’s copy of *A Discourse concerning a New World* contains an annotation in the hand of Charles Ashton (1665—1752), Master of Jesus from 1701—1752:

When I speake of Observations & Experiments, I would not be thought to undervalue a Society, which has been erected to that purpose, & whose endeavours have been so successfull that way already: But however successful they may have been, those excellent persons have more modesty, than to overrate their own performances, and nothing has done them more injury, than the vanity of some few men, who have been so PLANET-STRUCK, as to dream of the possibility of a voyage to the Moon, and to talk of making wings to fly thither, as they would of buying a pair of Boots to take a Journey. Bak. Reflect. Chap. 8. _____

This text, seemingly intended by Ashton as a critical comment on Wilkins’s “planet-struck” project in the *Discourse*, comes from Thomas Baker’s *Reflections Upon Learning: Wherein is Shewn the Insufficiency Thereof, in Its Several Particulars: in Order to Evince the Usefulness and Necessity of Revelation*, whose first edition dates from 1699.⁴² Elsewhere in this copy there are faint horizontal and vertical pencil marks in the margins, impossible to date, but which suggest a reader marking significant passages.⁴³ The rear pastedown has the inscription “R:O;” apparently not in Conway’s hand, and a doodle in red chalk. The rear free endpaper of Conway’s copy of *Mathematicall Magick* contains an inscription that has been washed out; from its length, it may be a name, but only the first letter, “W,” is legible.

The Jesus copy of Browne’s *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* is the only one in which Conway’s signature has not been crossed out, although why it escaped the attentions of the Jesus librarian is not clear. On the same front free endpaper as her signature, in another hand, is the annotation “vdt Anne Conway”; the first word here may be a bookseller’s code, or an abbreviation for the Latin “vendit”. In a third hand on the same endpaper are some mathematical notations; the rear free endpaper also contains pen trials.

The annotations and inscriptions in Conway’s copy of Verstegan’s *Antiquities* are complex, indicating its history before she owned it. This history connects directly to Verstegan himself: the title page contains the note “Boughte yt me at Antwerpe of Master Verstegan hymself. September 1612.” As well as those of Conway and the original purchaser, four other hands are identifiable on the title page, front free endpaper and front pastedown. The title page has an ownership inscription, “Edmund Randolph,” and an heraldic device, sketched in ink. This coat of arms (a cross with five mullets) seems to be that of the Randolph family of Biddenden in Kent, implying that the ownership inscription is that of the medic Edmund (or Edmond) Randolph (1601/2—1649), who graduated BA (1619/20) MA (1622) and MB (1626) from University College, Oxford, and in medicine

from Padua in 1627, and practiced as a physician in Canterbury.⁴⁴ Randolph left another trace of his ownership within this copy. Page 268 contains a marginal note marking Verstegan's treatment of "Randolph: the Antiquitye & significacon of the name and from what nacon derived," in the same hand as the ownership inscription on the title page. Randolph's hand resembles the hand that records the book's purchase, but is apparently distinct from it. The front pastedown contains what seems to be a seventeenth-century bookseller's or buyer's code, and the date "September 1613"; this inscription is in a third hand, distinct from that of the inscriptions on the title page. Throughout the book, passages are marked in the margin by small horizontal and vertical lines in pencil. These marks, although undateable, resemble those in the copy of Wilkins's *Discourse*. In 1671, Henry Stubbe reported that, in the course of a disagreement over Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society of London* (1667), Henry More "affixed several marks (as 'tis your custom) to the sides of the Book with your *Leaden Pencil*, according as you approved, or disliked them"; it is unclear whether Conway also annotated books in this way.⁴⁵ The pattern of inscriptions on the title page also suggests a path of transmission. The date of Edmund Randolph's graduation from Oxford implies that he was too young to have bought the book in Antwerp in 1612, but he may have inherited or received it from whoever did, perhaps from his father Bernard Randolph (1556-1628), later inscribing his name and the family coat of arms on the title page.⁴⁶

The front free endpaper contains two inscriptions that connect the book directly to Anne Conway—her signature, crossed out, and the inscription of another former owner, "*Francisci Finch Interni templi liber*" ("the book of Francis Finch of the Inner Temple"). There were two men named Francis Finch in Conway's immediate family, both of whom were members of the Inner Temple—her uncle (1586—*c.* 1658), and her half-brother (d. *c.* 1660). In this case, the hand and signature are those of the elder Francis, her uncle.⁴⁷ This Francis, the younger brother of her father Sir Heneage Finch (1580—1631), studied at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, entered the Inner Temple in 1605, and was called to the bar in 1614.⁴⁸ He was MP for Eye in the parliaments of 1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628.⁴⁹ Francis Finch seems to have maintained close ties to his brother's family after Heneage Finch's early death; he sponsored both John and Francis Finch the younger on their admission to the Inner Temple in 1644, and was involved in brokering the marriage of Anne's sister Frances Finch to Clifford Clifton, the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, in 1650.⁵⁰ For at least part of the late 1640s and 1650s, Finch seems to have lived at the house in Kensington, inherited from Heneage Finch by her half-brother John, where Anne and Edward Conway also lived in the early years of their marriage.⁵¹ In 1656, Finch planned to accompany Anne Conway on a journey to consult physicians in France about her intractable health problems.⁵² Later that year when, whilst travelling to France to meet his wife, Edward Conway was captured and "barbarously cast stark naked into a noysome Prison," Finch petitioned the Council of State on his behalf.⁵³ Francis Finch's nuncupative will, dated December 14 1657, was witnessed by Anne Conway and her husband.⁵⁴

Francis Finch seems to have owned a substantial library, part of which was burnt in a fire at the Inner Temple in September 1649.⁵⁵ In a letter to his nephew John Finch of 9 October 1649, Finch numbered among his losses "a series of all y^e choycest which haue bene printed since y^e beginning of y^e reformation, from Rome."⁵⁶ Finch's letter also notes that he is "beholding to my workmen for their paynes and danger in *preserving* some trifles of mine, which I could not well have spared."⁵⁷ The copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities* may have been one of the survivors. Whether he obtained the book directly from Edmund Randolph, before or after the fire, is less clear. Randolph's son Edward was admitted to Gray's Inn on

November 12 1650; this connection might explain how Finch, a barrister of the Inner Temple, came to own one of Randolph's father's books.⁵⁸ It may also be significant that the Randolph family seat at Biddenham in Kent was close to Eastwell, the seat of the Finch family.

Francis Finch's ownership inscription appears in two other volumes in the Old Library, neither of which contain Conway's signature: John Wilkins's *Mercury, or the Swift Messenger: Shewing, How a Man may with privacy and Speed, communicate his thoughts to a Friend at any distance* (London, 1641) and a *Sammelband* containing seven pamphlets by the alchemist Thomas Vaughan (1622-1666), published between 1650 and 1652, that Finch must have acquired after the Inner Temple fire.⁵⁹ In several respects these two volumes—one by Wilkins, and the other by a vocal and public critic of Henry More—align both with those containing Conway's signature, and with what is known from her correspondence of Conway's intellectual interests in the early 1650s. Vaughan, writing under the pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes, engaged in a pamphlet war with More in the early 1650s, which Conway and More discussed in their correspondence.⁶⁰ Francis Finch seems to have followed the dispute closely enough to have had Vaughan's contributions to it bound together.

Jesus College Old Library therefore holds not just four books owned by Anne Conway, but two further books owned by her uncle, who also owned her copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities* at one point. Since Francis Finch predeceased Anne Conway in 1657/8, it is reasonable to assume that she obtained his copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities*, as well as the two other books with his ownership inscription, at some point in the 1650s. The provenance evidence does not reveal why, if she also owned Finch's copy of Wilkins's *Mercury* and his Thomas Vaughan *Sammelband*, she did not sign her name in them. There are, however, good reasons to assume that all six books travelled to Cambridge together.

III.

The four books with Conway's signature, together with the two others containing Francis Finch's ownership inscription, entered the Jesus College Library in the late seventeenth century through the bequest of Francis Sterling, who was a Fellow of Jesus from 1687 to 1692. Sterling left his collection of books to the College, together with the proceeds of his Fellowship, after his death in 1692.⁶¹ Like most of the other books in the Old Library donated by Sterling, these six contain the inscription "Ex dono Magist^{ri} Sterling hujus Collegii Socij Dignissimi" either on the front free endpaper or on the title page. In total, 295 items in 251 volumes currently in the Old Library contain a version of this inscription, or other indications of Sterling's ownership. Many of the books in Sterling's donation also contain a Jesus College bookplate dated 1700. Three of the Conway books, and both of the Finch books, carry this bookplate; all six books are also listed in the 1705 College Library catalogue, and in the catalogues for 1730 and 1740.⁶² The copy of Browne's *Pseudodoxia* has a style of College bookplate that dates from the early twentieth century, and lacks an inscription identifying it as part of Sterling's donation, although the surviving library catalogues show that it has been in the Old Library at least as long as the other Conway books. Its front endpapers suggest that the volume may have been rebound or repaired, and it is possible that the inscription and the 1700 Jesus College bookplate that all the other Conway books contain were lost or removed at this point.

Lynford Caryl, Master of Jesus from 1758—1781, removed a significant number of books from the Library in 1772, and it is possible that further Conway books left the collection at this time.⁶³ However, the list of culled books compiled by Caryl indicates that he preserved books from Sterling's bequest in preference to duplicate copies of the same title, implying that other books with a Conway-Sterling connection were not lost in this way.⁶⁴

Sterling's bequest consisted of his private library—a mixture of natural philosophy, literature, logic, mathematics, medicine, politics, geography and history, largely in octavo and duodecimo volumes. His donation includes a large number of books in French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as Latin and English books.⁶⁵ Although varied in scope, the collection testifies to a serious interest in natural philosophy; as well as the four books containing Conway's signature, Sterling donated books by Spinoza, Descartes, Henry More, and Julius Caesar Scaliger, amongst others.⁶⁶

Other books in Sterling's donation contain evidence of when and where he acquired them. For instance, the front free endpapers of four other books from his donation record in his hand what seems to be a purchase price and the location "Leyden."⁶⁷ Sterling acquired some of his collection, apart from the Conway and Finch books, second-hand: dates and inscriptions in many other books indicate their previous owners.⁶⁸ He donated 60 books printed in the Dutch Republic—chiefly Amsterdam imprints—and 15 printed in the Spanish Netherlands, suggesting that he bought at least some of his library there. However, by the late seventeenth century the import trade in continental books was well-developed, and Sterling could have acquired many of the books he owned in London or other large towns.⁶⁹ The range of publication dates is from 1528 to 1690, and the majority of the donated books have publication dates from the 1640s to the 1680s.

