



THE
Life and **Character**
OF
Mr. **J O H N L O C K E**,
Author of the **ESSAY**
CONCERNING
Humane Understanding.

Written in *French*, by Mr. *Le Clerc*.

And done into *English*, by *T. F. P. Gent*.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

Tranflator's P R E F A C E.

THIS Account is written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and Publish'd in the 6th Tome of the Bibliotheque Choisie.

Article the Fifth, a Book that does not lie in the way of every Person, that would be willing to read the Life of the great Mr. Locke; so that I perswade my self this Translation may be acceptable, even to some, that understand French, as well as to many that do not. This Account is but short, too short indeed for the Life of one that died at the Age of 73 Years, that spent the best part of his time in Business, that convers'd with Persons of the biggest Rank, that was engag'd in Matters of the greatest Consequence, and that made as much a noise in the World, as any private Gentleman ever did. But there is this to be said for it, that it takes notice of nothing mean or trivial, and which is more, 'tis Authentick.

Mr. Le Clerc, was one of Mr. Locke's intimate Friends, and though with many, he may be condemn'd for a Heretick, yet I hope, we may believe him as to matters of Fact, and he gives us part of this Account upon his own Knowledge, part he had from the Earl of Shaftsbury, and part from the Lady Masham. It would be well, if all History's were founded on such good Authority. For the Readers satisfaction, I shall translate most of the Introduction, or as I may call it, the Preface of Mr. Le Clerc to this Account.

“ Having been Honour'd (says he) with a share in the Friendship of the late Mr. Locke; and having received a great deal of Benefit from his Conversation, while he was in Holland, and in reading his Books; I am oblig'd by the Laws of Friendship, and Gratitude, to give the World some Account of the Life of this extraordinary Person, and to do what lies in my Power to keep alive his Memory; I am so much the more willing to take the Task upon me, because I think this is an Instance very fit to be brought to stop the Mouths of those, that fancy Piety to be inconsistent with good Reasoning, and the study of Philosophy; as if Religion had
“ been

The Translator's Preface.

“ been calculated, only for the more unthinking part of *Mankind* :
“ One might have observ'd in him the *Life of a Christian*, and a
“ diligent and careful *Study of the New Testament*, joyn'd with a
“ *Delicacy of Wit*, and an *unusual Accuracy of Reasoning*, and we
“ may from hence *Learn*, that the *Piety* which has the best *Founda-*
“ *tion*, is never seen, but with the most refined *Judgment*.

“ I would it were in my *Power* to write a full *Account of Mr.*
“ *Locke*, and by these means to set such an *exact Picture* of him be-
“ fore my *Readers*, that they need but carefully to consider it, in or-
“ der to frame a just *Idea* of him. In my mind there is no better
“ way, either to *Praise*, or to find *Fault*, when there is occasion to
“ do it. But since, I could not furnish my self with such *Memoirs*
“ as are necessary to enable me, to write a compleat *History* of his
“ *Life* ; I shall go as far as I can in it, with that, which is come
“ to my *Knowledge*, and I shall take particular notice of those things,
“ which I have Learn'd from the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, who was
“ brought up under *Mr. Locke*, and from *Madam Masham*, *Sir*
“ *Francis Masham's Lady*, at whose *House* he spent the last *Years*
“ of his *Life*. This honourable *Lady*, Daughter of the late famous
“ *Dr. Cudworth* (who was one of the greatest *Men* in *England*,
“ and the *Extracts* of whose *Works* have adorn'd the former *Tomes*
“ of my *Bibliotheque Choisie*) has had an opportunity of getting
“ perfect *Knowledge* of *Mr. Locke*, while he liv'd at her *House*, and
“ she being every ways qualified to make a *Judgment* of him, the
“ *Light* that I have receiv'd from her, has been very useful to me,
“ in drawing the *Picture* of this great *Man*.

“ I wish I had intreated this *Lady*, to take from his own *Mouth*
“ some farther *Memoirs* of his *Life* : But now the *Publick* must be
“ contented, with those which I have obtain'd of his *Friends* since his
“ *Death*. As for what pass'd about the time, in which he came ac-
“ quainted with the *Grandfather* of the present *Earl of Shaftsbury*,
“ and the *Respect*, that he had afterwards in his *House* ; I owe the
“ *Knowledge* of that to the present *Earl*, in whom we may see what
“ advantage it is, even to those, on whom *Providence* has bestow'd the
“ best natural *Parts*, to be brought up by the *Care* of one, that knew
“ the right *Method* of *Educating* Youth.

Thus far *Le Clerc*, and so very full, to the *Design* of a *Preface*
(which is no other, than to recommend the *Book* to the *World*) that I
shall only add this sincere *Wish* ; That all those that admire the *Reason*,
and embrace the *Notions* of the Great *Locke*, may imitate his *Exam-*
ple in his *Piety* to *God*, and *Charity* to *Man*.

T H E
L I F E
O F
Mr. JOHN LOCKE, &c.

MR. *John Locke* was the Son of Mr. *John Locke* of *Pensford*, in *Somerſetſhire*, in the *West* of *England*: The Family had its riſe at a Place call'd *Channon Court*, in *Dorſetſhire*.

He was born at * *Wrington* (alias *Wrinton*) and according to the *Parish-Register*, was Baptiz'd, the 29th of *Auguſt* 1632. his Father was Heir to a much greater *Eſtate*, then he left behind him; and was a *Captain* in the *Parliaments Army*, in the *Civil Wars* under *Charles* the *Fiſt*: And it is very probable, that at that Time by the misfortunes of the War, he loſt ſome Part of his *Eſtate*; for his Son us'd to ſpeak of him, as a wiſe and ſober Man; ſo that I can't think he either loſt it by his Folly, or ſquander'd it away by his Extravagance. Mr. *Locke* never mention'd his Parents, but with a great deal of Reſpect and Tenderneſs. Tho' they were young enough when they Married, yet they had but two Children, of which he was the Eldeſt. The other, who was alſo a Son, died of a *Phthiſick* above 40 Years ago.

Mr. *Lock's* Father took great Care in his Education, and carried himſelf towards him in ſuch a manner, as his Son hath often commended. He was ſevere to him, while he was a Child, and kept him at a very great Diſtance; but as he grew up, he was more free and familiar with him; and when he was come to Years of Diſcretion, they liv'd together rather as Friends, than as two Perſons, one of which might juſtly claim Reſpect from the other; inſomuch that (as Mr. *Locke* himſelf has ſaid) his Father excus'd himſelf to him for having beaten him once in his Childhood; rather in Anger, then becauſe he deſerv'd it.

Mr. *Locke* began his Studies in *Westminster School*, where he continu'd to the Year 1651. from whence he was sent to *Christ-Church Colledge* in *Oxford*, of which he was elected *Fellow*. Mr. *Tyrell*, Grandson to the famous *Archbishop Usher*, sufficiently known by his Works, remembers that Mr. *Locke* was then lookt on as the most ingenious young Man in the Colledge.

But altho' Mr. *Locke* had gain'd such a Reputation in the University, he has been often heard to say, of the first Years of his being there, that he found so little Satisfaction, in the Method that was prescrib'd them for their Study's, that he has wish'd his Father had never sent him to *Oxford*, when he found that what he had learnt there, was of little use to him, to enlighten and enlarge his Mind, and to make him more exact in his Reasonings; he fancied it was because his genius was not suited to those Study's. I my self have heard him complain of the Method he took in his Study's at first, in a Discourse which I had with him one Day on that Subject; and when I told him that I had a *Cartesian* Professour for my Tutor, a Man of a clear Head, he said, he was not so happy; (tho' 'tis well known he was no *Cartesian*) and that he lost a great deal of Time, when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at *Oxford* was the *Peripatetick*, perplex'd with obscure Terms and stuff'd with useless Questions.

Being thus discourag'd by the Method of studying that was then in Vogue, he diverted himself by writing to some Gentlemen, with whom he chose to hold Correspondence for the sake of their good Humour, their pleasant and agreeable Temper, rather than on the Account of their Learning, and he confess'd that he spent some Years in this manner. It is not probable, that Mr. *Locke* wrote then as well as he did afterwards, when he knew more of the World, but their Letters would without doubt have been very entertaining to all, had they been preserv'd; and since he has been engag'd in publick Business, some Persons in *England* of a very good Judgment, have thought that in Letters of this Nature, for a fine, delicate turn, he was not inferiour to *Voiture*; tho' it must be confess'd, of his *English* it is not so pure, or so much studied as *Voiture's French*. In his two last Letters of *Toleration*, in his Defences of the reasonableness of *Christianity*, and in his Answers to the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, we may see some Passages that are a Proof of this. In those Places where his Matter allow'd him to speak ironically, or to use a little Raillery, he did it with so much

much Wit as gave Life and Beauty to his Discourse, and at the same time kept up that grave and serious Character, which runs throughout those Pieces, and never failed in that Respect, which was due to the *Bishop of Worcester*.

