THE
Life and Character
OF
Mr. JOHN LOCKE,
Author of the ESSAY
CONCERNING
Humane Understanding.

Written in French, by Mr. Le Clerc.

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

LONDON:
Printed for John Clark at the Bible and Crown in the
Old Change near St. Pauls. And are to be had at
J. Nutts near Stationers-Hall, 1706.
THE
Translator's PREFACE.

THIS Account is written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and published in the 6th Tome of the Bibliothèque Choisi. 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 persuaded myself 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 highest 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 these things,
"which I have Learnd from the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was
"brought up under Mr. Locke, and from Madam Malham, Sir
"Francis Malham'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 Bibliotheca Choixie) 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.
"If wish I had interrogated this Lady, to take from his own Mouth
"some further 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.

THE
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 *Wrinton* (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, than he left behind him; and was a Captain in the Parliaments Army, in the Civil Wars under Charles the First: 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. Locke'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 ufe 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 Profeflour 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 loft a great deal of Time, when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at Oxford was the Peripatetic, 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 fake 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 inferior 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 Passage's 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 exposed, 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: Nobis praeter quos habe
gnostis methodo sufragantem habeam, qui non intimis per omnia perspexerat, unique nostrum conjunctissimam, Dominum Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio judicioque acriter stabito, sive etiam antiquis, hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorum quern quam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, repertum in confido, pauissi-
mos certè pares. After the Preface of this Book there are some Ele-
giack Verses of Mr. Lock's which are indeed full of Wit and Fancy,
but the Style of them is not altogether exact or Poetical. He had
too little esteem for the Poets to throw away much Time in read-
ing them, and to take the pains to imitate them. He sign'd those
Verses in this manner, J. Locke, A. M. Ex Âede Christi; Ox-
on. he contented himself with the Title of Master of Arts, with-
out 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 Secre-
try to Sir William Swan, who was Envoy of the King of Eng-
land 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 Philosophy, 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, Ther-
nometer and Hygroscope. The Journal may be seen in the Ge-
neral 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 Impoffhume,
as appear'd by a swelling under his Stomach, he had been ad-
vis'd for this to drink the Mineral Waters of Aßirop, 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 imploy'd to
fetch them, Mr. Locke was oblig'd to go to his Lordships Lodg-
ing to excuse himself, and was introduce'd by Mr. Bemnet 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 Impositions 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 perused it at their Leisure; besides he was a Man of a free and easy Carriage, an Enemy to Complements, and not in the least Ceremonious, so that one might Converse with him without restraint, and use all desirable 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 Sunning-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, published by Mr. Locke before mentioned.
His Lordship was entirely 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 Phyisk, 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 Phyisk 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 Complements 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 Serioufness, 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 Happines; 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 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 accomplisht, 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, has before, at my Lord Ashley’s, who was Chancellour 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 Shaftesbury 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 Sense, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, sweet and obliging Carriage, freem 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 Sense on all occasions, and always...
speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary esteeem:

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 Shaftesbury, 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 upon this great Man made Privy to his most secret Affairs was joyn'd 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 Course of the Roman Catholicks, 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 prelling 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 ruin 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 Chancellor. 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 tried 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 infinuates 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 Pique against my Lord Shaftesbury, because when His Lordship was Chancellour of the Exchequer, he was against the King's making him a Present of Plate, which he demand'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 Shaftesbury. 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 Shaftesbury 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 said 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 Human 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
he got acquainted with Monfieur Justel, at whose House the Learned generally met, and there he saw Monfieur Guenelon, the famous Physician of Amsterdam, who used to Discover 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 Monfieur 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. Lock'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 Spight of the Intrigues 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, left the King should send to demand him of the States, which by a Treaty is oblig'd to deliver Traitors 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 protected so illustrious a Refugee, without regarding those former Projects, 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 Sense of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of Shaftesbury 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 Praifes 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 Guenelone, and get acquainted with his Father-in-Law Monsieur Vien, Senior Physicin of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In January 1684. Monsieur Guenelon being to direct 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. Fell, 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 Discourses 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 imploysthat 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 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, it was 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 courageous.

