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A
COLLECTION

OF

SEVERAL PIECES

OF

Mr. JOHN LOCKE.

Publish'd by Mr. DESMAIZEAUX, under the Direction of
ANTHONY COLLINS, *Esq;*

THE SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N :

Printed for R. FRANKLIN, in *Russel-street*, Covent-Garden; 1739.



T O

HUGH WROTTESELY, Esquire.

S I R,



A V I N G met with several of Mr. LOCKE's Works, which were never printed; I thought myself obliged to impart them to the Public, together with some Pieces, of that illustrious Writer, which had indeed been published before, but without his name to them, and were grown very scarce. The value you have for every thing that was written by Mr. LOCKE, and your esteem for some of his friends concern'd in this Collection, emboldens me to offer it to you; and I flatter myself that you will favour it with your acceptance.

The first piece in this Collection, contains *The fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*. You know, Sir, that CHARLES II. made a Grant of that Country by Letters Patents, bearing date March 24th, 1663, to the Duke of ALBEMARLE, the Earl of CLARENDON, the Earl of CRAVEN, the Lord BERKELEY of Stratton, the Lord ASHLEY, Sir GEORGE CARTERET, Sir WILLIAM BERKELEY, and Sir JOHN COLLETON; who thereupon became Proprietors of that Colony. My Lord ASHLEY, afterwards so well known by the title of Earl of SHAFTSBURY, was distinguish'd by an exquisite judgment, an uncommon penetration, and a deep insight into civil affairs. The other Proprietors desired him to draw up the Laws necessary for the establishment of their new Colony; to which he the more readily consented, because he relied on the assistance of Mr. LOCKE, who had the good fortune to gain his friendship and confidence.

My

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My Lord ASHLEY well knew, that our Philosopher had a peculiar right to a work of this nature. He call'd to his mind so many antient Philosophers, who had been Legislators, and who on this very account, had statues erected to them. And indeed, Sir, if we consider on the one hand, that a Philosopher makes Man his particular study, knows the reach of his mind, and the springs of his passions, in fine, his good and bad qualities; and that on the other hand, not being byas'd by any motives of self-interest, he hath nothing in view but the general good of Mankind; it will be granted, that no body is better qualified than such a one, not only to civilize a barbarous People, but to prevent the inconveniences and disorders, which even the most polite Nations are apt to fall into. In this respect it is, that the Philosopher hath the advantage over the Courtier, or what we call the Politician. For, this latter, being accusom'd to study the genius and inclinations of men for his own ends only, and to make his own advantage of them; it is impossible he should entirely overcome the force of custom, and the tyranny of prejudice, when the concerns of the Publick, and the welfare of Society, are under deliberation. But the Philosopher considers things in general, and as they really are in themselves. He examines the most difficult and important points of Government, with the same accuracy, and the same disposition of mind, as his other philosophical Speculations. And therefore, as all his views are more extensive and impartial, they must needs be more beneficial and secure.

But tho' some may be of opinion, that in Matters of State, the Politician ought to have the preference of the Philosopher; this will not in the least diminish the value of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina; since not only a Philosopher, but a Politician of the first rank, was concern'd therein. No man is more capable of judging of the excellence of such Constitutions, than your self, Sir, who not only have acquired a complete knowledge of our Laws, but studied them as a Philosopher, by looking for the motives and foundations of them, in the very nature of Mankind.

For the rest, you have here those Constitutions, printed from Mr. LOCKE's copy, wherein are several amendments made with his own hand. He had presented it, as a work of his, to one of his friends, who was pleased to communicate it to me.

The second piece in this Collection is, *A Letter from a person of quality, to his friend in the country.* It gives an account of the Debates and Resolutions of the House of Lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a Bill, entitled, *An Act to prevent the dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government.* By that Bill, which was brought in by the Court-Party, all such as enjoy'd any beneficial Office or Employment, civil, or military; to which was afterwards added, Privy Counsellors, Justices of the Peace, and Members

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of Parliament; were, under a penalty, to take the Oath, and make the Declaration and Abhorrence following: *I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person; or against those that are commission'd by him, in pursuance of such Commission; and I do swear, that I will not, at any time, endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.*

Such of the Lords as had no dependance upon the Court, and were distinguish'd by the name of Country-Lords, look'd upon this Bill as a step the Court was making, to introduce arbitrary power; and they opposed it so vigorously, that the Debate lasted five several days, before it was committed to a Committee of the whole House; and afterwards, it took up sixteen or seventeen whole days; the House sitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and sometimes till midnight. However, after several alterations, which they were forced to make, it pass'd the Committee; but a contest then arising between the two Houses, concerning their Privileges; they were so inflamed against each other, that the King thought it adviseable to prorogue the Parliament; so that the Bill was never reported from the Committee to the House.

The Debates, occasion'd by that Bill, fail'd not to make a great noise throughout the whole Kingdom; and because there were but few persons duly apprized thereof, and every body spoke of it, as they stood affected; my Lord SHAFTSBURY, who was as the Head of the Country-Party, thought it necessary to publish an exact relation of every thing that had pass'd upon that occasion; in order, not only to open the Peoples eyes upon the secret views of the Court; but to do justice to the Country-Lords, and thereby to secure to them the continuance of the affection and attachment of such as were of the same opinion with themselves, which was the most considerable part of the Nation. But tho' this Lord had all the faculties of an orator; yet, not having time to exercise himself in the art of writing, he desired Mr. LOCKE to draw up this relation; which he did under his Lordship's inspection, and only committed to writing what my Lord SHAFTSBURY did in a manner dictate to him. Accordingly, you will find in it a great many strokes, which could proceed from no body but my Lord SHAFTSBURY himself; and among others, the Characters and Elogiums of such Lords, as had signalized themselves, in the cause of publick Liberty.

This Letter was privately printed soon afterwards; and the Court was so incens'd at it, that at the next meeting of the Parliament, towards the end of the year 1675, the Court-Party, who still kept the ascendant in the House of Lords, order'd it to be burnt by the common hangman. *The particular Relation of this Debate*, says the ingenious Mr. MARVEL, *which lasted many days*

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*with great eagerness on both sides, and the Reasons but on one, was in the next Session burnt by Order of the Lords, but the Sparks of it will eternally fly in their Adversaries Faces *.*

This Piece was grown very scarce. It is true it was inserted, in the year 1689, in the first volume of the *State Tracts*; but in such a manner, that it had been far better not to have reprinted it at all. And indeed, among numbers of lesser faults, there are several whole periods left out; and many places, appear to be designedly falsified. It is likely all this was occasion'd by the Compiler's making use of the first printed Copy that fell into his hands; without giving himself the trouble to look out for more exact ones. That I might not be guilty of the same fault, I have sought after all the editions I cou'd possibly hear of; and have luckily met with two printed in the year 1675, both pretty exact, tho' one is more so than the other. I have collated them with each other, and with that contain'd in the *State Tracts*. In short, that this piece might appear to the best advantage, I have taken the same care, as if I had been to publish some Greek or Latin Author from antient Manuscripts. And truly, when a man undertakes to republish a Work that is out of print, and which deserves to be made more easy to be come at; be it either antient or modern, it is the same thing; the Publick is equally abused, if, instead of restoring it according to the best editions, and in the most correct manner that is possible, the editor gives it from the first copy he chances to light upon, without troubling himself whether that copy be defective or not.

The third piece in this Collection consists of *Remarks upon some of Mr. NORRIS's Books, wherein he asserts Father MALEBRANCHE's Opinion, of our seeing all things in God*. It is in a manner the sequel of a much larger discourse, printed in the year 1706, among the *posthumous Works* of Mr. LOCKE. Our Author had resolved to give that subject a thorough examination; and this small piece is but a sketch, containing some cursory reflections, which he had thrown together, in reading over some of Mr. NORRIS's Books. Accordingly, I find these words in his Manuscript, written before those Remarks: *Some other Thoughts, which I set down, as they came in my way, in a hasty perusal of some of Mr. NORRIS's Writings, to be better digested, when I shall have leisure to make an end of this Argument*. And at the end of them, he hath added these words: *The finishing of these hasty thoughts must be defer'd to another season*. But tho' this small piece is far from being perfected, it however contains many important reflections; and therefore, I was of opinion it deserved to be publish'd; and I hope, Sir, you will not disapprove my inserting it in this Collection.

* *An Account of the Growth of Popery, and arbitrary Government in England; more particularly from the long Prorogation of November 1675, ending the 15th of February 1676, till the last meeting of Parliament, the 16th of July 1677. By ANDREW MARVEL, Esq; p. m. 89.*

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It is followed here by the *Elements of Natural Philosophy*. Mr. LOCKE had composed, or rather dictated these Elements for the use of a young Gentleman, whose education he had very much at heart. It is an abstract or summary of whatever is most material in Natural Philosophy; which Mr. LOCKE did afterwards explain more at large, to that young Gentleman. The same is practised in the Universities, where, you know, it is customary for the professors to dictate such Abridgements, to serve for the subject and rule of their lectures. And therefore this small tract is far from being what Mr. LOCKE would have made it, had he written upon that matter professedly, and design'd to make it a complete work.

However, as the generality of men expect every thing should be perfect, that proceeds from such a Writer as Mr. LOCKE, and do not enter into the occasions or designs, which he proposed to himself in writing; I own that some persons, very good judges, whom I have taken the liberty to consult about the impression of some pieces in this Collection, were of opinion that this little Treatise had better been left out, for fear every Reader should not make the proper allowances, and lest the memory of Mr. LOCKE should suffer by it. I yielded to their opinion; and was resolved to lay that piece aside. But being inform'd that there were several other copies of it abroad, which it was impossible to suppress, or hinder from falling, one time or other, into the hands of the printers, maim'd and disfigured, as is too often the case on such occasions; I was obliged to take other measures; and I the more easily determin'd to publish it, because I could give it more complete, more correct, and in better order, than can possibly be pretended to, by the copies above-mention'd.

After all, I may take upon me to say, that, in its kind, this piece is no way to be despised. We wanted such a work in English; and it would not have been an easy matter to find any other person, who could have comprehended so many things in so few words, and in so clear and distinct a manner. Great use may be made of it in the instruction of young Gentlemen, as it was originally design'd by Mr. LOCKE. And persons even of riper years may improve by it; either by recalling ideas, that had slip't out of their memory; or by informing themselves of several things, which were unknown to them.

To this treatise are subjoin'd, *Some thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*. Mr. LOCKE having one day in conversation discoursed upon the Method, that a young Gentleman should take in his Reading, and Study; one of the company was so well pleas'd with it, that he desired him to dictate to him the substance of what he had been speaking; which Mr. LOCKE immediately did. This is one of the usual Conversations of Mr. LOCKE, reduced

into

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into writing; from whence you may judge, Sir, how agreeable and advantageous it was, to converse with that great Man.

Mr. LOCKE not only points out the Sciences that a Gentleman ought to study, whether as a private man, or one in a publick capacity; but likewise directs to such Books, as treat of those Sciences, and which in his opinion are the properest for that end. As you have acquired, Sir, in Italy, the most refined taste for the politer Arts, and have added that study to those Mr. LOCKE here recommends to a Gentleman; you will perhaps wonder, that he says nothing of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and other Arts of this kind, which make an accomplish'd Gentleman. But I desire you would consider, that there are but few persons, in possession of the means necessary for attaining this sort of knowledge; and that Mr. LOCKE is speaking here of what may suit the circumstances of the generality of people. Besides, he was very far from imagining, that an extemporary advice, which he was giving by his fireside, would ever be exposed to common view. However, I presume to think, that after you have perused it, you will be of opinion it was not unworthy to be made publick.

But among the works of Mr. LOCKE, contain'd in this Volume, I don't know that any will afford you more pleasure than his *Letters*. Some of them are written upon weighty subjects; and are upon that very account exceeding valuable. Others are what Mr. LOCKE wrote out of the Country to one of his Friends in London, about private business. In these, one would expect nothing but what was common, and customary; but a subject so simple, and vulgar in it self, changes, as it were, its very nature, when managed by Mr. LOCKE; and becomes something considerable and of moment, by the turn and manner, in which he expresses the sentiments of affection and gratitude he hath for his friend. And indeed, tho' true Friendship be founded upon esteem; yet we may say, if Friendship goes no farther, there is something in it austere, not to say dry, and rustick. But there is a certain agreeable and complaisant way of shewing this esteem, wherein consists the greatest charm of Friendship; as it is what supports it, and adds force and vigour to it. Now this is Mr. LOCKE's peculiar talent; and it is impossible that a person of your nice taste, should not be sensibly touch'd with the respectful, endearing, and affectionate manner, in which he writes here to his Friend; and which he still repeats with new graces. It is a pattern of urbanity, politeness, and gayety. For our old Philosopher hath nothing morose, nor uneasy. Whenever he speaks of his infirmities, it is by way of pleasantry, or that he may have an opportunity of saying some obliging thing to his Friend.

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The last piece in this Collection, contains the *Rules of a Society, which met once a week for their improvement in useful Knowledge, and the promoting of Truth and Christian Charity*. Mr. LOCKE took a delight in forming such Societies, wherever he made any stay. He had establish'd one at Amsterdam in 1687, of which Mr. LIMBORCH, and Mr. LE CLERC, were members. He settled this Club at London soon after the Revolution; and drew up the Rules you will find here. But his design in doing this, was not only to pass away time in an agreeable Conversation of two or three hours; he had views far more solid and sublime. As there is nothing that more obstructs the advancement of Truth, and the progress of real Christianity, than a certain narrow spirit, which leads men to cantonize themselves, if I may so speak, and to break into small bodies, which at last grow into so many factions; Mr. LOCKE, zealous for the general good of Mankind, would have gladly inspired them with sentiments of a higher and more extensive nature; and united those, whom the spirit of prejudice or party had kept asunder. This is what continually employ'd his thoughts. He never loses sight of it throughout his Works. Nay, it is the principal subject of them. But he did not confine himself to bare speculation; and he form'd the Society above mention'd, with a design to render, as much as lay in his power, such a desirable union practicable. This appears from the disposition of mind he requires in those, who were to be members of it; and especially by the declaration they were obliged to subscribe; that “by their becoming of that Society, they proposed to themselves an improvement in useful Knowledge, and the promoting of Truth and Christian Charity.

But you will find, Sir, the same mind, the same genius, not only in this small piece, but in all the others in this Collection. Mr. LOCKE every where discovers a sincere love of Truth, and an invincible aversion to whatever may do it the least wrong. To the quality of a great Philosopher, he every where joins that of a true Christian. You see him full of love, respect, and admiration for the Christian Religion. And thereby he furnishes us with the strongest presumption that can be imagined, for the truth as well as the excellency of that holy Institution. For this is not the approbation of a vulgar mind, who is still fetter'd by the prejudices of infancy; it is the suffrage of a wit, a superior genius, who has labour'd all his life to guard against error; who, in several important points, departed from the common opinion; and made Christianity his study, without taking it upon trust. It is doubtless a great advantage, not to say an honour, for a Doctrine to be embraced and countenanced by such a Man. But let us return to our Collection.

To make it more useful, I have added Notes to illustrate certain passages, which suppose the knowledge of some facts, that may be unknown to the Reader, or which would not readily occur to his memory; and therefore these Notes are merely historical. I pretend neither to approve nor disapprove the particulars they contain. I only act the part of an historian. There is but one

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of them; that can be look'd upon as critical; and even that, is only intended to settle a matter of fact, misrepresented by a late Historian. These Notes are not very numerous; and I do not know but the fear of swelling them too much, may have made me suppress some, which would not have been wholly useless.

As for what concerns the Impression it self, in order to make it more beautiful, I have been obliged to recede, in several respects, from our usual way of printing; which, if I am allow'd to speak freely, is extremely vicious. It is matter of wonder, that in such a Country as this, where there is so much encouragement for Printing, there shou'd prevail a sort of Gothick taste, which deforms our English Impressions, and makes them not a little ridiculous. For can any thing be more absurd, than so many capital Letters, that are not only prefix'd to all nouns substantives, but also often to adjectives, pronouns, particles, and even to verbs? And what shall we say of that odd mixture of Italick, which, instead of helping the Reader to distinguish matters the more clearly, does only perplex him; and breeds a confusion shocking to the eye? But you are not to be inform'd, Sir, you, who every day enrich your Library with Books of the finest editions, that none of these faults were ever committed by the Printers, who have been eminent in their art. Surely, if the Authors on the one hand, and the Readers on the other, would oppose this Barbarism, it would be no difficult matter to restore a just taste, and a beautiful way of printing.

To the pieces already mention'd, I have prefix'd the *Character* of Mr. LOCKE, at the request of some of his Friends; as you will see by the *Letter* before it, which was sent to me together with that Character.

These, Sir, are all the pieces, which make up this Volume. Why may I not, at the same time that I offer it to you, unfold to the view of the publick, so many perfections, which a too severe and scrupulous Modesty conceals from it! Why may I not make known the rare endowments of your Mind, as well as the noble and generous sentiments of your Heart! But I fear I have already too much presumed upon your goodness, by prefixing your Name to this Discourse. And after having been so bold, as not to consult you, upon a thing, which you would never have permitted; I ought to account my self very fortunate, if in consideration of my passing over your excellent qualities in profound silence, you are pleased to forgive the freedom I have taken; and will give me leave to declare to you and all the world, how sensible I am of the Friendship you honour me with, and to assure you that I shall always be with the greatest respect, S I R,

March 23, 1719.

Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

DES MAIZEAUX.

T H E

THE
CHARACTER
OF

Mr. LOCKE.

BY

Mr. PETER COSTE:

WITH

A LETTER

Relating to that CHARACTER, and to the
AUTHOR of it.

A

LETTER

TO

Mr. * * *

London, Feb. 4. 1720.

SIR,



E I N G inform'd, that you design to publish several new pieces of Mr. LOCKE, I here send you, at the request of some of his Friends, the translation of a Letter, attempting his Character, and containing several passages of his Life and Conversation; which you are desired to prefix before that Collection.

The Author of that Letter is Mr. PETER COSTE, who has translated into French Mr. LOCKE's Thoughts concerning Education, his Reasonableness of Christianity, and Vindications thereof; with his principal work, the Essay concerning human Understanding.

Mr. COSTE lived in the same Family with Mr. LOCKE, during the seven last years of that great Man's life; whereby he had all possible opportunitys to know him.

The

The Letter was written some time after Mr. LOCKE's Death; and appears to be the production of a man in raptures, and struck with the highest admiration of Mr. LOCKE's Virtue, Capacity, and of the excellency of his Writings; and under the deepest affliction for the loss of a person, to whom in his life-time he had paid the most profound respect, and for whom he had constantly express'd the greatest esteem, and that even in writings, whereof Mr. LOCKE did not know him to be the Author.

And therefore, Mr. LOCKE's Friends judge its publication necessary, not only, as they think it contains a just Character of Mr. LOCKE, as far as it goes; but, as it is a proper Vindication of him against the said Mr. COSTE, who in several Writings, and in his common Conversation throughout France, Holland, and England has aspersed and blacken'd the Memory of Mr. LOCKE; in those very respects, wherein he was his Panegyrist before.

For, they conceive, the Elogium contain'd in the following Letter must stand good, till Mr. COSTE thinks fit, either to deny his own Experience; or to confess, that the same things, which he then thought praise-worthy, have since changed their Nature. I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

* * *



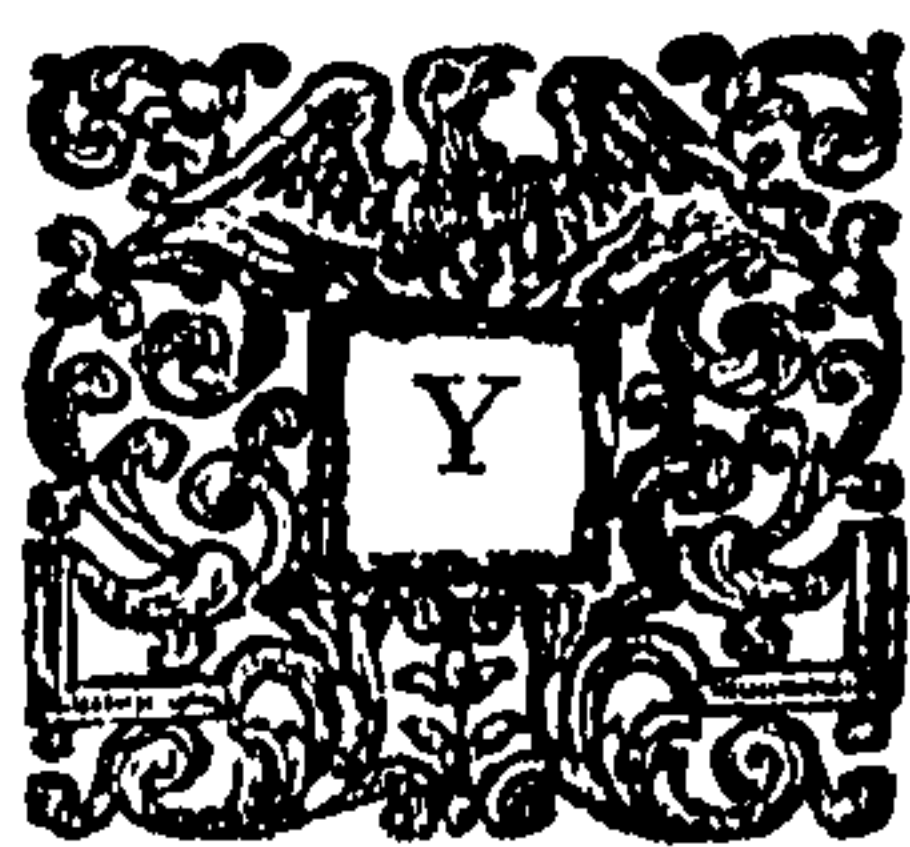
THE
 CHARACTER
 OF
 Mr. LOCKE;
 IN
 A LETTER
 TO

The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique
 des Lettres.*

BY
 Mr. P. COSTE*.

London, Dec. 10, 1704.

SIR,



YOU must have heard of the Death of the illustrious Mr. LOCKE. It is a general loss. For that reason he is lamented by all good men, and all sincere lovers of Truth, who were acquainted with his Character. He was born for the good of mankind. Most of his actions were directed to that end; and I doubt, whether, in his time, any man in Europe applied himself more earnestly to that noble design, or executed it with more success.

I will forbear to speak of the valuableness of his Works. The general esteem they have attained, and will preserve as long as good sense and virtue are left in the world; the service they have been of to England in particular, and universally to all that set themselves seriously to the search of Truth, and the study of Christianity, are their best Elogium. The love of Truth is visible in every part of them. This is allow'd by all that have read them. For, even they, who have not relished some of Mr. LOCKE's opinions, have done him the justice to confess, that the manner, in which he defends them, shews he advanced nothing, that he was not sincerely convinced of himself. This his

* That Letter was printed in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for the month of February 1705, Art. II. pag. 154. with this Title; A LETTER of Mr. COSTE to the Author of these *Nouvelles*, written on occasion of the Death of Mr. LOCKE.

Friends gave him an account of from several hands: *Let them after this*, answered he, *object whatever they please against my works; I shall never be disturb'd at it. For since they grant I advance nothing in them but what I really believe, I shall always be glad to prefer Truth to any of my opinions, whenever I discover it by my self, or am satisfied that they are not conformable to it.* Happy turn of mind! which, I am fully persuaded, contributed more even than the penetration of that noble Genius, to his discovery of those great and useful Truths which appear in his Works.

But without dwelling any longer upon considering Mr. LOCKE in the quality of an Author, which often serves only to disguise the real character of the Man, I haste to shew him to you in particulars much more amiable, and which will give you a higher notion of his Merit.

Mr. LOCKE had a great knowledge of the World, and of the business of it. Prudent without being cunning; he won people's esteem by his Probity, and was always safe from the attacks of a false Friend, or a fordid Flatterer. Averse to all mean complaisance; his Wisdom, his Experience, his gentle and obliging Manners, gained him the respect of his inferiors, the esteem of his equals, the friendship and confidence of the greatest quality.

Without setting up for a Teacher, he instructed others by his own Conduct. He was at first pretty much disposed to give Advice to such of his Friends as he thought wanted it; but at length, finding that *good Counsels are very little effectual in making people more prudent*, he grew much more reserved in that particular. I have often heard him say, that the first time he heard that maxim, he thought it very strange; but that experience had fully convinced him of the truth of it. By *Counsels*, we are here to understand those, which are given to such, as do not ask them. Yet, as much as he despaired of rectifying those, whom he saw taking of false measures; his natural Goodness, the aversion he had to Disorder, and the interest he took in those about him, in a manner forced him sometimes to break the resolution he had made of leaving them to go their own way; and prevailed upon him to give them the advice, which he thought most likely to reclaim them; but this he always did in a modest way, and so as to convince the mind by fortifying his advice with solid arguments, which he never wanted upon a proper occasion.

But then, Mr. LOCKE was very liberal of his Counsels, when they were desired; and no body ever consulted him in vain. An extreme Vivacity of mind, one of his reigning qualities, in which perhaps he never had an equal, his great experience, and the sincere desire he had of being serviceable to all mankind; soon furnished him with the expedients, which were most just and least dangerous. I say, the least dangerous; for what he proposed to himself before all things, was to lead those, who consulted him, into no trouble. This was one of his favourite Maxims, and he never lost sight of it upon any occasion.

Tho' Mr. LOCKE chiefly loved Truths that were useful, and with such fed his mind, and was generally very well pleased to make them the subject of his discourse; yet he used to say, that in order to employ one part of this life in serious and important occupations, it was necessary to spend another in mere amusements; and when an occasion naturally offered, he gave himself up with pleasure to the charms of a free and facetious Conversation. He remember'd a great many agreeable Stories, which he always brought in properly; and generally made them yet more delightful, by his natural and agreeable way of telling them. He was no foe to Raillery, provided it were delicate and perfectly innocent.

No body was ever a greater master of the art of accommodating himself to the reach of all Capacities; which, in my opinion, is one of the surest marks of a great Genius.

It was his peculiar art in Conversation, to lead people to talk of what they understood best. With a Gardener, he discoursed of Gardening; with a Jeweller, of a Diamond; with a Chymist, of Chymistry, &c. “By this,” said he himself, I please all those men, who commonly can speak pertinently upon nothing else. As they believe I have an esteem for their profession, they are charmed with shewing their abilities before me; and I, in the mean while, improve myself by their discourse.” And indeed, Mr. LOCKE had by this means acquired a very good insight into all the Arts, of which he daily learnt more and more. He used to say too, that the knowledge of the Arts contained more true Philosophy, than all those fine learned Hypotheses, which, having no relation to the nature of things, are fit for nothing at the bottom, but to make men lose their time in inventing, or comprehending them. A thousand times have I admired how, by the several Questions he would put to Artificers, he would find out the secret of their Art, which they did not understand themselves; and oftentimes give them views entirely new, which sometimes they put in practice to their profit.

This easiness, with which Mr. LOCKE knew how to converse with all sorts of men, and the pleasure he took in doing it; at first, surprized those, who had never talked with him before. They were charmed with this condescension, not very common among men of Letters; and which they so little expected from a person, whose great qualities raised him so very much above all other men. Many, who knew him only by his Writings, or by the reputation he had gained of being one of the greatest Philosophers of the age, having imagined to themselves beforehand, that he was one of those Scholars that, being always full of themselves and their sublime speculations, are incapable of familiarizing themselves with the common sort of mankind, or of entering into their little concerns, or discoursing of the ordinary affairs of life; were perfectly amazed to find him nothing but Affability, Good-humour, Humanity, Pleasantness, always ready to hear them, to talk with them of things, which they best understood, much more desirous of informing himself in what they understood better than himself, than to make a shew of his own Science. I know a very ingenious Gentleman in England, that was for some time in the same prejudice. Before he saw Mr. LOCKE, he had formed a notion of him to himself under the idea of one of the antient Philosophers, with a long beard, speaking nothing but by sentences, negligent of his person, without any other politeness but what might proceed from the natural goodness of his temper, a sort of politeness often very coarse and very troublesome in civil society. But one hour’s conversation entirely cured him of his mistake, and obliged him to declare, that he looked upon Mr. LOCKE to be one of the politest men he ever saw. *He is not a Philosopher always grave, always confined to that character, as I imagined; he is, said he, a perfect Courtier, as agreeable for his obliging and civil behaviour, as admirable for the profoundness and delicacy of his Genius.*

Mr. LOCKE was so far from assuming those airs of Gravity, by which some folks, as well learned as unlearned, love to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world; that, on the contrary, he looked upon them, as an infallible mark of impertinence. Nay, sometimes he would divert himself with imitating that study’d Gravity, in order to turn it the better into ridicule; and upon this occasion he always remember’d this maxim of the Duke of LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, which he admired above all others, *that Gravity is a mystery of the Body, invented to conceal the defects of the Mind.* He loved also to confirm his opinion on this subject, by that of the famous Earl of SHAFTSBURY*, to

* Chancellor of England in the Reign of CHARLES II.

whom he took a delight to give the honour of all the things, which he thought he had learnt from his Conversation.

Nothing ever gave him a more sensible pleasure than the esteem, which that Earl conceived for him, almost the first moment he saw him, and which he afterwards preserved as long as he lived. And indeed, nothing set Mr. LOCKE's merit in a better light, than the constant esteem of my Lord SHAFTSBURY, the greatest Genius of his age, superior to so many great men that shone at the same time at the Court of CHARLES II, not only for his resolution and intrepidity in maintaining the true interests of his Country; but also for his great abilities in the conduct of the most knotty affairs. When Mr. LOCKE studied at Oxford, he fell by accident into his company, and one single conversation with that great man won him his esteem and confidence to such a degree, that soon afterwards my Lord SHAFTSBURY took him to be near his person, and kept him as long as Mr. LOCKE's health or affairs wou'd permit. That Earl particularly excell'd in the knowledge of men. It was impossible to catch his esteem by moderate qualities; this his enemies themselves could never deny. I wish I could, on the other hand, give you a full notion of the idea, which Mr. LOCKE had of that Nobleman's merit. He lost no opportunity of speaking of it; and that in a manner, which sufficiently shewed he spoke from his heart. Tho' my Lord SHAFTSBURY had not spent much time in reading; nothing, in Mr. LOCKE's opinion, could be more just than the judgment he pass'd upon the Books, which fell into his hands. He presently saw thro' the design of a Work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vast rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was master of his subject, and whether his reasonings were exact. But above all, Mr. LOCKE admired in him that penetration, that presence of mind, which always prompted him with the best expedients, in the most desperate cases; that noble boldness, which appear'd in all his public Discourses; always guided by a solid Judgment, which, never allowing him to say any thing but what was proper, regulated his least word, and left no hold to the vigilance of his Enemies.

During the time Mr. LOCKE lived with that illustrious Lord, he had the advantage of becoming acquainted with all the polite, the witty, and agreeable part of the Court. It was then that he got the habit of those obliging and benevolent manners, which supported by an easy and polite expression, a great knowledge of the world, and a vast extent of Capacity, made his conversation so agreeable to all sorts of people. It was then too, without doubt, that he fitted himself for the great affairs, of which he afterwards appeared so capable.

I know not whether it was the ill state of his health, that obliged him, in the reign of King WILLIAM, to refuse going Ambassador to one of the most considerable Courts in Europe. It is certain that great Prince judged him worthy of that post, and no body doubts but he would have filled it gloriously.

The same Prince, after this, gave him a place among the Lords Commissioners, whom he established for advancing the interest of Trade and the Plantations. Mr. LOCKE executed that employment for several years; and it is said (*absit invidia verbo*) that he was in a manner the Soul of that illustrious Body. The most experienced Merchants were surprized, that a man, who had spent his life in the study of Physic, of polite Literature, or of Philosophy, should have more extensive and certain views than themselves, in a business, which they had wholly applied themselves to from their youth. At length, when Mr. LOCKE could no longer pass the Summer at London without endangering his life, he went and resigned that Office to the King himself, upon account that his health would permit him to stay no longer in Town. This reason did not hinder the King from intreating Mr. LOCKE to continue in his Post, telling him expressly, that tho' he could stay at London but a few weeks, his services in
that

that office would yet be very necessary to him; but at length he yielded to the representations of Mr. LOCKE, who could not prevail upon himself, to hold an Employment of that importance, without doing the duties of it more regularly. He formed and executed this design, without mentioning a word of it to any body whatsoever; thus avoiding, with a generosity rarely to be found, what others would have earnestly laid out after; for by making it known, that he was about to quit that Employment, which brought him in a thousand pounds a year, he might easily have enter'd into a kind of composition with any pretender, who having particular notice of this news, and being befriended with Mr. LOCKE's interest, might have carried the Post from any other person. This, we may be sure, he was told of, and that too by way of reproach. *I knew it very well*, replied he; *but this was the very reason why I communicated my design to no body. I received this Place from the King himself, and to him I resolved to restore it, to dispose of it as he thought proper.* HEU prisca fides! Where are such examples, at this day, at be met with?

One thing, which those, who lived for any time with Mr. LOCKE, could not help observing in him, was, that he took a delight in making use of his Reason in every thing he did; and nothing, that is attended with any usefulness, seem'd unworthy his care; so that we may say of him, what was said of Queen ELIZABETH, that he was no less capable of small things, than of great. He used often to say himself, that there was an art in every thing; and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see the manner, in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason. I might here descend into particulars, which probably to many would not be unpleasant; but the bounds I have set my self, and the fear of taking up too many pages in your Journal, will not give me leave to do it.

Mr. LOCKE above all things loved Order; and he had got the way of observing it in every thing, with wonderful exactness.

As he always kept the Useful in his eye in all his disquisitions, he esteemed the employments of men, only in proportion to the good they were capable of producing; for which reason he had no great value for those Critics, or mere Grammarians, that waste their lives in comparing words and phrases, and in coming to a determination in the choice of a various reading, in a passage that has nothing important in it. He cared yet less for those professed Disputants, who being wholly taken up with the desire of coming off with the victory, fortify themselves behind the ambiguity of a word, to give their adversaries the more trouble. And whenever he had to deal with this sort of folks, if he did not beforehand take a strong resolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a passion. And in general, it must be own'd, he was naturally somewhat cholerick. But his anger never lasted long. If he retained any resentment, it was against himself for having given way to so ridiculous a passion; which, as he used to say, may do a great deal of harm, but never yet did the least good. He often would blame himself for this weakness. Upon which occasion I remember, that two or three weeks before his death, as he was sitting in a garden, taking the air in a bright sun-shine, whose warmth afforded him a great deal of pleasure, which he improved as much as possible, by causing his chair to be drawn more and more towards the sun as it went down; we happened to speak of HORACE, I know not on what occasion, and having repeated to him these verses, where that Poet says of himself, that he was

*Solibus aptum;
Iraſci celerem, tamen ut placabilis eſſem:*

“ that he loved the warmth of the sun, and that tho’ he was naturally choleric, his anger was easily appeased”. Mr. LOCKE replied, that if he durst presume to compare himself with HORACE in any thing, he thought he was perfectly like him in those two respects. But that you may be the less surprized at his modesty upon this occasion, I must at the same time inform you, that he looked upon HORACE to be one of the wisest and happiest Romans, that lived in the age of AUGUSTUS, by means of the care he took to preserve himself clear of ambition and avarice, to keep his desires within bounds; and to cultivate the friendship of the greatest men of those times, without living in their dependance.

Mr. LOCKE also disliked those Authors that labour only to destroy, without establishing any thing themselves. “ A building, said he, displeases them. “ They find great faults in it; let them demolish it and welcome, provided “ they endeavour to raise another in its place, if it be possible.

He advised, that whenever we have meditated any thing new, we should throw it as soon as possible upon paper, in order to be the better able to judge of it by seeing it all together; because the mind of man is not capable of retaining clearly a long chain of consequences, and of seeing without confusion the relation of a great number of different Ideas. Besides, it often happens, that what we had most admired, when considered in the gross and in a perplex’d manner, appears to be utterly inconsistent and unsupportable, when we see every part of it distinctly.

Mr. LOCKE also thought it necessary, always to communicate ones thoughts to some Friend, especially if one proposed to offer them to the public; and this was what he constantly observed himself. He could hardly conceive how a Being of so limited a capacity as Man, and so subject to error, could have the confidence to neglect this precaution.

Never man employ’d his time better than Mr. LOCKE, as appears by the Works he published himself; and perhaps in time we may see new proofs of it. He spent the last fourteen or fifteen years of his life at Oates, a country seat of Sir FRANCIS MASHAM’s, about five and twenty miles from London, in the County of Essex. I cannot but take pleasure in imagining to my self, that this place, so well known to so many persons of merit, whom I have seen come thither from so many parts of England to visit Mr. LOCKE, will be famous to posterity for the long abode that great man made there. Be that as it may, it was there that enjoying sometimes the conversation of his friends, and always the company of my Lady MASHAM, for whom Mr. LOCKE had long conceived a very particular esteem and friendship (in spite of all that Lady’s merit, this is all the elogium she shall have of me now) he tasted sweets, which were interrupted by nothing but the ill state of a weakly and delicate constitution. During this agreeable retirement, he applied himself especially to the study of the Holy Scripture; and employed the last years of his life in hardly any thing else. He was never weary of admiring the great views of that sacred Book, and the just relation of all its parts; he every day made discoveries in it, that gave him fresh cause of admiration. It is strongly reported in England, that those discoveries will be communicated to the Public. If so, the whole world, I am confident, will have a full proof of what was observed by all that were near Mr. LOCKE to the last part of his life; I mean, that his Mind never suffered the least decay, tho’ his Body grew every day visibly weaker and weaker.

His strength began to fail him more remarkably than ever, at the entrance of the last summer; a season, which in former years had always restored him some degrees of strength. Then, he foresaw that his end was very near. He often spoke of it himself, but always with great composure; tho’ he omitted none of the

the precautions, which his skill in Physic taught him, to prolong his life. At length, his legs began to swell; and that swelling encreasing every day, his strength diminished very visibly. He then saw how short a time he had left to live, and prepared to quit this world, with a deep sense of all the blessings, which God had granted him, which he took delight in numbering up to his friends, and full of a sincere resignation to his will, and of firm hopes in his promises, built upon the word of JESUS CHRIST, sent into the world to bring to light Life and Immortality, by his Gospel.

At length his strength failed him to such a degree, that the 26th of October 1704, two days before his Death, going to see him in his closet, I found him on his knees, but unable to rise again without assistance.

The next day, tho' he was not worse, he would continue a-bed. All that day, he had a greater difficulty of respiration than ever, and about five of the clock in the evening, he fell into a sweat, accompanied with an extreme weakness, that made us fear for his life. He was of opinion himself that he was not far from his last moment. Then he desired to be remember'd at evening Prayers; thereupon my Lady MASHAM told him, that if he would, the whole Family should come and pray by him in his chamber. He answered he should be very glad to have it so, if it would not give too much trouble; there he was prayed for particularly. After this, he gave some orders with great serenity of mind; and an occasion offering of speaking of the Goodness of God, he especially exalted the Love, which God shewed to Man, in justifying him by Faith in JESUS CHRIST. He returned him thanks in particular, for having called him to the knowledge of that divine Saviour. He exhorted all about him to read the Holy Scripture attentively, and to apply themselves sincerely to the practice of all their duties; adding expressly, that *by this means they would be more happy in this world, and secure to themselves the possession of eternal felicity in the other.* He past the whole night without sleep. The next day he caused himself to be carried into his closet, for he had not strength to walk by himself; and there in his chair, and in a kind of dozing, tho' in his full senses, as appeared by what he said from time to time, he gave up the ghost about three in the afternoon the 28th of October.

I beg you, Sir, not to take what I have said of Mr. LOCKE's Character for a finished Portrait. It is only a slight sketch of some few of his excellent qualities. I am told we shall quickly have it done by the hand of a master. To that I refer you. Many features, I am sure, have escaped me; but I dare affirm, that those, which I have given you a draught of, are not set off with false colours, but drawn faithfully from the life.

I must not omit a particular in Mr. LOCKE's Will, which it is of no small importance to the Commonwealth of Learning to be acquainted with; namely, that therein he declares what were the Works, which he had published without setting his name to them. The occasion of it was this; some time before his death, Dr. HUDSON, Keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, had desired him to send him all the Works, with which he had favoured the Public, as well those with his name as those without, that they might be all placed in that famous Library. Mr. LOCKE sent him only the former, but in his Will he declares, he is resolved fully to satisfy Dr. HUDSON; and to that intent he bequeaths to the Bodleian Library a copy of the rest of his Works, to which he had not prefixed his name, viz. a *Latin Letter concerning Toleration*, printed at Tergou, and translated some time afterwards into English unknown to Mr. LOCKE; two other *Letters* upon the same subject, in answer to the Objections made against the first; *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, with two *Vindications* of that Book; and *Two Treatises of Government*. These are all the anonymous Works, which Mr. LOCKE owns himself to be the Author of.

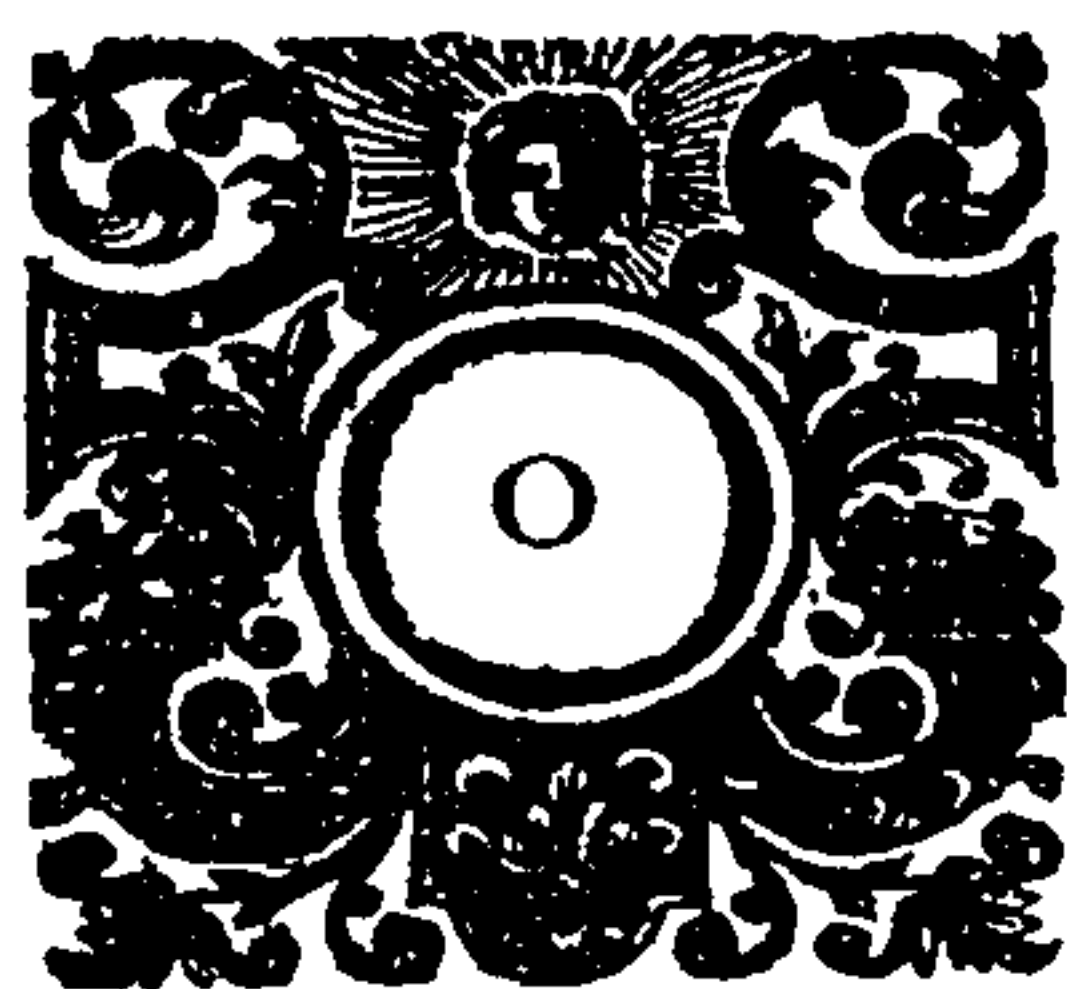
For the rest, I shall not pretend to tell you at what age he died, because I do not certainly know it. I have often heard him say, he had forgot the year of his birth; but that he believed he had set it down somewhere. It has not yet been found among his papers; but it is computed that he was about sixty fix.