There is no obvious connection between Anne Conway, Francis Finch, and Francis Sterling. The last decade of Conway's life was characterised by worsening health and increasing confinement; consequently, her circle of known correspondents and acquaintances is small, and the evidence of her interaction with many of them slight.⁷⁰ It is hard to connect Conway and Sterling even by expanding the circle of possible acquaintance to include all of those in the orbit of Ragley Hall—*inter alia*, her husband, Henry More, van Helmont, friends such as Elizabeth Foxcroft, the sister of the Cambridge Platonist Benjamin Whichcote and Conway's companion at Ragley from 1666–1672, her "library keeper" Sarah Bennet, and her domestic servants. Through More and Foxcroft, Conway knew John Worthington (1618–1671), who was Master of Jesus College from 1650–1660. Worthington, however, left Cambridge more than a decade before Sterling's arrival at Jesus and it seems unlikely that they intersected. Francis Finch's biography is harder to reconstruct than that of his niece, but the surviving evidence of his life in Kent, Kensington and legal London also presents few points of contact with that of Sterling.

Nevertheless, reconstructing Sterling's biography offers some clues as to how he obtained books owned by Conway and Finch. It also offers insight into a previously unstudied early modern book collector, whose library was shaped not only by the scholarly world of late seventeenth-century Cambridge, but also by the very different environment—both practical and intellectual—of the armies of James II and William III. Francis Sterling was born *c.* 1652 in Flushing in the Netherlands.⁷¹ Flushing, formerly one of the three cautionary towns held by the English crown, maintained a large presence of English and Scots subjects into the seventeenth century, many of whom were soldiers in Dutch regiments. The second Viscount Conway was lieutenant-governor of another cautionary town, Brill, from the late 1590s.⁷² Francis Sterling's father, James Sterling, was an officer in

one of the Dutch regiments; he is listed as a Lieutenant in the Dutch service in 1664/5.⁷³ In 1665, the Dutch reorganised their English and Scots regiments, requiring that they took an oath of allegiance to the States General of the United Provinces. James Sterling was among the officers who refused to take the oath and returned to England in the same year.⁷⁴ A commission from 27 June 1665 records his appointment as a Lieutenant in the Holland Regiment, which was largely formed from English and Scottish troops who had returned from the Netherlands.⁷⁵ He went on to serve in the Holland regiment for over 25 years; from 1682, he held the rank of major.⁷⁶

A late seventeenth-century annotated manuscript copy of John Sherman's history of Jesus College, *Aborigines Jesuani, sive Historia Collegii Jesu* notes that Francis Sterling was of Scottish descent (*e Scotiâ verô oriundus*).⁷⁷ In fact, he was a member of the clan Sterling, and related on his father's side to Sir John Sterling of Keir (1638—1684).⁷⁸ He was educated at schools in Flushing, Newport on the Isle of Wight and at Barwell grammar school in Leicester, an educational trajectory that may have tracked his father's army postings.⁷⁹ In 1667, Sterling was admitted to the University of Edinburgh, where his regent master was William Paterson, graduating MA as part of the class of 1671, although he did not receive his degree until 1676.⁸⁰ Some of the earliest dated inscriptions in his books come from this period. As an undergraduate, he was a contemporary of the physician, virtuoso, and bibulous amateur poet Archibald Pitcairne.⁸¹ Unlike many Scots students of the period, Sterling does not seem to have matriculated at a Dutch university after graduating from Edinburgh.⁸² Instead, he followed his father into the army. He was first commissioned on August 18 1673 as an ensign in Sir Walter Vane's regiment—that is, the Holland regiment—in which his father served as a troop captain.⁸³ In 1674, his father's company, of which Sterling was presumably a part, was part of the garrison at Berwick.⁸⁴ James Sterling still commanded at Berwick in March 1678.⁸⁵

In the mid-1670s, Sterling returned to university. On October 10 1676, at the age of 24, he was admitted as a Fellow Commoner at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.⁸⁶ He incorporated his Edinburgh MA at Cambridge on the same date, but apparently did not matriculate from the University; it was common to forgo the latter ceremony in the late seventeenth century.⁸⁷ It is unclear whether Sterling intended a permanent change of career. Fellow Commoners in this period were typically of higher social status than scholars or pensioners and were accorded special privileges. Few had serious philosophical or scholarly interests: those who did rarely took Cambridge degrees.⁸⁸

No details of his studies at Sidney Sussex survive, and this spell in Cambridge must have been short, since he returned to the army within two years. In January 1678/9, “Mr Francis Starling” was commissioned as a Lieutenant to “Captain Starling” (in all likelihood his father) in the Holland Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Mulgrave.⁸⁹ He was not the only Cambridge student to enlist. An order from the Duke of Monmouth, Chancellor of the University, dated April 18 1678, demanding the return of “two scholars one of St Johns the other of Jesus Colledge,” who enlisted in the Prince's dragoons, warned their commander “to bee carefull not to list any that wear gowns in that University.”⁹⁰

It is possible to reconstruct the movements of the Holland Regiment and, to an extent, those of Sterling himself, between 1678 and 1690 using the State Papers and the Army Marching Order books held in the National Archives. On January 12 1678/9, the Duke of Monmouth ordered “Capt. Starling, or the officer commanding in chief the battalion of the Holland regiment, late at Newport,” (that is, Nieuwpoort in Flanders, where much of the Holland regiment had been stationed) to sail to Rochester in Kent and quarter there.⁹¹ By June 1679, “Captain Sterling's company” had been ordered to march from

Dartford in Kent to Berwick.⁹² He seems still to have been at Berwick in 1681.⁹³ In 1684, Captain James Sterling was mentioned in the will of his relative Sir John Keir as being “for present at Hull in England,” again presumably part of the garrison there.⁹⁴ Francis Sterling, who was commissioned in his father’s company throughout this period, would probably also have been there.⁹⁵ In August 1685, Major Sterling’s company, along with most of the rest of the Holland Regiment, were ordered to march from Scarborough to Southwark in London, to arrive in October.⁹⁶ The Holland regiment remained near London, with postings at Windsor and Tunbridge Wells, until the next year, when, in August 1686, they returned north, to Hull and York.⁹⁷ Most of Sterling’s regiment remained in the north of England, with postings at Hull, Beverly, Scarborough, Tinnmouth and York, until March 1686/7, when one company marched south to Landguard Fort near Felixstowe, then to Ipswich.⁹⁸ Given his later movements, it is likely that Sterling was part of this company. None of the recorded movements of the Holland Regiment in this period took it, or Sterling, close to Ragley Hall in Warwickshire, where Anne Conway’s library—if it was not disposed of immediately after her death—might have been. He would, however, have been near London—and its booksellers—for substantial periods of time.

Sterling returned to Cambridge in the late 1680s. He was elected to a Shelford Fellowship at Jesus on 31 March 1687 on the recommendation of Francis Turner (1637-1700), the Bishop of Ely.⁹⁹ The Shelford Fellowship was, uniquely, in Turner’s direct gift, but the circumstances of Sterling’s nomination are obscure. In particular, there was little precedent for electing a candidate whose university studies ended nearly a decade ago, and who had until recently been a serving soldier. Francis Turner was Master of St. John’s College, Cambridge from 1670 to 1679, and from 1679 was the Duke of York’s household chaplain during his exile in Scotland, a role that involved mediating between James and the Scottish nobility; Sterling may have known him through these routes.¹⁰⁰

Sterling spent much of his Fellowship at Jesus away from Cambridge. On July 5 1687, he was granted leave of absence from the College, a concession that was renewed at regular intervals from November 1688 to May 1692.¹⁰¹ Many of his fellow Fellows received a similar dispensation. The reason for Sterling’s absence was less conventional. The annotated manuscript of Sherman’s *Aborigines Jesuani* claims that soon after his arrival Sterling “traded his academic gown for a soldier’s cloak” (*haud diu apud nos commoratus togam sago commutavit*).¹⁰² This costume change was rapid; he was listed as a Lieutenant in the Holland regiment of Foot in November 1687.¹⁰³ It is not clear whether Sterling took his library with him when he left Cambridge in 1687, but, given its size, it seems unlikely that he did. On February 28 1688, he was assigned by the College to the study of civil law in accordance with the statutes of 1559/60, which required that one Fellow pursue such a course.¹⁰⁴ Given Sterling’s sempiternal leave of absence, this would have been an appointment in name only; it is, perhaps, indicative of his intellectual interests that his donation to the Library contained very few law books.

In 1687, much of the Holland Regiment was still in northern England; the company stationed in Ipswich had been ordered to march to Berwick in August 1687.¹⁰⁵ Most of the regiment seems to have returned to London and its environs in the spring of 1688, with postings at Brentford, Windsor, and Tunbridge Wells.¹⁰⁶ Companies were ordered to Rochester and Gillingham on the Kent coast in the autumn of 1688 in anticipation of a Dutch invasion, with most returning to London by November as William of Orange’s army landed at Torbay.¹⁰⁷ After the collapse of James II’s rule and his departure for France, the Holland regiment, along with the rest of the English regiments in London, were withdrawn to quarters outside the capital.¹⁰⁸

Sterling's father had left the Holland Regiment by the autumn of 1688, before the Dutch invasion and the accession of William and Mary; whether this move was provoked by death, retirement, or political necessity is unclear.¹⁰⁹ Sterling himself became a captain in the Royal Regiment of Foot, commanded by Sir Robert Douglas, with a commission dated April 1 1690.¹¹⁰ Several battalions of the Royal Regiment of Foot had been ordered to embark for Holland in 1688/9, although many mutinied at the prospect of fighting alongside the Dutch.¹¹¹ On June 17 1690, a "Captain Stirling" was one of the "officers of the Scots' regiments" given a pass to go to Scotland.¹¹² It is likely that he departed for Holland to join his regiment not long afterwards. His last leave of absence from Jesus—granted until the Feast of St. Michael on September 29th—was dated May 1 1692.¹¹³ Sterling's regiment was involved in the Anglo-Dutch campaign against France in Flanders in the summer of 1692. Edward D'Auvergne's account of the campaign notes on June 22/July 2 1692 that Sterling was captured alongside his regimental commander, Sir Robert Douglas, and held at Mons for three days, where he was "treated with[...]much Civility."¹¹⁴ The Royal Regiment of Foot went on to fight at the Battle of Steinkirk on August 3, 1692, where English and Scottish regiments suffered heavy losses.¹¹⁵ Three separate casualty lists from early August 1692 identify Captain Sterling among those wounded at Steinkirk.¹¹⁶ He died of his wounds not long afterwards. The annotated manuscript of Sherman's *Aborigines Jesuani* gives a description of his last moments that mixes melodrama and ecclesiastical gossip in a proportion that must have appealed to its audience of early eighteenth-century dons. In this account, Sterling made a dying request that his heart, sealed in a casket, be sent to a woman he loved "by the name of Hartopp, who later married William Talbot, the Dean of Worcester."¹¹⁷ One of the last official references to Sterling as a member of the Royal Regiment of Foot is in a commission dated August 1 [/ August 10] 1692, by which he was replaced as Captain by Thomas Burgh.¹¹⁸ No further evidence survives of him in the Army; he does not appear in a 1695 list of officers in the Royal Regiment of Foot.¹¹⁹ On September 27 1692, he was replaced as Shelford Fellow at Jesus by Robert Newton, a move that suggests news of his demise had reached Cambridge.¹²⁰ A draft instrument, prepared in Edinburgh in 1693, concerning the assignment by Lord Cardross of a bond of 14000 merkes due to Major James Stirling, describes both "Mr. Francis Stirling" and his father as "deceast."¹²¹ At some point after this, and before 1705, Sterling's books, including four books containing Conway's signature and two formerly belonging to Francis Finch, entered the Jesus College Library.

