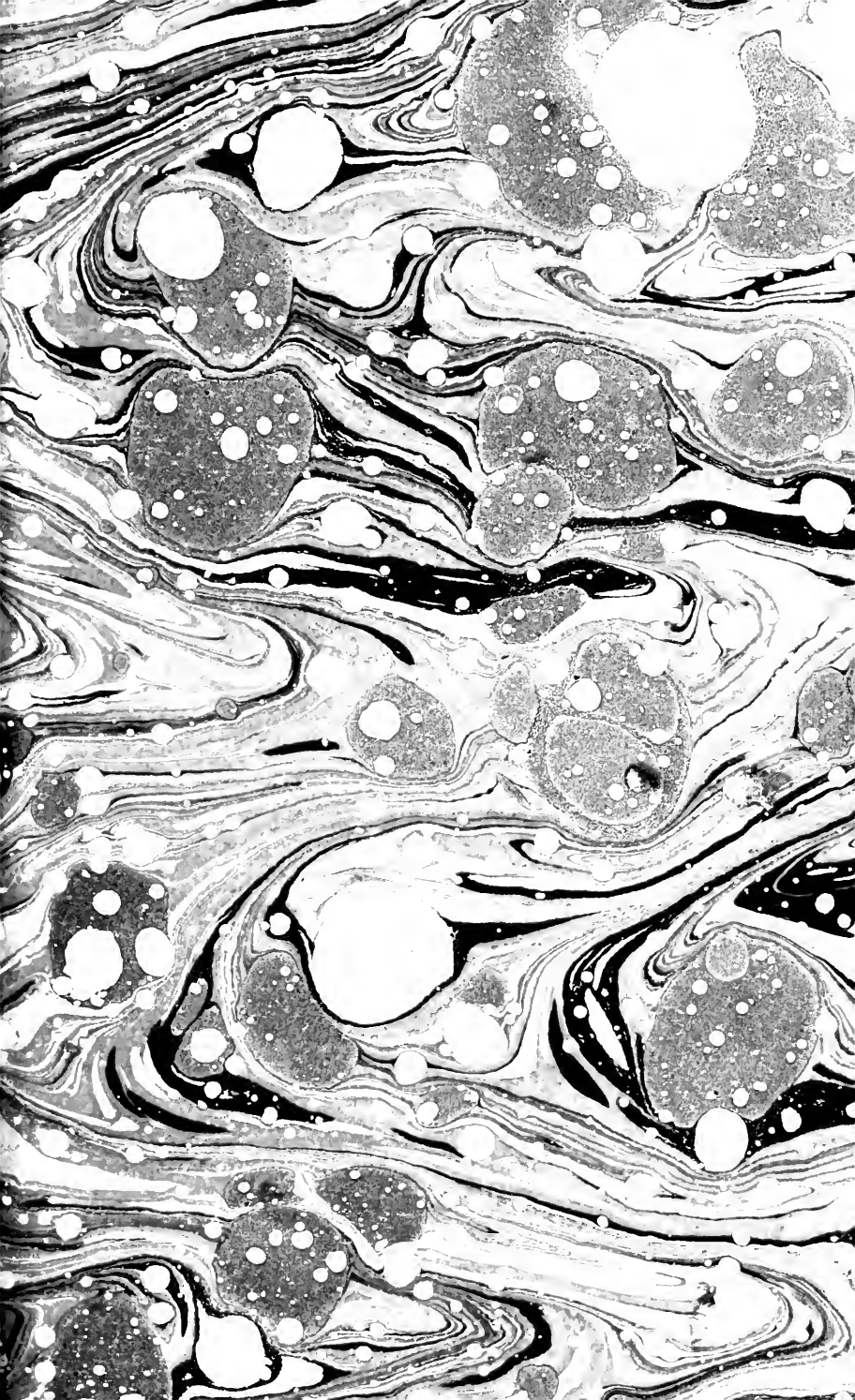


Walter John Heathcote
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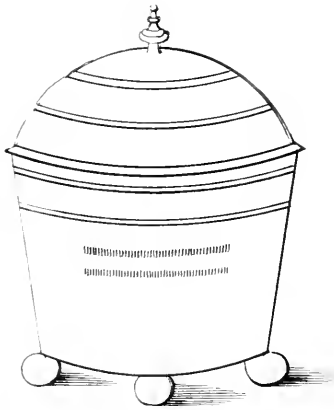
Charles Gilbert Heathcote.

from his sincere friend

Fredric Luibochi.

on his leaving Ston.

Section. 1859.



ALGERNON SYDNEY'S CUP.



HOUSE OF LOCKE'S BIRTH.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF

JOHN LOCKE, ALG. SIDNEY,
AND LORD SHAFTESBURY,

WITH AN ANALYTICAL SKETCH OF
THE WRITINGS AND OPINIONS OF LOCKE
AND OTHER METAPHYSICIANS,

BY

T. FORSTER, M.B. F.L.S. M.A.S.

CORR. MEMB. OF THE ACAD. OF N. SCIENCES AT PHILADELPHIA. &c.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON :

PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1847.

PREFACE.
TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The publisher of this volume, having obtained permission from Dr. Forster to reprint those letters of Locke, Sidney and Shaftesbury which that gentleman published nearly twenty years ago, has added several others written by the same eminent men, and procured from the same source, namely the MSS. collection of the Forster family. It would be unbecoming in the publisher to premise one word concerning the merits of any thing written by such illustrious men as John Locke, Algernon Sidney and the Earl of Shaftesbury: but he may be permitted to say there are two points which particularly claim the attention of the reader to the following collection of letters. They are selected out of the correspondence of a private family, and, as containing the unreserved thoughts of the writers, and consequently never intended for publication, they possess the greatest interest for those who delight in pictures of domestic life and friendship. But the second point of attraction is peculiarly suited to invite attention: the political movements which at that time disturbed Europe were precisely the same as those which at the present moment are influencing its different courts. The all-engrossing question concerning the rights of the Bourbons to the crown of Spain is repeatedly alluded to and discussed in the following letters, and the same question has again, of late years, kept the courts of England and France in a ferment, and almost destroyed the good understanding which existed between them. It is curious to see the same causes arising after a hundred and fifty years, and again producing the same results.

A few passages of the following letters appear to be corrupt; in these cases the only thing that could be done was to follow the Manuscript.

Dec. 1, 1847.



P R E F A C E

T O

ORIGINAL LETTERS &c. PUBLISHED A.D. 1830.

In the publication of letters written by persons long deceased, and to which any considerable degree of curiosity may be attached, the first thing necessary seems to be, to satisfy the public mind of their authenticity. In the present instance this is a very easy thing to be done, for the letters of Locke, of Algernon Sidney, and of the Earl of Shaftesbury, published in this volume, addressed to Mr. Furley of Rotterdam, came, by the death of that gentleman, into the possession of my grandfather, Mr. Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, in Essex, among other very curious manuscripts. At his death, which took place on the 20th of April 1812, they became the property of my father, Mr. Thomas Furley Forster, of Clapton; at whose death, in October 1825, they came into my hands, and were made my property by an act of his will, dated April 1824, together with a large collection of the manuscript correspondence and other works of some celebrated writers who flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.*

Perhaps the most curious object in the whole parcel of papers to which I allude, is a MS. copy of Mr. Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," written in a very neat

* Among others are the correspondence of Toup, the Author of "Emendationes in Suidam," with Bishop Warburton; several very curious

hand, in a small 12mo book, but much crossed out and altered, and full of corrections in the author's own handwriting. There is a date 1685 to this book; but it is written in a very much blacker ink than the rest of the work, and is evidently inserted at a subsequent period, at a mere guess; for I have good reason to believe the MS. in question to be the original copy of the work, just as Mr. Locke first wrote it, and even before he ever seriously thought of sending it to the press*.

Long before I determined on the publication of Locke's Letters, and even while the manuscript remained in my father's possession, it had been suggested both to him and to me that the publication of the whole of the papers, just as they were found, would be a very acceptable present to the literary public: but I confess I hesitated about the propriety thereof, considering that the letters were of a private nature, and, independently of their not containing anything of great public interest, I questioned how far any man's familiar writings could, consistently with a strict sense of honour, be submitted to the public; considering how frequently men of genius and inquiry change their sentiments, and how much opinions on political and religious subjects are apt to get inter-

letters of Mr. Gough the antiquary &c. &c. &c. Many of these curiosities may one day or other be confided to my friend Mr. Nichols for publication.

† Should I have leisure at some subsequent period, I hope to collate this curious Manuscript with the published editions of the "Essay on the Understanding," and to publish some account of the variations in the text, in order to trace the workings of Locke's metaphysical mind through his various changes of sentiment or of diction; for it seems to me that he altered, in a great measure, his opinions respecting both religion and philosophy at different parts of his life. But whatever I shall publish of Locke's or any other deceased author, will be done with this express reservation, that whatever appears of such a nature that

woven with familiar correspondence. Mr. Edward Forster had always entertained strong objections against the printing of letters at all, and used to say, that what one man believed or thought, could be no business of any other man's, and that private letters and sentiments, however ancient, ought not to be divulged to the public by posterity.

He certainly carried his opinions respecting the confidential nature of the correspondence of celebrated men much further than is usual. My father, however, when he became possessed of the papers, entertained a different opinion; and both he and my father in law, the late Colonel Beaufoy, rather urged me in the year 1817, to undertake the publication of the best of the manuscripts of Locke, both as an entertaining mode of employing my own time, and likewise because it was thought that the public would be interested in the perusal of any thing new from the pen of such a renowned writer.

Professional avocations, the going with my family abroad and various other circumstances, prevented me from this undertaking, and it was not till the autumn of 1825, that my father again invited me to his house at Walthamstow, to revise with him the manuscripts for the press. His lamented death, which took place on the night following the festival of SS. Simon and Jude in that year, again put a stop to the work; and it was not till the winter of 1828, that, ransacking an immense collection of papers which I had carelessly laid by in a lumber room after his death, I stumbled on the case containing the curious writings in question; in which case they seem to have been deposited ever since they came into the possession of our family. On examining the parcel, it appear-

he, if he had lived, would have wished it kept private, shall be suppressed. I mention this, because I am of opinion that the unreserved publication of men's opinions, in posthumous works of this kind, is neither $\bar{\omega}$ ir nor honorable, and the practice prevails too much in our day.

ed to me that the publication of an edition of the *Essay concerning Understanding*, from the original manuscript copy before alluded to, would be a work both of great expense and of much labour, and I therefore abandoned it, from the want of time to superintend it. But, at the wish of several friends, I have selected some of the letters for publication, and have added to them a few of Algernon Sidney, together with the correspondence of Lord Shaftesbury, which, being addressed to the same Mr. Furley, were contained in the same box. Of what degree of interest they are possessed the public will be the best judges; but for my part, and as far as my own opinion goes, the circumstance of their being the productions of men so well known and respected in the literary world, constitute their principal claim to notice; I have therefore printed the letters verbatim.

The subjects of Mr. Locke's letters are often of an amusing family nature; those of Algernon Sidney relate mostly to business; while Lord Shaftesbury's writings, though they relate in a great measure to antient affairs, mixed with domestic concerns, nevertheless treat of events as well as of opinions, that will never entirely lose their interest with the generality of mankind. But, although the letters of all the writers, whose works are here recorded, relate here and there to the great struggle for freedom of conscience, which was then beginning to manifest itself in the minds of thinking men; who opposed themselves boldly to the tyranny of the Church of England, and corrupt legislators that supported it in those days of bigotry and oppression; yet the advance of liberal principles has been of late so rapid, compared with any thing that could have been achieved in the last century, and the establishment of the great principle of civil and religious liberty has been subsequently so complete, after a hard struggle on the part of liberal men of all religious and political creeds, that the feeble efforts of Locke,

Sidney, Shaftesbury, and other writers of those days, may, to superficial observers, seem to be quite lost, amidst the victories which Charles Fox and his party in England, and O'Connell and the association in Ireland, have at length obtained under the enlightened administration of the Duke of Wellington, over the minions of a narrowminded and selfish monopoly.

I cannot help here making one curious remark, namely, that the freedom of conscience from all civil disabilities, so ardently desired by Locke and Sidney, has at length been brought about by the very party to whom those men in those days were opposed, namely, the Catholics; for, had it not been for the efforts of the liberal Catholics of Ireland, our own country would certainly not yet have been freed from those oppressive laws by which consciences till now remained shackled. And this circumstance, curious enough in itself to excite inquiry, I hold to furnish a satisfactory guarantee, that, however much Catholic policy may formerly have partaken of the persecuting spirit of the times, there is now nothing more to be apprehended from it, nor indeed, from the bigotry and oppression of any party whatever.

• Persecution appears to have been characteristic of the times in which it prevailed, rather than of any particular religion; and perhaps the interest which tyrannical states of old took in religion, and the handle they made of it, had a greater share than any thing else in converting the mild and selfdenying spirit of Christianity into a source of pride, oppression, and cupidity. Persecution is as old as the world's history reaches: with respect to Christianity, it began with the Roman Emperors, and has prevailed more or less ever since. The pretended Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, persecuted with as much fury, as those did against whom they directed their shafts, and the mutual accusations of heresy preferred by one party against the other, rendered the religious world before and at the time of Locke a complete Babel, as he has expressed himself in more instances than one. The members of the Church of England were guilty, at the period of Locke's expul-

If we examine the spirit of the present times, and the actual state of religious and civil liberty in England, we shall find it to be superior to any thing that has existed since the commencement of the Reformation. For, though the same differences of opinion prevail now that prevailed formerly, yet religions are now all placed on the same footing; and, as the sword can no longer support the one, nor the faggot terrify the other, while liberty is extended to all, the fairest chance is now offered for truth to prevail, since fair argument is unshackled, hypocrisy disarmed, and the equality of civil rights extended to all parties. This state of things is in reality the upshot of the principles contended for by Locke, Sidney, and Shaftesbury; and for the establishment of which there has been a long though frequently interrupted struggle. Although I may differ essentially from the religious opinions of the Protestant party of that bigoted period, yet I should hope that in the principles of liberty for which they contended, and which would guarantee to all men the safe and unmolested exercise of the real or imaginary duties which arise out of their particular creeds, all thinking men were at length agreed, and will be ready to acknowledge, that, since the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, the pro-

sion from Oxford, of shocking instances of persecution, and the party to whom Locke was most attached, namely the Quakers, suffered more than any other body from it, the gaols in England being full of them; an instructive history of which may be seen in Sewell's "History of the Friends." That the Catholic Church was made the instrument of persecution during many ages, cannot be doubted; but it was at a remote period of history, and, though long established habit could not be at once broken, yet the spirit of the times gradually gave way to improvement in knowledge, and a restoration of Christianity to its primitive purity gradually supervened. The principles of St. Ignatius of Loyola gradually destroyed what persecuting and monopolizing spirit was left in the Catholic Church; while the bigotry of the Protestant establishment was subdued by the efforts of the Quakers, the Philosophers, and the Liberals.

tection of all good subjects from the annoyance of any who may be inclined to molest them, should, as far as religion be concerned, constitute the limits of legislative interference.

I shall divide the consideration of Mr. Locke into three distinct portions: First, A very short sketch of the birth, parentage, and other circumstances of the author; secondly, his religious, philosophical, and political opinions, compared with those of preceding and subsequent philosophers; and, thirdly, miscellaneous anecdotes.

§ 1. OF THE BIRTH, &c. OF MR. LOCKE.

Mr. Locke's life having been amply written in several places, nothing more can be necessary here, than a very short sketch of the principal circumstances attending it, for the amusement of those readers who may not be in possession of the *Biographia Britannica*, and other works containing his life at greater length.

John Locke was born on the festival of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist on the 29th day of August, in the year 1632, at Wrington, in Somersetshire, in a small country house, a sketch of which, copied from Mr. Rutter's "*Delineations of Somersetshire*" (a very pleasing topographical work), will be found at the beginning of this volume.

He received the rudiments of his classical education at Westminster, and was entered in 1651 as student of Christchurch, Oxford. Here he made great progress, but being much fonder of the works of Des Cartes than of the dry scholastic studies of the college, he took an insurmountable aversion to the course of university education as it was pursued at Oxford; and it is from this period, that, following the course of studies into which the perusal of Des Cartes led him, we may date the ultimate development of his philosophy of the human mind, as delivered in an "*Essay concerning Human Understanding*."

That Locke was expelled from the University of Oxford by the Dean of his College, and by an order from the King, is a matter of notoriety, but the particulars of that ejection are perhaps less generally known: the fact was, that Locke had followed the then Earl of Shaftesbury in his exile into Holland, and so great was the animosity of party at that time towards all the friends of the persecuted President of the Council, that Locke feared to return to England, and his refusal to return to his College when invited, only aggravated the anger of his enemies at Court, and led to the erasure of his name from the list of students.

On the accession of James II, Penn the Quaker, who was the friend of Locke, had nearly obtained from the king a pardon for him; but Locke, thinking his offences against the state to be only imaginary, refused it, and preferred his exile and the *otium cum dignitate* in retirement. Though Locke's Life has been amply written years ago, yet I mention these particulars merely to account for his long stay in Holland; as the reader will perceive that most of his familiar letters to Mr. Furley, of Rotterdam, were dated from Amsterdam, where he contributed towards the advancement of literature in the Low Countries.

It was at this period that he, together with Limborch and Le Clerc, formed the "Litteraturische Societät von Amsterdam," in the year 1686. It is said by some of his biographers that he finished his celebrated "Essay on Human Understanding" for the press, in the following year; but I have reason to think that the original MS. of that book, which I have in my possession, is a work of a much earlier period, as I have already said; and that the date affixed in a different ink has been done at random by some of his posterity.

I shall now pass over, for the reason before stated, the rest of the particulars of Locke's Life, and of his various publications on Religious Toleration, &c. and proceed to some other con-

his pen ; and that in every record of his life we find goodnature, humility, and the *love* of truth, however defective the method he adopted for its attainment.*

I shall now consider his metaphysical philosophy compared with that of others.

OF METAPHYSICAL OPINIONS FROM PLATO, TO LOCKE AND
HIS FOLLOWERS.

To treat at large of Locke's metaphysical opinions would, in fact, be to write a long commentary on the Essay concerning Human Understanding, a task for which I am neither prepared nor disposed. What I propose, therefore, to do is, merely to give a sketch of his leading opinions, and to compare them with those of others who have written on the human mind. The best mode of doing this is to give a sketch of the opinions of the metaphysical philosophers in a sort of chronological order ; because it may be fairly presumed that the subsequent writers have been assisted by the already existing discoveries and opinions of the antecedent : and because it will be found by this method what sort of progress the philosophy of mind, as it is called, has made in the course of ages.

One principal thing which I think will strike every body in the course of this inquiry is, that the reflecting powers of the mind have much sooner attained their *ne plus ultra* than the observing faculties. For, while observation and discovery have gone on for ages heaping up new facts and the materials of knowledge, the science of ethicks, and metaphysical philosophy have not kept pace therewith ; but have, very early in history, attained to the utmost limits of their power. Natural Philosophy

* See the excellent observations of the Abbé De la Mennais, "On the Foundation of Certitude," and the mode of acquiring a knowledge of the true Religion, in his "L'Indifférence," &c. 4 vols, 8vo, Paris, 1828.

and Natural History, in every branch, has been wonderfully improved even in our days : but what new fact have we learned, what additional truth have we attained to respecting the nature of mind, its origin, and destiny, since the beginning of the Christian æra? And I cannot help being persuaded, in spite of all the pride and boasted achievement of modern philosophy, that Aristotle knew quite as much of the human mind as Locke, Pagon, or Des Car'es : and that in this sublime sort of knowledge, combined with its useful application to human affairs, and in its relation to futurity, St. Paul greatly outdid all of them, as I think every deep-thinking man must be convinced who has attentively read his Epistles, particularly the fifteenth chapter of the first book of his epistle to the Corinthians. But the short and simple language used by the Apostle, and the obvious avoiding of superfluous peroration and the ambages of an affected philosophy, have tended to cause modern metaphysicians to undervalue these sublime compositions. And I may remark that the same observations hold good with respect to the deeply metaphysical passages that are to be found here and there in the writings of many of the subsequent Saints and Doctors of the Christian Church. Indeed I am quite sure that metaphysical philosophy in general, and the knowledge of mind in particular, had very much retrograded in the time of Locke ; whose excellent work seems to me to derive its utility from its tendency to clear away innumerable errors in opinion that had gained ground with the revival of letters, rather than from any thing actually new which it established.

For the doctrine that there is a final cause, an uncreated, eternal, and intelligent God, the creator of all things visible to us and invisible, and that man made in his image has a mind distinct from his perishable body, and capable of existing after the body is no more, are doctrines as old as the utmost limit of history can reach, and are therefore generally allowed to have been

of the apostolical Vicars to maintain from age to age, for the purpose of useful instruction, and for maintaining the Christian unity of the people at large.

In defiance of all that liberal writers may say about the right of private judgement in matters of religion, the orthodox will always have this strong argument to throw in the teeth of the heterodox, namely, that those who have exercised this said right of private judgement on the most extended scale, have differed the most widely from each other; and that too in essential points of doctrine. I shall just take a few examples from sectarian writers of the age of Locke, or thereabouts, in order to exhibit this discrepancy of opinion in its proper light, and to compare it with the disunion of heart and of mind that it occasioned. Locke, as has been said, using the best of his judgement, became a sort of mixture of the Arian and the Quaker; he evidently disbelieved the Trinity, the Atonement (at least in the usual sense of that word), the *Immaculate Conception*, and the divine right of ecclesiastical polity. Milton, another expounder of Scripture after the same method, has also denied the scriptural authority for the Trinity, but has added to his creed, the novel doctrine that the keeping of a Sabbath Day or Sunday was not an institution of Christianity, nor authorized by the Testament, nor does he consider it as binding on Christians to keep one day in seven holy. He, moreover, allows of polygamy, and defends on Christian principles various other innovations of a dangerous nature. Hence we infer his private judgement had a different sort of warp from that of Locke.

Newton, our great astronomer, who also wrote on religious subjects, and made abundant use of his private judgement in spiritual things, is recorded by his biographers as being a

† See Cyclopædia, article Newton.

Unitarian, and yet believing in several of the most important predictions of the prophets who foretold and typified the advent of the Messiah. Clarke, who wrote on the Attributes, and was a man of considerable judgement, appears to have been a Trinitarian, but to have dissented, nevertheless, from some other important doctrines of the orthodox Church. Lord Shaftesbury was a Protestant, but of what particular persuasion does not appear.

Lord Bacon was as far from orthodox as a man could be, but he likewise has concealed his particular belief, and whether he was a Christian or a Deist cannot now be very clearly ascertained; as he lived in times when the expression of any opinions but those received and adopted at Court was very dangerous; and he himself was a courtier and a sycophant, in spite of all his vaunted philosophy.

These were all philosophical writers who advocated the right of private judgement; and if to them we add the professed theological defenders of the same cause, we shall find as much discordancy. Calvin was a Predestinarian, a Trinitarian, and a believer in the *Miraculous Conception*, &c. Luther, an Armenian, who professed belief in consubstantiation; Price was an Arian, and Priestley a Socinian. I shall not swell the catalogue, as almost every sectarian writer has professed something peculiar, whereby he has been distinguished, while the orthodox members of the Mother Church, including all the early Martyrs, the Saints, and Christian Bishops, and thousand of eminently learned and pious men of every profession, and living in every age of Christianity, have been united in opinion respecting the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Trinity, the Atonement, and in short all the other leading dogmas of the Church. Such men have composed all the great Councils of Trent, of Nice, of Lateran, &c.; and have conferred on, agreed on, and expounded doctrines which have

been admitted by nine tenths of the Christian world in every century since the coming of our Lord to the present day, as the necessary groundwork of human salvation. Hence I infer that the particular opinions of Mr. Locke and other philosophical writers are of very little moment, and, when considered in relation to the contradictions of the contemporary writers alluded to above, constitute no valid argument, either in favour of Arianism or of any other doctrine whatever: while the collision of contradictory opinions, which I have glanced at herein, is calculated only to confirm the notion entertained by all churchmen, Protestant as well as Catholic, that there must be some authorized exposition of Scripture, in order to keep the members of the Christian Church connected together in harmony of sentiment, and to bind them in the bond of peace.

Among learned and pious men the Trinitarians are to the Arians and Socinians at least as three hundred to one. And though some great philosophical writers have fallen into the heretical errors of Arius, Socinus, and Beza, and more still have become Deists, while a few, it is to be feared, have gone on even to Atheism; it is nevertheless a consolation to the orthodox to reflect, that all these taken together bear no manner of proportion, that is, speaking of men born Christians, to those who have believed in the Trinity, and all the other doctrines usually connected therewith.

Again, if we examine into the talents and virtues of the contending parties respectively, we shall find that the orthodox will bear away the palm. What, for example, are the philosophy and ethics of Locke, Clarke, Bacon, and Price, combined, when compared with the erudition and power of mind possessed by St. Austin alone? What is the learning and theology of Mosheim or of Priestley compared with that of St. Jerom, St. Epiphanius, or St. Bernard? What are the

humane and benevolent exertions of Hanway, of Penn, or of Howard, laudable as they may have been, when compared with the charity of St. Ignatius of Loyola, of St. Francis Xavier, or of Fenelon ?

I merely select these few facts to counteract the tendency of many writers, in their lives of our English philosophers, to depreciate old and long cherished, and I may say at least useful, opinions. Had such subjects not been broached before, I would never have been the first to introduce them here: but since it has become the fashion to publish men's opinions in their posthumous works, the evil arising therefrom, ought to be counteracted, in as much as it is possible to do it, by a just statement of collateral facts, and by arguments fairly deduced from them.

The Arian opinions of Mr. Locke, imperfectly expressed as they were, have been vaunted forth as if they constituted arguments, by many persons who, although actuated by the most honest and best intentions to do good and promote truth, have in my opinion served nevertheless to lead the rising generation into error. It is on this ground alone, that I would ever have consented to invade the sacred right of every individual to say, or to write, what he pleased, in his private correspondence with his friends, without incurring the risque of having his idle thoughts, and the careless expressions of the passing moment, overhauled and criticized by the public, and handed down to posterity as records of the particular manner in which he had participated in the numerous failings and errors of judgment which are the common lot of human nature.

I shall here close the observations which I have to offer on the religious opinions of Locke, with observing what is of more consequence, namely, that his excellent heart and good sense in ordinary matters, amply compensate for the errors of

siderations. Suffice it therefore to say, that Mr. Locke left Holland in 1688, and took up his residence in London, and eventually at Oates near Laver in Essex, in the house of Sir Francis Masham, where, as I find recorded in a MS. account of his death, he died suddenly on St. Simon and Jude's Day [May 1.] in 1704, in the 73rd year of his age, while Lady Masham was reading to him. He was buried in the church of that village, where there is a monument with a Latin inscription erected to his memory.

§ 2. OF MR. LOCKE'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

So much has already been said of Mr. Locke's religious and political opinions, that it would seem there is little left to be said on that subject. Some of his biographers have affirmed positively that he was a strict Socinian; others have laboured to prove that he was a supporter of the Arian heresy; and others that he was friendly to the principles of the Quakers; while all agree that he was inimical both to the doctrines, ecclesiastical policy, and discipline of the Church of England, and was the avowed enemy of episcopalian polity in general. Of the latter fact there can be no doubt, as the whole of his religious writings testify: but I should hesitate much, from the perusal of his manuscript as well as his published writings, in describing Locke either as a Socinian or even as an Arian. With a strong and natural love of liberty, and an implacable animosity to a bigoted ecclesiastical polity as a groundwork, he seems, like other philosophers who have wandered from the Catholic Church, the common mother of Christianity, to have been versatile and wavering in his opinions, and to have partaken, at different times of his life, of the doctrines of more than one or even two of her apostate children. For example; his bias towards Arianism in early life, and which he founded on the unrestrained exercise of the privilege of interpreting the Scriptures for

himself, was afterwards much modified by his friendship and intercourse with the Quakers, to whose principles, in spite of his good-humoured sneers and playful sarcasms, in which he now and then indulged, I am persuaded he was much attached. Neither, indeed, could it well have been otherwise; since, whatever may be our difference in opinion from the Society of Friends in matters of religion, no one who knows the value of sound Christian morality, can do otherwise than admire the quiet domestic habits, good conduct, and well organized discipline of the Quakers, who must be admitted on all hands to be, as a body, by far the most benevolent, if not the most learned, of all the heretical divisions of the Christian world.

It appears that Locke took great pains to inform himself of the proofs to be derived from Scripture, on points connected with the leading doctrines of the Church; and that he pursued the same plan in elucidating them as Milton had done before him; that is to say, he adopted a similar plan of confronting the various texts of Scripture, and drawing conclusions founded on the balance of evidence. Thus for example, if he found two passages favouring the doctrine of the Trinity, and three supporting the Unity of the Godhead, he would at once admit, *cæteris paribus*, the latter to be the best supported of the two. Now it is a very remarkable fact, and one which should be deeply impressed on the minds of all theologians, but particularly on those of the orthodox members of the Church, that all the chief dissenters from orthodoxy have proceeded on this very plan, of examining texts of Scripture, and yet all of them have differed from each other: a circumstance which points out, as strongly as any thing can do, to every reasonable and reflecting mind, the fallacy of private judgment in matters confessedly above human reason; and shews the necessity for that sort of authorized exposition of Scriptural truths which emanated from the approved Councils of the Church, and which it is the province

that branch of it which relates to the power of the human mind ; from the age of Plato and Aristotle to that of Locke and Descartes, and thence to the metaphysicians of our days.

I am aware that I might have begun with the Divine or Christian philosophy, as it is called, which is still older, and was known to the Patriarchs and Jews, and probably laid the foundation for all the other systems of moral philosophy, which will be found to be only its fragments, or partial doctrines, variously dispersed among collateral nations, mixed up with their passions and local prejudices, and capable of being again resolved into their parent stock or original fountain, in proportion as they are simplified and purified from the errors of judgment and the deceptions of language with which they have got entangled.

But, the Christian philosophy boasting of a higher origin and far more genuine source than the reasonings of men, and being a direct declaration of truths respecting the human mind, in its origin, fall, recovery, and future destinies, and coming from the Creator himself, it seems advisable to reserve its consideration to the last, enough having been stated respecting it to enable the reader to understand the references I may make in the course of the ensuing history. Because, after having pointed out the various doctrines and modes of argument which belong to the successive theories, I hope to be able to show, in the sequel, that they establish nothing beyond what is concluded in the comprehensive system of Christianity. The reason why this fact has been so much overlooked is, because philosophers, being used to high sounding words, and an affected phrasology, the offspring of their own conceit, almost involuntarily discarded the most profound truths, when clothed in the simple garb of ordinary and unaffected language ; for they as little expected to find the sublime doctrines respecting the nature of the soul, so long the object of their research, in such

a quarter, as the learned Hebrews of old did to find the Messiah born in the manger of a stable, unaccompanied by any of the anticipated ensigns of grandeur. Thus men, employing only their own reasoning, founded imperfect systems, which flourished and decayed in succession, and which had got much more diffusive in the time of Locke, and before he wrote, than they were in the time of Plato.

Several reasons may be assigned for the decline of metaphysical philosophy, during a period in which mechanical and natural philosophy went on increasing: firstly, the latter not only required less constant exertion of the superior faculties of the mind than the former, but it was at the same time more marketable and more flattering both to the enterprizes of genius, and to the sordid views of cupidity. Physicks feed vanity, and excite further emulation; because the objects of sense, and of what we may call the knowing faculties, being innumerable and scattered over the face of the globe, the delights consequent on discovery are endless, independent of the use they may be put to: while metaphysicks are at all times based on a few simple and unchangeable propositions, which it requires the rare faculties of reflection, comparison, and the power of appreciating cause and effect, rightly to understand and to reason upon; and hence few aim at excellence therein, and still fewer attain to it. It is only in the flourishing conditions of society, when the natural wants of men can be easily satisfied, and time for reflection allowed, that a few highly gifted individuals make a regular study of the Philosophy of Mind: which is of little worldly profit, which cannot be appreciated by the many, and cannot therefore be perverted to purposes of vanity, and which tends to that which none but Christians and really great philosophers relish or know how to value—to humble the pride of private judgement, prove how little, after

people's minds. But enquiry having begun, it could not easily be stopped; and though, in the upshot, the truth of those things which had originally been revealed became confirmed by the last efforts of metaphysical philosophy, yet in the dark period which intervened, the most extravagant notions were entertained; and the principal merit which appears to me to attach to Locke and some of the metaphysicians who followed him, appears to be, that they swept away a vast deal of interventional error, and prepared the way for a return to the true but simple philosophy of our Christian forefathers.

It will perhaps be asked what I mean by metaphysics, why a particular sort of knowledge should have got this name, and why the attainment of excellence therein should always have been reckoned as a criterion of a reflecting and powerful mind? I shall therefore try, *in limine*, to account for this. Metaphysical philosophy may be said to be the grandest of all the sciences, for it not only embraces the sublimest objects of human contemplation, but is in fact the groundwork of all the operations of the understanding. Every one of the physical sciences, if pursued far enough, will be found to resolve itself into a metaphysical question; and even mathematics, logic, and physiology have all metaphysics for their basis. In other words, all physics resolve themselves into that which is beyond physical research, and which is therefore called metaphysical. For, etymologically speaking, the word is composed of the Greek words *meta* and *phusike*, and implies the carrying of our enquiries beyond, that is, deeper or more profound than the physical sciences: which are confined to the observance of the various operations of nature, and to such knowledge of their particular laws as can be deduced from the succession and order of phenomena. A few examples will serve to illustrate my meaning: suppose for instance we propose to examine the nature of numerical calculation? the doctrine of infinite series, the impossibility of getting the square root of two, or of squaring the

circle, will soon bring us to the boundary of physical enquiry ! If in geometry and conic sections we consider the infinite divisibility of matter, or the possible relation and coincidence of the asymptote to the hyperbole, we shall come directly to questions that must show us the boundary of our understandings, and prove that there are both objects and relations of objects placed much beyond the reach of human comprehension, and which cannot be sounded by those imperfect instruments of knowledge which God has given us in our limited organizations.