Tho' I have continued some time at London, a City very fruitful in Literary News, I have nothing curious to tell you. Since Mr. LOCKE departed this life, I have hardly been able to think of any thing, but the loss of that great Man, whose Memory will always be dear to me; happy, if, as I admired him for many years, that I was near him; I could but imitate him, in any one respect! I am with all sincerity, Sir, your &c.





THE
FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS
OF
CAROLINA.



OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING having, out of His Royal Grace and Bounty, granted unto us the Province of CAROLINA, with all the Royalties, Properties, Jurisdictions, and Privileges of a *County Palatine*, as large and ample as the County Palatine of Durham, with other great Privileges ; for the better settlement of the Government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the *Lords Proprietors* with equality, and without confusion ; and that the Government of this Province may be made most agreeable to the Monarchy, under which we live, and of which this Province is a part ; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous Democracy : We the Lords and Proprietors of the Province aforesaid, have agreed to this following Form of Government, to be perpetually establish'd amongst us, unto which we do oblige our selves, our Heirs and Successors, in the most binding ways that can be devised.

I.

THE eldest of the *Lords Proprietors* shall be *Palatine* ; and upon the decease of the Palatine, the eldest of the seven surviving Proprietors shall always succeed him.

II.

There shall be seven other chief Offices erected, *viz.* the *Admirals*, *Chamberlains*, *Chancellors*, *Constables*, *Chief Justices*, *High Stewards*, and *Treasurers* ; which places shall be enjoyed by none but the Lords Proprietors, to be assigned at first by Lot ; and upon the vacancy of any one of the seven great Offices by death or otherwise, the eldest Proprietor shall have his choice of the said place.

III.

The whole Province shall be divided into *Counties* ; each County shall consist of eight *Signiories*, eight *Baronies*, and four *Precincts* ; each Precinct shall consist of six *Colonies*.

IV.

Each Signiory, Barony, and Colony, shall consist of twelve thousand Acres ; the eight Signiories being the share of the eight Proprietors, and the eight Baronies

Baronies of the *Nobility*; both which shares, being each of them one fifth part of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the Proprietors, the other to the hereditary Nobility, leaving the Colonies, being three fifths, amongst the *People*; that so in setting out, and planting the Lands, the balance of the Government may be preserved.

V.

At any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, any of the Lords Proprietors shall have power to relinquish, alienate, and dispose to any other person, his Proprietorship, and all the Signiories, Powers, and Interest thereunto belonging, wholly and entirely together, and not otherwise. But after the year one thousand seven hundred, those, who are then Lords Proprietors, shall not have power to alienate or make over their Proprietorship, with the Signiories and Privileges thereunto belonging, or any part thereof, to any person whatsoever, otherwise than as in §. XVIII; but it shall all descend unto their Heirs male, and for want of Heirs male, it shall all descend on that *Landgrave* or *Cassique* of CAROLINA, who is descended of the next Heirs female of the Proprietor; and for want of such Heirs, it shall descend on the next Heir general; and for want of such Heirs, the remaining seven Proprietors shall, upon the vacancy, chuse a Landgrave to succeed the deceased Proprietor, who being chosen by the majority of the seven surviving Proprietors, he and his Heirs successively shall be Proprietors, as fully to all intents and purposes as any of the rest.

VI.

That the number of eight Proprietors may be constantly kept; if, upon the vacancy of any Proprietorship, the seven surviving Proprietors shall not chuse a Landgrave to be a Proprietor, before the second biennial Parliament after the vacancy; then the next biennial Parliament but one after such vacancy, shall have power to chuse any Landgrave to be a Proprietor.

VII.

Whosoever after the year one thousand seven hundred, either by inheritance or choice, shall succeed any Proprietor in his Proprietorship, and Signiories thereunto belonging; shall be obliged to take the Name and Arms of that Proprietor, whom he succeeds; which from thenceforth shall be the Name and Arms of his Family and their posterity.

VIII.

Whatsoever Landgrave or Cassique shall any way come to be a Proprietor, shall take the Signiories annexed to the said Proprietorship; but his former Dignity, with the Baronies annexed, shall devolve into the hands of the Lords Proprietors.

IX.

There shall be just as many Landgraves as there are Counties, and twice as many Cassiques, and no more. These shall be the hereditary Nobility of the Province, and by right of their Dignity be Members of Parliament. Each Landgrave shall have four Baronies, and each Cassique two Baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to, and settled upon the said Dignity.

X.

The first Landgraves and Cassiques of the twelve first Counties to be planted, shall be nominated thus; that is to say, of the twelve Landgraves the Lords Proprietors shall each of them separately for himself, nominate and chuse one; and the remaining four Landgraves of the first twelve, shall be nominated and chosen by the Palatine's Court. In like manner of the twenty four first Cassiques, each Proprietor for himself shall nominate and chuse two, and the remaining eight shall be nominated and chosen by the Palatine's Court; and when the twelve first Counties shall be planted, the Lords Proprietors shall again in the same manner nominate and chuse twelve more

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Landgraves, and twenty four Cassiques for the twelve next Counties to be planted; that is to say, two thirds of each number by the single nomination of each Proprietor for himself, and the remaining one third by the joint election of the Palatine's Court, and so proceed in the same manner till the whole Province of CAROLINA be set out and planted, according to the proportions in these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

XI.

Any Landgrave or Cassique at any time before the year one thousand seven and one, shall have power to alienate, sell, or make over to any other person, his Dignity, with the Baronies thereunto belonging, all intirely together. But after the year one thousand seven hundred, no Landgrave or Cassique shall have power to alienate, sell, make over, or lett the hereditary Baronies of his Dignity, or any part thereof, otherwise than as in §. XVIII; but they shall all intirely, with the Dignity thereunto belonging, descend unto his Heirs male; and for want of Heirs male, all intirely and undivided, to the next Heir general; and for want of such Heirs, shall devolve into the hands of the Lords Proprietors.

XII.

That the due number of Landgraves and Cassiques may be always kept up; if, upon the devolution of any Landgraveship or Cassiqueship, the Palatine's Court shall not settle the devolved Dignity, with the Baronies thereunto annexed, before the second biennial Parliament after such devolution; the next biennial Parliament but one after such devolution shall have power to make any one Landgrave or Cassique in the room of him, who dying without Heirs, his Dignity and Baronies devolved.

XIII.

No one person shall have more than one Dignity, with the Signiories or Baronies thereunto belonging. But whensoever it shall happen, that any one, who is already Proprietor, Landgrave, or Cassique, shall have any of these Dignities descend to him by inheritance; it shall be at his choice to keep which of the Dignities, with the lands annexed, he shall like best; but shall leave the other, with the lands annexed, to be enjoyed by him, who not being his Heir apparent, and certain Successor to his present Dignity, is next of blood.

XIV.

Whosoever by right of inheritance shall come to be Landgrave or Cassique, shall take the Name and Arms of his Predecessor in that Dignity, to be from thenceforth the Name and Arms of his Family and their Posterity.

XV.

Since the Dignity of Proprietor, Landgrave, or Cassique, cannot be divided, and the Signiories or Baronies thereunto annexed must for ever all intirely descend with, and accompany that Dignity; whensoever for want of Heirs male it shall descend on the Issue female, the eldest Daughter and her Heirs shall be preferred, and in the inheritance of those Dignities, and in the Signiories or Baronies annexed, there shall be no Coheirs.

XVI.

In every Signiory, Barony, and Mannor, the respective Lord shall have power in his own name to hold *Court-Leet* there, for trying of all Causes both civil and criminal; but where it shall concern any person being no Inhabitant, Vassal, or Leet-man of the said Signiory, Barony, or Mannor, he, upon paying down of forty Shillings to the Lords Proprietors use, shall have an Appeal from the Signiory or Barony-Court to the County-Court, and from the Mannor-Court to the Precinct-Court.

XVII.

Every Mannor shall consist of not less than three thousand Acres, and not above twelve thousand Acres in one entire Piece and Colony; but any three thousand

thousand Acres or more in one Piece, and the Possession of one man, shall not be a Mannor, unless it be constituted a Mannor by the Grant of the Palatine's Court.

XVIII.

The Lords of Signiories and Baronies shall have power only of granting Estates not exceeding three Lives, or thirty one Years, in two thirds of the said Signiories or Baronies, and the remaining third shall be always *Demesne*.

XIX.

Any Lord of a Mannor may alienate, sell, or dispose to any other Person and his Heirs for ever, his Mannor, all entirely together, with all the Privileges and Leet-men thereunto belonging, so far forth as any Colony Lands; but no Grant of any part thereof, either in Fee, or for any longer Term than three Lives, or one and twenty Years, shall be good against the next Heir.

XX.

No Mannor, for want of Issue male, shall be divided amongst Coheirs; but the Mannor, if there be but one, shall all entirely descend to the eldest Daughter and her Heirs. If there be more Mannors than one, the eldest Daughter first shall have her choice, the second next, and so on, beginning again at the eldest, till all the Mannors be taken up; that so the Privileges, which belong to Mannors being indivisible, the Lands of the Mannors, to which they are annexed, may be kept entire, and the Mannor not lose those Privileges, which, upon parcelling out to several Owners, must necessarily cease.

XXI.

Every Lord of a Mannor, within his Mannor, shall have all the Powers, Jurisdictions, and Privileges, which a Landgrave or Cassique hath in his Baronies.

XXII.

In every Signiory, Barony, and Mannor, all the Leet-men shall be under the Jurisdiction of the respective Lords of the said Signiory, Barony, or Mannor, without Appeal from him. Nor shall any Leet-man, or Leet-woman, have liberty to go off from the Land of their particular Lord, and live any where else, without licence obtained from their said Lord, under Hand and Seal.

XXIII.

All the Children of Leet-men shall be Leet-men, and so to all Generations.

XXIV.

No Man shall be capable of having a Court-Leet, or Leet-Men, but a Proprietor, Landgrave, Cassique, or Lord of a Mannor.

XXV.

Whoever shall voluntarily enter himself a Leet-man, in the Registry of the County-Court, shall be a Leet-man.

XXVI.

Whoever is Lord of Leet-men, shall upon the Marriage of a Leet-man, or Leet-woman of his, give them ten Acres of land for their Lives; they paying to him therefore not more than one eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the said ten Acres.

XXVII.

No Landgrave or Cassique shall be tried for any criminal Cause, in any but the *Chief Justice's* Court, and that by a Jury of his *Peers*.

XXVIII.

There shall be eight *supreme Courts*. The first called *The Palatine's Court*, consisting of the Palatine, and the other seven Proprietors. The other seven Courts of the other seven great Officers, shall consist each of them of a Proprietor,

prietor, and fix Councillors added to him. Under each of these latter seven Courts, shall be a College of twelve *Assistants*. The twelve Assistants of the several Colleges shall be chosen, two out of the Landgraves, Cassiques, or eldest Sons of Proprietors, by the Palatine's Court; two out of the Landgraves, by the *Landgraves Chamber*; two out of the Cassiques, by the *Cassiques Chamber*; four more of the twelve shall be chosen by the *Commons Chamber*, out of such as have been, or are *Members of Parliament*, *Sheriffs*, or *Justices of the County Court*, or the younger Sons of Proprietors, or eldest Sons of Landgraves or Cassiques; the two other shall be chosen by the Palatine's Court, out of the same sort of Persons, out of which the Commons Chamber is to chuse.

XXIX.

Out of these Colleges shall be chosen at first by the Palatine's Court, fix *Councillors*, to be joined with each Proprietor in his Court; of which fix; one shall be of those, who were chosen into any of the Colleges by the Palatine's Court, out of the Landgraves, Cassiques, or eldest Sons of Proprietors; one out of those who were chosen by the Landgraves Chamber; and one out of those, who were chosen by the Cassiques Chamber; two out of those, who were chosen by the Commons Chamber; and one out of those, who were chosen by the Palatine's Court, out of the Proprietors younger Sons, or eldest Sons of Landgraves, Cassiques, or Commons, qualified as aforesaid.

XXX.

When it shall happen that any Councillor dies, and thereby there is a Vacancy, the *Grand Council* shall have power to remove any Councillor that is willing to be removed out of any of the Proprietors Courts to fill up the Vacancy; provided they take a Man of the same Degree and Choice the other was of, whose vacant place is to be filled up. But if no Councillor consent to be removed, or upon such Remove; the last remaining vacant place, in any of the Proprietor's Courts, shall be filled up by the choice of the Grand Council, who shall have power to remove out of any of the Colleges, any Assistant, who is of the same Degree and Choice that Counsellor was of, into whose vacant place he is to succeed. The Grand Council also shall have power to remove any Assistant, that is willing, out of one College into another, provided he be of the same Degree and Choice. But the last remaining vacant place in any College, shall be filled up by the same Choice, and out of the same Degree of Persons the Assistant was of, who is dead or removed. No place shall be vacant in any Proprietor's Court above six Months. No Place shall be vacant in any College longer than the next Session of Parliament.

XXXI.

No Man, being a Member of the Grand Council, or of any of the seven Colleges, shall be turned out, but for Misdemeanor, of which the Grand Council shall be Judge; and the Vacancy of the Person so put out shall be filled, not by the Election of the Grand Council, but by those, who first chose him, and out of the same Degree he was of, who is expelled. But it is not hereby to be understood, that the Grand Council hath any power to turn out any one of the Lords Proprietors or their Deputies, the Lords Proprietors having in themselves an inherent original Right.

XXXII.

All *Elections* in the Parliament, in the several Chambers of the Parliament, and in the Grand Council, shall be passed by *Baloting*.

XXXIII.

The *Palatine's Court* shall consist of the Palatine, and seven Proprietors, wherein nothing shall be acted without the Presence and Consent of the Palatine or his Deputy, and three others of the Proprietors or their Deputies. This

Court shall have Power to call Parliaments, to pardon all Offences, to make Elections of all *Officers* in the Proprietor's dispose, and to nominate and appoint *Port Towns*; and also shall have power by their order to the Treasurer to dispose of all publick Treasure, excepting Money granted by the Parliament, and by them directed to some particular publick use; and also shall have a Negative upon all Acts, Orders, Votes and Judgments, of the grand Council and the Parliament, except only as in §. VI. and XII; and shall have all the powers granted to the Lords Proprietors, by their Patent from OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING, except in such things as are limited by these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

XXXIV.

The Palatine himself, when he in person shall be either in the Army, or in any of the Proprietors Courts, shall then have the power of General, or of that Proprietor, in whose Court he is then present; and the Proprietor, in whose Court the Palatine then presides, shall during his presence there be but as one of the Council.

XXXV.

The *Chancellor's Court*, consisting of one of the Proprietors, and his six Councillors, who shall be called *Vice-Chancellors*, shall have the custody of the Seal of the Palatinate, under which all Charters of Lands or otherwise, Commissions and Grants of the Palatine's Court, shall pass. And it shall not be lawful to put the Seal of the Palatinate to any Writing, which is not signed by the Palatine or his Deputy, and three other Proprietors or their Deputies. To this Court also belongs all State Matters, Dispatches, and Treaties with the neighbour *Indians*. To this Court also belong all Invasions of the Law, of liberty of Conscience, and all disturbances of the publick Peace, upon pretence of Religion, as also the license of Printing. The twelve Assistants belonging to this Court shall be called *Recorders*.

XXXVI.

Whatever passes under the Seal of the Palatinate, shall be register'd in that Proprietor's Court, to which the matter therein contained belongs.

XXXVII.

The Chancellor or his Deputy, shall be always *Speaker* in Parliament, and *President* of the grand Council, and in his and his Deputy's absence, one of his Vice-Chancellors.

XXXVIII.

The *Chief Justice's Court*, consisting of one of the Proprietors and his six Councillors, who shall be called *Justices of the Bench*, shall judge all appeals in Cases both civil and criminal, except all such Cases as shall be under the Jurisdiction and Cognizance of any other of the Proprietors Courts, which shall be tried in those Courts respectively. The government and regulation of the *Registries* of Writings and Contracts, shall belong to the Jurisdiction of this Court. The twelve Assistants of this Court shall be called *Masters*.

XXXIX.

The *Constable's Court*, consisting of one of the Proprietors and his six Councillors, who shall be called *Marshals*, shall order and determine of all Military Affairs by Land, and all Land-Forces, Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, Garrisons and Forts, &c. and whatever belongs unto War. His twelve Assistants shall be called *Lieutenant-Generals*.

XL.

In time of actual War, the *Constable*, whilst he is in the Army, shall be *General* of the Army, and the six Councillors, or such of them as the Palatine's Court shall for that time or service appoint, shall be the immediate great Officers under him, and the Lieutenant-Generals next to them.

XLI.

The *Admiral's Court*, consisting of one of the Proprietors, and his six Councillors, called *Consuls*, shall have the care and inspection over all Ports, Moles, and navigable Rivers, so far as the Tide flows, and also all the publick Shipping of CAROLINA, and Stores thereunto belonging, and all maritime Affairs. This Court also shall have the power of the *Court of Admiralty*; and shall have power to constitute Judges in Port-Towns, to try Cases belonging to Law-Merchant, as shall be most convenient for Trade. The twelve Assistants, belonging to this Court, shall be called *Proconsuls*.

XLII.

In time of actual War, the *Admiral*, whilst he is at Sea, shall command in chief, and his six Councillors, or such of them as the Palatine's Court shall for that time and service appoint, shall be the immediate great Officers under him, and the Pro-consuls next to them.

XLIII.

The *Treasurer's Court*, consisting of a Proprietor and his six Councillors, called *Under-Treasurers*, shall take care of all matters that concern the publick Revenue and Treasury. The twelve Assistants shall be called *Auditors*.

XLIV.

The *High Steward's Court*, consisting of a Proprietor and his six Councillors, called *Comptrollers*, shall have the care of all foreign and domestick Trade, Manufactures, publick Buildings, Work-houses, Highways, Passages by Water above the flood of the Tide, Drains, Sewers and Banks against Inundations, Bridges, Post, Carriers, Fairs, Markets, corruption or infection of the common Air or Water, and all things in order to the publick Commerce and Health; also setting out and surveying of Lands; and also setting out and appointing places for Towns to be built on in the Precincts, and the prescribing and determining the figure and bigness of the said Towns, according to such Models as the said Court shall order; contrary or differing from which models it shall not be lawful for any one to build in any Town. This Court shall have power also to make any publick Building, or any new Highway, or enlarge any old Highway, upon any Man's Land whatsoever; as also to make Cuts, Channels, Banks, Locks, and Bridges, for making Rivers navigable, or for draining Fens, or any other publick use. The damage the owner of such Lands (on or through which any such publick things shall be made) shall receive thereby, shall be valued, and satisfaction made by such ways as the grand Council shall appoint. The twelve Assistants, belonging to this Court, shall be called *Surveyors*.

XLV.

The *Chamberlain's Court*, consisting of a Proprietor and his six Councillors, called *Vice-Chamberlains*, shall have the care of all Ceremonies, Precedency, Heraldry, Reception of publick Messengers, Pedigrees, the Registry of all Births, Burials, and Marriages, Legitimation, and all Cases concerning Matrimony, or arising from it; and shall also have power to regulate all Fashions, Habits, Badges, Games and Sports. To this Court also it shall belong to convocate the grand Council. The twelve Assistants belonging to this Court, shall be called *Provosts*.

XLVI.

All Causes belonging to, or under the jurisdiction of any of the Proprietors Courts, shall in them respectively be tried, and ultimately determined without any farther Appeal.

XLVII.

The Proprietor's Courts shall have a power to mitigate all Fines, and suspend all Executions in criminal Causes, either before or after Sentence, in any of the other inferior Courts respectively.

XLVIII.

XLVIII.

In all Debates, Hearings, or Trials, in any of the Proprietor's Courts, the twelve Assistants belonging to the said Courts respectively, shall have liberty to be present, but shall not interpose, unless their Opinions be required, nor have any Vote at all; but their business shall be, by the direction of the respective Courts, to prepare such business as shall be committed to them; as also to bear such Offices, and dispatch such Affairs, either where the Court is kept, or elsewhere, as the Court shall think fit.

XLIX.

In all the Proprietors Courts, the Proprietor, and any three of his Councillors, shall make a *Quorum*; provided always, that for the better dispatch of business, it shall be in the power of the Palatine's Court, to direct what sort of Causes shall be heard and determined by a *Quorum* of any three.

L.

The grand Council shall consist of the Palatine and seven Proprietors, and the forty two Councillors of the several Proprietors Courts, who shall have power to determine any Controversies that may arise between any of the Proprietors Courts, about their respective Jurisdictions, or between the Members of the same Court, about their manner and methods of proceeding; to make Peace and War, Leagues, Treaties, &c. with any of the neighbour Indians; to issue out their general orders to the Constable's and Admiral's Courts, for the raising, disposing, or disbanding the Forces, by Land or by Sea.

LI.

The grand Council shall prepare all matters to be proposed in Parliament. Nor shall any matter whatsoever be proposed in Parliament, but what hath first passed the grand Council; which after having been read three several Days in the Parliament, shall by majority of Votes be passed or rejected.

LII.

The grand Council shall always be Judges of all Causes and Appeals that concern the Palatine, or any of the Lords Proprietors, or any Councillor of any Proprietor's Court, in any Cause, which otherwise should have been tried in the Court, in which the said Councillor is Judge himself.

LIII.

The grand Council, by their Warrants to the Treasurer's Court, shall dispose of all the Money given by the Parliament, and by them directed to any particular publick use.

LIV.

The *Quorum* of the grand Council shall be thirteen, whereof a Proprietor or his Deputy shall be always one.

LV.

The grand Council shall meet the first *Tuesday* in every month, and as much oftner as either they shall think fit, or they shall be convoked by the Chamberlain's Court.

LVI.

The Palatine, or any of the Lords Proprietors, shall have power under Hand and Seal, to be register'd in the grand Council, to make a Deputy, who shall have the same power to all intents and purposes as he himself, who deputes him; except in confirming acts of Parliament, as in §. lxxvi, and except also in nominating and chusing Landgraves and Cassiques, as in §. x. All such Deputations shall cease and determine at the end of four Years, and at any time shall be revocable at the pleasure of the *Deputator*.

LVII.

LVII.

No Deputy of any Proprietor shall have any power, whilst the Deputator is in any part of CAROLINA, except the Proprietor, whose Deputy he is, be a *Minor*.

LVIII.

During the Minority of any Proprietor, his Guardian shall have power to constitute and appoint his Deputy.

LIX.

The eldest of the Lords Proprietors, who shall be personally in CAROLINA, shall of course be the Palatine's Deputy; and if no Proprietor be in CAROLINA, he shall chuse his Deputy out of the Heirs apparent of any of the Proprietors, if any such be there; and if there be no Heir apparent of any of the Lords Proprietors above one and twenty years old in CAROLINA, then he shall chuse for Deputy any one of the Landgraves of the grand Council; and till he have by Deputation under Hand and Seal chosen any one of the forementioned Heirs apparent or Landgraves to be his Deputy, the eldest Man of the Landgraves, and for want of a Landgrave, the eldest Man of the Cassiques, who shall be personally in CAROLINA, shall of course be his Deputy.

LX.

Each Proprietor's Deputy shall be always one of his own fix Councillors respectively; and in case any of the Proprietors hath not in his absence out of CAROLINA, a Deputy, commissioned under his Hand and Seal, the eldest Nobleman of his Court shall of course be his Deputy.

LXI.

In every County there shall be a Court, consisting of a *Sheriff* and four *Justices* of the County, for every Precinct one. The Sheriff shall be an Inhabitant of the County, and have at least five hundred Acres of Freehold within the said County; and the Justices shall be Inhabitants, and have each of them five hundred Acres a-piece Freehold within the Precinct, for which they serve respectively. These five shall be chosen and commissioned from time to time by the Palatine's Court.

LXII.

For any personal Causes exceeding the value of two hundred Pounds Sterling, or in Title of Land, or in any criminal Cause; either party, upon paying twenty Pounds Sterling to the Lords Proprietors use, shall have liberty of Appeal from the County-Court unto the respective Proprietor's Court.

LXIII.

In every Precinct there shall be a Court consisting of a Steward and four Justices of the Precinct, being Inhabitants, and having three hundred Acres of Freehold within the said Precinct, who shall judge all criminal Causes; except for Treason, Murther, and any other Offences punishable with Death, and except all criminal Causes of the Nobility; and shall judge also all civil Causes whatsoever; and in all personal Actions, not exceeding fifty Pounds Sterling, without Appeal; but where the Cause shall exceed that value, or concern a Title of Land, and in all criminal Causes; there either party, upon paying five Pounds Sterling to the Lords Proprietors use, shall have liberty of Appeal to the County-Court.

LXIV.

No Cause shall be twice tried in any one Court, upon any reason or pretence whatsoever.

LXV.

For Treason, Murther, and all other Offences punishable with Death, there shall be a Commission, twice a Year at least, granted unto one, or more Members of the Grand Council or Colleges, who shall come as itinerant Judges to the several Counties, and with the Sheriff and four Justices shall hold

Affizes to judge all such Causes; but, upon paying of fifty Pounds Sterling to the Lords Proprietors use, there shall be liberty of Appeal to the respective Proprietor's Court.

LXVI.

The *Grand Jury* at the several *Affizes*, shall upon their Oaths, and under their Hands and Seals, deliver in to the itinerant Judges a Presentment of such Grievances, Misdemeanors, Exigences, or Defects, which they think necessary for the publick good of the County; which Presentments shall by the itinerant Judges, at the end of their Circuit, be deliver'd in to the Grand Council at their next sitting. And whatsoever therein concerns the execution of Laws already made; the several Proprietors Courts, in the matters belonging to each of them respectively, shall take cognizance of it, and give such order about it, as shall be effectual for the due execution of the Laws. But whatever concerns the making of any new Law, shall be referred to the several respective Courts, to which that matter belongs, and be by them prepared and brought to the Grand Council,

LXVII.

For *Terms*, there shall be Quarterly such a certain number of Days, not exceeding one and twenty at any one time, as the several respective Courts shall appoint. The time for the beginning of the Term, in the Precinct-Court, shall be the first *Monday* in *January*, *April*, *July*, and *October*; in the County-Court, the first *Monday* in *February*, *May*, *August*, and *November*; and in the Proprietors Courts, the first *Monday* in *March*, *June*, *September*, and *December*.

LXVIII.

In the Precinct-Court no man shall be a *Jury-man* under fifty Acres of Freehold. In the County-Court, or at the *Affizes*, no man shall be a *Grand Jury-man* under three hundred Acres of Freehold; and no man shall be a *Petty Jury-man* under two hundred Acres of Freehold. In the Proprietors Courts no man shall be a *Jury-man* under five hundred Acres of Freehold.

LXIX.

Every *Jury* shall consist of twelve Men; and it shall not be necessary they should all agree, but the Verdict shall be according to the consent of the Majority.

LXX.

It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for Money or Reward; nor shall any one (except he be a near kinsman, not farther off than cousin-german to the party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cause, 'till before the Judge in open Court he hath taken an Oath, that he doth not plead for Money or Reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargained with the party, whose cause he is going to plead, for Money or any other reward for pleading his cause.

LXXI.

There shall be a *Parliament*, consisting of the Proprietors or their Deputies, the Landgraves and Cassiques, and one Freeholder out of every Precinct, to be chosen by the Freeholders of the said Precinct respectively. They shall sit all together in one Room, and have every Member one Vote.

LXXII.

No Man shall be chosen a Member of Parliament, who hath less than five hundred Acres of Freehold within the Precinct, for which he is chosen; nor shall any have a Vote in chusing the said Member that hath less than fifty Acres of Freehold within the said Precinct.

LXXIII.

A new Parliament shall be assembled the first *Monday* of the month of *November* every second year, and shall meet and sit in the Town they last sat in, without

without any Summons, unless by the Palatine's Court they be summoned to meet at any other place. And if there shall be any occasion of a Parliament in these intervals, it shall be in the power of the Palatine's Court to assemble them in forty days notice, and at such time and place as the said Court shall think fit; and the Palatine's Court shall have power to dissolve the said Parliament when they shall think fit.

LXXIV.

At the opening of every Parliament, the first thing, that shall be done, shall be the reading of these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, which the Palatine and Proprietors, and the rest of the Members then present, shall subscribe. Nor shall any Person whatsoever sit or vote in the Parliament, 'till he hath that Session subscribed these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, in a Book kept for that purpose by the Clerk of the Parliament.

LXXV.

In order to the due Election of Members for the *biennial Parliament*, it shall be lawful for the Freeholders of the respective Precincts to meet the first *Tuesday* in *September* every two Years, in the same Town or Place that they last met in to chuse Parliament-men; and there chuse those Members that are to sit the next *November* following, unless the Steward of the Precinct shall, by sufficient notice thirty days before, appoint some other place for their meeting, in order to the Election.

LXXVI.

No Act or Order of Parliament shall be of any force, unless it be ratified in open Parliament during the same Session, by the Palatine or his Deputy, and three more of the Lords Proprietors, or their Deputies; and then not to continue longer in force but until the next biennial Parliament, unless in the mean time it be ratified under the Hands and Seals of the Palatine himself, and three more of the Lords Proprietors themselves, and by their order publish'd at the next biennial Parliament.

LXXVII.

Any Proprietor or his Deputy may enter his *Protestation* against any Act of the Parliament, before the Palatine or his Deputy's consent be given as aforesaid; if he shall conceive the said Act to be contrary to this Establishment, or any of these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS of the Government. And in such case after full and free Debate, the several Estates shall retire into four several Chambers; the Palatine and Proprietors into one; the Landgraves into another; the Cassiques into another; and those chosen by the Precincts into a fourth; and if the major part of any of the four Estates shall vote that the Law is not agreeable to this Establishment, and these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS of the Government, then it shall pass no farther, but be as if it had never been proposed.

LXXVIII.

The Quorum of the Parliament shall be one half of those, who are Members, and capable of sitting in the House that present Session of Parliament. The Quorum of each of the Chambers of Parliament shall be one half of the Members of that Chamber.

LXXIX.

To avoid multiplicity of Laws, which by degrees always change the right Foundations of the original Government, all Acts of Parliament whatsoever, in whatsoever Form passed or enacted, shall, at the end of an hundred years after their enacting, respectively cease and determine of themselves, and without any *Repeal* become null and void, as if no such Acts of Laws had ever been made.

LXXX.

LXXX.

Since multiplicity of Comments, as well as of Laws, have great inconveniences, and serve only to obscure and perplex; all manner of Comments and Expositions on any part of these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, or any part of the common or statute Law of CAROLINA, are absolutely prohibited.

LXXXI.

There shall be a *Registry* in every Precinct, wherein shall be enrolled all Deeds, Leases, Judgments, Mortgages, and other Conveyances, which may concern any of the Land within the said Precinct; and all such Conveyances not so enter'd or register'd, shall not be of force against any person nor party to the said Contract or Conveyance.

LXXXII.

No Man shall be Register of any Precinct, who hath not at least three hundred Acres of Freehold within the said Precinct.

LXXXIII.

The Freeholders of every Precinct shall nominate three Men; out of which three, the Chief Justice's Court shall chuse and commission one to be Register of the said Precinct, whilst he shall well behave himself.

LXXXIV.

There shall be a *Registry* in every Signiory, Barony, and Colony, wherein shall be recorded all the Births, Marriages, and Deaths, that shall happen within the respective Signiories, Baronies, and Colonies.

LXXXV.

No Man shall be Register of a Colony, that hath not above fifty Acres of Freehold within the said Colony.

LXXXVI.

The time of every one's Age, that is born in CAROLINA, shall be reckoned from the day that his Birth is entred in the Registry, and not before.

LXXXVII.

No Marriage shall be lawful, whatever Contract and Ceremony they have used, till both the Parties mutually own it before the Register of the place where they were married, and he register it, with the names of the Father and Mother of each Party.

LXXXVIII.

No Man shall administer to the Goods, or have right to them, or enter upon the Estate of any Person deceased, till his Death be register'd in the respective Registry.

LXXXIX.

He, that doth not enter in the respective Registry the Birth or Death of any Person that is born or dies in his House or Ground, shall pay to the said Register one shilling *per* Week for each such Neglect, reckoning from the time of each Birth or Death respectively, to the time of registering it.

XC.

In like manner the Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the Lords Proprietors, Landgraves, and Cassiques, shall be register'd in the Chamberlain's Court.

XCI.

There shall be in every Colony one *Constable*, to be chosen annually by the Freeholders of the Colony; his Estate shall be above a hundred Acres of Freehold within the said Colony, and such subordinate Officers appointed for his Assistance, as the County-Court shall find requisite, and shall be established by the said County-Court. The Election of the subordinate annual Officers shall be also in the Freeholders of the Colony.

XCII.

XCII.

All Towns incorporate shall be governed by a *Mayor*, twelve *Aldermen*, and twenty four of the *Common-Council*. The said Common-Council shall be chosen by the present Housholders of the said Town; the Aldermen shall be chosen out of the Common-Council; and the Mayor out of the Aldermen, by the Palatine's Court.

XCIII.

It being of great consequence to the plantation, that *Port-Towns* should be built and preserved; therefore whosoever shall lade or unlade any Commodity at any other place but a Port-Town, shall forfeit to the Lords Proprietors, for each Tun so laden or unladen, the sum of ten Pounds sterling; except only such Goods as the Palatine's Court shall license to be laden or unladen elsewhere.

XCIV.

The first Port-Town upon every River, shall be in a Colony, and be a Port-Town for ever.

XCV.

No Man shall be permitted to be a Freeman of CAROLINA, or to have any Estate or Habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD; and that God is publickly and solemnly to be worshipped.

XCVI.

[As the Country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit Divisions, it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of *Churches*, and the publick Maintenance of *Divines*, to be employed in the exercise of *Religion*, according to the *Church of England*; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national Religion of all the King's Dominions, is so also of CAROLINA; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive publick Maintenance, by Grant of Parliament*].

XCVII.

But since the Natives of that place, who will be concerned in our Plantation, are utterly strangers to *Christianity*, whose Idolatry, Ignorance, or Mistake, gives us no right to expel, or use them ill; and those who remove from other Parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different Opinions concerning matters of Religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil Peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of Opinions, and our Agreement and Compact with all Men may be duly and faithfully observed; the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true Religion, which we profess; and also that *Jews*, *Heathens*, and other *Dissenters* from the purity of Christian Religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its Doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its Professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the Truth; therefore any seven, or more Persons agreeing in any Religion, shall constitute a *Church* or *Profession*, to which they shall give some Name, to distinguish it from others.

* This Article was not drawn up by Mr. LOCKE; but inserted by some of the chief of the Proprietors, against his Judgment; as Mr. LOCKE himself informed one of his Friends, to whom he presented a Copy of these *Constitutions*.

XCVIII.

The *Terms of Admittance* and *Communion* with any Church or Profession, shall be written in a Book, and therein be subscribed by all the Members of the said Church or Profession; which Book shall be kept by the publick Register of the Precinct where they reside.

XCIX.

The time of every one's Subscription and Admittance shall be dated in the said Book or *religious Record*.

C.

In the Terms of Communion of every Church or Profession, these following shall be three; without which no Agreement or Assembly of Men, upon pretence of Religion, shall be accounted a Church or Profession within these Rules:

1. *That there is a G O D.*
2. *That G O D is publickly to be worshipped.*
3. *That it is lawful, and the duty of every Man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear Witness to Truth; and that every Church or Profession shall in their Terms of Communion set down the external way whereby they witness a Truth as in the presence of G O D, whether it be by laying hands on, or kissing the Bible, as in the Church of England, or by holding up the Hand, or any other sensible way.*

CI.

No Person above seventeen years of age, shall have any benefit or protection of the Law, or be capable of any Place of Profit or Honour, who is not a Member of some Church or Profession, having his Name recorded in some one, and but one religious record at once.

CII.

No Person of any other Church or Profession shall disturb or molest any religious Assembly.

CIII.

No Person whatsoever shall speak any thing in their religious Assembly, irreverently or seditiously of the Government or Governors, or State-Matters.

CIV.

Any Person subscribing the Terms of Communion in the Record of the said Church or Profession, before the Precinct Register, and any five Members of the said Church or Profession; shall be thereby made a Member of the said Church or Profession.

CV.

Any Person striking out his own Name out of any religious Record, or his Name being struck out by any Office thereunto authorized by each Church or Profession respectively, shall cease to be a Member of that Church or Profession.

CVI.

No Man shall use any reproachful, reviling, or abusive Language, against the Religion of any Church or Profession; that being the certain way of disturbing the Peace, and of hindring the Conversion of any to the Truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animosities, to the hatred of the Professors and that Profession, which otherwise they might be brought to assent to.

CVII.

Since Charity obliges us to wish well to the Souls of all Men, and Religion ought to alter nothing in any Man's civil Estate or Right, it shall be lawful for Slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what Church or Profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully Members as any Freeman.

Freeman. But yet no Slave shall hereby be exempted from that *civil Dominion* his Master hath over him, but be in all other things in the same State and Condition he was in before.

CVIII.

Assemblies, upon what pretence soever of Religion, not observing and performing the abovesaid Rules, shall not be esteemed as Churches, but unlawful Meetings, and be punished as other Riots.

CIX.

No Person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative Opinions in Religion, or his way of Worship.

CX.

Every Freeman of CAROLINA shall have absolute power and authority over his *Negro Slaves*, of what Opinion or Religion soever.

CXI.

No Cause, whether civil or criminal, of any Freeman, shall be tried in any Court of Judicature, without a *Jury* of his Peers.

CXII.

No Person whatsoever shall hold or claim any Land in CAROLINA by Purchase or Gift, or otherwise, from the Natives or any other whatsoever; but merely from and under the Lords Proprietors; upon pain of forfeiture of all his Estate, moveable or immoveable, and perpetual banishment.

CXIII.

Whosoever shall possess any Freehold in CAROLINA, upon what Title or Grant soever, shall at the farthest from and after the year one thousand six hundred eighty nine, pay yearly unto the Lords Proprietors for each Acre of Land, English Measure, as much fine Silver as is at this present in one English Penny, or the value thereof to be as a chief Rent and Acknowledgment to the Lords Proprietors, their Heirs and Successors for ever. And it shall be lawful for the Palatine's Court by their Officers at any time, to take a new Survey of any man's Land, not to out him of any part of his Possession, but that by such a Survey the just number of Acres he possesseth may be known, and the Rent thereupon due may be paid by him.

CXIV.

All Wrecks, Mines, Minerals, Quarries of Gemms, and precious Stones, with Pearl-fishing, Whale-fishing, and one half of all Amber-greece, by whomsoever found, shall wholly belong to the Lords Proprietors.

CXV.

All Revenues and Profits belonging to the Lords Proprietors, in common, shall be divided into ten parts, whereof the Palatine shall have three, and each Proprietor one; but if the Palatine shall govern by a Deputy, his Deputy shall have one of those three tenths, and the Palatine the other two tenths.

CXVI.

All Inhabitants and Freemen of CAROLINA above seventeen years of age, and under sixty, shall be bound to bear Arms, and serve as Soldiers whenever the grand Council shall find it necessary.

CXVII.

A true Copy of these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS shall be kept in a great Book by the Register of every Precinct, to be subscribed before the said Register. Nor shall any person of what Condition or Degree soever above seventeen years old, have any Estate or Possession in CAROLINA, or protection or benefit of the Law there, who hath not before a Precinct Register subscribed these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS in this Form:

I A. B. do promise to bear Faith and true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES the Second, his Heirs and Successors; and will be true
and

and faithful to the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of CAROLINA, their Heirs and Successors; and with my utmost power will defend them, and maintain the Government according to this Establishment in these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

CXVIII.

Whatsoever *Alien* shall, in this form, before any Precinct Register subscribe these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS shall be thereby *naturalized*.

CXIX.

In the same manner shall every Person, at his admittance into any Office, subscribe these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

CXX.

These FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable Form and Rule of Government of CAROLINA for ever. Witness our Hands and Seals, the first day of *March*, 1669.

RULES of PRECEDENCY.

I.

THE Lords Proprietors; the eldest in Age first, and so in order.

II.

The eldest Sons of the Lords Proprietors; the eldest in Age first, and so in order.

III.

The Landgraves of the Grand Council; he that hath been longest of the Grand Council first, and so in order.

IV.

The Cassiques of the Grand Council; he that hath been longest of the Grand Council first, and so in order.

V.

The seven Commoners of the Grand Council that have been longest of the Grand Council; he that hath been longest of the Grand Council first, and so in order.

VI.

The younger Sons of Proprietors; the eldest first, and so in order.

VII.

The Landgraves; the eldest in Age first, and so in order.

VIII.

The seven Commoners, who next to those before-mentioned have been longest of the Grand Council; he that hath been longest of the Grand Council first, and so in order.

IX.

The Cassiques; the eldest in Age first, and so in order.

C.

The seven remaining Commoners of the Grand Council; he that hath been longest of the Grand Council first, and so in order.

CI.

The male Line of the Proprietors.

The rest shall be determined by the Chamberlain's Court.