IV.

Sterling's library was the product of a short life led in starkly contrasting locations, as he moved between garrisons, military camps, and the gentler climate of Cambridge University. In one sense, his books belong in a world Miguel Martinez has called the "soldiers' republic of letters," in which reading and writing occurred alongside fighting, and in which literate men, with long periods of time to kill, exchanged and bought books.¹²² The multilingual character of Sterling's collection is, in all likelihood, a consequence of his military service. In other ways, his library owes much to his philosophical education at Edinburgh and Cambridge; it is this education that best explains why books like Conway's would have appealed to him. This particular combination of interests and experience might explain why Sterling preserved Conway's books: it can also explain how he obtained them.

A path of transmission from Francis Finch to Anne Conway, then to Sterling, is the most economical explanation, although it is not impossible that Sterling acquired books from

two close members of the same family independently. He may have bought them on the English second-hand market, in London, Cambridge, or another large provincial town; his army postings in the late 1680s make this a clear possibility. However, correlating his biography and known movements with those of Conway suggest three possible paths of transmission: through Cambridge, through the Netherlands, and through his service in the Holland Regiment.

Arguments for a path of transmission through Cambridge inevitably implicate Anne Conway's friend and philosophical mentor Henry More, who was a Fellow of Christ's College until his death in 1687. More was not Conway's only contact in Cambridge: she also knew Ezekiel Foxcroft (1624—1674), the son of her companion Elizabeth Foxcroft, who was a Fellow of King's College from 1652 until his death, and the philosopher Ralph Cudworth (1617—1688). Nevertheless, More was the Cambridge figure to whom she was closest. Their correspondence records that, on at least one occasion in the 1660s, she sent him a "box of Books."¹²³ If More also received some of Conway's books after her death, Sterling might have got them through a connection to More. However, although there is good evidence that Sterling engaged with More's philosophy, there is little evidence that he knew him personally.

Sterling's library suggests that he was interested in More's philosophy, and more generally in that of other Cambridge Platonists such as Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688) and George Rust (c. 1628-1670).¹²⁴ This interest almost certainly dated from his M.A. studies at Edinburgh under William Paterson. More's philosophy was widely discussed in Scottish universities in the mid to late seventeenth century, and Sterling's regent master was typical in his treatment of him.¹²⁵ Paterson's published *Theses philosophicae* of 1671 and 1674, which indicate the positions his students were required to defend, engage critically with More.¹²⁶ Sterling's undergraduate notes on Paterson's Edinburgh lectures on ethics and natural philosophy discuss More, and also include notes on "Axiomata mori de immortalitate animae"—that is, on More's discussion of the immortality of the soul.¹²⁷ Sterling thus came to Cambridge well-informed about More's philosophy. The fact that Sterling owned both More's 1647 *Philosophical Poems* and his 1676 *Remarks Upon Two late Ingenious Discourses* implies that he continued to engage with More's work after his M.A. course ended in 1671. This continued engagement fits with the broader evidence of Sterling's book ownership. Although some of the philosophical books in his collection seem to track the presence of authors like Descartes, More and Walter Charleton in the Edinburgh philosophy curriculum, his was not merely an undergraduate library preserved beyond its working life. He seems to have continued buying books, including books on philosophical subjects, long after his graduation.

More was in Cambridge during Sterling's brief time as a Fellow Commoner at Sidney Sussex, but he died on September 1 1687, not long after Sterling's election at Jesus; for much of the summer of 1687, Sterling had leave to be absent from Cambridge. If they met, it is more likely that they did so in the mid 1670s, during Sterling's residence at Sidney Sussex. However, More was often away from Cambridge during this period, having received a royal dispensation from the obligation to reside in Christ's College on July 15 1675.¹²⁸ More wrote to Anne Conway of his intention to visit his family in Lincolnshire in March 1676 before coming to Ragley in May that year, and a letter from Edward Conway to George Rawdon dated December 28 1677 notes that More was at Ragley "all the last summer"; this was to be his last visit before Anne Conway's death in 1679.¹²⁹ More wrote to her from London in early April 1677, but from Cambridge later that month and in January 1678/9.¹³⁰ The window of opportunity for Sterling to meet More in Cambridge was therefore relatively narrow. It is certain that he did not inherit the books directly from More;

with the exception of a bequest of medical texts to a former pupil, More's will left "my whole Study of Books whether printed or Paper Books" to his nephew Christopher Coleby.¹³¹

The case for a Cambridge connection between Conway and Sterling, mediated by More, thus remains conjectural. Another possible path of transmission is through the Netherlands. Sterling seems to have bought books in the Netherlands in the 1670s and 1680s, and he might have picked up part of Anne Conway's library there. It is possible that some of Conway's books ended up in the Netherlands, given what is known of the history of the manuscript that evolved into the *Principles*, and the movements of several visitors to Ragley Hall—in particular, Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont.

Van Helmont left Ragley Hall after Anne Conway's death in 1679, and returned to the Netherlands later that year; he was in London from 1681 to 1685 and then, in the late 1680s, back in the Netherlands.¹³² He took some of Anne Conway's papers with him when he left Ragley in the autumn of 1679.¹³³ Evidence survives of two of these in particular—first, her manuscript copy of the Quaker William Penn's travel journal, which van Helmont later persuaded Penn to publish in 1694.¹³⁴ The second manuscript he abstracted was the "Paper-Book" containing Conway's philosophical writings that, under the joint editorship of More and van Helmont, would eventually appear in Latin as *Principia Philosophiae antiquissimae et recentissimae de Deo, Christo et creatura, id est de spiritu et materia in genera* in a volume entitled *Opuscula Philosophica Quibus Continens Principia Philosophiae Antiquissimae et Recentissimae Ac Philosophiae Vulgaris Rejutatio* (Amsterdam, 1690). It is possible that, as well as manuscripts, van Helmont also took some of Conway's books. If he did, then Sterling might have acquired them in the Netherlands at some point in the 1680s. Others in the orbit of Ragley Hall, such as the Quakers William Penn (1644—1718), Robert Barclay (1648—1690), and George Keith (1638—1716), who all visited Conway in the late 1670s, travelled to the Netherlands in 1677 and could conceivably have taken some of Conway's books with them.

The possible paths of transmission discussed so far assume that the books were removed from Ragley in the years immediately after Conway's death. There are, however, good reasons to challenge this assumption, and to locate their dispersal after the death of the Earl of Conway in 1683. Edward Conway was a bibliophile with no obvious motive for disposing of his first wife's library; it is therefore more likely that her books were dispersed when he died. This suggests two possibilities. First, Conway's third wife, lady Ursula Conway (d. 1697) may have disposed of her predecessor's books in the years after her husband's death. There is, however, no evidence of a sale by auction of books from Ragley in this period, nor of any connection between Ursula Conway and Sterling. The second possibility connects the Conway books to Sterling more directly. Ursula Conway remarried on March 18 1685/6; her second husband was John Sheffield (1647-1721), third Earl of Mulgrave, later Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, and Colonel of the Holland Regiment, in which Sterling served for more than a decade.¹³⁵

The connection between Mulgrave and Sterling is clear. Mulgrave commanded the Holland Regiment twice: from 13 December 1673 to November 1682, and then from January 26 1684 to October 1685, when he became Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Admiral of York.¹³⁶ His command was punctuated by a brief period of political disgrace, when he was barred from the Court and ejected from his offices.¹³⁷ Like most early modern commanders, Mulgrave was not constantly present with his troops, particularly since he combined this office with others, including, from 1679 to 1682, the governorship of Hull.¹³⁸ Since the Marching Order books held in the National Archives do not always indicate who commanded individual companies, it is hard to define precisely when Mulgrave's company

and that of Sterling were stationed together; however, at times such as the summer of 1685, when most of the regiment was marching towards London, it is reasonable to assume that they would have overlapped.

Mulgrave had literary interests, and was a patron and associate of Dryden and Pope; the first edition of his *An Essay on Poetry* was published in 1682.¹³⁹ A number of his literary and political manuscripts survive, as well as his printed works.¹⁴⁰ These give little evidence that he had substantive philosophical interests, although the fact that he owned a late-seventeenth century manuscript copy of Thomas More's unfinished *History of King Richard the Third* suggests that Verstegan's *Antiquities* might have interested him.¹⁴¹ If he acquired the six Finch-Conway books through his marriage to Lady Conway, he may well have passed them on. Sterling, both the son of a Major and a junior officer in the regiment Mulgrave commanded—someone who, although much lower in social status and military rank, Mulgrave would nevertheless have known—is a plausible recipient. Other books in Sterling's collection can certainly be connected to his military service. He owned a heavily annotated copy of the 1587 Venice printing of Baldessar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* marked "Captain Chilingden" on the front cover, and a Leiden edition of *Senecae epistola minora selecta* with the names of five soldiers—perhaps fellow officers—and a ribald inscription on the front free endpaper.¹⁴² If the Conway books came to Sterling from Mulgrave, they should also be considered as part of a broader cache of evidence within Sterling's library of reading and the exchange of books amongst army officers.