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. Linthorpe 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. Linthorpe convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. Lock's Will, which he design'd him to send to one of his Relations, whom he named, if he should Die. In the mean Time, they consult'd one of the chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if he might be safe there; who reply'd, 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 persuad'd to go rather to Cleves, 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 Tergou in 1689, and entituled, Epistolæ de Tolerantia ad Clarissimorum virorum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A; scriptas, P. A. P. O. I. L. t. The first Letters signifie, Theologiae acutissimæ Monstrantes Præfentem Tyranniæ aequor, Limburgiæ Amstelodami momentum; and the Latter, Paris amico, Persecutionis olim, Jeanne Lockio Anglo. This little Book was Translated into Eng-
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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-copys, 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 in the Year 1686, and then gave me the * Nouvelle Méthode de dresser des Récueils, which is in the Second Tome of the Bibliothèque Universelle. He made me likewise several Extracts of Books, as that of Mr. Boyle concerning spéciñque Remedies, which is in the same Tome, and some others that are in the following. I sent him some Copies of his Mêthode to Utrecht, (whither he went in Autumn) which I had Printed by themselves, and he order'd me to send some to Mr. Toinard, to whom it was dedicated thro' 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 desire'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. Earl, 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 undeceive’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 Monmouth 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 fuller, 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 refuse’d an Office of this Nature.

However he improv’d his time another way, for a Divine 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 engage’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 Publish'd 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. Castre, 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 easy to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Transliteration; 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 reprint'd 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-
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overthrew those Turkish Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspired 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 Zeal, and who has since been made President of the Privy Council, which Pott he now holds with great 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 convinced, 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
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 forever 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 unobserved 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 would prove fatal to us, though we should succeed in every thing else. One day when he seem'd very much disturbed about this Matter, some Persons rally'd him, as if he torment'd himself with a groundless Fear; he answer'd, That Persons might laugh if they pleas'd, but they would find in a very short time that if Care was not taken, we should 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,
terefl, 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 abstractive 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 public 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
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 Money, 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 would 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 Bibliotheca Choise, 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 Bibliotheca Choise. Art. 8.

Some time before this, there came out a Book at London, intitled, Chriștianity 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 imploys 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. Stillingfleet 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 confined 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. Stillingfleet 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. Lock'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 civil-
yty and respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not
understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncor-
rect 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 confefs,
I never read a Dispute managed in so cool Blood, or with
so much Art and Exactness on the one side, nor on the o-
ther, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the
Author.

I was also surpriz'd at the Bishops Cenfure of

*CourceUus.  * Mr. de CourceUes, in the 6th Chapter of his
Defence of the Trinity, and wonder'd how he
cou'd think so easily to Anfwer him. I muft confefs indeed,
that the Bishop has Reason in asserting, that St.
† Num. St. E.  Hilarv in the † Paffage Mr. de CourceUes cites
pro Ut. Benedid.  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 CourceUes has in his Differtation concerning
the Words Trinity, &c. very faithfully represented the Opini-
on of St. Hilary. Dr. Stillingfleet had either read this Book
without due Attention, or forgot its Contents, for of all o-
ther 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 distingui-
sh'd.

St. Hilary a little before the * Paffage that

* Num. 76. E.  gave Dr. Stillingfleet occasion to charge Mr. de
just. Edit.  CourceUes with a gross Miftake, explains how ac-
cording 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 Nature contumelii suspicione; nec potest
" videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternae Nature non esse
" quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate
" Nature; æqualitas autem Nature non potest esse, nisi una

† By Persons we must under-
stand a Sub-
stance, and not
a Mode, which
is called Perso-
nality.

" fit; una vero non Persona. Unitate, sed G E-
" N E R I S. That is, Therefore Brethren, the
Son may without Danger of Blasphemy, be said to be
of a like Nature with the Father, and tho' be 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 General 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 Species 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 would have been of the same mind with Mr. de Courcelles, and would 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 Doctrine 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 Digressiôn 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 * Or-thopœæan.