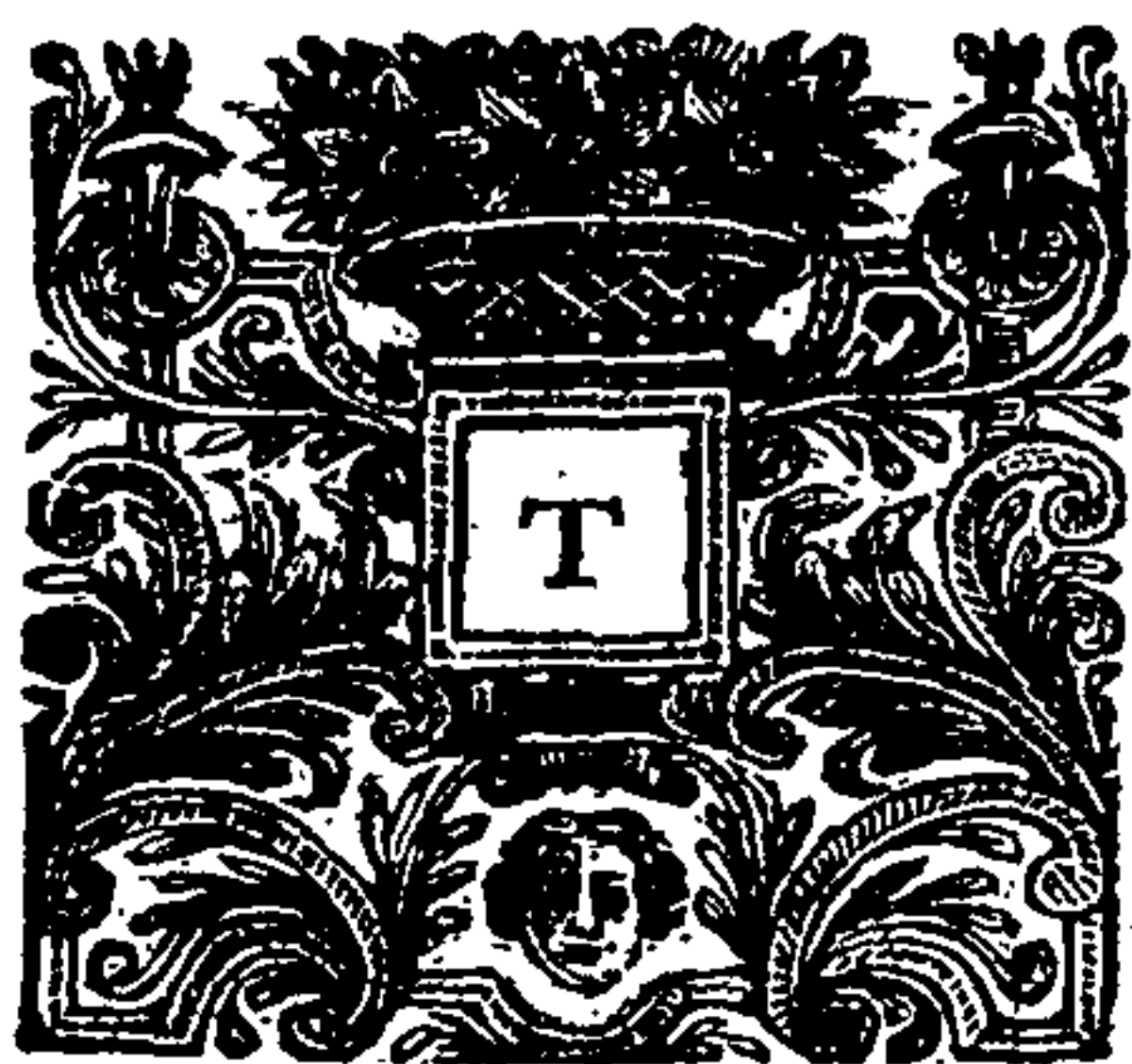
A
L E T T E R
FROM A
PERSON of QUALITY,
TO HIS
FRIEND in the COUNTRY.
GIVING

An Account of the Debates and Resolutions of the House of LORDS, in
April and May, 1675, concerning a Bill, entitled, *An Act to prevent the
Dangers, which may arise from Persons disaffected to the Government.*



A LETTER from a PERSON of QUALITY, to his FRIEND in the COUNTRY.

S I R,



HIS Session being ended, and the Bill of Test being finished at the Committee of the whole House; I can now give you a perfect account of this State Master-Piece. It was first hatch'd (as almost all the Mischiefs of the World have hitherto been) amongst the great Church Men; and is a Project of several years standing, but found not Ministers bold enough to go thro' with it, until these new ones, who wanting a better bottom to support them, betook themselves wholly to this; which is no small undertaking, if you consider it in its whole extent.

First, To make a distinct Party from the rest of the Nation of the High Episcopal Man; and the old Cavalier; who are to swallow the hopes of enjoying all the Power and Office of the Kingdom; being also tempted by the advantage they may receive from overthrowing the Act of Oblivion; and not a little rejoicing to think, how valiant they should prove, if they could get any to fight the old Quarrel over again; now they are possess'd of the Arms, Forts, and Ammunition of the Nation.

Next they design to have the Government of the Church sworn to as unalterable; and so tacitely owned to be of divine Right; which tho' inconsistent with the Oath of Supremacy; yet the Churchmen easily break through all obligations whatsoever, to attain this station; the advantage of which, the Prelate of Rome hath sufficiently taught the World.

Then in requital to the Crown, they declare the Government absolute and arbitrary; and allow Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, to be *jure divino*, and not to be bounded or limited by human Laws.

And to secure all this, they resolve to take away the power and opportunity of Parliaments, to alter any thing in Church or State; only leave them as an Instrument to raise money, and to pass such Laws, as the Court and Church shall have a mind to; the attempt of any other, how necessary soever, must be no less a crime than Perjury.

And, as the top-stone of the whole fabrick, a pretence shall be taken from the jealousies they themselves have raised, and a real necessity from the smallness of their Party, to encrease and keep up a standing Army; and then in due time the Cavalier and Churchman will be made greater Fools, but as errant Slaves as the rest of the Nation.

In order to this, the first step was made in the *Act for regulating Corporations*, wisely beginning that, in those lesser Governments, which they meant
after-

afterwards to introduce upon the Government of the Nation; and making them swear to a Declaration and Belief of such Propositions as they themselves afterwards, upon debate, were enforced to alter, and could not justify in those words*; so that many of the wealthiest, worthiest, and soberest Men, are still kept out of the Magistracy of those places.

The next step was in the Act of Militia†, which went for most of the chiefest Nobility and Gentry, being obliged as Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, &c. to swear to the same Declaration and Belief; with the addition only of these words, *in pursuance of such military Commissions*; which makes the matter rather worse than better. Yet this went down smoothly, as an Oath in fashion, a testimony of Loyalty; and none adventuring freely to debate the matter, the humour of the age, like a strong tide, carries wise and good men down before it. This Act is of a piece; for it establisheth a standing Army by a Law, and swears us into a military Government.

Immediately after this, followeth the *Act of Uniformity*, by which all the Clergy of England are obliged to subscribe, and declare what the Corporations, Nobility, and Gentry had before sworn; but with this additional Clause of the Militia Act omitted. This the Clergy readily complied with; for, you know, that sort of Men are taught rather to obey than understand; and to use that Learning they have, to justify, not to examine, what their Superiors command. And yet that *Bartholomew* day was fatal to our Church and Religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox Divines, who could not come up to this, and other things in that Act. And it is, upon this occasion, worth your knowledge; that so great was the zeal in carrying on this Church Affair, and so blind was the obedience required, that if you compute the time of the passing this Act, with the time allowed for the Clergy to subscribe the Book of *Common-Prayer* thereby establish'd; you shall plainly find it could not be printed and distributed so, as one man in forty could have seen and read the Book they did so perfectly assent and consent to‡.

But this matter was not compleat until the *Five-Mile Act* passed at Oxford, wherein they take an opportunity to introduce the Oath in the terms they would have it||. This was then strongly opposed by the Lord Treasurer

* By the *Act for the well governing and regulating of Corporations*, pass'd in the year 1661, all persons bearing any office of Magistracy, place of Trust, or other Employment, relating to the Government of any City, Corporation, Borough, &c. were order'd to take the following Oath:

I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him.

† The *Act for ordering the Forces in the several Counties of this Kingdom*.

‡ By the *Act of Uniformity of publick Prayers, &c.* which received the royal Assent, on the 19th of May, 1662, all Parsons, Vicars, or other Ministers, &c. were order'd to conform to the Church of England, before the Feast of *St. Bartholomew*, or the 20th of August following; upon pain of losing all their Ecclesiastical Preferments, &c. And it is certain, that the *Common-Prayer Book with the Alterations and Amendments*. . . . made by the Convocation, did not come out of the Press till a few Days before the 24th of August. See Dr. CALAMY's *Abridgement of Mr. EAXTER's History of his Life and Times*, ubi supra, p. 201.

|| By that Act, passed in the Parliament held at Oxford the 9th of October, 1665, and entitled: *An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting Corporations*; the Non-Conforming Ministers were prohibited, upon a penalty of forty pounds for every Offence, to come, unless only in passing upon the Road, within five Miles of any City, Corporation, Borough, Town, or Place where they had been Ministers, or had preach'd after the Act of Uniformity; unless they first subscrib'd to the Declarations of the Act of Uniformity, and did take and subscribe the following Oath:

I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State.

SOUTHAMPTON, Lord WHARTON, Lord ASHLEY *, and others; not only in the concern of those poor Ministers that were so severely handled, but as it was in it self a most unlawful, and unjustifiable Oath. However, the zeal of that time against all Non-Conformists easily passed the Act.

This Act was seconded the same Session at Oxford, by another Bill in the House of Commons, to have imposed that Oath on the whole Nation. And the Providence, by which it was thrown out, was very remarkable; for Mr. PEREGRINE BERTIE, being newly chosen, was that morning introduced into the House by his Brother the now Earl of LINDSEY, and Sir THOMAS OSBORN †, now Lord Treasurer, who all three gave their votes against that Bill; and the numbers were so even upon the division, that their three votes carried the Question against it. But we owe that right to the Earl of LINDSEY, and the Lord Treasurer, as to acknowledge that they have since made ample satisfaction for whatever Offence they gave either the Church or Court in that vote.

Thus our Church became triumphant, and continued so for divers years; the *Dissenting Protestant* being the only Enemy, and therefore only persecuted; whilst the *Papists* remained undisturbed, being by the Court thought loyal, and by our great Bishops not dangerous; they differing only in Doctrine, and Fundamentals; but, as to the Government of the Church, that was, in their Religion, in its highest exaltation.

This Dominion continued unto them, until the Lord CLIFFORD, a man of a daring and ambitious spirit, made his way to the chief Ministry of Affairs by other, and far different measures; and took the opportunity of the war with Holland, the King was then engaged in, to propose the *Declaration of Indulgence* ‡, that the Dissenters of all sorts, as well Protestants as Papists, might be at rest, and so a vast number of People, not be made desperate at home, while the King was engaged with so potent an enemy abroad. This was no sooner proposed, but the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, a Man as daring, but more able, (tho' of principles and interest diametrically opposite to the other) presently closed with it; and perhaps the opportunity I have had, by my Conversation with them both; who were men of diversion, and of free and open discourses where they had a confidence; may give you more light into both their designs, and so by consequence the aims of their Parties, than you will have from any other hand.

My Lord CLIFFORD did in express terms tell me one day in private discourse: “ That the King, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what Religion he pleased, and carry the Government to what height he would. For if Men were assured in the Liberty of their Conscience, and undisturbed in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in Westminster-Hall, to judge the causes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if, on the other hand, the Fort of Tilbury was finished to bridle the City; the Fort of Plymouth to secure the West; and Arms for 20000 in each of these; and in Hull, for the Northern parts; with some addition, which might be easily and undiscernably made to the Forces now on foot; there were none that would have either will, opportunity, or power to resist”. But he added withal, “ He was so sincere in the maintenance of Property and Liberty of Conscience, that if he had

* ANTHONY ASHLEY-COOPER, afterwards Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

† Sir THOMAS OSBORN, created afterwards Baron of KIVETON and Viscount LATIMER, in 1673; Earl of DANNY, in 1674; Marquis of CARMARTHEN, in 1689; and Duke of LEEDS, in 1694.

‡ That Declaration bore date, March 17, 1671-2.

“ his will, though he should introduce a Bishop of Durham (which was the
 “ instance he then made, that See being then vacant) of another Religion;
 “ yet he would not disturb any of the Church beside, but suffer them to die
 “ away, and not let his change (how hasty soever he was in it) overthrow
 “ either of those Principles, and therefore desired he might be thought an
 “ honest man as to his part of the Declaration, for he meant it really.

The Lord SHAFTSBURY (with whom I had more freedom) I with great
 assurance ask'd. “ What he meant by the Declaration? for it seem'd to me
 “ (*as I then told him*) that it assumed a power to repeal and suspend all our
 “ Laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and to
 “ tolerate Popery”. He replied, all angry, “ That he wondered at my Objection,
 “ there being not one of these in the case. For the King assumed no power
 “ of repealing Laws, or suspending them, contrary to the will of his Parlia-
 “ ment, or People; and not to argue with me at that time the power of the
 “ King's Supremacy, which was of another nature than that he had in Civils, and
 “ had been exercised without exception in this very case by his Father,
 “ Grandfather, and Queen ELIZABETH, under the Great Seal to foreign
 “ Protestants, become Subjects of England; not to instance in the suspending
 “ the execution of the two Acts of Navigation and Trade, during both this,
 “ and the last Dutch War, in the same words, and upon the same necessity,
 “ and as yet, without clamour that ever we heard; but to pass by all that, this
 “ was certain, a Government could not be supposed, whether Monarchical, or
 “ of any other sort, without a standing supreme, executive power, fully en-
 “ abled to mitigate, or wholly to suspend, the execution of any penal Law,
 “ in the intervals of the Legislative Power; which when assembled, there
 “ was no doubt, but wherever their lies a negative in passing of a Law, there
 “ the address or sense known of either of them to the contrary, (as for
 “ instance of either of our two Houses of Parliament in England) ought to de-
 “ termine that indulgence, and restore the Law to its full execution. For
 “ without this, the Laws were to no purpose made, if the Prince could annul
 “ them at pleasure; and so on the other hand, without a Power always in
 “ being of dispensing upon occasion, was to suppose a Constitution extremely
 “ imperfect and unpracticable; and to cure those with a legislative Power
 “ always in being, is, when considered, no other than a perfect Tyranny.

“ As to the Church, he conceived the Declaration was extremely their in-
 “ terest; for the narrow bottom they had placed themselves upon, and the
 “ measures they had proceeded by, so contrary to the properties and liberties
 “ of the Nation, must needs in short time prove fatal to them; whereas
 “ this led them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and
 “ differing Protestants, both at home and abroad, and so by necessary and
 “ unavoidable consequences, to become the head of them all. For that place
 “ is due to the Church of England, being in favour, and of nearest approach
 “ to the most powerful Prince of that Religion, and so always had it in their
 “ hands to be the intercessors and procurers of the greatest good and protec-
 “ tion, that party throughout all Christendom can receive. And thus the
 “ Archbishop of Canterbury might become, not only *alterius orbis*, but *alte-
 “ rius regionis Papa*; and all this addition of honour and power attain'd
 “ without the least loss or diminution of the Church; it not being intended
 “ that one living, dignity, or preferment should be given to any, but those
 “ that were strictly conformable.

“ As to the *Protestant Religion*, he told me plainly, it was for the preserv-
 “ ing of that, and that only, that he heartily joined in the Declaration; for
 “ besides that, he thought it his Duty to have care, in his place and station,
 “ of those he was convinced were the People of God, and feared him;
 “ though of different persuasions. He also knew nothing else but Liberty
 “ and

“ and Indulgence, that could possibly (as our case stood) secure the Prote-
 “ stant Religion in England; and he begg’d me to consider, if the Church of
 “ England should attain to a rigid, blind, and undisputed Conformity, and
 “ that power of our Church should come into the hands of a Popish Prince;
 “ which was not a thing so impossible, or remote, as not to be apprehended;
 “ whether, in such a case, would not all the arms and artillery of the Govern-
 “ ment of the Church be turned against the present Religion of it? and
 “ should not all good Protestants tremble to think what Bishops such a Prince
 “ was like to make, and whom those Bishops would condemn for Hereticks,
 “ and that Prince might burn. Whereas if this, which is now but a Decla-
 “ ration, might ever, by the experience of it, gain the advantage of becoming
 “ an established Law; the true Protestant Religion would still be kept up a-
 “ mongst the cities, towns, and trading places, and the worthiest and soberest
 “ (if not the greatest) part of the Nobility, and Gentry, and People.”

As for the *Toleration of Popery*, he said, “ It was a pleasant Objection,
 “ since he could confidently say, that the Papists had no advantage in the
 “ least by this Declaration, that they did not as fully enjoy, and with less
 “ noise, by the favour of all the Bishops. It was the vanity of the Lord
 “ Keeper, that they were named at all; for the whole advantage was to the
 “ dissenting Protestants, which were the only men disturb’d before. And yet
 “ he confess’d to me, that it was his opinion, and always had been, that the
 “ Papists ought to have no other pressure laid upon them; but to be made
 “ incapable of Office, Court, or Arms, and to pay so much as might bring
 “ them at least to a balance with the Protestants, for those chargeable offices
 “ they are liable unto.”

And concluded with this, “ that he desired me seriously to weigh, whether
 “ liberty and property were likely to be maintained long, in a Country like
 “ ours, where Trade is so absolutely necessary to the very being, as well as
 “ prosperity of it, and in this age of the world; if Articles of Faith, and
 “ Matters of Religion, should become the only accessible ways to our civil
 “ Rights.”

Thus Sir, you have perhaps a better account of the *Declaration*, than you
 can receive from any other hand; and I could have wish’d it a longer conti-
 nuance, and better reception than it had; for the Bishops took so great of-
 fence at it, that they gave the alarm of Popery through the whole Nation,
 and by their emissaries the Clergy, (who by the connexture and subordination
 of their Government, and their being posted in every Parish, have the advan-
 tage of a quick dispersing their orders, and a sudden and universal insinuation
 of whatever they please), rais’d such a cry; that those good and sober men,
 who had really long feared the increase and countenance, Popery had hitherto
 received, began to believe the Bishops were in earnest; their eyes opened,
 though late, and therefore joined in heartily with them; so that, at the next
 meeting of Parliament *, the Protestants interest was run so high, as an Act
 came up from the Commons to the House of Lords in favour of the dissent-
 ing Protestants, and had pass’d the Lords, but for want of time. Besides
 another excellent Act pass’d the Royal assent for the excluding all Papists
 from Office †; in the opposition of which, the Lord Treasurer CLIFFORD
 fell, and yet to prevent his ruin this Session had the speedier end. Notwith-
 standing, the Bishops attained their ends fully; the Declaration being cancel-

* February 4, 1672-3.

† By the *Act for preventing Dangers, which may happen from Popish Recusants*, pass’d March 29, 1673. all
 Persons having any Office or place of Trust under his Majesty, &c. were oblig’d to take the Oaths of Allegi-
 ance and Supremacy, &c. and to receive the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, &c.
 From that time no Act was pass’d till the 13th of October 1675.

led, and the Great Seal being broken off from it; the Parliament having passed no Act in favour of the Dissenters, and yet the sense of both Houses sufficiently declared against all Indulgence but by Act of Parliament. Having got this point, they used it at first with seeming Moderation. There were no general directions given for persecuting the Nonconformists; but here and there some of the most confiding Justices were made use of, to try how they could revive the old Persecution. For as yet, the zeal raised against the Papists was so great, that the worthiest, and soberest of the Episcopal party, thought it necessary to unite with the dissenting Protestants, and not to divide their party, when all their forces were little enough. In this posture the Session of Parliament, that began October 27, 1673, found matters; which being suddenly broken up, did nothing.

The next Session, which began January 7, following ‡; the Bishops continued their zeal against the Papists, and seem'd to carry on, in joyning with the Country Lords, many excellent votes in order to a Bill; as in particular, *That the Princes of the Blood-Royal should all marry Protestants*, and many others; but their favour to dissenting Protestants was gone, and they attempted a bargain with the Country Lords, with whom they then joyned, not to promote any thing of that nature, except the *Bill for taking away Assent and Consent, and renouncing the Covenant* ||.

This Session was no sooner ended without doing any thing, but the whole Clergy were instructed to declare that there was now no more danger of the Papists. The *Fanatick* (for so they call the dissenting protestant) is again become the only dangerous Enemy; and the Bishops had found a Scotch Lord, and two new Ministers, or rather great officers of England, who were desperate and rash enough to put their master's Business upon so narrow and weak a bottom; and the old Covenanter, LAUDERDALE*, is become the Patron of the Church, and has his coach and table fill'd with Bishops. The Keeper †, and the Treasurer are of a just size to this affair; for it is a certain rule with the Churchmen, to endure (as seldom as they can) in business, men abler than themselves. But his Grace of Scotland was least to be excused of the three; for having fallen from Presbytery, Protestant Religion, and all Principles of publick Good, and private Friendship; and become the slave of CLIFFORD, to carry on the ruine of all that he had professed to support, does now also quit even CLIFFORD's generous Principles, and betake himself to a sort of men, that never forgive any man the having once been in the right; and such men, who would do the worst of things by the worst of means, enslave their Country, and betray them, under the mask of Religion, which they have the publick pay for, and the charge of; so *seething the Kid in the Mother's milk*. Our Statesmen and Bishops being now as well agreed, as in old LAUD's time, on the same Principles, with the same passion to attain their end; they in the first place give orders to the Judges in all their Circuits to quicken the execution of the Laws against Dissenters; a new Declaration is publish'd directly contrary to the former; most in words against the Papists, but in the sense, and in the close, did fully serve against both; and in the execution, it was plain who were meant. A Commission, besides, comes down, directed to the principal Gentlemen of each County, to seize the estates of both Papists and Fanaticks, mentioned in a List annexed; wherein,

‡ 1673-4.

|| See Dr. Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times*, &c. Vol. I. p. 340. of the 2d edit. London 1713. in 8vo.

* JOHN MAITLAND, Duke of LAUDERDALE. He was created Baron of PETERSHAM, and Earl of GUILFORD in England, in the year 1674.

† Sir HENEAGE FINCH, afterwards Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

by great misfortune, or skill, the Names of Papists of best Quality and Fortune (and so best known) were mistaken, and the Commission render'd ineffectual as to them.

Besides this, the great Ministers of State did, in their common publick talk, assure the Party, that all the places of profit, command, and trust, should only be given to the old Cavalier; no man that had served, or been of the contrary Party, should be left in any of them. And a direction is issued to the great Ministers before-mentioned, and six or seven of the Bishops, to meet at Lambeth-house, who were, like the Lords of the Articles in Scotland, to prepare their compleat model for the ensuing Session of Parliament.

And now comes this memorable Session of *April 13, 1675*, than which never any came with more expectation of the Court, or dread and apprehension of the People. The Officers, Court-Lords, and Bishops, were clearly the major vote in the Lords house; and they assured themselves to have the Commons as much at their dispose, when they reckoned the number of the Courtiers, Officers, Pensioners, increased by the addition of the Church and Cavalier Party; besides the address they had made to men of the best Quality there, by hopes of honour, great employment, and such things as would take. In a word, the French King's Ministers, who are the great chapmen of the world, did not out-do ours at this time, and yet the over-ruling hand of God has blown upon their Politicks, and the Nation is escaped this Session, like a *Bird out of the snare of the Fowler*.

In this Session the Bishops wholly laid aside their zeal against Popery. The Committee of the whole House for Religion, which the Country Lords had caused to be set up again by the example of the former Sessions, could hardly get, at any time, a day appointed for their sitting; and the main thing design'd for a Bill voted in the former Session, *viz. the marrying our Prince to none but Protestants*, was rejected, and carry'd in the negative by the unanimous votes of the Bishop's Bench; for I must acquaint you that our great Prelates were so near an Infallibility, that they were always found in this Session of one mind in the Lord's House; yet the Lay Lords, not understanding from how excellent a principle this proceeded, commonly called them for that reason *the dead weight*. And they really proved so in the following business; for the third day of this Session, this Bill of the Test was brought into the Lord's House by the Earl of LINDSEY, Lord high Chamberlain, a person of great Quality, but in this imposed upon; and received its first reading, and appointment for the second, without much opposition; the Country Lords being desirous to observe what weight they put upon it, or how they design'd to manage it.

At the second reading the Lord Keeper and some other of the Court-Lords, recommended the Bill to the House in set and elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it, *a moderate security to the Church and Crown*; and that no honest man could refuse it; and whosoever did, gave great suspicion of dangerous and anti-monarchical principles. The other Lords declaimed very much upon the rebellion of the late times; the great number of *Fanaticks*; the dangerous principles of rebellion still remaining; carrying the discourse on, as if they meant to trample down the Act of Oblivion, and all those, whose securities depended on it. But the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, and some other of the Country Lords, earnestly prest that the Bill might be laid aside, and that they might not be engaged in the debate of it; or else that that freedom they should be forced to use in the necessary defence of their opinion, and the preserving of their laws, rights, and liberties, which this Bill would overthrow, might not be misconstrued. For there are many things that must be spoken upon the debate, both concerning Church and State, that it was well known they had no mind to hear. Notwithstanding this, the great Officers and

Bishops called out for the Question of referring the Bill to a Committee ; but the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, a man of great abilities and knowledge in affairs, and one that in all these variety of changes of this last Age, was never known to be either bought or frighted out of his publick Principles ; at large opened the mischievous and ill designs, and consequences of the Bill, which, as it was brought in, required all Officers of Church and State, and all Members of both Houses of Parliament, to take this Oath following.

I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King ; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commission'd by him in pursuance of such Commission ; and I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.

The Earl of SHAFTSBURY and other Lords spake with such convincing reason, that all the Lords, who were at liberty from court engagements, resolved to oppose to the uttermost a Bill of so dangerous consequence ; and the debate lasted five several days before it was committed to a Committee of the whole House ; which hardly ever happened to any Bill before. All this and the following debates were managed chiefly by the Lords, whose names you will find to the following *Protestations* ; the first whereof was as followeth :

We, whose names are under-written, being Peers of this realm, do, according to our rights, and the antient usage of Parliaments, declare ; that the question having been put whether the Bill, entituled, An Act to prevent the dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government, doth so far intrench upon the privileges of this House, that it ought therefore to be cast out ; it being resolved in the negative, we do humbly conceive, that any Bill, which imposeth an Oath upon the Peers with a penalty, as this doth, that upon the refusal of that Oath, they shall be made incapable of sitting and voting in this House ; as it is a thing unprecedented in former times, so is it, in our humble opinion, the highest invasion of the liberties and privileges of the Peerage, that possibly may be, and most destructive of the freedom, which they ought to enjoy as Members of Parliament ; because the privilege of sitting and voting in Parliament is an honour they have by birth, and a right so inherent in them, and inseparable from them, as that nothing can take it away, but what by the law of the Land must withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood ; upon which ground we do here enter our dissent from that vote, and our protestation against it.

BUCKINGHAM	WINCHESTER
BRIDGEWATER	SALISBURY
BEDFORD	MOHUN
DORSET	STAMFORD
AILSBUURY	HALLIFAX
BRISTOL	DE LA MER
DENBIGH	EURE
PAGITT	SHAFTSBURY
HOLLES	CLARENDON

PETER

PETER
HOWARD of
BERKS

GREY ROLL
SAY and SEAL
WHARTON.

The next *Protestation* was against the Vote of committing the Bill, in the words following:

“ The Question being put, whether the Bill, entituled, *An Act to prevent the dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government*, should be committed; it being carried in the affirmative, and we, after several days debate, being in no measure satisfied, but still apprehending that this Bill doth not only subvert the privileges and birthright of the Peers, by imposing an oath upon them with the penalty of *losing their places in Parliament*, but also, as we humbly conceive, strike at the very root of Government; it being necessary to all government to have freedom of Votes and Debates in those, who have power to alter and make Laws; and besides, the express words of this Bill, obliging every man to abjure all *endeavours to alter the Government in the Church*, without regard to any thing that rules of Prudence in the Government, or Christian compassion to Protestant Dissenters, or the necessity of Affairs at any time, shall or may require; upon these considerations, we humbly conceive it to be of dangerous consequence to have any Bill of this nature so much as committed, and do enter our dissents from that Vote, and protestation again it.

BUCKINGHAM
WINTON
SALISBURY
DENBIGH
BRISTOL
HOWARD of
BERKS

CLARENDON
STAMFORD
SHAFTSBURY
WHARTON
MOHUN
DE LA MER.

Which protestation was no sooner entred and subscribed the next day, but the great Officers and Bishops raised a storm against the Lords that had subscribed it; endeavouring not only some severe proceedings against their Persons, if they had found the House would have borne it, but also to have taken away the very liberty of entering Protestations with Reasons. But that was defended with so great ability, learning, and reason by the Lord HOLLES, that they quitted the attempt; and the debate ran for some hours, either wholly to raze the Protestation out of the Books, or at least some part of it; the expression of *Christian compassion to Protestant Dissenters*, being that, which gave them most offence. But both these ways were so disagreeable to the honour and privilege of the House, and the latter to common sense and right; that they despaired of carrying it, and contented themselves with having voted, *that the reasons given, in the said Protestation, did reflect upon the honour of the House, and were of dangerous consequence*. And I cannot here forbear to mention the worth and honour of that noble Lord HOLLES, suitable to all his former life; that whilst the debate was at the height, and the protesting Lords in danger of the Tower, he begg'd the House to give him leave to put his name to that *Protest*, and take his fortune with those Lords, because his sickness had forced him out of the House the day before; so that not being at the Question, he could not, by the rules of the House, sign it. This Vote against those
twelve

twelve Lords begat the next day this following *Protestation*, signed by one and twenty:

“ Whereas it is the undoubted privilege of each Peer in Parliament, when
 “ a question is past contrary to his vote and judgment, to enter his Protesta-
 “ tion against it; and that in pursuance thereof, the Bill, entituled, *An Act*
 “ *to prevent the dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the Govern-*
 “ *ment*, being conceived by some Lords to be of so dangerous a nature, as
 “ that it was not fit to receive the countenance of a Commitment; those
 “ Lords did protest against the Commitment of the said Bill; and the House
 “ having taken exceptions at some expressions in their Protestation, those
 “ Lords, who were present at the debate, did all of them severally and volun-
 “ tarily declare, that they had no intention to reflect upon any Member, much
 “ less upon the whole House; which, as is humbly conceived, was more than
 “ strictness did consist with that absolute freedom of protesting, which is in-
 “ separable from every Member of this House, and was done by them merely
 “ out of their great respect to the House, and their earnest desire to give all
 “ satisfaction concerning themselves, and the clearness of their intentions;
 “ yet the House not satisfied with this their Declaration, but proceeding to a
 “ Vote, *That the reasons given in the said Protestation do reflect upon the ho-*
 “ *nour of the House, and are of dangerous consequence*; which is, in our humble
 “ opinion, a great discontenancing of the very liberty of protesting; we,
 “ whose names are underwritten, conceive our selves and the whole House of
 “ Peers, extremely concerned that this great wound should be given (as we
 “ humbly apprehend) to so essential a privilege of the whole Peerage of this
 “ Realm, as their liberty of protesting; do now, (according to our un-
 “ questionable right) make use of the same liberty to enter this our dissent from,
 “ and protestation against the said Vote:

BUCKS	SAY and SEAL
WINTON	HALLIFAX
BEDFORD	AUDLEY
DORSET	FITZWATER
SALISBURY	EURE
BRIDGWATER	WHARTON
DENBIGH	MOHUN
BERKS	HOLLES
CLARENDON	DE LA MER
AILISBURY	GREY ROLL.
SHAFTSBURY	

After this Bill being committed to a Committee of the whole House, the first thing insisted upon by the Lords, against the Bill, was, that there ought to be passed some previous Votes to secure the rights of Peerage, and privilege of Parliament, before they entered upon the debate or amendments of such a Bill as this. And at last two *previous Votes* were obtained, which I need not here set down, because the next Protestation hath them both *in terminis*:

“ Whereas upon the debate on the Bill, entituled, *An Act to prevent the*
 “ *dangers, which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government*, it was
 “ ordered by the House of Peers, the 30th of April last, that no Oath should
 “ be imposed, by any Bill, or otherwise, upon the Peers, with a penalty,
 “ in

“ in case of refusal, to lose their places, or votes in Parliament, or liberty to
 “ debate therein; and, whereas also, upon debate of the same, it was order’d,
 “ the third of this instant May, that *there shall be nothing in this Bill, which*
 “ *shall extend to deprive either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their*
 “ *Members, of their just, antient freedom and privilege of debating any*
 “ *matter or business, which shall be propounded or debated in either of the said*
 “ *Houses, or at any Conference or Committee of both, or either of the said*
 “ *Houses of Parliament; or touching the repeal, or alteration of any old, or*
 “ *preparing any new Laws; or the redressing any publick grievance; but that*
 “ *the said Members of either of the said Houses, and the assistants of the House*
 “ *of Peers, and every of them, shall have the same freedom of speech, and all*
 “ *other privileges whatsoever, as they had before the making of this Act;* both
 “ which orders were passed as previous directions unto the Committee of the
 “ whole House, to whom the said Bill was committed, to the end that no-
 “ thing should remain in the said Bill, which might any ways tend towards
 “ the depriving of either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their Mem-
 “ bers, of their antient freedom of debates, or votes, or other privileges what-
 “ soever; yet the House being pleased, upon the report from the Committee,
 “ to pass a Vote, *That all persons who have, or shall have right to sit and*
 “ *vote in either House of Parliament,* should be added to the first enacted
 “ clause in the said Bill, whereby an oath is to be imposed upon them as
 “ Members of either House; which Vote we whose names are underwritten,
 “ being Peers of the Realm, do humbly conceive, is not agreeable to the said
 “ two previous orders; and it having been humbly offered and insisted upon
 “ by divers of us, that the *Proviso* in the late Act, entituled, *An Act for*
 “ *preventing dangers that may happen from Popish Recusants,* might be added
 “ to the Bill depending, whereby the Peerage of every Peer of this Realm, and
 “ all their Privileges, might be preserved in this Bill, as fully as in the said late
 “ Act; yet the House not pleasing to admit of the said *Proviso*, but proceed-
 “ ing to the passing of the said Vote; we do humbly, upon the grounds afore-
 “ said, and according to our undoubted right, enter this our Dissent from, and
 “ Protestation against the same:

BUCKS	DENBIGH
BEDFORD	DORSET
WINTON	SHAFTSBURY
SALISBURY	WHARTON
BERKS	EURE
BRIDGWATER	DE LA MER
STAMFORD	PAGITT
CLARENDON	MOHUN.

This was their last Protestation; for after this, they alter’d their method, and reported not the Votes of the Committee, and parts of the Bill to the House, as they pass’d them; but took the same order as is observed in other Bills, not to report unto the House, until they had gone through with the Bill, and so report all the Amendments together. This they thought a way of more dispatch, and which did prevent all Protestations, until it came to the House; for the Votes of a Committee, though of the whole House, are not thought of that weight, as that there should be allowed the entering a dissent of them, or Protestation against them.

The Bill being read over at the Committee, the Lord Keeper objected against the form of it, and desired that he might put it in another method; which was easily allow'd him, that being not the dispute. But it was observable the hand of God was upon them in this whole affair; their chariot-wheels were taken off, they drew heavily; a Bill so long design'd, prepared, and of that moment to all their affairs, had hardly a sensible composure.

The first part of the Bill that was fallen upon, was; *Whether there should be an Oath at all in the Bill*; and this was the only part the Court-Party defended with reason. For the whole Bill being to enjoin an Oath, the House might reject it, but the Committee was not to destroy it. Yet the Lord HALLIFAX did with that quickness, learning, and elegance, which are inseparable from all his discourses, make appear; that as there really was no security to any state by Oaths; so also no private person, much less states-man, would ever order his affairs as relying on it; no man would ever sleep with open doors, or unlockt-up treasure or plate, should all the Town be sworn not to rob; so that the use of multiplying Oaths, had been most commonly to exclude or disturb some honest conscientious men, who would never have prejudiced the Government. It was also insisted on by that Lord and others, that the Oath, imposed by the Bill, contained three clauses; the two former assertory, and the last promissory; and that it was worthy the consideration of the Bishops; whether *assertory Oaths*, which were properly appointed to give testimony of a matter of fact, whereof a man is capable to be fully assured by the evidence of his senses, be lawful to be made use of to confirm or invalidate doctrinal propositions; and whether that legislative power, which imposes such an Oath, doth not necessarily assume to it self an infallibility? And, as for promissory Oaths, it was desired that those learned Prelates would consider the opinion of GROTIUS, *de jure belli & pacis*, who seems to make it plain, that those kind of oaths are forbidden by our Saviour CHRIST, *Mat. v. 34, 37**; and whether it would not become the Fathers of the Church, when they have well weighed that and other places of the new Testament, to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the great men of the Church have been? But the Bishops carry'd the point, and an Oath was ordered by the major vote.

The next thing in consideration, was about the *persons* that should be enjoined to take this Oath; and those were to be *all such as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military*; and no farther went the debate for some hours, until at last the Lord Keeper rises up, and with an eloquent oration, desires to add *Privy-Counsellors, Justices of the Peace, and Members of both Houses*; the two former particularly mention'd only to usher in the latter, which was so directly against the two previous votes; the first of which was enroll'd amongst the standing orders of the House, that it wanted a man of no less assurance in his eloquence to propose it. And he was driven hard, when he was forced to tell the House, that they were *masters of their own orders*, and interpretation of them.

* Notandum hic est obiter, quod in Christi præceptis, & apud Jacobum de non jurando dicitur, proprie non ad assertorium juramentum, cujus apud Paulum Apostolum exempla extant aliquot, sed ad promissorium futuri incerti pertinere. Ostendit hoc evidenter oppositio illa in verbis Christi: *Audistis dictum antiquis, non pejerabis, sed reddes Domino juramentum. Ego vero dico vobis, ne jurate omnino.* Et ratio quam Jacobus adjicit: *μη εἰς ἀποκρίσιν πῶστετε*, id est, *ne fallaces inveniamini.* Nam cum sensum vox *ἀποκρίσεως* apud Hellenistas habet Idem evincit illud in Christi verbis *ἔγω ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου*, quod sic Jacobus explicat, *ἡ τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα*. . . . Nam prius *καὶ* & *ἐ* promissum significat, posterius ejus implementum, &c. *De jure belli & pacis*, lib. II. cap. xiii. §. 21.

The next consideration, at the Committee, was the *Oath* itself; and it was desired by the Country Lords that it might be clearly known, whether it were meant all for an Oath, or some of it for a *Declaration*, and some an *Oath*? If the latter, then it was desired it might be distinctly parted; and that the declaratory part should be subscribed by it self, and not sworn. There was no small pains taken by the Lord Keeper and the Bishops, to prove that the two first parts were only a Declaration, and not an Oath. And though it was replied, that to *declare* upon ones Oath, or to *abhor* upon ones Oath, is the same thing with, *I do swear*; yet there was some difficulty to obtain the dividing of them, and that the declaratory part should be only subscribed, and the rest sworn to.

The persons being determined, and this division agreed to; the next thing was the parts of the Declaration; wherein the first was, *I. A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King.* This was liable to great objections; for it was said, it might introduce a great change of Government, to oblige all the men in great trust in England, to declare that exact boundary and extent of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce some things to be stated, that are much better involved in generals, and peradventure are not capable of another way of expression, without great wrong on the one side or the other. There is a Law of 25th EDWARD III. that *arms shall not be taken up against the King*, and that *it is Treason to do so*; and it is a very just and reasonable Law. But it is an idle question at best, to ask *whether arms in any case can be taken up against a lawful Prince*; because it necessarily brings, in the debate, in every man's mind, how there can be a distinction then left between *absolute* and *bounded Monarchies*, if Monarchs have only the fear of God, and no fear of human resistance to restrain them. And it was farther urged, that if the chance of human affairs in future ages, should give the French King a just title and investiture in the Crown of England, and he should avowedly own a design by force to change the religion, and make his Government here as absolute as in France, by the extirpation of the nobility, gentry, and principal citizens of the Protestant party; whether in such, or like cases, this Declaration will be a service to the Government, as it is now establish'd. Nay, and it was farther said, that they overthrow the Government, that suppose to place any part of it above the fear of man. For, in our English Government, and all bounded Monarchies, where the Prince is not absolute, there every individual subject is under the fear of the King and his people; either for breaking the peace, or disturbing the common interest that every man hath in it; or if he invades the person or right of his Prince, he invades his whole people, who have bound up in him, and derive from him, all their liberty, property, and safety; as also the Prince himself is under the fear of breaking that golden chain and connexture between him and his people, by making his interest contrary to that they justly and rightly claim. And therefore neither our ancestors, nor any other Country free like ours, whilst they preserved their liberties, did ever suffer any mercenary or standing guards to their Prince; but took care that his safety should be in them, as theirs was in him.

Though these were the objections to this head, yet they were but lightly touch'd, and not fully insisted upon, until the debate of the second head, where the scope of the design was open'd clearer, and more distinct to every man's capacity.

The second was, *and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person.* To this was objected, that if this be meant an explanation of the Oath of Allegiance, to leave men without pretence to oppose where the individual Person of the King is; then it was to be considered, that the Position, as it is here set down, is universal; and yet

in most cases, the Position is not to be abhorred by honest or wise men. For there is but one case, and that never like to happen again, where this Position is in danger to be traiterous, which was the case of the *Long Parliament*, made perpetual by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly altered, and made inconsistent with it self; but it is to be supposed, the Crown hath sufficient warning, and full power to prevent the falling again into that danger. But the other cases are many, and such as may every day occur, wherein this Position is so far from traiterous, that it would prove both necessary and our duty. The famous instance of HENRY VI, who being a soft and weak Prince, when taken prisoner by his Cousin EDWARD IV, that pretended to the Crown, and the great Earl of WARWICK, was carried in their Armies; gave what Orders and Commissions they pleased; and yet all those, that were loyal to him, adhered to his Wife and Son; fought in a pitch'd battle against him in person; and retook him. This was directly *taking up Arms against his Person, and against those that were commission'd by him*: and yet to this day no man hath ever blamed them, or thought but that if they had done otherwise, they had betray'd their Prince. The great case of CHARLES VI. of France, who being of a weak and crazy brain, yet govern'd by himself, or rather by his Wife, a woman of passionate and heady humour, that hated her Son the Dauphin, a vigorous and brave Prince, and passionately loved her Daughter; so that she easily (being pressed by the Victory of HENRY V. of England) comply'd to settle the Crown of France upon him, to marry her Daughter to him, and own his right, contrary to the Salique Law. This was directly opposed with arms and force by the Dauphin, and all good Frenchmen; even in his Father's life-time. A third instance is that of King JAMES of blessed memory; who, when he was a child, was seized and taken prisoner, by those, who were justly thought no friends to his Crown or Safety. And if the case should be put, that a future King of England, of the same temper with HENRY VI. or CHARLES VI. of France, should be taken prisoner by Spaniard, Dutch or French, whose overgrowing power should give them thoughts of vast Empire, and should, with the Person and Commission of the King invade England for a Conquest; were it not suitable to our loyalty to join with the Son of that King, for the defence of his Father's Crown and Dignity, even against his *Person and Commission*? In all these and the like cases, it was not justified, but that the strict Letter of the Law might be otherwise construed; and when wisely considered, fit it should be so; yet that it was not safe either for the Kingdom, or Person of the King, and his Crown, that it should be in express words sworn against; for if we shall forswear all distinctions, which ill men have made ill use of, either in Rebellion or Heresy, we must extend the Oath to all the particulars of Divinity and Politicks. To this the aged Bishop of Winchester* replied, That *to take up Arms, in such cases, is not against, but for the Person of the King*; but his Lordship was told, that he might then as well, nay much better, have left it upon the old Oath of Allegiance, than made such a wide gap in this new Declaration.