Any exchange of books between Mulgrave and Sterling might have postdated Mulgrave's command of the Holland Regiment. The date of Mulgrave's marriage—three months after he left the Holland Regiment—implies that he did not acquire Conway's books before early 1685/6, and philosophical books inscribed with the names of her late husband's first wife and uncle-in-law seem an unlikely courtship present from Lady Conway. Ultimately, Mulgrave represents the most plausible path of transmission: the connections between him, Anne Conway, and Sterling are more than merely coincidental, and they offer the best explanation of how Sterling came to own Conway's books. The survival of Conway's books is thus the result of inheritance, chance, and war.

V.

The identification of these books has several consequences for accounts of Anne Conway's intellectual biography. The first is an expansion and refinement of the existing picture of Conway as an erudite reader. The argument, advanced by Sarah Hutton, Jacqueline Broad, and others, that Conway engaged extensively with the new philosophies of the seventeenth century is generally accepted, but attention has often focused on authors identified by name in the *Principles* or who feature in her correspondence—that is, on Descartes, Spinoza, More, Hobbes, van Helmont, and Sir John Finch.¹⁴³ This article presents, for the first time, specific evidence that Conway owned works by authors from outside this group—works whose publication, in most cases, predates those discussed in the *Principles*. With the exception of the copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities*, the books containing Conway's signature have publication dates between 1640 and 1650; those with Finch's signature are within a similar date range—his signature in them must predate his death in 1658, just as Conway's signature in the other books must postdate her marriage in 1651.

These books also indicate that Conway's collection was formed in part through exchange or inheritance from her uncle. Beyond her relationship with her brother John, which is documented extensively in her correspondence, relatively little is known about the

role played by the rest of Conway's family in her intellectual development. Sarah Hutton has, rightly, emphasised the close, reciprocal role played by Sir John Finch and Anne Conway in each other's lives. Finch, whose philosophical education under Henry More preceded and probably precipitated that of Conway, developed his own corpuscularian system, influenced by Hobbes, which remains unpublished.¹⁴⁴ In comparison, little evidence survives of Francis Finch the elder's interests, although his 1649 letter to John Finch indicates that he had an interest "in finding out the genuin sense of divers knotty texts of scriptur: which *th^e* ancients, and most interpreters seeme to shunne."¹⁴⁵ He was also the dedicatee of David Hastiville's manuscript treatise *Thesaurus Sanitatis*, implying interests in learned medicine.¹⁴⁶ Francis Finch is mentioned only in passing in Conway's surviving correspondence, but the association between his books and hers implies a more complex and significant pattern of intellectual exchange.¹⁴⁷

The fact that all of the books are in English is significant. It cannot be dismissed as an artefact of Sterling's acquisition choices; his collection was thoroughly multilingual, and he owned many books in Latin. Instead, combined with the range of their publication dates and the absence in most of them of signs of previous ownership, it may help to locate Conway's acquisition of most of these books to the 1650s. This was a period when Conway had both serious philosophical interests and a limited linguistic range. By early modern standards, Conway seems to have mastered Latin relatively late; the extent of her latinity in the 1650s is unclear.¹⁴⁸ The preface to the 1690 edition of the *Principles* describes her as "most skilled in Greek and Latin literature" (*Latinae, Gracaeque literaturae peritissima*),¹⁴⁹ but her early philosophical instruction began from a "Translation of Des Cartes" that More made for her,¹⁵⁰ and in 1653 John Finch translated a "discourse which I made upon long thoughts, about two moneths since" from Latin to allow her to read it.¹⁵¹ If her acquisition of these books dates to the 1650s, then they may shed light on Conway's interests at a time, long before the composition of the *Principles* in the 1670s, that, apart from the few surviving letters from her father-in-law and Henry More, is largely undocumented.¹⁵²

We cannot assume any of these books influenced Conway's later philosophy in a straightforward way: evidence of ownership is not evidence of influence, even in the case of philosophers as bookish as Conway. However, there are several ways in which the identification of these books should affect our understanding of her intellectual biography. First, the fact that she owned a copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities* highlights a fact evident in her correspondence with More and John Finch, but often neglected in accounts of her philosophy that centre on the *Principles*—her erudition was broad in scope, apparently encompassing Verstegan's historical and antiquarian scholarship as well as Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza. This breadth is evident in the letter to her father-in-law from October 2/9 1651, discussed at the beginning of this article, in which John Donne's poetry and George Hakewill's *Apologie* are more prominent than Descartes's philosophy. At this point, and perhaps also later in her life, Conway's frame of reference was as much literary, scholarly and historical as metaphysical and philosophical; the Verstegan book is a valuable reminder of this fact. A similar point can be made with regard to Browne's *Pseudodoxia*, although there is also evidence that this book held particular significance within her circle. *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* was widely read and annotated in England and elsewhere from the mid seventeenth century onwards, by readers who drew on Browne's idiosyncratic project in a variety of ways: in this respect, Conway was in eclectic company.¹⁵³ One of its early modern readers, in particular, had direct connections to Conway. The kabbalist Christian Knorr van Rosenroth (1636-1689), the author of *Kabbala denudata* (1677–8) and an acquaintance and

correspondent of van Helmont and More, translated *Pseudodoxia* into German in 1680, in a volume that interspersed Browne's text with those of other authors, including More.¹⁵⁴

Of the books Conway owned, perhaps the most significant were those by Wilkins, not least because their author had connections to two of her associates. Wilkins knew both John Worthington, who Conway also knew through Henry More, and Valentine Greatrakes, the Irish healer who in 1666 unsuccessfully treated Conway's chronic headaches.¹⁵⁵ Wilkins was one of the witnesses attesting to "several cures wrought by" Valentine Greatrakes in Greatrakes's *A Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatrakes, and Divers of the Strange Cures by him Lately Performed* (1666), whose publication was provoked by the critical account of Greatrakes's visit to Ragley given in Henry Stubbe's *The Miraculous Conformist* (1666).¹⁵⁶ In the mid-1660s, Wilkins almost certainly knew Greatrakes's best-known patient by reputation, if not in person. Natalie Kaoukji notes the existence of an "economy of presentation copies" of Wilkins's *Mathematicall Magick*, but the three Jesus books do not reveal if Conway or her uncle participated in this web of exchange.¹⁵⁷ However, little, if anything, of the content of *Mathematicall Magick* can be connected to Conway's *Principles*. Indeed, Kaoukji argues that there "is no suggestion in extant copies of *Mathematicall Magick* that it was studied for its content", an argument borne out by Conway's unannotated copy.¹⁵⁸

The fact that Conway owned Wilkins's *Discovery* has more concrete implications for our understanding of her intellectual development. This is not an argument for influence in a direct sense: in its humanist approach, content, and style, Wilkins's playful, popularising, and frequently derivative, text is worlds away from the more expansive concerns of Conway's *Principles*. However, Conway's ownership of the *Discovery* aligns in several respects with what we know about her philosophical interests in the period immediately after her marriage in 1651.

The *Discovery* was one of the most widely circulated seventeenth-century presentations of Copernicanism in English. The third edition, which Wilkins had strengthened and adapted in the face of criticism from Alexander Ross (c. 1590-1654), offered a particularly clear, and accessible, statement of Copernican arguments.¹⁵⁹ There are good reasons to assume that such a statement would have interested Conway, especially in the early 1650s. The vortex theory developed in Descartes's *Principles* advanced a form of heliocentrism; engaging with Copernican arguments was thus in many respects a consequence of engaging with Cartesian natural philosophy. More's own *Philosophical Poems*, and in particular the explanatory notes to the 1647 edition, also discuss "*Copernicus* his *Hypothesis*" in some detail.¹⁶⁰

The preface printed in Ward's 1710 *Life* of More, which was written after Conway's death in 1679, notes that "She understood perfectly, not only the true System of the World, call it Copernican or Pythagorick as you will, with all the Demonstrative Arguments thereof," although it does not date this understanding.¹⁶¹ In the early 1650s—that is, at the time when her Cartesian philosophical education with More began—Conway seems to have engaged closely with Copernican arguments. Two letters from her father-in-law in July 1651, to which Conway's replies do not survive, imply that the second Viscount and his daughter-in-law stood on opposing sides of a debate over the value of Copernicus.¹⁶² Although the second Viscount allowed that "Copernicus is very ingenious and an excellent man," he clearly disapproved of the theological and philosophical implications of heliocentrism, arguing that

for the Earth a heavy dull grosse body to move and the heaven and Starres who are light to stand still is as if a Prince should upon a festivall day appoint all the old and

fat men and woemen to dance and all the yonge men and woemen of sixteen and twenty to sit still¹⁶³

Copernicus also featured in Anne Conway's correspondence with John Finch in the early 1650s. In 1653, Finch reported working on a philosophical manuscript that encompassed "Copernicus his Systeme of the World and the Cause of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, with a confutation of Aristotle Fromondus Des Cartes and Galileo on that subiect."¹⁶⁴ Writing to Anne from Lyons on April 2/12 1652, John Finch noted that he "will send you Copernicus his Systeme of the world, but *that* yt will not the half be worth *the* Price of *the* Paper it will take up."¹⁶⁵ In August 1652, and again in April 1653, he promised to send his sister "Copernicus his Systeme of the World."¹⁶⁶ It is unclear whether the promised manuscript ever arrived.

Henry More recalled Conway's Copernican interests over twenty years later. In April 1674, More hoped that she could

recall to minde the acquaintance you had with Copernicus his Hypothesis, the motion of the Earth, that you might examine Mr Edward Rawdon in it when he wayts on your Ladiship. I used that as an argument to him to be well skill'd in the Hypothesis.¹⁶⁷

Rawdon was Conway's nephew, and a Fellow-Commoner at Christ's from 1672 to 1675, where More set him to read Descartes's *Principia*, *Dioptriques* and *Méteores*; at the time of writing, Hutton argues, he was following a version of the course More set Conway in the 1650s.¹⁶⁸ One interpretation of More's letter is therefore that Conway's "acquaintance" with Copernicus dated from her time studying with him, even that they discussed the Copernican hypothesis as part of that course. If Conway was not yet able to read philosophy in Latin, but was engaging with Copernican arguments, then Wilkins's vernacular, popularising *Discovery* was another plausible text for her to turn to. Vernacular philosophy texts, including More's *Philosophical Poems*, were commonly read by women at this time.¹⁶⁹ For Conway to have approached Copernican arguments through other texts was far from unusual; when the *Philosophical Poems* were published, it seems that More himself had not read Copernicus, engaging instead with the 1635 Latin translation of Galileo's *Dialogue*.¹⁷⁰

More's letter of April 1674, asking Conway to "recall to minde" her acquaintance with Copernicus implies that, around the time of the composition of the *Principles*, it was not central to her thinking. This is borne out by the text of the *Principles*; Conway's philosophy is in many respects an attempt to deal with the metaphysical, moral, and soteriological consequences of a Copernican universe, but it does not engage with the Copernican hypothesis in any detail. The most significant part of this fresh evidence of Conway's Copernican moment in the 1650s may in fact be what it reveals about her reading and interests at the beginning of her philosophical career. Accounts of Conway's early intellectual development usually emphasise the role played by her correspondence with More and by her reading of the Cartesian texts he set. Her ownership of the Wilkins books may therefore be evidence of the extent to which her philosophical education was framed not just by formative epistolary exchange with More but through independent reading of vernacular texts such as the *Discovery*.