Mr. *Locke* did not acquire this great Reputation he had at *Oxford* (as Mr. *Tyrell* says) by his performances in the publick Disputations, for he was ever averse to these, and always look'd upon them as no better than wrangling, and that they served only for a vain Ostentation of a Man's Parts, and not in the least for the discovery of Truth, and advancement of Knowledge.

The Works of *Des Cartes* were the first Books that brought Mr. *Locke* (as he himself told me) to relish the Study of Philosophy. For tho' he did not Assent to the Truth of all his Notions, he found that he wrote with great clearness, which made him think, that it was the fault of the Authors, rather than his own, that he had not understood some other Philosophical Books.

And thus beginning afresh to Study, and more earnestly than he did before, he applied himself particularly to Medicine, tho' this never turn'd to his own Profit, because he did not find that he had a Constitution of Body strong enough to bear those Fatigues, to which they are necessarily expos'd, who would have any considerable Practice. But tho' he never practis'd Physick, he was in great esteem, with the most able Physicians of his Time: We have a clear Proof of this in the Dedication of an excellent Book, *De morbis acutis*, put out in the Year 1675. by the famous Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, where he speaks to this Purpose; besides you know, that my Method hath been approv'd by one, who hath examin'd it thoroughly, and who is our common Friend, I mean, Mr. *John Locke*, who whether we respect his Wit, or his piercing and exact Judgment, or whether we look to his prudent and regular Behaviour, there is no Person in our Age that excels him, and there are but few that are his equals. This was the Opinion of one of the greatest Practitioners in Physick, and one of the honestest Men, that *London* had in the last Age. Therefore I shall give you his own Terms, because they are much more expressive in Latine: *Nosti præterea quem hæc mea methodo suffragantem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspexerat, utrique nostrum conjunctissimum, Dominum Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio judicioque acri & subacto, sive etiam antiquis, hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorem quenquam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, repertum iri confido,*

mos certè pares. After the Preface of this Book there are some Elegiack Verses of Mr. *Locke's* which are indeed full of Wit and Fancy, but the stile of them is not altogether exact or Poetical. He had too little esteem for the Poets to throw away much Time in reading them, and to take the pains to imitate them. He sign'd those Verses in this manner, *J. Locke, A. M. Ex Aede Christi: Oxon.* he contented himself with the Title of Master of Arts, without taking the Degree of a Doctor of Physick, tho' those that did not know him usually call'd him *Doctor Locke.* This he told me, when I dedicated to him one Part of my Philosophy in 1692.

In 1664. He left *England,* and went for *Germany* as Secretary to Sir *William Swan,* who was Envoy of the King of *England* to the Elector of *Brandebourg,* and some other *German* Princes. In less than a Year he return'd, and went to Study at the University of *Oxford,* as he formerly did; and among other things, he apply'd himself to Natural Phylosophy, as is evident from the Journal, which he kept of the Changes of the Air from the 24th of *June* 1666. to the 28th of *March* 1667. For the regular Observation of which he us'd a Barometer, Thermometer and Hygroscope. The Journal may be seen in the General History of the Air, by Mr. *Boyle,* Publish'd at *London* in 1692.

While he was at *Oxford* in 1666. he came acquainted with the Lord *Ashley,* who was afterwards *Earl of Shaftsbury,* and Lord High Chancellour of *England,* his Lordship had been for a considerable Time indispos'd by a fall, whereby his Chest was so much bruised, that it occasion'd the gathering of an Imposthume, as appear'd by a swelling under his Stomach, he had been advis'd for this to drink the Mineral Waters of *Astrop,* and wrote to Mr. *Thomas* a Physician of *Oxford,* to send for some to *Oxford* against his arrival. But Mr. *Thomas* been oblig'd at that time to go out of Town, left his Commission in Charge with his Friend Mr. *Locke,* and the Day after his Lordships arrival, the Waters not being ready by neglect of the Person employ'd to fetch them, Mr. *Locke* was oblig'd to go to his Lordships Lodging to excuse himself, and was introduc'd by Mr. *Bennet* who came in the same Coach with my Lord. His Lordship receiv'd him very civilly, according to his usual manner, and was very well satisfied with his excuses. When he was about to take his Leave of him, my Lord who was extremely well-pleas'd with his Conversation, would needs make him stay Supper, and as his Lordship

Lordship was taken with Mr. *Locke's* Discourse, so Mr. *Locke* was charm'd with my Lord *Ashley*, whose Wit and Civility gave him a distinguishing Character among those of his own Rank.

He was one that had a quick and sharp Wit, an accurate and solid Judgment, a retentive Memory, noble and generous Sentiments, and with all this a gay and pleasant Temper, which he retain'd in the midst of the greatest Troubles, he had read much and seen more of the World. In a little time he got a great deal of Knowledge and Experience, and became the best Statesman in *England*, at an Age when others scarce begin to understand or enquire after publick Concerns. The Employments he had when King *Charles* the Second made use of his Service took him off from his Studies. But he was of so quick an Apprehension, that by once reading a Book, tho' in haste, he could see it's faults and excellencies, sometimes better, than those who perus'd it at their Leisure; besides he was a Man of a free and easie Carriage, an Enemy to Complements, and not in the least Ceremonious, so that one might converse with him without restraint, and use all desireable Freedom. He carried himself familiarly to all Men, and yet never did any thing unworthy or below his Character. He could never suffer what had the least appearance of Slavery either in himself; or in his Inferiours.

So that Mr. *Locke* did with pleasure all his Life after, reflect on the Satisfaction that he receiv'd from his Conversation, and when ever he prais'd him, he did it not only with Respect, but even with Admiration; as those who knew the Penetration and Sincerity of Mr. *Locke*, will from hence form to themselves a high Idea of my Lord *Ashley*, so those who were acquainted with my Lord *Ashley*, can't but think that Mr. *Locke* was a Man of an uncommon genius, when they consider the value he had for him.

After all this, 'tis no great wonder that between two such Persons as these; there easily arose an inviolable Friendship. But to continue our History; his Lordship engag'd Mr. *Locke* to Dine with him the next day, and to drink the Waters (as he himself had partly design'd) that he might enjoy the more of his Company. Leaving *Oxford* to go to *Summing-Hill*, where he drank the Waters he made Mr. *Locke* promise to go thither too * as he did in the Summer of the Year 1667 and when his Lordship afterwards went to *London*, he oblig'd him to promise that he would take up his Lodgings for the future at his House. Mr. *Locke* went thither, and tho' he never practis'd Phy-

* As appears by the Journal, publish'd by Mr. *Boyle* before mention'd.

sick His Lordship was intirely guided by his Advice in opening the Imposthume he had in his Breast which sav'd his Life, though it never could be clos'd again.

After this Cure His Lordship had so great an Esteem for Mr. *Locke*, that although he had experienced his Skill in Physick, he ever after regarded it as the least of his Accomplishments. He advis'd him to turn his thoughts another way, and would not suffer him to practice Physick out of the house to any but his particular Friends. He would have had him rather apply himself to the study of those Matters, that belong'd to the Church and State, and which might have some relation to the business of a Minister of State: And Mr. *Locke* succeeded so well in these Studies that His Lordship began to consult him on all occasions of that Nature. He not only took him into his Library and his Closet, but brought him into the Company of the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Halifax* and other Nobles, who were Men of Wit and Learning, and were pleas'd as much with his Conversation as my Lord *Ashley*, for though Mr. *Locke* had a serious Air and always spoke to these Lords in a modest and respectful manner; yet there was an agreeable mixture of Wit in his Conversation.

The freedom which he us'd with Persons of this Rank had somewhat which I can't express, that agreed very well with his Character. One day three or four of these Lords being met together at my Lord *Ashley's*, rather for their Diversion than Business, after the usual Compliments were over, the Cards were brought when little or no Discourse had passed between them. Mr. *Locke* took notice of the Game for some time, and then taking out his Pocket-book, he set himself to write somewhat with very great Seriousness, one of the Lords having observ'd it asks him what it was that he was writing. My Lord, says he, I endeavour to get as much as I can in your good Company, and having waited with impatience the Honour of being present at a Meeting of the wisest and most ingenious men of the Age, and enjoying at length this Happiness; I thought it was best to write your Conversation, and I have accordingly set down the substance of what has been said within this hour or two. There was no need for Mr. *Locke* to read much of this Dialogue, these noble Lords perceiv'd the banter, and diverted themselves a while with improving the jest; they left their play and enter'd into Conversation more agreeable to their Character and so spent the rest of the day.