The third and last part of the Declaration was, *or against those that are commissioned by him*. Here the mask was plainly pluck'd off, and arbitrary Government appeared bare-faced, and a standing Army to be established by Act of Parliament. For it was said by several of the Lords, that if whatever is by the King's *Commission*, be not opposed by the King's *Authority*; then a standing Army is Law, whenever the King pleases; and yet the King's Commission was never thought sufficient to protect, or justify any man, where it is against his Authority, which is the Law. This allowed, alters the whole Law of England, in the most essential and fundamental parts of it; and makes the

* GEORGE MORLEY. He was then 78 Years old.

whole Law of Property to become arbitrary, and without effect, whenever the King pleases.

For instance, if in suit with a great favourite, a man recovers house and lands, and by course of law be put into possession by the Sheriff; and afterwards a warrant is obtained by the interest of the person, to command some soldiers of the standing Army to take the possession; and deliver it back; in such a case, the man in possession may justify to defend himself, and killing those, who shall violently endeavour to enter his house. The party, whose house is invaded, *takes up Arms by the King's Authority against those, who are commissioned by him.* And it is the same case, if the soldiers had been commissioned to defend the house against the Sheriff, when he first endeavour'd to take possession according to Law. Neither could any order or commission of the King's put a stop to the Sheriff, if he had done his duty in raising the whole force of that County to put the Law in execution; neither can the Court, from whom that order proceeds, (if they observe their oaths and duty) put any stop to the execution of the Law in such a case, by any command or commission from the King whatsoever; nay, all the guards and standing forces in England cannot be secured by any commission from being a direct Riot and unlawful Assembly, unless in time of open war and rebellion. And it is not out of the way to suppose, that if any King hereafter, shall, contrary to the *Petition of Right*, demand and levy Money by Privy-Seal, or otherwise, and cause soldiers to enter and distrain for such like illegal taxes; that in such a case any man may by Law defend his house against them; and yet this is of the same nature with the former, and against the words of the Declaration. These instances may seem somewhat rough, and not with the usual reverence towards the Crown; but they alledged, they were to be excused, when all was concerned; and without speaking thus plain, it is refused to be understood; and, however happy we are now, either in the present Prince, or those, we have in prospect; yet the suppositions are not extravagant, when we consider Kings are but Men, and compassed with more temptations than others; and, as the Earl of SALISBURY, who stood like a rock of Nobility, and English Principles, excellently replied to the Lord Keeper, who was pleased to term them *remote instances*; that they would not hereafter prove so, when this Declaration had made the practice of them justifiable.

These arguments enforced the Lords for the Bill, to a change of this part of the Declaration; so that they agreed the second and third parts of it should run thus; *and I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him according to Law, in time of rebellion or war, acting in pursuance of such Commission.* Which mends the matter very little; for if they mean the *King's Authority*, and his *lawful Commission*, to be two things, and such as are capable of opposition; then it is as dangerous to the liberties of the nation, as when it run in the former words, and we are only cheated by new phrasing of it. But if they understand them to be one and the same thing, as really and truly they are; then we are only to abhor the Treason of the position of taking arms by the King's Authority, against the King's Authority, because it is nonsense, and not practicable. And so they had done little but confess'd, that all the Clergy, and many other Persons, have been forced, by former Acts of this present Parliament, to make this Declaration in other words, that now are found so far from being justifiable that they are directly contrary to *Magna Charta*, our Properties, and the establish'd Law and Government of the nation.

The next thing in course was, the *Oath* it self, against which the objection lay so plain, and so strong at the first entrance. *viz.* That there was no care taken of the doctrine, but only the discipline of the Church. The Papists need not scruple the taking this Oath; for Episcopacy remains in its greatest lustre,

lustre, though the Popish Religion was introduced; but the King's Supremacy is justled aside by this Oath, and makes better room for an ecclesiastical one. Insomuch, that with this and much more, they were enforced to change their Oath, and the next day bring it in as followeth:

I do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, or the Government either of Church or State.

By this they thought they had salved all, and now began to call their Oath, *A security for the Protestant Religion, and the only good design to prevent Popery*, if we should have a Popish Prince. But the Country Lords wondered at their confidence in this, since they had never thought of it before; and had been, but the last preceding day of the debate, by pure shame compell'd to this addition. For it was not unknown to them, that some of the Bishops themselves had told some of the Roman Catholick Lords of the House, that *care had been taken that it might be such an Oath as might not bear upon them*. But let it be whatever they would have it, yet the Country Lords thought the addition was unreasonable, and of as dangerous consequence as the rest of the Oath. And it was not to be wondered at, if the addition of the best things, wanting the authority of an express divine institution, should make an Oath *not to endeavour to alter*, just so much worse by the addition. For, as the Earl of SHAFTSBURY very well urged, that it is a far different thing, to believe, or to be fully perswaded of the Truth of the doctrine of our Church, and to swear *never to endeavour to alter*; which last must be utterly unlawful, unless you place an Infallibility either in the Church or your self; you being otherwise obliged to alter, whenever a clearer or better light comes to you. And he desired leave to ask, where are the boundaries, or where shall we find how much is meant by the *Protestant Religion*?

The Lord Keeper thinking he had now got an advantage, with his usual eloquence, desires, *it might not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Ascalon*, that a Lord of so great parts and eminence, and professing himself for the Church of England, should not know what is meant by the *Protestant Religion*! This was seconded with great pleasantness by divers of the Lords the Bishops. But the Bishop of Winchester, and some others of them, were pleased to condescend to instruct that Lord, that the Protestant Religion was comprehended in XXXIX Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons.

To this the Earl of SHAFTSBURY replied, that he begg'd so much charity of them to believe, that he knew the Protestant Religion so well, and was so confirmed in it, that he hoped he should burn for the witness of it, if providence should call him to it. But he might perhaps think some things not necessary, that they accounted essential; nay, he might think some things not true, or agreeable to the Scripture, that they might call Doctrines of the Church. Besides, when he was to swear *never to endeavour to alter*, it was certainly necessary to know *how far the just extent of this Oath was*. But since they had told him that the *Protestant Religion* was in those five Tracts; he had still to ask, whether they meant those whole Tracts were the Protestant Religion; or only that the Protestant Religion was contained in all those, but that every part of these was not the Protestant Religion?

If they meant the former of these, then he was extremely in the dark, to find the doctrine of *Predestination*, in the 18th and 17th Articles, to be owned by so few great Doctors of the Church, and to find the 19th Article to define the Church directly as the Independents do. Besides, the 20th Article, stating the *Authority of the Church*, is very dark; and either contradicts itself, or says nothing, or what is contrary to the known Laws of the Land. Besides,
several

several other things in the XXXIX Articles, have been preached and writ against, by men of great favour, power and preferment in the Church.

He humbly conceived the *Liturgy* was not so sacred, being made by Men the other day, and thought to be more differing from the dissenting Protestants; and less easy to be complied with, upon the advantage of a pretence well known unto us all, of making Alterations as might the better unite us; instead whereof, there is scarce one alteration but widens the breach. And no Ordination allow'd by it here, (as it now stands last reformed in the *Act of Uniformity*) but what is *episcopal*; insomuch that a Popish Priest is capable, when converted, of any Church-Preferment, without Re-ordination; but no Protestant Minister not episcopally ordain'd, but is required to be re-ordain'd; as much as in us lies *un-churching* all the foreign *Protestants* that have not Bishops; though the contrary was both allowed and practised from the beginning of the Reformation, till the time of that Act; and several Bishops made of such as were never ordain'd Priests by Bishops. Moreover, the uncharitableness of it was so much against the interest of the Crown and Church of England; (casting off the dependancy of the whole Protestant Party abroad) that it would have been bought by the Pope and the French King at a vast sum of money; and it is difficult to conceive so great an advantage fell to them merely by chance, and without their help. So that he thought, to *endeavour to alter*, and restore the Liturgy to what it was in Queen ELIZABETH's days, might consist with his being a very good Protestant.

As to the *Catechism*, he really thought it might be mended; and durst declare to them, it was not well that there was not a better made.

For the *Homilies*, he thought there might be a better book made; and the third Homily, of *reparing and keeping clean of Churches*, might be omitted.

What is yet stranger than all this, the *Canons* of our Church are directly the old Popish Canons, which are still in force, and no other; which will appear, if you turn to the *Stat. 25 HEN. VIII. cap. 19.* confirmed and received by 1 ELIZ. where all those Canons are establish'd, until an alteration should be made by the King, in pursuance of that Act; which thing was attempted by EDWARD VI, but not perfected, and let alone ever since; for what reasons the Lords the Bishops could best tell. And it was very hard to be obliged by Oath *not to endeavour to alter* either the English Common-Prayer-Book, or the Canon of the Mass.

But if they meant the latter, that the *Protestant Religion* is contain'd in all those, but that every part of those is not the Protestant Religion; then he apprehended it might be in the Bishops power to declare, *ex post facto*, what is the Protestant Religion or not, or else they must leave it to every man to judge for himself, what parts of those books are or are not; and then their Oath had been much better let alone.

Much of this nature was said by that Lord and others; and the great Officers and Bishops were so hard put to it, that they seemed willing, and convinced to admit of an expedient.

The Lord WHARTON, an old and expert Parliament-man, of eminent piety and abilities, beside a great friend to the Protestant Religion and Interest of England, offer'd, as a cure to the whole Oath, and what might make it pass in all the three parts of it, without any farther debate; the addition of these words, at the latter end of the Oath, *viz. as the same is, or shall be established by Act of Parliament.* But this was not endured at all; when the Lord GREY of ROLSTON, a worthy and true English Lord, offered another expedient; which was the addition of these words, *by force or fraud*, to the beginning of the Oath; and then it would run thus, *I do swear, not to endeavour by force or fraud to alter.* This was also a cure that would have passed the whole Oath, and seemed as if it would have carried the whole House; the

the Duke of YORK, and Bishop of ROCHESTER both seconding it ; but the Lord Treasurer, who had privately before consented to it, speaking against it, gave the word and sign to that party ; and it being put to the question, the major Vote answered all arguments, and the Lord GREY's proposition was laid aside.

Having thus carried the question, relying upon their strength of Votes, taking advantage that those expedients that had been offered, extended to the whole Oath, tho' but one of the three Clauses in the Oath had been debated, the other two not mentioned at all ; they attempted strongly, at nine of the clock at night, to have the whole Oath put to the question ; and tho' it was resolutely opposed by the Lord MOHUN, a Lord of great courage and resolution in the publick Interest, and one whose own personal merits, as well as his Father's, gave him a just title to the best favours of the Court ; yet they were not diverted, but by as great a disorder as ever was seen in that house, proceeding from the rage those unreasonable proceedings had caused in the Country Lords ; they standing up together, and crying out with so loud a continued voice, *adjourn*, that when silence was obtain'd, fear did what reason could not do, cause the question to be put only upon the first clause, concerning *Protestant Religion*, to which the Bishops desired might be added, *as it is now established*. And one of the eminentest of those who were for the Bill, added the words, *by Law*. So that, as it was passed, it ran, *I A. B. do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, now by Law established in the Church of England*.

And here observe, the words, *by Law*, do directly take in the *Canons*, though the Bishops had never mentioned them.

And now comes the consideration of the latter part of the Oath, which comprehends these two Clauses, *viz. nor the Government either in Church or State*, wherein the *Church* came first to be considered. And it was objected by the Lords against the Bill, that it was not agreeable to the King's Crown and Dignity, to have his subjects sworn to the Government of the Church equally as to himself ; that for the Kings of England to swear to maintain the Church, was a different thing from enjoyning all his Officers, and both his Houses of Parliament to swear to them ; it would be well understood, before the Bill passed, what the *Government of the Church* (we are to swear to) is, and what the boundaries of it ; whether it derives no power nor authority, nor the exercise of any power, authority, or function, but from the King, as Head of the Church, and from God, as through him, as all his other Officers do.

For no Church or Religion can justify itself to the Government, but the State Religion, that owns an entire dependency on, and is but a branch of it ; or the independent Congregations, whilst they claim no other power, but the exclusion of their own members from their particular communion ; and endeavour not to set up a Kingdom of CHRIST to their own use in this world, whilst our Saviour hath told us, that *his Kingdom is not of it*. For otherwise there would be *Imperium in Imperio*, and two distinct supream powers inconsistent with each other, in the same place, and over the same persons. The Bishops alledged, that Priesthood, and the power thereof, and the authorities belonging therunto, were derived immediately from CHRIST ; but that the license of exercising that authority and power in any Country is derived from the civil Magistrate. To which was reply'd, that it was a dangerous thing, to secure by Oath and Act of Parliament those in the exercise of an authority and power in the King's Country, and over his subjects, which being received from CHRIST himself, cannot be altered, or limited by the King's Laws ; and that this was directly to set the Mitre above the Crown. And it was farther offered, that this Oath was the greatest attempt that had been made against the King's supremacy since the Reformation ; for the King

in Parliament may alter, diminish, enlarge, or take away any Bishoprick; he may take any part of a Diocese, or a whole Diocese, and put them under Deans, or other Persons. For if this be not lawful, but that Episcopacy should be *Jure divino*, the maintaining the Government, as it is now, is unlawful; since the Deans of Hereford and Salisbury have very large tracts under their jurisdiction, and several Parsons of Parishes have episcopal Jurisdiction; so that at best, that Government wants alteration, that is so imperfectly settled. The Bishop of WINCHESTER affirmed in this debate several times, that there was no Christian Church before CALVIN that had not Bishops; to which he was answered, that the Albigenes, a very numerous people, and the only visible known Church of true believers of some ages, had no Bishops. It is very true; what the Bishop of WINCHESTER reply'd, that they had some amongst them, who alone had power to ordain; but that was only to commit that power to the wisest and gravest men amongst them, and to secure ill and unfit men from being admitted into the Ministry; but they exercised no jurisdiction over the others.

And it was said by divers of the Lords, that they thought episcopal Government best for the Church, and most suitable for the Monarchy; but they must say, with the Lord of SOUTHAMPTON, upon the occasion of this Oath in the Parliament of Oxford, *I will not be sworn not to take away Episcopacy*; there being nothing, that is not of divine precept, but such circumstances may come in human affairs, as may render it not eligible by the best of Men. And it was also said, that if episcopacy be to be received as by divine precept, the King's supremacy is overthrown; and so is also the Opinion of the Parliaments both in EDWARD the VIth, and QUEEN ELIZABETH's time; and the Constitution of our Church ought to be altered, as hath been shew'd. But the Church of Rome itself hath contradicted that opinion, when she hath made such vast tracts of ground, and great numbers of men exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.

The Lord WHARTON, upon the Bishops claim to a divine Right, asked a very hard Question, *viz. Whether they then did not claim withal a power of excommunicating their Prince?* which they evading to answer, and being press'd by some other Lords, said, *they never had done it.* Upon which the Lord HALLIFAX told them, that that might well be; for since the Reformation they had hitherto had too great a dependance on the Crown to venture on that, or any other offence to it.

And so the debate passed on to the third clause, which had the same exceptions against it with the two former, of being unbounded, how far any man might meddle and how far not; and is of that extent, that it overthrew all Parliaments, and left them capable of nothing but giving money. For what is the business of Parliaments, but the *alteration*, either by adding or taking away some part of the Government either in Church or State? And every new Act of Parliament is an alteration; and what kind of Government in Church and State must that be, which I must swear upon no alteration of time, emergency of affairs, nor variation of human things, *never to endeavour to alter?* Would it not be requisite that such a Government should be given by God himself; and that, with all the ceremony of thunder and lightning, and visible appearance to the whole people, which God vouchsafed to the children of Israel at Mount Sinai? And yet you shall no where read that they were sworn to it by any Oath like this; nay, on the contrary, the Princes and the rulers, even those recorded for the best of them, did make several variations.

The Lord STAFFORD, a noble Man of great honour and candour, but who had been all along for the Bill, yet was so far convinced with the debate, that he freely declared, there ought to be an addition to the Oath, for preserving the freedom of debates in Parliament. This was strongly urged

by the never to be forgotten Earl of BRIDGEWATER, who gave reputation and strength to this cause of England; as did also those worthy Earls, DENBIGH, CLARENDON, and AILSBURY, men of great worth and honour. To save all that was said by these and the other Lords, the Lord Keeper and the Bishops urged, that there was a *Proviso*, which fully preserved the privileges of Parliament; and upon farther enquiry, there appearing no such, but only a previous Vote, as is before-mention'd, they allow'd that that previous Vote should be drawn into a *Proviso*, and added to the Bill; and then in their opinion the exception to the Oath for this cause was perfectly removed. But on the other side it was offer'd, that a positive absolute Oath being taken, a *Proviso* in the Act could not dispense with it, without some reference in the body of the Oath unto that *Proviso*. But this also was utterly deny'd, until the next day, the debate going on upon other matters; the Lord Treasurer, whose authority easily obtained with the major Vote, re-assumed what was mentioned in the debates of the preceding days, and allow'd a reference to the *Proviso*; so that it then pass'd in these words:

I A. B. do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion now by Law establish'd in the Church of England; nor the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is now by Law established; and I do take this Oath according to the meaning of this Act, and the Proviso contain'd in the same. So help me God.

There was a passage of the greatest observation in the whole Debate, and which with most clearness shewed what the great men and Bishops aimed at; and should in order have come in before, but that it deserved so particular a consideration, that I thought best to place it here by itself; which was, that upon passing of the *Proviso* for preserving the rights and privileges of Parliaments, made out of the previous Votes, it was excellently observed by the Earl of BULLINGBROOK, a man of great ability and learning in the laws of the land, and perfectly stedfast in all good English principles; that though that *Proviso* did preserve the freedom of Debates and Votes in Parliaments, yet the Oath remain'd, notwithstanding that *Proviso*, upon all men, that shall take it as a prohibition, either by speech or writing, or address, to *endeavour any alteration in Religion, Church, or State*: nay, also upon the Members of both Houses otherwise than as they speak and vote in open Parliaments or Committees. For this Oath takes away all private converse upon any such affairs even one with another. This was seconded by the Lord DE LA MER, whose name is well known, as also his worth, piety, and learning; I should mention his merits too, but I know not whether that be lawful, they lying yet unrewarded.

The Lord SHAFTSBURY presently drew up some words for preserving the same rights, privileges, and freedoms, which men now enjoy by the laws established; so that by a side-wind we might not be deprived of the great liberty we enjoy as Englishmen; and desired those words might be inserted in that *Proviso* before it pass'd. This was seconded by many of the fore-mentioned Lords; and press'd upon those terms, that they desired not to countenance, or make in the least degree any thing lawful, that was not already so; but that they might not be deprived, by this dark way of proceeding, of that liberty, which was necessary to them as men, and without which Parliaments would be rendered useless.

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Upon this all the great officers shewed themselves ; nay, the Duke of LAUDERDALE himself, though under the load of two addressees, * open'd his mouth, and together with the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Treasurer, told the Committee in plain terms ; that they intended, and design'd to prevent caballing, and conspiracies against the Government ; that they knew no reason why any of the King's officers should consult with Parliament-men about Parliament-busines ; and particularly mention'd those of the Army, Treasury, and Navy. And when it was objected to them, that the greatest part of the most knowing Gentry were either Justices of the Peace, or of the Militia ; and that this took away all converse, or discourse of any alteration, which was in truth of any busines in Parliament ; and that the officers of the Navy and Treasury might be best able to advise what should be fit in many cases ; and that withal none of their Lordships did offer any thing to salve the inconvenience of Parliament-men being deprived of discoursing one with another, upon the matters that were before them ; besides it must be again remembered, that nothing was herein desired to be countenanced, or made lawful, but to preserve that, which is already Law, and avowedly justified by it ; for, without this addition to the Proviso, the Oath rendered Parliaments but a snare, not a security, to the people ; yet to all this was answered, sometimes with passion and high words, sometimes with jests and raillery, (the best they had) ; and at the last the major Vote answered all objections, and laid aside the addition tendered.

There was another thing before the finishing of the Oath, which I shall here also mention, which was an additional Oath, tendered by the Marquis of WINCHESTER ; who ought to have been mention'd in the first and chiefest place, for his conduct and support in the whole debate, being an expert Parliament man, and one, whose quality, parts, and fortune, and owning of good principles, concur to give him one of the greatest places in the esteem of good men. The additional Oath tendered, was as followeth :

I do swear that I will never by threats, injunctions, promises, advantages, or invitation, by or from any person whatsoever, nor from the hopes or prospect of any gift, place, office, or benefit whatsoever ; give my Vote other than according to my opinion and conscience, as I shall be truly and and really persuaded upon the debate of any business in Parliament. So help me God.

This Oath was offer'd upon the occasion of swearing Members of Parliament ; and upon this score only, that if any new Oath was thought fit (which that noble Lord declared his own judgment perfectly against), this certainly was (all considerations and circumstances taken in) most necessary to be a part ; and the nature of it was not so strange, if they considered the Judges Oath, which was not much different from this. To this the Lord Keeper seemed very averse, and declared in a very fine speech, that it was an useless Oath ; for all gifts, places, and offices, were likeliest to come from the King ; and no Member of Parliament in either House could do too much for the King, or be too much of his side ; and that men might lawfully, and worthily have in their prospect such offices or benefits from him. With this the Lords against the Bill were in no terms satisfied, but plainly spoke out, that Men had been, might, and were likely to be, in either House, too much for the

* The House of Commons address'd the King to remove the Duke of LAUDERDALE from his employments, and from his Majesty's presence and Councils, for ever ; as a man of arbitrary Principles, and a person obnoxious and dangerous to the Government.

King, as they call'd it; and that whoever did endeavour to give more power to the King than the law and constitution of the Government had given, especially if it tended to the introducing an absolute and arbitrary Government; might justly be said to do too much for the King, and to be corrupted in his judgment by the prospect of advantages and rewards; though, when it is considered that every deviation of the Crown towards absolute power, lessens the King in the love and affection of his people, making him become less their interest; a wise Prince will not think it a service done him.

And now remains only the last part of the Bill, which is the Penalty, different according to the qualifications of the persons; *all that are, or shall be Privy-Counsellors, Justices of the Peace, or possessors of any beneficial office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; are to take the Oath when summoned, upon pain of 500l. and being made incapable of bearing office; the Members of both Houses are not made incapable, but liable to the Penalty of 500l. if they take it not.* Upon all which, the considerations of the debate were, that those Officers, and Members of both Houses, are, of all the Nation, the most dangerous to be sworn into a mistake, or change of the Government; and that, as to the Members of both Houses, the Penalty of 500l. was directly against the latter of the two previous Votes; and although they had not applied the penalty of incapacity unto the Members of both Houses, because of the first previous Vote in the case of the Lords; neither durst they admit of a Proposition made by some of themselves, that those that did not come up, and sit as Members, should be liable to the taking the Oath, or Penalty, until they did so; yet their ends were not to be compassed without invading the latter previous Vote, and contrary to the rights and privileges of Parliament, enforce them to swear, or pay 500l. every Parliament. And this they carried through with so strong a resolution, that having experienced their misfortunes in replies for several hours, not one of the party could be provoked to speak one word.

Though, besides the former arguments, it was strongly urged, that this Oath ought not to be put upon Officers with a heavier penalty than the Test was in the Act of the immediate preceding Session against the Papists; by which any man might sit down with the loss of his office, without being in the danger of the penalty of 500l. And also that this Act had a direct retrospect (which ought never to be in penal laws; for this Act punishes men for having an office without taking this Oath; which office, before this law pass, they may lawfully enjoy without it. Yet notwithstanding, it provides not a power, in many cases, for them to part with it, before this Oath overtake them. For the clause, *whoever is in office the 1st of September*, will not relieve a Justice of the Peace, who, being once sworn, is not in his own power to be left out of Commission. And so might be instanced in several other cases. As also the Members of the House of Commons were not in their own power to be unchosen; and as to the Lords, they were subjected by it to the meanest condition of mankind, if they could not enjoy their Birthright, without playing tricks suitable to the humour of every age, and be enforced to swear to every fancy of the present times. Three years ago it was all Liberty and Indulgence, and now it is strict and rigid Conformity; and what it may be, in some short time hereafter, without the spirit of prophesying, might be shrewdly guess'd by a considering man.

This being answered with silence, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, whose quality, admirable wit, and unusual pains that he took all along in the debate against this Bill, makes me mention him in this place, as General of the party, and coming last out of the field; made a speech late at night of eloquent and well-placed nonsense; shewing how excellently well he could do both ways, and hoping that might do, when sense (which he often before
used

used with the highest advantage of wit and reason) would not. But the Earl of WINCHELSEA readily apprehending the dialect, in a short reply put an end to the debate; and the major Vote, *ultima ratio Senatuum & Conciliorum*, carried the Question as the Court and Bishops would have it*.

This was the last Act of this Tragi-Comedy, which had taken up sixteen or seventeen whole days debate; the House sitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and sometimes till midnight; but the business of Privilege between the two Houses † gave such an interruption, that this Bill was never reported from the Committee to the House.

I have mentioned to you divers Lords, that were Speakers, as it fell in the Debate; but I have not distributed the Arguments of the debate to every particular Lord. Now you know the Speakers, your curiosity may be satisfied, and the Lords I am sure will not quarrel about the Division. I must not forget to mention those great Lords, BEDFORD, DEVONSHIRE, and BURLINGTON, for the countenance and support they gave to the English Interest. The Earl of BEDFORD was so brave in it, that he joined in three of the Protests; so also did the Earl of DORSET; and the Earl of STAMFORD, a young Nobleman of great hopes; the Lord EURE, the Lord Viscount SAY AND SEAL, and the Lord PAGITT in two; the Lord AUDLEY, and the Lord FITZWATER in the third; and the Lord PETER, a Nobleman of great estate, and always true to the maintenance of Liberty and Property, in the first. And I should not have omitted the Earl of DORSET, Lord AUDLEY, and the Lord PETER, amongst the Speakers; for I will assure you, they did their parts excellently well. The Lord Viscount HEREFORD was a steady man among the Country Lords; so also was the Lord TOWNSEND, a man justly of great esteem and power in his own country, and amongst all those that well know him. The Earl of CARNARVON ought not to be mention'd in the last place; for he came out of the Country on purpose to oppose the Bill, stuck very fast to the Country Party, and spoke many excellent things against it. I dare not mention the Roman Catholick Lords, and some others, for fear I hurt them; but thus much I shall say of the *Roman Catholick Peers*, that if they were safe in their estates, and yet kept out of office, their Votes in that House would not be the most unsafe to England of any sort of men in it. As for the absent Lords, the Earl of RUTLAND, Lord SANDYS, Lord HERBERT of Cherbury, Lord NORTH, and Lord CREW, ought to be mentioned with honour; having taken care their Votes should maintain their own Interest and Opinions. But the Earls of EXETER, and CHESTERFIELD, that gave no proxies this Session; the Lord MONTAGUE of Boughton, that gave his to the Treasurer; and the Lord ROBERTS his to the Earl of NORTHAMPTON, are not easily to be understood. If you ask after the Earl of CARLISLE, the Lord Viscount FALCONBERG, and the Lord

* Mr. Echard in his *History of England* (Vol. III. ad an. 1675, pag. 383.) hath transcribed several paragraphs out of this *Letter*, tho' he never cites it; and ends his account of the Debate thus; *The Debate*, says he, *lasted sixteen or seventeen whole Days, the House often sitting till Nine at Night, and sometimes till Midnight; in the conclusion of which, the Duke of Buckingham, as General of the Party, and last in the Field, made a famous Speech consisting of eloquent, regular, and well-placed Non-Sense, hoping that that might prevail when Nothing else would; and so brought Confusion into the House*; where, besides the unaccuracy of bringing into his Narrative and making his own the expressions, which the Author of the *Letter* hath used, by way of compliment or encomium, and thereby misrepresenting the matter; he affirms, that the Debate was put to an end, by the *Confusion*, which the Duke of BUCKINGHAM's Speech brought into the House; whereas it appears by the *Letter* itself, that no *Confusion* was brought into the House by that Speech; but, on the contrary, that, after a *short Reply* of the Earl of WINCHELSEA, the *Question* was put regularly to the *Vote*, and carried as the Court and Bishops would have it.

† Dr. SHIRLEY having brought an Appeal in the House of Lords, from a Decree in Chancery, against Sir JOHN FAGG, a Member of the House of Commons; the Commons look'd upon it as an infringement of their Privileges; and this occasioned a Contest between the two Houses, which run so high, that the King thought fit to put a stop to it, by proroguing the Parliament, on the 9th of June 1675; after they had sat near two months.

BERKLEY of Berkley-Castle, because you find them not mentioned amongst their old Friends ; all I have to say, is, that the Earl of CARLISLE step'd aside to receive his Pension ; the Lord BERKLEY to dine with the Lord Treasurer ; but the Lord Viscount FALCONBERG, like the Nobleman in the Gospel, went away sorrowful, for he had a great office at Court. But I despair not of giving you a better account of them next Session ; for it is not possible, when they consider, that CROMWELL's Major General, Son-in-law, and Friend, should think to find their accounts amongst men that set up on such a bottom.

Thus, Sir, you see the standard of the new Party is not yet set up ; but must be the work of another Session ; though it be admirable to me, how the King can be induced to venture his affairs upon such weak counsels, and of so fatal consequences. For I believe it is the first time in the world, that ever it was thought adviseable, after fifteen years of the highest peace, quiet, and obedience, that ever was in any country ; that there should be a pretence taken up, and a reviving of former miscarriages, especially after so many Promises and Declarations, as well as Acts of Oblivion, and so much merit of the offending Party, in being the Instruments of the Kings happy Return ; besides the putting so vast a number of the King's Subjects in utter despair of having their Crimes ever forgotten. And it must be a great mistake in counsels, or worse, that there should be so much pains taken by the Court to debase and bring low the House of Peers ; if a military Government be not intended by some. For the power of *Peerage*, and a *standing Army*, are like two buckets, the proportion that one goes down, the other exactly goes up. And I refer you to the consideration of all the Histories of ours, or any of our neighbour northern Monarchies ; whether standing Forces, military and arbitrary Government, came not plainly in by the same steps, that the Nobility were lessened ; and whether whenever they were in power and greatness, they permitted the least shadow of any of them. Our own Country is a clear instance of it ; for though the *white Rose* and the *red* changed fortunes often, to the ruin, slaughter, and beheading of the great Men of the other side ; yet nothing could enforce them to secure themselves by a standing Force. But I cannot believe that the King himself will ever design any such thing ; for he is not of a temper robust and laborious enough to deal with such a sort of men, or reap the advantages, if there be any, of such a Government. And I think, he can hardly have forgot the treatment his Father received from the Officers of his Army, both at Oxford and Newark ; 'twas an hard, but almost an even choice, to be the Parliament's Prisoner, or their Slave ; but I am sure the greatest prosperity of his Arms could have brought him to no happier condition, than our King his Son hath before him whenever he please. However, this may be said for the honour of this Session, that there is no Prince in Christendom hath, at a greater expence of money, maintained for two months space a nobler, or more useful Dispute of the politicks, mystery, and secrets of Government, both in Church and State, than this hath been ; of which noble Design no part is owing to any of the Country Lords, for several of them begg'd, at the first entrance into the Debate, that they might not be engaged in such Disputes, as would unavoidably produce divers things to be said, which they were willing to let alone. But I must bear them witness, and so will you, having read this ; that they did their parts in it, when it came to it, and spoke plain, like old English Lords.

I shall conclude with what, upon the whole matter, is most worthy your consideration ; that the Design is *to declare us first into another Government more absolute and arbitrary than the Oath of Allegiance, or old Law knew ; and then make us swear unto it, as it is so established.* And less than this
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the Bishops could not offer in requital to the Crown for parting with its Supremacy, and suffering them to be sworn to equal with itself. Archbishop LAUD was the first Founder of this Device. In his Canons of 1640, you shall find an Oath very like this, and a Declaratory Canon preceding, *that Monarchy is of divine Right* * ; which was also affirmed in this Debate by our Reverend Prelates, and is owned in print by no less men than Archbishop USHER, and Bishop SANDERSON † ; and I am afraid it is the avowed Opinion of much the greater part of our dignified Clergy. If so, I am sure they are the most dangerous sort of Men alive, to our English Government ; and it is the first thing ought to be look'd into, and strictly examined by our Parliaments. 'Tis the leaven that corrupts the whole lump. For if that be true, I am sure Monarchy is not to be bounded by human Laws ; and the 8th Chapter of 1 SAMUEL will prove (as many of our Divines would have it) the great Charter of the Royal Prerogative ; and our *Magna Charta*, that says, *our Kings may not take our Fields, our Vineyards, our Corn, and our Sheep*, is not in force, but void and null ; because against Divine Institution. And you have the riddle out, why the Clergy are so ready to take themselves, and to impose upon others, such kind of Oaths as these. They have placed themselves and their possessions upon a better, and a surer bottom

* In the *Constitutions and Canons ecclesiasticall; treated upon by the Archbishops of CANTERBURY and YORK, &c.* in the year 1640, and published for the due observation of them, by His Majesty's Authority, under the Great Seal of England ; the I. Canon contains an explanation of the Regal power, ordain'd and decreed to be read by every Parson, Vicar, Curate or Preacher, upon some one Sunday in every quarter of the year at Morning prayer ; wherein it is said ; “ the most High and Sacred order of Kings is of Divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of nature, and clearly established by expresse texts both of the old and new Testament

“ For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow in any (King's) Realms or Territories respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, any independent co-active power, either Papal or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine the great Royal office, and cunningly to overthrow that most Sacred ordinance, which God himself hath established : And so is treasonable against God, as well as against the King.

“ For subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the Powers, which are ordained of God : And though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, *they shall receive to themselves damnation*.

And by the VI. Canon, an Oath against all Innovation of Doctrine or Discipline, is decreed and ordain'd to be taken, not only by all Archbishops, and Bishops, and all other Priests and Deacons ; upon pain, if they refuse to take it, of being deprived of all their ecclesiastical Promotions whatsoever, and execution of their functions, which they hold in the Church of England ; but likewise by all Masters of Arts, Bachelours and Doctors in Divinity, Law or Physick ; all School-masters, &c. which hath these words : *I A. B. do swear, that I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Arch-deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, &c.*

These Canons were no sooner published, but there was a general outcry made against them. How they were treated by the Puritans, may be seen in a Pamphlet printed in 1640, with this title : “ *England's Complaint to Jesus Christ, against the Bishops Canons, of the late sinful Synod, a Seditious Conventicle, a Packe of Hypocrites, a Sworne Confederacy, a Traiterous Conspiracy against the true Religion of Christ, and the Weale Publicke of the Land, and consequently against the Kingdome and Crowne*. In this Complaint are specified those impieties and insolencies, which are most notorious, scattered through the Canons and Constitutions of the said Sinfull Synod. And confuted by Arguments annexed hereunto,” in 4to. Several Petitions being at the same time presented to the King against the new Canons, and particularly against the Oath before mention'd ; his Majesty was pleased to suspend their execution ; which however could not prevent their falling under the Censure of the House of Commons ; for on the 16th of December 1640, they declared that those Canons did contain many Matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence. “ These publick Censures of the Canons, says a learned and ingenious Historian, however grounded on Prejudice and Faction, have made them ever since reputed null and void, &c.” See the *Compleat History of England, &c.* Vol. III. ad an. 1640, pag. 113. Lond. 1719. in fol.

† Archbishop USHER did, by Order of King Charles I. write a Treatise, entitled, *The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject, &c.* which was published in the year 1660, by Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln ; and in that Treatise, after having observed, that the commands of Princes are, either of such things as may and ought to be done ; or of such as cannot or ought not to be done, he puts this Question : *But how are Subjects to carry themselves, when such things are enjoyned as cannot or ought not to be done ?* To which he answers, “ Surely not to accuse the commander, but humbly to avoid the command. And, when nothing else will serve the turn, as in things that may be done, we are to express our Submission by *affice*, to in things that cannot be done, we are to declare the same by *passive* Obedience, without resistance and repugnancy ; such a kind of suffering being as sure a sign of subjection as any thing else whatsoever.” And some pages lower, he proposes an Objection, and answers it.

“ But,

tom (as they think) than *Magna Charta*; and so have no more need of, or concern for it. Nay, what is worse, they have trucked away the Rights and Liberties of the People, in this and all other Countries, wherever they have had Opportunity; that they might be owned by the Prince to be *Jure divino*, and maintained in that pretension by that absolute Power and Force they have contributed so much to put into his hands; and that *Priest* and *Prince* may, like *CASTOR* and *POLLUX*, be worship'd together as Divine, in the same Temple, by us poor Lay-Subjects; and that Sense and Reason, Law, Properties, Rights, and Liberties, shall be understood, as the Oracles of those Deities shall interpret or give signification to them; and never be made use of in the world to oppose the absolute and free Will of either of them.

Sir, I have no more to say, but beg your pardon for this tedious trouble, and that you will be very careful to whom you communicate any of this.

“ But, says he, if mens hands be thus tied, will some say, no man's State can be secure; nay the whole frame of the Commonwealth would be in danger to be subverted and utterly ruined by the unbridled lust of a dis-tempered Governor.

“ I answer, God's Word is clear in the point, (Rom. xiii. 2, 5.) *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation*; and thereby a necessity is imposed upon us of being subject even for conscience-sake; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any ensuing mischief whatsoever. For by this means we should have liberty given unto us to (James iv. 11.) *speak evil of the Law, and to judge the Law. But if thou judge the Law, thou art not a Doer of the Law, but a Judge*, saith St. James. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part; and leave the ordering of events to God, whose part only that is,” *The Power communicated by God to the Prince, &c.* pag. 147, 149, 150, 157. London 1683, in 8vo.

Dr. SANDERSON was of the same Opinion, as it appears by his long Preface to Archbishop USHER's Treatise just mention'd; wherein, among other things, he says, that a *mixt Monarchy* is an *arrant Bull*, a *Contradiction* in adjecto, and *destroyeth it self*; but more particularly by that famous passage in a Sermon of his preach'd at Hampton-Court, in the year 1640: *No conjuncture of Circumstances whatsoever, can make that expedient to be done at anytime, that is of it self, and in the kind* (Οὐ γὰρ ὃ μὴ καλὸν, ἐποτρ' ἐφ' ἑκατέρῃ. Eurip. Phœniss. Act. 3.) *unlawful. For a man to blaspheme the holy Name of God, to sacrifice to Idols, to give wrong Sentence in Judgment, by his power to oppress those that are not able to withstand him, by subtilty to over-reach others in bargaining, to take up arms, (offensive or defensive) against a lawful Sovereign; none of these and sundry other things of like nature, being all of them simply and de toto genere unlawful, may be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretension whatsoever; the express Command of God himself only excepted, as in the case of Abraham for sacrificing his Son, (Gen. xxii.) Not for the avoiding of Scandal, not at the instance of any Friend, or command of any Power upon earth; nor for the maintenance of the Lives or Liberties either of our selves or others; nor for the defence of Religion; nor for the preservation of a Church or State; no nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the Salvation of a Soul, no not for the redemption of the whole World. Sermon XII. ad Aulam, preach'd at Hampton-Court, July 26, 1640. on 1 Cor. x. 23. But all things are not expedient But all things edifie not. See XXXIV Sermons, &c. by Robert Sanderson, &c. pag. 522. of the eighth Edit. Lond. 1686, in fol.*



R E M A R K S

Upon some of

MR. NORRIS'S BOOKS,

Wherein he asserts

F. MALEBRANCH'S OPINION

O F

Our seeing all things in GOD.

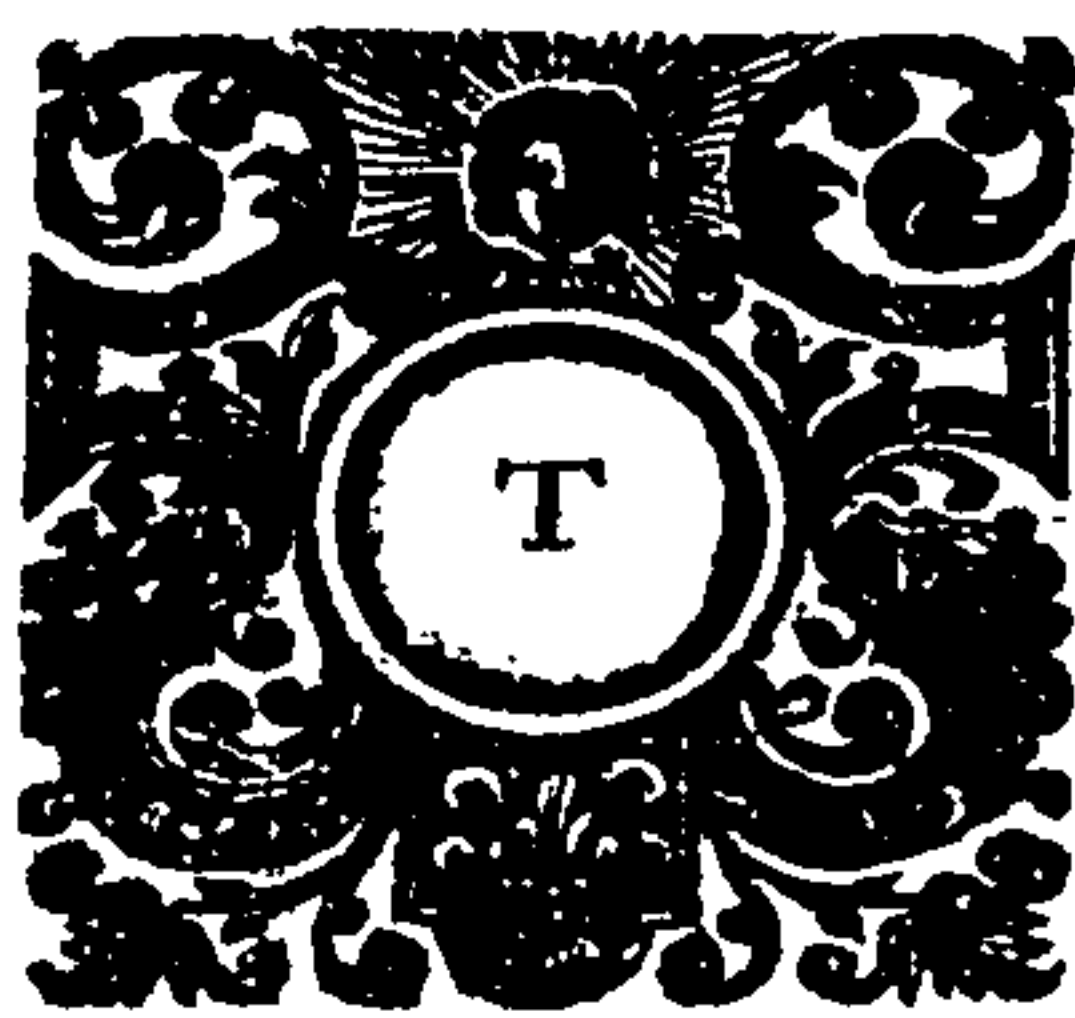


R E M A R K S

Upon some of

Mr. N O R R I S's B O O K S,

Wherein he asserts F. M A L E B R A N C H E's
Opinion of *our seeing all things in God.*



HERE are some, who think they have given an account of the nature of *Ideas*, by telling us, *we see them in God* (1), as if we understood, what *Ideas* in the Understanding of God, are better than when they are in our own Understandings; or their nature were better known, when it is said, that *the immediate Object of our Understandings* are *the Divine Ideas, the Omnipotent Essence of God, partially represented or exhibited* (2). So that, this now has made the matter clear, there can be no difficulty left, when we are told, that our *Ideas* are the *Divine Ideas*; and the *Divine Ideas* the *Omnipotent Essence of God*. For what the *Divine Ideas* are, we know as plainly, as we know what 1, 2, and 3, is; and it is a satisfactory explication of what our *Ideas* are to tell us, they are no other than the *Divine Ideas*; and the *Divine Essence* is more familiar, and level to our knowledge than any thing we think of. Besides, there can be no difficulty in understanding how the *Divine Ideas* are *God's Essence*.