The boundless extension of space, and the infinite duration of time, past and to come, may also be stated as the most powerful examples of subjects beyond physical enquiry, and which brings us into this inevitable dilemma, that while on the one hand we feel that we cannot comprehend them, we feel also, on the other hand, that it is still more difficult to conceive that they have any boundary beyond which there should exist Nothing. We may carry ourselves, for example, in imagination, millions and millions of miles beyond the milky way and the region (if there be such a limit) of stars, but still there will, as far as our conceptions go, be space : neither if we should imagine a period before the creation of any material object, could we divest ourselves of the notion of time. And thus it seems that Extension and Duration are, as it were, a sort of elementary ideas of the understanding, which it is more difficult to dispossess the mind of, than it would be to conceive the non-existence of any definite forms of matter which we perpetually perceive to be placed in relation thereto. Even if we could so far abstract as to conceive the possibility of there ever being a universal Nonentity, the most astonishing of all questions would then arise, namely, *How there should ever have been created Anything ?* I have stated these apparently futile questions, only to bring us to the perception and acknowledgement

of two leading facts ; which I beg the reader always to keep in mind during the progress of all metaphysical inquiry. The first is, that we can only view objects through the imperfect medium of our senses, and the organic apparatus of knowledge in the brain which is appended to them ; and, consequently, can only view them in their relation to ourselves, or in other words, as they are manifested to the mind by the corresponding actions which they excite in the sensorium. The second is, that we can never conceive that any thing can create itself, or begin its own existence. From the acknowledgment of these two propositions two important conclusions may be drawn. The first, That the existence of an external universe, and of the various relations of all its parts, is an inference that the mind draws from the specifically modified configurations of our organization : The second, That there must be an infinite Final Cause that creates and maintains both external things and ourselves. The consideration then of MIND, otherwise called Self or the individual capacity for sensation ; of LIFE, *Organization*, or the organic and moving medium of sensation ; and of MATTER, or an *external Universe* the object of sensation, together with the attributes of GOD, the final *uncreated Cause* of all sensation, constitutes the province of metaphysical inquiry. It is therefore distinguished from mere physical science, which is limited to an investigation in detail, of the Phenomena and mutual relations of the particular objects of sensation alone.

In the course of the following sketch of metaphysical philosophy, and of the successive opinions formed by Mr Locke and others thereon, I request the reader to keep in mind the distinction that I have made, and not to confound the Mind itself or individual capacity for sensation, either with the external Objects themselves, or with the organic apparatus or living Sensorium, in which their images are, if I may so say, represented,

in order to be made manifest to the mind. When the word *soul* is used, it implies the continuing of the same mind, or individual capacity for sensation, eternally and in another state after death, or the solution of its relation to the organic matter of the body. Thus the mind, when set free from the perishable bondage of the flesh, is called soul. But what will be its particular state, whether it will be united to another and more perfect body, or whether its existence as a capacity for sensation shall then require what we call a body at all, are questions beyond even the grasp of the most acute metaphysical philosophy, and are soluble only by God, who has, according to the doctrine of the Church, told us as much about it as is necessary for the preparing of our minds for happiness hereafter by particular exercises prescribed by himself. Now there is nothing against reason in the belief that having a capacity for sensation here, we should, by exerting the power God has given us in a particular way, according to the divine laws, acquire a capacity for existing in a better state hereafter;* but, as the consideration of this subject is the province of religion alone, it will be purposely omitted as a subject of further metaphysical speculation; and I shall merely observe that, independently of its being the belief of all the wisest and best men that ever existed, future life is in itself a proposition much more easy of belief than its converse; and therefore much less evidence than actually exists for the truth of Christianity would be sufficient to turn the balance of probabilities in its favour.

With these preliminary observations, which I trust will mark out what I mean by metaphysical philosophy, I shall proceed to give a short sketch of its history, particularly of

* I allude, as the reader will readily perceive, to the great THEOLOGICAL VIRTUES, the Spiritual Exercises of the Christian Religion, grounded in Faith, Hope, and Charity, and which when exercised in the highest degree are called the EVANGELICAL COUNSELS, or the more complete modes of Perfection. See an explanation of these in the "Catholic Annual" for 1830, sold by Keating and Brown, Prolegomena, page xlix.

revealed to man by the Author of all things, and to have been confirmed by and to form the basis of Christianity; neither is it easy to conceive any process of reasoning by which men should have originally come at these truths, at least as far as they relate to the future state of the soul, unless they had been revealed (it matters not *how* or in *what manner*) by God himself. Modern metaphysical philosophy certainly confirms, rather than refutes, these sublime doctrines; and the most correct process of logical reasoning will strengthen our belief in them. But, as far as mere human reason goes, that is without taking into account the historical and the internal evidence of Christianity, I am convinced, after all that I have read or thought on the subject, that the proof of these or of any great truths propounded to us, lies in the greater difficulty of believing the converse: by quickly perceiving which, the mind is carried forward directly to admit the proposition, in favour of which the balance is found to preponderate.

For all logic is based on axioms; and *what are axioms but propositions which all men consent to admit as the groundwork of their reasoning, because they instantly feel the absurdity of the converse; at which the understanding naturally revolts?*

To take an example, when the axiom is propounded to us, that nothing could originate its own existence, or in other words create itself; we feel at once that, if it could, do so it must have acted before it was in being, which is so far a contradiction, that we instantly find it easier to believe the necessary alternative, and to admit, however incapable our limited power to grasp the idea, that something must have existed from all eternity. This is the basis of all knowledge of final cause. And it being an axiom of universal consent, it demonstrates that the nature of the human mind is such that we shall always of necessity chuse the doctrine of eternal existence rather than believe that effects can ever have been their own causes; and

shall therefore be carried on to the natural belief in a supreme and uncreated God, as the necessary origin of all the wonderful chains and mutual interchanges of cause and effect, of which the universe is made up.

I think, moreover, that it would be easy to show, to any mind accustomed to logic and to metaphysical reasoning, that the whole of the natural proof which we possess of an external and continuously existing universe, rests on the perpetual operation of that act of the judgment, by which this choice, between the proposition and converse, is regulated. I shall not at present go further into these abstruse inquiries. It will be sufficient for my purpose to have stated what I have, and to observe at the same time that all axioms rest on a similar principle, and being therefore deeply grounded in the nature of the human mind, are admitted by all men, not manifestly defective or deranged, and are called universal or general truths, from being the truth, that is the *truth* or belief of all mankind collectively. I am aware that a very subtle question may arise respecting axioms, which would affect the great question of the decisive nature of universal judgment or authority, but it is not the place to examine it here, and it will be discussed in due time.

To return to the early metaphysicians and Christian philosophers; I may observe that, so long as men did not deviate much from revealed truths, metaphysical knowledge was simple and unembarrassed by scholastic subtilities. The truths respecting the mind and its doctrines, taught by the inspired writers, saints, and apostolic vicars, were confined to what were useful and necessary to be known, and it was not till what is called the revival of letters in Europe, and the revolution in religious matters, that men, availing themselves of the free enquiry which had become the fashion of the times, began again to perplex themselves with inquiries beyond the scope of most

mind, it is vain and useless to inquire: since such a question is utterly beyond the limits even of rational conjecture.

There is, however, one thing asserted by our philosopher worth noticing from its tendency to make us humble, and diffident in our notions respecting the universe and its changing forms; and from its coincidence with the Christian philosophy of St. Paul. Plato likens the state of the mind, in regard to the external world, to a person shut up in an obscure cave, into which only certain inlets to light were allowed, and who nevertheless judged of ALL *that is without* from the *shadow of a FEW THINGS which were let in!*

This observation is very good; it corresponds with the best part of Kant's philosophy, and is confirmed by the last researches of modern physiology, which proves to the phrenologist that all we know of external objects is derived from the corresponding images that they cast, as it were, on our sensorium, through the medium of the external organs of sense, the eyes, the ears, the touch, and so on; which images, when shewn on the sensorium or cerebral organs, are viewed by the mind itself, in all their various relations, and are often judged of with a degree of philosophic pride and arrogance that ill accords with the acknowledged imperfection of the instrument of their transmission. As if we really knew the whole of the external in itself, instead of merely viewing only a few of its passing shadows as they were reflected, in what the Apostle justly calls a darkened glass. *Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem; nunc cognosco ex parte; tunc autem cognoscam, sicut et cognitus sum; nunc autem manent, Fides, Spes, Caritas, tria hæc, major autem horum est Caritas.**

The coincidence between Platonism and Christianity is, as

* Corinth. ch. xv.

St. Austin observed, very striking; but this is not all that is remarkable; it is further to be observed that the latter, by means of its connection with an authorized apostolical ministry and church, or an ecclesiastical polity from whose centre all its defenders and teachers were, as one may say, radii, moving round a centre of unity, has been maintained pure and uncorrupted for ages; but the former, though taken up by various of Plato's followers, was soon mistaken, changed, or transmogrified into a hundred whimsical systems, according to the respective fancies of the individuals, as I shall hereafter show, when speaking of the later disciples of this school of philosophy. This variety of opinion and confusion of thought, resembled the Babel of contending doctrines which began to prevail at the time of the Reformation, when every one used his individual private judgment in matters often above reason; and when authority, or the consensus of council, that great criterion of truth, was too much laid aside, or too wilfully neglected. I cannot help digressing a little here, in order to say something of the nature and construction of councils, as affording a foundation of certitude in matters requiring the most extensive knowledge and judgment.

If we reflect on the several imperfections which belong more or less to every individual mind, we shall not expect to find any one person's mind, any more than we should any one's body, so perfect in all its functions and powers as to preclude the possibility of partial defects of judgement; one man, for instance, may judge perfectly of mathematical propositions, another of music, a third of historical facts, and a fourth of metaphysical questions; but no *one* of all these could singly be supposed a competent judge of all the branches of knowledge alluded to. The settling of the policy of the Christian Church, and the examination of its doctrines, became a work that involved numerous questions requiring the exercise of various sorts of judge-

It will be unnecessary here to give the minutie of the various branches of philosophy taught by Plato, of which he made general distinction into, 1. the Theological; 2. the Physical, and 3. the Mathematical. But the theological or metaphysical is what concerns us in this inquiry, and to that I shall confine my observations.

The grand foundation of the theology of Plato is the received axiom, that *De nihilo nihil fit*,—that nothing can come from nothing; which is nothing more than saying, as we say in the language of modern metaphysics, that phenomena cannot be self generated, or that effects cannot be their own causes; and hence a final cause must have from all eternity existed. From this axiom Plato lays it down as certain, that God always existed; but he differs in this from other philosophers who have reasoned from the same basis, in declaring it to be equally certain that matter under some form has also been existent from all eternity. Some writers, anxious to deduce the whole of Plato's philosophy from Revelation, have denied this; but it is too clearly laid down in his *Timaïos* to be doubted. Others, on the other hand, have treated the notion as vague and inconclusive, that Plato derived any of his theology from Moses; but after much research this appears to me to be equally untrue. Plato travelled in Ægypt, and there learned the wisdom of ancient traditions; and the learned father Guerrin de Rocher has clearly proved, in his admirable work on the Fabulous Histories of Antiquity, that the Egyptians and Greeks derived all their philosophy from the Israelites, and that the whole of the histories of Herodotus is taken from the history of the Jewish tribes. This notion is confirmed and ably defended in a small work, entitled, “Herodote historien du peuple Hebreu sans le Savoir,” 12mo, Liege, 1790. The great coincidence of certain dogmas of the Platonic philosophy with those of the ancient Jews and of Christianity, affords also another strong presump-

tive proof of the correctness of the opinion above stated.

It is remarkable, observes St. Augustine, that in many points Platonism is almost the same as Christianity. The learned father also goes on to remark, that the Platonists of his time were most of them easily converted to the Faith.

But, as I have before observed, when the true religion got scattered abroad among the Gentiles, it was always more or less misunderstood and perverted by the mixture of human views and passions, and the errors of human judgment, and this is very conspicuous in some of the dogmas respecting the Deity and the origin of the world broached by Plato, which I must just notice before I quit the subject, leaving the reader in the meanwhile to contemplate this striking fact, that the Platonic school, and consequently all the philosophers, hereafter to be described, who arose out of it, got their first notions of the immaterial soul, and of an eternal and uncreated God, from the same source, believed by all Christians to be divine, from whence all the doctrines of Judaism and of Christianity were derived. This, in the course of this inquiry, will be shown to be the case with all other doctrines by whatever philosophers they may have been held, which relate to these two remarkable and important truths.

Plato maintained that there were three universal or elementary principles, independently of matter called *Soma* or body, comprehending all the substance of the universe, which he seems to regard as having had a beginning: though some of the fathers who have written on Platonism, have represented him as believing in the coeternal existence of matter and spirit.

Of the three elements to which I alluded, which composed the Godhead, the first he regarded as the Supreme Being existing from all eternity, and called him *To En*, the Ens, otherwise called *To Agathon*, or the Good, a word corresponding to *God*.

Subordinate to whom, he supposes an essential creative and intelligent being called *Nous*, or mind, also styled the Demiourgos, the Creator of the world, who proceeded by Divine emanation from the former, as from the universal parent. Between these two, and subordinate to both, was the *psuche*, or Principle of Life, the maintaining cause of all motion, a sort of soul of the world, and, as it were, the necessary living principle of organized matter which was made by the Demiourgos or great Artificer; and being itself an effect of the Supreme Being, may be said to have proceeded from them both. And thus it has come to pass that Plato has been called a Trinitarian. But I cannot help suspecting, from the fact in Plato's life and education before alluded to, that this was not an original thought of his, but one borrowed from some very ancient tradition respecting the Holy Trinity, to which the particular clue is now lost. Nor can we assign to the Indian Trinity, about which so much has been written, any better origin. It is only a more widely extended branch of the same original revelation. We know that the Old Testament is full of prototypical emblems of the Trinity, of Christ, and of the scheme of human redemption. I have already shown how the Egyptians derived their theology from the Jews.*

Now, whether or no Plato regarded the material universe as coexisting for ever with God, this is certain, that he regarded the chaotic matter itself, formed or unformed, as an eternal and necessary existence; he calls it in some places Necessity, and supposes, that being itself part of the Godhead, or of the Great ALL, it opposes obstacles to the absolute or unlimited omnipotence of the *En*, or Supreme Being. So that there should

* Heeren's great work on the Commerce, Arts, and Chronology of ancient nations being now translated, will be read with great avidity by the English reader, but I recommend that it be followed by a more attentive perusal of Guerrin de Rocher's *TEM S FABULEUX*.

be things, in fact, absolutely impossible; as for instance, *causing things which have been never to have been*, or in other words, of annihilating past existence. For, according to Plato, it were impossible to make that never to have taken place, as Horace expresses it, *quod fugiens semel hora verit.* All this, however, is a strange quibble, and only shows the poverty of unassisted human reason at all times; it further proves the defective state of logic in those times: for the assertion that Omnipotence is limited, in reality amounts to no more, than that God can do all things except change his own nature; which would be the same sort of thing as creating himself anew, which we have shown to be a contradiction to the whole of our doctrine of Cause and Effect.

The above, then, is Platonism, at least as far as I recollect it; for I read it many years ago in Greek, at Cambridge.

Before I shall proceed to speak of the improved philosophy of Aristotle, I shall request the reader to bear in mind, that from the obstacles which the nature of matter opposes to the unlimited exercise of allpowerful omnibeneficence, is derived, according to Plato, the apparent imperfection, which we observe to be mixed up with all the works of the creation; in other words, it is what he calls the Origin of Evil.

But we do not find in Platonism any personified Devil, or evil spirits, although, on the other side, he admits of subordinate good spirits or *Daimones* of a higher order than men; and which correspond to our notions of angels and sanctified persons, the companions of Almighty God in heaven.

I have not room to notice here the strange commentaries on the Platonic philosophy by Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, Plutarch, Justin Martyr, Origen, and other more recent writers.

Whether Plato did or did not regard the Deity as creating the world after an archetype externally existing in his own

all, we know of the continuous and unperceived existence of external things, and of the ultimate destination of ourselves as sentient identical beings, and how necessary it is to mortify pride and self conceit, in order rightly to understand and appreciate what we are told on AUTHORITY respecting the most interesting functions and future destinies of our nature.

These appear to me to be the causes why the philosophy of Plato and his followers fell into decay, while other sciences flourished. And the consideration of these changes also shows us why deep metaphysical inquiries remained for ages almost confined to some of the learned fathers of the Church ; because they alone knew the real value of such knowledge, when conducted with the spirit of humility, and when made subservient to promote the great cause of human happiness ; since they tended to shew the distinct nature of cause and effect, and to distinguish mind, or the individual capacity for sensation, from matter, or the objects of sensation, while there was nothing contradictory to the hypothesis, that the mind could go on existing and perceiving yet other objects of sensation after the living principle or medium of sensation should be destroyed by death : and as this hypothesis was more probable, that is, more agreeable, to the common sense of mankind than its converse, so philosophy in this respect seemed to confirm the great truths of Christianity, which were derived from a higher source. Subsequent pretenders to philosophy, as some of the materialists and sceptics of modern times, have pretended the reverse, and have endeavoured to persuade themselves and others, that the philosophy of mind had a contrary tendency ; but their efforts have completely failed, and their reasoning is shown to have no solid basis ; and though they flourished for a time, during the twilight of resurgent science, and the revival of letters, yet they were soon overthrown, and Christianity at length got additional support from the very arguments before used to gainsay it,

and that, too, as soon as ever the most universally admitted axioms in philosophy became logically reasoned on.* But it is time to close these preliminary observations, and to proceed to the historal sketch of opinions.

I shall glance over the opinions of Pythagoras who maintained the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as well as the philosophy of Socrates, because both are very indefinite, particularly the former, while the dogmas held by the latter will be found to coincide with those of Plato, the first great founder of a rational philosophy of mind, who gathered the fragments of various other doctrines, digested them in his own mind, and benefiting by his travels among the priests and learned men of Egypt who had received and retained the traditionary knowledge of the Hebrews from the time of the Jewish captivity, at length gave the world the system of ethics, after him called Platonism, which is the first that I shall try to describe.

Plato, the founder of this philosophy, was born, according to the best authorities, in the isle of Ægina, when it was subject to Athens, in the third year of the 87th Olympiad, or B. C. 430. He was the son of Aristo, an Athenian, and was related both to Codrus and Solon. Dionysius taught him letters: he studied music, poetry, and painting, at Athens, and learned philosophy first from Socrates, and then from the learned whom he met with in his Ægyptian travels: thus was he educated in those branches of knowledge in which he afterwards so much excelled. He passed his life in celibacy and meditation, and died at the age of eighty years.

* The reader may refer, for proofs of what I have advanced, to the following works:

1. "Essay on Cause and Effect." 8vo. London. By the Rt. Hon. Lady Mary Sheppard.
2. "Essays on the Perception of an External Universe," 12mo. London, By the same.
3. "Essai sur l'Indifference en Matière de Religion," in 4 volumes, 8vo. (vol. ii. Paris. By the Abbé De La Mennais.
4. Catholic annual for 1830, Prolegomena.

in general, on any other principle. Without, however going into all the whimsical explanations of the metempsychosis, which Pythagoras seems to have adopted from India, I shall consent myself with referring to the arguments which I have always made use of to shew the probability that all animals are immortal, and that consequently the basis of the Pythagorean Philosophy was true. The arguments I allude to may be thus briefly stated. Phrenology has proved that all animals and man in common manifest their peculiar faculties in consequence of peculiar organizations. If animals could reason, feel, in short perform all the various functions of life without a soul or in other words an immaterial principle, I ask, why could not man do the same? The doctrine of Pythagoras, so far from being hostile to Christianity, actually comes in aid of religion and removes one of the greatest obstacles which Philosophy has ever thrown in the way of Faith. As I have explained all this at full length in my work entitled *Philozoa*, as well as in a Pamphlet entitled SATI or Universal Immortality, I shall say no more of it here, but refer to those works. Suffice it to say in this place that the philosophy of Pythagoras was and is more extensively believed all over the East than any other, and is the basis of the Hindoo religion.

The necessary limits of this Preface will oblige me to pass over, or at least to notice very slightly, the opinions of Xenocrates, Zeno, and other philosophers of the Academy and of the Peripatetic school; for they taught, generally speaking, only modifications of Platonism, and, falling short of the excellence of their original, are not worthy of much notice. A close attention, however, which I have paid to the varieties of genius and of opinion which these writers have exhibited, compared with those of other philosophers in far distant countries, both ancient and modern, has only served to convince me of the truth of the old proverb, that "there is nothing new under the sun," at

least when this adage is applied to speculative opinion; for we find the same varieties of doctrine, the same views of God and the soul, and the same cavils, objections, and heresies, sported over again and again, as one generation has succeeded another. The same observation will apply to nearly all subjects of speculative knowledge, which involve powerful hopes and fears: the same tragedies have been exhibited, and the same farces have been acted; the same serious thoughts given forth, and pretensions to authority vaunted; the same sort of religious poems written either as canticles, hymns, or carols, and the same satires directed against them; the same doubts engendered; the same mutual accusations and conflicts preferred by parties: and the same ignorance ultimately confessed on the part of those who are humble, candid, and intellectual, in life's great amphitheatre of passing and delusive spectres, over and over again in every age and every country, from the earliest dawn of history to the present hour! Plato loved solitary contemplation, like the anchorites; Socrates would fain die for his opinions, like the martyrs; Epicurus was a fair prototype of modern sensuality. Every country has had its Momus and its Diogenes; every age its Horace and its Juvenal, its Demosthenes and its Cicero. Virgil was the Homer of the Romans, who in Italy sprung up in Tasso, and in England in Milton. The tragedians of Greece, Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, have their representatives in modern Europe, for genius is ever varying, though never lost; and sentiments, which were depicted on the stage at Athens, appeared again in our great dramatic poet Shakspeare.* The same remark applies with equal force

* There is, in truth, nothing absolutely "new under the sun," not a caprice of Intellect, of Sentiment, or of Passion, which has not been manifested before, but always under modifications, filling every link in the Category, according to some eternal law of variation: See the author's Latin Poem entitled *SOMNIUM PHILOSOPHICUM*.

quiries here are directed ; for, as I have before observed, the term metaphysics was first applied to such of his writings that went beyond physics, by certain of his survivors in the peripatetic school of philosophy, which school was founded by him at Athens, and was held in the Lyceum, the regular academic chair being at that time occupied by Xenocrates the successor of Speusippus.

Here it was that, Aristotle sauntering about while he gave his lectures, the name of Peripatetic was given to his school in consequence ; a name which it ever after retained. To this audience he delivered both his Esoteric and his Exoteric Philosophy, but to the latter the public at large were also admitted.

The Aristotelian philosophy of mind differs from the Platonic in this, that it is less simple and concise, though better expressed, from the habit of logical argument that Aristotle used ; but, like that of Plato, it is based on axioms, or primary truths, which all men are forced, from the nature of the human mind, to admit rather than their converse. He calls his science Ontology, or the doctrine concerning Being, and the first great axiom is, That the same thing cannot *be* and *not be* in the same subject, and in the same respect, and at the same time. Secondly, Being or Ens exists either in itself or by accident* Now I can put no other construction on this strange expression than this, that Being is either *Final Cause*, or is variously recognized in the *secondary chains of causes and effects*, which constitute the accidents, or *fallings out*, of all things in the course of the whole chequered scenery of the moving universe. Neither can I find in the doctrine of Aristotle on this subject anything but what has been repeated again and again by Locke and by subsequent philosophers, and which is as clearly developed perhaps in Lady Mary Shepherd's *Essay on Cause and Effect*, as

* Accident is from ACCIDERE to fall out.

in any treatise that has come to my knowledge. Aristotle, however, goes on to describe active and passive power, the one being the cause of motion, and the other the resistance made by matter; but if we closely reflect on these two things, we shall perceive that they are reducible to the same principles. Active power or the motive principle of change, in whatsoever it may reside, is what we mean by Cause, and the Effects produced are the instantaneous products of the interferences of matter with its operation. The particular product or effect is found to possess further latent powers of causation, and may operate again on other forms of matter, which, interfering or resisting, produce yet other effects, and so on through the the whole world. Now, the sum total or aggregate of all phenomena is called *Nature*, from the corrupted gerund of *nascor*; and it implies a perpetual power imparted to effects to become in their turn causes, subjected to a general law emanating originally from the Final Cause. The Nature of Things is therefore a term comprehending not only our knowledge of the things themselves, but our knowledge of their past and future relations also, which we learn by examining them as they appear as a chain of causes and effects.

Again, Aristotle conceived Being to be twofold, *notional* or in the mind, and *real*, that is, external. This is indeed true in one sense, and it is nothing more than what modern physiologists have expressed by saying, that we do not see things as they exist without, but merely as they act on our sensorium; and it is what is better expressed, as I before observed, when alluding to the Platonic doctrine on which it is founded, by St. Paul, who regarded the perception of objects by us in this our perilous bondage of flesh as imperfect: so that, not comprehending the whole nature of things as they are viewed by the Creator, we are apt to regard the world's waning shadows cast on the speculum of our minds as an enigma; all, however

which to us now appears either contradictory or imperfect, may by and bye in another state appear to us perfect, as it now does to God, who can behold the whole of his works moving in the full harmony which pervades them in all their endless relations. It will be subsequently shown that philosophers in later times have been found, who, trusting too much to their own judgement, and coming to hasty conclusions from false axioms, have actually denied or doubted the existence of external and continuously existing bodies, as Berkeley, Des Cartes, and others; or have misunderstood the proofs of their existence, as Fichte and his school; that Locke, Stewart, Reid, and others, misunderstood the way to refute them; and lastly, that there is a way of proving an "External Universe," by the most logical arguments based on universally admitted axioms, whereby we can shew that external things not only continue to exist when no longer perceived by the mind, but that they exist in all their apparent relations to each other; that without this proof there could be no such thing as available knowledge, but that with it, we only show that what the common sense of all mankind, when unperturbed by fools and sceptics, has always assented to; and what all religion has enjoined, is logically proved and confirmed by the last efforts of metaphysical philosophy.

Aristotle's notions of God were more perplexed, and apparently less clear, than those of Plato: he conceives the motion of the heavenly bodies to be co-eternal with the First Mover, and to comprehend the causes of all other motions; so that it has been actually disputed whether he ought to rank among Theists or Atheists. But as he speaks of the Original Cause as being distinct from the worlds that He guides, we ought to regard him as a believer in God: at the same time that his conceptions of the Divinity are far less sublime than Plato's, from whose philosophy, as I before observed, Aristotle may

therefore be regarded as the first instance of that degeneracy which ran through all the "philosophers" down to the time of Locke.

In the practical application of knowledge to the culture and improvement of young minds, however, Aristotle exceeded his master. He wrote on the *Conduct of the Understanding*, as well as Locke, and with much effect. One thing that he recommends is, as I believe from my own researches in physiology, so important that I cannot omit to mention it here:— that young geniuses should never be too much forced; that the strength and particular bias of the mind, in spite of all the powerful effect produced by variety of native genius and of organs, is mainly owing to the impressions received in childhood and early life; and that between the age of puberty and the two or three following years the mental energies should not be much called forth; but athletic exercise, good air, early rising, and temperance and discretion in the quality of food, should be mainly resorted to, not only to strengthen the bodily fabric, but to give the mind, or perhaps, more properly speaking, the organs of its manifestation, such a healthy tone as shall enable it to act with vigour to an advanced period of life, and only disappear with the gradual decay of the whole body in an easy and natural death.*

The Philosophy of Pythagoras, had I space for it, would seem to demand a more particular attention; for, in my opinion at least, it is the most probable of all the hypotheses, which have been invented to explain existing phenomena. Having admitted a Sentient principle distinct from matter in man, analogy will not allow us to explain the phenomena of animal life,

* Mr. Abernethy, as I recollect, dwelt on this truth with great force in his *Lectures*; and I have endeavoured to illustrate it in my little *Treatise on "Medicina Simplex, or Handbook of Domestic Physic and Surgery,"* sold by Keating and Brown.

ment and of knowledge, and consequently it required numerous persons of different kinds of mind to examine it. Now the Assembly of Council was an arrangement whereby the partial defects of one man's judgement should be supplied by the corresponding perfections of another; and thus, when any question was proposed for discussion to a Council of many minds, it was consistent with the doctrine of chances to expect that among them would be found various persons capable severally of discussing the divers questions which the said proposition involved; and generally truth was the result. And if we reflect on the number and succession of such Councils of the ablest, and most disinterested, and pious men who ever lived, by which the orthodox Christian philosophy, has been tried and approved, it ought to make us view with very suspicious eyes all deviations from that doctrine; neither ought the opinions of Plato, Locke, or any other individual to weigh much against it. I mention this, merely because I have often heard Mr. Locke's heterodox opinions, both in matters of moral philosophy and of religion, quoted by superficial persons in opposition to older and better established dogmas. This is the abuse, and not the use of authority. Any talented individual, without vanity, might say, "Why is not my opinion on speculative questions as good as Locke's Milton's, or Des Cartes, or fifty more such, considering that they all differed from each other?" But it would be arrogance in any man to place his private judgement in opposition to that of a body of learned men, all agreeing together. Such, for example, as the Councils of Trent, of Nice, or of Lateran!

To return from this digression, to Platonism, I say that though to a superficial mind, who confounds religion with its externals, there may seem to be no great similitude between Christianity and the Platonic Philosophy; yet to a contemplative mind, who regards God, as some of our learned authors have expressed it, in the light of a boundless ocean of creative

intelligence, from whence all creatures come as from their source, and to whom they all return ; who considers personal organization as a contrivance for dividing off minds from the great parent mind, and giving to each a separate individual existence, and placing them in a certain relation to the external world, and to other beings similar to themselves, during a limited term of life, wherein they are to be disciplined and prepared for a future state of existence ; to a person, I say, who thus regards God and created beings, there will appear such a striking analogy between the doctrines of Plato and those of CHRIST, that it would be next to impossible not to suppose that there must be some sort of connection between them. And this notion is rendered further probable by what I have alluded to above, respecting the countries into which Plato travelled. But it is time to consider his followers, and to maintain the position which I have advanced, that the philosophy of mind went on degenerating till the time of Locke.

Aristotle was born at Stagira, in Thrace, in B. C. 384, and was left by his parents with a good fortune. He studied philosophy at Athens from the age of seventeen, and Plato observed of him that his genius rather wanted curbing than exciting. His passion, however, for philosophy having no other spur than worldly ambition, did not prevent him from a foppishness of dress for which he was often ridiculed. He became the preceptor of Alexander the Great, * and after a long life of study, of experiment, and of great vicissitude, died in retirement at Chalcis in Eubœa, in the sixty third year of his age.

Aristotle's works are very voluminous ; he wrote a history of animals, a history of meteorology, on logic, on physics, and on metaphysics ; it is with the latter particularly, in as much as they relate to the philosophy of the human mind, that our in-

* Justin. Hist. lib. xii, cap. 16, and Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii, cap. 16.

I shall take a little notice now of some of the errors to which the scepticomania, or passion for doubting, has led some writers ; and of the manner in which they have misunderstood and abused Mr. Locke's opinions ; after which I shall show the great assistance which the philosophy of Mind has derived, 1stly, from Phrenology, or the doctrine of the various powers of the Sensorium, as developed by Gall and Spurzheim ; and, 2dly, from Philology, or the Spirit of Language, as illustrated by Horne Tooke ; and shall then conclude.

One of the principal errors of some of the followers of Locke was the not duly distinguishing between the material *organs* by which the mind manifested itself, and the *mind* itself. This led to the doctrine of the Materialist, who, finding that the actions of the brain and external senses corresponded to the operations of the understanding and to sensations, hastily concluded that intelligence was a property of matter, and denied the distinct nature of spirit. Now, if these and such like opinions are any thing more than idle words, they imply, to use common language, that matter thinks. This doctrine, though not necessarily atheistical, has a great tendency to lead to atheism ; particularly when coupled, as it has been, with the still more absurd doctrine of David Hume, that what we called Causation is merely the regular conjunction of phenomena. But this absurdity will be noticed hereafter. Dr. Priestley, who was a firm believer, not only in God, but in a Future State, was nevertheless a sort of materialist : and he tried to evade the consequences commonly deduced from such doctrines, by saying that God could transfer personal identity and consciousness hereafter to another body : apparently forgetting that the most rational and easy way of accounting for continuous and eternal identity, even on the supposition of another body hereafter, was to admit the existence of an immaterial principle which should survive the destruction of the body

which it inhabited here. However, I would not dispute about words, nor contend for any thing but a capacity for sensation, which all must admit. And then the proofs that this capacity is neither the sensations themselves, nor their external causes, depends on the doctrine of Cause and Effect already described, and not on any quibble about matter and spirit. The doctrine of materialism however gained ground with some people: and a few false arguments employed by well meaning folks to refute it, only served to afford it that sort of indirect support which always results from the exposure of the fallacy of an antagonist argument. It was argued against materialism, that the soul could be active when the body was at rest, and dreams were given as an illustration of this assertion. But the materialist succeeded in overthrowing this plea in a moment, by showing that dreams resulted from the spontaneous activity of those very material organs through which the knowledge of external objects had been conveyed. Hence the physiology of dreaming only seemed to confirm materialism. Some remarkable cases of the mental energies being destroyed by blows on the head, and by pressure on the brain, seemed to corroborate this doctrine; and one remarkable case of the effect of concussion, which occurred at one of the hospitals, seemed strongly to confirm it, in superficial minds. A man fell from the boom of a ship in the river on to the deck, and stunned himself. After the usual course of bleeding he gradually came to; but when partially recovered, he could only talk in the Welch language, which was that of his infancy, and he talked also exclusively of Cambrian scenes and the recollections of his childhood. In proportion, however, as his recovery became perfect, he regained his English and his memory of recent events: thus the effects of the concussion appeared to be that of obliterating the recollection of sensations in the reverse ratio of their antiquity. We do not know much of the laws whereby in age early

more or less active. The very consciousness of existence, or the general sensation of vital notions called self-feeling, implies activity in the sentient principle, which we call mind. Mr. Locke, however, well observes, that the perception of ideas is to the mind what motion is to the body, nor is it more essentially necessary for the one to be always in action than for the other. Sensation being one of the functions of which the mind is capable, it is not to be identified with mind itself. This is true enough; and it is what I have been contending for all along and is an assertion strictly borne out by sound reasoning. The mind being a word we use to express the Identical Capacity for Sensation, or what we may call the Self, is that which constitutes the individual existence of every animal; but it is not necessarily always in action. The question, however, resolves itself into this,—whether, allowing Sensation always to be an effect resulting from the interventional agency of the *Sensorium* acting between the internal capacity for Sensation or *Mind*, and the external causes of Sensation on *Objects*, is ever so completely at rest during life as to allow the mind to be without the consciousness of anything. Now this question will illustrate the distinction I have drawn between the two sorts of sensation; for in reply thereto we may answer, that if all sensations were necessarily what I have called observative, or, in other words, were only such as are caused by the presence of external objects acting on the senses, then it would appear evident, that whenever external objects were withdrawn, sensation would cease: but since sensations are also conceptive, or, in other words, are remembrances or new combinations of objects once perceived, and re-exhibited to the mind by its organs, it will be difficult, since the organic sensorium in which these ideas appear is always at hand, to show that the Capacity for Sensation itself shall ever be free from interference. Another thing, too, ought to be mentioned, namely that though objects

exterior to the skin, or outward covering of the body, might be shut out by the sleep of the five senses, yet the vital motions which take place with the body, as pulsation, and so on, which in fact are, when perceived, something between conceptive and observative sensations, might nevertheless continue to keep the mind in a sensitive state. However, what Mr. Locke has written on both this subject and on the origin of ideas from without, is so calculated to make men think deeply on this great branch of metaphysics, that it is a wonder it did not sooner lead to a sound and logical Philosophy of Mind. It ought to have led men much earlier to perceive that every manifestation of the mind was the result of the interference of its living organs, while the mind itself, or capacity of sensation, was a principle as distinct from the vital powers of its organs, as the latter was from the material fabric of the universe. All these three principles are distinct in essence, though they exist in relation to each other; and hence the knowledge of them explains the three powers, or *Soma, Psuche,* or *Nous* of the Greek philosophers; the *Corpus, Vita,* and *Anima*, of the Romans; the Objectivity, Subjectivity, and Sentiency, of the modern disciples of Kant: and the **BODY, LIFE,** and **MIND**, of the Physiology of Abernethy.