In 1668. The Earl and Countess of *Northumberland* having resolv'd to travel into *France* they desir'd Mr. *Locke* to make one of their Company; He readily comply'd with them, and stay'd in *France* with my Lady Countess whilst the Earl went to *Rome*. This noble Lord fell sick in the way and died, which oblig'd his Lady to return sooner to *England* than they had design'd at first. The Journey was without doubt very pleasant to Mr. *Locke*, for this Lady was every ways accomplish'd, she spar'd for no Expences, and wherever she came, she had very great Honours paid her.

Mr. *Locke* at his return into *England* Lodg'd, [as before, at my Lord *Ashley's*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, he held his Place in the Colledge of *Christ-Church* at *Oxford*, * where he sometimes resided. Whilst he was at my Lord *Ashley's*, His Lordship intrusted him with the remaining part of the Education of his only Son, who was then but about Fifteen or sixteen years old, which Charge he carefully perform'd. This young Lord being of a very weakly Constitution, his Father thought to marry him betimes lest the Family should be extinct by his Death. He was too young, and had too little Experience to choose a Wife for himself; and my Lord *Ashley* not having time to make choice of a suitable Person for him, desir'd that Mr. *Locke* would undertake it. This was no easie Province, for though His Lordship did not insist upon a great Fortune for his Son, yet he would have him marry a Lady of a good Family, a sweet Temper, a fine Complexion, and above all one that had a good Education, and whose Carriage was as different as possible from the Behaviour of the Court and City Ladies. However Mr. *Locke* took upon him such a nice Business as this, and very happily acquitted himself of it, for from this Marriage sprung the present Earl of *Shaftsbury* with six other Children all very healthful, though his Father was but weak, and died some years ago. As Mr. *Locke* had the Care of great part of the Education of this Lord. so he was intrusted with his eldest Son's whom we had the Honour of seeing here in *Holland*, and whose good Sence, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, sweet and obliging Carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremonies, with a natural and easie Eloquence, plainly shew us that he was Educated by no less excellent a Person than Mr. *Locke*, of which his Lordship hath testified a grateful Sence on all occasions, and always

* See the a-
foresaid Jour-
nal, he kept
the Changes
of the Air at
Oxford, p. 116.
& 202.

speaks

speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary esteem.

In the Year 1670, and 1671. Mr. *Locke* began his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, at the earnest request of Mr. *Tyrell*, and Mr. *Thomas* and some others of his Friends, who met sometimes in his Chamber to converse together, as he himself hath told me. But his Business and Travels hinder'd his finishing it at that time. I don't know whether it was not about this time that he was taken into the *Royal Society of London*.

In the Year 1672. My Lord *Ashley* was created *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and *Lord High Chancellor of England*, and gave Mr. *Locke* the Office of Secretary of the *Presentation of Benefices*; which he enjoy'd till the end of the Year 1673. when His Lordship return'd the great Seal to the King.

Mr. *Locke* whom this great Man made Privy to his most secret Affairs was joynd with him in his Disgrace, and afterwards gave his assistance to some pieces, which His Lordship Publish'd to stir up the *English Nation*, to have a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the *Roman Catholics*, and to oppose the Designs of that Party.

On this occasion, I can't pass over in silence a remarkable thing which was transacted in the Parliament of *England* in 1672. It is well known, that at that time *King Charles the Second* in Conjunction with *France*, made War on the United Provinces: But the Sums that were sent him from *France* not being sufficient to carry on the War, He thought it necessary to try what the Parliament would raise him. For this purpose, there was a draught prepar'd in the King's Council of the Speech, which the Lord Chancellor was to make to the Parliament to perswade them to approve of the War, which that Prince had declar'd against the *Dutch*. But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not pressing the Matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it, and in spight of the Lord Chancellor's Advice to insert these Words of *Cato*, *Delenda est Carthago*, intimating that it was the Interest of *England* utterly to ruine *Holland*. This being resolv'd, the Lord Chancellor must pronounce the Speech as it was prepar'd, his Lordship show'd a very great concern at this to Mr. *Locke*, and to another of his Friends, who hath since declar'd it in Writing: However the Lord Chancellor being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King, and not speaking in his own Name, and often contrary to his own particular Sentiments, his Lordship was oblig'd to get it by Heart, and altho' he spake very fluently, and had a great Presence of

Mind,

Mind, yet he was so much disorder'd that he would have Mr. *Locke* behind him with the Speech in his hand, to prompt him if he should be at a stand. This made a great noise in *Holland*, and His Lordship was thought very ill of by those who were ignorant of his own Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellour. But this noble Lord in a little time after perceiving the Mark that the Court aim'd at, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having shewn him, that not only the Duke of *York*, but even the King was a *Papist*, (though he conceal'd it by setting up for a Wit, and by appearing on all occasions very indifferent as to Matters of Religion,) he left the Court Party, who in vain tryed all means to keep him in their Interest; His Lordship had so great an aversion to Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, that though he was in other things very moderate, there was no moving of him in these Respects. This is well known to all those who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.

However, the famous Sir *William Temple* in his *Memoirs* speaks very much to his disadvantage, and insinuates that he was one of the Authors of the War against the United Provinces in 1672. But it must be consider'd, that he had a private Picque against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, because when His Lordship was Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, he was against the King's making him a Present of Plate, which he desir'd at his Return from his Embassy, according to a Custom that his Lordship thought was very prejudicial to the King's Treasury; and this is a sufficient Reason, Why we should give but little credit to what Sir *William Temple* says, with respect to my Lord *Shaftsbury*. But to return to Mr. *Locke* in June 1673. He was made Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade, which Office brought him in Five hundred Pounds per Annum. But this Commission expir'd in December 1674.

In the following Summer * 1675. My Lord *Shaftsbury* thought it necessary for Mr. *Locke* to Travel, because he was very much inclin'd to the Phthisick, and he went to *Montpellier*, where he staid a considerable time. There it was, that he came acquainted with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then call'd Mr. *Herbert* (the name of his Family) because his eldest Brother was then living. He ever kept up his Friendship with him, and afterwards Dedicated to him his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, and I have heard him speak of this Lord, as one for whom he had a high Respect. From *Montpellier* he went to *Paris*, where

*See the Journal above-cited, p. 121.

he got acquainted with Monsieur *Justel*, at whose House the Learned generally met, and there he saw Monsieur *Gucnelon* the famous Physician of *Amsterdam*, who used to Discourse there upon Anatomy with great Applause. Mr. *Locke* took down his Name, and the Place of his abode at *Amsterdam*, and his Friendship was very advantageous to him some years after this, as we shall see in the Consequence. He likewise entred into a particular Friendship with Monsieur *Toinard*, who shew'd a Copy of his *Harmonia Evangelica*, of which there were but Five or six compleat, and which he has not yet Publish'd, though he has been earnestly desir'd to do it. Mr. *Locke* had applyed himself particularly to the study of the New Testament, and we shall see hereafter what are the Fruits of his Labours.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* being reconcil'd to the Court (out of an honest Design of being as useful as he could to his Country) he was made President of the Council in the Year 1679, which oblig'd him to desire Mr. *Locke's* Return to *London*. He accordingly return'd thither; but not being wholly recover'd, and finding himself afflicted with an *Asthma* he could not tarry long at *London*; the Sea-coal that is burnt there being so very offensive to him. He was oblig'd from time to time, to pass some Weeks in the Country, that he might breath in a pure Air, free from the smoke of the Coals which is so troublesome at *London*, and sometimes he went to *Oxford*, where he still kept his Place in *Christ-Church* Colledge.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* (as I have said,) having again taken his Place in the Council, for the good of the *English* Nation, rather than to carry on the Designs of the Court, which aim'd at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power, fresh Crimes were soon laid to his Charge, and the King sent him to the *Tower*. But he was acquitted, in spite of the Intreagues of the Court, and in *December* 1682. he retir'd into *Holland*. The late King, who was then *Prince of Orange*; knowing that His Lordship's only Crime was, that he oppos'd the Designs of the Court, he was receiv'd very kindly in *Holland*, and he made himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, lest the King should send to demand him of the States, which by a Treaty is oblig'd to deliver Traytors to the Crown of *England*, if they are not made Burghers of any Town in *Holland*, and *England* is oblig'd to do the same with respect to the States.