2. I am complained of, for not having *given an account of, or defined the nature of our Ideas* (3). By *giving an account of the nature of Ideas*, is not meant, that I should make known to men their *Ideas*; for I think no body can imagine that any articulate sounds of mine, or any body else, can make known to another what his *Ideas*, that is, what his Perceptions are; better than what he himself knows and perceives them to be; which is enough for affirmations or negations about them. By the *nature of Ideas*, therefore, is meant here their causes and manner of production in the mind, i. e. in what

(1) See *Curjory Reflections upon a Book called, an Essay concerning Human Understanding. Written by JOHN NORRIS, M. A. Rector of Newton St. Loe in Somersetshire, and late Fellow of All Souls College, in a Letter to a Friend*; printed at the end of his *Christian Bleſſedneſs or Discourses upon the Beatitudes of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST*; pag. 30. Lond. 1690, in 8vo.

(2) Ibid. pag. 31.

(3) Ibid. pag. 3.

alteration of the mind this perception consists ; and as to that, I answer, no man can tell ; for which I not only appeal to experience, which were enough, but shall add this reason, *viz.* because no man can give any account of any alteration made in any simple substance whatsoever ; all the alteration we can conceive, being only of the alteration of compounded substances ; and that only by a transposition of parts. Our *Ideas*, say these men, are the *Divine Ideas*, or the *Omniform Essence of God*, which the mind sometimes sees, and sometimes not. Now I ask these men, what alteration is made in the mind upon *Seeing* ; for there lies the difficulty, which occasions the enquiry.

For what difference a man finds in himself, when he sees a Marygold, and sees not a Marygold, has no difficulty, and needs not be enquired after ; he has the Idea now, which he had not before. The difficulty is, what alteration is made in his mind ; what changes that has in itself, when it sees what it did not see before, either the *Divine Idea* in the Understanding of God, or as the ignorant think, the Marygold in the Garden. Either supposition, as to this matter, is all one ; for they are both things extrinsecal to the mind, till it has that perception ; and when it has it, I desire them to explain to me, what the alteration in the mind is, besides saying, as we vulgar do, it is having a Perception, which it had not the moment before ; which is only the difference between perceiving and not perceiving ; a difference in matter of fact agreed on all hands ; which wherein it consists, is, for aught I see, unknown to one side as well as the other ; only the one, have the ingenuity to confess their ignorance ; and the other, pretend to be knowing.

3. P. MALEBRANCHE says, *God does all things by the simplest and shortest ways*, i. e. as it is interpreted in Mr. NORRIS'S *Reason and Religion*, *God never does any thing in vain* (4). This will easily be granted them ; but how will they reconcile to this principle of theirs, on which their whole System is built, the curious structure of the eye and ear ; not to mention the other parts of the body. For if the perception of colours and sounds depended on nothing but the presence of the object affording an *occasional cause* to God Almighty to exhibit to the mind, the Ideas of figures, colours and sounds ; all that nice and curious structure of those organs is wholly in vain ; since the sun by day, and the stars by night, and the visible objects that surround us, and the beating of a drum, the talk of people, and the change made in the air by thunder ; are as much present to a blind and deaf man, as to those, who have their eyes and ears in the greatest perfection. He, that understands Opticks ever so little, must needs admire the wonderful make of the eye, not only for the variety and neatness of the parts ; but as suited to the nature of refraction, so as to paint the image of the object in the *retina* ; which these men must confess to be all lost labour, if it contributes nothing at all, in the ordinary way of causes and effects, to the producing that Idea in the mind. But that only the presence of the object gave occasion to God to shew to the mind that Idea in himself, which certainly is as present to one that has a *gutta serena*, as to the quicksightedest man living. But we do not know how by any natural operation this can produce an Idea in the mind ; and therefore (a good conclusion !) God the author of nature cannot this way produce it. As if it were impossible for the Almighty to produce any thing, but by ways we must conceive, and are able to comprehend ; when he that is best satisfied of his omniscient understanding, and knows so

(4) *Reason and Religion ; or, the Grounds and Measures of Devotion, consider'd from the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man. In several Contemplations. With Exercises of Devotion applied to every Contemplation.* By John Norris, M. A. and Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford. Part II. Contemplation II. § 17. pag. 195. Lond. 1689. in 8vo.

well how God perceives and man thinks, cannot explain the cohesion of parts in the lowest degree of created beings, unorganized bodies.

4. The *Perception of Universals*, also proves that all beings are present to our minds ; and that can only be by the Presence of God, because all *created things* are *Individuals* (5). Are not all things that exist *Individuals* ? If so, then say not, all created, but all existing things are *Individuals* ; and if so, then the having any general idea, proves not that we have all objects present to our minds. But this is for want of considering wherein Universality consists ; which is only in representation abstracting from particulars. An idea of a circle of an inch diameter, will represent, where or whensoever existing, all the circles of an inch diameter ; and that by abstracting from time and place. And it will also represent all circles of any bigness, by abstracting also from that particular bigness, and by retaining only the relation of equidistance of the circumference from the center, in all the parts of it.

5. We have a *distinct Idea of God* (6), whereby we clearly enough distinguish him from the creatures ; but I fear it would be presumption for us to say, we have a clear idea of him, as he is in himself.

6. The argument, that *we have the Idea of Infinite, before the idea of Finite*, because *we conceive Infinite Being, barely by conceiving Being, without considering, whether it be Finite or Infinite* (7) ; I shall leave to be considered, whether it is not a mistake, of priority of nature, for priority of conception.

7. *God made all things for himself* (8) ; therefore, *we see all things in him*. This is called demonstration. As if *all things* were not as well *made for God*, and mankind had not as much reason to magnify him, if their perception of things were any other way than such an one of *seeing them in him* ; as shews not God more than the other, and wherein not one of a million takes more notice of him, than those who think they perceive things, where they are, by their senses.

8. *If God should create a Mind, and give it the Sun, suppose, for its Idea, or immediate Object of Knowledge, God would then make that Mind for the Sun, and not for himself* (9). This supposes, that those that see things in God, see at the same time God also, and thereby shew that their minds are made for God, having him for the *immediate object of their knowledge*. But for this, I must appeal to common experience, whether every one, as often as he sees any thing else, sees and perceives God in the case ; or whether it be not true of men, who see other things every moment, that God is not in all their thoughts ? Yet, says he, *when the Mind sees his works, it sees him in some manner* (10). This *some manner*, is no manner at all to the purpose of being *made only for God*, for his Idea, or for his immediate object of knowledge. A man bred up in the obscurity of a dungeon, where by a dim and almost no light, he perceives the objects about him ; it is true he owes this Idea to the light of the Sun ; but having never heard nor thought of the Sun, can one say, that the Idea of the Sun is *his immediate object of knowledge*, or that therefore *his Mind was made for the Sun* ? This is the case of a great part of mankind ; and how many can we imagine of those, who have got some notion of a God, either from tradition or reason ; have an idea of him present in their minds as often as they think of any thing else ?

(5) *Reason and Religion*, &c. *ibid.* §. 19. p. 197.

(6) *Ibid.* §. 20. p. 198.

(7) *Ibid.* §. 21. p. 198.

(8) *Ibid.* §. 22. p. 199.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Ibid.* §. 23. p. 200.

9. But if our being *made for God* necessarily demonstrates that we should *see all things in him* ; this at last will demonstrate, that we are not half made for him, since it is confess'd by our Author, that we see no other Ideas in God, but those of Number, Extension, and Essences ; which are not half the Ideas that take up men's minds.

10. *The simple Essences of things are nothing else but the Divine Essence it self considered with his Connotation, as variously representative or exhibitve of things, and as variously imitable or participable by them* (11) ; and this he tell us are *Ideas* (12). The meaning, I take it, of all this put into plain intelligible words, is this ; God has always a power to produce any thing that involves not a contradiction. He also knows what we can do. But what is all this to Ideas in him, as real Beings visible by us ? God knew from eternity, he could produce a pebble, a mushroom, and a man. Were these, which are distinct Ideas, part of his simple Essence ? It seems then, we know very well the Essence of God, and use the word *simple*, which comprehends all sorts of variety in a very proper way. But God knew he could produce such creatures ; therefore where shall we place those Ideas he saw of them, but in his own *Essence* ? There these ideas existed *eminenter* ; and so they are the *Essence of God*. There the things themselves existed too *eminenter*, and therefore all the creatures as they really exist are the *Essence of God*. For if finite real beings of one kind, as Ideas are said to be, are the Essence of the infinite God ; other finite Beings, as the creatures, may be also the Essence of God. But after this rate we must talk, when we will allow ourselves to be ignorant of nothing ; but will know, even the knowledge of God, and the way of his Understanding !

11. *The Essences of things, or Ideas existing in God* (13). There are many of them that *exist in God* ; and so the simple Essence of God has actually existing in it, as great a variety of ideas as there are of creatures ; all of them real Beings, and distinct one from another. If it be said, this means, God can, and knows he can produce them ; what doth this say more than every one says ? If it doth say more, and shews us not this infinite number of real distinct Beings in God, so as to be his very Essence ; what is this better than what those say, who make God to be nothing but the Universe ; tho' it be cover'd under unintelligible expressions of *simplicity* and *variety* at the same time, in the *Essence of God*. But those who would not be thought ignorant of any thing, to attain it, make God like themselves ; or else they could not talk as they do, of *the Mind of God*, and *the Ideas in the Mind of God*, *exhibitve of all the whole possibility of Being* (14).

12. 'Tis in the *Divine Nature* that *these Universal Natures, which are the proper object of Science, are to be found*. And consequently 'tis in God that we know all the Truth, which we know (15). Doth any universal nature therefore exist ? Or can any thing that exists any where, or any how, be any other than singular ? I think it cannot be deny'd that God having a power to produce Ideas in us, can give that power to another ; or, to express it otherwise, make any Idea the effect of any operation on our bodies. This has no contradiction in it, and therefore is possible. But you will say, you conceive not the way how this is done. If you stand to that rule, that it cannot be done because you conceive not the manner how it is brought to pass ; you must deny, that God can do this ; because you cannot conceive the manner how he produces any Idea in us. If visible objects are seen only by God's exhibiting their Ideas

(11) *Reason and Religion, &c.* Part I. Contemplation V. §. 19. p. 82.

(12) *Ibid.* §. 20.

(13) *Ibid.* §. 21. pag. 83.

(14) *Ibid.* §. 30. p. 92, 93.

(15) *Reason and Religion, &c.* Part II. Contemplation II. §. 30. p. 205.

to our minds, *on occasion* of the presence of those objects; what hinders the Almighty from exhibiting their Ideas to a blind man, to whom being set before his face, and as near his eyes, and in as good a light as to one not blind, they are according to this supposition as much the occasional cause to one as to the other? But yet under this equality of occasional causes one has the Idea, and the other not; and this, constantly; which would give one reason to suspect something more than a presential *occasional cause* in the object.

13. Farther, if light striking upon the eyes be but the *occasional cause* of seeing; God in making the eyes of so curious a structure, operates not by the simplest ways; for God could have produced visible ideas, upon the occasion of light striking upon the eye-lids or forehead.

14. Outward objects are not, when present, always *occasional causes*. He that has long continued in a room perfumed with sweet odours, ceases to smell tho' the room be filled with those flowers; tho' as often as after a little absence he returns again, he smells them a-fresh. He that comes out of bright sunshine into a room where the curtains are drawn, at first sees nothing in the room; tho' those who have been there some time, see him and every thing plainly. 'Tis hard to account for either of these Phænomena, by God's producing these Ideas upon the account of *occasional causes*. But by the production of Ideas in the Mind, by the operation of the object on the organs of sense; this difference is easy to be explained.

15. Whether the Ideas of light and colours come in by the eyes, or no; 'tis all one as if they did; for those who have no eyes, never have them. And whether, or no, God has appointed that a certain modified motion of the fibres, or spirits in the optick nerve, should excite, or produce, or cause them in us; call it what you please; 'tis all one as if it did; since where there is no such motion, there is no such Perception or Idea. For I hope they will not deny God the privilege to give such a power to motion, if he pleases. Yes, say they, they be the *occasional*, but not the *efficient cause*; for that they cannot be, because that is in effect to say, he has given this motion in the optick nerve a power to operate on himself; but cannot give it a power to operate on the mind of man; it may by this appointment operate on himself, the impassible infinite Spirit, and put him in mind when he is to operate on the mind of man, and exhibit to it the Idea which is in himself of any colour. The infinite eternal God is certainly the cause of all things, the fountain of all being, and power. But because all being was from him, can there be nothing but God himself? or because all power was originally in him, can there be nothing of it communicated to his creatures? This is to set very narrow bounds to the power of God, and, by pretending to extend it, takes it away. For which (I beseech you, as we can comprehend) is the perfectest power; to make a machine, a watch, for example, that when the watch-maker has withdrawn his hands, shall go and strike by the fit contrivance of the parts; or else requires that whenever the hand by pointing to the hour, minds him of it; he should strike twelve upon the bell? No machine of God's making can go of it self. Why? because the creature have no power; can neither move themselves, nor any thing else. How then comes about all that we see? Do they do nothing? Yes, they are the *occasional causes* to God, why he should produce certain thoughts and motions in them. The creatures cannot produce any idea, any thought in man. How then comes he to perceive, or think? God upon the *occasion* of some motion in the optick nerve, exhibits the colour of a marygold or a rose to his mind. How came that motion in his optick nerve? *On occasion* of the motion of some particles of light striking on the *retina*, God producing it, and so on. And so whatever a man thinks, God produces the thought; let it be infidelity, murmuring, or blasphemy.

The

The Mind doth nothing; his mind is only the mirror that receives the Ideas that God exhibits to it, and just as God exhibits them; the man is altogether passive in the whole business of thinking.

16. A Man cannot move his arm or his tongue; he has no power; only upon *occasion* the man willing it, God moves it. Then Man *wills*, he doth something; or else God upon the *occasion* of something, which he himself did before, produced this Will, and this Action in him. This is the Hypothesis that clears doubts, and brings us at last to the Religion of HOBBS and SPINOZA; by resolving all, even the thoughts and will of men, into an irresistible fatal necessity. For, whether the original of it be from the continued motion of eternal all-doing Matter; or from an omnipotent immaterial Being, which having began matter and motion, continues it by the direction of *occasions*, which he himself has also made; as to Religion and Morality it is just the same thing. But we must know how every thing is brought to pass, and thus we have it resolved without leaving any difficulty to perplex us. But perhaps it would better become us to acknowledge our Ignorance, than to talk such things boldly of the holy one of Israel; and condemn others for not daring to be as unmannerly as our selves.

17. Ideas may be real Beings, tho' not Substances; as motion is a real being, tho' not a substance; and it seems probable that in us, Ideas depend on, and are some way or other, the effect of motion; since they are so fleeting, it being, as I have elsewhere observed, so hard and almost impossible to keep in our minds the same unvaried Idea long together, unless when the object that produces it, is present to the senses; from which the same motion that first produc'd it, being continued, the Idea it self may continue.

18. This therefore may be a sufficient Excuse of the ignorance I have own'd of what our *Ideas* are, any farther than as they are perceptions we experiment in our selves; and the dull un-philosophical way I have taken, of examining their production, only so far as experience and observation lead me, wherein my dim sight went not beyond *Sensation* and *Reflection*.

19. *Truth* (16) lies only in Propositions. The foundation of this Truth is the relation that is between our ideas. The knowledge of truth is that perception of the relation between our ideas to be as it is express'd.

20. The *Immutability* of *Essences* lies in the same sounds, suppos'd to stand for the same ideas. These things consider'd, would have saved this learned discourse.

21. Whatever exists, whether in God, or out of God, is *singular* (17).

22. If no Propositions shou'd be made, there wou'd be no Truth nor Falshood; tho' the same relations still between the same ideas, is a foundation of the *Immutability* of *Truth* (18) in the same propositions, whenever made.

23. What wonder is it that the same Idea (19) should always be the same Idea? For if the word *Triangle* be suppos'd to have the same signification always, that is all this amounts to.

24. *I desire to know* (20) what things they are that *God has prepared for them that love him*? Therefore I have some knowledge of them already, tho' they be such as *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to conceive*.

(16) See *Reason and Religion*, &c. Part II. Contempl. II. §. 29. p. 204.

(17) See *Ibid.* §. 30. p. 206.

(18) *Ibid.* §. 32. p. 207.

(19) *Ibid.* §. 33. p. 208, 209.

(20) *Ibid.* §. 34. p. 210.

25. If I *have all things actually present to my mind* ; why do I not know all things distinctly ?

26. He that considers (21) the force of such ways of speaking as these, *I desire it, Pray give it me, She was afraid of the Snake and ran away trembling* ; will easily conceive how the meaning of the words *desire* and *fear*, and so all those which stand for intellectual notions, may be taught by words of *sensible* significations.

27. This, however otherwise in experience, should be so on this Hypothesis ; v. g. the Uniformity of the Ideas, that different men have when they use such words as these, *Glory, Worship, Religion*, are clear proofs that God exhibited to their minds that part of the ideal world, as is signified by that sign.

28. Strange ! that *Truth*, being in any question, but one ; the more we discover of it, the more *uniform* our judgments should be about it (22).

29. This argues that the ground of it is the always immutable relations of the same Ideas. Several Ideas that we have once got acquainted with, we can revive ; and so they are present to us when we please. But the knowledge of their relations, so as to know what we may affirm or deny of them ; is not always present to our minds, but we often miss Truth, even after study. But in many, and possibly not the fewest, we have neither the ideas, nor the truth, *constantly*, or so much as at all, *present* to our minds.

And I think I may, without any disparagement to the Author, doubt whether he ever had, or with all his application ever would have, the ideas or truths present to the mind, that Mr. NEWTON had in writing his Book.

30. This Section (23) supposes we are better acquainted with *God's Understanding*, than our own. But this pretty argument would perhaps look as smilingly thus : We are *like* God in our understandings ; he sees what he sees, by ideas in his own mind ; therefore, we see what we see, by ideas that are in our own minds.

31. These texts (24) do not prove that we shall *hereafter see all things in God*. There will be objects in a future state, and we shall have bodies and senses.

32. Is he, whilst we see thro' the *Veil* of our mortal flesh here, intimately present to our minds ?

33. To think of any thing (25) is to contemplate that precise Idea. The idea of *Being in general*, is the idea of Being abstracted from whatever may limit or determine it to any inferior species ; so that he that thinks always of *Being in general*, thinks never of any *particular* species of Being ; unless he can think of it with and without precision at the same time. But if he means, that he *thinks* of *Being in general*, whenever he thinks of this or that particular Being, or sort of Being ; then it is certain he may always think of *Being in general*, till he can find out a way of thinking on nothing.

34. *Being in general*, is Being (26) abstracted from wisdom, goodness, power, and any particular sort of duration ; and I have as true an idea of Being, when these are excluded out of it, as when extension, place, solidity, and mobility, are excluded out of my idea. And therefore, if *Being*

(21) Ibid. §. 35. p. 211, 212, 213.

(22) Ibid. §. 36. p. 214.

(23) Ibid. §. 37. p. 215.

(24) Ibid. §. 38. p. 216, 217.

(25) Ibid. §. 39. p. 217, 218.

(26) Ibid. §. 40. p. 219.

in general, and God, be the same ; I have a true idea of God, when I exclude out of it power, goodness, wisdom and eternity.

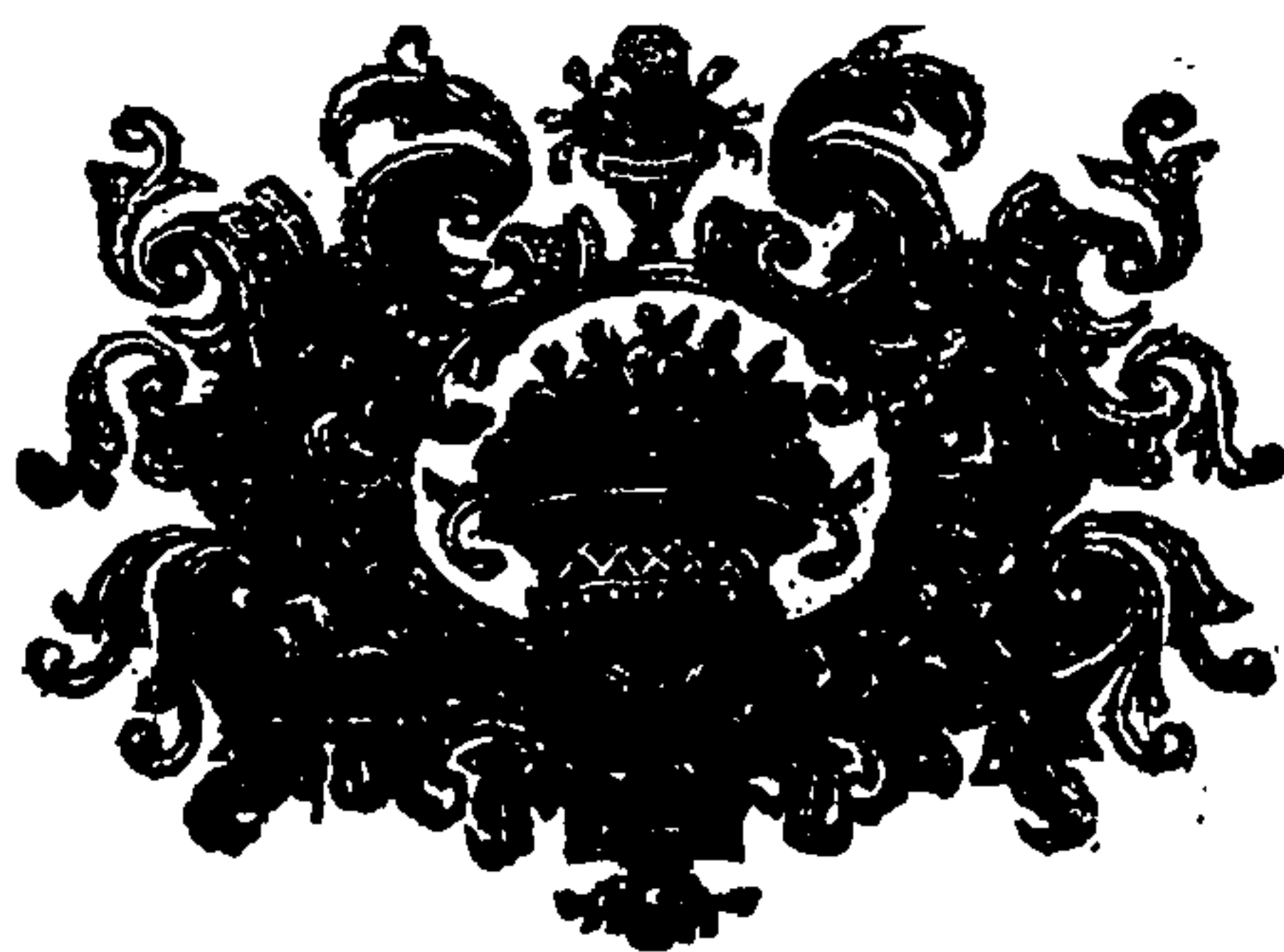
35. As if there was no difference (27) between *Man's being his own light,* and *not seeing things in God.* Man may be enlighten'd by God, tho' it be not by *seeing all things in God.*

The finishing of these hasty thoughts, must be defer'd to another season.

Oates, 1693.

JOHN LOCKE.

(27) Ibid. §. 43. p. 223.



E L E M E N T S

O F

N A T U R A L P H I L O S O P H Y.



E L E M E N T S

O F

N A T U R A L P H I L O S O P H Y.



C H A P. I.

Of Matter and Motion.



*M*ATTER is an extended solid substance; which being comprehended under distinct surfaces, makes so many particular distinct Bodies.

Motion is so well known by the sight and touch, that to use words to give a clearer idea of it, would be in vain.

Matter, or Body, is indifferent to Motion, or Rest.

There is as much force required to put a body, which is in motion, at rest; as there is to set a body, which is at rest, into motion.

No parcel of matter can give it self either motion or rest; and therefore a body at rest will remain so eternally, except some external cause puts it in motion; and a body in motion will move eternally unless some external cause stops it.

A body in motion will always move on in a strait line, unless it be turn'd out of it by some eternal cause; because a body can no more alter the determination of its motion, than it can begin it, alter or stop its motion itself.

The *swiftness of Motion*, is measured by distance of place, and length of time wherein it is performed. For instance, if *A* and *B*, bodies of equal or different bigness, move each of them an inch in the same time; their motions are equally swift; but if *A* moves two inches, in the time whilst *B* is moving one inch; the motion of *A* is twice as swift as that of *B*.

The *quantity of Motion*, is measured by the swiftness of the motion, and the quantity of the matter moved, taken together. For instance, if *A*, a body equal to *B*, moves as swift as *B*; then it hath an equal quantity of motion. If *A* hath twice as much matter as *B*, and moves equally as swift, it hath double the quantity of motion; and so in proportion.

It appears, as far as human observation reaches, to be a settled Law of Nature, that *all Bodies have a Tendency, Attraction, or Gravitation towards one another.*

The same force applied to two different bodies, produces always the same quantity of Motion in each of them. For instance, let a Boat, which with its loading is one tun, be tied at a distance to another Vessel, which with its lading is twenty six tuns; if the rope that ties them together be pulled, either in the less or bigger of these Vessels, the less of the two, in their approach one to another, will move twenty six foot, while the other moves but one foot.

Wherefore the quantity of matter in the Earth being twenty six times more, than in the Moon; the motion in the Moon towards the Earth, by the common force of attraction, by which they are impell'd towards one another, will be twenty six times as fast as in the Earth; that is, the Moon will move twenty six miles towards the Earth, for every mile the Earth moves towards the Moon.

Hence it is, that in this natural tendency of Bodies towards one another, that in the lesser is consider'd as *Gravitation*; and that in the bigger as *Attraction*; because the motion of the lesser body (by reason of its much greater swiftness) is alone taken notice of.

This Attraction is the strongest, the nearer the attracting bodies are to each other; and, in different distances of the same bodies, is reciprocally in the duplicate proportion of those distances. For instance, if two bodies, at a given distance, attract each other with a certain force; at half the distance, they will attract each other with four times that force; at one third of the distance, with nine times that force; and so on.

Two bodies, at a distance, will put one another into motion by the force of attraction; which is unexplicable by us, tho' made evident to us by experience, and so to be taken as a Principle in Natural Philosophy.

Supposing then the Earth the sole body in the universe, and at rest; if God should create the Moon, at the same distance that it is now from the Earth; the Earth, and the Moon would presently begin to move one towards another in a strait line by this motion of attraction or gravitation.

If a body, that by the attraction of another would move in a strait line towards it, receives a new motion any ways oblique to the first; it will no longer move in a strait line, according to either of those directions; but in a Curve, that will partake of both. And this curve will differ, according to the nature and quantity of the forces that concurr'd to produce it; as, for instance, in many cases it will be such a curve as ends where it begun, or recurs into it self; that is, makes up a Circle, or an Ellipsis or Oval very little differing from a circle.



CHAP. II.

Of the Universe.

TO any one, who looks about him in the World, there are obvious several distinct Masses of Matter, separate from one another; some whereof have discernable motions. These are the *Sun*, the *fixt Stars*, the *Comets*, and the *Planets*, amongst which this *Earth*, which we inhabit, is one. All these are visible to our naked eyes.

Besides

Besides these, Telescopes have discovered several fixt Stars, invisible to the naked eye; and several other bodies moving about some of the Planets; all which were invisible and unknown, before the use of prospective Glasses were found.

The vast distances between these great bodies, are call'd *intermundane Spaces*; in which tho' there may be some fluid matter, yet it is so thin and subtle; and there is so little of that in respect of the great masses that move in those Spaces, that it is as much as nothing.

These masses of matter are, either *luminous*, or *opaque*, or dark.

Luminous Bodies, are such as give light of themselves; and such are the *Sun*, and the *fixt Stars*.

Dark or opaque Bodies, are such as emit no light of themselves, though they are capable of reflecting of it, when it is cast upon them from other bodys; and such are the *Planets*.

There are some opaque bodies, as for instance the *Comets*, which besides the light, that they may have from the Sun, seem to shine with a light that is nothing else but an accension, which they receive from the Sun, in their near approaches to it, in their respective revolutions.

The *fixt Stars* are called *fixt*, because they always keep the same distance one from another.

The *Sun*, at the same distance from us that the fixt Stars are, would have the appearance of one of the fixt Stars.



CHAP. III.

Of our Solar System.

OUR *Solar System* consists of the *Sun*; and the *Planets*, and *Comets* moving about it.

The *Planets* are bodies, which appear to us like Stars; not that they are luminous bodies, that is, have light in themselves; but they shine by reflecting the light of the Sun.

They are called *Planets* from a Greek word, which signifies *wandering*; because they change their places, and do not always keep the same distance with one another, nor with the fixt Stars, as the fixt Stars do.

The Planets are either *primary*, or *secondary*.

There are six *primary Planets*, viz. *Mercury*, *Venus*, the *Earth*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*.

All these move round the Sun, which is, as it were, the center of their motions.

The *secondary Planets* move round about other Planets. Besides the *Moon*, which moves about the Earth; four Moons move about Jupiter, and five about Saturn, which are called their *Satellites*.

The middle distances of the primary Planets from the Sun, are as follow;

<i>Mercury</i>	} Is distant from the Sun's cen- ter about.	32,000,000	} Statute Miles each 5280 English, and 4943 French Feet.
<i>Venus</i>		59,000,000	
<i>The Earth</i>		81,000,000	
<i>Mars</i>		123,000,000	
<i>Jupiter</i>		424,000,000	
<i>Saturn.</i>		777,000,000	

The

The Orbits of the Planets, and their respective Distances from the Sun, and from one another, together with the Orbit of a Comet, may be seen in the Figure of the *Solar System* hereunto annexed.

The periodical times of each Planet's revolution about the Sun, are as follows ;

		Y.	D.	H.	M.
<i>Mercury</i>	} Revolves about the Sun in the space of	0	88	0	0
<i>Venus</i>		0	225	0	0
<i>The Earth</i>		0	365	5	49
<i>Mars</i>		1	322	0	0
<i>Jupiter</i>		11	319	0	0
<i>Saturn.</i>		29	138	0	0

The Planets move round about the Sun from West to East in the Zodiac ; or, to speak plainer, are always found amongst some of the Stars of those Constellations, which make the twelve Signs of the Zodiac.

The motion of the Planets about the Sun, is not perfectly circular, but rather elliptical.

The reason of their motions in curve lines, is the attraction of the Sun, or their gravitations towards the Sun (call it which you please) ; and an oblique or side-long impulse or motion.

These two motions or tendencies, the one always endeavouring to carry them in a strait line from the circle they move in, and the other endeavouring to draw them in a strait line to the Sun, makes that curve line they revolve in.

The motion of the *Comets* about the Sun, is in a very long slender Oval ; whereof one of the focus's is the center of the Sun, and the other very much beyond the sphere of Saturn.

The *Moon* moves about the Earth, as the Earth doth about the Sun. So that it hath the center of its motion in the Earth ; as the Earth hath the center of its revolution in the Sun, about which it moves.

The Moon makes its synodical motion about the Earth, in 29 days, 12 hours, and about 44 minutes.

It is *Full Moon*, when the Earth being between the Sun and the Moon, we see all the enlightened part of the Moon ; *New Moon*, when the Moon being between us and the Sun, its enlightened part is turned from us ; and *Half Moon*, when the Moon being in the Quadratures, as the Astronomers call it, we see but half the enlighten'd part.

An *Eclipse of the Moon* is, when the Earth, being between the Sun and the Moon, hinders the light of the Sun from falling upon and being reflected by the Moon. If the light of the Sun is kept off from the whole body of the Moon, it is a *total Eclipse* ; if from a part only, it is a *partial* one.

An *Eclipse of the Sun* is, when the Moon, being between the Sun and the Earth, hinders the light of the Sun from coming to us. If the Moon hides from us the whole body of the Sun, it is a *total Eclipse* ; if not, a *partial* one.

Our solar System is distant from the fixt Stars 20,000.000.000 semi-diameters of the Earth ; or, as Mr. Huygens expresses this distance, in his *Cosmotheoros* (1) ; the fixt Stars are so remote from the Earth, that, if a canon bullet should come from one of the fixt Stars with as swift a motion as it hath when it is shot out of the mouth of a canon, it would be 700,000 years in coming to the Earth.

(1) *Christiani Hugonii ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ, sive de Terris Cælestibus earumque ornatu, conjecturæ*, &c. p. m. 137.

This vast distance so much abates the Attraction of those remote bodies, that its operation upon those of our System is not at all sensible, nor would draw away or hinder the return of any of our solar Comets ; tho' some of them should go so far from the Sun, as not to make the revolution about it in less than 1000 years.

It is more suitable to the wisdom, power, and greatness of God, to think that the fixt Stars are all of them Suns, with Systems of inhabitable Planets moving about them, to whose Inhabitants he displays the marks of his Goodness as well as to us ; rather than to imagine that those very remote bodies, so little useful to us, were made only for our sake.



CHAP. IV.

Of the Earth, considered as a Planet.

THE *Earth*, by its revolution about the Sun in 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes, makes that space of time we call a *Year*.

The line, which the Center of the Earth describes in its annual revolution about the Sun, is called the *Ecliptick*.

The annual Motion of the Earth about the Sun, is in the Order of the Signs of the Zodiack ; that is, speaking vulgarly, from West to East.

Besides this annual revolution of the Earth about the Sun, in the *Ecliptick* ; the Earth turns round upon its own Axis in 24 hours.

The turning of the Earth upon its own Axis every 24 Hours, whilst it moves round the Sun in a Year, we may conceive by the running of a bowl on a bowling green ; in which not only the center of the bowl hath a progressive motion on the green ; but the bowl in its going forward, from one part of the green to another, turns round about its own Axis.

The turning of the Earth on its own Axis, makes the difference of *Day* and *Night* ; it being *Day* in those parts of the Earth, which are turned towards the Sun ; and *Night* in those parts, which are in the Shade, or turned from the Sun.

The annual revolution of the Earth in the *Ecliptick*, is the cause of the different *Seasons*, and of the several *Lengths of Days* and *Nights*, in every part of the World, in the course of the Year.

The reason of it, is the Earth's going round its own Axis in the *Ecliptick*, but at the same time keeping every where its Axis equally inclined to the plane of the *Ecliptick*, and parallel to itself. For the plane of the *Ecliptick* inclining to the plane of the Equator, 23 degrees and an half, makes that the Earth, moving round in the *Ecliptick*, hath sometimes one of its Poles, and sometimes the other, nearer the Sun.

If the Diameter of the Sun be to the Diameter of the Earth as 48 to 1 ; as by some it is accounted ; then the disk of the Sun, speaking *numero rotundo*, is above 2000 times bigger than the disk of the Earth ; and the the Globe of the Sun above 100,000 times bigger than the Globe of the Earth.

The distance of the Earth's Orbit from the Sun, is above 20,000 semi-diameters of the Earth.

If a Canon bullet should come from the Sun, with the same velocity it hath, when it is shot out of the mouth of a Canon, it would be 25 Years in coming to the Earth.



C H A P. V.

Of the Air and Atmosphere.

WE have already considered the Earth as a Planet, or one of the great masses of matter moving about the Sun; we shall now consider it as it is made up of its several parts, abstracting from its diurnal and annual motions.

The exterior part of this our habitable world is the *Air* or *Atmosphere*; a light, thin, fluid, or springy body, that encompasses the solid Earth on all sides.

The height of the Atmosphere, above the surface of the solid Earth, is not certainly known; but that it doth reach but to a very small part of the distance betwixt the Earth and the Moon, may be concluded from the refraction of the rays coming from the Sun, Moon, and other luminous bodys.

Though considering that the Air we are in, being near 1000 times lighter than water; and that the higher it is, the less it is compressed by the superior incumbent air, and so consequently being a springy body the thinner it is; and considering also that a pillar of air of any diameter is equal in weight to a pillar of quicksilver of the same diameter of between 29 and 30 inches height; we may infer that the top of the Atmosphere is not very near the surface of the solid Earth.

It may be concluded, that the utmost extent of the Atmosphere reaches upwards from the surface of the solid Earth that we walk on, to a good distance above us; first, if we consider that a column of air of any given diameter is equiponderant to a column of quicksilver of between 29 and 30 inches height. Now quicksilver being near 14 times heavier than water, if air was as heavy as water, the Atmosphere would be about 14 times higher than the column of quicksilver, *i. e.* about 34 foot.

Secondly, if we consider, that air is 1000 times lighter than water, then a pillar of air equal in weight to a pillar of quicksilver of 30 inches high will be 6800 foot; whereby we come to know that the Air or Atmosphere is 6800 foot, *i. e.* near seven miles high.

Thirdly, if we consider that the Air is a springy body, and that that, which is nearest the Earth, is compressed by the weight of all the Atmosphere that is above it, and rests perpendicularly upon it; we shall find that the Air here, near the surface of the Earth, is much denser and thicker than it is in the upper parts. For example, if upon a fleece of wool you lay another; the under one will be a little compress'd by the weight of that, which lies upon it; and so both of them by a third, and so on; so that if 10000 were piled one upon another, the under one would by the weight of all the rest be very much compress'd, and all the parts of it be brought abundantly closer together, than when there was no other upon it; and the next to that a little less compressed, the third a little less than the second, and so on till it came to the uppermost, which would be in its full expansion, and not compressed at all. Just so it is in the Air; the higher you go in it, the less it is compressed, and consequently the less dense it is; and so the upper part being exceedingly thinner than the lower part, which we breathe in; (which is that that is 1000 times lighter than

than water); the top of the Atmosphere is probably much higher than the distance above assign'd.

That the Air near the surface of the Earth will mightily expand itself when the pressure of the incumbent Atmosphere is taken off, may be abundantly seen in the Experiments made by Mr. *Boyle* in his Pneumatick Engine. In his *Physico-mechanical experiments*, concerning the Air, he declares (1) it probable that the Atmosphere may be several hundred miles high; which is easy to be admitted, when we consider what he proves in another part of the same Treatise, viz. that the Air here about the surface of the Earth, when the pressure is taken from it, will dilate it self above 152 times.

The Atmosphere is the scene of the Meteors; and therein is collected the matter of rain, hail, snow, thunder, and lightning; and a great many other things observable in the Air.



CHAP. VI.

Of Meteors in general.

BESIDES the springy particles of pure air, the Atmosphere is made up of several steams or minute particles of several sorts, rising from the earth and the waters, and floating in the air, which is a fluid body, and though much finer and thinner, may be consider'd in respect of its fluidity to be like water, and so capable, like other liquors, of having heterogeneous particles floating in it.

The most remarkable of them are first, the particles of water raised into the Atmosphere, chiefly by the heat of the sun, out of the sea and other waters, and the surface of the earth; from whence it falls in *Dew*, *Rain*, *Hail* and *Snow*.

Out of the *Vapours* rising from moisture, the *Clouds* are principally made.

Clouds do not consist wholly of watery parts; for besides the aqueous vapours that are raised into the air, there are also sulphureous and saline particles, that are raised up, and in the clouds mixed with the aqueous particles, the effects whereof are sometimes very sensible; as particularly in *Lightning*, and *Thunder*, when the sulphureous and nitrous particles firing, break out with that violence of light and noise, which is observable in Thunder, and very much resembles Gun-powder.

That there are nitrous particles raised into the air, is evident from the nourishment which rain gives to vegetables more than any other water; and also by the collection of niter or salt-peter in heaps of earth, out of which it has been extracted, if they be exposed to the air, so as to be kept from rain; not to mention other efforts, wherein the nitrous spirit in the air shews it self.

Clouds are the greatest and most considerable of all the Meteors, as furnishing matter and plenty to the earth. They consist of very small drops of water; and are elevated a good distance above the surface of the earth; for a Cloud is nothing but a mist flying high in the air, as a Mist is nothing but a cloud here below.

(1) *New Experiments Physico-mechanical, touching the Spring of the Air, and its effects; (made for the most part in a new Pneumatical Engine) written . . . by the honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Esq; Experiment xxxvi. p. 155, Oxford, 1662, in 4to.*

How vapours are raised into the air in invisible steams by the heat of the sun out of the sea, and moist parts of the earth, is easily understood; and there is a visible instance of it in ordinary distillations. But how these steams are collected into drops, which bring back the water again, is not so easy to determine.

To those, that will carefully observe, perhaps it will appear probable, that it is by that, which the Chymists call *Precipitation*; to which it answers in all its parts.

The air may be look'd on as a clear and pellucid *Menstruum*, in which the insensible particles of dissolved matter float up and down, without being discerned, or troubling the pellucidity of the air; when on a sudden, as if it were by a precipitation, they gather into the very small, but visible misty drops that make clouds.