The material evidence of the four books in Jesus College Old Library points to another theme with significance both for studies of Conway's thought and its reception, and

for the broader histories of female readership and book ownership. If Francis Sterling, who was a more than usually well-informed reader of More and other Cambridge Platonists in Conway's circle, noticed her signature, he left no record of it. Later on, her signature in three of these books was overwritten, remaining unrecognised for nearly three centuries: her uncle's inscription was left untouched. In this respect, these signatures parallel the immediate fortunes of Conway's philosophy, which, although now the subject of extensive scholarly attention, had become largely neglected by the mid eighteenth century. Studies of female philosophers like Conway are sometimes understood as a project of recovering neglected arguments; but this philosophical project also needs to consider—as histories of readership and book ownership have long done—the literal and material traces of that neglect.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to Sarah Hutton and to Richard Serjeantson for their comments on an earlier draft of this article.

Bibliography

Achermann, Eric. "Order in the Vortex: Christian Knorr van Rosenroth as Compiler and Translator of Thomas Browne, Jean d'Espargnet, Henry More, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Antoine le Grand." In *A Man Very Well Studied': New Contexts for Thomas Browne*, edited by Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd, 247–272. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

[Thomas Baker]. *Reflections Upon Learning: Wherein is Shewn the Insufficiency Thereof, in Its Several Particulars: in Order to Evince the Usefulness and Necessity of Revelation*. London: printed for A. Bosvile, 1699.

British Armorial Binding database. <https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/>

Broad, Jacqueline. "Conway and Charleton on the Intimate Presence of the Souls in Bodies." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 79 (2018): 571–591. doi: 10.1353/jhi.2018.0035.

Brown, Stuart "Helmont, Franciscus Mercurius van, Baron of Helmont and Merode in the Nobility of the Holy Roman Empire." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://oxforddnb.com>.

Cavagna, Anna Giulia. "Loss and Meaning: Lost Books, Bibliographic Description and Significance in a Sixteenth-Century Italian Private Library." in *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, edited by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree, 347–361. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Collins, Brenda. "Family Networks and Social Connections in the Survival of a Seventeenth-Century Library Collection." *Library and Information History* 33 (2017): 123–42. doi: 10.1080/17583489.2017.1299427.

Conway, Anne. *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, edited by Peter Lopton. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.

Conway, Anne. *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, edited by Allison P. Coudert and Taylor Corse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Crawford, Julie. "Margaret Cavendish's Books." In *Women's Bookselves in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*, edited by Elizabeth Sauer, Leah Knight, and Micheline White, 94–114. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018.
- Crossley, James and Christie, Richard eds. *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Etc., Etc: From the Baker MSS. in the British Museum and the Cambridge University Library and Other Sources*. 3 vols. Manchester: Printed for the Chetham Society, 1847–1886.
- Dalton, Charles, ed. *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*. 6 vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892–1904.
- D'Auvergne, Edward. *A Relation of the Most Remarkable Transaction of the Last Campaigne in the Confederate Army, Under the Command of His Majesty of Great Britain and After of the Elector of Bavaria in the Spanish Netherlands, Anno Dom. 1692*. London, 1693.
- Duran, Jane. "Anne Viscountess Conway: A Seventeenth Century Rationalist." *Hypatia* 4 (1989): 64–79.
- Feingold, Mordechai. "The Young Wilkins and the Debate over Copernicanism." In *John Wilkins (1614-72): New Essays*, edited by William Poole, 3–34. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Foster, Joseph, ed. *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, together with the Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695-1754*. London, 1889.
- Fraser, Sir William. *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers*. Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1858.
- Greatrakes, Valentine. *A Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatraks, and Divers of the Strange Cures by him Lately Performed*. London, 1666.
- Guerrini, Anita. "Pitcairne, Archibald." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.
- Hall, A. Rupert. "Henry More and the Scientific Revolution." In *Henry More (1614–1687). Tercentenary Studies*, edited by Sarah Hutton, 37–54. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1990.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*. London: HMSO, 1894.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde preserved at Kilkenny Castle*. New Series. Vol. 7. London: HMSO, 1912.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks*. Volume 1, Part 1. London: HMSO, 1924.
- History of Parliament Online* <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/finch-francis-1586-1658>.
- Hopkins, Paul. "Turner, Francis (1637–1700), Bishop of Ely, Nonjuror, and Jacobite Conspirator" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

- Hunt, Arnold. "Libraries in the Archives: Researching Provenance in the British Library." In *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, edited by Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, 363–384. London: The British Library, 2009.
- Hutton, Sarah. *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hutton, Sarah. "Hester Pulter (c. 1596–1678). A Woman Poet and the New Astronomy." *Études Épistémè* 14 (2008): 77–87.
- Hutton, Sarah. "The Interrogative Anne Conway: Curiosity in a Philosophical Context." In *Women and Curiosity in Early Modern England and France*, edited by Line Cottegnies, John Thompson and Sandrine Parageau, 141–159. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Inner Temple Admissions Database* <http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/>
- Jackson, Clare. *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003.
- Jacob, James R. *Henry Stubbe, Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Johns, Adrian. "Prudence and Pedantry in Early Modern Cosmology: The Trade of Al Ross." *History of Science* 36 (1998): 1–22. doi: 10.1177/007327539803600102.
- Kaoukji, Natalie. "Mathematicall Magick (1648) and the Mechanics of Discovery." In *John Wilkins: New Essays*, pp. edited by William Poole, 158— 181. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Knight, H. R. *Historical Records of the Buffs, East Kent Regiment, Formerly Designated The Holland Regiment and Prince George of Denmark's Regiment. 1572—1704*. 4 vols. London: Gale and Polden, 1905–1951.
- Levy Peck, Linda. *Women of Fortune: Money, Marriage, and Murder in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Malloch, Archibald. *Finch and Baines: A Seventeenth Century Friendship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917.
- Martinez, Miguel. *Front Lines: Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- McKitterick, David. "Women and their Books in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Elizabeth Puckering." *The Library* 1, no. 4 (2000): 359–380. doi: 10.1093/library/1.4.359.
- Mijers, Esther. "*News from the Republic of Letters*": *Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650-1750*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Mitchell, Ian. "'Old Books—New Bound'? Selling Second-Hand Books in England c.1680—1850." In *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade. European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700—1900*, edited by Jon Stobart and Ilja van Damme, 139–157. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- More, Henry. *Philosophical Poems by Henry More*. Cambridge: Printed by Roger Daniel, 1647.

Morgan, Paul. “Frances Wolfreton and ‘Hor Bouks’: A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector.” *The Library*, 6, no. 11 (1989): 197–219. doi: 10.1093/library/s6-11.3.197.

Morrish, P. S. “Baroque Librarianship.” In *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II: 1640–1850*, edited by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, 212–237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Mortimer, Ian. *The Dying and the Doctors: The Medical Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England*. Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2009.

Murphy, Kathryn. “‘The Best Pillar of the Order of St. Francis’: Thomas Browne, Samuel Hartlib and Communities of Learning.” In “*A Man Very Well Studied*” *New Contexts for Thomas Browne*, edited by Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd, 273–294. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Nicolson, Marjorie H. and Hutton, Sarah, eds. *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Parageau, Sandrine. *Les ruses d’ignorance: la contribution des femmes à l’avènement de la science moderne en Angleterre*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2010.

Paterson, William. *Theses & Problemata Philosophica, ex dictatis quadrimi laboris notis excerpta (quae P.N. in Aede sacra Hysteriensi, sub Praesidio GUILIELMI PATERSON, Julij 17. Eventilanda, proponunt) Magisterii Candidati Universitatis JACOBI REGIS Edinburgenae Alumni in Amoris & Gratitudeinis Tesseractam*. Edinburgh: Excudebant Haeres Andrea Anderson, Civitatis & Universitatis Edinburgenae Typographus, 1671.

Paterson, William. *Theses & Problemata Philosophica, ex dictatis quadrimi laboris notis, raptissime excerpta; quae P.N. sub praesidio GUL. PATERSON, Augusti 5. horis solitis eventilanda proponunt Magisterij Candidati Universitatis JACOBI REGIS Edinburgenae Alumni*. Edinburgh: Excudebant Haeres Andrea Anderson, Typographus Regius, 1674.

Peile, John A. and Venn, John. *Biographical Register of Christ’s College 1505-1905 and of the Earlier Foundation, God’s House, 1448-1505*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910–13.

Penn, William. *An Account of W. Penn’s Travails in Holland and Germany, ANNO MDCLXXVII*. London, 1694.

Pettegree, Andrew. “The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe.” In *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, edited by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree, 1–27. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Plomer, ‘H. R. “A Cavalier’s Library.” *The Library*, 5 (1904): 158–172. doi: 10.1093/library/s2-V.18.158

Pugliese, Natassja. “Monism and Individuation in Anne Conway as a Critique of Spinoza.” *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 27 (2019): 771—785. doi: 10.1080/09608788.2018.1563764.

Raven, James, ed. *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004.

Reid, Jasper. *The Metaphysics of Henry More*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2012.