Mr. *Locke* did not think himself any longer safe in *England*; for though they could not hurt him according to a due form of
Law,

Law, yet 'twas possible they might clap him up in Prison, and let him lie there some time to the endangering his Health and Life; so he follow'd His Lordship, who died soon after in *Holland*. It is an Honour to this Province, and to the Town of *Amsterdam* in particular, that it entertain'd and protect'd so illustrious a Refugee, without regarding those former Prejudices, which it had receiv'd against him on the account of the Speech, which he deliver'd as Lord Chancellor to the Parliament in the Year 1672. A grateful Sence of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of *Shaftsbury* his Grandson hath often told me. May this Town ever remain a safe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by it's generous Carriage draw down upon it's self the Praises and Blessings of all those who are Lovers of Virtue, not only in it's Prosperity, but even when it suffers the sharpest Persecutions.

Mr. *Locke*, being at *Amsterdam* about the end of the Year 1682. renew'd the acquaintance, he began at *Paris* with Monsieur *Guanelon*, and got acquainted with his Father-in-Law Monsieur *Vien*, Senior Physician of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In *January* 1684. Monsieur *Guanelon* being to dissect a Lioness, that died of the excessive cold that Winter. Mr. *Locke* came thither, and became acquainted with several other Physicians. Here he met with Monsieur *Limbroch*, Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants, with whom he contracted a Friendship, that continu'd during the whole Course of his Life, and which he cultivated after his Return into *England*. I had the Honour also to be acquainted with him some time after, and have spent several hours with Pleasure and Profit in his Company; especially, after he told me his Mind in Philosophical Matters, which has been the Subject of many an hours Conversation. Having his Health better in *Holland*, than either in *England* or at *Montpellier*: He there carried on, and compleated his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, of which he shew'd me several Chapters in Manuscript.

Mr. *Locke* had not been a year out of *England*, before he was accus'd at Court of writing several Pamphlets against the Government, which were said to come from *Holland*. But afterwards were found to be done by other hands; for this Reason, as was reported, the King sent Order to Mr. *Tell*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church* to turn Mr. *Locke* out of his Fellowship in the Colledge. The Bishop, who was a virtuous and Learned man, and always had a respect and kindness for Mr. *Locke*, receiv'd the Message with a great deal of uneasiness,

as may be seen by his Actions. He immediately sends for Mr. Tyrell, Mr. *Lock's* Friend to speak with him, and was so convinced of Mr. *Lock's* Innocence, that instead of executing the Order, he wrote to him the 8th of *November*, to appear and answer for himself the 1st of *January* of the ensuing Year. In the mean time he acquaints my Lord *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State with what he had done in these Terms, from which we may learn much of Mr. *Lock's* Character. *Mr. Locke being a great Friend of the late Earl of Shaftsbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the Government, I have had my Eye over him for several years, but he has always been so much upon his Guard, that after several strict Enquiries I can confidently assure you, there is no Person in our Colledge, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any thing against the Government, or that any ways concerns it; and tho' we have often designedly, given him occasion in publick and private Discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftsbury, by speaking ill of him, his Party and Designs, yet we could never see, either by his Words or Looks, that he thought himself at all concern'd in the Matter; so that we believe, there is not a Man in the World so much Master of his Tongue and Passions as he is.*

This is the more to be admir'd; because Mr. *Locke* was naturally a little hasty. But perceiving their Designs to trapan him, he oblig'd himself to be silent. He might easily see that to defend His Lordship before them, could do him no Service, and would bring himself into Trouble.

Dr. *Fell* in what he wrote, without doubt design'd to serve Mr. *Locke*; but the King sending a second Letter, he was forced to take away his Fellowship of *Christ-Church* Colledge at *Oxford*.

After the Death of *Charles* the Second (which was on the 6th of *February* 1685.) Mr. *Penn*, whom Mr. *Locke* had known at the University, and who very generously imploy'd that Interest he had in King *James*, endeavour'd to procure his Pardon, and had certainly obtain'd it; if Mr. *Locke* had not answer'd, that he had no occasion for a Pardon, having been guilty of no Crime.

In the Spring of the Year 1685. The Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland*, and several other Gentlemen, and Nobles with him, disaffected to King *James's* Government, making Preparations for his unfortunate Enterprize. King *James* being inform'd of their Designs sent to Mr. *Skelton*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, the 17th of *May*, to demand of the *States* Fourscore and four Persons, and amongst them Mr. *Locke*, whom they had thus describ'd
formerly

formerly Secretary to the Earl of Shaftsbury, altho' he never had that Business or Title in his Lordships House, but liv'd there as a Friend: His Name was the last in the List, and, as I remember, 'twas said, he was not in the List that came from England, but that the English Consul, that was then in Holland, order'd it to be added to the rest. However, I believe one may rest satisfy'd, that he had no Correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth, of whom he had not such high Thoughts, as to expect any thing from his Undertaking; besides he was of a peaceable Temper, and rather fearful than couragious.

About the end of the Year 1684. he was at Utrecht, and the next Spring went to Amsterdam, with design to return to Utrecht, as he did afterwards, not imagining he should be esteem'd an Accomplice of the Duke of Monmouth: He had formerly had a desire to lodge with Mr. Guenelon, but he excus'd himself, because it was not the Custom of their City to give Lodgings to Strangers, tho' otherwise he had a great esteem for him, and was very well pleas'd with his Visits. But when Mr. Guenelon saw his danger, and that it was Time to do him a kindness, he generously engag'd his Father in Law Mr. Veen to entertain him in his House, and wrote to Utrecht to advertise him of it, as did Mr. Limborch on the part of Mr. Veen. Mr. Locke on this came to Amsterdam, and conceal'd himself at Mr. Veen's two or three Months; and in the mean time, Mr. Limborch convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. Lock's Will, which he desir'd him to send to one of his Relations, whom he named, if he should Die. In the mean Time, they consulted one of the chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if he might be safe there; who replied, that he could not protect him, if the King of England sent for him, but that he would not deliver him, and would not fail to give notice of it to Mr. Veen.

This did a little compose his mind, and he stay'd with Mr. Veen till September, going out only in the Nights to prevent being discover'd: But being perswaded to go rather to Cloves, he went thither, but came back the beginning of November. 'Twas at Mr. Veen's that he compos'd his Latin Letter of Toleration, which was Printed at Terou in 1689. and entituled, *Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum virum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A. scripta a P. A. P. O. I. L. A.* The first Letters signifie, *Theologiae ac Remonstrantes Professorem, Tyrannydis osorem Limburgianam Amstel. mensum*; and the latter, *Pacis amico, Persecutionis osore, Joanne Lockio Anglo.* This little Book was Translated into Eng-
lish,

lish, and Printed twice at London in the Year 1690: It was abridg'd in the fifteenth Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Article the Fourteenth. About this Time, it was also that Mr. Locke read and approv'd of several Pieces of *Episcopius*; (for till then he knew the Remonstrants only by hear-say, and a little Conversation he had with them here) and was surpriz'd to find their Sentiments nearer to his own than he imagin'd, and afterwards made great use of the Light that he receiv'd from them.

At the end of the Year, Mr. Locke went to lodge at Mr. Guenelon's, where he was likewise the Year following.

It being evident to all, that he had no Hand in the Enterprize of the Duke of *Monmouth*, he began to appear again in Publick

* *A new Method of making Common-place Books.*

in the Year 1686. and then gave me the * *Nouvelle Methode de dresser des Recueils*, which is in the Second Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. He made me likewise several Extracts of Books, as that of Mr. *Boyle concerning Specificque Remedies*, which is in the same Tome, and some others that are in the following. I sent him some Copies of his *Methode to Utrecht*, (whither he went in *Autumn*) which I had Printed by themselves, and he order'd me to send some to Mr. *Toimard*, to whom it was dedicated tho' his Name was not set before it.

At the end of the Year Mr. Locke return'd to *Amsterdam*, and took up his Lodgings at Mr. *Guenelon's*, his old Quarters.

In 1687. he desir'd that Mr. *Limborch*, and I, and some other Friends would set up Conferences, and that to this end we should meet together once in a Week, sometimes at one House and then at another, by turns; and that there should be some Question propos'd, of which every one should give his Opinion at the next Meeting, and I have still by me the Rules, which he would have had us observe written in *Latin* by his own Hand. But our Conferences were interrupted by his Absence, because he went to *Rotterdam*, where he lodg'd with Mr. *Furly*, he return'd again to *Amsterdam*, tho' it was but for a little Time.

Towards the Latter End of this Year he made an Abridgment, in *English*, of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, which was then in Manuscript. I translated it into *French*, and Publish'd it in the eight Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in *January* 1688. and I had some Copies of it Printed by themselves, to which he added a short Dedication to the Earl of *Pembroke*. This Abridgment pleas'd a great many Persons, and made them desirous of seeing the Work intire; but several who had never heard

heard of the Name of Mr. *Locke*, and who had only seen the Abridgment in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, thought that it was a Project of a Work which was but yet design'd, and that I Father'd it upon an *English* Man, to know what the World thought of it, but they were soon undeceiv'd.