This may be observed sometimes in a very clear sky; when, there not appearing any cloud, or any thing opaque, in the whole horizon, one may see on a sudden clouds gather, and all the hemisphere overcast; which cannot be from the rising of new aqueous vapours at that time; but from the precipitation of the moisture that in invisible particles floated in the air, into very small, but very visible drops, which by a like cause being united into greater drops, they become too heavy to be sustained in the air; and so fall down in *Rain*.

Hail, seems to be the drops of rain frozen in their falling.

Snow, is the small particles of water frozen before they unite into drops.

The regular figures, which branch out in flakes of snow, seem to shew that there are some particles of salt mixed with the water, which makes them unite in certain angles.

The *Rain-bow*, is reckon'd one of the most remarkable meteors, though really it be no meteor at all; but the reflection of the sun-beams from the smallest drops of a cloud or mist, which are placed in a certain angle made by the concurrence of two lines, the one drawn from the sun, and the other from the eye to these little drops in the cloud, which reflect the sun-beams; so that two people looking upon a Rainbow at the same time, do not see exactly the same rainbow.



CHAP. VII.

Of Springs, Rivers, and the Sea.

PART of the water, that falls down from the clouds, runs away upon the surface of the earth into channels, which convey it to the *Sea*; and part of it is imbibed in the spongy shell of the earth, from whence sinking lower by degrees, it falls down into subterranean channels, and so under ground passes into the *Sea*; or else meeting with beds of rock or clay, it is hindered from sinking lower, and so breaks out in *Springs*, which are most commonly in the sides, or at the bottom of hilly ground.

Springs make little *Rivulets*; those united make *Brooks*; and those coming together make *Rivers*, which empty themselves into the *Sea*.

The *Sea* is a great collection of waters in the deep valleys of the earth. If the earth were all plain, and had not those deep hollows, the earth would be
all

all cover'd with water; because the water, being lighter than the earth, would be above the earth, as the air is above the water.

The most remarkable thing in the Sea, is that motion of the water called *Tides*. It is a rising and falling of the water of the sea. The cause of this is the attraction of the Moon, whereby the part of the water in the great ocean, which is nearest the Moon, being most strongly attracted, is raised higher than the rest; and the part opposite to it on the contrary side, being least attracted, is also higher than the rest. And these two opposite rises of the surface of the water in the great ocean, following the motion of the Moon from east to west, and striking against the large coasts of the continents that lie in its way; from thence rebounds back again, and so makes *Floods* and *Ebbs* in narrow seas, and rivers remote from the great ocean. Herein we also see the reason of the times of the *Tides*, and why they so constantly follow the course of the Moon.



CHAP. VIII.

Of several sorts of Earth, Stones, Metals, Minerals, and other Fossils.

THIS solid globe we live upon is call'd the *Earth*, tho' it contains in it a great variety of bodies, several whereof are not properly *Earth*; which word, taken in a more limited sense, signifies such parts of this globe, as are capable, being exposed to the air, to give rooting and nourishment to plants, so that they may stand and grow in it. With such earth as this, the greatest part of the surface of this globe is covered; and it is as it were the store-house, from whence all the living creatures of our world have originally their provisions; for from thence all the plants have their sustenance, and some few animals, and from these all the other animals.

Of *Earth*, taken in this sense, there are several sorts, v. g. *Common mould*, or *Garden earth*, *Clay* of several kinds, *Sandy soils*.

Besides these there is medicinal earth; as that, which is called *terra lemnia*, *bolus armena*, and divers others.

After the several earths, we may consider the parts of the surface of this globe, which is barren; and such for the most are *Sand*, *Gravel*, *Chalk*, and *Rocks*, which produce nothing, where they have no earth mixt among them. Barren *Sands* are of divers kinds; and consist of several little irregular stones without any earth, and of such there are great deserts to be seen in several parts of the world.

Besides these, which are most remarkable on the surface of the earth, there are found deeper in this globe many other bodies, which, because we discover by digging into the bowels of the earth, are call'd by one common name *Fossils*; under which are comprehended *Metals*, *Minerals* or half metals, *Stones* of divers kinds, and sundry bodies that have the texture between earth and stone.

To begin with those *Fossils* which come nearest the earth; under this head we may reckon the several sorts of *Oker*, *Chalk*, that which they call *Black lead*, and other bodies of this kind, which are harder than earth, but have not the consistency and hardness of perfect stone.

Next to these may be consider'd *Stones* of all sorts ; whereof there is almost an infinite variety. Some of the most remarkable, either for beauty or use, are these ; *Marble* of all kinds, *Porphyry*, *Granit*, *Free-stone*, &c. *Flints*, *Agats*, *Cornelians*, *Pebbles*, under which kind come the *Precious Stones*, which are but pebbles of an excessive hardness, and when they are cut and polish'd, they have an extraordinary lustre. The most noted and esteemed are, *Diamonds*, *Rubys*, *Ametbysts*, *Emeralds*, *Topazes*, *Opats*.

Besides these, we must not omit those, which, tho' of not so much beauty, yet are of greater use, viz. *Loadstones*, *Whetstones* of all kinds, *Limestones*, *Calamint* or *Lapis calaminaris*; and abundance of others.

Besides these, there are found in the earth several sorts of *Salts*, as eating or common *Salt*, *Vitriol*, *Sal gemma*, and others.

The *Minerals*, or semi-metals, that are dug out of the bowels of the earth, are *Antimony*, *Cinnaber*, *Zink*, &c. to which may be added *Brimstone*.

But the bodies of most use, that are sought for out of the depths of the earth, are the *Metals*; which are distinguished from other bodies by their weight, fusibility, and malleableness, of which there are these sorts, *Gold*, *Silver*, *Copper*, *Tin*, *Lead*, and, the most valuable of them all, *Iron*; to which one may join that anomalous body *Quicksilver* or *Mercury*.

He, that desires to be more particularly inform'd concerning the qualities and properties of these subterraneous bodies, may consult natural Historians and Chymists.

What lies deeper towards the center of the earth we know not, but a very little beneath the surface of this globe; and whatever we fetch from under ground is only what is lodged in the shell of the earth.

All *Stones*, *Metals*, and *Minerals*, are real *Vegetables*; that is, grow organically from proper seeds, as well as *Plants*.



CHAP. IX.

Of Vegetables or Plants.

NEXT to the Earth it self, we may consider those that are maintain'd on its surface; which tho' they are fastened to it, yet are very distinct from it; and those are the whole tribe of *Vegetables* or *Plants*. These may be divided into three sorts, *Herbs*, *Shrubs*, and *Trees*.

Herbs are those *Plants*, whose stalks are soft, and have nothing woody in them, as *Grass*, *Sowthistle*, and *Hemlock*. *Shrubs* and *Trees* have all wood in them; but with this difference, that *Shrubs* grow not to the height of trees, and usually spread into branches near the surface of the earth; whereas *Trees* generally shoot up in one great stem or body, and then at a good distance from the Earth spread into branches; thus, *Gooseberrys*, and *Currants*, are *Shrubs*; *Oaks*, and *Cherrys*, are *Trees*.

In *Plants* the most considerable parts are these, the *root*, the *stalk*, the *leaves*, the *flower*, and the *seed*. There are very few of them that have not all these parts, tho' some few there are that have no stalk; others, that have no leaves; and others, that have no flowers. But without seed or root, I think there are none.

In *Vegetables*, there are two things chiefly to be consider'd, their *Nourishment*, and *Propagation*.

Their

Their *Nourishment* is thus ; the small and tender fibres of the roots, being spread under ground, imbibe from the moist earth juice fit for their nourishment ; this is conveyed by the stalk up into the branches, and leaves, through little, and in some Plants, imperceptible tubes, and from thence by the bark returns again to the root ; so that there is in Vegetables, as well as in Animals, a Circulation of the vital liquor. By what impulse it is moved, is somewhat hard to discover. It seems to be from the difference of day and night, and other changes in the heat of the air ; for the heat dilating, and the cold contracting those little tubes, supposing there be valves in them, it is easy to be conceived how the circulation is performed in Plants, where it is not required to be so rapid and quick as in Animals.

Nature has provided for the *Propagation* of the species of Plants several ways. The first and general is by Seed. Besides this, some Plants are raised from any part of the root set in the ground ; others by new roots, that are propagated from the old ones, as in Tulips ; others by off-sets, and in others, the branches set in the ground will take root and grow ; and last of all, grafting and inoculation, in certain sorts, are known ways of propagation. All these ways of encreasing plants, make one good part of the skill of gardening ; and from the books of Gardeners may be best learnt.



CHAP. X.

Of Animals.

THERE is another sort of creatures belonging to this our Earth, rather as Inhabitants than parts of it. They differ in this from Plants, that they are not fix'd to any one place, but have a freedom of motion up and down, and besides have sense to guide them in their motions.

Man and *Brute*, divide all the *animals* of this our Globe.

Brutes, may be consider'd as either *Aerial*, *Terrestrial*, *Aquatick*, or *Amphibious*. I call those *Aerial*, which have wings, wherewith they can support themselves in the Air. *Terrestrial*, are those, whose only place of rest is upon the Earth. *Aquatick*, are those, whose constant abode is upon the water. Those are call'd *Amphibious*, which live freely in the air upon the earth ; and yet are observed to live long upon water, as if they were natural Inhabitants of that element ; tho' it be worth the examination to know, whether any of those creatures that live at their ease, and by choice, a good while or at any time upon the earth, can live a long time together perfectly under water.

Aerial Animals, may be subdivided into *Birds*, and *Flies*.

Fishes, which are the chief part of *Aquatick Animals*, may be divided into *Shell-fishes*, *Scaly-fishes*, and those that have neither apparent Scales nor Shells.

And the *Terrestrial Animals*, may be divided into *Quadrupeds* or *Beasts*, *Reptiles*, which have many feet, and *Serpents*, which have no feet at all.

Insects, which in their several changes belong to several of the before-mention'd divisions, may be considered together as one great tribe of Animals. They are called *Insects*, from a separation in the middle of their bodies, whereby they are, as it were, cut into two parts, which are joined together by a small ligature ; as we see in *Wasps*, *Common flies* and the like.

Besides

Besides all these, there are some Animals that are not perfectly of these kinds, but placed, as it were, in the middle betwixt two of them, by something of both; as *Bats*, which have something of beasts, and birds in them.

Some Reptiles of the earth, and some of Aquaticks, want one or more of the senses, which are in perfecter Animals; as *Worms*, *Oysters*, *Cockles*, &c.

Animals are nourish'd by food, taken in at the mouth, digested in the stomach, and thence by fit vessels distributed over the whole body; as is described in books of Anatomy.

The greatest part of Animals have five *Senses*, viz. Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Feeling. These, and the way of Nourishment of Animals, we shall more particularly consider; because they are common to man with Beasts.

The way of *Nourishment* of Animals, particularly of man, is by food taken in at the mouth, which being chew'd there, is broken and mixed with the *saliva*, and thereby prepared for an easier and better digestion in the stomach.

When the stomach has performed its office upon the food, it protrudes it into the guts, by whose peristaltick motion it is gently conveyed along thro' the guts; and as it passes, the Chyle, which is the nutritive part, is separated from the excrementitious by the lacteal veins; and from thence convey'd into the blood, with which it circulates till itself be concocted into Blood. The Blood, being by the *vena cava* brought into the right ventricle of the heart, by the contraction of that muscle, is driven thro' the *arteria pulmonaris* into the lungs; where the constantly inspired air mixing with it, enlivens it; and from thence being conveyed by the *vena pulmonaris* into the left ventricle of the heart, the contraction of the heart forces it out, and by the arteries distributes it into all parts of the body; from whence it returns by the veins into the right ventricle of the heart to take the same course again. This is called the *Circulation of the Blood*; by which life and heat are communicated to every part of the body.

In the Circulation of the Blood, a good part of it goes up into the head; and by the brains are separated from it, or made out of it, the *Animal spirits*; which, by the nerves, impart sense and motion to all parts of the body.

The Instruments of Motion are the *Muscles*; the fibres whereof contracting themselves, move the several parts of the body.

This contraction of the Muscles is in some of them by the direction of the *Mind*, and in some of them without it; which is the difference between *voluntary*, and *involuntary* Motions, in the body.



CHAP. XI.

Of the five Senses.

OF SEEING.

THE organ of *Seeing* is the *Eye*; consisting of variety of parts wonderfully contrived, for the admitting and refracting the rays of light; so that those that come from the same point of the object, and fall upon different parts of the pupil, are brought to meet again at the bottom of the Eye, whereby the whole object is painted on the *retina* that is spread there.

That

That, which immediately affects the sight, and produces in us that sensation, which we call *seeing*, is *Light*.

Light, may be consider'd either, first, as it it radiates from luminous bodies directly to our Eyes; and thus we see luminous bodies themselves, as the sun, or a flame, &c; or, secondly, as it is reflected from other bodies; and thus we see a man, or a picture by the Rays of light reflected from them to our Eyes.

Bodies, in respect of Light, may be divided into three sorts; first, those that emit rays of light, as the Sun and fixt Stars; secondly, those that transmit the rays of light, as the Air; thirdly, those that reflect the rays of light, as Iron, Earth, &c. The first are called *luminous*; the second *pellucid*; and the third *opaque*.

The *Rays of Light* themselves are not seen; but by them, the bodies, from which they originally come; as the sun, or a fixt star; or the bodies, from which they are reflected; as a horse, or a tulip. When the moon shines, we do not see the rays, which come from the sun to the moon; but by them we see the moon, from whence they are reflected.

If the Eye be placed in the medium, through which the rays pass to it, the medium is not seen at all; for instance, we do not see the air, through which the rays come to our eyes. But if a *pellucid body*, through which the light comes, be at a distance from our eye, we see that body, as well as the bodies, from whence the rays come, that pass through them to come to our eyes. For instance, we do not only see bodies through a pair of spectacles, but we see the glass itself. The reason whereof is, that pellucid bodies, being bodies, the surfaces of which reflect some rays of light from their solid parts; these surfaces, placed at a convenient distance from the eye, may be seen by those reflected rays; as, at the same time, other bodies beyond those pellucid ones may be seen by the transmitted rays.

Opaque bodies are of two sorts, *specular*, or not *specular*. *Specular bodies* or mirrors, are such Opaque bodies, whose surfaces are polished; whereby they reflecting the rays in the same order as they come from other bodies, shew us their images.

The Rays, that are reflected from Opaque bodies, always bring with them to the eye the idea of Colour; and this Colour is nothing else in the bodies, but a disposition to reflect to the eye more copiously one sort of rays than another. For particular rays are originally endowed with particular Colours; some are *Red*, others *Blew*, others *Yellow*, and others *Green*, &c.

Every Ray of Light, as it comes from the Sun, seems a bundle of all these several sorts of Rays; and as some of them are more *refrangible* than others; that is, are more turned out of their course, in passing from one medium to another; it follows that after such Refraction they will be separated, and their distinct Colour observed. Of these, the most refrangible are *Violet*, and the least *Red*; and the intermediate ones, in order, are *Indigo*, *Blew*, *Green*, *Yellow*, and *Orange*. This Separation is very entertaining, and will be observed with pleasure in holding a Prism in the beams of the Sun.

As all these Rays differ in Refrangibility, so they do in *Reflexibility*, that is, in the property of being more easily reflected from certain bodies, than from others; and hence arise, as hath been said, all the Colours of Bodies; which are in a manner infinite, as an infinite number of compositions, and proportions of the original Colours, may be imagined.

The *Whiteness* of the Sun's Light, is compounded of all the original Colours mixed in a due proportion.

Whiteness, in bodies, is but a disposition to reflect all Colours of light, nearly in the proportion they are mixt in the original rays; as, on the contrary, *Blackness*, is only a disposition to absorb or stifle; without reflection, most of the rays of every sort, that fall on the bodies.

Light is successively propagated, with an almost inconceivable swiftness; for it comes from the Sun to this our Earth in about seven or eight minutes of time, which distance is about 70,000,000 English Miles.

Besides Colour, we are supposed to see *Figure*; but in truth, that which we perceive when we see Figure, as perceivable by sight, is nothing but the termination of colour.

OF HEARING.

NEXT to Seeing, *Hearing* is the most extensive of our senses. The Ear is the organ of hearing, whose curious structure is to be learnt from Anatomy.

That, which is conveyed into the brain by the Ear, is call'd *Sound*; tho' in truth, till it come to reach and affect the perceptive part, it be nothing but Motion.

The motion, which produces in us the perception of Sound, is a vibration of the air, caused by an exceeding short, but quick, tremulous motion of the body, from which it is propagated; and therefore we consider and denominate them as bodies sounding.

That Sound is the effect of such a short, brisk, vibrating motion of bodies, from which it is propagated, may be known from what is observed and felt in the strings of Instruments, and the trembling of bells, as long as we perceive any sound come from them; for as soon as that vibration is stopt, or ceases in them, the perception ceases also.

The propagation of Sound is very quick, but not approaching that of light. Sounds move about 1140 English Feet, in a second minute of time; and in seven or eight minutes of time, they move about one hundred English Miles.

OF SMELLING.

SMELLING, is another sense, that seems to be wrought on by bodies at a distance; tho' that, which immediately affects the Organ, and produces in us the sensation of any smell, are effluvia's, or invisible particles, that, coming from bodies at a distance, immediately affect the olfactory nerves.

Smelling bodies seem perpetually to send forth effluvia's or steams, without sensibly wasting at all. Thus a grain of musk will send forth odoriferous particles for scores of years together, without its being spent; whereby one would conclude that these particles are very small; and yet it is plain, that they are much grosser than the rays of light, which have a free passage thro' glass; and grosser also than the magnetick effluvia's, which pass freely thro' all bodies, when those that produce smell will not pass the thin membranes of a bladder, and many of them scarce ordinary white paper.

There is a great variety of Smells, tho' we have but a few names for them; *sweet*, *stinking*, *fower*, *rank*, and *musty*, are almost all the denominations we have for Odours; tho' the smell of a violet, and of musk, both call'd *sweet*, are as distinct as any two smells whatsoever.

OF TASTE.

TASTE, is the next sense to be considered.

The Organ of Taste, is the tongue and palate.

Bodies that emit light, sounds, and smells, are seen, heard, and smelt at a distance; but bodies are not tasted, but by immediate application to the Organ; for till our meat touch our tongues or palates, we taste it not, how near soever it be.

It may be observed of Taste, that tho' there be a great variety of them, yet, as in smells, they have only some few general names; as *sweet, bitter, sour, harsh, rank*, and some few others.

OF TOUCH.

THE fifth and last of our Senses is *Touch*; a sense spread over the whole body, tho' it be most eminently placed in the ends of the fingers.

By this sense the tangible qualities of bodies are discerned; as *hard, soft, smooth, rough, dry, wet, clammy*, and the like.

But the most considerable of the qualities, that are perceived by this sense, are *heat and cold*.

The due temperament of those two opposite qualities, is the great instrument of nature, that she makes use of, in most, if not all, her productions.

Heat, is a very brisk agitation of the insensible parts of the object, which produces in us that sensation, from whence we denominate the object *hot*; so what in our sensation is heat, in the object is nothing but motion. This appears by the way, whereby heat is produced; for we see that the rubbing of a brass-nail upon a board, will make it very hot; and the axle-trees of carts and coaches are often hot, and sometimes to a degree, that it sets them on fire, by the rubbing of the nave of the wheel upon it.

On the other side, the utmost degree of *Cold* is the cessation of that motion of the insensible particles, which to our touch is *Heat*.

Bodies are denominated *hot* and *cold* in proportion to the present temperament of that part of our body, to which they are applied; so, that feels hot to one, which seems cold to another; nay, the same body felt by the two hands of the same man, may at the same time appear hot to the one, and cold to the other; because the motion of the insensible particles of it may be more brisk than that of the particles of the other.

Besides the objects before-mentioned, which are peculiar to each of our senses, as light, and colour of the sight; sound of hearing; odours of smelling; flavours of tasting; and tangible qualities of the touch; there are two others that are common to all the senses; and those are *Pleasure* and *Pain*, which they may receive by and with their peculiar objects. Thus, too much light offends the eye; some sounds delight, and others grate the ear; heat in a certain degree is very pleasant, which may be augmented to the greatest torment; and so the rest.

These five senses are common to Beasts with Men; nay in some of them, some brutes exceed mankind. But men are endow'd with other faculties, which far excel any thing, that is to be found in the other Animals, in this our Globe.

Memory also, brutes may be supposed to have, as well as men.



CHAP. XII.

Of the Understanding of Man.

THE *Understanding* of Man does so surpass that of Brutes, that some are of an opinion, Brutes are mere machines, without any manner of perception at all. But letting this opinion alone, as ill-grounded, we will proceed to the consideration of Human Understanding, and the distinct Operations thereof.

The lowest degree of it consists in *Perception*, which we have before in part taken notice of, in our Discourse of the Senses. Concerning which it may be convenient farther to observe, that to conceive a right notion of Perception, we must consider the distinct objects of it, which are *simple Ideas*; v. g. such as are those signify'd by these words, *scarlet, blew, sweet, bitter, heat, cold, &c.* from the other objects of our senses; to which we may add the internal Operations of our own Minds, as the objects of our own *Reflection*, such as are *thinking, willing, &c.*

Out of these simple Ideas are made, by putting them together, several *compounded, or complex Ideas*; as those signified by the word *pebble, marygold, horse.*

The next thing the Understanding doth in its progress to knowledge, is to abstract its Ideas, by which Abstraction they are made general.

A *general Idea*, is an Idea in the mind, considered there as separated from time and place; and so capable to represent any particular being, that is conformable to it. *Knowledge*, which is the highest degree of the speculative faculties, consists in the perception of the truth of affirmative, or negative Propositions.

This Perception is either immediate, or mediate. Immediate perception of the agreement or disagreement of two Ideas, is when by comparing them together in our minds, we see, or as it were behold, their agreement or disagreement. This therefore is call'd *intuitive Knowledge*. Thus we see that red is not green; that the whole is bigger than a part; that two and two are equal to four.

The *Truth* of these and the like propositions we know by a bare simple intuition of the Ideas themselves, without any more ado; and such Propositions are call'd *self-evident*.

The mediate perception of the agreement or disagreement of two Ideas, is when, by the intervention of one or more other Ideas, their agreement or disagreement is shewn. This is call'd *Demonstration, or rational Knowledge*. For instance. The in-equality of the breadth of two windows, or two rivers, or any two bodies that cannot be put together, may be known by the intervention of the same measure, applied to them both; and so it is in our general Ideas, whose agreement or disagreement may be often shewn by the intervention of some other Ideas, so as to produce demonstrative knowledge; where the Ideas in question cannot be brought together, and immediately compared, so as to produce intuitive knowledge.

The Understanding doth not know only certain Truth; but also judges of *Probability*, which consists in the likely agreement or disagreement of Ideas.

The

The assenting to any proposition as probable, is called *Opinion*, or *Belief*.

We have hitherto consider'd the great and visible parts of the Universe, and those great masses of matter, the stars, planets, and particularly this our earth, together with the inanimate parts, and animate inhabitants of it; it may be now fit to consider what these sensible bodies are made of, and that is, of unconceivably *small bodies*, or *atoms*, out of whose various combinations bigger *molliculæ* are made; and so by a greater and greater composition bigger bodies; and out of these the whole *material World* is constituted.

By the figure, bulk, texture, and motion, of these small and insensible *Corpuscles*, all the Phænomena of Bodies may be explained.





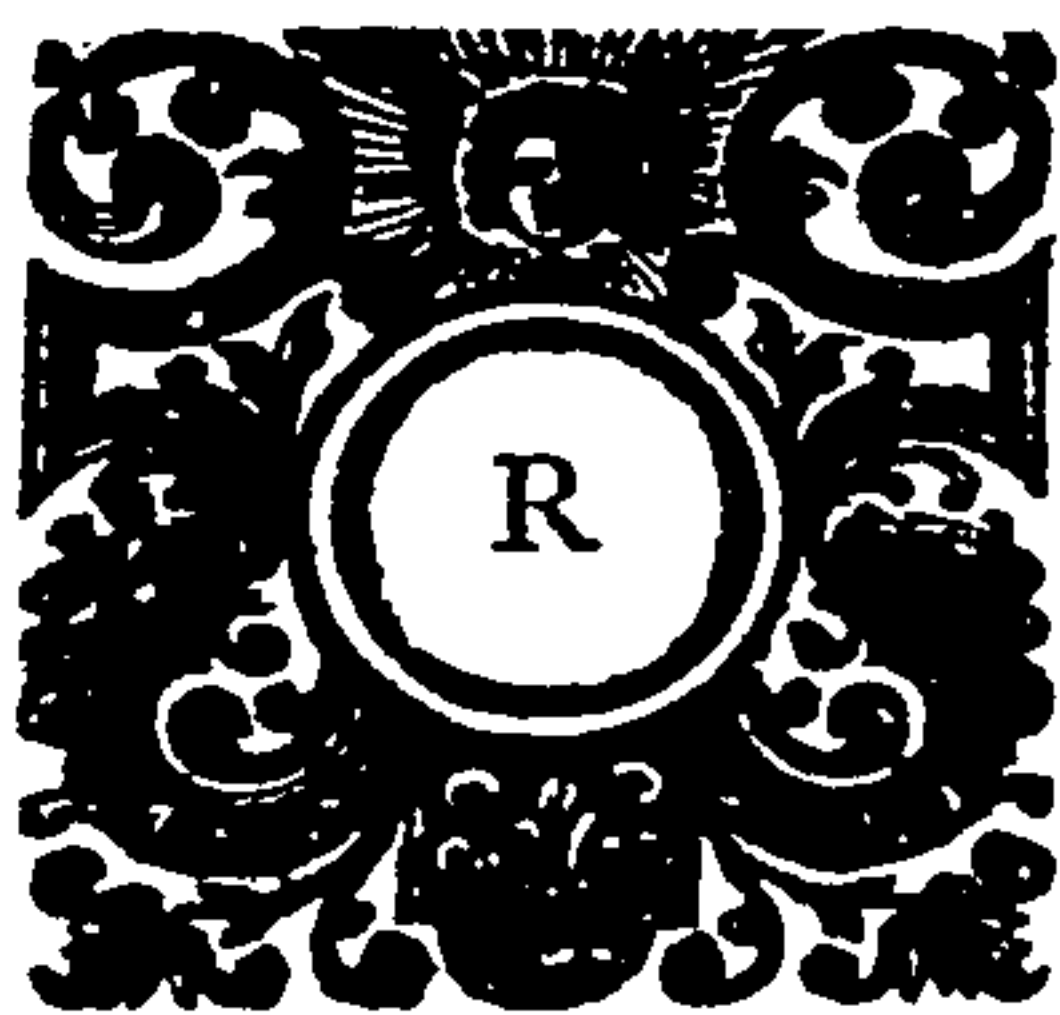
SOME THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

READING AND STUDY

FOR A

GENTLEMAN.



READING is for the improvement of the Understanding.

The Improvement of the Understanding, is for two ends ; first, for our own increase of Knowledge ; secondly, to enable us to deliver and make out that Knowledge to others.

The latter of these, if it be not the chief end of Study in a Gentleman ; yet it is at least equal to the other, since the greatest part of his business and usefulness in the world is by the influence of what he says, or writes to others.

The extent of our Knowledge, cannot exceed the extent of our Ideas. Therefore he, who would be universally knowing, must acquaint himself with the objects of all Sciences. But this is not necessary to a Gentleman, whose proper calling is the service of his country ; and so is most properly concerned in moral and political knowledge ; and thus the studies, which more immediately belong to his calling, are those, which treat of Virtues and Vices, of Civil Society, and the Arts of Government ; and will take in also Law and History.

It is enough for a Gentleman to be furnish'd with the Ideas belonging to his Calling, which he will find in the Books that treat of the matters above mentioned.

But the next step towards the improvement of his understanding, must be, to observe the connection of these Ideas in the propositions, which those books hold forth, and pretend to teach as truths ; which till a man can judge, whether they be truths or no, his understanding is but little improved ; and he doth but think and talk after the books that he hath read, without having any knowledge thereby. And thus, men of much reading, are greatly learned ; but may be little knowing.

The third and last step therefore, in improving the understanding, is to find out upon what foundation any Proposition, advanced, bottoms; and to observe the connection of the intermediate Ideas, by which it is joined to that foundation, upon which it is erected; or that principle, from which it is derived. This, in short, is right Reasoning; and by this way alone true knowledge is to be got by reading, and studying.

When a man, by use, hath got this faculty of observing and judging of the reasoning and coherence of what he reads, and how it proves what it pretends to teach; he is then, and not till then, in the right way of improving his understanding, and enlarging his knowledge by Reading.

But that, as I have said, being not all that a Gentleman should aim at in reading, he should farther take care, to improve himself in the Art also of Speaking, that so he may be able to make the best use of what he knows.

The Art of Speaking well, consists chiefly in two things, viz. Perspicuity, and right Reasoning.

Perspicuity, consists in the using of proper terms for the ideas or thoughts, which he would have pass from his own mind into that of another man's. It is this, that gives them an easy entrance; and it is with delight, that men hearken, to those, whom they easily understand; whereas, what is obscurely said, dying as it is spoken, is usually not only lost, but creates a prejudice in the hearer, as if he that spoke knew not what he said, or was afraid to have it understood.

The way to obtain this, is to read such Books as are allowed to be writ with the greatest clearness and propriety, in the language that a man uses. An author excellent in this faculty, as well as several other, is Dr. TILLOTSON, late Archbishop of Canterbury, in all that is published of his. I have chose rather to propose this pattern, for the attainment of the Art of Speaking clearly, than those, who give rules about it; since we are more apt to learn by example, than by direction. But if any one hath a mind to consult the masters in the Art of speaking and writing, he may find in TULLY *de Oratore*, and another treatise of his called, *Orator*; and in QUINTILIAN'S *Institutions*; and BOILEAU'S *Traite du sublime* (1); instructions concerning this, and the other parts of speaking well.

Besides Perspicuity, there must be also right Reasoning; without which perspicuity serves but to expose the speaker. And for the attaining of this, I should propose the constant reading of CHILLINGWORTH, who by his example will teach both Perspicuity, and the way of right Reasoning, better than any book that I know; and therefore will deserve to be read upon that account over and over again; not to say any thing of his argument.

Besides these books in English, Tully, Terence, Virgil, Livy, and CESAR'S *Commentaries*, may be read to form one's mind to a relish of a right way of speaking, and writing.

The Books I have hitherto mentioned have been in order only to writing, and speaking well; not but that they will deserve to be read upon other accounts.

The study of Morality, I have above mention'd as that, that becomes a Gentleman; not barely as a Man, but in order to his business as a Gentleman. Of this there are Books enough writ both by antient and modern Philosophers; but the Morality of the *Gospel* doth so exceed them all, that to give a man a full knowledge of true morality, I should send him to no other book, but the *New Testament*. But if he hath a mind to see how far the heathen world

(1) That *Treatise* is a translation from LONGINUS.

carried that Science, and whereon they bottomed their Ethicks, he will be delightfully and profitably entertained in TULLY's *Treatises de Officiis*.

Politicks, contains two parts, very different the one from the other. The one, containing the Original of Societies, and the rise and extent of political power; the other, the Art of governing Men in Society.

The first of these hath been so bandied amongst us, for these sixty years backward, that one can hardly miss Books of this kind. Those, which I think are most talked of in English, are the first Book of Mr. HOOKER's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Mr. ALGERNON SYDNEY's *Discourses concerning Government*. The latter of these I never read. Let me here add, *Two Treatises of Government*, printed in 1690 (2); and a *Treatise of Civil Polity*, printed this year (3). To these one may add, PUFFENDORF *de Officio Hominis & Civis*; and *de Jure Naturali & Gentium*; which last is the best book of that kind.

As to the other part of Politicks, which concerns the Art of Government; that, I think, is best to be learned by Experience and History, especially that of a man's own country. And therefore, I think an English Gentleman should be well versed in the History of England, taking his rise as far back as there are any Records of it; joining with it the Laws that were made in the several ages, as he goes along in his History; that he may observe from thence the several turns of State, and how they have been produced. In Mr. TYRREL's *History of England*, he will find all along those several Authors, which have treated of our affairs, and which he may have recourse to, concerning any point, which either his curiosity or judgment shall lead him to enquire into.

With the History, he may also do well to read the antient Lawyers; such as BRACTON, *Fleta*, HENNINGHAM, *Mirror of Justice*, My Lord COOK's *second Institutes*, and the *modus tenendi Parliamentum*; and others of that kind, which he may find quoted in the late controversies between Mr. PETIT, Mr. TYRREL, Mr. ATWOOD, &c. with Dr. BRADY; as also, I suppose, in SEDLER's *Treatise of Rights of the Kingdom, and Customs of our Ancestors*, whereof the first edition is the best; wherein he will find the antient Constitution of the Government of England.

There are two Volumes of *State Tracts* printed since the Revolution, in which there are many things relating to the Government of England (4).

As for general History, Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH, and Dr. HOWEL, are books to be had. He, who hath a mind to launch farther into that ocean, may consult WHEAR's *methodus legendi Historias*, of the last edition; which will direct him to the Authors he is to read, and the Method wherein he is to read them.

To the reading of History; Chronology, and Geography, are absolutely necessary.

In Geography, we have two general ones in English, HEYLYN and MOLL; which is the best of them, I know not; having not been much conversant in either of them. But the last, I should think to be of most use; because of the new discoveries that are made every day, tending to the perfection

(2) These *two Treatises* are written by Mr. LOCKE himself.

(3) *Civil Polity*. *A Treatise concerning the Nature of Government*, &c. London 1703, in 8vo. Written by PETER PAXTON, M. D.

(4) We have now two *Collections of State Tracts*; one, in two Volumes *in folio*, printed in 1689 and 1692, contains *several Treatises relating to the Government, from the year 1660 to 1689*; and the other, in three Volumes *in folio*, printed in 1705, 1706, and 1707, is a *Collection of Tracts, publish'd on occasion of the late Revolution in 1688, and during the reign of K. WILLIAM III.* These *Collections* might have been made more compleat and more convenient; especially the first, which is extremely defective and incorrect.

of that Science. Though, I believe, that the Countries, which HEYLYN mentions, are better treated of by him, bating what new discoveries since his time have added.

These two books contain Geography in general; but whether an English Gentleman would think it worth his time to bestow much pains upon that; tho' without it he cannot well understand a *Gazette*; it is certain he cannot well be without CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, which is much enlarged in the last English edition. A good Collection of *Maps* is also necessary.

To Geography, Books of Travels may be added. In that kind, the Collections made by our countrymen HACKLUYT, and PURCHAS, are very good. There is also a very good Collection made by THEVENOT in folio, in French; and by RAMUZIO, in Italian; whether translated into English or no, I know not. There are also several good books of Travels of Englishmen published, as SANDYS, ROE, BROWN, GAGE, and DAMPIER.

There are also several Voyages in French, which are very good, as PYRARD (5), BERGERON (6), SAGARD (7), BERNIER (8) &c; whether all of them are translated into English, I know not.

There is at present a very good *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, never before in English, and such are out of print; now printing by Mr. CHURCHILL (9).

There are besides these, a vast number of other Travels; a sort of Books that have a very good mixture of delight and usefulness. To set them down all, would take up too much time and room. Those I have mentioned are enough to begin with.

As to Chronology, I think HELVICUS the best for common use; which is not a book to be read, but to lye by, and be consulted upon occasion. He, that hath a mind to look further into Chronology, may get TALLENT'S *Tables*, and STRAUCHIUS'S *Breviarium Temporum*; and may to those add SCALIGER *de Emendatione Temporum*, and PETAVIUS; if he hath a mind to engage deeper in that Study.

Those, who are accounted to have writ best particular parts of our English History, are BACON, of *Henry VII*; and HERBERT, of *Henry VIII*. DANIEL also is commended; and BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*.

MARIANA'S *History of Spain*, and THUANUS his *History of his own Time*, and PHILIP DE COMINES; are of great and deserved reputation.

There are also several French and English Memoirs and Collections, such as LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, MELVIL, RUSHWORTH, &c; which give a great light to those, who have a mind to look into what hath past in Europe this last Age.

To fit a Gentleman for the conduct of himself, whether as a private Man, or as interested in the Government of his Country, nothing can be more necessary than the Knowledge of Men; which, tho' it be to be had chiefly from Experience, and next to that, from a judicious reading of History; yet there are books that of purpose treat of human Nature, which help to give an insight into it. Such are those treating of the Passions, and how they are moved; whereof ARISTOTLE in his second book of *Rhetorick* hath admirably discoursed, and that in a little compass. I think this Rhe-

(5) *Voyage de Francois Pyrard de Laval. Contenant sa Navigation aux Indes Orientales, Maldives, Moluques, Bresil.* Paris 1619, 8vo. 3d. edit.

(6) *Relation des Voyages en Tartarie, &c. Le tout recueilli par Pierre Bergeron,* Paris 1634, 8vo.

(7) *Le Grand Voyage des Hurons, situes en l'Amérique, &c. Par F. Gab. Sagard Theodat.* Paris 1632, 8vo.

(8) *Memoires de l'Empire du Grand Mogol, &c. par FRANCOIS BERNIER.* Paris 1670, & 1671, 3 Vol. in 12mo.

(9) That *Collection of Voyages and Travels* was publish'd an. 1704, in 4 Vol. in folio.

torick is translated into English ; if not, it may be had in Greek and Latin together.

LA BRUYERE'S *Characters* are also an admirable piece of painting ; I think it is also translated out of French into English.

Satyrical Writings also, such as JUVENAL, and PERSIUS, and above all HORACE ; tho' they paint the deformities of men, yet thereby they teach us to know them.

There is another use of Reading, which is for diversion, and delight. Such are Poetical Writings, especially Dramatick, if they be free from Prophaneness, Obscenity, and what corrupts good manners ; for such pitch should not be handled.

Of all the books of fiction, I know none that equals CERVANTES'S *History of Don Quixot* in usefulness, pleasantry, and a constant *decorum*. And indeed no writings can be pleasant, which have not Nature at the bottom, and are not drawn after her copy.

There is another sort of books, which I had almost forgot, with which a Gentleman's Study ought to be well furnished, viz. *Dictionaryes* of all kinds. For the Latin Tongue, LITTLETON, COOPER, CALEPIN, and ROBERT STEPHEN'S *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and VOSSII *Etymologicum Linguae Latinae*. SKINNER'S *Lexicon Etymologicum* is an excellent one of that kind, for the English Tongue. COWEL'S *Interpreter* is useful for the Law Terms. SPELMAN'S *Glossary* is a very useful and learned book. And SELDEN'S *Titles of Honour*, a Gentleman should not be without. BAUDRAND hath a very good *Geographical Dictionary*. And there are several historical ones, which are of use ; as LLOYD'S, HOFFMAN'S, MORERI'S. And BAYLE'S incomparable *Dictionary*, is something of the same kind. He that hath occasion to look into books written in Latin since the decay of the Roman Empire, and the purity of the Latin Tongue, cannot be well without DUCANGE'S *Glossarium mediæ & infimæ Latinitatis*.

Among the Books above set down, I mentioned VOSSIUS'S *Etymologicum Linguae Latinae* ; all his Works are lately printed in Holland in six Tomes. They are very fit books for a Gentleman's Library, as containing very learned discourses concerning all the Sciences.



SEVERAL
LETTERS
TO
ANTH. COLLINS Esq;
AND
OTHER PERSONS.



Concerning a poisonous Fish about the Bahama Islands.

A highly decorative woodcut initial letter 'I'. The letter is enclosed in a square frame with a double border. Above the frame is a large, ornate floral crest featuring a central flower and symmetrical leafy branches. Below the frame is a circular medallion containing a profile portrait of a man's head, facing left. The entire composition is surrounded by intricate, symmetrical scrollwork and floral patterns, creating a rich, textured background.

I have not met with any Rarities here, worth your acceptance, tho' I have been diligent in enquiring after them. Of those, which I have heard of, this seems most remarkable to me. The Fish, which are here, are many of them poi-

Thus far the ingenious person, from whom I had this relation, who having been but a very little while upon the Island, when he writ this, could not send so perfect an account of this odd observation, as one could wish, or as I expect to receive from him, in answer to some Queres I lately sent him by a ship bound thither. When his Answer comes to my hand, if there be any thing in it, which may gratify your curiosity, I shall be glad of that or any other occasion to assure you that I am,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A
L E T T E R
T O

A N T H O N Y C O L L I N S Esq;

Oates, 4 May 1703.

S I R,

NONE of your concerns are of indifference to me. You may from thence conclude I take part in your late great loss. But I consider you as a Philosopher, and a Christian; and so spare you the trouble of reading from me, what your own thoughts will much better suggest to you.

You have exceedingly obliged me, in the Books of yours that you have sent me, and those of mine you have been at so much trouble about. I received but just now the packet, wherein they and your obliging Letter were; that must be my excuse for so tardy a return of my thanks.

I am overjoyed with an intimation I have received also, that gives me hopes of seeing you here the next week. You are a charitable good friend, and are resolved to make the decays and dregs of my life the pleasantest part of it. For I know nothing calls me so much back to a pleasant sense of enjoyment, and makes my days so gay and lively, as your good company. Come then, and multiply happy minutes upon, and rejoice here in the good you do me. For I am with a perfect esteem and respect,

S I R,

Your most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 3 June 1703.

S I R,

IT is not enough to have heard from my Cofin KING * that you got safe to town, or from others that you were since well there. I am too much concerned in it, not to enquire of your self, how you do. Besides, that I owe you my thanks, for the greatest Favour I can receive, the confirmation of your friendship, by the visit I lately received from you. If you knew what satisfaction I feel spread over my mind by it, you would take this acknowledgment as coming from something beyond civility; my heart goes with it, and that you may be sure of; and so useless a thing as I am, have nothing else to offer you.

* Sir PETER KING.

As a mark that I think we are past ceremony, I here send you a new Book † in quires, with a desire you will get it bound by your binder. In the parts of good binding besides folding, beating, and sowing, will I count strong past-boards, and as large margents as the paper will possibly afford; and for lettering, I desire it should be upon the same leather black'd, and barely the name of the Author, as in this case, Vossius.

Pardon this liberty, and believe me with perfect sincerity and respect, &c.

† G. J. Vossii *Etymologicum Linguae Latinae*. Amstelodami 1695.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 18 June 1703.

S I R,

IT would be strange, if after all those marks of friendship and esteem I have received from you, in the little time I have had the honour of your acquaintance, I should quarrel with you; and should repay the continuance of your good offices, employ'd even in things beneath you, with grumbling at you; and yet this I can hardly forbear to do. Do not, I beseech you, take this to be altogether ill nature, but a due estimate of what I enjoy in you. And since upon just measures, I count it the great treasure of my Life; I cannot with patience hear you talk of condescension in me, when I stick not to waste your time in looking after the binding of my Books. If you please, let us live upon fairer terms; and when you oblige me, give me leave to be sensible of it. And pray remember, that there is one Mr. COLLINS, with whom, if I desire to live upon equal terms, it is not that I forget how much he is superior to me, in many things wherein he will always have the precedence. But I assume it upon the account of that friendship that is between us; Friendship levelling all unequalities between those, whom it joins, that it may leave nothing that may keep them at a distance, and hinder a perfect union and enjoyment.