This threefold division of the elementary principles of Universal Being has at times been so striking, and has so forcibly absorbed the minds of men, that persons have not been found wanting who have resolved Deity itself into the same principles of which they consider the microcosm of man as the image, and thus, by merely adding terms of infinity, instead of limitation, have described the Godhead as the universal essence or source of these three powers, or as Infinite Intelligence, a power creative of Universal Substance, and a pervading illumination or vital power the Giver of Life. This, they say, corresponds to the *Ens, Demiourgos,* and *Psyche* of Platonism; and is the basis of the Indian Trinity.

The poet has elegantly expressed this spirit or pervading principle of *life* supporting created *matter* under all its forms of planets and stars and their inhabitants, and animated by universal *mind* :

“ Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunc, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus inus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”

Not only Virgil, but Lucretius, Ovid, Lucan, and almost all the great poets of Greece, of Rome, and of modern Europe, have broken out into similar strains, and exhibited, as if by accident, in the course of their descriptions of Nature, sublime and imposing pictures of her Powers and Author, which shows how naturally great minds are led from Effects to Causes, and from the latter to the First Cause.

Now the above doctrines do not seem to me to imply the eternal coexistence of matter with the Deity, as Frederick the Great believed ; any more than it does the coexistence of individual man, to whom matter is made manifest by the means of life. For the Supreme Intelligence or Deity may comprehend in his essential nature the power to create matter, and to create separate souls, and to place them in relation to each other by means of the vital principle, without having done so from all eternity *e parte ante*, as it is called. So that both the material worlds and their inhabitants may have had a beginning, according to the doctrine of Holy Writ. Thus from God the Father would proceed the Power Creative of the universe and of individuals ; while from both would result the manifestation of the lifegiving or Vital Power which we have shown to be that which intervenes between the individual mind and matter. The universe so created would all be comprehended by the Godhead ; and this consideration will shew us how man has come to be regarded as a microcosm, or little world ; and how he is also said to be made after the Image of his Creator. This view

of things would, however, not account for the origin of evil, loss, and redemption, unless we regarded evil as some imperfection inherent in the nature of matter, as Plato seemed to have regarded it; but capable of being ultimately overcome by mind guided by the Divine influx. These inquiries, however, when only prompted by human reason, lead to great absurdities. They have prompted philosophers to go much too far, and have led to difficult questions touching the possible organic nature of the Deity, which are neither conformable to humility, nor to reason, which they are much above; and if some deistical philosophers have shown the resemblance between the Elementary Powers just described and the Holy Trinity, as believed by Christians; it only shows the close analogy that subsists between what pious people believe to be revealed truth, and what appears to result from the highest efforts of metaphysical philosophy. And I think myself with Father Guerrin du Rocher, that, taking every thing into consideration, it appears highly probable that all the opinions concerning mind and the nature of the Divinity, however diversified they may be in certain particulars, have all originated in some ancient doctrine taught by the Patriarchs and Prophets, and widely disseminated all over the world, and mixed variously with human passions and defects of judgment. While the fact that similar opinions have resulted from the investigation of all deep thinking men, from Plato, or even before him, to Locke, and to the latest philosopher of our days, only serves to show how much more conformable such doctrines are to common sense than the sceptical writers imagined, who took only a superficial view of the subject.

The Christian Religion, in fact, embraces the whole that is known about the mind; it is the "Pantologia," or "All in All," of the Philosophy of Mind: and a correct survey both of nature and of metaphysical truth only support its pretensions.

either in sleep or in a state of vigilance, the latter become intensified, they are easily mistaken for the former. But, though all perceived images are within the body, they are nevertheless external to the Mind or sentient Capacity itself. This circumstance explains a curious and otherwise unaccountable property of some dreams, as observed by Baxter, in his Book on the Soul, namely, that we feel surprise at what comes across us in dreams, "which we would not do," says he, "if the mind manufactured its own imagery." He infers from hence that Dreams are presented to us by Spirits or some external agents. Now the fact seems to be, that the organized Sensorium or seat, wherever it may be in the brain, of ideas, does by its own vital activity, or from some impressions received by sympathy from other organs, reproduce and combine those sensations of the sensible qualities of objects, which, having been originally *observative*, or caused by external objects, and which, having been retained in the memory, are capable of being revived as *conceptive* sensations.

Under the class of Observative Sensations I should also enumerate pain or pleasurable sensation, which, though they cannot be called images, have nevertheless external causes, and are in the sense of touch, which is a property of all the organs, and is to them all in general what those modes of sensation called vision, hearing, tasting, and smelling, are to certain organs in particular. As we can remember pain and pleasure, as well as objects of sight and touch and smell, so they may also become in their turn conceptive as well as observative sensations.

Whether that state of consciousness of existence, which in German philosophy is called self feeling, is both observative and conceptive, or something between both, I am not certain: it is a feeling difficult to define, and may consist in some general sensation of the vital motions of the body during life; which may vary from being painful to being pleasurable. I can only

bring it to the reader's mind by supposing a case, in which, all the senses being destroyed or dead, the living organs would still go on with vital action, and furnish to the mind the simple consciousness of existence. Mr. Clissold, in his elegant little pamphlet on the Mind, has drawn a different and more pleasing illustration of his general feeling, from the case of a curious and happy child, who exclaimed, *What a funny thing it is to be alive!*

With these premises I shall go on to speak of Mr. Locke and the Philosophers who followed him, because having now made the definitions laid down above, I have cleared the way to elucidate the obscure expressions to be found in most books on metaphysics. Mr. Locke proceeds to speak of ideas of reflection, making a sort of false distinction between them and sensations. Now reflection is the power of the mind to compare ideas whether of observative or of conceptive sensation, to judge of the relations of Cause and Effect, and to arrive thence at certain available conclusions. It is a power of mind dependent like every other for its manifestation on organs, and it includes also sensation. For though volition be exerted in this exercise, yet comparisons are sensations of differences or similitudes, and in like manner the knowledge of Cause and Effect is a conceptive sensation, or intuitive perception of the power of one thing, by interfering with another, to produce a third; and hence we arrive by inference at another sensation, that of a First and Final Power, or Eternal Cause of all things. I only give these examples in order to correct some mistakes which have arisen from Mr. Locke's indefinite manner of describing sensations, and the arbitrary distinctions which have been made, which do not appear to me to correspond with Nature.

Mr. Locke next goes on to show that the mind, or, as he calls it, the soul, does not always think; the proofs, however, of an amorphous state of the mind are not well made out. With the exception of perfect sleep, it seems that the mind is always

to moral philosophy and religion, and to their opponents and satyrists. The manner in which Aristophanes directed the shafts of ridicule against the theorists of his age, is brought again to mind by the satirical effusions of Voltaire, and the unholo witticisms of the modern sceptical poets.

Seeing then, that all varieties of opinion recur on the most ordinary as well as the profoundest subjects; we might very naturally look for the greatest variety in matters of speculative philosophy and religion: not only because of the intense impulse which they must give to our hopes, fears, and expectations; but because, being subjects over which the light of truth has been partially shed, they reflect its rays with a variety corresponding to that of all the individual diversities of the human mind: just as the beams of the sun, cast on an immense number of prisms and moving mirrors, would be for ever reflecting or transmitting all the infinite shades and combinations of colour, which would be successively exhibited over and over again like the returning combinations of a kaleidoscope, so long as the original light, and the material of the reflecting mirrors, should both remain essentially the same.

In religion we shall find this observation to apply in its fullest force: every variety of thought on the subject, wherever individual judgement is left free, is exercised again and again in almost every age and clime. But we must emerge from the seclusions of a life at home, and range abroad among nations; we must leave the light literature of our own day, and wade through the stores of antiquity, in order to be convinced of this truth. We shall then find the opinions, the rites, the mysteries, and the moral virtues of our own quarter of the globe existing, however modified by circumstances, in the remotest Oriental regions. The hymns of the Christian poets are to be found in their peculiar spirit in the Psalms of David; but we must not stop here; penetrate the refulgent countries of

the Medes and the Persians, and you will find the same or similar ideas and sentiments of devotion dressed up in all the alluring and sensual imagery of Asiatic enthusiasm, in the poetry of Hafiz, in the songs of Jayadeva, in the rhapsodies of Mesnevy, and in the sacred mysteries of Bhagavat!

The same observation applies also to subjects of speculative philosophy and metaphysics, and it is for this reason that I pass over so lightly the variations of opinion on the nature of God, the universe, and the human mind, exhibited by the Stoics, the Sophists, and other subsequent philosophers: for we shall have occasion to find most of their opinions embraced by one or other of the modern writers. Even the doctrine of Pythagoras respecting the transmigration of souls still exists among some casts of the Hindoo and the Gentoo Indians; nor are there wanting enlightened persons here and there in polished Europe who have embraced the same opinion.

So great is the disposition to differ among mankind, that if we only set any great number of men thinking on speculative subjects, who have not a given and imperative rule to go by, they will all think differently. Take only an example in modern heresy: the moment the clarion of discord was sounded at the Reformation, and the mind left free, or comparatively so, to speculate on truths which had heretofore been accepted according to one particular rule of faith, almost every man began to differ from his neighbour; and in a few years modern schismatics greatly outdid the Academicks of old in the number and versatility of their dissensions. The Christian Church had for nearly fifteen centuries kept opinions confined to certain rules; but in less than fifty years after the bonds of unity were burst asunder, and the caprices of private judgment let loose on the faith of our forefathers, every grade from scepticism to incredulity was occupied—the Catholic alone maintained the ancient faith pure, and defying the wavering dictates of human reason,

adhered to doctrines that had been confirmed by the great Councils of his learned and pious ancestors. The Protestant soon derided the mysteries and ceremonies of the Catholic, the Independent condemned the doctrine and policy of the Protestant Episcopalian, the Calvinist growled at the consubstantiation of the Lutheran, the Arian despised the credulity of the Trinitarian, the Socinian smiled at the fastidious distinctions of the Arian, the Deist derided the Socinian, and the Atheist laughed at them all!

By degrees each sect went on subdividing, till every conceivable variety of error and of schism was made manifest, in the forms of Baptists, Antinomians, Swedenborgians, Quakers, Methodists, and Jumpers. Meanwhile crime, the constant result of the dissolution of harmony among men, began to increase to a frightful degree, while insanity, so apt to spring from the wild sallies of a gloomy and ill directed imagination, began to fill the mad-houses of Europe with crazy enthusiasts. Now all these Heresies were only modified repetitions of what the Church had before had to combat in the heresies of the Arians, Albigenses, Monothelites, Jansenists, and other schismatics of former ages. Neither are other climes wanting in corresponding variation of *cuite* and its subdivisions.

At the same time that professed Christians were reviving the heresies of the middle ages of the Church, the Philosophers, participating in the habit of free inquiry which was become the fashion, revived all the theories and whimsical hypotheses of the Grecian and Roman schools, though modified by modern discoveries. Hobbes revived the materialism of Lucretius; Helvetius asserted that the whole mind was made by education; others contended for separate instinct, and so on: all, however, were much degenerated from the halcyon days of Grecian philosophy; and even Bacon himself, who wrote so able an analysis of the particular powers, defects, and idols of

the human mind, seems to me to have known but little about the first principles of the philosophy of mind itself.

It was in this state of things, that Mr. Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding came out, and by degrees superseded all the other systems of philosophy: and though it was at first opposed by those who were bigoted to past errors, it soon gained ground, and before thirty years had elapsed was become the only book of the kind, with the exception of Aristotle, that was much used in our universities. Locke, however, only laid the foundation of a better system of philosophy, of a kind, than had prevailed for centuries before him; he by no means completed it: his opinions were in certain particulars very erroneous; but they led men to think more closely than heretofore, and though they gave rise to many new and imperfect theories, yet the collision of all these together produced a good effect, by exposing each other's imperfections; till at length the wonderful engine of logic began to be better understood, and sound logical arguments being at length built upon the basis of the most obvious axioms, a close habit of thinking and reasoning was engendered, which led to the last achievement of metaphysical philosophy. But, after all, the result has only been a confirmation of the profound ignorance which we are all in respecting the origin of things and the nature of mind, and a proof of the conformity or agreement of the little which we have discovered, with what we are told by the inspired writers, and the necessity, which all must confess, to admit certain truths, and those the most important, as matters of faith; without which all would still be doubt, and perplexity, and discomfiture. Some short account of the peculiar doctrines of Locke and of the different philosophers who followed him, may be expected by the reader after what I have said; which I shall therefore endeavour to give.

One of the fundamental doctrines of Locke's Essay is, that

there are no innate Ideas or Principles, but that we derive all from experience. This therefore shall be the first thing which I proceed to discuss. He says, *there are no innate principles in the Mind*. Now I should be disposed here to differ with him in the very onset; reserving only this subterfuge, that I do not quite understand how much of our nature is included under the term Mind. Regarding the mind as the individualized capacity for sensation itself, there can be no innate notions *in it*, but if we include the Sensorium or organic apparatus of sensation, it seems to me that there are innate Principles. That is to say, the organization of every individual has a determinate nature; and Ideas which are modes of its action, however they may correspond to external things, depend for their manifestation as well on the properties of the organ as they do on the impressions made thereon by exterior objects, through the medium of the external senses. In other words, the realities or objects perceived are Effects produced, of which external and continuously existing objects are the exciting Causes; but the conditions of their being made manifest to the mind are in the organization, which is innate, or in other words born with us. Mr. Locke has either misunderstood this, or has not expressed himself clearly on the subject. In short, throughout the whole Essay similar oversights or blunders are observable, owing to want of a systematic philosophical language.

Mr. Locke next proceeds to say, that the origin of all ideas is from experience; and consequently that they cannot depend on any innate principle. It is thus far true, that ideas are derived from experience, that the impressions received from the external objects are what first excite their corresponding images or ideas in the sensorium; but new combinations of them are formed, by what is called the power of the imagination, and this power is not only innate in every body, but is very various in its kind and degree in different individuals. For example,

if ideas of colour and of form had not been at first received from the coloured shapes of external things, we could perhaps never have imagined them ; but, having once received these ideas, we have power to recombine them in modes that they never assume in nature. We can in fancy see a red cow with a black horse's head on her shoulders ; but we must first have seen an animal and a colour, or we could not have so combined the elements as to form the monster which I have described. I ought here, however, to agree with my readers, on the terms which I use for mental operations, in order that, in describing the different systems of Philosophy, all of which employ terms very differently, I may have some established standard of reference. Mr. Locke speaks of ideas of Perception, ideas of Sensation, of Reflection, and so on : which terms he uses in a manner calculated rather to mislead than to direct his readers in the acquisition of clear notions of mental Philosophy ; I shall therefore observe here, that in describing the operations of Mind, I shall use the word *Sensation* as the generic term including many varieties : for in fact all our ideas, images, perceptions of objects, sensations of pain and of pleasure, &c. are all of them sensations, though of different sorts. And I find it impossible to proceed in describing the systems of mental Philosophy till I have defined some of these. Sensation, then, is first divided into two great and important classes, namely, *Observative Sensation*, or what has been called the perception of external objects ; and *Conceptive Sensation*, which includes under its generic term the several varieties which we call Recollection, Imagination, and so on. It constitutes the great storehouse of memory, as well as the laboratory of the creative fancy, and confers on man the powers of forming endless new combinations of ideas. It is probably the high degree in which man possesses this power that gives him the marked superiority over other animals ; which are, as Dr. Gall used to say, in all their grada-

tions, nothing but fragments of the human species, more and more perfect in proportion as they ascend in the scale, from the polypus and star-fish to the perfections of the higher orders of warm blooded animals, which approximate to man.

Observative Sensations have all causes external to the Sensorium, or in other words have objects in the external world which they represent, as when we observe or look at a horse, a ball, or a prospect. But Conceptive Sensations do not imply the presence of external objects; for, firstly, we can *conceive* or think of a horse, a ball, or a prospect in our chamber, when those objects are removed. When these conceptive sensations occur during sleep, when the observative sensations do not intrude and force into notice their more vivid and consistent imagery, the conceptive sensations amount to what is called dreaming, in which state the mind mistakes them for the observative, or, in other words, believes them to be external objects. * It sometimes happens, from a high or morbid state of sensibility, that the conceptive sensations take place while we are awake with all the vividness of the observative, and even mix with them; and hence it happens that people see phantoms, or spectral images as they are called, roving about the room among the furniture, and intermingling with real persons who may occupy the apartments; of which a frightful instance is recorded by Mr. Nicolai of Berlin, as having happened to himself. He saw for several days, and with perfect composure, after the first alarm was over, the forms of numerous persons and animals moving about in his study before him like people in a market, and it was only by trying to touch them that he discovered

* The word REAL is vulgarly used to distinguish images of observative sensation from those of the conceptive; it is defective in its power of definition, for both are REAL, this word coming from *reor*, I think. Whereas the difference does not lie in our thinking, but in the circumstance that in the case of "REAL" the object has an external and continuous cause, which goes on existing when no longer a matter of sensation.

their illusive nature ; before they disappeared, they lost their natural colours, and became white, and vanished by appearing as fragments smaller and smaller till they were lost. This was only an instance of intensified conceptive sensations.* Two important considerations belong to this class of sensations : one is that of insanity ; for if, when such images of conceptive sensation appear, the patient should lose, while awake, the power of distinguishing them from observative sensations, or “ real objects,” as all men do in dreams, then, I believe, he would be, to all intents, mad. The second consideration I alluded to is that of Revelations ; for it is conceivable that God may immediately act on the sensorium in such a manner as to upraise and present to the mind prophetic visions, that is, conceptive sensations or images which have an available import as messengers of good or evil tidings of the future, of which the religious history of every country presents abundance of examples ; neither is the use and divine import of any vision or angelical communication at all affected or rendered the less available by the particular manner which the Deity may choose as the mode of communicating his will.

Another thing I wish to observe before I go on to consider systems of philosophy is, that though by means of our five senses and the observative sensations which they occasion, we become acquainted with the existence and relations of objects in the external world, yet the images themselves are all located within us : the seat of them all is in the sensorium or organization : and thus, as the place of the object immediately perceived is concerned, the horses, houses, dogs, and all the scenery of the world, are precisely, for any thing we can discover to the contrary, in the same place as their recollected images, so that when,

* I have copied this and several other authentic accounts of such spectral illusions into my Book on the Plague and other Epidemic Diseases, 8vo. Keating and Brown, London, 1829.

impressions are vividly remembered, while recent events are forgotten ; but it seems referable to the same principle as that on which the effects of the blow above described would be explained. All this seems very mechanical, I allow, and is calculated to delude light thinkers into a belief in materialism ; but to those who meditate more profoundly, it will appear that the question does not lie between the terms material and immaterial, which would be a mere verbal quibble. The question is whether sensible images or ideas, which we will all admit take place in material organs, do or do not require a distinct sentient Being capable of perceiving them, which I trust I have already shown to be both necessary and well proved.

But the most dangerous paradox was that of Mr. Hume, to which I have alluded, which goes to deny the necessity of similar causes for the production of similar effects, to reduce causation to a mere observed conjunction of phenomena, and consequently to destroy the proofs that there exist in external bodies all those mutual relations and that certain regularity which they appear to us to have, by what we perceive of them in our observative sensations. Hume, in spite of all the empty encomium that has been passed upon him, must have been a superficial observer and bad reasoner, if there were no other proof of his imbecility of mind than this. That he built his false philosophy on some passages in Locke quite misunderstood is evident, which is the reason of my introducing it at all to the reader's notice. The passages are not worth the trouble of quoting. In the "Essay on Cause and Effect," p. 114, and sequel, Lady M. Shepherd has pointed out and ably refuted them, and he who wishes to see how far the vanity of a dull and spiritless sceptic will carry him in trying to prove there is no difference between things being together and one's being the cause of the other, may refer to Hume's Essays, and then read Lady Mary's refutation of them. The defect was evidently in Mr. Hume's

own judgment, or in that particular native power of the mind resulting from a particular organization, whereby we are enabled to perceive the relation of Cause and Effect.

Opposed to the Materialism of Hobbes and Hume, is the Idealism of Berkeley and others, a doctrine equally sceptical, and wanting the foundation of true philosophy. As it would be impossible to examine all the systems of each writer separately, I shall select Berkeley's as the completest instance of the delusions of the sceptical Idealism that can be adduced. Berkeley's argument may be thus briefly stated: he says, since it is acknowledged on all hands that the secondary qualities of bodies, as colour for example, are not in the bodies themselves but in the mind, and have not what he calls real existence; so neither can we prove the primary qualities, as solidity, extension, and so on, to have any real existence: the only difference between the two sets of qualities being, that the primary are perceived by means of two or more of our senses, as when we both *see* and *feel* the rotundity and solidity of a globe; while the secondary are only cognizable to one sense, as when we *see* a colour to be green or blue, but cannot corroborate it by the touch. Now I am ready to agree with Berkeley, that it is not the perceiving qualities with two or more senses, that proves what he calls their *real* existence, by which he of course means their external and continuous existence when no longer perceived by the mind. For the question of external continuous existence, is not affected much by the number of senses which are called into action. If it were to depend on that, a question of much greater difficulty would arise out of it; namely, since the visual sensation of the colour of the globe, and the sensation of touch whereby we perceive its solidity, are two perfectly distinct sensations, how come we to refer them both to the same external object? If Berkeley had rightly understood the doctrine of Cause and Effect; and had recollected that dissimilar effects must re-

sult from dissimilar causes, he would have perceived that the cause of the sensation *green* could never be the cause of the sensation *solidity*; and consequently that it must be some other power or process of reasoning exercised by the mind, that furnished the belief of an identical external object capable of exciting the essentially different sensations of visible and tangible figure! * Experiment has, I believe, shown, that a blind man suddenly made to see, does not immediately recognize in the coloured forms of the furniture, and other objects about him in the room, his old acquaintances the tangible chairs and tables, and windows of his apartment! The power of identifying them comes on by degrees, by a sort of intuitive process of reasoning, which by habit becomes too rapid to be perceived. The sensations are found to respond to certain anticipations of the mind; he walks nearer and nearer, still *feeling* his way cautiously towards the accustomed place of his tangible inkhorn, and grasps it; thus gradually perceiving that, as he gets nearer, the inkhorn looks bigger, while the objects left behind diminish in size, till he holds it, he is made sensible of a sort of correspondence between the variation of one class of sensations and that of the other, which makes him refer both to some common cause of variation, the result of which rational process is the sensation which we call identity. Now the sensation of externality, or the outwardness of objects, owes its origin to the silent but perpetual oper-

* With respect to identity, Locke certainly entertained one very erroneous notion, as he regarded personal identity to be a mere effect of consciousness. "For," said he, "there is a continued identity added to successive atoms of matter." Now to me it seems that identity cannot consist in conscious memory, for in this case, a man would be the same person that he was when a young child; again, it cannot consist in any material substance, for the whole body is changed: therefore, as it is something independent of these two causes when considered separately, it cannot result from them when both together. And hence, it must be dependent on some other principle. Analogy, as well as the authority of ages, would rather ascribe it to a product of the formative nîsus of generation, by which an individual capacity for sensation was created; and this is, indeed, the more conformable to common sense as well as to Scripture.

ation of a process of ratiocination not very dissimilar. And the principal proofs that external objects exist, will be found to rest on this—that, as we cannot conceive effects to be their own causes, so the effects, which we call observative sensations, which are consistent, and correspond at all times to our demands for their appearance, must either have continuous causes, or else some general or final cause must create their particular causes anew on every occasion of the effects? Now the strict rule of philosophizing which determines the mind to choose the simplest modes of explaining phenomena in preference to the more complex, does, in this case, direct our reason imperceptibly to believe the causes of our sensations go on existing, whether they be or be not in relation to ourselves. And if so, then they cannot be *in* our minds, since our minds do not always perceive them, nor in the everchanging sensorium, like the sensations which they excite; for in this case they would not be consistent continuous causes : therefore they must be also external.

If Berkeley had told us merely, that sensation could not be like external objects, he would have used a language less objectionable : for we cannot with propriety talk of effects being like their causes. Effects are rather in determinate relation to their causes ; so that when one effect resembles another, their respective causes must also have similar resemblance. This can be proved by algebra, or the universal science of Signs. For if Ca is to Ea as Cb is to Eb , then conversely Ca must be to Cb as Ea is to Eb . Therefore not only do we prove that all our observative sensations have continuous and external causes, as before shewn ; but we further prove hereby, that the external causes have all the same mutual relations as the effects have, or in other words, that our sensations really represent to us the things of the external world in all their various relations. What more is wanted for true knowledge than this, I know not.

But, though this which I have described is a great blunder of Berkeley's made in the very onset, he is nevertheless guilty of several others, which always follow in the train of bad reasoning, just as untoward soldiers will always be the consequence of a bad general. For Berkeley, after denying material things, actually goes on to explain ideal ones by referring them to the actions of bodily organs of sense; forgetting that the senses, whether we speak of retina, nerves, or brain, are all a part of the external material world.* But I will have done with these vague opinions and proceed to discuss Mr. Locke's second and third books, and the developement of philology to which they led: which in fact threw additional light on the true philosophy of mind, which it has been my object throughout these pages to uphold, and which Locke in fact led to, though he never perfectly understood it.

Mr. Locke having treated, in Books ii, and iii, of what he deemed to be *complex ideas*, philosophers began to inquire what complex ideas could be, and whether the *complexity, generalization, and composition of ideas*, of which Mr. Locke treated, did not in reality relate merely to the terms used to express them, that is to words. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine what the composition of ideas can mean, since ideas are the actually existing sensations of the mind. But if we apply complexity to the term, we can easily perceive how it can be general or complex. The term Garden, for instance, is capable of conveying a vast number of sensations to the mind: as ideas of flowers, of sorts of fruits, and so on. It was not till the days of John Horne Tooke, the etymologist of Purley, that this subject was

* When Berkeley speaks of objects being merely ideas imprinted on the senses, he thereby asserts the existence of the very thing he was trying to overthrow. As my object in this Preface was to exhibit an account of the Philosophy which preceded Locke, and that which his writings gave birth to, I shall not pursue the confutation of Berkeley's wanderings any further, but refer to the "Essay on an External Universe," p. 195 and sequel.

cleared up : but in his *Epea Pteroenta*, vol. i. p. 30, will be found a very masterly exposition of the fact, that Mr. Locke's Book, though it pretends to be an Essay on the Understanding, would nevertheless be better described as a treatise on the Philosophy of Language. For he has all along confounded words or sounds significant, with the sensations of things signified. Nevertheless, both his invaluable Essay, as well as the philosophy to which it led, have laid the solid foundation of the true philosophy of Mind, nor would Horne Tooke probably have ever written his "Diversions," had not Locke written his "Essay" beforehand.

It is a fact highly corroborative of the philosophy which I am upholding, to show, as philology does show, that all language, in its origin and etymological import, relates to modes of sensations. Every part of speech is reducible either to a Noun or a Verb ; and, indeed, most nouns themselves may be resolved into the past participle of verbs. Nouns substantive are the names of definite ideas, which are a particular kind of sensations ; thus we use the word horse, for example, as well for the image of a horse when seen, as when thought of : that is, the same word which stands for any given observative sensation, will always represent also the conceptive sensation that corresponds to it. But verbs are the names of motions, of pains, of pleasures, and of actions, which are only another class of sensations, which may also be either observative or conceptive, or may relate to spectral sensations which partake of both : but Verbs do express more than Nouns can, for they imply Cause and Effect, or in other words they stand for Things in relation to their active state or motion : thus, to run, to row, to fall, are all motions, they imply that some cause of change is added to certain things, as there must be *something* running, rowing, or falling. Again, to strike, to be struck, and so on, imply something striking ; the term is therefore so far compound.

Sometimes the particular sensation or noun is added to the sensation of motion or verb, as where we say, the man falls, water runs, and so forth. Now the fact is, that all parts of speech can be reduced or traced back to these two primitive classes.

I have already alluded to the fact, that language expresses only sensations : we shall see how we are borne out in this assertion : and I will begin by the examination of words which seem at first sight to have the most important significations. The word TRUTH is derived of the past participle of the verb *to trow*, or believe, being the same as the word *troth*, which is only the old way of spelling it. Truth is therefore Belief ; and on this Horne Tooke pertinently enough observes, in reply to Beattie, that there can be no longer any absolute eternal truth, than there is eternal and absolute Being to believe it. If this were a solitary instance of a word of great and general import being derived from a verb of sensation, we might well pass it over ; but as there is a correspondence throughout among all words expressive of what is called real existence or truth, it may be worth while to inquire how it should happen, that words used to distinguish what in ordinary language we call *true* not *false* perceptions, should, if we regard their etymology or actual import only, relate to sensations. The fact is as I have observed, that sensations alone constitute the immediate object of significant signs, which latter, whether consisting in letters or in algebra, are available sources of communicating knowledge, for this reason, that observative sensations are found by reasoning, to be in exact accordance with external and continuously existing objects. Therefore a *real* image or a *true* report of any proceeding, is one which will, on the test of inquiry, be found to have a corresponding external type. But in fact, the conceptive sensations, in as far as they are believed by the mind, are etymologically speaking, as true as the observative.

The word REALITY, which like the adjective *real*, comes from *reor* to think, has a similar relation to sensation alone. THING comes from the verb *to think*, or conversely THINKING is *the being thinged*. Vereor is *valde reor* to be *very much thinged*; and hence VERITAS is the very thinking, or universal thought, and not the fallacious thought or opinion of any individual. I have taken the pains to inquire, and I find that a similar etymology is to be found in almost all languages.

I have already said that phrenology, which is a science greatly improved of late years, throws much light on the philosophy of mind. Phrenology is nothing more than an extension or improvement of a doctrine which has been known and recognized for ages, and which forms a part of the true philosophy of mind. For it has never been denied that the mind manifests itself by means of material organs, or by what is most properly called the sensorium, which comprehends the five senses, all the nerves, and also the brain. It has always been known that the brain was as much the organ of the understanding, as the senses were the media of objective sensations; and the phrenologist affirms nothing more than this; except that he has also asserted, that particular parts or organs of the brain are the particular organs or seats of corresponding faculties. Thus, according to phrenology, when the front parts of the brain or forehead are large, we generally find a powerful understanding; when the upper parts are very large, we find strong sentiments of benevolence, devotion, hope, and so on; and the lower and lateral parts, when much developed, are an indication of strong animal propensities. Now this is a discovery of fact, and not, as some vainly pretend, a mere theory: and it is a discovery which bears a close analogy to every thing else that we have ever discovered in physiology; the whole of which science is founded on the knowledge of the particular functions to which particular organs are appropriated.

To conclude, I must observe that the analysis I have made of Locke's opinions, previous to writing the above, has convinced me that he had a very strong mind, and a natural genius for the study of metaphysical philosophy, which is, after all, one of the sublimest of the sciences; since the knowledge of the principles of mind comprehends the elements of all other knowledge. It constitutes in fact what our forefathers called the examination of the interior man, and when cultivated with diligence and modesty, is capable of leading to great results; greater, indeed, by far, I believe, than is usually imagined. It leads us, too, by examining closely what passes within, to recognize the operation of good and of evil principles, and thereby paves the way for that knowledge of self, enjoined by the noted adage *gnothi seauton*, which is the beginning of wisdom, but which philosophers, in the pursuit of truth, have too often neglected for a mere knowledge of exterior things, from which alone little is to be learned from which we can derive profit, as we are eloquently told by S. Bernard in his sermon on the Canticles: "Multi multa sciunt, et seipsos nesciunt. Alios inspiciunt, et seipsos deserunt. Deum quaerunt per exteriora, deserentes sua interiora quibus interior est Deus. Sunt namque qui scire volunt, eo fine tantum ut sciant; et turpis curiositas est. Et sunt qui scire volunt, ut sciatur ipsi; et turpis vanitas est. Et sunt etiam qui scire volunt ut scientiam suam vendant; et turpis quaestus est. Et sunt qui scire volunt ut aedificentur, et prudentia est. Uti ergo cibus ingestus, qui bonam non habet decoctionem, malos generat humores et corrumpit corpus, et non nutrit; ita et multa scientia ingesta stomacho animae, quae est memoria, si decocta igne Charitatis non fuerit, etsi per quosdam quasi artus animae, mores scilicet atque actus, transfusa atque digesta, reputabitur in peccatum, tanquam cibus conversus in noxios pravosque humores. *Scienti enim bonum facere, et n. f. peccatum est illi.*

I have been rather prolix in the above analysis of Locke's opinions, from the interest which philosophers have taken in them of late, and which the perusal of any of his writings is calculated to resuscitate. I shall now subjoin a few anecdotes of him, as I proposed, and conclude.