At length the Happy Revolution in *England* at the end of the Year 1688. and the beginning of 1689. by the Courage and good Conduct of the *Prince of Orange*, open'd a way to his return into his own Country, and he went thither in *February* 1689. with the same Fleet that Conducted over the *Princess of Orange*. At *London* he endeavour'd to recover his right of Fellow of *Christ-Church* Colledge in *Oxford*, not that he had any design of living there, but only that the World might see the wrong that was done him. This would have been granted him, but since the Members of that Society could not come to a Resolution of turning him out, that was put in his Place, and they would have kept him as a Supernumerary, he withdrew his Suit.

Mr. *Locke* being very much taken Notice of, and esteem'd by several Noblemen, that were after the Revolution in Favour with the Court, he might very easily have got into some considerable Office: But he contented himself with being of one of the *Commissioners of Appeals*, which brought him in Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and which suited him, because it did not require a constant Attendance. This Office is at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury and the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was one of them, and who was since created Earl of *Munmouth* and then of *Peterborough*, desiring it for him, the other Lords agreed to it. About the same Time, Mr. *Locke* had the offer of a publick Character, and it was put to his Choice, whether he would go as *Envoy* either to the *Emperor*, or to the *Elector of Brandebourg*, or any other Court, where he thought the Air might agree best with his Health which was very unsettled; but fearing least the Service of the King might suffer, if the Air of the Place did not agree with him, or that it would endanger his Life, unless he made a speedy return, he refus'd an Office of this Nature.

However he improv'd his time another way, for a *Dissertation* Writing against his first Letter concerning Toleration; he answer'd him in 1690. by a second Letter, which is abridg'd in the nineteenth Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Article the second. He did not set his Name to it, that he might not be engag'd.

gag'd in any personal Quarrels, which might possibly have turn'd to his disadvantage, without serving any ways to the advancement of Truth. But the Style of it plainly shew'd the Author. It was in the same Year likewise, that the first Edition of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding* was Printed in *Folio*; it has since had three Editions in the same Language, in 1694, 1697, and in 1700. This last year it was Publish'd in *French* at *Amsterdam*, by *H. Schelte*, Mr. *Coffe*, who was then in the same House with the Author, translated it under his inspection with very great Care, Fidelity and Plainness; and this Version is very much esteem'd. It hath made known his Opinions to those that are on this side the water, and more at large, than the Abridgment that was Publish'd in 1688. could do. The Author being present, he corrected several places in the Original, that he might make them more plain and easie to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Translation; so that it is not in the least inferior to the *English*, and often more clear; this Book was likewise translated into *Latin* by Mr. *Burridge* in 1701. there is besides a small Abridgment of it in *English*, by Mr. *Wynne*. The fourth *English* Edition is the best and most enlarg'd. Those who have compar'd it with the former, may have observ'd in it, that sincerity and that Love to Truth, which the Author discovers in the Twenty first Chapter of the second Book, where he treats concerning *Power*; for he has made several Alterations in the Idea, that he had given of the manner, wherein we are determin'd to *Will*. Few Philosophers can persuade themselves to correct their Thoughts, and there is nothing they will not do rather than confess their Mistakes. But Mr. *Locke* had too great a Love for Truth to follow their Example, and he himself acknowledges in his Preface; that after a more near Examination of the Matter, he had reason to alter his Opinion.

He Publish'd likewise the same year his two Treatises of *Government*, which are spoken of in the nineteenth Tome of the *Bibliotheque Universelle*. Article the Eight; this Book was afterwards translated into *French*, and Printed at *Amsterdam*, and has been reprinted in *English*, in 1694, and 1698. We shall in a little time see another *English* Edition of it, much more correct than the former, as well as a better *French* Version. Mr. *Locke* did not put his Name to it, because the Principles which he there establishes, are contrary to those, which were generally taught in *England* before the Revolution, and which tended to establish an arbitrary Power that was not restrain'd by any Laws. He entirely over-

overthrew these *Turkish* Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspir'd to a Power, which is above Humane Nature.

Mr. *Locke* liv'd at *London* about two years after the Revolution, esteem'd by all those that knew him, he convers'd familiarly with Persons of the highest Rank; but nothing pleas'd him more than the weekly Conferences, that he had with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and who has since been made President of the Privy Council, which Post he now holds with general Approbation under her present Majesty. When the Air of *London* began to affect his Lungs, he went for some days to a Seat, that the Earl of *Peterborough* had a little out of Town, where he always met with a hearty Welcome, but he was oblig'd afterwards to think of quite leaving *London*, at least all the Winter Season, and to go to some place at a greater distance.

He had made some Visits at different times to Sir *Francis Masham*, who liv'd at *Oates* a little more than 20 Miles from *London*, where he found the Air so good, that he thought there was none could suit better with his Constitution; besides the agreeable Company that he found at Sir *Francis Masham's*, which would beautifie the most melancholy place, was one great Motive no doubt, to incline him to desire that Gentleman to receive him into his Family, that he might settle there and expect his Death; in applying himself to his Studies, as much as his weak Health would allow. He was receiv'd on his own Terms, that he might have his entire Liberty there, and look upon himself as at his own House; and it was in this pleasant Society that he pass'd the rest of his Life, and from which he was absent as little as possible, because the Air of *London* grew more and more troublesome to him; he went thither only in the Summer for Three or four Months, and if he return'd to *Oates* any thing indispos'd, the Air of the Country soon recover'd him.

In 1692. he put out his Third Letter of *Toleration*, in which he answer'd some new Objections, that had been made against his Opinions with so great strength and accuracy, as made it needless for him to write any thing farther on that Subject: And here I can't but take notice of the strange and unaccountable Temper of some Men, who though they are fully convinc'd, that their clear and distinct knowledge, is of a very small Extent, and that they are very easily mistaken in the Judgments they pass of things, will yet when it is in their Power persecute others, because they differ from them in their Notions, and this at the same time, that

they would think it very hard if they were on the weaker side, to be persecuted on this account themselves; but it is yet more strange that they should interest Religion in the case, and employ it's Authority to defend those Practices which it expressly forbids. This can only proceed from a proud and tyrannical Spirit, which passes upon the World under the disguise of Piety, almost after the same manner, as the Itch after arbitrary Power, conceals itself under the specious Pretext of the publick Good, how contrary soever it may be to it.

But this is no proper place to bewail these Irregularities of the mind of Man; the *English* Nation however is highly oblig'd to Mr. Locke, for having undeceiv'd a great many Persons, and made them detest those persecuting Maxims, which for want of due Consideration they had embrac'd. 'Tis well known, that about this time the Coin of *England* was very bad, having been so much clip'd through the negligence of the proceeding Reigns, who had not taken Care to remedy it, that it wanted above a Third it's due Weight. The effect of this was that the People thought themselves a great deal Richer, than indeed they were; For although the Coin was not raised in it's value by any publick Authority, it was put off in Trade for above a third part more than it weigh'd. This was very prejudicial to Trade on several Accounts, of which I shall not here take any notice.

Mr. Locke had observed this disorder ever since his Return to *England*, and he frequently spoke of it, that he might put the Nation upon taking some measures to prevent it. He said then, *That the Nation was in greater Danger from a secret unobserv'd abuse, than from all those other Evils, of which Persons were generally so apprehensive; and that if Care were not taken to rectifie the Coin, that Irregularity alone wou'd prove fatal to us, though we shou'd succeed in every thing else.* One day when he seem'd very much disturb'd about this Matter, some Persons rally'd him, as if he tormented himself with a groundless Fear; he answer'd, *That Persons might laugh if they pleas'd, but they wou'd find in a very short time that if Care was not taken, we shou'd want Money in England to buy Bread.* And it happen'd accordingly in 1695. So that the Parliament were forced to rectifie that abuse the beginning of the following Year. In order to stir up the *English* Nation, to take this Matter into Consideration.

Mr. Locke Publish'd in 1692. a little Treatise entituled, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of the Interest,*

terest, and Raising the value of Money, which was sent to a Member of Parliament 1691. In which we may find several nice and curious Observations on both those Subjects, as well as the Trade of *England* in general, afterwards in 1695. He took this Subject in hand again; when, according to his Prediction the Nations danger obliged the Parliament, to think seriously of this Matter. By this it appears, that he was able to reason on the common Affairs of Life, as well as on the most abstracted Subjects; and that he was none of those Philosophers, who spend their whole Lives in the search after Truths purely Speculative, but by their Ignorance of those things which concern the publick Good, are rendered incapable of serving their Country.