This is what I would be at with you; and were I not in earnest in it, out of a sincere love of you, I would not be so foolish to rob myself of the only way, wherein I might pretend to enter the lists with you. I am old and useless, and out of the way; all the real services are then like to be on your side. In words, expressions, and acknowledgments, there might have been perhaps some room to have made some offers of holding up to you. But I desire that nothing of the court-guise may mix in our conversation. Put not, I beseech you, any thing into your Letters to make me forget how much I am obliged to you by the liberty you allow me to tell you, that I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 24 June 1703.

S I R,

MR. BOLD *, who leaves us to day, intends to see you; and I cannot forbear going, as far as I can, to make the third in the company. Would my health second my desires, not only my name, and a few words of

* Rector of Steeple Dorset, Author of several Books, and among others, some in defence of Mr. LOCKE's *Essay concerning human Understanding*; and his *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

friendship,

friendship, should go with him to you; but I myself would get to horse; and had I nothing else to do in town, I should think it worth a longer journey than it is thither, to see and enjoy you. But I must submit to the restraints of old age, and expect that happiness from your charity.

'Tis but six days since, that I writ to you; and see here another Letter. You are like to be troubled with me. If it be so, why do you make yourself beloved? Why do you make yourself so necessary to me? I thought myself pretty loose from the world, but I feel you begin to fasten me to it again. For you make my life, since I have had your friendship, much more valuable to me than it was before.

You thanked me in your last, for the employment I gave you; I wish I do not make you repent it; for you are likely to have my custom. I desire you would do me the favour to get me Dr. BARROW's English Works, bound as VOSSIUS's *Etymologicum* was. I am in no manner of haste for them, and and therefore you may get them from your bookseller in quires, when you go to his shop upon any other occasion; and put them to your binder at leisure. I have them for my own use already; these are to give away to a young Lady here in the country. When they are bound, I desire your binder would pack them up carefully, and cover them with paper enough to keep their corners and edges from being hurt in the carriage. For carriers are a sort of brutes, and declared enemies to books. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates 9 July 1703.

S I R,

YOURS, of the the 30th of June, I received just now, and cannot forbear a moment to tell you, that if there were any thing in my last Letter, that gave you an occasion, after having mentioned *disguise*; to say, *you have made use of no way to shew your esteem of me, but still your heart went with it*, I am very sorry for it. For, however I might think the expressions in your Letter above what I could deserve; yet my blaming your excess of civility to me tended not to any doubt of the sincerity of your affection. Had I not been secure of that, I could not have talked to you with the same freedom I did, nor have endeavour'd to persuade you, that you were lodged so near my heart as you are. Tho' my friendship be of very little value, or use; yet being the best thing I have to give, I shall not forwardly bestow it, where I do not think there is worth, and sincerity; and therefore, pray, pardon me the forwardness wherewith I throw my arms about your neck; and holding you so, tell you, you must not hope, by any thing that looks like compliment, to keep me at a civiler, and more fashionable distance.

You comply with me, I see, by the rest of your Letter; and you bear with my treating you with the familiarity of an established friendship. You pretend you have got the advantage by it. I wish it may be so; for I should be very glad there were any thing, wherein I could be useful to you. Find it out, I beseech you; and tell me of it, with as little ceremony and scruple, as you see I use with you.

The *New Testament*, you mention *, I shall be glad to see, since Mr. BOLD has told you how desirous I was to see it. I have expected one of them from Holland ever since they have been out; and so I hope to restore it to you again in a few days.

* Mr. LE CLERC's French Translation of the *New Testament*.

The other Book, you mentioned*, I have seen; and am so well satisfied, by his 5th Section, what a doughty Squire he is like to prove in the rest, that I think not to trouble my self to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly against his adversary, but very strongly against himself.

But this will be better entertainment for you when we meet, than matter for a Letter, wherein I make it my business to assure you, that I am, &c.

* *Psychologia; or an Account of the Nature of the rational Soul, &c.* By JOHN BROUGHTON, M. A. Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Lond. 1703, in 8vo.

TO THE SAME.

Oates 10 September 1703.

SIR,

YOURS of the 7th, which I just now received, is the only Letter I have a long time wished for, and the welcomest that could come; for I longed to hear that you were well, that you were returned, and that I might have the opportunity to return you my thanks for the Books you sent me, which came safe; and to acknowledge my great obligations to you for one of the most villainous books, that, I think, ever was printed †. It is a present that I highly value. I had heard something of it, when a young man in the university; but possibly should never have seen this quintessence of railing, but for your kindness. It ought to be kept as the pattern and standard of that sort of writing, as the man he spends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear, and strong arguing. I am, &c.

† *Chillingworthi novissima. Or the Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.* (In his own phrase) Clerk of Oxford, and in the conceit of his fellow Soldiers, the Queen's Arch-Engineer, and Grand-Intelligencer. . . . By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, late fellow of Merton College. Lond. 1644, in 4to. See the Article of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, in my *Attempt towards an historical and critical English Dictionary*.

TO THE SAME.

Oates 1 October 1703.

SIR,

YOU are a good man, and one may depend upon your promise. This makes me pass my days in comfortable hopes, when I remember you are not far off. I have your word for it, and that is better than city-security. But for fear villainous business should impertinently step in again, between you and your kind purposes to us here; give me leave to beg the favour of you, that if you write again, before I have the happiness to see you, you will do me the favour to send me a note of what you have laid out for me, that I may pay you that part of the debt I am able, of what I owe you, and may not have so much to interrupt the advantages I am to reap from your conversation, when you honour me with your company, as an apology to be made, if I am not out of your debt before we meet.

Doth Mr. LE CLERC's *New Testament* make any noise amongst the men of Letters or Divinity in your town? The Divines of Brandenburg or Cleve have got the King of Prussia to prohibit it in his Dominions; and the Walloon Divines in Holland are soliciting the same at the Hague, but 'tis

D d

thought

thought will not prevail *. I have not yet heard what are the exceptions made in particular, either by the one, or the other. If there be need of authentick Interpreters of the Word of God, what is the way to find them out? That is worth your thinking of, unless you would have every one interpret for himself; and what work would that make? Betwixt these two, find something if you can; for the world is in want of Peace, which is much better than everlasting Billingsgate.

I thought not to have troubled you with hard questions, or any thing that should have required a serious thought, any farther than what day you should pitch on to come hither. But everlasting wrangling, and calling of names, is so odious a thing, that you will pardon me, if it puts me out of temper a little. But I think of you, and some few such as you in the world, and that reconciles me to it; or else it would not be worth staying in an hour. I am, &c.

* See Mr. BAYLE's *Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiste*; ou *Response a ce que Mr. le Clerc a écrit dans son X. Tome de la Bibliotheque Choisie contre Mr. Bayle*. A-Rotterdam 1707, in 8vo. pag. 70, & suiv.



A

L E T T E R

T O T H E

Lady CALVERLEY in Yorkshire.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reason you have to look on me, as one of the slow men of London, you have this time given me an excuse for being so; for you cannot expect a quick answer to a Letter, which took me up a good deal of time to get to the beginning of it. I turned, and turned it, on every side; looked it again, and again, at the top of every page; but could not get into the sense and secret of it, till I applied my self to the middle.

You, Madam, who are acquainted with all the skill and methods of the Antients, have not, I suppose, taken up with this hieroglyphical way of writing, for nothing; and since you were going to put into your Letter things that might be the reward of the highest merit, you would by this mystical intimation, put me into the way of virtue, to deserve them.

But whatever your Ladyship intended, this is certain, that in the best words in the world, you gave me the greatest humiliation imaginable. Had I as much vanity as a pert Citizen, that sets up for a Wit in his parish, you have said enough in your Letter to content me; and if I could be swoln that way, you have taken a great deal of pains to blow me up, and make me the finest gaudy bubble in the world, as I am painted by your colours. I know the Emperors of the East suffer not strangers to appear before them, till they are dressed up out of their own wardrobes; is it so too in the empire of wit? and must you cover me with your own embroidery, that I may be a fit object for your thoughts and conversation? This, Madam, may suit your greatness, but doth not at all satisfy my ambition. He, who has once flattered himself with

with the hopes of your friendship, knows not the true value of things, if he can content himself with these splendid ornaments.

As soon as I had read your Letter, I looked in my glass, felt my pulse, and sigh'd; for I found, in neither of those, the promises of thirty years to come. For at the rate I have hitherto advanced, and at the distance, I see by this complemental way of treatment, I still am; I shall not have time enough in this world, to get to you. I do not mean to the place, where you now see the pole elevated, as you say, 64 degrees. A post-horse, or a coach, would quickly carry me thither. But when shall we be acquainted at this rate? Is that happiness reserved to be compleated by the gossiping bowl, at your grand-daughter's lying in?

If I were sure, that when you leave this dirty place I should meet you in the same star, where you are to shine next, and that you would then admit me to your conversation; I might perhaps have a little more patience. But, methinks, it is much better to be sure of something, than to be put off to expectations of so much uncertainty. If there be different elevations of the Pole here, that keep you at so great a distance from those, who languish in your absence; who knows but in the other world there are different elevations of persons? And you, perhaps, will be out of sight, among the seraphims; while we are left behind, in some dull planet. This, the high flights of your elevated Genius give us just augury of, whilst you are here. But yet, pray take not your place there before your time; nor keep not us poor mortals at a greater distance than you need. When you have granted me all the nearness, that acquaintance and friendship can give; you have other advantages enough still, to make me see how much I am beneath you. This will be only an enlargement of your goodness, without lessening the adoration due to your other excellencies.

You seem to have some thoughts of the town again. If the Parliament, or the Term, which draw some by the name and appearance of business; or if company, and musick-meetings, and other such entertainments, which have the attractions of pleasure and delight, were of any consideration with you; you would not have much to say for Yorkshire, at this time of the year. But these are no arguments to you, who carry your own satisfaction, and I know not how many Worlds always about you. I would be glad you would think of putting all these up in a Coach, and bringing them this way. For though you should be never the better; yet there be a great many here that would, and amongst them

The humblest of

Your Ladyship's Servants,

JOHN LOCKE.

A

L E T T E R

T O

ANTHONY COLLINS, Esq;

Oates 29 October 1703.

S I R,

YOU, in yours of the 21st, say a great many very kind things; and I believe all that you say; and yet, I am not very well satisfied with you. And how then is it possible to please you? will you be ready to say. Think that I am as much pleased with your company, as much obliged by your conversation, as you are by mine; and you set me at rest, and I am the most satisfied man in the world. You complain of a great many defects; and that very complaint is the highest recommendation I could desire, to make me love and esteem you, and desire your Friendship. And if I were now setting out in the world, I should think it my great happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish of Truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true, freely.

Believe it, my good Friend, to love Truth for truth's sake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I mistake not, you have as much of it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the best; a Friend for any one to be proud of? Would you have me take upon me, because I have the start of you in the number of years, and be supercilious, conceited, for having in a long ramble travelled some countries, which a young voyager has not yet had time to see, and from whence one may be sure he will bring larger collections of solid knowledge?

In good earnest, Sir, when I consider how much of my life has been trifled away in beaten tracts, where I vamped on with others, only to follow those that went before us; I cannot but think I have just as much reason to be proud, as if I had travelled all England, and (if you will) France too, only to acquaint my self with the roads, and be able to tell how the high-ways lye, wherein those of equipage, and even the herd too, travel.

Now, methinks, (and these are often old men's dreams) I see openings to Truth, and direct paths leading to it; wherein a little industry and application would settle ones mind with satisfaction, even in those matters, which you mention, and leave no darkness or doubt, even with the most scrupulous. But this is at the end of my day, when my sun is setting. And tho' the prospect it has given me be what I would not for any thing be without; there is so much irresistible truth, beauty, and consistency in it; yet it is for one of your age, I think I ought to say for you your self, to set about it, as a work you would put into order, and oblige the world with.

Yours

You see whither my just thoughts of you have led me ; and that I shall have no quarrel with you, if you will cease to set me, as you do, on the higher ground, and to think that I have not as much pleasure and satisfaction from your company, as you have from mine. If I were able to live in your neighbourhood in town, I should quickly convince you of that ; and you escape being haunted by me only by being out of my reach. A little better acquaintance will let you see that in the communication of Truth, between those, who receive it in the love of it, he that answers is no less obliged, than he that asks the question ; and therefore you owe me not those mighty thanks you send me, for having the good luck to say something that pleased you. If it were good seed, I am sure it was sown in good ground, and may expect a great increase.

I think you have a Familiar, ready to dispatch what you undertake for your friends. How is it possible else, you should so soon procure for me KIRCHER's Concordance ? *Shew me the man, and I will shew you his cause ;* will hold now-adays almost in all other cases as well as that of *προσκυνεῖν* †, and yet they must all be thought lovers, and promoters of truth. But my Letter is too long already to enter into so copious a subject. I am, &c.

† Mr. LOCKE had been informed that one of the Objections of the Walloon Divines against Mr. LE CLERC's *New Testament* was his translating *προσκυνεῖν* in St. Matthew (Chap. II. v. 2.) so as to signify the civil but not religious worship of the Wise Men.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 16 November 1703.

S I R,

IF I ask you, how you do ; it is because I am concerned for your health. If I ask you, whether you have sent me any Books since you went to town ; it is not that I am in haste for them, but to know how the carrier uses me. And if I ask, whether you are of *Lincoln's-Inn* ; it is to know of what place you write yourself, which I desire you to tell me in your next, and what good new Books there are. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 17 November 1703.

S I R,

THE Books I received from you to-night, with the kind Letter accompanying them, far more valuable than the Books, give matter of enlarging myself this evening. The common offices of friendship, that I constantly receive from you, in a very obliging manner, give me scope enough, and afford me large matter of acknowledgment. But when I think of you, I feel something of nearer concernment that touches me ; and that noble principle of the love of Truth, which possesses you, makes me almost forget those other obligations, which I should be very thankful for to another.

In good earnest, Sir, you cannot think what a comfort it is to me, to have found out such a man ; and not only so, but I have the satisfaction that he is my friend. This gives a gusto to all the good things you say to me, in your Letter. For though I cannot attribute them to myself, (for I know my own defects too well) yet I am ready to persuade myself you mean as you say ; and to confess the truth to you, I almost loath to undeceive you, so much do I value your good opinion.

E c

But

But to set it upon the right ground, you must know that I am a poor ignorant man, and if I have any thing to boast of, it is that I sincerely love and seek truth, with indifferency whom it pleases or displeases. I take you to be of the same school, and so imbrace you. And if it please God to afford me so much life as to see you again, I shall communicate to you some of my thoughts tending that way.

You need not make any apology for any Book, that is not yet come. I thank you for those, you have sent me; they are more, I think, than I shall use; for the indisposition of my health has beaten me almost quite out of the use of Books; and the growing uneasiness of my distemper † makes me good for nothing. I am, &c.

† An Asthma.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 24 January 1703-4.

S I R,

TILL your confidence in my friendship, and freedom with me, can preserve you from thinking you have need to make apologies for your silence, whenever you omit a post or two, when in your kind way of reckoning you judge a Letter to be due; you know me not so well, as I could wish; nor am I so little burdensome to you, as I desire. I could be pleased to hear from you every day; because the very thoughts of you, every day afford me pleasure and satisfaction. But I beseech you to believe, that I measure not your kindness by your opportunities of writing; nor do suspect that your friendship flatters, whenever your pen lyes a little still. The sincerity you profess, and I am convinced of, has charms in it, against all the little phantoms of ceremony. If it be not so, that true Friendship sets one free from a scrupulous observance of all those little circumstances, I shall be able to give but a very ill account of my self to my friends; to whom, when I have given possession of my heart, I am less punctual in making of legs, and kissing my hand, than to other people, to whom that out-side civility is all that belongs.

I received the three Books you sent me. That, which the Author sent me *, deserves my acknowledgment more ways than one; and I must beg you to return it. His demonstrations are so plain, that if this were an age that followed Reason, I should not doubt but his would prevail. But to be rational is so glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content themselves with the title; but will not debase so excellent a faculty, about the conduct of so trivial a thing, as they make themselves.

There never was a man better suited to your wishes, than I am. You take a pleasure in being troubled with my commissions; and I have no other way of commerce with you, but by such importunities. I can only say, that were the tables changed, I should, being in your place, have the same satisfaction; and therefore confidently make use of your kind offer. I therefore beg the favour of you to get me Mr. LE CLERC's *Harmony of the Evangelists* in English, bound very finely in calf, gilt, and lettered on the back, and gilt on the leaves. So also I would have MOLIERE's Works (of the best Edition you can get them) bound. These Books are for Ladies; and

* *Reasons against restraining the Press.* Lond. 1704, in 4to.

therefore I would have them fine, and the leaves gilt, as well as the back. *MOLIERE* of the Paris Edition, I think, is the best, if it can be got in London in quires. You see the liberty I take. I should be glad you could find out something for me to do for you here. I am perfectly, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 7 February 1703-4.

S I R,

IT is with regret I consider you so long in *Essex*, without enjoying you, any part of the time. *Essex* methinks, (pardon the extravagancy, extraordinary passions and cases excuse it) when you are to go into it, should all be *Oates*; and your journey be no whither, but thither. But Lands and Tenements say other things, whilst we have carcases that must be cloathed and fed; and Books, you know, the fodder of our understandings, cannot be had without them. What think you? are not those spirits in a fine state, that need none of all this luggage; that live without plowing and sowing; travel as easy as we wish; and inform themselves, not by a tiresome rummaging in the mistakes and jargon of pretenders to knowledge, but by looking into things themselves?

Sir, I forgot you had an Estate in the country, a Library in town, Friends every where, amongst which you are to while away, as pleasantly, I hope, as any one of this our planet, a large number of years (if my wishes may prevail) yet to come; and am got, I know not how, into remote visions, that help us not in our present state, tho' they shew us something of a better. To return therefore to my self and you, I conclude by this time, you are got to town again, and then, in a little time, I shall hear from you. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 21 February 1703-4.

S I R,

IMUST acknowledge it as an Effect of your zeal to serve me, that you have sent me *LE CLERC's Harmony*, and *MOLIERE's Works*, by the Bishop-Stratford Coach; and I return you my thanks, as much as if it exactly answered my purpose. I ought not to think it strange, that you in town, amidst a hurry of business, should not keep precisely in mind my little affairs; when I here, where I have nothing to disturb my thoughts, do so often forget. When I write to you to do me the favour to get these Books for me carefully bound, I think I made it my request to you; I'm sure I intended it; to write word when they were done, and then I would acquaint you how they were to be disposed of; for the truth is, they were to be disposed of in town. But whether I only meant this, and said nothing; or you forgot it, the matter is not much. I expect to receive the Books to-morrow, and shall do well enough with them.

I should not have taken notice of this to you at all, did I not intend it for an excuse for an ill-mannered thing very necessary in business, which perhaps you will find me use with you for the future; which is, to repeat the little circumstances of business, which are apt to be forgotten, in every Letter, till the danger be over. This if you observe to do, will prevent many cross accidents in your affairs; I assure it you upon experience.

I desire

But to set it upon the right ground, you must know that I am a poor ignorant man, and if I have any thing to boast of, it is that I sincerely love and seek truth, with indifferency whom it pleases or displeases. I take you to be of the same school, and so imbrace you. And if it please God to afford me so much life as to see you again, I shall communicate to you some of my thoughts tending that way.

You need not make any apology for any Book, that is not yet come. I thank you for those, you have sent me; they are more, I think, than I shall use; for the indisposition of my health has beaten me almost quite out of the use of Books; and the growing uneasiness of my distemper † makes me good for nothing. I am, &c.

† An Asthma.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 24 January 1703-4.

SIR,

TILL your confidence in my friendship, and freedom with me, can preserve you from thinking you have need to make apologies for your silence, whenever you omit a post or two, when in your kind way of reckoning you judge a Letter to be due; you know me not so well, as I could wish; nor am I so little burdensome to you, as I desire. I could be pleased to hear from you every day; because the very thoughts of you, every day afford me pleasure and satisfaction. But I beseech you to believe, that I measure not your kindness by your opportunities of writing; nor do suspect that your friendship flatters, whenever your pen lyes a little still. The sincerity you profess, and I am convinced of, has charms in it, against all the little phantoms of ceremony. If it be not so, that true Friendship sets one free from a scrupulous observance of all those little circumstances, I shall be able to give but a very ill account of my self to my friends; to whom, when I have given possession of my heart, I am less punctual in making of legs, and kissing my hand, than to other people, to whom that out-side civility is all that belongs.

I received the three Books you sent me. That, which the Author sent me *, deserves my acknowledgment more ways than one; and I must beg you to return it. His demonstrations are so plain, that if this were an age that followed Reason, I should not doubt but his would prevail. But to be rational is so glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content themselves with the title; but will not debase so excellent a faculty, about the conduct of so trivial a thing, as they make themselves.

There never was a man better suited to your wishes, than I am. You take a pleasure in being troubled with my commissions; and I have no other way of commerce with you, but by such importunities. I can only say, that were the tables changed, I should, being in your place, have the same satisfaction; and therefore confidently make use of your kind offer. I therefore beg the favour of you to get me Mr. LE CLERC's *Harmony of the Evangelists* in English, bound very finely in calf, gilt, and lettered on the back, and gilt on the leaves. So also I would have MOLIERE's Works (of the best Edition you can get them) bound. These Books are for Ladies; and

* *Reasons against restraining the Press.* Lond. 1704, in 4to.

therefore

therefore I would have them fine, and the leaves gilt, as well as the back. *MOLIERE* of the Paris Edition, I think, is the best, if it can be got in London in quires. You see the liberty I take. I should be glad you could find out something for me to do for you here. I am perfectly, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 7 February 1703-4.

S I R,

IT is with regret I consider you so long in *Essex*, without enjoying you, any part of the time. *Essex* methinks, (pardon the extravagancy, extraordinary passions and cases excuse it) when you are to go into it, should all be *Oates*; and your journey be no whither, but thither. But Lands and Tenements say other things, whilst we have carcases that must be cloathed and fed; and Books, you know, the fodder of our understandings, cannot be had without them. What think you? are not those spirits in a fine state, that need none of all this luggage; that live without plowing and sowing; travel as easy as we wish; and inform themselves, not by a tiresome rummaging in the mistakes and jargon of pretenders to knowledge, but by looking into things themselves?

Sir, I forgot you had an Estate in the country, a Library in town, Friends every where, amongst which you are to while away, as pleasantly, I hope, as any one of this our planet, a large number of years (if my wishes may prevail) yet to come; and am got, I know not how, into remote visions, that help us not in our present state, tho' they shew us something of a better. To return therefore to my self and you, I conclude by this time, you are got to town again, and then, in a little time, I shall hear from you. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 21 February 1703-4.

S I R,

IMUST acknowledge it as an Effect of your zeal to serve me, that you have sent me *LE CLERC's Harmony*, and *MOLIERE's Works*, by the Bishop-Stratford Coach; and and I return you my thanks, as much as if it exactly answered my purpose. I ought not to think it strange, that you in town, amidst a hurry of business, should not keep precisely in mind my little affairs; when I here, where I have nothing to disturb my thoughts, do so often forget. When I write to you to do me the favour to get these Books for me carefully bound, I think I made it my request to you; I'm sure I intended it; to write word when they were done, and then I would acquaint you how they were to be disposed of; for the truth is, they were to be disposed of in town. But whether I only meant this, and said nothing; or you forgot it, the matter is not much. I expect to receive the Books to-morrow, and shall do well enough with them.

I should not have taken notice of this to you at all, did I not intend it for an excuse for an ill-mannered thing very necessary in business, which perhaps you will find me use with you for the future; which is, to repeat the little circumstances of business, which are apt to be forgotten, in every Letter, till the danger be over. This if you observe to do, will prevent many cross accidents in your affairs; I assure it you upon experience.

I desire

I desire you to stop your hand a little, and forbear putting to the press the two Discourses you mention *. They are very touchy subjects at this time; and that good man, who is the Author, may, for aught I know, be crippled by those, who will be sure to be offended at him, right or wrong. Remember what you say a little lower in your Letter, in the case of another friend of yours, that *in the way of Reason they are not to be dealt with*.

It will be a kindness to get a particular account of those proceedings †; but therein must be contained the day, the names of those present, and the very words of the order or resolution; and to learn, if you can, from whence it had its rise. When these particulars are obtained it will be fit to consider what use to make of them. In the mean time, I take what has been done, as a recommendation of that Book to the world, as you do; and I conclude when you and I meet next, we shall be merry upon the subject. For this is certain, that because some men wink, or turn away their heads and will not see, others will not consent to have their eyes put out. I am, &c.

* *A Discourse concerning the Resurrection of the same Body, with two Letters concerning the necessary Immateriality of a created thinking Substance.* These Pieces, written by Mr. BOLD, were printed at London 1705, in 8vo.

† It was proposed at a Meeting of the Heads of the Houses of the University of Oxford, to censure and discourage the Reading of Mr. LOCKE's *Essay concerning human Understanding*; and, after various Debates among themselves, it was concluded, that each Head of a House should endeavour to prevent its being read in his College, without coming to any publick Censure.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 24 February 1730-4.

S I R,

YOU know me not yet as you ought, if you do not think I live with you, with the same confidence I do with myself, and with the same sincerity of affection too. This makes me to talk to you with the same freedom I think; which, tho' it has not all the ceremony of good Breeding, yet it makes amends with something more substantial, and is of better relish in the stomach. Believe it, therefore, that you need not trouble yourself with apologies for having sent the Books hither. You have obliged me as much by it, as you could by any thing of that nature, which I had desired; neither need you be concerned for the future. 'Tis convenient to make it a rule not to let one's Friend forget little circumstances, whereby such cross purposes sometimes happen; but when they do happen between friends, they are to be made matter of mirth.

The Gentleman that writ you the Letter, which you sent to me, is an extraordinary man, and the fittest in the world to go on with that enquiry. Pray, let him, at any rate, get the precise time, the persons present, and the minutes of the Register taken of their proceedings; and this without noise, or seeming concerned to have them, as much as may be; and I would beg you not to talk of this matter, till we have got the whole matter of fact, which will be a pleasant story, and of good use.

I wish the Books, you mentioned *, were not gone to the press, and that they might not be printed; for when they are printed, I am sure they will get abroad; and then it will be too late to wish it had not been so. However, if the fates will have it so, and their printing cannot be avoided; yet, at least,

* Mr. BOLD's Treatises mentioned before, in page 284.

let care be taken to conceal his name. I doubt not of his reasoning right, and making good his points ; but what will that boot, if he, and his family should be disturbed, or diseased ?

I shall, as you desire, send MOLIERE, and LE CLERC back to you, by the first opportunity. I am with perfect sincerity and respect, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 28 February 1703-4.

S I R,

I SAW the packet was exactly well made up, and I knew the Books in it were well bound ; whereupon I let it alone, and was likely to have sent it back to you unopened ; but my good genius would not suffer me to lose a Letter of yours in it, which I value more than all the Books it accompanied. Since my last therefore to you, I opened the packet, and therein found yours of the 16th instant, which makes me love and value you, if it were possible, more than I did before ; you having therein, in short, so well described, wherein the happiness of a rational creature in this world consists ; tho' there are very few that make any other use of their half employed and undervalued Reason, but to bandy against it. 'Tis well, as you observe, that they agree as ill with one another, as they do with common sense. For when, by the influence of some prevailing head, they all lean one way ; Truth is sure to be born down, and there is nothing so dangerous, as to make any enquiry after her ; and to own her, for her own sake, is most unpardonable crime.

You ask me, how I like the binding of MOLIERE, and LE CLERC. You will wonder to hear me say, not at all ; but you must take the other part of my answer, which is ; nor do I dislike it. 'Tis probable, that this yet doth not satisfy you, after you have taken such especial care with your binder, that they should be exactly well done. Know then, that upon moving the first book, having luckily espied your Letter, I only just looked into it to see the Paris print of MOLIERE ; and without so much as taking it out of the paper it was wrapped up in, cast my eye upon the cover, which looked very fine, and curiously done, and so put it up again hasting to your Letter. This was examining, more than enough, of books whose binding you had told me you had taken care of ; and more than enough, for a man who had your Letter in his hand unopened.

Pray, send me word what you think or hear of Dr. PITT's last Book *. For as for the first of the other Authors you mention †, by what I have seen of him already, I can easily think his Arguments not worth your reciting. And as for the other, tho' he has parts, yet that is not all which I require in an Author, I am covetous of, and expect to find satisfaction in.

Pray, forget not to write to your friend in Oxford, to the purpose I mentioned in my last to you. I am, &c.

* *The Antidote ; or the Preservative of Health and Life, and the Restorative of Physic to its sincerity and perfection ; &c.* By R. PITT, M. D. Fellow and Censor of the College of Physicians, &c. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

† *The Grand Essay ; or a Vindication of Reason and Religion, against the Imposture of Philosophy, &c.* Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

TO THE SAME.

Oates 6 March 1703-4.

SIR,

WERE you of Oxenford it self, bred under those sharp Heads, which were for damning my Book, because of its discouraging the staple commodity of the place; which in my time was called *Hog's-shearing*, (which is, as I hear, given out for the cause of their decree); you could not be a more subtle disputant than you are. You do every thing, that I desire of you, with the utmost care and concern; and because I understand and accept it so, you contend that you are the party obliged. This, I think, requires some of the most refined Logick to make good; and if you will have me believe it, you must forbid me too to read my own Book, and oblige me to take to my help more learned and scholastick notions. But the mischief is, I am too old to go to school again; and too resty now, to study arts, however authorized, or wherever taught, to impose upon my own understanding. Let me therefore, if you please, be sensible of your kindness; and I give you leave to please your self, with my interpreting them as I ought, as much as you think fit. For it would be hard in me to deny you so small a satisfaction, where I receive so great and real advantage.

To convince you, that you are not like to lose what you so much value, and is all you can expect in our commerce, I put into your hands a fresh opportunity of doing something for me, which I shall have reason to take well. I have this day sent back the bundle of Books. I have taken what care I can to secure them from any harm, that might threaten them in the carriage. For I should be extremely vexed that books, so curiously finished by your care, should be in the least injured, or lose any thing of their perfect beauty, till they came to the hands, for whom they are designed.

You have, you see, by your kind offer, drawn upon your self a farther trouble with them, which was designed for my Cofin KING. But he setting out for the Circuit to-morrow morning, I must beg you, that may be my excuse for taking this liberty with you. MOLIERE's Works are for the Countess of PETERBOROUGH, which I desire you to present to her from me, with the enclosed for her, and my most humble Service. I am in truth, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates 13 March 1703-4.

SIR,

IF the disputers of this world were but half so good at doing, as you, the mart of Logick and Syllogisms would no doubt be the only place for the young frye *ad capiendum ingenii cultum*; (pardon, I beseech you, this scrap of Latin, my thoughts were in a place that authorizes it, and one cannot chop Logick half so well in unlearned modern vulgar Languages). But the traders in subtilty have not your way of recommending it, by turning it into substantial solidity, whereby you prevail so much on me, that I can scarce avoid being persuaded by you, that when I send you of a jaunt beyond Piccadilly, you are the person obliged, and I ought to expect thanks of you for it. Excuse me, I intreat you, if, for decencies sake, I stop a little short of that; and let it satisfy you, that I believe, nay such is the power of your Logick, that I cannot help believing, that you spare no pains for your friends, and that you take a pleasure in doing me kindness. All that remains for me to ask of you,

you, is, to do me this right in your turn, to believe I am not insensible of your favours, and know how to value such a friend.

Tho' you saw not my Lady, when you delivered *MOLIERE*, and my Letter at her house; yet had you no message from her? Or did you not go in, or stay, when you heard she was indisposed?

Mr. LE CLERC's *Harmony* is for Mr. Secretary JOHNSTON's Lady. The Book sent to his lodgings with a Note to inform him, that it is for his Lady from me, will do the business; so that, for this errand, I am glad your servant is sufficient without sending you; for you must give me leave sometimes on such occasions to be a little stingy, and sparing of my favours.

I perceive, by the enclosed you did me the favour to send me, that those worthy Heads are not yet grown up to perfect infallibility. I am sorry however, that their mighty thoughts wanted utterance. However, I would very gladly know the true matter of fact, and what was really proposed, resolved, or done; this, if possible, I would be assured of, that I might not be mistaken in what gratitude I ought to have.

You balked my having the Bishop of St. Asaph's * Sermon, by telling my Cousin KING, that I care not for Sermons; and, at the same time, you send my Lady Plays. This has raised a dispute between her Ladyship and me, which of us two it is, you think best of. Methinks you are of opinion, that my Lady is well enough satisfied with the unreformed Stage; but that I should be glad, that some things were reformed in the Pulpit itself. The result is, that my Lady thinks it necessary for you to come, and appease these broils you have raised in the family. I am &c.

* Dr. GEORGE HOOPER.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 21 March 1703-4.

S I R,

GIVE me leave to tell you, Sir, that you are mistaken in me. I am not a young Lady, a Beauty, and a Fortune. And unless you thought me all this, and designed your addresses to me; how is it possible you should be afraid you acquitted not yourself well in my commission beyond Piccadilly? Your waiting in the Parlour a quarter of an hour was more than any reasonable man could demand of you; and if either of us ought to be troubled in the case, it is I, because you did so much; and not you, because you did so little. But the reality of your friendship has so blended our concerns into one, that you will not permit me to observe, whether I do, or receive the favour, in what passes between us; and I am almost persuaded by you to believe, that sitting here by the fire I trudge up and down for you in London. Give me leave however to thank you, as if you had delivered Mr. LE CLERC's *Harmony* to Mr. Secretary JOHNSTON for me, and sent me the two Bibles, which I received.

As for the rummaging over Mr. NORRIS's late Book *, I will be sworn, 'tis not I have done that; for however, I may be mistaken in what passes without me, I am infallible in what passes in my own mind; and I am sure, the Ideas

* *An Essay towards the Theory of the ideal or intelligible World. Being the relative part of it. Wherein the intelligible World is considered, with relation to human Understanding. Whereof some Account is here attempted, and proposed. Part II. By JOHN NORRIS, Rector of Bemerton near Sarum. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.*

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that are put together in your Letter out of him, were never so in my thoughts, till I saw them there. What did I say, *put Ideas together?* I ask your pardon, 'tis, *put words together without Ideas*; just as I should suspect I did, if I should say you *disparaged* a very good strait Ruler I had, if you told me it would not enable me to write sense, tho' it were very good and useful, to shew me whether I writ strait or no.

Men of Mr. NORRIS's way seem to me to decree, rather than to argue. They, against all evidence of sense and reason, decree Brutes to be machines, only because their hypothesis requires it; and then with a like authority, suppose, as you rightly observe, what they should prove; *viz. that whatsoever thinks, is immaterial. Cogitation, says Mr. NORRIS, is more excellent than motion, or vegetation; and therefore must belong to another substance than that of Matter, in the Idea whereof, motion and vegetation are contained.* This latter part, I think, would be hard for him to prove, *viz. that motion and vegetaion are contained in the Idea of the substance of matter.* But to let that pass at present; I ask, whether, if this way of arguing be good, it will not turn upon him thus; *if the Idea of a Spirit does not comprehend motion and vegetation; then they must belong to another substance than a spirit; and therefore are more excellent than cogitation, or the affections of a spirit.* For if its greater excellency proves any mode or affection to belong to another substance; will not its belonging to another substance, by the same rule, prove it to be more excellent? But this is only to deal with these men of Logick and Subtily, in their own way, who use the term *excellent*, to prove a material question by, without having, as you remark, a clear and determined Idea of what they mean, by *more or less excellent.*

But not to waste your time, in playing with the Arguments of men, that examine not strictly the meaning of the words they use; I will shew you the fallacy whereby they impose on themselves; for such talkers commonly cozen themselves, as well as others. *Cogitation, say they, is not comprehended in the Idea of extension and solidity*; for that is it which they mean, when they say, the *Idea of matter*; from whence they conclude right, that *cogitation belongs not to extension or solidity*; or *is not included in either of them, or both together*; but this is not the consequence that they draw, but infer a conclusion that is not contained in the premises, and is quite besides them; as Mr. NORRIS, if he would make use of Syllogism to its proper purpose, might see. Extension, and Solidity, we have the Ideas of; and see, that Cogitation has no necessary connection with them, nor has any *consequential result* from them; and therefore is not a proper affection of extension, and solidity, nor doth naturally belong to them; but how doth it follow from hence, that it may not be made an affection of, or be annexed to that substance, which is vested with solidity, and extension? Of this substance we have no Idea, that excludes cogitation, any more than solidity. Their conclusion, therefore, should be the exclusion of cogitation from the substance of Matter, and not from the other affections of that substance. But they either overlook this, which is the true state of that argument, or else avoid to set it in its clear light; lest it show too plainly, that their great argument, either proves nothing, or, if it doth, it is against them.

What you say about my *Essay of human understanding*, that nothing can be advanced against it, but upon the principle of *innate Ideas*, is certainly so; and therefore all that do not argue against it, from innate Ideas, in the sense I speak of innate Ideas; though they make a noise against me, yet at last they so draw and twist their improper ways of speaking, which have the appearance and sound of contradiction to me, that at last they state the question so, as to leave no contradiction in it to
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my *Essay*; as you have observed in Mr. LEE *, Mr. LOWDE †, and Mr. NORRIS in his late treatise. It is reward enough for the writing my Book, to have the approbation of one such a Reader as you are. You have done me, and my Book a great honour, in having bestowed so much of your thoughts upon it. You have a comprehensive knowledge of it, and do not stick in the incidents; which I find many people do; which, whether true or false, make nothing to the main design of the *Essay*, that lyes in a little compass; and yet, I hope, may be of great use to those, who see and follow that plain and easy method of nature, to carry them the shortest and clearest way to Knowledge. Pardon me this vanity; it was with a design of enquiring into the nature and powers of the Understanding, that I writ it; and nothing but the hope that it might do some service to Truth, and Knowledge, could excuse the publishing of it.

I know not whether I ever shewed you an occasional sketch of mine, about *seeing all things in God*. If I did not, if it please God I live to see you here again, I will shew it you *; and some other things. If you will let me know before-hand, when you design us that favour; it will be an addition to it. I beg your pardon for holding you so long from better employment. I do not, you see, willingly quit your conversation. If you were nearer me, you would see it more, for I am, &c.

* *Anti-Scepticism; or Notes upon each Chapter of Mr. LOCKE's Essay concerning human Understanding, with an explanation of all the particulars of which he treats, and in the same order. In four Books. By HENRY LEE, B. D. formerly Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, now Rector of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire. Lond. 1702. in fol.*

† In his *Discourse concerning the Nature of Man, &c.* and in his *Moral Essays, &c.*

* That Dissertation hath been published in Mr. LOCKE's *Posthumous Works*; Lond. 1706, in 8vo.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 3 April 1704.

S I R,

IN good sooth, Sir, you are an obstinate Lover; there is no help for it, you must carry your point. Only give me leave to tell you, that I do not like the puling fit you fall into, at the lower end of the page; where you tell me, *I have given you an argument against presuming so far again upon the liberty I allow you*. That is to say, you may give me Books, you may buy books for me, you may get books bound for me, you may trudge up and down with them on my errand to Ladies; but my Book you may not presume to read, use your judgment about, and talk to me freely of; tho' I know no body that understands it so well, nor can give me better light concerning it. Away with this squeamishness, I beseech you; and be assured, that among the many good offices, you daily do for me in London, there is none whereby I shall reap so much profit and pleasure, as your studying for me; and let us both, without scruple or reserve, help one another the best we can, in the way to Truth and Knowledge. And whenever you find me presume, that I know all that belongs to the subject of my own Book, and disdain to receive light and instruction from another, tho' of much lower form than you; conclude that I am an errand coxcomb, and know nothing at all.

You will see by the enclosed, that I can find business for you at Oxford, as well as at London. I have left it open, that you may read it before you seal and deliver it. In it you will see what he writ to me, on that affair. He is well acquainted with them in the University; and if he has not, may

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be prevailed on by you to fish out the bottom of that matter, and inform you in all the particulars of it. But you must not take his conjectures for matters of fact; but know his Authors, for any matter of fact he affirms to you. You will think I intend to engage you in a thousand disputes with him; quite the contrary. You may avoid all dispute with him, if you will but say after him; tho' you put him upon things, that shew you question all he says.

If Mr. WYNNE of Jesus-College, who epitomised my Book *, be in the University; 'tis like you will see him, and talk to him of that matter. Pray, give him my Service. But be sure, forget me not, with all manner of respect, to Mr. WRIGHT, for whom I have, as I ought, a very peculiar esteem.

I hope you will be pleased with me; for you see I have cut out work for you; and that is all that is left for me to do, to oblige you. I am, &c.

* Mr. WYNNE, now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, is the Author of *An Abridgment of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning human Understanding*. Lond. 1696, in 8vo.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 19 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

NOTHING works so steadily and effectually as Friendship. Had I hired a man to have gone to town in my business, and paid him well, my commissions would not have been so soon, nor so well dispatched, as I find, by yours of the 16th, they have been by you. You speak of my affairs, and act in them with such an air of interest and satisfaction, that I can hardly avoid thinking, that I oblige you with employing you in them. 'Tis no small advantage to me, to have found such a Friend, at the last scene of my life; when I am good for nothing, and am grown so useless, that I cannot but be sure that, in every good office you do me, you can propose to yourself no other advantage, but the pleasure of doing it.

Every one here finds himself obliged, by your late good company. As for myself, if you had not convinced me by a sensible experiment, I could not have believed, I could have had so many happy days together. I shall always pray that yours may be multiplied. Could I, in the least, contribute any thing thereunto, I should think myself happy in this poor decaying state of my health; which, tho' it affords me little in this world to enjoy, yet I find the charms of your company make me not feel the want of strength, or breath, or any thing else.

The Bishop of Gloucester came hither the day you went from hence, and in no very good state of health. I find two groaning people make but an uncomfortable consort. He returned yesterday, and went away in somewhat a better state. I hope he got well to town.