§ 3.—SOME MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES
OF LOCKE, &c.

In the course of the perusal of several manuscripts in my possession, I have hit on several anecdotes and memoranda relating to Mr. Locke, by his friends and contemporaries, which may amuse the reader and serve to illustrate his character; some of these I subjoin therefore without further apology.

Mr. Locke was particularly fond of children, and one of his chief amusements, when at Mr. Furly's, was playing with the young folks, in which he spent much time. He was also very fond of animals, and particularly disgusted with the cruelty practised towards them in too many cases in England. He could not fail to have been struck with the great analogy that there is between the principles of the reasoning powers of man and of other animals; an analogy which the striking instances of sagacity exhibited by some species, is calculated in a high degree to enhance. This brings to my mind an anecdote of a dog belonging to Mr. Furly, which is worth recording. This animal had gone with his master from London to Rotterdam by the packet; on his return to England Mr. Furly by some accident left the poor dog behind him on the quay, proceeded to his own house in England, and never expected again to see him. Sitting some weeks afterwards by his fireside in London, he heard something scratch the door, and on opening it, to his great pleasure and surprise, in came the dog, who, it appears,

finding his master had deserted him, had contrived to get aboard another packet, and followed him to London. Mr. Taylor has collected a great variety of anecdotes of the sagacity of this faithful animal.

I shall relate one of a cock, which happened near Rotterdam during the stay of my grandfather there, with a descendant of Mr. Furly, in the time of the floods, about the year 1740, and probably that very year, after the breaking up of the long frost. The inundation having broken down several of the dams, rushed through the broken dykes, and filled the marshes and farm yards of Holland with water, so that in one place the people were forced to live a long time in the garrets; a cock in one of the farms, finding his feathery comrades drowning apace, and incapable to fly away from the watery waste around him, very cleverly got into a large bowl, which had some barley in it, and which had stood in the farm yard; in this he floated as in a boat, and having food aboard, lived as comfortably, as Noah in the ark, till the waters subsided, and landed him again on the ground.

Mr. Loeke was subject, as it appears from some of his writings, to a trifling disorder of mind, which consisted in the ginging of some particular verse, which he had heard in the morning, in his head all day. He was also subject to hear false voices call, and to fancy the sound of distant bells: but what haunted him most was the troop of hideous faces which passed by his face in the darkness of the night as he lay in bed, in pageant rows, and were for ever changing their ugly forms: he describes these nervous affections with great accuracy, and in his book on the Conduct of the Understanding, has given some directions for remedying them. It is probable that most literary men, and persons of sedentary and studious habits, are subject to these phantoms. I have already described their causes.

Mr. Locke does not appear to have been attached to the learned sciences, with the exception of metaphysics ; for, though some of the greatest discoveries in astronomy and natural history were made in his time, we do not find him even so much as allude to them. Among the number of remarkable events of the kind which took place in Locke's days, may be reckoned the prodigiously large comet of 1680, which was observed so accurately by Sir Isaac Newton. Nor was the great comet of 1688 less remarkable, being calculated, and its return afterwards predicted by Dr. Halley, which accordingly took place in 1759, and will, according to calculation, reappear in 1833. It is remarkable that this, like many other great comets, has always been preceded by fierce cold winters ; and hot summers have attended and followed it, together with some prevalent pestilential disease. * Locke, however, took no notice of these things.

For medicine, his original profession, he had very little respect ; indeed, from some ludicrous and sarcastic, and truly witty letters of his to his friend, which I have by me, but which in these days of absurd refinement one could not well publish, he seems to have held physicians and empirics, in no small degree of contempt ; and he seems very early in his career to have left his calling in disgust, and to have been much occupied all his life with metaphysics and politics. He appears to have had a vast predilection for the Quakers, to have defended them against persecution, and to have laboured incessantly, together with Algernon Sidney and Lord Shaftesbury, his great friends and correspondents, to establish civil and religious liberty in Europe.

It should have been previously noticed, that the letters of

* See my work on "Epidemic Diseases," 8vo. second edition, p. 170, wherein I have given a catalogue of several hundred Comets, together with the weather, volcanoes, earthquakes, and diseases that have accompanied them.

Locke to Mr. Clarke and Dr. Sloane, are from the originals preserved in the British Museum, Sloane MSS. Nos. 4290 and 4052.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

According to Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary the date of Algernon Sidney's birth is not ascertained with accuracy, some writers fixing it to 1617, and others to 1622. In either case he was nearly sixty when the letters contained in this volume were written: they are entirely on business, and prove the patriot to have been far from inattentive to the affairs of his private fortune, and the circumstances which were likely to influence it.

At the period of his penning, in 1677, the first letter now published, his father the Earl of Leicester's death had just occasioned his return to England, for the first time since the Restoration. It was in the year previous to that great change that Colonel Sidney (as he was then called) had been sent by the Council of state, as Envoy to Denmark, and had penned, in the Album of the University of Copenhagen, the memorable distich:

——Manus hæc inimica tyrannis

Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

At the Restoration, Sidney would not personally accept of the oblivion and indemnity then generally granted; but, on his father's death, he returned home, and obtained from the king a particular pardon. This permission proved fatal to him: for from the connections which he had formed in France, he was induced to oppose strongly the French war then pressed by parliament — was thus drawn again in the vortex of politics, and

led to the painful, but immortalizing catastrophe of 1683.

Algernon Sidney is well known to have possessed a large silver cup or goblet, used on convivial occasions, for drinking all round. On his death it was bequeathed to Mr. Furly, from whom it descended to the family of the author. As the reader may be curious to know its form, we have given in the frontispiece an accurate figure of it, being about eight inches in height. It is inscribed :

“ THE GIFT OF COLONEL ALGERNON SIDNEY.”

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

The letters of the Earl of Shaftesbury record and illustrate several events of importance ; and to those interested in the proper estimation of his character, they will furnish more information than it is believed they have hitherto possessed. They will be found to throw considerable light on his religious sentiments ; and they exhibit him in the amiable attitude of the guardian and patron of an adopted youth, the success of whose fortunes he endeavours to forward with all the anxiety of a natural parent ; and, at the same time, employs the talents of his superior mind in the regulation of young Wilkinson’s studies, and in the formation of his moral character. By these letters, the character of the sceptic Shaftesbury, as he has been usually esteemed, will, it is imagined, be considerably vindicated. The letters extend over a period of above twenty years, commencing in 1691, when he was twenty years of age, and continuing until near the period when a premature decay terminated his life. His lordship was born at Exeter House, in the Strand, February 26, 1671 ; and died at Naples, February 4, 1712-13. His visits to Holland, and residence in that country, for a considerable period, are leading features of his history ; Mr. Furly, to

whom these letters are addressed, was the principal friend he made there.

BENJAMIN FURLY,*

The friend of Mr. Locke, was a merchant at Rotterdam, born 13th April, 1636, a man of considerable learning, and engaged with George Fox and John Stubbs, in the publication of "A Battle Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural, *You to Many*, and *Thou to One*:" the Chaldee, Syriac, Welsh, and French Battle Doors being written by him. He possessed a very large and curious collection of books, which were sold by auction, at Rotterdam, in 1714, "in ædibus defuncti, in Plateâ vulgo dictâ Haringvliet." The Catalogue, entitled "Bibliotheca Furliana," contains, among other rare books, "Liber Sententiarum; Pergamino nitide inscriptus, et inter duas laminas ligneas compactus; ipsum Autographum scriptum est; et ubique subscriptum manu Notariorum Inquisitionis, inchoatæ cum anno Christi MCCVII, ad annum MCCXXII usque, Indicîisque indubitatis constat esse authenticum exemplar, ex archivis Inquisitionis Tholosanæ depromptum. Ipsæ Sententiæ, quantum ex characteris similitudine colligi potest, scriptæ sunt manu *Petri de Claveriis*, usque ad Sermonem octavum, qui incipit fol. 97. Reliqua Libri pars ad finem usque scripta est manu *Guilihelmi Juliani*; sententiis ubique fermè subscripsit *Jacobus Marquesius*; Liber omnium rarissimorum rarissimus, et quantivis pretii." This was bought in, and afterwards sold by his second son, John Furdy, to Archbishop Secker, for the British Museum.

* The name has unfortunately been misprinted Furley throughout this volume, the printer having been misled by an engraved writing-copy in which it was so spelt.

Benjamin Furly left three sons: Benjohan, born 6th January, 1681, one of whose daughters, Dorothy, born 2d July, 1710, married Thomas Forster, father of the late Edward Forster;* John, who left a family; and Arent, who, I believe, died unmarried. Benjohan and John were merchants; Arent was Secretary to Charles, Earl of Peterborough, General and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Land Forces, serving in the Expedition against Spain; several of the orders dated in the Camp before Barcelona, in 1705, are countersigned by Arent Furley: who it is clear, must have left the Quakers before he could have accompanied Lord Peterborough. (See the note in p. 159.)

On the whole, it is hoped that the Correspondence contained in this volume cannot fail to interest the public, particularly at a time when the political labours, begun by these powerful defenders of the cause of freedom, seem at last likely to be brought to a happy close in the enlightened and improving age in which our lot is cast.

Boreham, March 31, 1830.

* This is the Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, to whom I have alluded in the early part of this Preface, as being my grandfather. He descended from the ancient family of Forster, formerly of Bamborough Castle, in Northumberland, so frequently alluded to in the History of England, and a relation of General Forster, who headed the army in favour of the Stuarts in 1715. Mr. Edward Forster married Susanna Furney, descended from an ancient and respectable family in Gloucestershire, by whom he had issue three sons: my father, whose name was Thomas Furly; Benjamin Meggot, and Edward, the joint authors of the Botanical Notices in Mr. Gough's Edition of Camden's Britannia, and of several publications on the subject of Botany.

LETTERS
OF
JOHN LOCKE
AND OTHERS.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF

JOHN LOCKE, ALGERNON SIDNEY,
LORD SHAFTESBURY,
AND OTHERS.

LETTER I. ALGERN. SIDNEY TO B. FURLEY.

LEICESTER HOUSE, NOV. 29, 1677.

You will be surprised perhaps, my dear friend, to see a letter of mine dated from hence, but not at all to find that very soon after my arrival I enquired of you, and was very glad to hear you were very well in body and estate, not doubting but you are far better in that which is more important than both.

I can give you no other account of my return, than that my desire of being and rendering some service unto my old father, persuaded me to ask leave to come over; and, living in a world subject to all manner of changes, easily received a grant of that which I could not formerly have obtained, but, my father being dead within six weeks after my arrival *, I have no other business here than to clear some small

* Robert, the second Earl of Leicester, was born Nov. 2, 1677.

contests that are grown between one of my brothers and me concerning that which he hath left me, and, if it please God to give success unto my endeavours in composing them, I shall have nothing relating unto this world so much at heart, as the desire of retiring from hence, without any thought of ever returning, and carrying with me that which may be sufficient to purchase a convenient habitation in Gascony, not far from Bordeaux, where I may in quiet finish those days that God hath appointed for me. That I may receive your advice and assistance in compassing this, it is good that I let you know my father hath left me a considerable sum of money, of which some part is in ready coin, and more in such hands as I think will readily pay it: and my intention being to send it over seas as it comes in, that it or part of it may be more ready to employ in such a purchase as I hope to make, I would willingly know where it would be safe, and in the mean time yield me a reasonable increase. I know few that understand such matters better than you do, and none that I can trust so much; wherefore I desire you to let me know your opinion of this matter, and particularly whether the exchange from hence unto Holland be now favourable unto me or not, and whether I shall have more for my money, if I send it immediately to Paris or Bordeaux, or sending it first to you draw it to Paris when I shall have occasion to use it. You will oblige me, if you let me know your thoughts of this as soon as you can with convenience,

Your truly affect. friend, AL. SYDNEY.

To B. Furly, Op den Scheepsmaker's Haven, tot Rotterdam.

LETTER II. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

LON. JAN. 29 [1677—8]

Yours of the 18th of this month, new style, came not to my hands until the 26th according to the old style, which for a while had made me doubt the miscarriage of mine, wherein I had enclosed the letters of exchange; which being safe, all is well as to that point. The reasons, that had persuaded me to think of passing the rest of my life in the place mentioned unto you, I do verily believe to be true, and how weaksoever man is, he doth not ordinarily run into great mistakes, when he hath time and opportunity to examine the matter he is to judge of, and no passion to sway him; and I am sure I am exempted from the last, as I am that I have had sufficient leisure for the first. I hear, as well as other men, that which is said concerning the war, and think it no hard matter to learn as much as most other, or perhaps I may say, as any know, and yet truly I am no ways able to give a judgement whether we shall have war or not. True it is that the king, in his speech yesterday to the Parliament, did speak of it as a thing not to be avoided, and yet from his demands for the carrying it on having been so vast, that the nation, as is thought, can hardly bear the charge on the one side; and the discovery, what hath been easily made, that the thing itself is not pleasing to the parliament and people, was believed, on the other; some, that are thought to understand this business well enough do think that all will end in a good peace, or at the least a truce, that will in the end certainly produce it. I am exceedingly pleased

with the acquaintance you have given me occasion to begin with your friend, and will cultivate it as well as I can. I am

Your truly affect. friend.

LETTER III. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

LON. APR. 3, 1678

I did not fail to let you know, as I remember, by the first post, after I had received the bills of exchange you sent me, that they were come safe unto my hands; but by what I learn from your friend and mine, William Penn, I find my letter miscarried, and therefore am obliged again to tell you that all goes well as to that point. I had the first bills; John Swinton had them accepted, and I presume they will be paid in due time, but I never had the second. I think I may have occasion within this fortnight of sending you some more money if you have any way of employing it, and might make it two or three thousand pounds between this and midsummer, if I were encouraged; but confess I cannot ground much as to the ways of employing it, by any assurance I can gain of war or peace; for I am as much in the dark as ever, in as much as concerns that matter, but whereas the most important point, three months ago, seemed to depend upon the resolutions that should be taken here, I now incline to believe it will rather be determined in Holland; for, if true, as is here reported, that the States seem very averse to the continuance of the war, either through the secret negociations with the French, antient and new jealousies of the two Houses of Stewart and Nassau, or other rea-

sons, so as not to enter into the alliance lately made by Van Conningham, and to resolve upon peace, which if they do, the rest of the Confederates must yield, and make it as well as they can; and, if you find this to be the state of things in the place where you are, you may look upon peace as a thing certain, and order your affairs accordingly; and the contrary if you find the contrary; so, as my opinions must entirely depend upon these iffs, I cannot go farther.

The Earl of Pembroke was yesterday tried for the death of Cony; six of the peers found him guilty of murder, eighteen not guilty, and about forty found him guilty of manslaughter, which sentence stands. *

Your friends seem to have succeeded well the last week, before the Committee of the House of Commons, as to being distinguished from papists, and it is hoped that if the House sit long enough to perfect that business, they will find ways of exempting them from the penalties of the laws made against those that in no degree resemble them; never the less I find many Parliament men very bitter upon them in private conversations, as I think without knowing why, and therefore perhaps the more I desire you to let me know by the first your

* The murdered was Nathaniel Cony, whom the Earl struck with his fist, and otherwise assaulted, on February the 4th, and death ensued on the 10th. The fellow escaped punishment by pleading his then privilege of peerage; he died in 1683.

opinion as to the present ways of employing money, for my Father hath left me some at interest, which I call in, no ways liking it; and if I live upon the main stock, it will soon come to nothing. You must also have a consideration for yourself, and I desire to know how you will have it.

I am,

Your truly affect. friend,

AL. S.

LETTER IV. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

LON. AUG. 9, 1678

That which hath fallen out of late at Nimeguen, is, as I presume, so well understood by you, that if you know we were well enough confirmed before hand to be confident it would be done, I need give you no other reason for remitting no money at present, for the only advantage that was expected being that the exchange would fall, if there were a war, I could not but think that if the peace were made, as I did believe it would be, the exchange would still rise; so, as I could not have my money back again but with as much loss, I had rather it should lie idle than send it upon such terms. The greatest businesses now in Europe depend upon your neighbours' resolutions; for if they adhere to the treaty signed, I am confident the peace will be general in this part of the world, till some new troublesome heads start up to disturb it, and no man I think can express or conceive the troubles that will arise on all sides, if the contrary fall out. We that are here, and quiet-minded

men, hope the best, and do not see what is likely to bring on the contrary; but the world is governed in such a manner that the most unprobable things are those that often fall out, and we can be sure of nothing but what we do already see. I think in a few days to see our friend William Penn in his own house and shortly after to return again hither. Pray do not forget to buy me the best and warmest Indian gown that you can find, which I presume will be had at Amsterdam. Perhaps you may at the same place hear of that spirit of cinnamon that you sent me once into France, and I should be glad to have as much more now, if I could have that which is right and good, but I hear there is knavery in that business as well as in many others, and the way of sending the last with oil on the top was good to preserve it, but I never found a way so to take it off, but it mixed with the spirit, and spoiled the taste, smell, and operation.

I am

Your most truly affect. friend,

A. S.

LETTER V. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

[EXTRACT]

JAN. 31, 1678—9.

We are here full of expectations of what the new Parliament will produce, if it sit, but that is very uncertain. It is generally thought, men will be chosen every where that are averse to the Court, but some think those may come in, who are more favourable to nonconformists, but I do not, seeing

the same spirit still rules, that is as full of bitterness towards them as ever.

I am,

your most truly affect. friend,

A. S.

to BEN. FURLEY.

LETTER. VI SIDNEY to FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

London, Mar. 9, 1678—9.

I am in some haste and have time only to tell you I have received the bills of exchange, and they are accepted. The rates were somewhat otherwise than here we thought the exchange had been, and if you found some extraordinary momentary accident, it might have been kept until another post, or sent by the ways of Hamburg or Paris, as I told you. There is a small remainder of account that may be sent with that which you are to receive upon the two bills I know you endorsed, which I did forget when I sent you the first,

I am

Your truly affect. friend*.

BEN. FURLEY.

* This Letter is thus indorsed, in an unknown hand, probably by Mr. Furley: "This Letter was writ with the own hand of that Honorable patriot Colonel Algernon Sydney, who

LETTER. VII SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND.

LONDON, MARCH 23. 1678—9

I am not like your other correspondents, so busy in hunting money that I could not have leisure to write to you of matters: the truth is, letters are so often opened, that no man in his senses will write any thing that is not fit for the public view, and that which is so, every man sees in the public papers.

I make no doubt but the proceedings of this parliament amaze all people abroad, and believe every day will produce something new beyond what you have heard. Yesterday, the Lords appointed the Black Rod to take the Earl of Danby into custody, who immediately went to his lodgings at Whitehall, to seek him, but found him not, and I believe he will think it a point of prudence not to appear. The King's pardon is found defective in every point, but though all the forms had been observed, the House of Commons doth not acknowledge that it could exempt one impeached by them from being brought to justice. It is said, he shall be attended if he fly.

was made a sacrifice for his country by Charles 2, and his mercenary Ld. Chief Justice Jeffreyes."

I believe the next work will be concerning Lauderdale, and that never men were pitied in their fall less than they will be.

The business of G. Roberts is certainly naught in all extremity, and the reputation Mead and Osgood had in your society will make it prove of more prejudice unto the whole, than the gain they make can be of advantage unto themselves. All that I can now expect is by W. Penn his interposition to get my money with the loss of three or four score pounds, and to be paid I know not when.

Yesterday Mr. Foot met me, and desired when I writ next unto you, to mind you of the book, which was hoped might have been printed before this time. I see he and others are of opinion it might now be done here, the Act for restraining the press being expired; and the care he would take to oversee the press might abate the expense, and thinks the paper that was bought may be put off with little or no loss. I am,

Your truly affect. friend,

AL. SIDNEY.

LETTER VIII. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

LONDON, MAY 14, 1679.

The mares that I desired of you were for the Earl of Essex, and he still desires them, if you have a friend that will be careful in having them well chosen. I confess myself surprised to hear your friend speak of 800 guilders for each of them: I have had as good as I think the country ever produced, which did not cost above so much the pair; nevertheless I do not in-

tend to stint you in the price. He desires to have those that are very fine and good. I make no doubt but you will choose a man that shall do it faithfully, and when it is done, you may draw a bill of exchange upon me for the money. I do not find that things go so ill as is thought, though the intention may be as ill as can be imagined.

We presume the parliament on Monday will be again prorogued until the beginning of July.

The Court is at Windsor, and the King comes hither only once a week to be at Council; for that end he was here one Wednesday; and, returning in the evening to Windsor, he was in the night taken with a great shivering, which in a jealous time gave many various thoughts, but it is believed only to be an ague, and the fit went off yesterday by noon. I am

Your truly affect. friend.

A. S.

I desire to have the mares as soon as may be, to have them covered this year.

BEN. FURLY.

LETTER IX. SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

LON. OCT. 15, 1679.

The three mares arrived at London on Wednesday, and were brought hither yesterday. Though they had been twelve or fourteen days at sea, and are very weary and weak, I make no doubt but they will be soon recovered, and I make nothing at all of it; but I could have wished there had been a little more care taken in choosing them, for they are indeed

very ordinary ones, and I have seen better rendered at London, without any charge at all, at forty pounds the pair. It is not to much purpose to bid me stay till they are in flesh before I give my judgment, for the beauty consists principally in their heads and necks, which is best seen when they are leanest. I know not what will be accounted for their passage, but such as are versed in those matters say it had been as good to have expressed in the bill of lading, the sum that was to have been given. We are here in the strangest confusion that I ever remember to have seen in English business. There never was more intrigues, and less truth. The King hath been extremely pressed to send away the Duke, but no resolution is yet taken. The approaching session of Parliament is like to be very turbulent, and none less than a prophet can tell what will be the issue of it. Things are so entangled, that liberty of language is almost lost; and no man knows how to speak of any thing, lest he that is spoken unto may be of a party contrary unto him, and that endeavours to overthrow what he would set up. This shews we are in the dark! perhaps a few days may give us light. I am,

Your truly affect. Friend.

TO BEN FURLY.

A. S.

LETTER X, SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

A PROPHECY OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR.

The Lily [Kings of France] shall remain in the best part and enter the land of the Lion, Holland wanting all help

because none *** of his own kingdom shall with their teeth tear his skin, and shall stand in the field amongst the *** of his kingdom. From above the son of man, king of England, shall with a great army parting the waters carrying in *** beasts whose kingdom is in the land of ***, be feared through the world. The eagle shall come from the east part with his wings spread above**** with a great multitude of people to help the son of man. That year castles shall be left desolate, and great fear shall be in the world. And certain parts of the Lion then shall be**** many kings, and there shall be a deluge of blood. The Lily shall lose his crown, with which the son of man shall be crowned and four years following there will be in the world many battles amongst the followers of faith, the greatest part of the world shall be destroyed, the head of the world shall fall to the ground, the son of man and the eagle shall fight and then there shall be peace over all the world and the son of man shall take the wonderful sign and pass to the land of promise.*

* I found this "Prophecy of Saint Thomas the Martyr" among Sidney's papers, and in his handwriting. Mr. Furley, from whom these papers came into the possession of Mr. E. Forster, my grandfather, writes under it as follows:

"This was sent to me, Benjamin Furly, by Algernon Sydney from Montpellier in France in the year 1686 in his own hand writing. I caused to be printed in Dutch and English 23 years afterwards. —Benjamin Furly."

I have never seen a copy of this prophecy, as printed by Furly; nor can I give the reader any information concerning

LETTER XI. JOHN LOCKE to FURLEY.

26 December (1686).

After my hearty commendations of the sheep to your memory, these are to acknowledge that I am indebted to you for

it: but I extract the following from Vol. II, page 247 of *VITA SANCTI THOMÆ CANTUARIENSIS* a most valuable collector of original Latin documents lately published by my friend Dr. Giles: “Anno a creatione mundi sex millibus quingentis LXXXVII annis, Liliū regnans in nobili parte mundi movebitur contra semen leonis, et veniet in terram leonis, et stabit in agro inter spinas regionis illius. Tunc filius homini veniet ferens tres feras in brachio, ejus regnum est in terra lunæ. Cum magno exercitu transibit aquas, et ingredietur in terram leonis earentis auxilio, quia bestię regionis suę pellem suam dilaceraverunt. Illo anno veniet aquila a parte orientali, alis extensis sub sole, cum multitudine pulorum suorum, in adiutorium filii hominis. Illo anno multa castra destruentur: terror magnus erit in mundo; et in quadam parte leonis erit bellum inter plures reges. Illa die erit diluvium sanguinis et liliū perdet coronam, de qua postea filius hominis coronabitur. Per quatuor annos sequentes fient in mundo prælia multa inter fidem tenentes, et major pars mundi destruetur. Caput mundi erit in terram declinatum. Sed filius hominis eum aquila prævalebit. Tunc erit pax in toto orbe terrarum et copia frugum. Et tunc filius hominis admirabile signum sumens transibit ad terram promissionis, quia primo causę promissa tunc adimpleta permanebunt. Aquila est imperator: Filius hominis est rex noster: Liliū est rex Franciæ: Leo est dux Burgundionum et dictus rex noster habet dictam aquilam cum ampulla. T.F.

two long, two kind, and two pleasant letters. Count not this, as if you had been lately at the Hague, for six, when I mean but two in all.

I find by yours of the 23rd, that our thoughts chime as well at a distance as when we are together; and that you and I were thinking and writing of our Commissioner about the same time. If when the fellow's head ran against the post, good wits jumped, what wits, I pray, are we both, whose heads run at the same time against the same post? Think not that I use the term post here, with any the least design of derogating from the work of our author: for methinks all authors may for some quality or other be termed post, some for their uprightness, some for their stiffness, and others for some other qualities that shall be nameless.

Another thing I observe from that letter is, that the quicker a man writes the slower others read what he has written; this being a remark that may concern the writers of books, as well as letters, you may do well to put into our next letter of advice to our learned author. And now I come to the parts of that letter itself, and therein I shall begin with the latter end first, by a figure of elegance, called hysteronproteron, a certain sort of leapfrog of use among the learned, whereby they can, when the matter in hand so requires, make a Bishop, as grave as he is, who appeared not on the stage till Charles the Fifth's days, leap over the heads of all those who lived before quite as far as to Charlemagne. He that can do this, I think, may well deserve the reputation of a good jumper.

Could you be so silly as to imagine that you could subdue our

Doctor Colonel with a paper popgun, though charged to the muzzle? To which side pray did you apply your battery? Did you expect to penetrate the warrier side on which the sword hangs, or the learned side, armed with an inkhorn? Had you made the reflection you ought, you must needs have concluded him

In warlike scuffle most audacious,
And with his pen most pervincacious.*

Is it possible it should enter into your mazard, unless it have a crack in it; that you should take in an ancient monument of prowess, that has so many times stood the brunt of pen and pistol, and can still, without flinching, bid defiance to all your rhyme and reason, and that he should surrender himself to your bare summons?

Could you expect that a man that will not give himself for the washing, should sit still and let you pull his skin over his ears, that you might make a new man of him?

Authors, I mean Colonell authors, at the head of their parties, as easily part with their skins as with their styles, their ways of reasoning, or the least of their assertions. The madness, wherewith you expected to work such a miracle, deserves a

* This part of the letter evidently alludes to some of those numerous writers on the subject of heretical Christianity, who swarmed in the time of Locke, in England and in Holland, and who were often the founders and supporters of new and fantastical sects.

dipping, and no doubt the Colonel, who is expert at it, would do you this kindness. But whether, when he had you under water, he would not clap his hand upon your head, and, according to the method of his brother Doctor of Scotland, keep you there till he were perfectly assured of your being tamed, I leave you to consider.

In the middle of your career with your man of war or man of God, (choose you whether;) you bring me into the broil, and require me to answer concerning the Directory, whether guilty or not guilty? Truly, friend, having always thought that travelling to Heaven by a Directory was even as reasonable as to sail to the Canaries by a land map, I have not much made use of these waywisers, and so may be excused if I say nothing to your so peremptory demand. But this, I think, I may say safely upon the matter between you and your author, that, whether or no, according to the Directorian scheme, the water of Baptism washes away sin, our diver will be nevertheless in the suds, the argument you use sticking still as fast as birdlime.*

That sixteen or seventeen false quotations may pass amongst so many hundred good ones is spoke, methinks, like an old

*This letter is quite in Locke's style of goodhumored banter, and seems directed against some attempt of Mr. Furley, who advocated the cause of the people of the "Lanterne," probably Quakers, against some Baptist, as it would seem, of those times. I have by me a collection of very curious tracts of the Quakers, of the period to which this letter refers,

soldier; but, if he were new a commander in England or France, I am afraid it would go hard with him for false musters, and the greatest part of his regiment would be found to be but mere men of clouts, that, amounting to a great number in shew at a distance, would amount to a very few when it came to a close engagement.

But to leave him and come to the Irish, which, methinks, is much the better understanding. I am very sorry, when you were advanced so far, that you were hindred from coming to a conclusion, for you went on very steadily, and that track you were in must needs have brought you to the very center of the matter; when you see him next, I hope you will remember where you left off, and beginning from thence again take the two or three remaining steps, which are as many as need, to lead your man to Pisgay or a precipice.

You wish me with you, and desire I should make haste, and so do I too, but I doubt whether you would be of the same mind if you knew one of my reasons. A cask of rum, an

some bearing the most whimsical titles, according to the fashion of that age. By these I find that a perpetual paper war was carried on between this then increasing fraternity, and other sects. The Quakers seem, however, to have been shamefully persecuted at that period by the Church of England; and so great was the fear of liberty of Conscience, that the poor harmless Friends were fined and imprisoned for the exercise of their religion, more perhaps than any other sect in the country and that too at a time when the pretended right of private judgement was most vaunted.

hogshead of cyder, and, without doubt, every now and then a bottle of wine, or a zopie among us, for a more effectual remedy against phlegmatic humors and rainy weather; this, I suspect, in my absence will make brave work, and heresy will rise up apace in the Lanterne when so watered, and the mischief is I cannot find any one to make my deputy overseer. Our old master and you will, I know, be at it with t'other glassie, and our mistress, though she will not partake, yet will stand by, clap her hands, and encourage you to it; for my part I think I were best make Arent my vice governor, who may often repeat to you his wil ghy wel laeten.

I see not that you need be so much troubled about the ducks, how to keep them; 'tis but letting the tide come into your pack-house, and there will be a pond of course, and water enough; 'tis but now and then throwing in a little meat to them; pray, when you send them, let the folk know the pains I have taken to procure them, and how often I have preached to, rallied, and dunned the poor little Scotchman for them, so that I know not whether by persecution of him I have not driven him at last to steal them; but that is no matter, as long as they have them: the ducks will neither breed nor look the worse for that.

I am troubled about poor Colhans. The book, called *RECUEIL DES DIVERSES PIECES CONCERNANT LE QUIETISME &c.* I have got for you, and thought to have sent it to day, but it being misfolded, it must be a little reformed by the bookbinder, and so stay till next time.

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Furly, to our good friend, and all the assembly in the Lanterne. The inclosed is for my little friend, both as a token of remembrance from me, and as an item for him to shew you what you deserve when you meddle with your zopies[Pig-tails].

I am, dear friend, yours,

J. L.

I have just now received the three crevats and a 3rd letter for which I thank you; the water both in the Tye and on the land side of the town is exceeding high. If it should get into the town, I know not but you must come with a boat and fetch me from Dr. Guenellon's as soon as you hear it. Without jesting, if this north-west wind continue, there will be danger.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmaker's Haven, in Rotterdam.

LETTER XII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

29 DEC. [1686]

Cato could not make a speech without putting in "Delenda est Carthago," nor can I write a letter without putting in "Let us get rid of the Sheep" And now to your welcome letter of the 28th, wherein though I find nothing which I can deny to be so as you say, yet I cannot approve your sending such hard morsels to break an old man's teeth, who, I can assure you, has another use of them. Methinks you should have let the year have ended in peace, and not have

knocked an old officer in the head with blunt downright truths, against the which the art of fencing is not provided. I fear this second seasoning you have sent him will spoil his Christmas cheer, for your ingredients are very strong, and the dose something of the largest. What! purge away all the quotations of all the three books at once. This will as certainly kill him, as it does one swollen with the dropsy to take away all other superfluous humors at once, which, though they make the greatest part of the man's bulk, yet add no real strength to the body. Our champion, covered with so thick a shell of armour of quotations upon quotations, (for he was more than "clipei septemplicis Ajax,") no doubt thought himself canon-proof. But you, wretch that you are, would strip him of all these covers, and then set him to combat in *cuerpo*; no, I thank you, his long experience in the art of war has taught him better, and he knows what convenience it is to be some way or other canon-proof.