In 1693. He Publish'd his *Thoughts concerning the Education of Children*, to which he added several things in two other Editions, he put out of it in 1694, and 1698. this Book was also translated into *French* and *Dutch* in *Holland*; and although there are many things in it, that respect the Faults peculiar to the *English* way of educating Children, yet it contains several Remarks that may be useful to other Nations.

In 1695. Mr. *Locke* was made a *Commissioner of the Trade and Plantations*, these Commissioners compose a Council, that takes Care of every thing relating to the *English* Trade and Plantations; and have every one a Salary of a Thousand pounds a year. He discharged the Duties of this place with a great deal of Care, and universal Approbation, till the Year 1700, in which he quitted it, being no longer able to live in *London* as he did before. He acquainted no Person with his Design of leaving that place, 'till he had given up his Commission into the King's hands. His Majesty was very unwilling to receive it, and told Mr. *Locke* he shou'd be very glad if he wou'd continue in his Service, tho' he gave never so little Attendance, and that he did not desire him to stay in Town one day, to the prejudice of his Health. But he told his Majesty, That he cou'd not in Conscience hold a place, to which a considerable Salary was annexed, without performing the Duties of it, and that he did therefore humbly desire a Discharge. A great many Persons would not have been so scrupulous in this Matter as he was, but wou'd have accepted the King's Grant, or at least wou'd have endeavour'd to resign such a place as this to their advantage.

And indeed he deserved to enjoy the Salary belonging to that place, even though he should have performed none of its Duties; if it were only on the Account of being one of those,

who took the greatest Pains to convince the Parliament, that the only way to preserve the Trade of *England*, was to new Mint the Mony without raising its Value to the Publick Loss; for this end he wrote a little Treatise, containing *New Considerations on the raising the Price of Coin*, which he Publish'd in 1695. This Treatise together with several others were Reprinted in the Year after, with the Title of *Papers concerning Mony, Interest, and Trade*. The Parliament following his Opinion in this Matter, made in the midst of a dangerous War, such a Reformation in the Coin, as many Nations wou'd have hardly undertaken in a Time of Peace. 'Tis well known, that there are some Kingdoms, wherein to fill the Princes Treasury out of the Pockets of private Persons, the Mony is made to rise or fall without any regard to the loss the Publick sustains thereby: But such Maxims are not approved of in *England*.

In the same Year 1695. Mr. *Locke* put out his Book of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*; wherein he shows; that the Christian Religion as deliver'd in the Scriptures, is the most reasonable Institution in the World: We have acquainted the Publick with the design of this Book, in the 2d Tome of this *Bibliothèque Choïse*, Art. 8. it was quickly after Translated into *French* and *Dutch*, and attack'd in *England* by a passionate Divine. In 1696. the Author answer'd that Book, and after defended his Answer with such Strength of Reason, and yet with so great Moderation, that he might justly have expected of his Adversary a publick Acknowledgment of his Error, had he not been one of those sort of Men, who are equally Strangers to Shame and Justice. Mr. *Locke* was also obliged to Mr. *Bold* Minister of *Steeple* in *Dorsetshire*, who defended his Book without knowing the Author, in two short Discourses that came out in 1697, as also in a Second Answer of which we have spoken, in the 2d Tome of this *Bibliothèque Choïse*. Art. 8.

Some time before this, there came out a Book at *London*, intitled, *Christianity not Mysterious*; in which the Author pretended to prove, that there is nothing in the Christian Religion, not only which, is contrary to Reason, but even which is above it. This Author in explaining the Nature of Reason, had made use of several Reasonings, that were very like to some Mr. *Locke* employs in his Treatise of *Humane Understanding*.

It happen'd also, that some *English Unitarians* had about that time Publish'd several little Books, in which they talked very much about Reason; and laid down their Notions of what was
contrary.

contrary to it, and affirm'd there was no such Doctrine in the Christian Religion. Mr. *Locke* had also with a great deal of Truth asserted, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to any plain Consequences of Reason. All these Things put together, engaged Dr. *Stillingsfleet* the late Bishop of *Worcester*, to join Mr. *Locke* in Company with those Persons in a Book he put out in 1697. Wherein he depends the Doctrine of the Trinity against them. * In this Book he opposed some Notions of Mr. *Locke* concerning the Knowledge * Chap. 10. we have of Substances, and some other Things, fearing, without Reason, that those Notions might be brought in favour of some Heretical Opinions; Mr. *Locke* answer'd him, and the Bishop Reply'd the same Year. This Reply was confuted by a Second Letter of Mr. *Locke*, which drew a Second Answer from that Learned Bishop in 1698. and Mr. *Locke* answer'd that in a Third Letter in 1699. wherein he discoursed more at large, of the Certainty by Reason or by Ideas, of the Certainty of Faith, of the Resurrection of the same Body, and the Immateriality of the Soul, and show'd the perfect Agreement of his Principles with Faith, and had not the least tendency to Scepticism as Dr. *Stillingsfleet* had affirm'd. But the Bishop dy'd sometime after this, and so the Dispute ended.

We may observe Two Things more especially in this Dispute, the one relating to the Subject of it, the other to the Manner wherein that was handled. Every Body admired the Strength of Mr. *Locke's* reasonings, and his great clearness and exactness not only in explaining his own Notions, but in laying open those of his Adversary. Nor were they less surprized, that a Man of the Bishops Learning shou'd engage in a Controversie, wherein he had all the disadvantages possible, for he was by no means able to maintain his Opinions against Mr. *Locke*, whose Notions he neither understood, nor the Thing it self about which he Disputed. This famous Prelate had spent the greatest Part of his time in the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and reading an infinite number of Books, but was no great Philosopher, and had never used himself to that close Correct way of Thinking and Writing, in which Mr. *Locke* did particularly excel. However this excellent Philosopher, tho' he had much the better in the Controversie, and had Reason enough to complain of the Bishop for having charged him unjustly, and without a sufficient acquaintance with the Subject he handled, was yet very far from abusing the Advantages he had,

had, but always detected and refuted his Errors with civility and respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncorrect in his Expressions, but he do's rather seem to insinuate it, by producing his own Words and leaving the World to judge, than reflect on him for it. For my Part, I confess, I never read a Dispute managed in so cool Blood, or with so much Art and Exactness on the one side, nor on the other, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the Author.

I was also surprized at the Bishops Censure of
 * *Curcellaus.* * Mr. *de Courcelles*; in the 6th Chapter of his Defence of the Trinity, and wonder'd how he cou'd think so easily to Answer him. I must confess indeed, that the Bishop has Reason in asserting, that St. *Hilary* in the † Passage Mr. *de Courcelles* cites out of his Book, *de Synodis*, do's speak to the Eastern Bishops, and not to those of *Gaul* and *Germany* as he thought. But then it must also be granted, that in the main Mr. *de Courcelles* has in his Dissertation concerning the Words *Trinity*, &c. very faithfully represented the Opinion of St. *Hilary*. Dr. *Stillingfleet* had either read this Book without due Attention, or forgot its Contents, for of all other Books, this do's most clearly prove, that the Orthodox of that Time believ'd, that the Divine Nature as a Species did contain under it Three Persons numerically distinguisht.

St. *Hilary* a little before the * Passage that
 * *Num. 76. E.* gave Dr. *Stillingfleet* occasion to charge Mr. *de*
just. Edit. *Courcelles* with a gross Mistake, explains how according to the *Semi-Arians*; it might be said, that the Father and Son *have a like Essence*? And then delivers his own Opinion in the following Words. “Caret igitur,
 “Fratres, similitudo Naturæ contumeliæ suspicione; nec potest
 “videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ Naturæ non esse
 “quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate
 “Naturæ; æqualitas autem Naturæ non potest esse, nisi una

† By *Personæ*
 we must understand a Substance, and not a Mode, which is called *Personality*.
 “sit; una verò non Personæ Unitate, sed GE-
 “NERIS. That is, *Therefore Brethren, the Son may without Danger of Blasphemy, be said to be of a like Nature with the Father, and tho' he be said to be like him, it do's not follow that therefore he is not of the same Nature, for Similitude flows from Equality*

Equality of Nature, now there can be no Equality of Nature, but where the Nature is one, and that not with a Personal, but Generical Unity. Now a Person who reads this with any tolerable degree of Attention, will easily see, that supposing the Unity of the Divine Nature to be Numerical, 'tis Nonsense to say the Nature of the Son is equal or like to that of the Father; but that this way of Expression is proper enough in the Mouth of those Persons, who believe the Father and Son are one in *Specie* or generically as St. Hilary speaks. See also the 15th Article in the *Bened.* Edition. The same Thing might be plainly proved out of his Books of the *Trinity*. If Dr. *Stillingfleet* had examin'd St. Hilary only, carefully and without Prejudice, he wou'd have been of the same mind with Mr. *de Courcelles*, and wou'd never have differ'd with him about a trifling incident, while in the main of the Controversie, he gives a very true Account of the Doctrin of the Fathers in this Point. I shall say no more on this Head, and I hope no Person will be offended at this little Digression I have made, to defend at once the Truth and Honour of Mr. *de Courcelles*, who was my Grandmothers Brother, against the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, for whose excellent Writings I nevertheless have an high Esteem.