Enjoy your health, and youth, whilst you have it, to all the advantages and improvements of an innocent and pleasant life; remembering that merciless old age is in pursuit of you, and when it overtakes you will not fail, some way or other, to impair the enjoyments both of body and mind. You know how apt I am to preach. I believe it is one of the diseases of old age. But my friends will forgive me, when I have nothing to persuade them to, but that they should endeavour to be as happy as it is possible for them to be; and to you, I have no more to say, but that you go on in the course you are in. I reflect often upon it, with a secret joy, that you promised I should,

should, in a short time, see you again. You are very good, and I dare not press you. But I cannot but remember how well I passed my time, when you were here. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 25 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN you come to my age, you will know that, with us old fellows, *convenient* always carries it before *ornamental*. And I would have as much of the free air, when I go abroad in it *, as is possible. Only I ask whether those, which fall back, so as to give as free a prospect behind as before, be as easily managed, and brought over you again, in case of need, as in a shower; as one that falls back, upon two standing corner pillars? And next, whether that which falls back so well, doth, when it is drawn up over you, come so far over your head, when it is erected, as to shelter it from the dew, without shutting you up from the free open air? For I think sometimes in the evening of a warm day to sit abroad in it, to take the fresco; but would have a canopy over my head, to keep the dew off. If this be so, I am plainly, and without ballancing for that which falls flattest. One question more, and I have done. Pray, what place is there for a Footman in any of them? Most of my time being spent in sitting, I desire special care may be taken, in making the seat broad enough, and the two cushions soft, plump, and thick enough.

You know I have great liking to be canonical; but I little thought, that you, of all others, was the man to make me so. I shall love it the better for your sake; and wish that canonical were ready, that you might have the handselling of it hither speedily. If I did not take you for myself, as you have taught me to do, I should not be thus free with you. Count me in your turn all yourself, except my age and infirmities; those I desire to keep to myself; all the rest of me is yours.

* That is, in a Chaise, which Mr. LOCKE desired to have made for him.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 26 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

MY Letter yesterday went away without an answer to one of your demands; and that was, whether I would have any brass on the harness? To which, give me leave to tell you, that in my whole life, I have been constantly against any thing that makes a shew; no maxim being more agreeable to my condition and temper, than *qui bene latuit bene vixit*. I like to have things substantially good of their kind, and useful, and handsomely made, and fitly adapted to their uses; for, if either were necessary, I had rather be taken notice of for something that is fashionably gaudy, than ridiculously uncooth, or for its poorness and meanness remarkable. Therefore, if you please, let the harness, and all the whole accoutrements be of as good materials, and as handsomely made and put together as may be; but for ornaments of brass, or any such thing, I desire it may be spared.

One question more comes into my mind to ask you, and that is ; whether the back of those, that fall down so flat, are so made that, when it is up, one may lean and loll against it at ones ease, as in a Coach or a Chariot ; for I am grown a very lazy fellow, and have now three easy Chairs to lean and loll in, and would not be without that relief in my Chaise.

You see I am as nice as a young fond Girl, that is coming into the world, with a face and a fortune, as she presumes, to command it. Let not this, however, deter you ; for I shall not be so hard to be pleased. For what you do, will be as if I did it myself. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 29 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

HOW should I value the Chaise, you take so much pains about, if I could hope I could have your company with me abroad in it, every two or three days. However, it wears the signature of your friendship, and so will always have something in it to please me.

I know not whether it be worth while to clog it with any thing, to make a place for a Footman. That must, I suppose, make it bigger and heavier, which I would avoid ; and I think, upon the whole matter, there will be no great need of it. But when I hear from you again I shall know that. In the mean time, all the rest, I think, is resolved ; for, I suppose of course, you will chuse a cloth for the lining of a dust colour ; that is the proper colour for such a Priest as you mention in your Letter.

If poor PSALMANASSAR be really a Convert from Paganism ; (which I would be glad to be assured of) ; he has very ill luck, not to herd any where among the variety of sorts that are among us. But I think it so, that the parties are more for doing one another harm, than for doing any body good. I am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 9 June 1704.

DEAR SIR,

I MIGHT number my days, (and it is a pleasant sort of Almanack) by the kindnesses I receive from you. Your packet I received, and have reason to thank you for all the particulars in it ; however, you thought fit to prepare me for being disappointed, in the binding my *Greek Testament*. There is nothing in it that offends me, but the running of his paring knife too deep into the margin ; a knavish and intolerable fault in all our English Book-binders.

Books seem to me to be pestilent things, and infect all that trade in them ; that is, all but one sort of men, with something very perverse and brutal. Printers, Binders, Sellers and others that make a trade, and gain out of them ; have universally so odd a turn and corruption of mind, that they have a way of dealing peculiar to themselves, and not conformed to the good of Society, and that general fairness that cements Mankind.

Whether it be, that these instruments of Truth and Knowledge will not bear being subjected to any thing but those noble ends, without revenging themselves on those, who meddle with them to any other purpose, and prostitute them to mean and misbecoming designs ; I will not enquire. The
matter

matter of fact, I think, you will find true ; and there we will leave it to those, who fully themselves with Printer's Ink, till they wholly expunge all the Candor that nature gives, and become the worst sort of black Cattle.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 29 June 1704.

DEAR SIR,

IF the Chaise, you have had so much trouble about, gives me as much satisfaction afterwards, as it will in the first service I shall receive from it ; the Conquerors of the world will not ride in their triumphant Chariots with more pleasure, than I shall in my little Tumbrel. It will bring me what I prefer to glory. For, methinks, he understands but little of the true sweetness of life, that doth not more relish the conversation of a worthy and ingenuous Friend in retirement, than the noise and rout of the croud in the streets, with all their acclamations and huzza's. I long, therefore, that the Machine should be dispatched ; and expect it as greedily as a hungry merchant doth a ship from the East Indies, which is to bring him a rich cargo. I hope the Coach-maker doth not live far from you ; for if he be a slow man of London, I would have him quickened once a-day, that he may make as much haste, as if the satisfaction of two lovers depended on his dispatch. In the mean time, give me leave to desire you to bestow some of your spare hours on the *Epistles to the Corinthians*, and to try whether you can find them intelligible or no. You will easily guess the reason of this * ; and when I have you here, I hope to convince you it will not be lost labour ; only permit me to tell you, you must read them with something more than an ordinary application.

The samples you have sent me †, I must conclude, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what shall I be the better for the most exact and best proportioned Picture that ever was drawn, if I have not Eyes to see the correspondence of the parts ? I confess the lines are too subtle for me, and my dull sight cannot perceive their connections. I am not envious, and therefore shall not be troubled, if others find themselves instructed with so extraordinary and sublime a way of reasoning. I am content with my own mediocrity. And though I call the thinking faculty in me, *Mind* ; yet I cannot, because of that name, or equal it in any thing, to that infinite and incomprehensible Being, which, for want of right and distinct conceptions, is called *Mind* also, or the *eternal Mind*. I endeavour to make the best use I can of every thing ; and therefore, tho' I am in despair to be the wiser for these learned instructions ; yet, I hope, I shall be the merrier for them, when you and I take the air in the Calash together. I am, &c.

* Mr. LOCKE writ this to Mr. COLLINS, in order to prepare him to read afterwards with him his *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. PAUL to the Corinthians* ; which have been published since his Death.

† That is, out of Dr. SHERLOCK's *Digression concerning Connate Ideas, or inbred Knowledge*, against Mr. LOCKE ; inserted in the 3d Section of the 2d Chapter of his *Discourse concerning the Happiness of good Men, and the Punishment of the Wicked, in the next World*, &c. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 23 July 1704.

DEAR SIR,

THE Gentlemen, you speak of, have a great deal of reason to be pleased with the Discourse * you mention ; there being nothing ever writ in their strain and way more perfectly than it is ; and it may stand for a pattern for those, that have a mind to excel in their admirable use of language and method of talking ; if, at least, there be any need of a pattern to those, who so naturally, and by a peculiar genius of their own, fall into that, which the profane illiterate vulgar, poor wretches, are strangers to, and cannot imitate. But more of this to make us merry when the Chaise brings us together.

I now every moment wish the Chaise done ; not out of any impatience, I am in, for the Machine, but for the Man ; the Man, I say, that is to come in it. A Man, that has not his fellow ; and, to all that, loves me. If I regret my old age, it is you that make me, and call me back to the world just as I was leaving of it, and leaving it as a place that had very little valuable in it ; but who would not be glad to spend some years with you ? Make haste, therefore, and let me ingross what of you I can. I am, &c.

* Dr. SHERLOCK's *Digression concerning Connate Ideas* ; &c. mentioned in the foregoing Letter.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 2 August 1704.

DEAR SIR,

THO' I cannot, by writing, make you a surer title to myself, than you have already ; yet I cannot forbear to acknowledge, under my hand and seal, the great sense I have of the late favour, you did me. Whether that, or any thing else, will be able to add any duration to my mouldring carcass, I cannot say ; but this I am sure, your company and kindness has added to the length of my life ; which, in my way of measuring, doth not lye in counting of minutes, but tasting of enjoyments. I wish the continuance and increase of yours, without stint, and am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 11 August 1704.

DEAR SIR,

KIND, and good-natured Friends do, like you, bestow their favours, and thank those that received them. I was never more obliged, nor better entertained, than by your company here ; and you heap upon me your acknowledgements, as if I had made a journey to London for your sake, and there done you I know not how many courtesies. This, however, has the effect you could wish upon me. I believe all that you would have me. And since one naturally loves, as well those, that one has done good to, as those whom one has received good from ; I leave it to you, to manage the account as you please. So the affection and good will between us doth but increase, whose hand lays most fuel on the fire, that warms us both, I shall not be
nicely

nicely solicitous; since I am sure, you cannot impute to me more than I really wish, but at the same time know that wishing in me is all, for I can do just nothing. Make no apologies to me, I beseech you, for what you said to me about the *Digression* *. 'Tis no more, but what I find other people agree with you in; and it would afford as much diversion as any hunting you could imagine, had I strength and breath enough to pursue the chase.

But of this we may, perhaps, have better opportunity to talk, when I see you next. For this I tell you before-hand, I must not have you be under any restraint to speak to me, whatever you think fit for me to do; whether I am of the same mind, or no. The use of a Friend is to persuade us to the right, not to suppose always that we are in it. I am, &c.

* See above, page 101, 102.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 16 August 1704.

DEAR SIR,

WHICH way soever I turn myself, I meet on all sides your Friendship, in all manner of shapes, and upon all sorts of occasions, besetting me. Were I as averse, as I am pleased, with my happiness in your kindness; I must however yield to so powerful and constant attacks*. But it is past that time of day. I have long since surrendered myself to you. And I am as certainly in your coach, as Count TALLARD in the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's, to be disposed as you please; only with this difference, that he was a prisoner of war against his will; I am your captive, by the soft, but stronger, force of your irresistible obligations, and with the consent and joy of my own mind.

Judge then, whether I am willing my shadow should be in possession of one, with whom my heart is; and to whom all that I am, had I any thing besides my heart worth the presenting, doth belong. Sir GODFREY, I doubt not, will make it very like. If it were possible for his pencil to make it a speaking picture; it should tell you every day how much I love and esteem you; and how pleased I am, to be, so much as in effigie, near a Person, with whom I should be glad to spend an age to come. I am, &c.

* Mr. COLLINS had desired Mr. LOCKE to let Sir GODFREY KNELLER come down into the Country, to draw Mr. LOCKE's Picture; which Sir GODFREY did.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 11 September 1704.

DEAR SIR,

HE, that has any thing to do with you, must own that Friendship is the natural product of your constitution; and your soul, a noble soil, is enriched with the two most valuable qualities of human nature, Truth, and Friendship. What a treasure have I then in such a Friend, with whom I can converse, and be enlightened about the highest speculations! When one hears you upon the principles of knowledge, or the foundations of government, one would hardly imagine your thoughts ever descended to a brush, or a curry-comb, or other such trumpery of life; and yet, if one employ
you

you but to get a pair of shoe-buckles, you are as ready and dextrous at it, as if the whole business of your life had been with nothing but shoe-buckles.

As to my Lady's Picture; pray, in the first place, see it, and tell me how you like it. In the next place, pray get Sir GODFREY to write upon it, on the backside, LADY MASHAM 1704; and on the backside of mine, JOHN LOCKE 1704. This he did on Mr. MOLYNEUX's, and mine, the last he drew; and this is necessary to be done, or else the Pictures of private persons are lost in two or three generations; and so the Picture loses of its value, it being not known whom it was made to represent.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 1 October 1704.

DEAR SIR,

TO compleat the satisfaction I have lately had here, there has been nothing wanting but your company. The coming of his Father-in-law*, joined with the straitness of the lodging in this house, hindered me from having my Cofin KING, and you together; and so cut off one part of the enjoyment, which you know is very valuable to me. I must leave it to your kindness and charity, to make up this loss to me. How far the good company I have had here has been able to raise me into a forgetfulness of the decays of age, and the uneasiness of my indisposition, my Cofin KING is judge. But this, I believe, he will assure you, that my infirmities prevail so fast on me, that unless you make haste hither I may lose the satisfaction of ever seeing again a Man, that I value in the first rank of those, that I leave behind me †.

* Sir PETER KING's Father-in-law.

† Mr. LOCKE died on the 28th of October 1704; that is, 27 days after the writing of this Letter.



T O T H E S A M E. [Directed thus:]

F O R

A N T H O N Y C O L L I N S, Esq;

To be delivered to him after my decease.

Oates, 23 August 1704.

DEAR SIR,

BY my Will, you will see that I had some kindness for ****. And I knew no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I designed for him, into your hands and management. The knowledge I have of your Virtue, of all kinds, secures the trust, which by your permission I have placed in you; and the peculiar esteem and love, I have observed in the young Man for you, will dispose him to be ruled and influenced by you, so that of that I need say nothing.

But there is one thing, which it is necessary for me to recommend to your especial care, and memory *****

May

May you live long and happy, in the enjoyment of Health, Freedom, Content, and all those blessings, which Providence has bestowed on you, and your Virtue intitles you to. I know you loved me living; and will preserve my Memory, now I am dead. All the use to be made of it is, that this Life is a scene of Vanity, that soon passes away; and affords no solid satisfaction, but in the consciousness of doing well, and in the hopes of another Life. This is what I can say, upon experience; and what you will find to be true, when you come to make up the account. Adieu; I leave my best Wishes with you.

JOHN LOCKE.



A

L E T T E R

T O

T H E R E V E R E N D

Mr. R I C H A R D K I N G.

Oates 23 July 1703.

S I R,

I Cannot but think my self beholden to any occasion that procures me the honour of a Letter from you. I return my acknowledgments for those great expressions of Civility and marks of Friendship, I received in yours of the eight instant; and wish I had the opportunity to shew the esteem I have of your merit, and the sense of your kindness to me, in any real service.

The desire of your Friend, in the inclosed Letter you sent me, is what of myself I am inclined to satisfy; and am only sorry, that so copious a subject has lost, in my bad memory, so much of what heretofore I could have said concerning that great and good Man, of whom he enquires*. Time, I daily find, blots out apace the little stock of my mind, and has disabled me from furnishing all, that I would willingly contribute, to the Memory of that learned Man. But give me leave to assure you, that I have not known a fitter person than he, to be preserved as an example, and proposed to the imitation of men of Letters. I therefore wish well to your Friend's design, tho' my mite be all I have been able to contribute to it.

I wish you all happiness, and am, with a very particular respect,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

* Dr. Pococke. See the following Letter.



A

L E T T E R

T O * * * *

Oates 23 July 1703.

S I R,

I Have so great a veneration for the memory of that excellent Man, whose Life you tell me you are writing *, that when I set myself to recollect what Memoirs I can (in answer to your desire) furnish you with ; I am ashamed I have so little in particular to say, on a subject that afforded so much. For I conclude you so well acquainted with his Learning and Virtue, that I suppose it would be superfluous to trouble you on those heads. However, give me leave not to be wholly silent upon this occasion. So extraordinary an example, in so degenerate an age, deserves for the rarity, and I was going to say, for the incredibility of it, the attestation of all that knew him, and considered his worth.

The Christian World is a witness of his great Learning, that the Works he published would not suffer to be concealed. Nor could his Devotion and Piety lie hid, and be unobserved in a College; where his constant and regular assisting at the cathedral service, never interrupted by sharpness of weather, and scarce restrained by downright want of health, shewed the temper and disposition of his mind.

But his other Virtues, and excellent qualities, had so strong and close a covering of Modesty and unaffected Humility; that, tho' they shone the brighter to those, who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to discern and distinguish solidity from shew, and esteem Virtue that sought not Reputation; yet they were the less taken notice, and talked of, by the generality of those, to whom he was not wholly unknown. Not that he was at all close and reserved; but, on the contrary, the readiest to communicate to any one that consulted him.

Indeed he was not forward to talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the Discourse, tho' it were on a subject that he understood better than any of the company; and would often content himself to sit still and hear others debate in matters, which he himself was more a master of. He had often the silence of a Learner, where he had the knowledge of a Master; and that, not with a design, as is often, that the Ignorance any one betrayed might give him the opportunity to display his own Knowledge, with the more lustre and advantage to their shame; or censure them, when they were gone. For these arts of triumph and ostentation, frequently practised by men of skill and ability, were utterly unknown to him. 'Twas very seldom that he contradicted any one; or if it were necessary at any time to inform any one better, who was in a mistake, it was in so soft and gentle a manner, that it had nothing of the air of Dispute or Correction, and seemed to have little of

* Dr. EDWARD POCOCKE, Regius Professor of Hebrew, in the University of Oxford. He was born at Oxford on the 8th of November 1603, and he died on the 10th of September 1691.

opposition in it. I never heard him say any thing, that put any one that was present the least out of countenance; nor ever censure, or so much as speak diminishingly of any one, that was absent.

He was a man of no irregular Appetites. If he indulged any one too much, it was that of Study, which his Wife would often complain of, (and, I think, not without reason) that a due consideration of his age and health could not make him abate.

Tho' he was a man of the greatest Temperance in himself, and the farthest from Ostentation and Vanity in his way of living; yet he was of a liberal mind, and given to Hospitality; which, considering the smallness of his Preferments; and the numerous Family of Children he had to provide for, might be thought to have out-done those, who made more noise and shew.

His Name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him Visits from all Foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford, to see that University. They never failed to be highly satisfied with his great Knowledge and Civility, which was not always without expence.

Tho' at the Restoration of King CHARLES, when Preferment rained down upon some mens heads, his merits were so over-looked, or forgotten, that he was barely restored to what was his before, without receiving any new preferment then, or at any time after; yet I never heard him take any the least notice of it, or make the least complaint in a case, that would have grated sorely on some mens patience, and have filled their mouths with murmuring, and their lives with discontent. But he was always unaffectedly chearful; no marks of any thing that lay heavy at his heart, for his being neglected, ever broke from him. He was so far from having any displeasure lie concealed there, that whenever any expressions of Dissatisfaction, for what they thought hard usage, broke from others in his presence, he always diverted the discourse; and if it were any body, with whom he thought he might take that liberty, he silenced it with visible marks of dislike.

Tho' he was not, as I said, a forward, much less an assuming Talker; yet he was the farthest in the world from being fullen or morose. He would talk very freely, and very well of all parts of Learning, besides that wherein he was known to excel. But this was not all; he could discourse very well of other things. He was not unacquainted with the world, tho' he made no shew of it.

His backwardness to meddle in other people's matters, or to enter into debates, where names and persons were brought upon the stage, and judgments and censures were hardly avoided; concealed his Abilities, in matters of Business and Conduct, from most people. But yet I can truly say, that I knew not any one in that University, whom I would more willingly consult, in any affair that required consideration, nor whose opinion I thought better worth the hearing than his, if he could be drawn to enter into it, and give his Advice.

Tho' in company he never used himself, nor willingly heard from others, any personal reflections on other men, tho' set off with a sharpness that usually tickles, and by most men is mistaken for the best, if not the only seasoning of pleasant conversation; yet he would often bear his part in innocent Mirth, and by some apposite and diverting Story continue and heighten the Good-Humour.

I shall give you an instance of it in a story of his, which on this occasion comes to my mind; and I tell it you not as belonging to his life, but that it may give you some part of his Character; which, possibly, the very serious temper of this good man may be apt to make men oversee. The story was this. There was at Corpus-Christi College, when he was a young man there,

a proper

a proper Fellow, with a long grey Beard, that was Porter of the College. A waggish Fellow-Commoner of the House would be often handling and stroaking this grey Beard, and jestingly tell the Porter, he would, one of these days, fetch it off. The Porter, who took his Beard for the great ornament that added grace and authority to his person, could scarce hear the mention, in jest, of his Beard being cut off, with any patience. However, he could not escape the mortal agony that such a loss would cause him. The fatal hour came; and see what happened. The young Gentleman, as the Porter was standing at the College-Gate with other people about him, took hold of his Beard with his left hand, and with a pair of scissars, which he had ready in his right, did that execution, that the Porter and by-standers heard the cutting of scissars, and saw a handful of Grey-Hairs fall to the ground. The Porter, on that sight, in the utmost rage, ran immediately away to the President of the College; and there, with a loud and lamentable out-cry, desired justice to be done on the Gentleman-Commoner, for the great indignity and injury he had received from him. The President demanding what harm the other had done him; the Porter replied, an affront never to be forgiven; he had cut off his Beard. The President, not without laughing, told him, that his Barber was a bungler, and that therefore he would do him that justice, that he should have nothing for his pains, having done his work so negligently; for he had left him, for aught he could see, after all his cutting, the largest and most reverend Beard in the town. The Porter, scarce able to believe what he said, put up his hand to his chin, on which he found as full a grown Beard as ever. Out of countenance for his complaint for want of a Beard, he sneaked away, and would not shew his face for some time after.

The contrivance of the young Gentleman was innocent and ingenious. He had provided an handful of white horse-hair, which he cut, under the covert of the other's Beard, and so let it drop; which the testy fellow, without any farther examination, concluded to be of his own growth; and so, with open mouth, drew on himself every one's laughter; which could not be refused to such sad complaints, and so reverend a Beard.

Speaking of the expedite way of Justice in Turkey, he told this pleasant Story; whereof he was an eye-witness at Aleppo. A fellow, who was carrying about Bread to sell, at the turn of a street spying the Cadee coming towards him, set down his basket of bread, and betook himself to his heels. The Cadee coming on, and finding the basket of bread in his way, bid some of his Under-Officers to weigh it; (for he always goes attended, for present execution of any fault he shall meet with) who finding it as it should be, left it, and went on. The fellow watching, at the corner of the street, what would become of his Bread; when he found all was safe, returned to his basket. The by-standers asked him, why he ran away, his Bread being weight? That was more than I knew, says he; for tho' it be not mine, but I sell it for another, yet if it had been less than weight, and taken upon me, I should have been drubbed.

Many things of this nature, worth notice, would often drop from him in Conversation; which would inform the world of several particularities, concerning that Country and People, among whom he spent several years. You will pardon me, if on the sudden my bad memory cannot, after such a distance of time, recollect more of them. Neither, perhaps, had this now occurred, had I not, on an occasion that revived it in my memory sometime since by telling it to others, refreshed it in my own thoughts.

I know not whether you find amongst the Papers of his, that are, as you say, put into your hands, any Arabick Proverbs, translated by him. He has told me that he had a Collection of 3000, as I remember; and that they were,

were, for the most part, very good. He had, as he intimated, some thoughts of translating them, and adding some Notes, where they were necessary to clear any obscurities; but whether he ever did any thing in it before he died, I have not heard. But to return to what I can call to mind, and recover of him:

I do not remember that, in all my conversation with him, I ever saw him once angry, or to be so far provoked as to change colour or countenance, or tone of voice. Displeasing accidents and actions would sometimes occur; there is no help for that; but nothing of that kind moved him, that I saw, to any passionate words; much less to chiding or clamour. His Life appeared to me one constant Calm.

How great his Patience was in his long and dangerous Lameness, (wherein there were very terrible and painful operations,) you have, no doubt, learnt from others. I happened to be absent from Oxford most of that time; but I have heard, and believed it, that it was suitable to the other parts of his Life.

To conclude, I can say of him, what few men can say of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquaintance; that I do not remember I ever saw in him any one Action that I did, or could in my own mind blame, or thought amiss in him.

Sir, if I had been put upon this task soon after his Death, I might possibly have sent you a paper better furnished than this is, and with Particularities fitter for your purpose, to fill up the Character of so good and extraordinary a Man, and so exemplary a Life. The esteem and honour I have still for him would not suffer me to say nothing; tho' my decaying bad memory did ill second my desire, to obey your commands. Pray accept this, as a mark of my willingness, and believe that I am,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.



A

L E T T E R

To the Reverend

Mr. RICHARD KING.

Oates, 25 Aug. 1703.

SIR,

YOURS of the 4th instant I received; and tho' I am conscious I do not deserve those advantageous things, which your civility says of me in it, yet give me leave to assure you, that the offers of my service to you, which you are pleased to take notice of, is that part, which I shall not fail to make good on all occasions.

You ask me, *what is the shortest and surest way, for a young Gentleman, to attain a true Knowledge of the Christian Religion, in the full and just ex-*

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tent of it? For so I understand your Question; if I have mistaken in it, you must set me right. And to this I have a short and plain Answer: *Let him study the Holy Scripture, especially the New Testament.* Therein are contained the words of eternal Life. It has God for its Author; Salvation for its end; and Truth, without any mixture of Error, for its matter. So that it is a wonder to me, how any one professing Christianity, that would seriously set himself to know his Religion, should be in doubt where to imploy his search, and lay out his pains for his information; when he knows a Book, where it is all contained, pure and entire; and whither, at last, every one must have recourse, to verify that of it, which he finds any where else.

Your other Question, which I think I may call two or three, will require a larger Answer.

As to *Morality*, which, I take it, is the first in those things you enquire after; that is best to be found in the Book that I have already commended to you. But because you may perhaps think, that, the better to observe those Rules, a little warning may not be inconvenient, and some method of ranging them be useful for the memory; I recommend to you the *Whole Duty of Man*, as a methodical System; and if you desire a larger view of the *Parts of Morality*, I know not where you will find them so well and distinctly explained, and so strongly enforced, as in the practical Divines of the Church of England. The Sermons of Dr. BARROW, Archbishop TILLOTSON, and Dr. WHICHCOTE, are master-peices in this kind; not to name abundance of others, who excel on that subject. If you have a mind to see how far human Reason advanced in the discovery of Morality, you will have a good specimen of it in TULLY's *Offices*; unless you have a mind to look farther back into the source, from whence he drew his Rules; and then you must consult ARISTOTLE, and the other Greek Philosophers.

Tho' *Prudence* be reckoned among the cardinal Virtues, yet I do not remember any professed Treatise of Morality, where it is treated in its full extent, and with that accuracy that it ought. For which possibly this may be a reason, that every imprudent Action does not make a man culpable *in foro Conscientiæ*. The business of Morality, I look upon to be the avoiding of crimes; of prudence, inconveniences, the foundation whereof lies in knowing Men and Manners. History teaches this best, next to experience; which is the only effectual way to get a knowledge of the World. As to the Rules of Prudence, in the Conduct of common life, tho' there be several that have imployed their Pens therein; yet those Writers have their eyes so fixed on convenience, that they sometimes lose the sight of Virtue; and do not take care to keep themselves always clear from the borders of Dishonesty, while they are tracing out what they take to be, sometimes, the securest way to success; most of those that I have seen on this subject having, as it seemed to me, something of this defect. So that I know none that I can confidently recommend to your young Gentleman, but the Son of SYRAC.

To compleat a Man in the practice of human Offices, (for to that tend your enquiries), there is one thing more required; which, tho' it be ordinarily considered, as distinct from both Virtue and Prudence, yet I think it so near allied to them, that he will scarce keep himself from slips in both, who is without it. That, which I mean, is *Good-breeding*. The school, for a young gentleman to learn it in, is the Conversation of those, who are well-bred.

As to the last part of your enquiry, which is after Books that will give an insight into the Constitution of the Government, and real Interest of his Country; to proceed orderly in this, I think the foundation should be laid, in inquiring into the Ground and Nature of Civil Society; and how it is formed

formed into different models of Government; and what are the several Species of it. ARISTOTLE is allowed a master in this science, and few enter upon the consideration of Government, without reading his *Politicks*. Hereunto should be added, true notions of Laws in general; and Property, the subject-matter about which Laws are made. He, that would acquaint himself with the former of these, should thorowly study the judicious HOOKER's first Book of *Ecclesiastical Polity*. And *Property*, I have nowhere found more clearly explained, than in a Book intituled, *Two Treatises of Government*. But to load your young Gentleman with too many Books on this subject, which require more Meditation than Reading; give me leave to recommend to him, PUFFENDORF's little Treatise, *De Officio Hominis & Civis*.

To get an insight into the particular *Constitution* of the Government of his own Country, will require a little more reading; unless he will content himself with such a superficial knowledge of it as is contained in CHAMBERLAYNE's *State of England*, or SMITH *de Republica Anglicana*. Your Enquiry manifestly looks farther than that; and to attain such a knowledge of it, as becomes a Gentleman of England to have, to the purposes that you mention, I think he should read our antient Lawyers; such as BRACTON, *Fleta*, the *Mirror of Justice*, &c; which our cousin KING * can better direct you to, than I; joining with them, the *History of England under the Normans*, and so continuing it down quite to our times; reading it always in those Authors, who lived nearest those times; their Names you will find, and Characters often in Mr. TYRREL's *History of England*. To which, if there be added, a serious consideration of the Laws made in each Reign, and how far any of them influenced the Constitution; all these together will give him a full insight into what you desire.

As to the *Interest* of any Country, that, 'tis manifest, lies in its Prosperity and Security. Plenty of well-employed People, and Riches within; and good Alliances abroad, make its Strength. But the ways of attaining these comprehend all the Arts of Peace and War; the Management of Trade; the Employment of the Poor; and all those other things, that belong to the Administration of the Publick; which are so many, so various, and so changeable, according to the mutable State of Men, and Things in this world; that 'tis not strange, if a very small part of this consists in Book-Learning. He, that would know it, must have his eyes open upon the present State of Affairs; and from thence take his measures of what is good, or prejudicial, to the Interest of his Country.

You see how ready I am to obey your commands, tho' in matters wherein I am sensible of my own Ignorance. I am so little acquainted with Books, especially on these subjects relating to Politicks, that you must forgive me, if, perhaps, I have not named to you the best in every kind. And you must take it as a mark of my readiness to serve you, that I have ventured so far out of what lay in my way of Reading, in the days that I had leisure to converse with Books. The Knowledge of the Bible, and the Business of his Calling, is enough for an ordinary Man; a Gentleman ought to go farther.

Those of this place return their service and thanks, for the honour of your Remembrance. I am, &c.

* SIR PETER KING.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 27 Sept. 1704.

DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry to find, that the Question, which was the most material, and my mind was most upon, was answered so little to your satisfaction, that you are fain to ask it again. Since therefore you ask me a second time, *what is the best Method to study Religion?* I must ask you, *what Religion you mean?* For if it be, as I understood you before, the *Christian Religion in its full extent and purity*; I can make you no other Answer but what I did, viz. that *the only way to attain a certain Knowledge of that, is, the Study of the Holy Scripture.* And my reason is, because the Christian Religion is a Revelation from God almighty, which is contained in the Bible; and so, all the Knowledge we can have of it must be derived from thence. But if you ask, “which is “the best way to get the Knowledge of the *Romish, Lutheran, or Reformed Religion*, of this or that particular Church, &c.” each whereof entitles itself to be the true Christian Religion, with some kind of exclusion or diminution to the rest; that will not be hard to tell you. But then it is plain, that the Books, that best teach you any one of these, do most remove you from all the rest; and in this way of studying, you pitch upon one as the right, before you know it to be so; whereas that choice should be the result of your study of the Christian Religion, in the sacred Scriptures. And the method I have proposed would, I presume, bring you the surest way to that Church, which, I imagine, you already think most conformable to the Word of God.

I find, the Letter you last honoured me with contains a new Question, and that a very material one, viz. *What is the best way of interpreting the sacred Scripture?* taking *interpreting* to mean, *understanding*; I think the best way for understanding the Scripture, or the New Testament (for of that the question will here be in the first place) is to read it assiduously and diligently; and, if it can be, in the original. I do not mean, to read every day some certain number of chapters, as is usual; but to read it so, as to study and consider, and not leave till you are satisfied that you have got the true meaning.

To this purpose, it will be necessary to take the assistance of Interpreters and Commentators; such as are those called the *Criticks*, and POOL'S *Synopsis Criticorum*; Dr. HAMMOND on the new Testament, and Dr. WHITBY, &c.

I should not think it convenient to multiply books of this kind, were there any one that I could direct you to, that was infallible. But you will not think it strange, if I tell you, that after all you must make use of your own judgment; when you consider, that it is, and always will be, impossible to find an Expofitor, whom you can blind-fold rely upon, and cannot be mistaken in following. Such a resignation as that is due to the holy Scriptures alone; which were dictated by the infallible spirit of God.

Such writings also as Mr. MEDE'S and Dr. LIGHTFOOT'S are very much conducing to lead us into a true sense of the sacred Scriptures.

As to the Method of reading them, order requires that the four Evangelists should, in the first place, be well studyed, and thorowly understood. They all treating of the same subject do give great light to one another; and, I think, may, with the greatest advantage, be read in Harmony. To this purpose, Monsieur LE CLERC'S, or Mr. WHISTON'S *Harmony of the four Evangelists*, will be of use, and save a great deal of time and trouble, in turning the Bible. They are now both in English, and LE CLERC'S has a Paraphrase. But if you would read the Evangelists in the original, Mr. LE CLERC'S edition of his *Harmony* in Greek and Latin will be the best.

If

If you find that, by this method, you advance in the knowledge of the Gospel; when you have laid a foundation there to your satisfaction, it will not be hard to add what may help you forwards, in the study of other parts of the New Testament.

But I have troubled you too much already, for which I beg your pardon; and am, &c.

T O T H E S A M E.

Oates, 20 January 1703-4.

S I R,

TH E small acknowledgments I was able to make, for the honour of your visit, and enjoyment of your company here, left the debt on my side, and deserve not the notice you are pleased to take of them.

In your obliging Letter of the 13th, you do me favours, and you thank me too. If you intend by this a perfect acquisition of so inconsiderable a thing as I am, your worth and virtue dispose me to be as much at your service as you please; I wish I found any thing in myself that might promise you any usefulness from me. That defect I shall endeavour to make up the best I can, with a perfect esteem, and a readiness of will; which must supply the want of the abilities of doing.

I thank you for the printed Paper you sent me *, and am very glad to see such a spirit raised, for the support and enlargement of Religion. Protestants, I think, are as much concerned now as ever, to be vigorous in their joint endeavours for the maintenance of the Reformation. I wish all, that call themselves so, may be prevailed with by those, whom your Paper intimates, to imitate the zeal, and pursue the principles of those great and pious Men, who were instrumental to bring us out of Roman darkness and bondage. I heartily pray for good success on all such endeavours.

If I may guess at the intention of the Society, by the only man you let me know of it, I may be confident that the glory of God, and the propagation of true Religion is the only aim of it. May God eminently prosper all endeavours that way, and increase the number of those, who seriously lay it to heart.

Sir FRANCIS †, my Lady, and the rest of this Family, return you their humble service. I am, &c.

* *An Account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.*

† Sir FRANCIS MASHAM.



R U L E S of a S O C I E T Y,

Which met once a week, for their improvement in useful Knowledge, and for the promoting of Truth and Christian Charity.

I.

THAT it begin at six in the evening, and end at eight; unless a majority of two thirds present are inclined to continue it longer.

II.

That no Person be admitted into this Society, without the suffrage of two thirds of the parties present, after the person, desiring such admission, hath

L l

subscribed

subscribed to the Rules contained in this Paper, and answered in the affirmative to the following Questions:

1. *Whether he loves all Men, of what Profession or Religion soever?*
2. *Whether he thinks no person ought to be harmed in his Body, Name, or Goods, for mere speculative Opinions, or his external way of Worship?*
3. *Whether he loves and seeks Truth for Truth's sake; and will endeavour impartially to find and receive it himself, and to communicate it to others?*

III.

That no Person be admitted occasionally, without a good testimony from some of the Society that knows him, and he answering in the affirmative to the abovementioned Questions.

IV.

That every Member in his course, if he please, be Moderator; (and the Course here meant, is that of their Surnames, according to the Alphabet); whose care must be to keep good Order, to propose the Question to be debated, recite what may have been said to it already, briefly deliver the sense of the question, and keep the parties close to it; or, if he please, he may name one to be Moderator for him. The Question for the ensuing conference to be always agreed, before the company departs.

V.

That no Person or Opinion be unhandsomely reflected on; but every Member behave himself with all the temper, judgement, modesty, and discretion he is master of.

VI.

That every Member place himself to the left hand of the Moderator, in order, as he happens to come in; and in his turn speak as plainly, distinctly, and concisely as he can to the Question proposed, directing his discourse to the Moderator.

VII.

That no more than one person speak at once; and none object, till it come to his turn to speak.

VIII.

That the Question having gone round; if the time will permit, and the company pleases, it may be discoursed again in the same order; and no weighty Question to be quitted, till a majority of two thirds be satisfied, and are willing to proceed to a new one. That when a controversy is not thought, by two thirds of the company, likely to be ended in a convenient time; then those two thirds may dismiss it, and, if they please, another Question may be proposed. That two thirds of the company may adjourn the ordinary subject in question, for good and sufficient reasons.

IX.

That no Question be proposed, that is contrary to religion, civil Government, or good Manners; unless it be agreed to debate such Question, merely and only the better to confute it.

We whose Names are here under-written, proposing to ourselves an improvement in useful Knowledge, and the promoting of truth and Christian Charity, by our becoming of this Society, do hereby declare our approbation of, and consent to the Rules before written.

F I N I S.

I N D E X.

n. stands for the NOTES.

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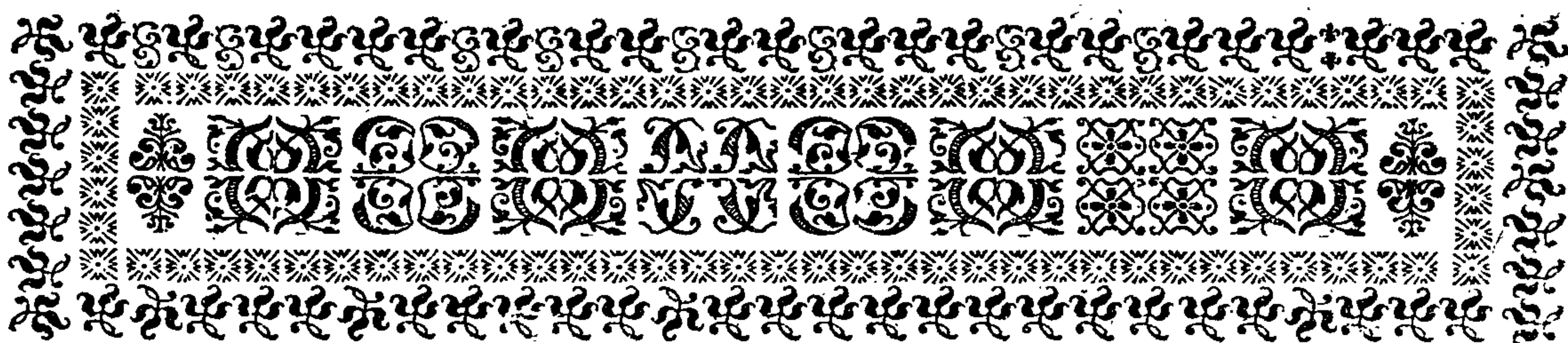
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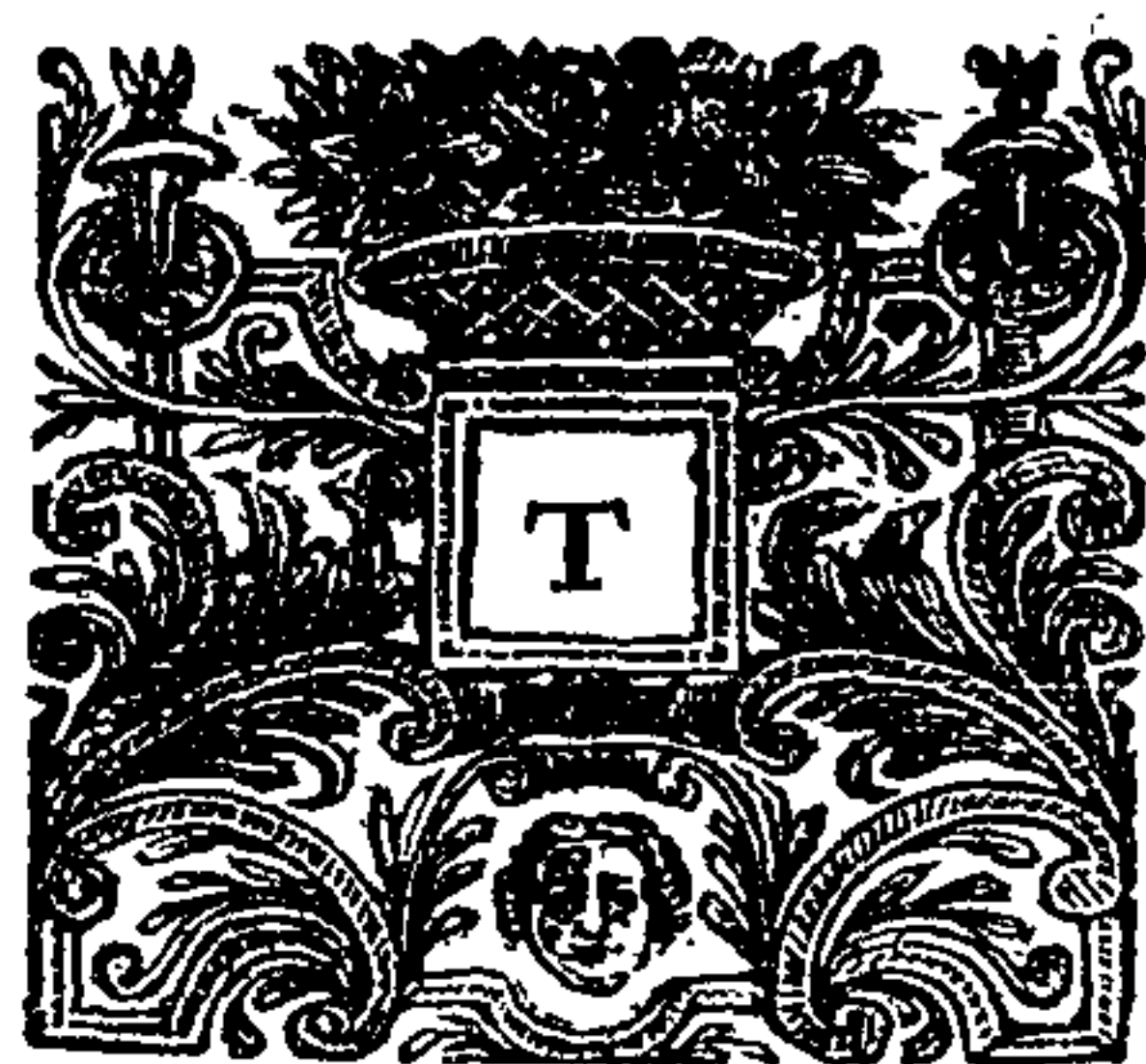
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