Make sure of it therefore that, do what you can, he will not part with them, nor let the next edition dwindle into so diminutive a size of bulk and learning as you would have it. 'Tis as tolerable for a Colonel to appear in the field with but three or four soldiers after him, as for a man of reading and leader of a party to appear in print without a whole regiment of quotations, whether to purpose or no it matters not: the squadron is however full, and the appearance redoubtable; for as to effective, every one cannot distinguish betwixt which is a man, and which a scarecrow. You are a sly gent., and in this affair would have made me a party, by

asking me so peremptorily in your last letter whether guilty or not guilty. But whether guilty or not guilty in the case, *Quid hoc ad Iphicli boves?* You must know that this same Iphielus was a Colonel, and that boves here signifies bulls. For the boy was mistaken that thought there were not bulls too as well as oxen of men's making. But give me leave to advertise you that you are a little mistaken, when you think that you and I jump so just in our thoughts concerning your author, since you think worth the refuting what I think not worth the reading. I confess you have pretty well suited him to the season; for this is the time for Christmas tales, whose truth men never examine. I am very sorry that the harp was taken out of your hand when it was so well in tune. I imagine if you had been let alone you had made good music. When you get him again, be sure by the same degrees to wind him up to the same pitch, and then have out the rest of the song.

I have been with Wetstein: he says those books are not to be gotten. I asked the names of them, and find that one of them is in that collection concerning the Quietists, which I intend to send or bring you. If your man of Cork understands French, this is for your turn; and if you desire it, I will send it by the first, but the fault in the binding is not yet mended.

I am glad that Colhans is safe, and our friend better. As a cordial to perfect his recovery, I must tell him that his friend Greetz wishes it him heartily; she is in the next room, whilst I am writing this, and I intend that, as soon as I have

done, she shall sing the Botterbloem. As to your ducks and drink below stairs, I have not now time to enlarge upon those matters. Only I must vindicate myself to my little friend Toety, whom you must tell that I know he is Loet, and therefore that that boy there is Broer Jan, or Broer Benny, but that which I send here is Toety to himself.

I wish you a happy end of this, and an increase of what you wish yourself the year that is coming, and so good night.

I am Your most affectionate friend,

J. L.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Furley our friend and the young ones, especially Arent.

LETTER XIII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

20 FEB. 1687.

Bank money is here at $4\frac{7}{8}$: if you can have so much for it there, draw on Dr. Peter Gueneillon for 15,000 guilders in bank, and make your bill or bills payable at as short view as you please; nay, if you cannot get $4\frac{7}{8}$ take 4 and $\frac{6}{8}$ rather than fail, for it will be less trouble than to get the bank money sold here, and then draw it in current money thither, But pray let me hear from you about it as soon as you can, that I may know what to resolve in it; for there is no thing that now stays me here but the weather, and graving of the plate, which, do what I could, I could not get the graver to begin upon till to-day. I press it with all my might, that I

may get it done with all speed, so that I may have some copies of it printed whilst I am here; pray, therefore, send me word what number you will have printed and upon what sort of paper, for then I will get ink and paper in a readiness to have it done, as soon as ever it is graved, and bring both copies and plate along with me.

Your story of Master Peter confirms my former opinion of the man, and when you so much commended his books, I cannot but think of Sir Philip Sidney's two verses

“ And if the man such praise must have,
What must he that keeps the knave?”

In good earnest we that lay out our money in books, have an ill bargain of it, if we are not to be thought as learned as our libraries, and if so, Master Peter is, I think, one the learnedest men within some miles of him. I pitied him in that part of the story, wherein he could not read your MS. and that for a reason which I must tell you, because you would not else think of it, and that is, that I found myself very much troubled upon the receipt of your last of 18, when I found, whatever longing I had to it, that I could not read it; however, at last I groped out the meaning of the greatest part of it, though there are some words in it still as much beyond my reach as the story of the Beguine was beyond your Rabbi's. But pray remember (when you write next) the maxim I once minded you of before, viz. that letters that are writ quick are long in reading.

Since the Colonel is gone, I am glad with you that our

MS stayed; 'tis something to comfort us in the loss of those notable discoveries we might have expected. I wish your heretical pravity and perverseness have had no hand in this tragedy. And may I not justly suspect what you call cholic, was heart-breaking? I warned you long since what effect such kind of dealing might have on an old soldier and author. Pray ask our friend what he thinks he will make in his next revolution, for in the last he made no small figure in several capacities. To be serious, this accident makes me reflect on the folly methinks it is to pudden ourselves and vex others about questions, which I imagine the change of the scene will shew us were not worth thinking on. But I will not make a funeral sermon; I do not use to preach in my letters, and do least of all intend it to you. Give my love and respect to the company in the Lanterne.

I am your very affectionate friend and servant,

J. L.

Pray if you can find any one going for England that will carry a little book of philosophy, but of four sheets, and yet has nothing in it of my affairs, do me the kindness to send me word, for I am in distress to send one of my Epitomes. It will take up no more place than a letter.

LETTER XIV. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

30 July, 1687.

One cannot take amiss the kind mistake of one's friends.

But I should be very sorry to have given any just occasion to your wife's misapprehension. Had she been better acquainted with my way of living with those I am free with, she would have known that silence, when I have no business to write, is a liberty I take with none so much as with the friends I am most assured of, and with whom I think myself past all ceremony. But, to confess the truth, in your present case I think I should have writ sooner, had I not every day expected that a letter from England would also bring me with it one from you, and that then I should have an occasion to answer. For I every day went or sent to Wetstein's, with hopes to find one there from you. This be sure, I was any thing rather than sullen; and I was so far from taking any offence, that I am not displeas'd at the opportunity of acknowledging, once for all, that I was never any where with more freedom and satisfaction. This to your wife, to whom pray give my kindest remembrance. As for yourself, if I mistake not very much, you and I are past these discourses; and therefore let me tell you, that how acute, how subtile, how learned soever you are, 'tis not you alone have the privilege to pass for a Jesuit; other people of lower rank may, I find, sometimes arrive at that honour, and, had it not been for an envious Englishman that sat at the other end of the boat, who discovered the truth, I had in my passage hither gone clear away with that reputation. This story is too long for a letter, and must be reserved to make you laugh when I come. Only I desire you to article with the Barou that he shall not pervert me when I return

again to his conversation. For being now got to be of the most orthodox society in the world, I would not be tainted with the least infection of heresy for all the gold our English chemist there is like to make. And I make account to die in this unspotted reputation would do one as much good as dying in St. Francis's own frock. It is very convenient that you take care in this affair, for I find the great desire I have to return again to the enjoyment of his and your good company will not let me be long away. Pray salute him with my most hearty and best respects, and be assured that I am, with perfect sincerity,

Your unfeigned friend and servant,

J. LOCKE.

Remember me kindly to the little ones, especially to my little friend. Bethink yourself if I can do you any service here, or for Mr. Van Helmont. I shall be glad of the occasion.

LETTER XV. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

6th Jan. 88.

'Tis not to answer your last letter, no more than your last answered mine, that I now write to you; but to keep up the correspondence, and to save you thirteen stivers, for so much the book of the Quietists cost me, which I thought it fit you should know before the ship you sent it by went away. But now I have begun, I fear it will scarce pass for a letter, if I, who have not altogether as much pretence to business as you,

should not make it a little bigger. Though I can tell you I am as busy as a hen with one chick, or our friend with his new disciple, I cannot, I confess, but envy you when I consider you in the posture you describe yourself, with the great folio on one side and the diminutive college on the other: and, since the mind of man is always hankering after sublime and difficult (not to say unintelligible) notions, I am apt to think you every now and then lend an ear to that instructive discourse, and leave for a while your processes, condemnations, prisons, and executions, to take a little fresh air in those unconfined spaces where separate souls wander at liberty. But have a care you get no more into the sling of one of these inquisitions than into the dungeons of the other; for I can tell you they are both terrible places. In truth I am a little afraid of our weewear brother, that one of these two will be his lot; for, if he gets but half way, his advance will only be into a state of darkness and instability, which as I take it is the 'sling'; or if he come to a perfect illumination, father Yvor's zeal for the Church will catch him, for I dare say that good man is no more able to endure any hæretical pravity than the Archbishop of Tholose himself. The greatest kindness, therefore, you can do your Frieslander is to turn him out of doors with all speed, and send him to our Coll. Dr. in his way home, who may take him a little into his cure, for I fancy dipping at this time of year is an approved remedy to compose a man who begins to have his head a little over warmed with these dancing sparkling ideas, which the ignorant call 'ignes fatui.' The

knight and his lady you say are gone. I am glad the trinkets are got again, and the knight is an excellent knight if he has left the book behind him; you say nothing of that in your letter; however, I presume you made use of your time. Remember to send me in your next Blanchardus's name of our Mercurius Coagulatus, and answer my last letter in all the points, or else I will conclude you are wholly taken up with the College, and are afraid this new scholar should outstrip you.

I am glad our friend is so well as to endure so much fatigue; but in these matters he has an admirable faculty of talking without much labouring his thoughts. My kind remembrance to him, to Mrs. Furley, and your young ones. This I think is enough for a man who intended only to put in "Item for Molino's book, £0. 13. 0," but I am not, you see, so good a dispatcher of accounts as you merchants.

"Necdum finitus Orestes," for the Sheep are not yet in; and I can no more write a letter without mentioning them; than a taylor can make a doublet without collar and belly-pieces; they are the chief stiffening of my epistles. Pray, therefore, when you send them, (for go they must) remember to write three or four lines to Mr. Jo. Elwill, of Exeter, to recommend them to his pastoral care, and tell him that they are for Mr. Edward Clarke, of Chipley, by whose order you consign them to him, and if they arrive not there till near their yeaning time, 'twill perhaps be advisable they should travel no further this winter.

You will do well to enquire of Hodder whether he has

not a piece of ash for you. Mr. Clarke, I remember, mentioned a good while since that he had sent a piece to Exeter for you, and methinks it should be come with this. But perhaps the seamen taking it for a collar of brawn, or some such Christmas present, ate it and so were forced, finding it somewhat dry and hard, to drink your cider to help it down. If it be so, you have no reason to bethink them your liquor; they well deserved it.

Being hindered yesterday from writing, and fearing the same might happen to me again to day, because I am to be abroad in the afternoon, I had just made an end of the above written, when in came your kind one of yesterday. I thank you for your care of the sheep and the name Senexton. As to my vessel, to increase your wonder, and put you further than ever you were by answering about the dimensions, for I see you imagine it a nutshell, I tell you that I was swimming in it, *moi sixieme*, and it would not only have held but carried a dozen or twenty more; and now go and break your heads with thinking, or your hearts with despair of not discovering what it is made of. To Toetic I send this message, that, if he continues to be stout, I will bring him nothing, and that, when I come, Jantie shall be my friend and he no more.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Sheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

LETTER XVI. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

[AMSTERDAM,] 19th JAN. 88.

'Tis not the cold weather, that freezing my fingers or my inkhorn has kept me so long from answering your kind letter of the 12th; but the thaw, which making me expect from day to day the opening of the water, I delayed writing in hopes to send something else with my letter. But since the ice is loath to be gone, and that I may not seem colder to you than the weather, 'tis time I take hammer in hand to patch up this gap in our conversation. I am glad to find you so busy in your old mine, from which you get such lusty lumps of metal; but I would not have you throw them too hard at the Colonel's head, for fear of hurting the brainpan, if they should light unluckily in the tender place, for I can tell you we authors have all of us a soft place, which will not very well bear with any thing but gentle handling. I envy your employment in that musty manuscript, which you will easily allow to be a great deal better than to wait here the leisure of drunken workmen, who have so great a reverence for the holidays, that they could not till to-day quit the Cabarets, the places of their devotion, and betake themselves to their profane callings. This attendance I have been obliged to, makes me desire you will have a little pity on our Dr. Commissioner; for it costs, as I have already told you, not a little

pains and patience to be at any rate an author, and 'tis a little uncharitable to tell one who has shot the gulf, that he has played the fool to be at all that trouble only to expose a cargo of counterfeit wares and tinsel. I confess that passage of a child of two years old, which you have met with between these wooden covers, is a stick of dry wood, and needs more than one dipping to make it pliable to his purpose, soaking itself, and wreathing as much as you will scarce do it. And I fear at last the Albigenes themselves, of whom he has made so much reckoning, will prove but heretics, that were nicknamed KAOAPOI, and never knew the true way of water purification. I am glad you have found something for satisfaction of our friend too. I hope it came to light whilst the Frieslander was there, and that he had that too away with him in his budget, for the edification of the sole Church of Christ in and out of the world, consisting of about three score and thirteen persons, by which you will see that the Church is increased since the time of Egyptian darkness. The good man is, I perceive, gone away as rich as if he had met with King Oberon in one of his highest fits of liberality. For, what think you, will it not all prove fairy treasure? and when he comes to produce it to open view, will not all the glittering gold, he goes home laden with, turn all to leaves? All the good notions our friend has put into him, will, I fear, when he has clothed them with his own language, look little better than what ignorant people call nonsense. But what had you to do

with your worldly wisdom to mind him of the register of births and marriages? What agreement had those dull and secular matters either with his new acquired illuminations, or with the discipline of a church retired out of the world? But you love to put people beside their principles, which is usually but little better than to remove a child, that has beacked himself, out of the place where, notwithstanding that, he sat quietly: whereby you make it be taken notice of that he is besh—.

Did you not know that their patriarch's example was proof enough to shew that it was not aways convenient that the times and circumstances of such fleshly matters should be left upon record, and do you think they have nothing else to do than to keep a register when "de Lameron Gods speelen." By this Dutch expression there hangs a story, which if you know not already you shall have hereafter. In the mean time pray tell my friend Toetie, that I will not change him for any other, but he must remember to be soct. I hear people every where grumble as if they suspected this approaching summer would be full of bustle; but do you mind your collections, as I am resolved to busy my thoughts about finishing my Essay "De Intellectu," et sinere res ire ut volunt; which by many years' practice I find to be the best politiques. One word of the sheep and I have done with the same, viz. that I have bought some seeds that I intended should have gone with them, but that very day the frost stopped the boats, and I know not how to send them. My kind remem-

brance and love to all chez vous.

I am, yours,

J. L.

Well jumped again, for so I see by the beginning of this and yours of the 18th, (which I have received just now,) that our thoughts have done without communication. I am so often put besides writing by company in the evenings, that, having considered how long I had been in arrear to you, I resolved this morning, before I rose, to write to you as soon as I was up, and so secure myself from farther delay and the chiding I had deserved. It proved, it seems, a little too late, but I have no reason to be very sorry for it, since your chiding has been so very gentle. Had I not certain proofs that you are PRETTY GOOD ENOUGH in your own nature, I should suspect that you handle me thus smoothly with design to draw me in to be hereticated by you. The truth is, I find you have gone a great way towards spoiling of me already; but if those you tell me are the conditions of heretication, I hope you will permit me to follow the wise example of those good people, and not to send for you to exercise that office till there is hopes of dying quickly after. I long to know what new gang this is that you have found, which we took for Waldenses, and for that as well as some other lanterne reasons, I wish the printers could dismiss me. I am told they will to-day begin to work, and then, if you are for a new sort that was never yet in the world, I may chance to hereticate you upon promise too of good behaviour; though it contain not fasting thrice a week, and some other sort of abstinences, to

which perhaps you and every one in the lantern will not so easily consent. The Doctor Colonel is I see no changling; you may beat him out of his old holes as much as you please, he cannot but return thither again; rest satisfied and assured of that, and then deal with him as you think fit. I for my part consent he should be any thing but a Commissioner again. However, pray get the Groningen Catalogue; I hear it is an excellent library, and I will endeavour to find somebody here that may buy for us any books there we desire. Such a strange beast as you mention I myself have seen in France; they are called Gimars, and it is a very laborious creature. Once more I wish you all health, quiet, and mirth, and myself with you. J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

LETTER XVII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

AMSTERDAM, 26th JANUARY, 88.

DEAR FRIEND,

Though you southern people of the Maes have so much the advantage of the neighbourhood of the sun, that the waters are open for the boats from Rotterdam hither, yet we, that lie under a colder star, are under a longer blockade, and have not yet the passage open from hence to Rotterdam. Every day since the receipt of your last letter I have sent Syl to enquire when the boats go and he has hitherto always brought me

back word "not yet;" so that, not knowing when the enchantment will be over that holds all the water out of town fast in ice, whilst all in the town is open and clear, I send you this letter to tell you that the book of the Quietists, that you sent for, has been ready ever since the receipt of your letter, and will be sent with the seeds sometime between this and midsummer, but the particular day is not marked in the almanac.

I am glad you have given up your Colonel. If you hope with dint of arguments to make impressions on such men of arms, you know not

Th' impenetrability does environ
Men that are clad all in cold iron;

and, therefore you do to my mind much better to apply yourself wholly to your old hereticks, and when you have converted one of them, or are converted by them, I will then give you leave to reform our modern author, and to hope you may persuade him not to write upon trust any more; but to publish only what he himself can produce authentique proofs of. But, if these be the laws you will set us, it will be a hard world with us authors; we shall make but poor earnings of it, for our books will not be a quarter so big, our quotations not a quarter so many, nor our learning appear a quarter so great, as in the more Christian way of writing, where faith supplies knowledge; and would it not savour a little of infidelity in one of the faithful, not to say anything for the truth but what he had plain Dunstable knowledge of; and thus to

deprive himself of all that more copious and more ready assistance that is to be had from believing?

The roast beef fasting you have found out, I advise you to keep as a secret, till you heretics of the lantern set up for yourselves, for it will be a most orthodox prevailing article, and work powerfully in those that are preordained to be converted.

The Groeningen catalogue is to be had here, but you must pay 15 stivers for it. This, methinks, is not orthodox; and therefore I shall abstain from such undue practice, unless you give me order to the contrary. 'Tis the biggest catalogue I ever yet saw; it has above 600 pages in 8vo, printed as close as Heysius's catalogue was. I have borrowed one of a friend, who has also promised me a commissioner that is not an author, if I have a mind to have any of the books bought for me.

As to the news you send me, I know nothing can be done, after such a reprimand and such misdemeanors, but to put in Marc Coleman's petition. If you think I have not discretion enough to govern myself, I desire discretion may be put into me. I find it not at all talked of here. I have set your friends in England a gaping for the ducks, as well as mine for the sheep, therefore you were best look to it: but not half so much as a certain writer from Rotterdam has set several a gaping about a pardon, for 'tis not he alone whom you mention in a former letter, but here are others too that are at a loss and inquisitive about it, to whom it would be accept-

able to receive some further and more particular notice. Pray, therefore, if you know anything more concerning that matter send me word in your next.

If you had asked me where the best chocolate is to be got in London, I should answer you, where the Devil had the friar, even where you could find it, but to Joanna and Rachel you must say that I had formerly a friend there, that made it very well, and just as I directed; but now she is dead I could no more tell where to find the best than the greatest stranger there. Pray tell them that I am sorry I cannot do them the service I would in this affair.

As to your yellow copies, I have been seeking out the best way I could find to furnish you. After several gravers talked of, that which I thought the most ready and best way was to speak with one Hogeboom, who is both a writing-master and the graver of his own copies, whereof Syl tells me you have a book; him I went this afternoon to speak with, but our directions having failed us which were given to find his house, the rain, after having wandered and enquired some time in vain, beat me off. Syl, whom I left to search further, brings me word he has found his house, that the man has been sick these eight days and is not to be spoken with. In your next, send me word whether you would only have some copies of an old plate, if I can light on one to our purpose, or whether you think it better to have one graved on purpose and what bigness you would have the letters of. So much to yours of the 21st.

To what you demand in yours of the 19th, I cannot tell, nor learn where your friend Petrus Johannis found the change-ment of that text in St. Matthew; but, if you desire to know where proofs are to be had of several alterations that have been made in the Gospels, you need but look into “Defense des Sentimens de quelques Theologiens, &c. p. 535, &c. The book is about the bigness of Lily’s Grammar; you will find it amongst the books in my chamber, bound in vellum. But, concerning your manuscript, pray tell me how long shall you have the keeping of it; for I must have my time with it too, therefore part not with it till I come. I suppose to-morrow there will be one sheet printed of my works, and there being but four in all, I hope, now their hands are in, they will go on roundly, and not make me wait much longer. I fear you mistook concerning the name of our Mercurius Coagulatus, in Blanchardus. I have borrowed his praxis, and found his Xenexton, which is the same with Van Helmont’s, being an amulet against the plague, consisting of the powder of toads.

Poor Wetstein hopes, by your assistance, which he begs, to have the intercession of the Governor of Pennsylvania to help him out of the briars. His case you will find here in-closed. He begs you would by this Tuesday’s post write to him to give his helping hand, and send your letter to his brother, according to the address you will find in his paper here in-closed, who may deliver it, if there be occasion, to our friend W. P[enn,] and inform him in the present state of the

affair with all the circumstances. It seems a very hard case upon him as he has stated it, and I know you are always ready to do all the good offices you can for every body, though I conclude this will not fare the worse with you for my appearing in it; besides that this hinders the commerce of letters.

I wish all in the lantern well, and am your assured friend,

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

LETTER XVIII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

2 FEB. 88.

You need not have made any apology for the three words of Dutch you put into your letter, for I think I understand them right enough when I understand by them that you would say you have no hellebore strong enough to cure our Commissioner. "Laat ons, Laat ons;" there is a Dutch Rowland for your Oliver, to shew you that I am a proficient. The judges you mention follow not Pontius Pilate's pattern of "quod scripsi, scripsi;" how much the uprighter you will think them for it, lies in your breast.

Coomans is not in town. However, I have found a graver which I think will do our business, and he tells me of a book-keeper in town who writes better than that writing master I was with, whom we may get to write a copy as we will,

and then he will grave after it. The whole charge, as far as I can learn, will be about five ducatoons; and then the plate will be yours to do with it as you believe, and then the copies being for your own use, you may print the paper on both sides if you please, it will only cost so much an hundred for printing. The plate will be of the size of a quarter of a sheet of paper of this bigness, leaving room for a margent; just of the size as are the books childern usually write in.

The design I have made of it is this:

1o. On the top to have the alphabet in common letters, such as a, b, c, &c.

2o. A little space being left between, to have twenty-four proper names, each beginning with a great letter, * and the whole name written in a little bigger hand than the alphabet, whereby we shall also have the twenty-four great letters, which 'tis not necessary children should write, before they can write the little letters well, and begin to write join-hand.

3o. After these proper names I intend some useful sentences writ in the same size with the first alphabet. These shall fill up the rest of the page. If you will have a plate, and like my design, send me in your next the size of the letters you would have the first alphabet of, and I will get it executed the best I can.

* A copy, with the signature "John de Broen, sculp." has an alphabet of names, taken in part from Mr. Furley's family, followed by the letters of the alphabet and figures:

Send me also your eldest son's name, as you write it. I commend very much the discretion of Mrs. Furley that she would not give him præcipitates. 1o. Because physic is not to be given to children upon every little disorder. 2o. Physic for the worms is not to be given upon bare suspicion that there may be worms. 3o. If it were evident that he had worms, such dangerous medicines are not to be given till after the use of other more gentle and safe remedies. If he continues still dull and melancholy, the best way is to have him abroad to walk with you every day in the air; that I believe may set him right again, without any physick; at least, if it should not, 'tis not fit to give him remedies, till one has well examined what is the distemper, unless you think, as is usually done, that at all hazards some thing is to be given, a way I confess I could never think reasonable, it being much better, in my opinion, to do nothing than to do amiss. I hope to see you now in a short time; and, if he

the whole is arranged in lines, as they are here printed:

Arent Benjohan Clarck

Dorothea Edward Furley

George Henry John

Katherine Leonard Michael

Nathaniel Obadiah Peter

Quintus Richard Samuel

Thomas Vitel Urban William

Xerxes Yonge Zacharias

Then a small alphabet followed by the Arabic numerals.

be not perfectly recovered before that time, we will then examine the matter a little nearer. But I hope exercise in the open air may do the business, at least I hope there will be nothing that will press in the mean time.

In the description you send me of our Fr. Colhans, I cannot but find satisfaction. Methinks, I see old father Luther installed in his principality, and secured behind a circumvallation of folios. I hope the works will go on luckily. I wish well to it, and to the author; and I am much better pleased with him amongst those silent authors than I should have been that he was amongst the silent fishes. I had forgot to enquire for the gazette he mentions when I was last at the bookseller's; but I will the next time. I thank him for the intelligence, and desire to have my respect to him. Be sure to keep the manuscript till I come; I must have a touch at him. My love to Mrs. Furley, our friend and the young ones.

I hope by the next to hear that Benny is out of his dumps. I am,

Your affectionate friend,

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

LETTER XIX. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

Amsterdam, 4 th March, 1688.

If lying be a sin that is put to account, most ordinary tradesmen will I fear have a hard reckoning to, even in the next world; for there is scarce one of them one can find, who thinks it not a privilege of his calling to break his word, whenever it may serve his turn. But, however, they are all good Christians, orthodox believers, and such as one cannot but know to be marked for salvation by the distinguishing L that stands on their door posts, or the funeral sermon, that they may have for a passport if they will go to the charge of it. This preface will not be altogether besides the matter, if you expect me (as 'tis like you do) the same day you receive this. But, whatever business, desire, or resolution one has to see one's friends, those above mentioned Gent. I assure you, are first to be attended and their leisure to be waited. And 'tis no small joy that I am got so far out of their hands, that I can now say with some confidence that I hope to be with you on Saturday next.

As an evidence thereof, I send you by to-day's Veer Scuyt two boxes and a bundle of books; they are marked B. F. 10. 20. 30. the least of the boxes is that which you sent my linen and the apples hither in. The other box is twice as big, and has great iron hinges and is fastened with a padlock; and the bundle of books is as long as the largest size of printing paper folded the long way. These you may receive as pledges, that it will not

now be long before I intend to assure you in the lantern that I am,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

J. L.*

LETTER XX J. LOCKE TO E CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 18 MAY, 89.

I mentioned the Judges' opinion, because, it being a matter of law, I thought that would carry most weight with it, and that, if the Lords Justices or the Council should demand their opinions in the case, they would then give it. But I agree with you that a proclamation of the Lords Justices to the purpose you mention would be of infinite use, and I hope those who have done so much in this affair will be able to obtain that too. And take care that the proclamation be so drawn or by such an hand as may not increase the difficulties and doubts. Some examples of the kind you mention, especially amongst the Lombard street blades, would make the matter go glib, and raise the croke against them, and turn the poor suffering people's eyes upon them; for

* The bantering, in this letter, against Orthodoxy, is one of the qualities too often apparent in Locke's writings. He was not an Arian, as some commentators think, but a close perusal of his writings convinces me that in matters of religion his mind was wavering and sceptical.

there lies the great obstruction. Hold but tight as you have begun in London, and we shall do well enough, and your country will bless the Col.*

I thank you for paying the money as you did to my cousins Bonvill and King. That from my cousin Bonvill I have received, and shall make the best use of it I can. I intend to be in town as soon as the weather is but so warm that I leave off fires. It is now with us perfect winter weather, and I write this by the fire's side. But warm weather cannot now be far off. But, however that may happen, pray give me at least a week's warning, and as much longer as is possible, before the day set for your journey into the country; for I must needs see you, and have many things to say to you, and therefore will venture my lungs a little sooner than otherwise I would in town, not to miss the opportunity of kissing your hands. Else, not knowing how long I may be detained, I would if I could have so much warm weather as to get off the remainder of my cough, before I venture into that inimic air. I am dear sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

My humble service to the Batchelor. All here present their service to the whole Coll. I know the multitude of your business, and therefore do not wonder that you say no-

* This perhaps relates to the clipping of money then prevalent.

thing to me of having yet received a note of Sir Stephen Evans for my Lady-day's salary, which I some time since desired you to take of him when the order from the Treasury was come to pay the excise officers. If you have not yet received it of him, I beg leave to mind you of it again, and to desire you to take it of him, and let it bear the date that you received your salary.

For Edward Clarke Esq.* Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee-house, near Temple-Bar.

LETTER XXI. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

OATES, 28 AP. 90.

Though I am very much concerned and troubled for your great loss, yet your sorrow being of that kind which time and not arguments is wont to cure, I know not whether I should say any thing to you to abate your grief, but that, it serving to no purpose at all but making you thereby the more unfit to supply the loss of their mother to your remaining children, (who now more need your care, help, and comfort), the sooner you get rid of it, the better it will be both

* Edward Clarke, Esq. of Chipley near Taunton, was one of the Burgesses for that borough in seven Parliaments, from the first of King William, which met in 1690, to the third held by Queen Anne, which was dissolved in 1710. Locke addressed to him his *Thoughts on Education*.

for them and you. If you are convinced this is fit to be done, I need not make use to you of the common though yet reasonable topics of consolation. I know you expect not to have the common and unalterable law of mortality, which reaches the greatest, be dispensed with for your sake. Our friends and relations are but borrowed advantages lent us during pleasure, and must be given back when ever called for; we receive them upon these terms, and why should we repine? or, if we do, what profits it us? But I see my affection is running me into reasoning, which you need not, and can think of without any suggestions of mine. I wonder not at the greatness of your grief, but I shall wonder if you let it prevail on you; your thinking of retiring some whither from business was very natural upon the first stroke of it, but here I must interpose to advise you the contrary. It is to give yourself up to all the ills that grief and melancholy can produce, which are some of the worst we suffer in this life: want of health, want of spirit, want of useful thought, is the state of those who abandon themselves to griefs, whereof business is the best, the safest, and the quickest cure. I say not this in favour of your doubt whether you should be acceptable to any of your friends: I know none of them you named that I do not think you would be acceptable to. And I can assure you of it from some whom you did not then even think of; my Lady Masham, always enquiring very kindly after you, when I told her by the outside that the letter I had then received was from you, was impatient to know how you did,

and when I had told her of your loss and sadness, was mightily concerned, and desired me to tell you that, if you would come and spend some time here with her, you should be very welcome. You do not doubt, but I should be exceeding glad of your company; I know no man's I would sooner have or should be more pleased with; were I settled in an house of my own, I should tell you how welcome you should be to me a little more at large, but I suppose you doubt it not. But, for all this kind and sincere invitation from my Lady Masham (the like whereof I doubt not but you would receive from your other friends, if they knew your state and present thoughts) I advise you to think of none of them. You would be presently sick of, and constantly uneasy in such a course of life. Keep in your employment; increase it, and be as busy in it as you can now more than ever. This is best for you and for your children. And when your thoughts are a little come to themselves and the discomposure over, then calmly consider what will be the best way for you to dispose of them and yourself; but at present lay by none of your business, nor neglect it in the least. I know there is little room for reasoning in the first disorder of grief; what that proposes is alone hearkened to. I must therefore desire you to trust me on this occasion. I am your friend, and love you; and therefore you may do it. I am unbiassed, and not under the prevalency of any passion in the cure, and therefore am in a state to judge better, and I will be answerable to you for it you will hereafter, when you are in a better

state to do it, consider what will be best for you to resolve.

I have writ to you twice concerning your Doctor in Scotland, but have never heard a word from you. I told you in my last that Mrs. Lockhart tells me he offers to pay the principal in five years, bating the use. She thinks not fit to abate the use. This is the state of the case; by it take your measures. She will be ready to serve you by the same hands she manages her own concernment with him. I sent to Mr. Wright's lately for your Skinner, which is for Arent when you have done with it. I sent also to Mr. Wright the translation of the first book of my Essay, with a letter to Mr. Limborch, to whom I desired the translation might be conveyed. I suppose he has sent them by Robinson, who told me he had such a roll directed to you. I also desired Capt. Robinson to pay you the five pounds for Tho. Davis. Pray have a care of your health and believe that I am sincerely yours,

J. L.

I writ you word by Capt. Robinson that I had received the Down, but not P. Simon's books, which Robinson says he received not, nor can hear of. Remember me to my little friend and his brothers. Send me word in your next what you have laid out for Syl, for his letters, &c. that I may take it of him here.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,

an English Merchant in Rotterdam.

LETTER XXII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

[In a letter of medical advice, dated London, 17th Dec. 90, Mr. Locke concludes with mentioning that]
 “Mr. and Mrs. Popple, my Lord Ashley, Sir Walter Young, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Freke, are all by whilst I write this, and remember you.”

LETTER XXIII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

OATES, 3 FEB. 91.

* * * *

I bear the winter pretty well here; but, going to London at Christmas, I wanted breath presently, and was almost dead in a fortnight.

I have received the Latin translation of the first book of my Essay. I know not by whom, but you say nothing of it in yours either of the 2d or 6th.

When you see the gentleman from whom you received a letter from the Hague, just as you were writing to me yours of the 6th, pray present my most humble service to him, and tell him that I was extremely glad to hear that, after his fourteen hours' adventure, he got safe on shore, whoever it was that has the credit by good advice to have saved the cargo.

Pray send by Robinson P. Simon's Critical List of the Versions of the New Testament. Vossius his books I think were left to his brother. If I mistake not, I have been told

the University of Oxford was like to have bought them of him, and offered, as I have heard, a good round sum for them; but what is become of them now, I cannot tell, but will endeavour to inform.

My kind love to your wife; I wish her an happy hour. Remember me to my little friend.

I am yours

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
an English merchant in Rotterdam.

LETTER XXIV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, JUNE THE 17, 1691.

This I think will be the last trouble I shall give you; my brother being to come from Swisserland where he has been, into Holland; at which time Mr. Denoun his governor (and whom you knew formerly with me), will call upon you for this letter, which I only desire you to let be kept till that time to be then delivered to him when he is arrived; I hope about that time to have the happiness of seeing you, for I intend to come over (though very privately) myself, and to make some stay. Till then I rest satisfied to tell you thus, in few words, that I am with particular esteem your obliged and sincere friend,

A. ASHLEY.

I intreat you, when you have received this, to acquaint me with it, either by yourself, or by Mr. Popple, or Mr.

Locke, if you chance to write to either of them in any little time, that I may be satisfied that this has not miscarried.

LETTER XXV. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 2 Nov. 1692.

My wife and I, and all here (except Mrs. Cudworth, who also is much mended) are well; and, according to our respective duties, salute you. I cannot let Sir Francis* come to town without telling you this, though I have very little else to say unless it be to thank you for your care and trouble in my affairs, and that would furnish me with matter enough for more than one letter. I have this further favor to beg of you, that you would send for Mr. Aunsham Churchill, (to whom I have writ four or five times to desire him to send me the sheets which have been printed since I came out of town, but cannot receive a word from him,) and tell him I would by no means have him publish it, † till I have perused all the remaining sheets, which I would have him send to me. I desire you would give yourself this trouble; for I am concerned to see it before it go abroad.