- Roberts, Julian. "The Latin Trade." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume IV 1557—1695*, edited by John Barnard and D. F. Mackenzie, 141–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Roy, Ian. "The Libraries of Edward 2nd Viscount Conway, and Others: An Inventory and Valuation of 1643." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 41 (1968): 35–47. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2281.1968.tb01437.x.
- Russell, John L. "Cosmological Teaching in the Seventeenth-Century Scottish Universities, Part I." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 5 (1974): 122-32. doi: 10.1177/002182867400500301.
- Russell, John L. "Cosmological Teaching in the Seventeenth-Century Scottish Universities, Part II." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 5 (1974): 145–54. doi: 10.1177/002182867400500301.
- Sankey, Margaret D. "Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647—1721)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.
- Elizabeth Sauer, Leah Knight, and Micheline White, eds. *Women's Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018.
- Serjeantson, Richard. "The Education of Francis Willughby." In *Virtuoso by Nature: The Scientific Worlds of Francis Willughby FRS (1635-1672)*, edited by Tim Birkhead, 44–98. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Shepherd, Christine. "Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th Century." Ph.D dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1974.
- Shepherd, Christine. "The Inter-relationship between the Library and Teaching in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." In *Edinburgh University Library 1580–1980: A Collection of Historical Essays*, edited by Jean R. Guild and Alexander Law, 67-86. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh University Press, 1982.
- Starza Smith, Daniel. "'La conquest du sang real': Edward, Second Viscount Conway's Quest for Books." In *From Compositors to Collectors: Essays on the Book Trade*, edited by Matthew Day and John Hinks, 199–216. New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2012.
- Starza Smith, Daniel. *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Stubbe, Henry. *A Reply unto the Letter written to Mr. Henry Stubbe in Defense of The History of the Royal Society whereunto is Added a Preface against Ecebolius Glanville, and an Answer to the Letter of Dr. Henry More, Containing a Reply to the Untruthes he hath Publish'd, and a Censure of the Cabbalo-Pythagorical Philosophy, by him Promoted*. Oxford : Printed for Richard Davis, 1671.
- Thomas, Emily. "Anne Conway on the Identity of Creatures over Time." In *Early Modern Women on Metaphysics*, edited by Emily Thomas, 131–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Walker, D. P. *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Ward, Richard. *The Life of the Learned and Pious Dr. Henry More*. London, 1710.

Wayne White, Carol. *The Legacy of Anne Conway (1631–1679). Reverberations from a Mystical Naturalism.* Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2008.

Wood, Anthony a. *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford. By Anthony Wood, M.A. of Merton College.* Edited by Philip Bliss. 4 vols. 1813-20. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969.

Notes

- ¹ Parageau, *Les ruses d'ignorance*, 40–42.
- ² Conway, *Principles*, ed. Coudert & Corse, vii.
- ³ Anne Conway to Viscount Conway, 2/9 October 1651: *Conway Letters*, 36–38.
- ⁴ Anne Conway to Henry More, November 29 1675: *Ibid.*, 407.
- ⁵ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 18.
- ⁶ Starza Smith, *Donne and the Conway Papers*, 117–119.
- ⁷ Starza Smith, “‘La conquest du sang real’,” 203–10; Plomer, “A Cavalier’s Library”; Roy, “The Libraries of Edward 2nd Viscount Conway, and Others.”
- ⁸ See Starza Smith, “‘La conquest du sang real’,” 203–10; also Collins, “Family Networks,” 128.
- ⁹ Armagh: Armagh Public Library, MS KH II 39—on this catalogue, see Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 117–18. The Armagh Public Library still holds some 73 of Conway’s books that survived the flames at Lisnagarvey: see Collins, “Family Networks,” 129–30. Bostock’s list of Conway’s sequestered books is at Kew: The National Archives (TNA), SP 20/7, fols. 73^r—116^r.
- ¹⁰ TNA, SP 20/7, fol. 105^r, (also fol. 109^v), fol. 108^v, fol. 109^v, fol. 77^r, fol. 79^v. See also Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 23 n.45.
- ¹¹ TNA, SP 18/1, fol. 36^r; Starza Smith, *Donne and the Conway Papers*, 122–23.
- ¹² Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 22–23.
- ¹³ Thomas Sprat’s *The History of the Royal Society* (1667) was certainly was in the Ragley Hall library in the late 1660s and early 1670s. Henry Stubbe’s *A Letter to Dr. Henry More, in Answer to that he Writ and Printed in Mr. Glanvil’s Book* (Oxford, 1671), 63 mentions Henry More annotating a copy of Sprat from Ragley, which “is yet to be seen in the Library there”; see Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 127n.49. More to Anne Conway, December 14 1661: *Conway Letters*, 196 also mentions a replacement copy—presumably in manuscript—of More’s *Epistola H. Mori ad V. C. quae apologia complectitur pro Cartesio, quaeque introductionis loco esse poterit ad universam philosophiam Cartesianam* (1662), “For that which you must needs have a copy of at Ragley was but carelessly flubbered over.”
- ¹⁴ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 23.
- ¹⁵ See also Parageau, *Les ruses d'ignorance*, 40–42.
- ¹⁶ More to Anne Conway, February 2 1653/4: *Conway Letters*, 93; Anne Conway to More, [September] 12 1661, *Ibid.*, 191; More to Anne Conway, October 26 1661: *Ibid.*, 193—94; More to Anne Conway, November 16 1661: *Ibid.*, 195; Anne Conway to Lord Conway, September 16 1664: *Ibid.*, 230.
- ¹⁷ More to Anne Conway, May 29, 1671: *Conway Letters*, 333; More to Anne Conway, February 9, 1675/76: *Ibid.*, 423; also, *inter alia*, More to Anne Conway, January 17 1652/3: *Ibid.*, 69—70, More to Anne Conway, March 28 [1659]: *Ibid.*, 155, More to Anne Conway, July 5 1662: *Ibid.*, 203.
- ¹⁸ John Finch to Anne Conway, November 10/20, 1651: *Conway Letters*, 57.
- ¹⁹ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 23; *Conway Letters*, 57, 64, 78, 116n7, 359, 430, 533; TNA, PROB/11/359/541. But see Malloch, *Finch and Baines*, 9, which identifies “Mrs. Sarah” with Sarah Worthington, niece of John Worthington (1618-1671), who was Master of Jesus College from 1650 to 1660.
- ²⁰ On the term “library keeper” in the seventeenth century, see Morrish, “Baroque Librarianship,” 212.

- ²¹ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 23n46.
- ²² TNA, PROB/11/359/541.
- ²³ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 217.
- ²⁴ See *Ibid.*, 218–19. His will is at TNA, PROB/11/374/74.
- ²⁵ Pettegree, “The Legion of the Lost,” 21–22; also Cavagna, “Loss and Meaning,” and Raven, *Lost Libraries*.
- ²⁶ Sauer, Knight & White, *Women’s Bookscapes*; McKitterick, “Women and their Books.”
- ²⁷ Crawford, “Margaret Cavendish’s Books.”
- ²⁸ Morgan, “Frances Wolfreton”; also Arnold Hunt, “Libraries in the Archives,” 372—74, 379—81.
- ²⁹ See, *inter alia*, Duran, “Anne Viscountess Conway,” 65; Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 22–23; Conway, *Principles* ed. Loptson, 15–16; Wayne White, *Legacy of Anne Conway*, 5.
- ³⁰ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 10, 86–92; Reid, *Metaphysics of Henry More*, 273–74; Conway, *Principles*, ed. Loptson, 16–18; see also Walker, *Decline of Hell*, 141–46; Pugliese, “Monism and Individuation.”
- ³¹ Thomas, “Conway on the Identity of Creatures,” 132–33.
- ³² Broad, “Conway and Charleton”; see also Hutton, “The Interrogative Anne Conway,” 149.
- ³³ Broad, “Conway and Charleton,” 574.
- ³⁴ An unpublished card index in the Old Library records the presence of a signature in the Jesus copy of Browne’s *Pseudodoxia*, but does not connect it to Anne Conway or the other Conway books in the Old Library.
- ³⁵ Cambridge: Christ’s College (CC), MS Fellows’ Papers 21, fol. 2^v, fol. 3^r, fol. 9^v.
- ³⁶ London: British Library (BL), Additional MS 23214, fol. 21^r, fol. 23^r, fol. 25^r, fol. 27^v, fol. 28^r, fol. 30^r, fol. 32^r, fol. 36^r, fol. 37^r; CC, MS Fellows’ Papers 21, fol. 4^r, fol. 6^r, fol. 7^r.
- ³⁷ BL, Additional MS 23214, fol. 3^r, fol. 7^r, fol. 9^r, fol. 10^r, fol. 13^r, fol. 15^r, fol. 22^v, fol. 34^r, fol. 39^r; CC, MS Fellows’ Papers 21, fol. 1^v, fol. 5^r. See also her signature on Nottingham: University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (UNMSC), MS Cl D 1484, “Articles of Agreement between Edward Lord Conway & Lady Anne his Wife (a daughter of Elizabeth Finch) & Sir Clifford Clifton & Dame Frances his wife (the other daughter of Elizabeth Finch)”.
- ³⁸ E.g. Anne Conway to Edward Conway, November 13 1652: TNA SP 18/25 f.88; Anne Conway to Edward Conway, January 19 1655/6: BL, Additional MS 23214, fol. 7^r; Anne Conway to Edward Conway, n.d, 1656: BL, Additional MS 23214, fol. 10^r; Anne Conway to Edward Conway, April 27 1658: BL, Additional MS 23214, fol. 15^r; Anne Conway to More, December 1661: CC, MS Fellows’ Papers 21, fol. 5^r. By 1675, Conway’s deteriorating health meant that her correspondence was managed by her secretary, Charles Coke: Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 215.
- ³⁹ Ward, *Life*, 203.
- ⁴⁰ Conway, *Principles*, ed. Coudert and Corse, 7.
- ⁴¹ See the *British Armorial Bindings Database* < https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamps/ICON004_s1 > < https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamps/ICON004_s2 > < https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamps/ICON004_s3 >.
- ⁴² [Baker], *Reflections*, 84—85. The quotation is in fact from Chapter 7. ESTC lists further editions from 1700, 1708, 1714, 1727, 1738, and 1756. Jesus Old Library does not currently hold a copy of this work.
- ⁴³ Cambridge: Jesus College Old Library (JCOL), H.10.1, pp. 191–92, 17, 21, 42, 45, 46.