But to return to Mr. *Locke*, 'tis very strange he shou'd be able to write so much at so great an Age, and when besides his Health was so infirm, by reason of the Indisposition of his Lungs. In 1697. he was obliged to go to *London* in very cold Weather, because the King desired to see him. And that Journey made his Lungs much worse, than ever they had been before. He was so bad, that for three or four Days, while he was in *London*, he cou'd not lie down; and I remember, that in a Letter I then receiv'd from him, he told me he was reduced to a perfect * *Orthopnea*.

* A difficulty of breathing, when a Man can't fetch his breath, but holding his Neck upright.

He returned to *Oates* in so weak a Condition, that he never recover'd his former health. He said that his Majesty (who was also Asthmatick) having heard of his skill in Physick, desired to Discourse with him about his own Indisposition. And I remember I heard, a little while after, that Mr. *Locke* had advised the King to abstain from Wine, and all Foods that were heavy and clogging. But however, the King kept to his usual Manner of Living; tho' he signify'd to some

of those who were near his Person, that he had a high Esteem for Mr. *Locke*.

Some Years before his Death, he apply'd himself intirely to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and found so much Pleasure therein, that he was very much troubled he had apply'd his Mind to that Study no sooner. The World has seen the Fruits of these Studies in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, of which we have already spoken, and which is one of the best Pieces that has been Publish'd these many years, on that Subject, and with that Design. There is also, lately come out a Paraphrase of his on the Epistle to the *Galatians*, of which we shall give some account in another Tome of this *Bibliotheque Choisie*; as also of those he has written on the Epistle to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and *Ephesians*, when they shall be Publish'd.

Above a year before his Death, he grew so very weak that he cou'd not apply himself closely to any thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a Friend without great Difficulty. Before he had always made use of his own hand for whatever he had to write, and so having not been used to Dictate, he could not employ an *Amanuensis* to ease himself. But though his Body grew weaker, he still kept his good Humour, and if his Lungs wou'd have permitted him to speak, his Conversation wou'd have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few weeks before his Death, he perceiv'd he shou'd not live long, but yet he continued as chearful and pleasant as before; and when some Persons seem'd to wonder at it, he would say, * *While we are alive let us live.*

* *Vivons pendant que vous vivons.*

This Study of the Holy Scriptures wrought in him a lively and sincere, though unaffected Piety. Having not been able to go to Church for a considerable time; he thought convenient, some Months before he dy'd, to receive the blessed Sacrament at home according to a usual Practice of the Church of *England*; and two of his Friends communicated with him. When the Minister had performed his Office, Mr. *Locke* told him, *That he was in perfect Charity with all Men, and in a sincere Communion with the Church of Christ, by what Names soever it might be distinguished.* He was a Man of too great Understanding; to take the Sacrament as a Test of a Schism or Party; as a great many ignorant Persons do, who by Communicating with their own Church, condemn all other Christian Societies. He had a deep Sense of the Divine Wisdom, that discovers it self in those methods God has

has taken in saving Men; and when he discoursed about it, he cou'd not forbear joyning with the Apostle in the Exclamation: *Oh the depths of the Riches and Wisdom of God.* And he was perswaded that all Persons wou'd be of the same Mind, who shou'd read the Scriptures without prejudice; and this Study he very frequently recommended to those, with whom he conversed towards the latter end of his Life. This Application to these Holy Writings, had given him a more noble and compleat Idea of the Christian Religion than he had before; and if he had enjoy'd strength enough, to have begun any new Works, 'tis very likely he wou'd have compos'd some on purpose, to have impress'd this great and sublime Idea, on the Minds of others in all its extent.

Some weeks before his Death he cou'd walk no longer, and so was carried about the House in an armed Chair; but my Lady *Masham* going to see him on the 27th of *October* (O. S.) 1704, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seem'd to wonder at that Alteration, he told her, he cou'd not bear the fatigue of rising, having weary'd himself too much with it the day before, and that he did not know whether he shou'd ever rise again. He cou'd not Dine that day, and after Dinner some Persons who kept him Company went into his Chamber, and asked him if they shou'd read something, to divert him, but he refused it. However some Papers being brought into his Chamber, he inquired what they were after they were read, he said, *That his work here was almost at an end, and he thanked God for it.* Thereupon some body coming near his Bed, he desired, *They would remember him in the Evening Prayers.* They told him, that if he pleas'd the Family wou'd come to Prayers into his Chamber, to which he agreed. They asked him, if he thought he was near Death, he answer'd, *That he might perhaps die that Night, but that he cou'd not live above three or four days.* He was then in a cold Sweat, but that left him in a little time. He was asked to take some *Mum*, a Liquor which he has drunk with Pleasure the week before, and which, as I have heard him say, he look'd upon it to be the most wholesome of all strong Drinks, he took some Spoonfuls then, and drank to the Health of the Company, *Wishing all of them Happiness when he shou'd be gone;* afterwards there being no body else in the Chamber but my Lady *Masham*, who sat by the Bed-side, he exhorted her, *To look on this World only as a State of Preparation for a better,* he added, *That he had liv'd long enough, and that*

he thanked God he had enjoy'd an happy Life; but that after all, he look'd upon this Life to be nothing but vanity. After Supper the Family came up into his Chamber to Prayers; and between eleven and twelve a Clock, he seem'd to be a little better. My Lady *Masham* wou'd have watch'd with him, but he wou'd not permit her, saying, that, perhaps he might sleep, and that if he shou'd find any Alteration, he wou'd send for her; he did not sleep that Night, but resolv'd to try to rise the next Day, as he did. He was carry'd into his Study, and was set in an easier Chair, where he slept, by Fits, some considerable time. Then thinking himself somewhat better, he had a mind to be Dress'd as he us'd to be, and ask'd for some Small-beer, which he us'd very seldom to taste; after that he desired my Lady *Masham*, who was reading to her self in the *Psalms*, while they Dress'd him, to read aloud, which accordingly she did, and he seem'd very attentive, till he was hinder'd by the nearer approaches of Death, upon which he desired her to read no more, and died a few minutes after, on the 28th of *October*, (O. S.) 1704. about Three in the Afternoon, in the 73d. Year of his Age.

Thus died one of the greatest Philosophers of our Age, who after he had made himself a perfect Master of almost all the parts of Philosophy, and discover'd its greatest Secrets with uncommon strength of Reason, and correctness of Thought, happily turned his Studies to the Christian Religion, which he examin'd in its Original, with the same Liberty he had us'd in his Study of other Sciences, and which he judg'd so reasonable and excellent an Institution, that he Dedicated the remainder of his Life to the contemplation of it, and endeavour'd to raise in the Minds of others the same high Veneration he had for it himself; and as he did not choose a religious Course of Life in a fit of Discontent or ill Humour, so his Piety was neither tainted with Melancholly nor Superstition. The same Light that guided him in his philosophical Studies, directed him in explaining the New Testament, and kindled in his Soul a rational Piety, such as was worthy of him, who gave us our Reason for no other end, but that by it we might be helpt to make a good use of Revelation; and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imploy the Judgment and Understanding he has given us, in acknowledging, admiring, and following it.

There is no need for me here to write a Panegyrick on Mr. Locke: His Works which are read in several Languages, are a sufficient,

sufficient, and will be an eternal Monument of his vast Genius, sharp Wit, and exact Judgment. I shall only insert a Character of him, which I receiv'd from a considerable Person, to whom he was perfectly well known.

“ Mr. *Locke*, said she, (and I can bear Witness to her Evidence in a great measure, by what I have seen my self in *Holland*) was a great Philosopher, and a fit Person to be employ'd in Affairs of the highest Consequence. He understood the politer Parts of Learning perfectly well; and was very genteel and ingaging in his Conversation. He knew somewhat of all those things that are of real use to Mankind; and was a perfect Master of what he had particularly study'd. But yet he was not puff'd up by all this, nor ever seem'd to have a better Opinion of himself because of his Knowledge. No one was farther from assuming a magisterial Air, or was less positive in his Assertions than he, and he was not in the least offended with those that did not assent to his Opinions. But he cou'd not bear with a sort of Cavillers, who will not drop the Dispute, though they have been often refuted, and can only repeat the same things. He spake to such Persons sometimes with a little heat, but he himself wou'd first take notice of his being any ways moved.