Pardon me the trouble I give you with my letters and believe that I am perfectly yours,

J. L.

* Sir Francis Masham, of Oates.

† Apparently his Thoughts on Education.

LETTER XXVI. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 11o Nov. [1692].

“Omnia bene ” you know needs not many words to make a return in; I wish you can give such an account from thence.

I expect every day several books concerning the Inquisition writ by Mr. Limborch.* Amongst the rest there is one for the Bishop of Bath and Wells with a letter to him. I have ordered Mr. Pawling to put what is for that worthy † into your hands, to be delivered him by you in my stead and with my service; pray excuse my not having waited upon him, as I have a long time desired, and hope ere long I shall have the opportunity to do, though it be one of the inconveniencies I suffer from my ill lungs, that they usually drive me out of town when most of my friends, and those whom I would wish to be near, are in it.

For Edward Clarke, Esq. Member of Parliament, at Mrs. Henman’s overagainst Little turnstile, in Holburne, London.

* “*Historia Inquisitionis; cui subjungitur Liber Sententiarum Inquisit. Tholosanæ, ab 1307 ad 1323. Amst. 1692,*” folio; but is not to be at all relied on for correctness; See Notes to the Life of St. Dominic by Butler, in his Lives of the Saints. Aug. 4th. in vol. viii.

† Richard Kibder, D. D.

LETTER XXVII. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

OATES, 28 NOV. 1692.

* * * * *

I must beg you to send again for Mr. Churchill, and let him write down from you these names,—Ashby, Newton, Sommers, Popple, Le Clerc, Furley, Wright, Freke, and Formin, [and Treby and Ker. These two last if you think fit, for I am in some doubt whether it be prudent or no, *] but to none of them as from me. To yourself more than one if you please. Hither two to be sent. Bid him forthwith bring in all the remainder of the copy to you. And let him send me hither the History of the Air † complete, that I may see it before it be published.

LETTER XXVIII. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 90 DEC. 1692.

I must beg you, the first time you see my Lord Bellamont, with my humble service to assure his Lordship, that his commands will in all cases have that weight and authority with me, as to dispose of all the power I have for his service: that therefore to enable me to serve him on the present occasion,

* The words between crotchets are scratched through with a pen.

† See hereafter.

I desire his Lordship to send me Mr. Stanley's name and qualifications, and the place he has now in the Court, and whatever he thinks may recommend him to my Lord P—: for this is an inviolable rule, which I always do and shall observe in recommending any person, that I say what I know myself of them, and whatever is beyond my knowledge I always tell upon whose report and credit it is that I say it, so that I shall be sure to vouch my Lord Bellamont's testimony, which cannot but be better than mine for a person whom I am so little acquainted with, as I have the honor to be with Mr. Stanley.

When the imprest roll comes to your hand, pray be sure, before you do anything else, to get a perfect account of the form of the oath, though I am apt to think it is such as I told you.

People generally think that, if one has an interest any where one may use it as one pleases, whereas I think one has it and preserves it only by a fair and cautious use of it. If my Lord B. would reflect upon what I have said and my way of proceeding, which I never do nor shall vary from, he would see it would be of no great advantage to the business to send his recommendation of the Gentleman to my Lord P— round about by my hand, and therefore if you can put him off from sending me on so silly an errand, you may mind him that I used the same method and measures in recommending Mr. La Treille to Sir James Rushout, and that you know I will not, nor can an honest man vary from it.

I am, dear Sir, yours, J. L.

LETTER XXIX. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 11 Jan. [1694].

I hope this airing of your son these holidays in the country will be convenient for his health, and no prejudice to his learning. He was welcome to every body here, and particularly to me; and I am glad to find him such a proficient [in the Latin, from which I conclude that in a little time now he will be master of that tongue. But schools I see still are schools, and make school-boys. I say this to make you observe whether it be not to be apprehended, that the main benefit of a dancing master will be lost, though he dance constantly two or three times a week, if those, who ought to have the constant care of him in every part, do not look after and mind his postures, carriage, and motions, when he is out of the dancing master's hands, for without that the steps and figures of dances I think of no value.

* * * *

I wish you and yours a happy year, and am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTER XXX. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

LONDON, 30 JUNE, 94.

Yours of the 26th brought me the welcome news of your safe arrival with your family at Ivychurch. I hope the rest you take there will carry you out easily all of you the remainder of your journey.

Tuesday last I went to see our friend J. F.; upon discourse with him he told me he had subscribed £300, which made me subscribe £500; and so that matter stands: last night the subscriptions amounted to £1,100,000, and to-night I suppose they are all full. Mr. Freke talks of going out of town Monday, and I shall go Tuesday. The commission and charter are now printed at large; I shall leave them with Clarke the tailor, to be sent you. I have received my £64 out of the Exchequer.

There is no news of any action in Flanders, or from the fleet: but a buzz of peace, I know not how grounded.

Thursday last my Lord Keeper, * whom I met by chance in the Gallery going to the Council, did me the honor to enquire about my stay, expressed great desire to speak with me

* Sir John Sommers, made Lord Chancellor and a Peer in 1697.

before I went out of town, and asked (for you know his civility) whether he might send to me when he found leisure-time.

My most humble service to Madam.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTER XXXI. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR.

OATES, 25^o MARCH, 96.

* * * * *

I am very glad the design of fixing a rate on guineas, especially at 25s, was defeated. The thing I look on to be ill in itself, and worse in the intention. The subscribers will now be able to put off their guineas at a high rate, to the cost of the government, nor the raisers I hope be able to compass their so long labored design of raising the denomination of our coin.* Did I not see so ready a motion towards both of them, especially the latter, I could scarce imagine that any Englishman could harbour a thought so destructive to his country as I apprehend these to be. But what

* See Letter XXXV.

may one not believe of Englishmen when there are those found amongst them that would favor a French invasion?

Is there no hope to put a total end to clipping and coining? Methinks the present ferment should raise some vigor, and put a stop to that great and surely destructive evil.

Dear Sir, Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTER XXXII. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR COL:

OATES, 24 APR. 96.

I see by the temper the country is in (and I doubt not but there are those who will blow the coal) that, if London do not set them a good example, the act will be broken through, and clipping will be continued upon us. The trade, I am sure, goes on as brisk as ever; a company was lately taken at or about Ware. Somebody ready, as soon as the day comes, to arrest a goldsmith that refused to pay money according to the law, would spoil the trick, especially if several of them were made examples. If clipped money once get but currency in London amongst those blades, but for the first week after the 4th of May, I look upon it as irretrievable; but if it be stopped there, the rest of the kingdom will fall into it, especially if receiving clipped money by weight can be introduced. These are my thoughts, which I trouble those with, who I know are able to make use of them, if they may be of

any. Duty and service respectively from all here. I am,
 dear Col.

Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTER XXXIII. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

OATES, 28 APRIL, 1698.

I received with great joy the account you writ me by W. Limborck of your and your wife's health, and the promising estate of all your children. I count it the great comfort of a father, which I am very glad you have in all your sons, to a degree not common in any age, and very rare in this. May you live long in prosperity to enjoy it with grateful satisfaction. My little friend I find deceives not my expectation. I pretend not, you know, to prophesy; but ever since I first knew that child, I could not forbear thinking that he would go a great way in any thing he should be set to, and would not make a mean figure in the world. Pray remember me very kindly to him, and tell him that I am very glad to hear so well of him, for I love him exceedingly.

I am very vexed at the dishonesty of your brother in law, for your sake, because it is like to be troublesome to you, and for my own sake, because it is like to hinder me from seeing of you this summer, and what may become of me next winter I know not. I was forced to go to town in

December last: but in two day's stay there I was almost dead, and the third I was forced to fly for it, in one of the bitterest days I have known, for I verily believe one night's longer stay had made an end of me. I have been here ever since, and in the chimney-corner, and write this by the fire-side, for we have yet no warmth from the sun, though the days are almost at their full length, and it was but yesterday morning that it snowed very hard for near two hours together. This great indisposition of my health, which is not yet recovered to any great degree, keeps me here out of the air of London, and the bustle of affairs. I am little furnished with news, and want it less. I have lived long enough to see that a man's endeavours are ill laid out upon any thing but himself, and his expectations very uncertain when placed upon what others pretend or promise to do. I say not this with any regard to my private concerns, which I own give me no cause of complaint, since my desires are confined in a narrow compass, but in answer to what you say with public views. Now there is peace I wish it may last my days. If not, I wish I and my friends may escape the disorders of war. But after all every one must take his lot according to the fate of the age he lives in.

You must pardon this hum-drum from a man who is much removed from the commerce of the world, and yet, when he has the pen in his hand, cannot forbear writing something to an old and valued friend such as you are. I am almost quite alone here now. Sir Francis, my Lady, and Mr.

Masham are all now at London, and have been for some weeks. If a wish could bring you hither, you and I in a day or two would have a good deal of talk together. I know not what we may do when we are spirits, but this earthly cottage is not I perceive so easily removed. I live in hopes yet of seeing you this summer; for a composition is better than law, and I know you love not wrangling. My service to your Lady and your sons. I am not well satisfied that I saw not your son John all the time he was in England, though I know not whom to be angry with for it.

Your most affectionate friend, J. LOCKE.

To BEN. FURLY, at Rotterdam.

LETTER XXXIV. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 7^o MAY, 98.

My Lady Masham has said something to me concerning my wife.* Since she has been here, she has been very reserved; if it be her usual temper, 'tis well; if it be present thoughtfulness, 'tis worth your consideration how I shall carry myself to her. You must instruct me, for I love her, and you know I am at your disposal to serve you. She tells

*Apparently a little girl of Mr. Clark's is here meant. In his letter of the 23d of Aug. 1700, Mr. Locke says: "Lady Masham desired me to invite you and my wife down hither."

me she thinks Mrs. Clarke mends: I am very glad to hear it.

LETTER XXXV. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

GATES, 24 FEB. 98—9.

* * * * * I am glad there is a stop at last put to the loss of the kingdom by the high rate of guineas

LETTER XXXVI. LOCKE TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

SIR,

GATES, 2 DEC. 99.

Since you command me, I here send you what I proposed above a twelvemonth since for the reforming of our year, before the addition of an other day increase the error, and make us, if we go on in our old way, differ the next year eleven days from those who have a more rectified calendar. The remedy which I offer is that the intercalary day should be omitted the next year, and so the ten next leap years following, by which easy way we should in forty-four years insensibly return to the new style. This I call an easy way, because it would be without any prejudice or disturbance to any one's civil rights, which, by the lopping off of ten or eleven days at once in any one year, might perhaps receive inconvenience, the only objection that ever I heard made against rectifying our account. I need not say any thing to you how inexcusable it is in so learned an age as this and in

a country wherein astronomy is carried to a higher pitch than ever it was in the world, an error which every body sees and owns to have growing inconveniences in it. I shall rather chose to wish that when this information is made, the beginning of the year with us might be reduced from the 25th of March to the first of January, that we might herein agree with our neighbours and the rest of the Christian world.

Now I am writing, give me leave to say one word more, though on a subject very different. The stories I have heard of the performance of the strong man now in London would be beyond belief, were there not so many witnesses of it. I think they deserve to be communicated to the present age and recorded to posterity. And therefore I think you cannot omit to give him a place in your Transactions; his country, age, stature, bigness, make, weight, and then the several proofs he has given of his strength, which may be a subject of speculation and inquiry to the philosophical world.

I took the liberty to send you, just before I left town, the last edition of my Essay. I do not intend you shall have it gratis. There are two new chapters in it, one of the Association of Ideas, and an other of Enthusiasm; these two I expect you should read and give me your opinion frankly upon. Though I have made other large additions, yet it would be to make you pay too dear to expect you should be at the task to find them out and read them. You will

do very friendly by me, if you forgive my wasting your time on those two chapters.

I am, Sir, Your most humble and faithful servant,

J. LOCKE.

By what you will find in Monsr. Bernard's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, mois du Mai, article 9, you will see that what you demanded of me concerning the reforming our account was scarce worth your asking; since it is there in print already; somebody, it seems, that had heard me talk of it, having sent an account of it into Holland.

Sir H. Sloane, at his house at the end of Southampton Street, joining to Southampton Square, London.

LET. XXXVII. SHAFTESB. TO H. WILKINSON.*

WILKINSON,

CHELSEA, MAY 20, 1700.

I received both thine, and the last with an account of the hardships thou liest under because of the different hands and different methods of accounts that are taught.

These are difficulties, which by the help of God and thy own diligence thou mayest easily and soon overcome.

That which I would chiefly know from thee is if thou find-

* Mr. Henry Wilkinson was a young gentleman educated at Lord Shaftesbury's expence, and by him placed in Mr. Furley's counting house; he afterwards lived with a wine-merchant at Rotterdam, and, upon his death, married the widow, and carried on the business.

est the place to be sober, and that thou canst serve God, and hast encouragement and example to do thy duty to him, and to fit thyself for thy calling and employment in the world.

I am sorry there is so much English spoke; for thou wilt learn the French and Dutch so much the slower. But do thou what thou canst to avoid that company which is of least profit to thee, and perhaps may do thee most harm; for the English, that I have known abroad, have always been the most debauched of the place. Pray God keep thee; all here are well, and remember thee kindly. See that thou dost well and deservest their remembrance, and my charity to thee, as thy kind friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XXXVIII. SHAFTESB. TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

ST. GILES'S, AUG. 5, 1700.

I delayed writing in answer to yours of the 24th past, till I could hear from Mr. Wilkinson's father in law, whom I have now heard from, and he has writ to you (he tells me) that he will be ready to do all on his part for binding his son in law, and will be bound himself for his fidelity, &c., which you may be sure I will also; but I desire this as a sort of obligation upon them; so that I would have you take this of him for my sake, and you shall have my security and bond for the £500, if required. I bid the father in law (one Mr. Leech) apply to Mr. Wright, your correspondent in town; and being ignorant myself of the form of binding one,

if you will send instructions thither for him, and inform me what is to be my part, I will sign the letter of attorney and bond as is requisite.

The news of the Duke of Gloster's* death and Princess's illness, has made a great ferment amongst us, and those that are concerned for monarchy are in perplexity about a successor, fearing the crown should fall again soon into the people's hands; who they think will hardly let it go out again. We hear at the same time that the same partizans of monarchy and government in one, are labouring at any rate to get a successor in your country. I would fain hear from you and our friends what your thoughts are about this, that we here may know what measure to take. Pray write me as soon as possible about this, and if you can get any occasion by a private hand, write me more largely and plainly about it; though with a little caution, one may write about any thing by the post: only 'tis best not to put a name to it, for we know one another's hands; and, though others may know them, yet it is not the same advantage to them as when they have the name.†

* William, son of the Princess Anne afterwards Queen.

† It may be inferred from the caution, which Lord S. here advises his correspondent to observe, that the ministers of government in his day exercised the same scandalous privilege of opening letters which has been in our own times [1846] made the subject of a parliamentary inquiry.

I have sent to Amsham Churchill to send you two Harringtons * for my two friends Mr. Van Tweede and Mr. Verburg, to whom, with the rest of my good friends, I beg my kind remembrances and most humble service. Wishing you and your family all health and prosperity, I remain your sincere friend and servant.

I hope the lad Wilkinson behaves himself well and so as to deserve your kindness to him. I am satisfied that all his correspondences hitherto are innocent (for I looked into the business of that odd letter, and find it is only a piece of foolishness from some of his mother's acquaintances), and it is highly reasonable he should hereafter have no correspondence but what you know of and inspect. I received a line from the lad this post (pray tell him), by which I know you are all well.

LETTER XXXIX. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

MATCHING TRE, 23 AUG. 1700.

* * * * *

I know nothing so likely to produce quiet sleep as riding about gently in the air for many hours every day. If your mind can be brought to contribute a little its part to the lay-

* The Works of James Harrington. the author of Oceana and a celebrated political writer, were published this year in folio, edited by Toland.

ing aside troublesome ideas, I could hope this might do much. This may be a farther inducement for your coming hither, for I am on horseback every day. Pray return my thanks to my wife for her letter.

LETTER XL. SHAFTESBURY TO H. WILKINSON.

HARRY,

ST. GILES'S, SEP. 26, 1700.

I have waited a while before I would write to you, expecting to hear concerning you and your behaviour; and I thank God I hear well. I am also glad to hear from you yourself of Mr. Furley's and Mrs. Furley's kind usage of you. I pray God you may still continue to deserve it; which I doubt not but you will do, if you continue to be truly thankful and grateful (as you express yourself in your letter) both to them, and above all to Almighty God, whose providence has engaged so many persons in your behalf, and to supply the want of other friends and fortune, in those hard circumstances which you were born to. I pray God continue in you the sense of this; that by your diligence in your calling, by your duty and obedience to your master and superiors, and by meekness, and humility, and goodness, such as ought to be in every one that is truly a Christian, you may be acceptable to God, and have favour with those you serve, and with all that know you; which will be to the great satisfaction of

him who is your kind benefactor and hearty well wisher and friend,
SHAFTESBURY.

All here are well and rejoice to hear deservingly and well of you. Pray let me hear from you every fortnight as I ordered you; and write to me of your progress, and what occurs to you or is remarkable. I have wrote to Mr. Furlley by this post.

LETTER XLI. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 11 Nov. 1700.

The very day I writ to you last in confidence that my sore leg was as good as well, my other before night began to be out of order: and between the one and the other of them, I am not yet free from pain and trouble: but I hope I shall in a little time get over it. In the mean time I have one inconvenience now the cold weather comes in, which, if my legs should remain in the state they are, would make me very uneasy. You know that I have but one way to keep my feet warm, that are apt to be without a fire icy cold. But now, if I approach the fire, the only remedy for my cold feet, the sores that yet remain on my legs, as soon as they feel any warmth from the fire, do so burn and shoot, that the pain is intolerable. This obliges me to spend a great part of my time in bed, a way of living I do not much like. Though when I consider well, I think I ought to be content that I

am at all amongst the living. 'Tis not the spleen that suggests this thought: but the news I hear this post, that my old friend Mr. Hodges is dead. He, Dr. Thomas, and I, were intimate in our younger days in the University; they two are gone, and who could have thought that I, much the weakest and most unlikely of the three, should have outlived them!*

LETTER XLII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, ST. GILES'S, NOV. THE 15th, 1700

I have more than one of yours to answer, but the desire of answering them well (particularly as to some questions of what our Parliament might do with respect to certain affairs abroad) has made me delay writing all this while that we were kept in suspence and in continual alarm about a new Parliament, which now is at an end, it being determined that the old should sit.

'Till this was determined, it was altogether impossible

*Many instances might be adduced of the weakest of a set of youthful contemporaries living to enjoy the longest and healthiest old age; and it is explained on the principle that weakly persons, being aware of their infirmity, eat less, and are guilty of less excess in general than those who have stronger constitutions.

to make any judgment what was likely to be the result: for a new Parliament might have taken new measures; but the time is now coming that Parliaments will be no more under the influence of courts as formerly, so that, be it what Parliament it will, their councils will be the same, only this one Parliament, had it been dissolved, might have created some doubt; but the blow is over, and a greater blow abroad, the death of the King of Spain, and what has followed, has made this not to light upon us, a dissolution being on several accounts not so advisable since this conjuncture.

But to explain myself the better about this [matter] of Parliaments, and why this dissolution might have been so great a blow, I will give you these reasons, on which, if my own judgment be good, you may yourself form a judgment, and give light to others of our friends.

Two things made this to be a crisis in our Parliamentary concerns, and a guiding measure as to future councils; the one was, that this Parliament last session began the great stroke towards the liberty of Parliament and a total reform, by lopping off at once one considerable member of the court body, viz. the Excise Office and their dependents, from the Parliament or any concern in parliamentary election or affairs: and this must immediately, if not checked in the beginning, be carried through, and by parity of reason and nature of the thing extend itself to the thorough purgation of the Parliament, and reducing it solely and wholly to the country bottom.

The second cause was this. The ending of last session was, on the Court side, a beginning with a Tory ministry, and an essay made of this kind by first throwing out the Chancellor * and afterwards others. Now since this, Lord Godolphin, now brought into the Treasury, Lord Rochester, and the rest of that party, have been esteemed the undertakers and to be the managers in a new Parliament chosen by their interest, when all things were first put into their hands, and pledges given to the church party such as were desired. Now here had been the danger of this turn, which I thank God we have escaped. The Whigs, you know, have for several years, and in these last Parliaments especially, been shameful in their over great condescensions to the Court, and by this have lost their interest much in the country. Now had the King suddenly deserted them, and made them a sacrifice to the now popular Tories, who by acting the part of patriots have got great repute: and the country not seeing their danger, and the Tories being restored to what they naturally belong to, a high and absolute court and church interest, the mark had been taken off, and they being in possession of the Parliament might have unravelled the clue back again and modelled all things to their own purpose. What they might have done farther as to our succession here at home, so as to have wholly brought us back again to where we were before the Revolution, this I must leave you to guess, but will not venture to mention in a letter. But now this

* Lord Sommers.

design has miscarried, all is worse for the court than ever it was, and must go better on the side of the country; nor will this blow be feared hereafter, for the Parliament being of necessity to be dissolved, by the triennial law, after this next session, the Whig party, who have had fair warning, and see they were designed a sacrifice, and see also even at this time many of their party sacrificed for their compliance with the court, will be careful of their behaviour in this next great probationary session, so that they may approve themselves to their country, and wash off the court stain.

The Tories on the other hand, despairing of a thorough and absolute turn of affairs to their side, which they have missed by missing this blow, will be able to gain but a slender interest for the court in this Parliament, and will most of them carry on the face of tolerable patriots, and thus you may judge how advantageously matters are likely to go on the side of the country, the ill accident in affairs abroad having been the occasion of this good at home. Therefore, in return of this particular account from me of our home affairs, do you instruct me of affairs abroad, that I may instruct others against Parliament-time, that we here may act the best and wisest in this difficult season, for the safety of the protestant religion and common liberty. I shall be in town at the Parliament's sitting, but not sooner: my stay being of some use here, where I have laboured very hard, and been continually employed on the expected dissolution, which would have been so great a struggle in the country. I long

to hear from you of affairs abroad, and wishing you and yours all prosperity, remain
Your known friend.

LETTER XLIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

DECEMBER THE 16th, 1700.

The enclosed, which was design'd for Mr. V. T. whose I receiv'd in yours, I send you imperfect rather than return nothing this post, that I am in so great haste. If you think I have writ any thing intelligible, you will read it to him, for it will be legible perhaps to you, who are used to my worst hand.

However I intreat you either with it or without it to present my most humble service to him, with particular thanks for his letter, and accept at the same time the hearty service towards you and yours of your faithful friend.

I neither date this nor the enclosed from any place, but you may know I am still in the west, and must be for a while. I beg my sincere respects and service to Mynheer P. S. and the rest of my friends.

LETTER XLIV. LOCKE TO SIR H. SLOANE.

SIR,

OATES, 27 Dec. 1700.

It is not fit I let the year go out before I return you my thanks for the many favors I have received from you in it, particularly for the Philosophical Transactions, whereof those of July and August came but lately to my hands. Those of

April, May, and June I thank you for, as well as the rest, although I have them not yet, which I impute to the forgetfulness of Mr. Churchill's men, who have with care laid them aside for me, and then I shall have them when I send for them, and therefore pray receive my thanks for them all. And give me leave to own to you, that I am ashamed to be so much enriched by you in philosophical knowledge without furnishing any thing to your collections.

I came into the country with a design of employing some part of my leisure in looking over some papers I have, with an intention to offer you anything I should find in them that I might presume you would think worthy to appear amongst these observations which you continue to oblige the world with. But sore legs, that seized on me soon after my coming hither, and that have ever since made me spend the greatest part of my time in bed, have kept me from that and several other things I proposed to myself. I thank God my legs are now pretty well again, but my old evil of my breast, (as is to be expected from every year's increase of age) sits heavier upon me than it was wont to do formerly in country air. I have read physic enough to think it not at all strange that it should do so and therefore am not startled at it. The tenement must at some time or other fall to dust, and mine had held out beyond expectation. Whilst I stay here I would be willing to do that little that I can; and if I have an opportunity, make some acknowledgment to you.

I have a register of the weather for the ten years past, of the same kind with those you may remember of mine published in Mr. Boyle's History of the Air, p. 104, &c. I know not whether it will be fit to clog your Transactions with such things as those. Be you judge of this. I know that I did not keep this register for my own sake alone,* and that, if I had any thing of more value than this, I should not refuse it you if you thought it worth the having.

A diabetes is a disease so little frequent that you will not think it strange that I should ask whether you in your great practise ever met with it. You will do me the favour to tell me the pathognomonic signs of it and if you have cured it or known it, and you will oblige me in instructing me in the method. I wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year, and am

Sir, Your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

*It is, however appositely remarked in the Biographia Britannica that Locke "had an instinctive cause for making choice of this branch of Natural Philosophy, in the particular infirmity of his constitution which was asthmatic; and it is observable that these histories have since been made excellent use of towards discovering the Qualities of the Air by another gentleman (Dr. John Arbuthnot. in 1731), who laboured also under the like constitutional disorder."

LETTER XLV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, St. G's, JAN. THE 11th, 1700-1.

I received both yours, that which gives me notice of the receipt of mine and the enclosed, and that which came by Mr. Crellis. Mr. Awnsam Churchill the other day mentioned to me your not having heard from me lately: which has made me in pain lest that enclosed should have been intercepted: which now I am glad to hear came safe. We are now in the midst of our elections, of which the West of England having much the greatest share, and I being here placed with my fortune and all my interest, you may imagine I am not a little solicitous at this time of danger, having explained to you the extremity of our affairs, by these rash counsels for a dissolution at this conjuncture, which I am satisfied the King ere this is fully convinced was a wrong measure, enough to ruin us all. But by the sound labors of our friends I am in hopes things are so well balanced that a good Parliament will be chosen, even under all disadvantages, which can hardly ever happen again. So that since I now write you some hopes after having so dreaded this stroke, you may for the future hope well with me for England, since, escaping this Parliament, it will have little to fear hereafter, if we can be supported now at this instant while the Parliament is meeting, and till they have time to deliberate for our common safety. Therefore pray God send you courage and united councils abroad, so as not to yield to anything that may ruin the common cause before you see what the Parliament of Eng-

land produces, which I hope will be well; since the whole force of the new Tory Ministry will not, I hope, be able to create a Tory Parliament; though it will come very near. So that, if the Parliament be as I judge it likely to be, (and as you shall hear further from me, as the elections proceed,) the advantages we shall reap from hence will be these. The King making use of his new Ministry to propose money will save our party the load of this, and the odium either of a war or any such measures as are necessary for our common preservation. Or, if on the other side he finds his Ministry restive, he will by that discover their treachery, and must be forced to put things entirely into other hands, which I am in hopes this Parliament will have strength enough to bear him out in: though at the same time there will be such a balance the other way, that it will be impossible for things to be carried furiously a court way by the Whig party, which was once our danger, but can never be again, their experience having taught them better, since this sacrifice made of them, after their court services.

If I had ever so much time I could not write you any more of our concerns till I saw more elections over, and were able to confirm to you (as I hope I shall in a short time) that our elections in the main will prove right; which if you consider things as I laid them before you some months ago, you will esteem a great providence on our side. As for the disorders and corruptions in our elections in several places, this will but hasten our remedy, and bring on our necessary reformation more speedily. The only thing to be hoped and prayed for, is, that

the Tory party may not be superior: for, if but ever so little inferior, their numbers will be of service rather than of injury: for, as it is said of water or fire, so it may be said of them, that they are good servants, but ill masters; and, as by principles they are slaves, so they are only serviceable when they are kept so, and their slavery and subjection is the only pledge of our freedom, or of the freedom of the world, as far as we in England are contributors to it, and let our friends in Holland know their friends here, and take notice that it is that party that hate the Dutch and love France, and the Whigs the only contrary party that can now save them and England. Farewell.

LETTER XLVI. SHAFTESB TO H. WILKINSON.

WILKINSON,

ST. GILES'S JAN. 18, 1700-1.

I received yours since that of your journey to the Hague, and am well satisfied with every thing you write me; only I would have you write more in your letters, and try your own ingenuity in writing me what remarks you can, and what observations you make more and more in the country where you are, and where I hope by this time you pretty well understand the language; as you will French I hope hereafter. You did well to write to me of your diversion and exercise amongst other things as your seating, which being innocent and healthy, and what your master allows and approves, I am very well pleased with. I remember young Mr. Furley used to work hard in Mr. Furley's garden, which will be a notable work for you, if Mr.

Durley gives you the best advice sometimes; for, since you should have exercise for your health and as relaxation from business, such exercise as this is far better than the idle plays of youth, which I hope you will carefully avoid; seeking always some honest exercise, and some useful labor of the body as the best refreshment after the labor of the mind, and the study which you are to stick to for your own improvement and master's service, and this is the way to prosper every way, and to do well, both as to mind and body, and interest in the world; so as to have favor with your master, with friends and all persons, with me in particular, who have made myself a father to you; and what is far more than all this, with God, whose blessing you may thus expect, and not if you do less than this; since, as you have been provided for by a particular blessing and providence of God, and in an uncommon way, so you must more than commonly behave yourself, and not as commonly the rest of lads whose case is not like yours. Pray think on this continually, as you have any regard to your duty either to God or your superiors, and to my admonitions and injunctions, and though I write and shall continue to write as a parent and master to you, and with strict admonishment, yet be you sure to let me hear from you with your usual freedom, and write what comes in your mind without restraint or fear.

My kind remembrances to your master and family. I writ last post but one to him, and pray let him know, I hope I can still confirm the good hopes I writ him as to the proceedings of our elections of parliament-men, for it will not be a Tory Parliament, as designed.

Fare thee well, and pray God bless thee! I am what thou knowest me to be.

To Mr. Wilkinson.

LETTER XLVII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, MARCH 4th, 1700-1.

Since what I writ you by the last post but one, I received yours with the enclosed letter and scheme, which appears to me the best and most ingenious proposal of any of those that are for a compounding game, and for making war on any other foot but that of throwing France out of all, and putting Spain again (by the Archduke) in possession of all; which is wholly my opinion, esteeming all partition-treaties, of which we have had enough, to be fatal. But as to this in particular, the reason I judge in the same manner of it is:

I. Because I conceive that, if the highest policy of man were, on a first discovery of the West Indies, to deliberate how to settle them for the happiness and peace of Europe, they could not do better than to join such an instrument of power to so infirm and impotent a body as Spain is, and ever must remain, if not altered in its constitution; and, in fact, that which must any other way have become a bone of dissension

to all Europe, has not itself been the moving cause or real occasion of any war, or attempt of war, in a whole age now past: whereas, should the Spanish original property in the West Indies be once loosened, and new possessions admitted, it would become the common prey of the contending Powers great at sea: and the shares granted to the English and Dutch, on the foot of such a treaty of peace established, would immediately ruin those foundations of peace and happy correspondence, which (as things now stand) may be so easily established and riveted between these two nations for their mutual preservation, and the common interest of religion and liberty.

Should the war be begun on this foot, and not on that of making the Archduke King of all Spain, the Princes and States of Italy, besides others in Europe, as well as the great and strong party of the malecontents in Spain and the European Spanish dominions, seeing no other issue of a war, but such as was likely to leave France their master by a French King of Spain at home, will not stay to submit to France till the war be ended, but will make their court early by throwing all their weight into that scale; which is enough soon to sink us.

3dly. What a diversion will it be of our force necessary even for our own defence here at home, should we be sending royal fleets and armies into another world?

4thly. Remember that all depends on the heartiness of the people of England in this war. They must know the cause for which they fight.

* * * *

Now, if we come again to divisions and partition-treaties,

there is no end of this: the cause will be perplexed and confounded, the people amazed and dispirited, and once hearing but of a yielding in any degree to the French King in his late attempt for his grandson, they will say, as their way is, "they are betrayed," and will afterwards be sullenly unactive. A great man of the traiterous Ministry now prevalent (to our great sorrow and dread) told the King before the opening of the Sessions, "That he knew the people of England, that they would never come up to a war." But the contrary is now seen, and I have given you and my worthy friends in Holland long since assurance of the contrary.

The people of England will, if the Court will let them, engage in a war, and never yield, nor hear of yielding, whilst France is to have any thing to do with Spain. But if France be truckled to, or should the Duke of Anjou be by our Court owned, (which God forbid), their spirit will sink, and things will be much altered for the worse. A more unfair representation never could have been gained than was by the Court this last election in favour of the Tory and French interest, which is one and the same; yet, for all this, fear not, if the King be resolved, he, nor you on the other side of the water, need not fear the resolutions of this representation, and least of all of that people they represent. My kind remembrances to all yours, and to my worthy friends. I am, as ever, yours.

Lord Melford's * letter was most certainly authentic; and very

* The Earl of Melford, the prime Councillor of the exiled King James.

intelligible in the English, whatever it was in the translation; but by this time I guess you have seen it.

The Art of Governing by Parties * was sent you by the author.

The settlement of the Succession will go on well, and care will be taken to confirm and enlarge our Bill of Rights, in the same Act of Settlement. We wait impatiently the coming of your fleet to our assistance; we are fitting out very fast.

To MR. FURLEY.

LETTER XLVIII. SHAFTESB. to H. WILKINSON.

WILKINSON,

CHELSEA, MARCH 10TH, 1700-1.

I received thine of the 5th, and till this day have heard nothing of the ship, which now I find is come into the river, by my receiving two letters from Mr. Furley (of the 7th and 19th of last month).

I am glad you take rightly what I so often and earnestly admonish you of; and that you understand how excellent a thing it is to recommend yourself by your good carriage to those who take care of you, and are your benefactors, and in the room of parents to you, but chiefly to recommend yourself to Him who is the great benefactor of all, and who has made His service to be itself the greatest blessing to us, besides what reward

* Republished in 1757,

He has promised; for what can be more happy than to lead a virtuous and sober life, if we consider how it is with those who live virtuously, and what can be more enjoyment than to live usefully to ourselves and others, by making ourselves through our industry and sobriety to be of use in the world, and esteemed by all that are good; therefore, remember that the greatest part of your duty to God is to fit yourself for good, and for all the services and good offices you are capable of, especially in the service of so good a master and mistress, who will instruct you in all that is for your good and advantage.