- ⁴⁴ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, I, 443; Mortimer, *Dying and the Doctors*, 105n.11, 113; the signature reproduced in Edmund Randolph's registered will at TNA PROB 11/234/449 closely resembles the ownership inscription on the title page of the copy of Verstegan's *Antiquities*.
- ⁴⁵ Stubbe, *Reply unto the Letter*, 63.
- ⁴⁶ Bernard Randolph's will is at TNA PROB 11/153/643.
- ⁴⁷ See Finch's hand and signature on Francis Finch to John Finch, 9 October 1649: UNMSC, MS Cl C 167; and Elizabeth Finch and Francis Finch to Sir Gervase Clifton, June 1650: UNMSC, MS Cl C 169.
- ⁴⁸ The Inner Temple Admissions Database <http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/> [accessed 20 June 2019].
- ⁴⁹ The History of Parliament online <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/finch-francis-1586-1658> [accessed 20 June 2019].
- ⁵⁰ The Inner Temple Admissions Database <http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/> [accessed 20 June 2019]; UNMSC, MS Cl C 169.
- ⁵¹ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 23; *Conway Letters*, 136; UNMSC, MS Cl C 167.
- ⁵² *Conway Letters*, 135—6. "M^r ffrancis ffinch" is also listed on a pass granted in November 1643 for Edward and Anne Conway "to go beyond the Seas," although this journey does not seem to have taken place: TNA SP 25/72, fol. 139.
- ⁵³ *Conway Letters*, 136—37.
- ⁵⁴ TNA PROB 11/272/252. See also Levy Peck, *Women of Fortune*, 92.
- ⁵⁵ UNMSC, MS Cl C 167.
- ⁵⁶ UNMSC, MS Cl C 167.
- ⁵⁷ UNMSC, MS Cl C 167.
- ⁵⁸ Foster, ed., *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 255; The Randolphs of Biddenham had a family connection to Gray's Inn—a Herbert Randolph of Biddenham, either Edward's cousin or his uncle, was also admitted to Gray's Inn on February 3 1643/4: *Ibid.*, 238; and William Randolph of Biddenham on February 7 1653/4: *Ibid.*, 266.

⁵⁹ JCOL, G.5.38; the inscription on the front free endpaper is “Francis Finch”; JCOL, D.6.53(1-7) bears the inscription and price “Francis Finch — 9s” on the front free endpaper. It contains: D.6.53(1), *Magia Adamica: Or, the Antiquitie of Magic, and The Descent thereof from Adam downwards, proved. Whereunto is added a perfect, and full Discoverie of the true Coelum Terrae, or the Magician’s Heavenly Chaos, and the first Matter of all Things. By Eugenius Philalethes* (London, Printed by T.W. for H. Blunden, at the Castle in Corn-hill, 1650); D.6.53(2), *Man-Mouse, Taken in a Trap, and tortur’d to death for gnawing the Margins of Eugenius Philalethes* (Printed in London, and sold at the Castle in Corn-hill. 1650); D.6.53(3), *Anthroposophia Theomagica: Or a Discourse of the Nature of Man and his state after death; Grounded on his Creator’s Proto-Chymistry, and verify’d by a practicall Examination of Principles in the Great World. By Eugenius Philalethes* (London, Printed by T.W. For H. Blunden at the Castle in Corn-hill. 1650); D.6.53(4), *Anima Magica Abscondita: Or A Discourse of the universall Spirit of Nature, With his strange, abstruse, miraculous Ascent, and descent. By Eugenius Philalethes* (London, Printed by T.W. for H.B. 1650); D.6.53(5), *Lumen de lumine: Or; a new Magicall Light discovered, and Communicated to the World By Eugenius Philalethes* (London, Printed for H. Blunden at the Castle in Corn-Hil. 1651); D.6.53(6), *The Second Wash: Or, the Moore Scour’d once more, Being A Charitable Cure for the Distractions of Alazonomastix. By Eugenius Philalethes* (London, Printed by T.W. and are to be sold at the Castle in Cornhill, 1651); D.6.53(7), *Aula Lucis, Or, The House of Light: A Discourse written in the year 1651. By S. N. a Modern Speculator* (London, Printed for William Leake, and are to be sold at his Shop at the signe of the Crowne in Fleet-street, between the two Temple Gates, 1652). The last item, like the others, is identified by Wing and ESTC as by Vaughan; ESTC suggests that *Magia Adamica* and *Man-Mouse*, and *Anthroposophia Theomagica* and *Anima Magica Abscondita*, were intended to be issued together.

⁶⁰ Anne Conway to Henry More, February 9 1652/3: *Conway Letters*, 72; Henry More to Anne Conway, March 28 1653: *Ibid.*, 75. See also Henry More to Frances Clifton, November 11 [n.d]: UNMSC MS Cl C 334. This letter, which also mentions Eugenius Philalethes, must predate February 1651, as it refers to Anne Conway by her maiden name, “Mistress Ann Finch.”

⁶¹ Cambridge: Sidney Sussex College (SSC), MS MR.30, 415; Cambridge: Jesus College Archive (JCA), JCGB/4/3/6. The stipend payable to Sterling during his Fellowship amounted to £10 20s.: JCA, JCCA-JCAD-2-2-4-1.

⁶² JCA, JCAD/5/2/4/1705; also JCA, JCAD/5/2/4/1730 and JCA, JCAD/5/2/4/1740.

⁶³ A list of “Books removed out of The Library 1772,” in the hand of Lynford Caryl, is in JCA, JCAD/5/2/4/1715.

⁶⁴ E.g. JCOL, G.4.33: Thomas Willis, *Cerebri Anatome: Cui Accessit Nervorum Descriptio et usus* (London, Typis J. Flesher, Impensis Jo. Martyn & J. Allestry apud insigne Campanae in Coemeterio D. Pauli., 1664), which was preserved instead another copy listed in the 1740 Library Catalogue: JCA, JCAD/5/2/4/1715; JCA JCAD/5/2/4/1740.

⁶⁵ The polyglot nature of Sterling’s bequest is noted in JCA, JCGB/4/3/6.

⁶⁶ JCOL, H.9.34: *Renati Descartes Principia Philosophiae* (Amsterdam, 1650); JCOL, H.9.35(1): *Renati Des-Cartes Tractatus de Homine, et de Formatione Foetus. Quorum prior Notis perpetuis Ludovici de la Forge, M.D.* (Amsterdam, 1677); JCOL, H.9.35(2): *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae Pars I, & II More Geometrico demonstratae Per Benedictum de Spinoza Amstelodamensem. Accesserunt Ejusdem Cogitata Metaphysica, In quibus difficiliiores, quae tam in parte Metaphysices generali, quam speciali occurrunt, quaestiones breviter explicantur* (Amsterdam, 1663); JCOL C.10.19: Benedict Spinoza, *Opera Posthuma* (1677); JCOL, G.16.63: Henry More, *Philosophical Poems* (Cambridge, 1647); JCOL H.10.29(1): Henry More, *Remarks upon Two Late Discourses: the one, an essay touching the Gravitation and Non-Gravitation of Fluid bodies: the other, observations touching the Toricelliam experiment: so far as they may concern any passages in his Enchiridium Metaphysicum* (London, 1676); JCOL, H.10.28: Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber xv de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Frankfurt, 1582).

- ⁶⁷ JCOL, G.6.51: Thomas Willis, *De anima Brutorum quae Hominis Vitalis ac Sensitiva est, Exercitationes Duae* (Amsterdam, Apud Joannem Blaeu, 1672); JCOL, G.6.52: William Harvey, *Exercitatione de Generatione Animalium* (Amsterdam, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1651); JCOL, H.10.28: Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum liber XV De Subtilitate Ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Frankfurt, Apud haeredes Andr. Wecheli, 1582); JCOL, L.6.31: Marsilius of Padua *Defensor Pacis: sive Adversus usurpatam Rom. Pontificis Iurisdictionem* (Francofurti Excudebat Ioannes Wechelvs, Vaenit in officina Vignoniana. 1592).
- ⁶⁸ E.g. JCOL, I.6.14: *Troposchematologiae Rhetoricae Libri Duo, quorum prior agit de Tropis alter de Figuris Rhetoricis, quaestionibus & responsionibus concinnati; notisque brevioribus illustrati. A Guilelmo Walker, S.T.B. ... Editio Secunda...* (Londini, Typis J. Macock, impensis Josephi Clark, sub signo Stellae in vico vocato Little Brittain. 1672); JCOL, I.6.20: *L'Histoire Poetique, pour l'intelligence des Poëtes & des Auteurs Anciens. Par le Pere P. Gautruche de la Compagnie de Jesus. Septieme Edition, plus exacte que les précédentes.* (A Caen, Chez Jean Cavelier, Imprimeur du Roy, & de l'Université. 1673 Avec Privilege du Roy). On the second-hand book market in this period, see Mitchell, "'Old Books—New Bound'."
- ⁶⁹ Roberts, "The Latin Trade."
- ⁷⁰ See Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 112.
- ⁷¹ SSC, MR.30, 415.
- ⁷² Starza Smith, *Donne and the Conway Papers*, 50—53.
- ⁷³ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 90.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ⁷⁵ TNA, SP 44/20, p. 76.
- ⁷⁶ TNA, SP 44/164, p. 84; see also Dalton, *English Army Lists*, II, 134 n. 3.
- ⁷⁷ JCA, JCGB/4/3/6. This account incorrectly identifies Sterling's former university as Glasgow (*bonis litteris et Philosophiae operam dabat in Academia Glasguensi*).
- ⁷⁸ Fraser, *Stirlings of Keir*, 471—72; *Ibid.*, 60—61 incorrectly identifies Francis Sterling as a Colonel in the army who married Agnes Murray.
- ⁷⁹ SSC, MR.30, 415.
- ⁸⁰ Edinburgh University Library Special Collections (EUL), EUA IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 58; SSC, MR.30, 415. Sterling received his degree *privatim* on April 13 1676.
- ⁸¹ EUL, EUA IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p.58. On Pitcairne, see Guerrini, "Pitcairne, Archibald."
- ⁸² On Scots students in the Netherlands, see Mijers, "*News from the Republick of Letters.*"
- ⁸³ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, I, 156.
- ⁸⁴ TNA, SP 29/363 fol. 209^r.
- ⁸⁵ The Duke of Newcastle to Sir Joseph Williamson, March 25 1678: TNA, SP 29/402, fol. 186^r.
- ⁸⁶ SSC, MR.30, 415.
- ⁸⁷ Cambridge: Cambridge University Archives (CUA), MS Supplicats 8; CUA, MS Grace Book Theta, 129; see Serjeantson, "Education of Francis Willughby," 45; Consulted: CUA, MS University/ Matr.8.
- ⁸⁸ Serjeantson, "Education of Francis Willughby," 47, 50—58.
- ⁸⁹ TNA, SP 44/44, p. 120; TNA, SP 29/411, fol. 137^r.