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 advis'd 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 Bibliotheca Choix; 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 Amansenjis to ease himself. But though his Body grew weaker, he still kept his good Humour, and if his Lungs would have permitted him to speak, his Conversation would have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few weeks before his Death, he perceive'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.

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 itself in those methods God has
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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 would be of the same Mind, who should 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 enjoyed strength enough, to have begun any new Works, 'tis very likely he would have composed some on purpose, to have impress 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.) 1724, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seemed 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 rife 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 pleased the Family would 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 Muni, 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 lived 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 resolved 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 Drest as he used to be, and ask'd for some Small-beer, which he used very seldom to taste; after that he desired my Lady Masham, who was reading to her self in the Psalms, while they Drest 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 Octob. (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 used in his Study of other Sciences, and which he judged 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 Melancholy nor Superfition. 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 helped to make a good use of Revelation; and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imply 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 Evi-
dence in a great measure, by what I have seen my self in Hol-
lund) was a great Philosopher, and a fit Person to be em-
ploy'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 leas
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 some-
times 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 faith-
ful Servant, nay I may say, the devoted Slave of Truth,
which he loved for itself, and which no consideration was
ever able to make him Delert.

"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 Ad-
versaries, if they had not express'd themselves so correct-
ly as they ought. He conversed very freely, and willingly
with all sorts of Persons, endeavouring to Learn some-
thing from them: And this proceeded not only from his gen-
teel Education, but from his profess'd Opinion, that some
good thing or other might be learn'd from any Person what-
soever. And by this means, he had attain'd to such a con-
siderable 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 in-
structed
"Struck by him in things relating to their several employments.

"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 Persons 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 ought to be more press'd, and urged upon Men, than it commonly is. He recommend on this occasion, a *Treatise written by the Gentlemen of the Port royal, Concerning the means to preserve Peace among Men, and he very much admired Sermons he heard from Dr. Whitechoot on this Subject, and which have been since Printed.

"His Conversation was very agreeable to all sorts of Persons, 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 under the Conversation of genteel and accomplish'd Persons more easie, free, and les 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 Persons who knew him not, did not expect that Politeness in a Man so much given to study as he was. Those who were delivous of his Conversation, to Learn those things that might be expected in a Man of his Learning, and accordingly address'd him with great respect, were surpriz'd 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 nothing offensive, or prejudical 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 infumities, 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 Ale-bouses, and went not to Church. But above all, he did compassionate 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 Neccessities, 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 loft or wasted: He thought that was to destroy those good Things of which God has made us only Stewards: Accordingly 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 ridiculous 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 lofe 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 manner 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 Silence had not been desired. Nor did he ever bring his Friends into any Inconvenience thro' his inadverency, or want of Discretion.

"He was very exact to his Word, and religiously perform-ed whatever he promis'd. He was very scrupulous of giving Recommendations of Persons, whom he did not well know; and wou'd by no mean command troth, who he thought did not deserve it: If he was told that his Recommendations had not produced the Effect expected, he wou'd say,
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"say, The Reason of that was, because he had never deceived any
Person, by saying more than he knew; that he never paid his
Word for any, but such as he believed would answer the Character
he gave of them; and that if he should do otherwise, his Recom-
mendations would be worth nothing.

"His greatest Diversion was to Discourse with sensible Per-
sons, of whose Conversation he was very desirous. He had
all the good Qualities, that could render his Friendship plea-
sant and agreeable. He would never Game, but out of Com-
plaisance. Altho' being often in Company with those who
used it, he could Play very well, if he set about it. But
he would never propose it, for he said it was but an Amuse-
ment for those who wanted Conversation.

"His Dress was neat, without either Affectation, or Sin-
gularity.

"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 un-
derstood. He lov'd walking, but not being able to walk
much thro' the disorder of his Lungs, he used 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 good Education.

"The weakness of his Health was a Disturbance to none but
himself; and one might look on him without any other con-
cern, 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 im-
pair'd when he dy'd, for he could read by Candle-light allorts of Books, if they were not of a very small Print, and
he never used 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
defaun, 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 persuading 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 add, 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 aforesaid Bookseller.

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