All our friends here are well, and every thing (I bless God) prospers with our family. My sister Hooper is brought to bed and has got a brave boy, which she is a nurse to. No more now, but my kind remembrances to the good family you are in. I remain, your loving friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

Pray return my kind thanks to Mrs. Furley for her present of chesnuts &c. which Mr. Furley speaks of, and which I imagine may be come by this ship. What is become of those you sent I cannot tell; you did not write the ship's name. Since I writ this, I have writ a letter to Mr. Furley, which I hope will come safe to him with this to you.

To MR. WILKINSON.

LETTER XLIX. SHAFTESB. TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, MARCH 11th. 1701.

By what I have been writing in the enclosed, I have no time left me to write any thing to you, or to copy any of the news in the latter end of the letter to Mr. Hysterman, which I have therefore sent open to you; and desire you would seal and send away (immediately after you have read it) to him at Amsterdam. You may communicate the contents by word of mouth to our good friends Mynheer Van Twede and Paats at Rotterdam; my best services to them and others who are so kind as to remember me. This, with kind love to yourself and family, is all that haste will allow from your entire friend.

A Bill is brought in the House of Commons for the fixing the Bishops to their sees, and hindering their removals, by which they depend on the Crown, and are made votes for the Court. 'Tis a dilemma: for, if they throw this Bill out of the House of Lords, they will next time be thrown out themselves.

TO MR. FURLEY.

LETTER L. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

MARCH 25, 1701.

I received yours with notice of your sending forward my letter to our friend at Amsterdam; but, having also writ you an account (the post after) of what passed in the House of Lords

in relation to their Address, which you seem to have heard by some other hand, I fear that letter of mine may have miscarried. As for those fears that are spread amongst you, of our being likely to adandon Holland, and resolved on peace and submission, there is nothing more wrongly grounded, though I cannot say groundless; for I doubt not but the business of Friday last made great noise in Holland, as if we had lost some great point, though it was nothing, and no real trial of the parties for England or France; but of the parties for or against some particular persons of the late ministry who would have screened themselves under that vote, which was a side-wind justification, or at least a countenance of the Partition Treaty, for which some of the late Ministry were engaged. Since that they carried it further, so as to fix it on the late Lord Chancellor as a crime to have set the broad seal to that Treaty.

In the mean time, by these exasperating things, that party make themselves but more desperate with the King, who is personally reflected on and abused in these matters; and some of the hottest men shewing themselves thus partial to France in some of their speeches, where they inveigh so much against the management of the court, the effect of this is advantageous to us, by strengthening us and making them weaker with the people, and I hope with the King, from whom they have all their strength; it being only his own ministry that obstructs the most vigorous resolutions which would be taken for a war against France, so that, when things are ripe, I cannot but assure myself the King will give the turn; for he has all the sound part of England with

him in this cause; and the resolution of the nation for war grows stronger and stronger.

Depend upon it we gain ground apace, all people come into us, and when the King has a mind to exert him self, he may do it fully with the whole strength of the nation.

All that you hear of the coldness or backwardness of the people or Parliament is from the ministry only, and this is in the King's breast; so that those who fear nothing as to the King have nothing to fear either as to our people or Parliament.

I think I mentioned in some former letter about Mr. Leers, that I had received none of those books from him which I heard were sent me; they were the continuation of Grævius and Gronovius's Roman and Greek Antiquities. I never received more than what I brought out of Holland myself; if this be the continuation from thence, it is well: otherwise I desire to hear more from him. In haste, farewell; my service to all friends.

LETTER LI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, APRIL 1, 1701.

I received yours with the enclosed from my worthy friend your neighbour, to whom I have writ fully this post, and having but little time this night because of some letters I was obliged to write to some other friends in Holland, I got a part of one of those letters copied over, which I here enclose to you, it being impossible to give a fuller account of things to you than I have done in this, and in what I writ this post to your neighbour.

This enclosed was to Mr. Hystermann, to be communicated by him to some friends who desired information from me of our English affairs: particularly to one friend of his, a great man. But I desire you would take no notice of this, only if you think this worth communicating to our friends at Rotterdam, you may do it; but keep the writing in your own hands.

My most hearty service to them all, at this time especially, that I, who am naturally so unactive, am working day and night for their service, and for the common interest of Holland and this country.

On this union all depends. I hope things will go well notwithstanding their appearance. My dues to all your family, and believe me for ever yours.

LETTER LII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, APRIL 19, 1701.

I have not yet heard, in answer to my last, at which time I writ also to Mr. V. T., but I have received yours by Mr. Daranda, with whom I am extremely glad of having had the opportunity of being acquainted.

I write this in haste, and late at night, to tell you of our affairs, how that at last our friends are given up as a peace offering to the Tory party, who have promised all shall go smoothly and without opposition to the King, on these terms, of their disabling the late ministry from coming into place again. Accordingly, yesterday they carried, by 10, their impeachment against Lords Sommers, Oxford, and Halifax, and to-day an ad-

dress to remove them from the King's presence and councils. All is done which they possibly can do against them; nor do they design carrying things any further, having obtained their end, and this the King has consented to, so that he must now trust to the Tories for this session, which I hope will be the last of this Parliament. I believe it will have this effect; that, since the King will not dissolve this Parliament immediately, he will piece up matters for this session; and the Tories coming in to what they have promised, you will find that unanimity which the King desires so much and lays so much stress upon.

And I doubt not but things will so work that he will be glad to be rid of them, and will be so soon after they rise, for England cannot have justice till this Parliament be dissolved.

In the mean time it is remarkable that even in this Parliament it is only by stratagem and arts that they turn off that spirit which is towards a war and vigorous maintenance of the cause; for even these accusations and impeachments are founded on a supposition of these men's having acted for the interest of France, the subject of their impeachment being for having advised the first partition treaty in 1698, where the electoral Prince was made heir to Spain; so that the cause against France is still more and more advanced, though we are untowardly diverted in our means of prosecuting it. But, perhaps, you may see the House sit roundly to business, now this is over.

The treaty they have promised to maintain carries all with it: they need only now immediately satisfy the present demands,

and raise what is required with expedition; the rest will work of itself, and the war once begun, we shall come in totis viribus. All this in the Parliament is from the King himself; he might do every thing, had he resolution.* The spirit of the people is greater and greater, they do not betray the common cause nor themselves, but if he betrays himself, what can we say or do?

I am, as ever, yours: my love and service to all your family, and best respects and services to my worthy friends Mynheer Paats, V. Tweede, &c. and to Mynheer Weland, when you see him. I sent you lately an enclosed paper in a cover on which you will know my hand. Pray let me know if it came safe.

LETTER LIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON. MAY 6, 1701.

I received your second enclosed letter of Lord Hollis, which is very apt and seasonable. Many things have been printed here in England of like nature, and have had their effect; the nation is rightly disposed; they are not as they are represented abroad, and are only unhappy in being so ill understood. The people of England have not abandoned the com-

* It will be observed throughout these letters, that the writer is an intemperate partizan, and like others of the same party, he speaks with an undue degree of freedom of the qualities and person of the King: a total want of humility and deference to rank and authority characterized all the Whig writers of that period.

mon cause, yet England has. How shall I explain this riddle? or does it need explanation? what has not the people of England, and even the Parliament, this very Parliament, done to shew their right intentions for a war, and their resolution to oppose the title of the new King of Spain? The Parliament long since rejected the proposal of owning the Duke of Anjou with disdain. They did all and more than was asked them from the Court, yet the Duke of Anjou at last is owned, and a peace publicly declared for by those of the King's present ministry. Now let any man judge of us, what can any one expect we should do? the King of Spain, contrary to the sense of the nation and Parliament, is owned.

The fleet is disarmed, and the big ships all sent into harbour. A peace is declared from Court as the settled resolution, and all things sound of the good correspondence and mutual friendship of our Court and the Court of France. What can people abroad expect that we should do? Should we declare war on those who are against a war abroad, when the King himself is thus represented? If we fall on his ministry, you say it is meant against himself; and if we let his ministry alone, they do the work of France, and force us to peace. I writ you in my last that the King had given up his friends, and now he has his cause. The first was recoverable, and I writ you with good assurance upon it. Nor was I at all mistaken; all had gone well even after that sacrifice, if he himself had pleased; but when it was known that he had owned the Duke of Anjou, the adverse party had the field left to them, and they have used the King as

they pleased. The first thing they proceeded to was taking from him £100, 000 of his settled yearly revenue, and they may take what they think fit, for nobody will oppose the King in what he thinks fit to resign of his crown, since he has committed himself to these men with an allowance to them to make themselves as popular as they desire at his expence. If this usage of the King does not move him, nothing will; and, though I speak freely now, I shall not afterwards, for the consequences to be drawn will be then beyond what I shall dare to write. In the mean time our friends have been so far active to-day in the **House**, as to call the ministry in question for the laying up the ships of war, and turning off the men, and they have appointed a committee to examine it. Besides this they have pushed on the Bill of succession, and carried it through the committee so that we shall now soon see it pass'd. As to your question to me about King James raising money without Act of Parliament, it is most certain: it was the duties on coals and other customs settled on King Charles for life, and which he collected before he called a Parliament, who afterwards settled it, without taking notice of the unlawful collection, which was the reason, I suppose, it was not taken notice of in the Prince of Orange's declaration.

I have not time to write to Mr. Van Twedde as I hoped this night. He may be assured that I rejoice at any opportunity of serving Mr. V. Twedde, his son here in England. I beg my hearty service and respects to my other friends, particularly to Mr. Flink, whom you lately mentioned. This with my love

and friendship to you and yours is all at present from yours.

I saw your son Arn lately in Essex with Mr. Locke; he was very well and is much grown. Mr. Locke is as well as I have known him, only of late he has had a humour in his legs.

I hope the lad Wilkinson does well, and if so, pray remember me to him with kindness, and tell him that I received his letters and shall write to him when I have more time.

LETTER LIV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

London, May 9, 1701.

Since my last to you, by last post, in which I told you of the ill effect of the sad news of our Court's having owned the Duke of Anjou, we have seen some little spirit from the Court, as if we were not wholly to be given up: though these late measures have dispirited all good men, and have well nigh put all our affairs into the hands of the adverse party, carrying all before them by the countenance and assistance of the King's own ministry. But yesterday we had a seeming hearty message from the King, and a most pathetic letter from the States, about the growth of France and their own danger. This matter was this day debated in the House; immediately it was proposed that we should vote the support of our allies, of Holland in particular, and of the liberty of Europe in general; and that we should also immediately proceed to raise the supplies for the States as agreed by the antient treaty.

The latter of this was soon yielded to by the adverse

party, who found there was no contesting it. But the leaders Musgrave, Seamor, Shoar strenuously opposed the other part as to our allies Holland and Europe. Jack Howe, to do him justice, came off from them, and declared a war seemed now necessary; the desigus of France being so apparent, and Holland in such distress. This made the rest of that party withdraw from their opposition and the whole resolution, of assisting the King to support his allies abroad, to maintain the liberty of Europe, and of immediately providing the supplies promis'd the States by the treaty, was at last agreed to nemine contradicente, which will, I hope, give satisfaction abroad. To-morrow we go on the same consideration in the House of Lords, and shall, I hope, make some considerable resolutions, which will both lead the way to the Commons, and give encouragement to the people, who are every day better and better disposed.

But now I must hint to you a thing of great importance for you to transact, if you approve of it. You must know then that, there being few of us of the country party here in England, who have any good correspondence or any acquaintance with those of the same principles and interest in Holland, and such as these being apt to judge of Holland as if influenc'd by our Court here, nothing that comes from thence has so much credit as when it comes from some of the honest party, and those out of the Government.

All our young men are drawn away by the specious actions of these present managers, who seem so much to promote a domestic liberty, and under that pretence are bringing on a

foreign and universal tyranny. Some of these I happen to be acquainted with, and they know I have an acquaintance, and some small credit with those of the right party in Holland; and by this means I am able to do some little service, but it would be much more if some help were added, and that some of those gentlemen had the sense of our friends abroad more immediately communicated to them. For instance, Lord Paulet,* well known amongst you, is a man of great influence, and is a little entangled in the nets I tell you of, the other party making it their chief game to work on such men as these, who have great interest both in Country and Parliament. A letter from some of his acquaintance of Rotterdam (Mr. Van Twedde suppose, or any such,) might be of use; or, if he were mention'd in any letter of mine which I might communicate to him, and in which he saw himself addressed to.

There is a great and worthy young man who has signalized himself in this last debate by speaking beyond all others for the interest of Holland, the Protestant Religion, and Europe. It is Lord Paget's son, Mr. Paget, † well known, as I think I remember, to Mr. Flink. Might not he someway find occasion to write to him, and compliment him on his noble service?

* John, fourth Lord P., and afterwards (1706) first Earl and K. G.

† Henry, afterwards (in 1714) the first Earl of Uxbridge, was for many years Knight in Parliament for Staffordshire.

LETTER LV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, MAY 23, 1701.

I received yours of the 24th (your stile) as well as what you writ me since by a particular hand of the 27th, together with one from Mr. V. Tedde, to whom I return my hearty thanks, and would do it in a letter to himself, but that I have no occasion that offers.

As to public affairs, which remain still in the same state in the main, our great expectation is to see what the King will do at the rising of this Parliament, for it is apparent that if he has a mind to have a Parliament that will vigorously carry on a war, he may now have one by instantly dissolving this, which was chosen when the nation was in the dark, and deluded by the Court itself against the interest of the Government; yet the voice of the people has so overcome this very Parliament, that they have been forced to follow the King in whatsoever measure he was willing to lead them; and although the other day they took from him £. 100, 000 of his revenue for life, yet they have given it him back again in the House this day with interest; I say with interest only as a common expression; for in reality they have given him what will be equal to £. 100, 000 per annum more than he had settled on him before. The thing itself, as well as the manner of its being given, is too long for me to tell you the particu-

lars of, only in the main it was thus compromised. The Tories first struck off the £. 100, 000, which the Whigs would not oppose, because they desponded of the King's intentions as to a war. But, since the letter of the States General, and the steps taken by the King, which have raised hopes of his being broken with France, and resolved to defend the cause, this has made the honest party more active for the King, so that the Tories and present ministry, finding that the King was able to fetch his hundred thousand pounds back again, made a compromise; and to wash off the disgrace which they incurr'd with the King before, and gain also some merit for the future, they of themselves did what I tell you this day, and it went thus advantageously for the king without any division, questions, or so much as any one speaking against it.

More I could say to shew you how much the King has all things in his power if he will exert himself, and a dissolution now would set us on à right foot. The Succession Bill is (I thank God)passed both Houses and ready for the royal assent. I am as ever yours.

LETTER LVI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY.

Chelsea, June 20th, 1701.

I have been prevented several posts one after another, or I should not have been thus long silent; but you know how we are engaged in business, especially since the division of the two Houses, which all good people are pleased with,

since it is like to be a means of ridding us of such a dangerous House of Commons, who will be no sooner up than all England will be ready to petition the King to dissolve them, they being as much hated for their hypocrisy in the last vote against France, after their keeping back things so long, as for their plain and open injustice against so many of their fellow-subjects, and against those in particular whom they persecute violently without design or intention of fairly trying them, but whom the Lords will in justice therefore acquit, as they already have done my Lord Sommers.

The King had the happiest opportunity in the world now in his hands of dissolving this Parliament, and of having another chosen of a quite different sort by the dissatisfied people; who could not have been imposed upon, had not the party obtained of the King such a speech as he last made, approving (or at least seeming to approve) all their proceedings; so that, covering themselves under that royal approbation, and then coming to a sham vote against the exorbitant power of France, they have done much by these artifices to blind the people, and set themselves right in their opinion; but I hope this may yet fail them; for their unreasonable and unjust quarrel with the House of Lords (who have gained great reputation of late, and are favorites with the people), will make it almost impracticable for the King to call this same Parliament together again, a dissolution being the only way to put an end to these feuds. And I have absolv'd my paradox, that good people wished well to our divisions.

I received yours by the Transilvanian Gntechman, who I be-

heve is gone to the Universities as he said he designed; for, he having been desirous to see our Parliament, I had an opportunity now of letting him see our greater pomp which is at a Lord's Trial, but I heard not of him at his lodgings. Young Mr. Van Twedde I took care of, and placed him with some friends who could inform him of all. I beg my humble service to Mr. Van Twedde himself, and all your good neighbours my worthy friends. I am of you and yours a sincere and hearty friend. I hope the lad Harry does well.

LETTER LVII. LOCKE TO SIR H. SLOANE.

SIR,

OATES, 14 JULY, 01,

The inclosed paper I carried to town with me when I was lately there, on purpose to put in your hands to print it or otherwise as you should think fit. It was writ by Mr. Benjamin Furley of Rotterdam, to his son here in England, and by him communicated to me. It is a remarkable story and he that writes it is a man of that credit that you may depend on it to be true. Whether it be of the kind you put into the Philosophical Transactions, you know best. Young Mr. Furley is now at Mr. Joseph Wright's, a merchant living near London-stone in Canon street, if you desire any further information concerning the boy.

I am sorry I came not home early enough to my lodging when you did me the honour to call there, and stay some time in expectation of me. I would willingly have had a little more con-

versation with you whilst I was in town. My little stay kept me in a perpetual hurry whilst I was there. I hope to make myself reparation by a speedy return thither, and a longer abode there, if my lungs will consent; and then I promise myself a fuller enjoyment of your company. I am, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

J. Locke.

For Dr. Sloane, at his house in Bloomsbury Square, London.

LETTER LVIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR FURLEY,

ST. GILES'S, July 21, 1701.

I received your extreme kind, sociable, and friendly letter, in which your son Mr. Benjohan and Harry had their part.

By all accounts we have reason to hope well of the King's good resolutions against the common enemy, and have reason to bless Providence for the glorious success of the Imperialists under Prince Eugene in Italy.

Our part on this side of the water is now only to animate our people the best we can in this interval of Parliament, that they may be prepared on a new election to choose the worthiest men, or in case of the continuance of the present Parliament (which we all pray against) to continue to oppose them every way by Addresses, Petitions, &c. and force them into their duty, as you see they did in some measure by the help of the Lords at the ending of the last Sessions, when they began a little to

change their note, the voice of the people being so high in their ears.

I have some private assurance that there is a secret sum remitted monthly from us to Italy to support the Imperialists. Our Countries long for a speedy dissolution; but if it be delayed till this spirit and resentment of the people be abated, and till the offenders by their arts have soothed the people, begged pardons, disguised themselves, and acted new parts, the advantage will be lost to the honest country interest.

I had a letter from Mr. Toland, to which I answered this post. I am sorry, but not surprized, that he should not take his measures more justly, so as not to offend or disoblige my Lord Macklesfield in his present character and circumstances.* I beg you to acquit me to my Lord with all honour and respect, as you have opportunity, either by word or letter. I beg too my kind and respectful remembrance to Mynheer Paats, Van Twedde, Flinck, &c. of your town, and most particularly to my friends of your own household, good Mrs. Furley and your sons; and last of all with my kind wishes to Harry for his doing well and pleasing you, his master and good friend. I should be mighty glad, for his improvement, (if you approved it) to be at the charge of a French master for him, to put him in a way of learning that language so necessary for him. Of this I shall hear from you in your next, and remain your faithful friend as ever, SHAFTESBURY.

*See hereafter Letter LXII.

LETTER LIX. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

ST. GILES'S, AUG. 20 [1701].

I received yours of the 16th and another by the post following, both which have brought me very agreeable news: and we have a rumour here in the country of a yet greater advantage of the Imperialists, which we must stay till tomorrow's post to know whether true or false.

In the mean time I find your fears answerable to mine; for, should the French Court be humbled so far as to offer the admission of the Emperor's Minister, and treat of a partition, I should think all were likely to go to ruin; for as I have from the beginning insisted to you, so I still do, that it were better for Europe to sit still and suffer the most horrid indignities under this present settlement of Spain, in hopes of seeing it disunited from France either by time and in a natural way, or by a more favourable opportunity for a revolution, rather this, I say, which is hazardous enough, than by treaty of their own making abandon for ever, and give up the just title and interest of the House of Austria, and for the sake of a few dominions, which may be called a satisfaction, confirm their own ruin by tying the knot faster, and necessitating such a union of Spain and France as must end not only in the taking back those foolish pledges, but the liberty of the whole world.

In short, Europe has been supported by the balance of the Houses of Austria and Bourbon. The House of Austria hav-

ing had Spain has yet been an unequal balance. Now losing Spain, it either loses it to a third Power, which will at least be separated from and have no engagements with France (and even thus, the game is still but more hazardous for Europe); or if it loses it to a power which by nature and necessity must be the same with France, who sees not the consequence to be certain ruin? But, altho' it may be thought that there may be room to hope a disunion of Spain and France under the two branches of the House of B.; yet, if Spain be so disabled as to be no way a support to itself, and so disoblighed by the Austrian Family and by Europe as to have its darling provinces torn from it, and be thus left naked and forlorn, what can be expected either from nature or reason, policy and passion, but that they must wholly fling themselves on France, and endeavour if possible (what is easily possible) to bring their monarchies even under one line and person, hoping, as they may well hope and presume with certainty, that in another generation the seat of the then universal monarchy will not be at Versailles or Marly, but Madrid. Thus, having no news, I can only send you reasonings and opinions on that news you send me. We lose ground sadly by the delay of the dissolution, if the King resolves there shall be one.

My dues to all my friends, chiefly of your own household.

Farewell.

Your son Arn is well with me here at St. Giles's, and will write to you himself.

LETTER LX. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, ST. GILES'S, Aug. 26, 1701.

Yesterday your son Arent went from hence after having done me the kindness to stay with me a week and a day or two over. I would not earnestly press him to a longer stay, since his time appointed by you was so short, and that he was desirous to see Oxford, whither I have taken care of conveying him well, he being from thence to return by the stage-coach to London (as he tells me), so to Colchester, and so to you; but I should be glad it were otherwise, and that you were to come to him, at least so as to fetch him over, that you might see your friends here after a long absence. I think you need on no account to be concerned or doubtful of your son Arent's carriage, for he seems to be of a thoroughly sober, modest, and good disposition; and I hope he will be worthy of so good a father. Things with us grow worse and worse through the delay of the dissolution, which all good people hoped would be pretty soon, but now think despairingly of. This gives still further advantage to the treacherous party to represent the actions of the leading party in the House of Commons as agreeable to the King, who, if he seem to approve their conduct, the nation cannot disapprove or show their dislike: the King, instead of discomtenancing the party, has given great countenance to them, and seems still to court them, which must be fatal to him if it go on.

Here in our country particularly, Sir Edward Seymour* has one of the greatest grants of deer that has been known out of the forest near us, where he hunts them in great parade and pomp, and has a rendezvous of all his party.

At Devonshire Assizes they got a Grand Jury of their own creatures to draw up something by way of address, in contradiction to what several of the honest counties of England have addressed for; viz. a new Parliament. And thus, whilst the King countenances and assists his enemies against his friends, his enemies must needs prevail. Our fleet is wind-bound in Torbay; the wind having been several days, and still continuing, directly contrary to them, and blowing pretty hard; we all hope it is design'd there shall be some action; but this inactivity at home makes us fearful of the same abroad, and that vigorous measures, which are the only that can save us, are not like to be used; which, seeing the success Providence has hitherto given to the Emperor in Italy, makes us feel so much the more regret. If a dissolution be intended and not soon executed with spirit and resolution, (the King declaring his mind freely, and acting cordially for his friends), we shall have as ill a choice perhaps as we had before; the honest people of England being deduced and made to judge amiss by the behaviour of the Court. On the other side, if this Parliament sit again, how can we expect good from them? or if this House of Commons mended a little, yet how will matters be adjusted between them and the House

* See hereafter, Letter LXIV.

of Peers, which a dissolution will bury in oblivion and put an end to? In short our adversaries have, after 12 years' mistake learnt their right game: they act the Commonwealth's men, and herd with us: the tares are in our wheat: we want a secretion, and nothing can do this but a right Test: and that is an abjuration, and oath of fidelity to this new settlement and Protestant Line. This left voluntary and not enforced will be a national index. The King may dissolve this Parliament, and have this if he pleases, and afterwards have all he can desire. But I must end with respects to all friends: believe me as ever, Yours.

LETTER LXI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

SEPT. 15, 1701.

I am two in your debt; for the first I thank both yourself and my worthy friend Mr. Flink, to whom I am already so much indebted, both for his friendship so kindly afforded me in Holland, and so favourably continued in his remembrance of me and correspondence with me through you. I beg you to assure him of my sincere gratitude and wishes of being able to make any suitable return. Your last was of the glorious news of the success of the Imperialists at Chiari, which I hope in God ere this time is well proved by Prince Eugene.

After those wise and just fears which you expressed to me about a treaty, the news of the Prince of Wales's title, set up by France, and by it the apparent breach of the

Ruswick treaty, with other things as to our trade, amounting to a declaration of war upon us, all this, I say, coming together has been of great comfort to me, and the certainty of a league offensive and defensive between us and the Emperor has added still more, and makes me hope that fatal step of peace is over.

Again we have a fresh and noble opportunity of a new Parliament, if the King will lay hold of it; but the opposite party, seeing their weakness, and the current of the nation against them, have agreed together rather than hazard a dissolution so fatal to them, that they will engage to do every thing for the King which he shall ask of them. I pray God he be not abused by them, as he surely will be if he hearkens to them, and lets them sit again once more: for they will put the nation into a flame, re-kindle the animosities of the last Sessions, drive on their malicious persecutions of private men with greater revenge since their defeat, in short they will embroil both the houses, and endeavour to ruin both our Constitution and Government at once. For my own part I foresee the inevitable ruin, if the King distrusts himself and resolves again to meet this unhappy Parliament, which he brought upon himself, and which the nation groans under, and must suffer by, if he will not deliver them and himself from them. The case is self-evident: if he will give himself up and hearken to a treacherous and destructive peace, this is a suitable policy: if he means war and safety for himself, it cannot be effected thus, and we

who cannot retrieve his disgrace shall be unwilling to go up to be witnesses of it, and so shall remain in our countries without hope, and expecting ruin. The King being to be soon here, we shall know our doom. But we hear that in Holland our friends have been unsuccessful in their instances with him to dissolve the Parliament, for which he has now the most favourable opportunity.

I have heard from your son Arent of his safe arrival in town. I have a piece by me in manuscript of a very honest, and no wonder therefore if I say poor, churchman, concerning Church Communion, which was never seen but by myself. 'Tis short, and I had resolved to send it by your son, but forgot to give it him at going away; however, if he goes not away from town till I have a convenience to send him from hence, he will bring it to you: otherwise send me word by what hand I shall send it when you have any good opportunity. When you have read it you will send me word how you like it.

LETTER LXII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

ST. GILES'S, 29 SEPT. 1701.

I received both yours of the 27th and this of the 4th of October, with notice of the receipt of my last, when Lord Macclesfield* was with you.

The late behaviour of the Court of France in setting up a

* Charles Gerard the second Earl of Macclesfield of that family, and a Colonel in the army, was sent Ambassador to

King of England, and falling on our trade, with other circumstances of the highest provocation for dissolving this Parliament, that it will be beyond human apprehension if it be not laid hold on instantly, and I again and again repeat it to you and foretell that nothing but this can set us on a right bottom, beginning with an abjuration of this pretended title, so formidably set up and supported, which if the malignant and Tory party are able either to throw out, or not being able to throw out, shall in another way defeat it, as they did the Association, by enforcing and making it penal, so that the whole party came in on the principle of force and constraint under a King de facto; in this case you will see a total disturbance in our affairs ere long, however promising they may look at the beginning of the Sessions of such a Parliament as this, if this continues, who will not fail to promise enough at the beginning as they have, to my certain knowledge, laid their scheme, and then break all and embroil the Houses towards the end, that all may be defeated, and supplies and measures rendered ineffectual. This I entreat you and friends to take notice of and remember. But on the other side I have good hopes and full assurance if there be but a new Parliament instantly called: and this may sit and do business as soon as the old, or within a very few days later.

the Court of Hanover in 1701 with the Order of the Garter and congratulations on the establishment of the Succession, in favour of that family. He died soon after his return, and only six days after this letter was written, Oct. 5, 1701.

Pray be pleased to take care, yourself, of this packet of books from Mr. Leers, it being the last, as I take it, of the remaining tomes of the 'Thesaur. Antiq. of Grævius; the former parts were taken so much care of that, Mr. Leers' correspondents being then in Ireland, and I not knowing how to apply to him, part of my tomes were sold, which he is to make good to me as he has promised.

So pray pay Mr. Leers, and with my service to him, hoping he has given me well chosen exemplaries. You may draw the money for this and the rest on Wilkinson's account, allowing time for me, now that I am out of town, to sign the bill and send it to be paid to your correspondent.

I thank you for your constant information of things abroad, and beg you would make my excuses this post to Mr. Van Twedde for his most kind and acceptable letter which I cannot answer by this, which, with my most hearty service to him, Mynheer Paats, Mr. Flink, and friends, chiefly your friends and family, is all from yours faithfully.

LETTER LXIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, ST. GILES'S, OCT. THE 18th, 1701.

So many foreign mails came in lately, after being kept back by contrary winds, that by this post I have received three of yours altogether, and have little time to answer them as I would do, unless I would defer, which I cannot do, the acquainting you of the

receipt of your bill on me to Mr. Limbourg, for £68 sterling, which I have sent him back endorsed to receive it presently of my goldsmith in town.

All that I can answer you as to public affairs is by referring you to what I wrote long since at the opening of this scene of affairs, particularly when I writ in answer to a proposal of our seizing any part of the West Indies, and dividing the Spanish monarchy that way. This was of all other sort, in my judgment, the most pernicious way of partitioning: it being neither the true way to wealth nor for the security of our liberties; but above all a most certain foundation of dissension between the two great people of the world,* on whose strict union and friendship, which God Almighty for ever preserve, depends the safety of the world and the preservation of all that is good or estimable amongst mankind.

In the next place: let what will be said of the last partition, I am sure of this, that no partition which gives the bulk of Spain with the West Indies again to the House of Austria, can be absolutely fatal to Europe. But whatever partition leaves the House of Austria unrestored, and the bulk of Spain in a French Prince's hands, is and must be absolutely and undeniably fatal to Europe. Therefore, as much as I detest the false policy cowardice, or treachery of those who speak of peace at a time when we must fight or be oppressed, yet still I aver that it is

* His Lordship means the English and Dutch.

better to submit now early and wait for what Providence may work for us by a division of the courts and interests of France and Spain when unmolested and left to themselves, rather than, after a war begun upon them, to unite them more indissolubly at last, conclude a peace which shall leave the Duke of Anjou on the Throne of Spain, and France in the consequence master of the world, whatever may be foolishly and weakly hoped by the advantage of a partitioning of some poor tracts of land, which will be soon regained again when the great confederacy is by a peace dissolved and the ports of Spain, the Streights, and West Indies, left in the power and management of France. But, if the partitioning be not to allow the least to France, but, giving the bulk to the Archduke, the true King of Spain, the rest be for some other powers, princes or states, to engage them in this grand alliance, and to tear more from France than even what she has got in the last age, then do I like and heartily applaud this partitioning.

This we in England have a true sense of, and I assure you it is far from being the spirit of England to aim at any thing for themselves abroad, which never can be but fatal to their liberties they so well love; and to shew you their sense in a few words and I think it cannot be better expressed, I will conclude with transcribing you the words which my brother* yesterday carried up in an address to

* The Hon. Maurice Cooper; he sat in six Parliaments for Weymouth and Melcombe, and in 1701 was chosen for Wilt-

the King from the Corporation he serves for, and which in respect of the public has the advantage of sending as many Members as London itself, for he is one of four. The words are these;

“And we hope that your Majesty, in a just resentment of this attempted usurpation (of the French King) will be enabled soon, by the assistance of your Parliament, to call in question those other titles he has set up in Europe, and by restoring the House of Austria and Crown of Spain, to put an end to his usurpations over those nations, and to the hope he has of being thereby master of the trade and liberty of these Kingdoms, and all the neighbouring world.”

My respects to yours and all our friends.

LETTER LXIV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, Dec. 29, 1701.

I believe you hardly wonder at my silence this last month, when you consider how great a scene has opened for the public, in which I was called to be so great an actor, having strongly obliged myself to be so; for as, on one hand, you know well, I was determined to retire absolutely from all public affairs, and never to have stirred out of my privacy in the country, had the King persisted in the resolution of keeping

shire, as is alluded to in a subsequent letter.

the last Parliament and ministry; so, on the other hand, having been at one time almost the single man alive that peremptorily insisted on a dissolution, and having tried all along both by my friends here and in Holland, to evince the necessity of it, and to bring it to effect, in which perhaps I may have been some instrument, I had the strongest obligation on earth upon me to act with vigor, as I have done since the opportunity the King has most happily given us, and it has pleased Providence to bless me with great success, for having my province, and that a very hard one, in two counties long in the hands of the most inveterate of the adverse party, I notwithstanding carried all that I attempted in both. In one of them, viz. Wilts, which my brother and his friend represent, instead of two inveterate Tories, we have there mended the elections by eight, which is a majority of sixteen in Parliament: and in Dorsetshire, my own county, we have gained also considerably. My friend Mr. Trenchard being in the room of a constant ill vote for the county, and my friend Sir John Cropley being also brought in by me at the place of my name, Shaftesbury, which was ever entirely in their hands since my grandfather's death, but which I have now entirely recovered, and made zealous. And as a token that the King himself is right, as we would wish, he yesterday gave me most hearty thanks for my zeal and good services on this occasion, and this before much company, which is a sufficient declaration against Sir Edward Seymour * and that

* "The ablest man of his party," says Burnet, "was Seymour, who was the first Speaker of the House of Commons that was

party, to whom my opposition was personal, and who himself in person, and by his relations, opposed me every where in the elections, though, I thank God, they were every where defeated.