“ In the most considerable Affairs of Life, as well in Matters of Speculation. He was always ready to hear Reason from any Person whomsoever it came. He was indeed the faithful Servant, nay I may say, the devoted Slave of Truth, which he loved for it self, and which no consideration was ever able to make him Desert.

“ He suited his Discourse to the meanest Capacities; and in disputing with such Persons, he gave their Objections against him their utmost weight, not taking advantages of his Adversaries, if they had not expressed themselves so correctly as they ought. He conversed very freely, and willingly with all sorts of Persons, endeavouring to Learn something from them: And this proceeded not only from his genteel Education, but from his professed Opinion, that some good thing or other might be learn'd from any Person whatsoever. And by this means, he had attain'd to such a considerable Knowledge of several particular Arts and Trades, that one wou'd have thought, he had made the Study of those things a great part of his Business. For even Tradesmen by Profession would ask his Advice, and were frequently instructed

“fructed by him in things relating to their several Em-
 “ployments.

“If there was any thing that he cou’d not bear, ’twas ill
 “Manners, which were indeed very ungrateful to him, when
 “he perceived they did not arise from want of Conversation,
 “and Knowledge of the World, but from Pride; Ill-nature,
 “Brutality, and other Vices of that Nature. Otherwise he
 “was very far from despising any Persons, though their Per-
 “sons were never so mean. He look’d on Civility to be not
 “only something very agreeable and proper to win upon

“Men, but also a Duty of Christianity, and which
 * ’Tis Prin- “ought to be more pressed, and urged upon Men,
 ted among the “than it commonly is. He recommend on this
 Essays de Mo- “occasion, a * Treatise written by the Gentlemen
 rale. de Port- “of the *Port royal*, Concerning the means to preserve
 royal. “Peace among *Aien*, and he very much admired

“Sermons he heard from Dr. *Whitchcot* on this Subject, and
 “which have been since Printed.

“His Conversation was very agreeable to all sorts of Per-
 “sons, even to the Ladies themselves; and no Person was
 “more civilly entertain’d than he, by Persons of the highest
 “Quality. For if he had not naturally those Qualifications,
 “that ^{very} under the Conversation of genteel and accomplish’d Per-
 “sons more easie, free, and less formal than that of other Persons,
 “yet he had acquired them by his Acquaintance with the world.
 “And this recommended him so much the more, because Per-
 “sons who knew him not, did not expect that Politeness in a
 “Man so much given to study as he was. Those who were
 “desirous of his Conversation, to Learn those things that
 “might be expected in a Man of his Learning, and accord-
 “ingly address’d him with great respect, were surprized to
 “find in him, not only the Civility of a well educated Person,
 “but even all the Politeness that can be desired.

“He spake very often against Raillery, which indeed is the
 “nicest Point in Conversation, and of dangerous Consequence,
 “if not prudently managed. And yet no Person rally’d with
 “a better Grace than he; but he always took Care to say no-
 “thing offensive, or prejudicial to any Person. He knew how
 “to give a pleasant and agreeable Turn to every thing he said.
 “If he rally’d his Friends, it was either for some inconsiderable
 “Faults, or, something which, ’twas for their Benefit to make
 “known. He was so extraordinarily Civil; that when he seem’d

“disposed

“ disposed to Jest, the Company was sure he was about to say
“ something to their *Advantage*. He never jested with the
“ natural Infirmities, or Misfortunes of any Persons.

“ He was very charitable to the Poor, except such Persons
“ as were Idle or Profligate, and spent the *Sunday* in the *Al-*
“ *houses*, and went not to Church. But above all, he did com-
“ passionate those, who after they had labour’d as long as their
“ Strength wou’d hold, were reduced to Poverty. He said it
“ was not enough to keep them from starving, but that such
“ a Provision ought to be made for them, that they might
“ live comfortably. Accordingly he sought occasions of doing
“ Good to those who deserved it; and often when he walked
“ out, he wou’d visit the Poor of the Neighbourhood, and
“ give them somewhat to supply their Necessities, or buy the
“ Remedies which he prescribed them, if they were sick, and
“ had no other Physician. He wou’d not let any useful thing
“ be lost or wasted: He thought that was to destroy those
“ good Things of which God has made us only Stewards: Ac-
“ cordingly he kept good Orders, and took an Account of
“ every Thing.

“ If he was subject to any Passion, ’twas Anger; but he
“ had made himself so much Master of it by Reason, that it was
“ very rarely troublesome to himself or others. No Person
“ cou’d better expose that Passion, or make it appear more ri-
“ diculous than he. He wou’d say, it was of no use either in
“ the educating Children, or keeping Servants in order; but
“ that it did indeed make a Person lose his Authority. He was
“ very kind to his Servants, and would take the trouble to
“ instruct them with a great deal of Mildness, after what man-
“ ner he expected to be served by them.

“ He not only faithfully kept a Secret, that had been trust-
“ ed with him, but wou’d never Report any thing that might
“ prejudice the Person from whom he heard it; tho’ his Si-
“ lence had not been desired. Nor did he ever bring his
“ Friends into any Inconvenience thro’ his inadvertency, or
“ want of Discretion.

“ He was very exact to his Word, and religiously perform-
“ ed whatever he promis’d. He was very scrupulous of gi-
“ ving Recommendations of Persons, whom he did not well
“ know; and wou’d by no means commend those, who he
“ thought did not deserve it: If he was told that his Recom-
“ mendations had not produced the Effect expected; he wou’d
“ say,

“ say, *The Reason of that was, because he had never deceived any Person, by saying more than he knew; that he never pass’d his Word for any, but such as he believ’d wou’d answer the Character he gave of ’em; and that if he shou’d do otherwise, his Recommendations wou’d be worth nothing.*

“ His greatest Diversion was to Discourse with sensible Persons, of whose Conversation he was very desirous. He had all the good Qualities, that cou’d render his Friendship pleasant and agreeable. He wou’d never Game, but out of Complaisance. Altho’ being often in Company with those who used it, he cou’d Play very well, if he set about it. But he wou’d never propose it, for he said it was but an Amusement for those who wanted Conversation.

“ His Dress was neat, without either Affectation, or Singularity.

“ He was naturally very Active, and employ’d himself as much as his Health would permit. Sometimes he pleas’d himself with working in a Garden, which he very well understood. He lov’d walking, but not being able to walk much thro’ the disorder of his Lungs, he us’d to Ride on his Horse after Dinner, and when he cou’d not bare an Horse, in a Calash. He always chose to have Company with him, tho’ it were but a Child, for he took Pleasure in talking with Children of a good Education.

“ The weakness of his Health was a Disturbance to none but himself; and one might look on him without any other concern, than that of seeing him suffer. He did not differ from others in his Diet, but only in that his ordinary Drink was nothing but Water; and he thought that was the means of lengthening out his Life to such an Age. Tho’ he was of so weak a Constitution, and that it was to this that he ow’d the Preservation of his Eye-sight, which was but little impair’d when he dy’d, for he cou’d read by Candle-light all sorts of Books, if they were not of a very small Print, and he never us’d Spectacles. He had no other Distemper but his *Asthma*, excepting that four Years before his Death, he was very Deaf: But it did not last above six Months. His deafness depriving him of the Pleasure of Conversation; in a Letter that he then wrote to one of his Friends, he said he did not know but it was better to be Blind than Deaf. Otherwise he bore up under his Afflictions very patiently.

This is a Picture of that great Man, drawn after the Life, and wherein he is not at all flatter'd. I wish it were in my Power, not only to make his Memory, but his Genius immortal, by perswading all Students to search after Truth, to love it, and defend it as he has done. But the reading of his Works will do that better, than all the Praises I can give him, or all the Arguments I can lay before them; and I am also inform'd, That he has left behind him a Discourse of the *Right Method of searching after Truth*: Which will be Publish'd in a little Time. *Henry Schelte* the Bookseller at *Amsterdam*, will also Publish it in *French*, with his other Posthumous Works.

I shall only adde, That several Books have been father'd on him, of which he was not the Author, and that he has left a Note of those that are his, but bear not his Name, of which we have already spoken. For Instance, they made him the Author of a little *English Treatise of the Love of God*, which was written by a very worthy Person, and for whom he had a very great Esteem.

This Treatise is also Printing in *French* at *Amsterdam*, and will be Sold by the aforefaid Bookseller.

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