- ⁹⁰ TNA, SP 44/41, p. 117.
- ⁹¹ TNA, SP 44/48, p. 57.
- ⁹² TNA, SP 44/58, p. 28.
- ⁹³ Sir Leoline Jenkins to the Duke of Newcastle, May 3 1681: TNA, SP 44/62, p. 156.
- ⁹⁴ Fraser, *Stirlings of Keir*, 471–72.
- ⁹⁵ Sterling was still commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Holland Regiment of Foot in October 1684 and on February 11 1685; BL, Additional MS 10123, 29; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, I, 322; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, II, 26.
- ⁹⁶ TNA, WO 5/2, pp. 5–7, p. 8.
- ⁹⁷ TNA, WO 5/2, pp. 140–41, p. 160, p. 171, pp. 251–52, pp. 253–54, pp. 278–79. The Marching Order books do not consistently identify specific companies within each regiment.
- ⁹⁸ TNA, WO 5/2, p. 314, fol. 152, fol. 160, fol. 164, fol. 165. TNA, WO 5/3, p. 33. TNA, WO 5/2 has erratic pagination, being both paginated (originally) and then foliated.
- ⁹⁹ JCA, JCGB/1/1/1.
- ¹⁰⁰ Hopkins, “Turner, Francis.” See also Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, 123.
- ¹⁰¹ JCA, JCGB/1/1/1; JCA, JCGB/1/1/2.
- ¹⁰² JCA, JCGB/4/3/6.
- ¹⁰³ *English Army Lists*, II, 134.
- ¹⁰⁴ JCA, JCGB/1/1/1 [College Register, 1618-1689]: “Feb 28 Eodem die Mr Sterling electus et assignatus est ad studium juris civilis in locum Doctoris Lewis”; *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*. 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), III, 95.
- ¹⁰⁵ TNA, WO 5/3, p. 42, pp. 43–44, pp. 44–45, pp. 46–47.
- ¹⁰⁶ TNA, WO 5/3, pp. 107–8, p. 112, pp. 137–8, p. 162, pp. 178–79.
- ¹⁰⁷ TNA, WO 5/3, p. 179, p. 239, p. 260, p. 273. The latter part of TNA, WO 5/3 is unpaginated.
- ¹⁰⁸ TNA, WO 5/4 p. 10; TNA, WO 5/5, p.4; TNA, WO 5/5, p. 33.
- ¹⁰⁹ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 277.
- ¹¹⁰ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, III, 139.
- ¹¹¹ TNA, WO 5/5, pp. 103–4, p. 235; Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 282–3.
- ¹¹² TNA, SP 44/338, fol. 374. The Royal Regiment of Foot in this period was composed of Scottish troops: see Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 282.
- ¹¹³ JCA, JCGB/1/1/2.
- ¹¹⁴ D’Auvergne, *Relation*, 30, 31.
- ¹¹⁵ See Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 319–329.
- ¹¹⁶ TNA, SP 32/4, fol. 128^r; BL, Harley MS 7018, fol. 24^r; BL, Additional MS 34096, fol. 78^r, which is enclosed with a letter dated dated 25 Jul/4 Aug, identifies him as “Cap. Fran: Sterlin. — Douglas”: that is, of Sir Robert Douglas’s regiment, or the Royal Regiment of Foot.

- ¹¹⁷ JCA, JCGB/4/3/6: “Animam Efflaturus (ut videas quam sit Amor vel ipsa Morte fortior) mirum planè et inauditum priùs amoris specimen dedit; quippe qui foeminae cuidam ^nomine Hartopp, quam postea in Matrimonio habuit Guil Talbot Decanus Wigorn^ (satis quidem pudica) quam deperibat, cor suum pyxide inclusum tradi jusserit[...].”
- ¹¹⁸ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, III, 240.
- ¹¹⁹ BL, Additional MS 17918, fols 11^v—12^r.
- ¹²⁰ JCA, JCGB/1/1/2.
- ¹²¹ Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland (NRS), GD124/2/148. I have not located Sterling’s will.
- ¹²² Martinez, *Front Lines*, 4.
- ¹²³ More to Anne Conway, April 22 1661: *Conway Letters*, 185.
- ¹²⁴ [Ralph Cudworth], *A Discourse Concerning the True Notion of the Lords Supper By R.C* (London, 1642): JCOL Shelfmark: C.5.31(1).
- ¹²⁵ Shepherd, “Philosophy and Science,” 120, 128, 131, 135, 138, 148, 153-54, 168, 170-71, 173, 174, 179, 195–96, 201–2; see also Russell, “Cosmological Teaching, Part I” and Russell, “Cosmological Teaching, Part II.” The university library at Edinburgh bought many of More’s works from the 1660s onwards: see Shepherd, “Inter-relationship,” 69–72.
- ¹²⁶ Paterson, *Theses & Problemata Philosophica* (1671); Paterson, *Theses & Problemata Philosophica* (1674).
- ¹²⁷ JCOL, MS QB.20, p. 158, p. 188–9, p. 258.
- ¹²⁸ TNA, SP 44/47, p. 11.
- ¹²⁹ More to Anne Conway, March 22, 1676: *Conway Letters*, 426–27; Lord Conway to Sir George Rawdon, December 28 1677: *Ibid.*, 439–40.
- ¹³⁰ More to Anne Conway, April 3, [1677]: *Conway Letters*, 429–30; More to Anne Conway, April 29, 1677: *Ibid.*, 430–31; More to Anne Conway, January 27, 1678/9: *Ibid.*, 447–48.
- ¹³¹ TNA, PROB/11/388/430.
- ¹³² Brown, “Helmont, Franciscus Mercurius van.”
- ¹³³ *Conway Letters*, 453.
- ¹³⁴ See *Ibid.*, 453; Penn, *Account*, sig. A2, explains that “A copy that was found among the late Countess of Conway’s papers falling into the hands of a person who much frequented that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good.”
- ¹³⁵ See HMC, *Downshire*, 138.
- ¹³⁶ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 171—72, 222—23, 229, 241—42; Sir Robert Reading to the Earl of Arran, January 24 1683/4: HMC, *Ormonde*, 183.
- ¹³⁷ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 173, 229; William Patten to Roger Kenyon, June 9 1682: HMC *Kenyon*, 143.
- ¹³⁸ Sankey, “Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby”; Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, I, 517—8.
- ¹³⁹ Sankey, “Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby.”

- ¹⁴⁰ Mulgrave's 1689 *Errare est Humanum or False Steps on both Sides*, which critiques the events of 1688/9, is found in multiple manuscript copies: BL, Add. MS 27382; BL, Harley MS 6274, fols. 81—109; BL, Egerton MS 3382.
- ¹⁴¹ This manuscript was sold at Bonham's in London on March 23 2010.
- ¹⁴² JCOL, O.12.66; JCOL, F.12.60.
- ¹⁴³ Hutton, *Anne Conway* is a notable exception to this tendency.
- ¹⁴⁴ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 100—107. Leicester: Leicester and Leicestershire Record Office (LRO), Finch MS, DG7 lit. 9.
- ¹⁴⁵ UNMSC, MS Cl C 169.
- ¹⁴⁶ BL Sloane MS 1415, fol. 4^r, fol. 5^r.
- ¹⁴⁷ See *Conway Letters*, 118, 136, 137.
- ¹⁴⁸ Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 18.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Principles*, ed. Coudert and Corse, 7.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Conway Letters*, 51—52. The text was Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* (1644).
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 78—79.
- ¹⁵² Anne Conway to Henry More, December 3 1651: *Ibid.*, 494 mentions Sir Henry Wotton's meeting with Kepler, an account taken from Wotton's *Reliquiae Wottoniae* (London, 1651), providing further evidence of the kinds of vernacular texts that Conway was reading in the early 1650s.
- ¹⁵³ On Browne's reception, see Murphy, "'The Best Pillar of the Order of St. Francis,'" 278—283.
- ¹⁵⁴ See Achermann, "Order in the Vortex."
- ¹⁵⁵ Crossley and Christie, eds., *Diary*, I (1847), 115—116; Crossley and Christie, eds., *Diary*, II part I (1855), 178, 192—93, 227, 142, 132, 123; Crossley and Christie, eds., *Diary*, II part II (1886), 283—85, 310; Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 128—30.
- ¹⁵⁶ Greatrakes, *Brief Account*, 56—57; see Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 131 and Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, 50—53.
- ¹⁵⁷ Kaoukji, "Mathematicall Magick," 173n51.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁹ See Feingold, "The Young Wilkins"; Johns, "Prudence and Pedantry."
- ¹⁶⁰ See, *inter alia*, More, *Philosophical Poems*, 390, 403—406, 408.
- ¹⁶¹ Ward, *Life*, 205.
- ¹⁶² Lord Conway to Anne Conway, July 8, 1651: *Conway Letters*, 32; Lord Conway to Anne Conway, July 22, 1651: *Ibid.*, 34. Marjorie Nicolson conjectures that "Copernicus found in her a staunch defender," *Ibid.*, 17.
- ¹⁶³ Lord Conway to Anne Conway, July 22 1651: *Conway Letters*, 34.
- ¹⁶⁴ John Finch to Anne Conway, April 9 n.s, 1653: *Ibid.*, 78.
- ¹⁶⁵ TNA, SP 18/24/1, fol. 4^r. This letter is not printed in *Conway Letters*.

¹⁶⁶ John Finch to Anne Conway, August 1/10 1652: *Conway Letters*, 64–65. John Finch to Anne Conway, April 9 n.s, 1653: *Ibid.*, 78–79. *Ibid.*, 65n.2 assumes that Finch was describing a printed book—perhaps a textbook such as Daniel Lipstorijs’s *Copernicus redivivus, seu de vero mundi systemate, liber singularis* which was printed in his 1653 *Specimina philosophiae Cartesiana* — but, given his references in these letters to “the Paper it will take up,” to having “not finished” it, and, in the last letter, to “my writings,” it seems more likely that what he hoped to send included a manuscript treatment of Copernicus, perhaps of his own devising. The evidence we have of Conway’s latinity in this period also makes it doubtful that Finch would send her either Lipstorijs or Copernicus. Finch’s philosophical manuscript, (which dates from 1675–81), discusses Copernicus: LRO, Finch MS, DG7 lit. 9, fols. 245–266. The relationship between this manuscript and the one Finch referred to in 1653 is unclear.

¹⁶⁷ Henry More to Anne Conway, April 12 1674: *Conway Letters*, 388.

¹⁶⁸ Peile and Venn, *Biographical Register*, II, 42. Henry More to Anne Conway, September 17 1674: *Conway Letters*, 393; Henry More to Anne Conway, October 19 1674, *Ibid.*, 395; Henry More to Anne Conway, December 3 [1674]: *Ibid.*, 397; Henry More to Anne Conway, December 9, 1674: *Ibid.*, 398. See Hutton, *Anne Conway*, 45–46; also Hall, “Henry More and the Scientific Revolution,” 40.

¹⁶⁹ See Hutton, “Hester Pulter.”

¹⁷⁰ Hall, “Henry More and the Scientific Revolution,” 38.