I have thoroughly, and as a friend, considered of the concern of your son Arent, and though I could have given you but little encouragement before, I think I may give it you now, depending on this happy turn of the King and Administration, which being as it formerly was and seemed likely to continue, what hope could there be for any of us or our friends? I will advise further about it with mine and your friends, for you may trust me that I am not indifferently, your friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

My kind respects to all yours, and to friends, particularly Mr. Van Twedde, for whom I truly grieve.

LETTER LXV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, JAN. 6, 1701-2.

I writ you but a few posts since, and have now received yours of the 10th, your style.

I writ you concerning your son: but confess I feel the strength of your objection as to the change of these friends in employment by whose interest we may hope to have him introduced; for already to our misfortune we see the King beginning to hesitate, and because of the ill success in a Speaker (which

not bred to the law." He was the leader of the impeachment against Lord Chancellor Clarendon,—His grandson became the eighth Duke of Somerset.

he owes wholly to his own false servants, viz. Sir George Rooke, the Churchills, and others of their side, who acted violently and spoke against his interest,) he now stops in the midst of his work, and leaves these vipers and their brood still within his bowels. But what most of all astonishes me is, to hear from you that such men as Mr. Hysterman and others whom he converses with, and are the best of our friends in Holland, should at this time of day join in those fatal counsels, and wish that measures should be still kept with that malignant and inveterate party that are enemies to us by principle, and are in nothing more plainly distinguished from us than by their mortal hatred to Holland; where I am sorry they should have any to plead for them, though I am satisfied that the first unhappy turn of the King towards that sort immediately after we set the Crown on his head in spite of their teeth, was owing to some of that nation, who were as little friends to the true interest of that as of ours. But I always hoped that the Holland Whig party and friends of liberty (such as Mr. Hysterman and his friends) better knew, or at least in time would come better to know, their friends here and who they were, that on the one side only could support, and on the other side could never but supplant this our present Government.

I am glad you like the advice of Wiltshire to my brother; 'twas signed by a mighty body of Gentry who appeared for him and his friend who is chosen with him, and it was first drawn up by a certain good friend of yours and his. I first moved an abjuration in the counties, and induced many to

give it (as you have seen the town of Shaftesbury) in their instructions, and I have now opened it in Parliament, and tomorrow we bring in the Bill into the House of Lords, who have addressed the King in a second Address for the dethroning the usurper of Spain and restoring the House of Austria.

I know not if Mr. Hysterman has communicated to you some propositions which I hastily drew up, and sent to a friend to have finished, called "Paradoxes of State:" if they are made public, I will send you them.

I am now, on my own account and my friend Sir John Cropley's, to desire your care of a young gentleman (who needs it), a younger brother of a worthy gentleman our friend, one Mr. Micklethwait. The lad is to go to school to learn French and merchant's accounts; but it is feared he will not do well at any school where there are English lads. What you may lay out for him will be answered by Sir John Cropley and his own brother, and be an obligation to them as to myself.

My respects to yours and all my friends. I am

Sincerely yours.

Pray remember me to Harry, to whom I writ some lines (tell him) the same post I writ last to you.

We have had two divisions to try our strength in the House of Commons, and are considerably superior. I shall send you as usual some of our English country fare (I mean our brawn), which I hope will come better to you this time than it did last Christmas, and prove better.

LETTER LXVI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY,

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, FEB. 22, 1701.

I received yours of the 11th and that of the 25th since, which you writ me of the death of that worthy person Mr. John de Witt, whose loss I much bemoan. I did not write to you from the country because I was just coming up to the Parliament, and could better inform you of affairs when there. And till now I have waited to see whether my opinions delivered to you of the Parliament, (I mean the House of Commons) were true or not. But the day before yesterday it was plainly made out that the honest party were prevalent, and much superior (more than ever they yet were) to their adversaries. The first trial of the House was by the question some days since whether they should insert in their vote the words relating to the Peace of Europe, which was carried in the affirmative. The explanation of this came out more fully the day before yesterday, for at this time the high church party openly proposed the owning the Duke of Anjou, but the proposal was rejected with so much scorn, that it came not to the vote; but instead of it they voted what you see in the prints of uniting with the Dutch in measures for the common safety of both nations, and had not the Court stopped it (a thing miraculous,) it had gone further, so as to have exhorted the King to all manner of strict

alliances with the Dutch for the same good ends, and in opposition to the power of France. But a minister of state (Sir Charles Hedges the Secretary, who was also an active minister under King James in the Ecclesiastical Court, &c.) stood up and signified to the House that no more was asked or desired than to perform that particular Treaty mentioned in the memorial; so the vote of the House went no further. In the meanwhile, though all the power of the Court was used to damp the spirits of the House, every thing was spoken and carried highly against France, and with the greatest respect and affection imaginable to the interest of Helland, notwithstanding the inveteracy of the Tory party.

And now pray see the virtue that is still left in this nation, were we under an Administration to exert it. Here was a Parliament dissolved with all the disadvantages on earth, to ruin the country party, and a new one called under a new ministry in the most fatal conjuncture imaginable, and with all its arts and corruptions set on foot to ruin us, and gain a Parliament fit for this treacherous ministry, friends to France and King James; the King himself not awaked, but still managing with the same Ministers who openly side with France and favour the Jacobite interest; yet, notwithstanding this, we have strength enough in the Parliament to carry every question against the Tories (who have had the forming of this Parliament,) against the Ministry (who are Tory, and have been lately popular for opposing the Court,) against the Court, and even against the King himself, whilst he is thus against himself. Ne-

ver Parliament was more ready to do so for him to the utmost, and if he be resolved to do for himself, and put himself out of French hands, he has all England with him, but what he intends God knows; who alone truly knows the hearts of Princes.

My kind remembrance to friends, and to all yours. I am as ever. There are many difficulties in that list you desire of me, but I will see what is possible.

LETTER LXVII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY.

CHELSEA, FEB. 27th, 1701-2.

I have waited some time in expectation of that letter and concern which was to come to me by Mr. Sommars's hands, but as yet I have not seen him, and now can no longer keep silence, having so good an account to give you of what passed yesterday in the House of Commons.

It was a Committee of the whole House, so that the chief resolution, which was in the negative, and so thrown out, will not be reported to the House, and is therefore not printed in the Votes. It will be necessary for you to know, in the first place, that last Thursday was se'night the malignant party, having gone into a Committee upon the privileges of the House of Commons, as a handle to begin by, without any great opposition, carry three resolves against the matters that were asserted in the late pamphlets, particularly that of "Jura Populi

Anglicani," which that party were highly provoked by. Having done this, they then proceeded to an attempt against the more public voice of the people, viz, the addresses, and by one vote would have cut off at once the antientest and greatest of the English privileges by the question which they long insisted on, viz, "That the promoting of any addresses to his Majesty, advising him to dissolve a Parliament, was seditious," &c. After this, had they carried this, they were to have fallen upon all those brave instructions and advices given to the Members newly chosen, which you have heard of and read; for this they threw at furiously in their debates. But they were far from carrying this question, and seeing plainly that their strength failed them, they withdrew their question, not daring to put it, as we would have had them, and could have forced them after so long a debate, but that they found a way to break up the Committee abruptly and so saved themselves. This occasioned our side to demand that, against the next Thursday, (which was yesterday), the same Committee of the whole House which had an instruction to consider of the privileges of the House of Commons might also have instruction to consider as well of the privileges of the Commons themselves and people of England. This gave a check to them and the party then pretended they had enough, desired our friends to forbear, and promised on their side that they would attempt nothing further. But yesterday, the House being come into the Committee appointed, that party most treacherously began the whole matter of the impeachments and brought on this ques-

tion, "That the House of Commons had not right done them in the matter of the impeachments in the last Parliament."

This was debated from noon till 8 at night, and that party in full assurance of carrying their point, and involving us anew in confusion, engaging both the Houses in a new quarrel, and setting the whole nation in a ferment; but they lost their point in the fullest house that ever was known: they were 221 and we for the negative 235.

But after our friends had carried this question, they thought it fit to turn the enemies' cannon upon them, and accordingly they passed the two other affirmative Votes (which are printed in the Votes of the House as the Committee's) viz, "That it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition for the calling, sitting, and dissolving of Parliaments;" and, "That it is the undoubted right of all the subjects of England, on all prosecutions, impeachments, as well as others, to be brought to a speedy trial."

Mr. Harley (who in the Committee was as a private Member, and not as Speaker,) betrayed his passion, and shewed that private animosity and revenge prevailed over all other obligations (I am sorry to say it,) and even over the assurances he gave to us his friends, to the King, and I believe also to many of you abroad, who have heard of his engagement to lay aside all resentment, and let the matters of last year sleep.

This behaviour of Mr. Harley extremely troubles me, for

he loses all reputation and trust among us, and is as one desperately engaged in party. 'Tis he and he alone that wounds us; for all the strength of the Tories or Church party is nothing, but by that force which he brings over to them from our side; so that joining with the western corner (Cornwall and Wales,) where unhappily there is such an over proportion of Members, he brings us to these extremities. There is a mighty pretty scheme of this disproportion of our representations which I send enclosed as a curiosity in a letter by this post to Myulheer Paats, who lately wrote to me. Pray give my most humble service to him. Mr. Van Twedde, and other friends, and believe me yourself to be to you and yours a faithful friend and servant.

LETTER LXVIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

LONDON, MARCH 18, 1701.

I received yours in answer to my arguments against the project of a new Partition, and I am glad to find your sentiments agree with mine. I think there is nothing plainer under heaven: if the world are unable to master France and tear Spain out of its hands, France must be master of the world, and whatever the King of France may part from at present, to hinder the world's uniting at first against him, when he has by this means, and by a treacherous peace, made sure of Spain itself, he will soon fetch back the rest

and with it the rest of Europe into his power. This all men must soon be convinced of, and is what gains in England, and I hope ere long will be the opinion of every man true to the Protestant interest and the liberty of mankind.

This day we have had a trial of these sentiments in our House of Lords; we having been some time upon the consideration of the Partition Treaty, and framing an Address upon it to the King, in which we represent to him the wrong measures of that Treaty, but conclude against the perfidiousness of France; which broke even this Treaty so over-advantageous to him. Our great debate was on these words to be added to the Address, "That it appeared to us that the King of France had manifestly violated this solemn Treaty, and that on this account we addressed his Majesty that for the future he would never treat with this King of France but with such caution as might carry with it effectual security;" which being objected against as a declaring war with France, and not treating but on the terms of a new King of Spain, it was so accepted on our side, and a Lord of yours, and my particular acquaintance owned it thus, and explained it his sense for sending back the young gentleman to Versailles, and bringing the ArchDuke into his room, and that which was his just right.

The Lords of the other party, finding themselves not strong enough to oppose this question, moved for adjournment of the debate, in which they carried several Lords from us that were of our opinion. However, we carried it against them 39 to 31, which is a full House of Lords; and the question itself we after-

wards carried with few negatives, and without a division. Immediately after, the memorials of our two Ministers (the English and Dutch) to Mr. D'avaux were communicated to the House, by the King's order, as they were at the same time to the House of Commons, but both Houses referred the consideration of them to a further day.

In the mean time, I can add nothing more at present, but my kind service to your good family, and my respects to all my worthy friends, to whom you make any mention of me, or communicate any thing of these advices I send you, especially Mr. Van Twedde, Mynheer Paats, and our two worthy friends at the Hague, when you see them. I enclosed a long letter (a whole state of our affairs) to Mr. Hysterman in one to yourself last post. I hope it came safe.

I am your sincere friend and servant.

I mightily rejoice at the good character you give of Henry Wilkinson. I pray God he may continue to deserve it, and the kindness both you and Mrs. Furley are so good as to shew him.

I return my hearty thanks to Mrs. Furley for her kind present: but it has happened unfortunately, that the rats in the ship, gnawing a hole through the barrels, ate up every thing within.

LETTER LXIX. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

AUG. 10, 1702.

When I heard from your son Ben of his arrival in town, I

stopped my hand and thought not to write to you till I had seen him here, which he gave me hopes of; but having heard a second time from him, and finding that I cannot expect him here yet awhile, I would not delay writing to you longer, nor be wanting in giving you and my friends an account of our affairs and new chosen Parliament, which perhaps may sit so soon that you may be surprized by their behaviour, if you first of all are not apprized of their character: in which, however, I must be cautious, for, as times are now turning with us, we must take more care of our expressions than we were used. However, it is no treason to say, that that party whom the Court has favored, have obtained their victory in almost all parts: by what means or practices, lawful or unlawful, moderate or violent, I will not say. The Justices of peace, the Sheriffs, the Officers of all the Militia of Cities and counties, with all the rest of the civil and military offices, were in the hands of the high church party, and the changes reserved to the very instant of the elections, the more to strike a terror and break the measures of those who, depending on some moderation, had not armed themselves nor the people they influenced, against such an attack of all those that were friends of the late Government and lovers of the deliverance and deliverer. But how could all this be avoided? How should those who were truly friends to King William and his cause be able to support it and his memory at such a time as this, when it was but a year since, the last of his whole life, that ever he put himself into their hands or gave them either credit or authority; but on the contrary

through all his whole reign, excepting only his last glorious year, having placed all his confidence on those who were true friends indeed to the Crown, but not to his Crown, did on all occasions sacrifice and deliver up those wretches called Whigs to the fury of their enemies; and even when he seemingly took them into his favor, as he did towards the end of the war, which never had been ended but in a more fatal manner, had not necessity brought them into play, even then he more ruined them than ever, having only imposed on them the load of taxing without the allowance of one act to make them popular; and at last when they, by acting for the Court, had lost their credit, and their enemies had gained esteem by acting contrarily, they were then discarded and delivered up after that their services had procured a peace, which being so perfidiously broken, and the treachery of the other party appearing so openly, it pleased Heaven to turn our King's heart, and to inspire him with the resolution of embracing his true friends, which he did, and found the effects of it, in being enabled to fix all his affairs abroad for the common safety: but not so as to establish his friends' interest here at home, where those who were come almost to trample on himself whilst alive might well be able to trample on his memory and friends after death. This we must peaceably submit to and wait the event. For most certainly the same party which was subdued in the last is two to one in the present Parliament.

There are two things may work for us; the first is their violence, which may alarm and awake the people, and "The people

once awake, England is safe," is a tried maxim. My friends abroad heard it from me some years since, though they could not then see that England was not determined by a Parliament, but the event shewed it; and when we had set the people right we knew all would be so. But the people have now an opinion that these men and this very Ministry will serve their turn, and carry on things abroad for their own honour, and pursue the war vigorously. They have been the party that have of late years acted the patriot, and they have now purged themselves by the solemnest of oaths, the abjuration, and by their professing their zeal for a war and against France. Now that they are, say they, in good hands, even you abroad are willing to think well of our Ministry. The experiment must be tried: if they shew themselves soon by their violence in any kind, we shall soon be rid of them. The next hope is from their division amongst themselves: if they use their late friends (the Harleys and Folcys) ill, then all that party joins again with those of the same principle, and we shall have our own. Upon the whole I am not disheartened, but rejoice chiefly to hear so well of the cause of liberty amongst you. Farewell.

LETTER LXX. LOCKE TO FURLEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

OATES, 12 OCT. 1702.

(12) Did I not think you are so well satisfied of my of-
teems friendship, that you will not doubt of it, whether I talk
to you, or whether I hold my peace, I should not have been so

long silent after the receipt of three very obliging letters. You see I have ingenuity enough to acknowledge my debt, though I have not wherewithal to make you returns in the like kind. All the action is on your side of the water, and daily furnishes matter: we then make no noise, and I am too far out of the way (which I am not sorry for) to hear any thing that does not. And whether it be society or dull old age, or any thing else, I have not curiosity to be prying or to acquaint myself with the bias or bent of affairs. Only I shall always be glad to hear of public events that tend to the prosperity and preservation of my country, and the security of Europe. I promised myself much satisfaction in your company here this summer, and it has been a great disappointment to miss it. Besides the joy it would have been to me to see you again, I flatter myself we could have passed some days together not unpleasantly, though news and politics had been excluded out of our conversation. I think myself upon the brink of another world, and being ready to leave those shufflings which have generally too broad a mixture of folly and corruption, should not despair with you to find matters more suited to the thoughts of rational creatures to entertain us. Do not think now that I am grown either a Stoic or a Mystic. I can laugh as heartily as ever, and be in pain for the public as much as you. I am not grown into a sullenness that puts off humanity; no, nor mirth neither; come and try; but I have laid by the simplicity of troubling my head about things

that I cannot give the least heed to one way or the other. I rather choose to employ my thoughts about some thing that may better myself and perhaps some few other such simple fellows as I am. You may easily conclude this written in a chimney-corner in some obscure hole out of the way of the lazy men of this world. And I think not the worse of it for being so: and I pray heartily it may continue so as long as I live. I live in fear of the bustlers, and would not have them come near me. Such quiet fellows as you are, that come without drum and trumpet, with whom we can talk upon equal terms, and receive some benefit by their company, I should be glad to have in my neighbourhood, or to see sometimes, though they came from the other side of the water.

Though I have nothing to say to you nor send to you but my hearty good wishes, which are far from news to you, yet I am you see got into a vein of talking, and know not how long I should run on in it, did not my arm stop my hand. I have of late so great a pain in my arm when I write, that I am often fain to give off. But 'tis not strange that my frail temperment has decays in it, 'tis rather to be wondered that it hath lasted so long. If my continuance might be of any service to you or any of my friends or to any good man, I shall be glad; for I am with great affection and sincerity,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

Sir Francis, my lady and the rest of this family give their service to you and yours: pray give mine particularly to your dear

son and self, to Dr. Comp. and to Mons. Baile when he comes in your way. However I value his opinion in the first rank of those who have got my book, yet he will not do me the favor to let me know what he thinks of it one way or other.

LETTER LXXI. LOCKE to FURLEY.

SIR,

OATES, 12 OCT. 1702.

I am glad to hear that you are arrived safe to London and now I know where you are, I send this letter to you with the return of my thanks for yours that you writ me from thence just as you were leaving the town. I thought myself more obliged to you for your visit than you could be to me for any thing I could do for you here. However I receive the acknowledgments you make me as I know you intend them, and can assure you, that if esteem, good will, and readiness to serve you on any occasion within my power, both for your own and your father's sake, be acceptable to you, as I doubt not, I shall never fail to deserve your thanks. Mr. Limborck writes me word that you intend us a visit here again before you go to Holland. I am obliged by the intention, and shall always be glad to see you. But if your leisure, the weather, and all other circumstances do not concur to make it pleasant and easy to you, do not put yourself to the fatigue of a toilsome journey barely out of ceremony. If you come, you are sure to be very welcome; if any thing fall out to hinder it,

you will not be blamed or quarrelled with for it.

I spoke to you when you were here for a cask of the double mum, whereof you say your father has very good. 'Tis not that I have any great need of it that I would have it: only because you commended it to be perfectly good of the kind, I would be glad to have it, if you can send it over conveniently, without much trouble to yourself, and see that no tricks be played it by the way. Mr. Limborch and I, talking of that, were of a mind that the best way was to put another cask over it. For if it were a double cask, neither the seamen between this and Holland, nor the seamen between this and London, could draw out the mum and fill it up again with worse liquor. But I must leave this to you: pray, when you send it, consign it to Mr. Limborch, and I shall give him orders to pay you for it.

I have here enclosed sent you a letter for your father, to whom pray remember me very kindly, and to your mother and your brother Arent and your brother-in-law. Give my service also, I beg you, to Mr Bayle and to Dr. Colans. If I see you not again before you go, I wish you a safe and quick passage to your friends at Rotterdam, and all happiness and prosperity with them. I am, Your very affectionate humble servant,

J. Locke.

This family remember themselves to you with kindness, Pray let your brother Arent know that I thank him for his civil letter.

To Mr. FURLEY JUNIOR.

* This letter appears to have been written on the same

LETTER LXXII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

ST. GILES, NOV. 4, 1702.

I hope that before this reaches you, your son Benjamin will be safely arrived: who brings some letters from me to you and other friends.

My letter to yourself was but short; since your son, who came so lately from me, and was so kind as to stay some time with me longer than he first designed, was able to tell you all my thoughts of our public affairs, from which I am now much withdrawn, and must be more so, not only because of this season, in which it is not so proper for such as I am to act; but in truth because my efforts in time of extremity, for this last year or two, have been so much beyond my strength in every respect, that not only for my mind's sake, (which is not a little to one that loves retirement as I do), but for my health's sake, and on the account of my private circumstances, I am obliged to give myself a recess, which will have this agreeable in it, besides the retirement which I love, that I shall promise myself the happiness of seeing you in Holland; since you have been so long a coming to us, but are still so far from it, by what I can guess.

I have received yours of the 7th, your stile, enclosed in your

day as the last: for both of them are dated OCT. 12, 1702-3. there is perhaps an error in one of these dates.

son's, who writ me he was then about his journey to Harwich for the next packet. I was mightily pleased to read in yours of the generous offer of a certain great Lord* to you for the preferring of some young man of your recommendation to his service in his great employment, nor was I less pleased to see how the young lads received it when you read it to them, and methought I saw, as if I were present, their honest ambition and friendly emulation : but it is Harry's duty to wave his part, and I really think, by what I can judge by this first view, that in prudence, and according to best advice for their common interest, and the interest of each in particular, it is better that this favor should be for Mr. Arent ; since being your own son, a kind of foster-child too to Mr. Locke, my lord's great friend, he can enjoy the fruits of your recommendation and carry the force of your own and friend's interest with my lord much better than a stranger can do, or one whom I am, as perhaps may seem, but remotely concerned for. Besides that, as for any interest that I have myself with my lord, it is what I cannot much count upon, since this last year or two that he threw himself so eagerly into the Tory interest, and prosecuted both the impeachments and all those other fatal, obstructive, and unjust measures, with so much violence. He has now smarted for it, having been barbarously treated by that party he went over to, who sacrificed him last year in the House of Commons, where his son, though my good friend and pupil, never

* Charles Earl of Peterborough.

gave us a vote till about that time. My Lord is now come back to his original friends and principles, and those sores are all healed up, but how it may stand between myself and him I know not, as to his part, for great men are not so forgiving as we that are of a lower genius and meeker spirits; and indeed, as much as I honor him now and congratulate his advancement, * which I do more heartily perhaps than any friend he has in the world, yet at that time I opposed him earnestly, and told him the treatment he would infallibly meet with at last from his new friends whom he then joined with.

I was going to have writ more, but I just received notice that my Lord Portland, † being going through our Country, is just coming hither to stay with me this night, so I shall not have time to add further.

It being King William's birth-day and landing, and we having just received the great and glorious news of burning the French fleet and galleons, we shall pass the evening cheerfully, and I can with the more satisfaction honour and make much of my guest for ever having had commerce with him till the days of his adversity; in which, for the sake of the common cause and love of Holland, I served and respected

* To be Governor of Jamaica. † William first Earl of Portland and K. C. father of the first Duke, By "the days of his adversity" Lord Shaftesbury probably alludes to his impeachment in 1701, for his share in the Partition Treaty.

him to the utmost. I remain, yours faithfully. Dues to all yours, and to my worthy friends of your town &c.

LETTER LXXIII. LOCKE TO CLARKE.

DEAR SIR,

OATES, 30 Nov. 02.

There will be, I doubt not, holidays of some kind or other for you at Christmas; and then what should hinder you to take a little air. A few days spent here then, I think, would do you no harm, and I am sure would oblige more than one here. Do not blame me, if I desire to be happy once more in your company. I have been little better than out of the world these last twelve months by a deafness that in great measure shuts me out of conversation. I thank God my hearing is now restored again, and it is in your power to make me yet more sensible of that blessing. It would be folly in me to count upon another Christmas: come then and let me enjoy you this. My Lady, who gives you her service, joins with me in this request, and says, that in this uncertain world she knows nothing so desirable as the conversation of friends. And therefore she nor I are not to be blamed if we take care to secure yours early, that nothing may fall between to rob us of our hopes.

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTER LXXIV. SHAFTESB. TO H. WILKINSON.

HARRY,

CHELSEA, JAN. 12, 1702-3.

I can easily excuse your failing to write to me when you are so well employed in your master's service. I thank God that I hear so good a report of thee, and I hope I shall never have the sorrow of hearing any thing contrary.

I was pleased when I heard of thy honest ambition, or emulation rather, in the case of going to the West Indies with Lord Peterborough, but then thou must remember what is becoming thee in modesty, considering thy circumstances and obligations to thy master, and that not in this case only, where a son of thy master's is concerned, but in all cases thou be ready and willing to give place in all things, and to all, and this is that Christian virtue which not only becomes thy youth and circumstances, but will give thee respect and love, and raise thee in the world, for thus it is, that even in a worldly sense, that maxim of Christianity is good, so that he who thus "humbles himself shall be raised;" as on the contrary, "he that raises himself shall be abased." And, now, besides what I have said to thee here, if thou hast prudence, thou wilt find by what I writ in Mr. Furley's, which he read to thee concerning matters as they stood between me and Lord Peterborough, it had been no happy thing for thee to have gone, as on my account, being my recommendation and care: God grant it be, as I hope and trust it will, fully happy with Mr. Arent, who

goes.

Thy present was kindly received by my sister Hooper, who with all my family remember to thee, and I assure thee myself of being thy affectionate friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

I have had some of our country Christmas provision that has lain in the ships to go to Mr. Furley's these three weeks, but there is yet no convoy nor ship that stirs, so I shall be forced to send for the pie away, but the brawn I hope will hold good.

Continue to write when thou canst. I hope it will be but few months ere I see you in Holland, where I think of coming to reside for some months in the greatest privacy, and rest me from the fatigues I have endured in the publick affairs and business, which have much wasted me and injured my health. God be with thee.

My kind remembrances to all your family, and to Mr. Benjohan, with thanks for his letter.

TO MR. WILKINSON.

LETTER LXXV. SHAFTESBURY TO H. WILKINSON.

HARRY,

JAN. 1702-3,

I received yours of the 10th, but what you writ some time since of your affairs pleased me much better. I am glad to see you forward and concerned for your interest and for-

tune, but there is that which is better than all the fortune or interest in the world, I mean your behaviour and conduct, which I am much more concerned for, as much as I have bestowed on you, and as great pains as I have taken to enable you to rise in the world and be something.

But this is in a second place, and to be considered at a far distance, after the much more valuable possession I have named. I had rather at any time receive from you one sound proof of your honesty, fidelity, good nature, modesty, and humility, than a thousand of your ability, good fortune, and success, which yet, I trust in God, will not be wanting to you. But there is a double danger which young men run in this world, for, after they have overcome base and vicious inclinations, and are found sober and temperate, there are other passions which are apt to gain upon them, and without great care their very industry and sobriety may become a means to injure them and blow them up; for a sober and industrious young man will find so many advantages in the world, and so fair a way open before him, that he is easily led to ambition, and to think too forwardly of himself. If there were any true preachers of Christianity in the world, it would be found a chief point to put men, especially young men, in mind of this, that they might know that after all other advantages and good qualities, humility and poorness of spirit, to use our Saviour's words, were the noblest qualifications. 'Tis this that makes men meek, affable, and compliant, mindful of their benefactors, and sensible of gratitude and duty to those whom they are owing to.

But as to your own particular affairs at present, 'tis true you have little business, as you say, now that this late misfortune befallen your master has taken off so much of his practice.

But it is your peculiar good fortune, for which you have reason to bless God, that you are with a master whose good life and integrity, wisdom and virtue, love to mankind and his country, with many other eminent qualities not to be found in merchants of our days, make him a better teacher and instructor to you than in any other way. If in other affairs you are not able to serve him as formerly, this is a time to shew your respect and deference for him in another manner, to seek instruction from him, attend upon him, and officiously serve him in every minute thing.

Advise and consult with him as to all relating to your fortune. If it be agreeable to him, or any kind of satisfaction or service to him, think not only of staying out your full time, but staying in Holland either with him or in any other circumstance, as long as you are able to contribute the least to his or to his family's service.

As for my own part, I am just leaving the town, after giving my proxy in Parliament, and shall go to St. Giles's for the winter, and in the spring and summer shall be here again, and not at St. Giles's, as you imagine.

My eyes smart for this, and I can write no more, but my prayers for you and the good family.

LETTER LXXVI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, JAN. 30TH, 1702-3.

I have two of yours unanswered, which should not have been had I not found you understood our matters so right as that I need not explain them to you.

Your judgment about R. Harley is perfectly right. He is ours at the bottom. I cannot call him truly a man of virtue: for then he had not been lost to us by any disobligation or ill-usage, of which he has had sufficient. He is truly what is called in the world a great man, and it is by him alone that that party has raised itself to such a greatness as almost to destroy us. 'Tis he has taught 'em their popular game, and made them able in a way they never understood, and were so averse to, as never to have complied with, had they not found it at last the only way to distress the Government. But I believe there is hopes of gaining him. If he who has done so much, to divide and break and ruin his own party and friends will but do half so much to piece 'em up and unite them, the thing will be easy, and the cause our own. This gentleman and others will then soon come over. God grant that he I mean may be so wise: there is hopes too of this: for great steps are taken, and we are bid to hope. The Duke of Somersset is a Tory and of a Tory family, and become a zeal-

ous and hearty man with us:* and, indeed, all the Ministry hitherto taken in are of the very best.

What you enquire of concerning my brother's † choice you will already be resolved in if you ever read the Votes, where you will find that he made his choice to serve for Wiltshire, being chosen both there and at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, which chuses four members.

Our good friend Lord Peterborow was by the treachery and malice of the Tory party censured yesterday in the House of Commons, for which he is the less pitied, because he last year joined so much with that party, and in the impeachment and prosecution of his brother Whigs, for which his new friends the Tories have well repaid him. But I thank them for the example: not only for setting my Lord Peterborow right (for this fixes him ours), but for shewing all those of our party who tamper with them, what they have to expect.

The "Paradoxes" are printed, and I have sent one to you with one to Mr. Hysterman (to whom I have writ this post), and one to Mr. Van Twedde.

I am often at a loss to send you any packet of that kind with dispatch: will it not be enough that I send it to Mr. Wright's in the city? for it happens that, when I hear not of a ship in some time (this lying not in my way), the

* Charles, the sixth and "proud" Duke of Somers-et, the new Queen had made her Master of the Horse, and he retained that post throughout her reign, until 1715.

† The Hon. Maurice Ashley.

things that I would send you growing out of date, I wholly omit them: and thus perhaps you will have one of those pamphlets long before mine come to you. I have sent you some of the Wiltshire advices, as delivered by the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the county to my brother.

My best services to all my friends, particularly your own family, and believe me to be Sincerely yours.

Mr. Mickelthwayt will write to you himself about his brother.

I received lately a present from Mr. Bayle of his Dictionary, for which pray return him my humble thanks. I shall do it myself in a post or two.

LETTER LXXVII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

APRIL 30, 1703.

My eyes have been lately so bad that I have scarce writ a letter this month, and not being willing to make use of any other hand to you but my own, I must be short though I have much to say.

I rejoice to hear Mr. Benjohan recovers by the use of the bark. If he purges in any time afterwards (as it is convenient to take physie), he must take some more of the bark a few doses; else purging brings back the ague, which is the thing that makes people say the bark cures but for a time, for by taking physie without this caution the ague often returns.

I received yours of advice of Bill of £20 sterling drawn on

my servant, which he has paid Mr. Limboreh. I have received also yours of this last post but one, that brought us the welcome news of the French being repulsed; but we are alarmed this last post with news of a new attack on Count Prosper of Fustenberg, who I hope will give them the same reception. The good news has operated strangely in our Court, and broke the treacherous measures that are feared in some of the Ministry, who were believed fully to depend on the success of the attempted junction with Bavaria, and so terrifying the whole empire bring on a sudden peace. The Emperor to have the dominions in Italy annexed to him, the Elector of Bavaria the Spanish Netherlands with a Kingly title; and so Spain, West Indies, &c. to be left with the Duke of Anjou, and consequently the whole world in a little time more in the hands of France. This far more fatal second Partition Treaty was supposed to be supported at the Court of Vienna by Count Mansfield (an imperial Tory), as well as by those of the same kind in our home Ministry. But the Queen herself without advice of Council (and against the inclination as is thought of some there) sent to the Tower to have the guns fired, and to the City to have the bells rung on this glorious news; and expressed real joy when more than half her Court were said to have sad looks. It was said publicly at a coffee-house by an officer at Court, that a great man had obstructed the Treaty with Portugal, and had said in Council that it was unlawful to send aid to the Semmes, who were rebels.

This is now the talk of the town, and, the great man hav-

ing complained of this discourse, the other officer is like to lose his place. 'Tis hoped by all that love the common cause, that the King of Portugal comes in upon the right and true foundation, offering to receive the Archduke as King of Spain, and conduct him to Madrid, if we will bring him over. Count Wratislaw § they say is gone about this to Vienna, and Mr. Methuen returns to Portugal. God grant this be so. I have left no room to speak of myself, and in time I hope to see you and friends. I have a match in hand for a sister which will detain me some time; our law affairs being as you know the most dilatory in the world. Dues to all friends, so fare well.

§ A curious incident has occurred in the family of the Wratislaws, which I here mention, that it may not be altogether lost. A gentleman, bearing this name, is now Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He knew nothing more of his family than that his father had come formerly from Hungary and settled in England. Within the last two years the son travelling in Hungary, fell in with some of the Wratislaws, and the identity of name led to mutual explanations, by which it was discovered that a younger member of the Wratislaw family had fled from his parents about the time that the father of the Fellow of Christ's College first came to England. Little doubt remained that the father and the fugitive were the same.

LETTER LXXVIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, JUNE 11, 1703.

I forbore several posts since yours in answer to my last, waiting till I might tell you something positive concerning my coming over to you; which I now can: for the affairs which hindered me this spring being now for the most part over, I shall only stay this month out, and in the next, I trust Providence, I shall be with you.

Therefore I propose to myself to say little to you by letter in this interval, except with relation to my abode with you, which I must entreat the trouble of you to help to make convenient and private for me; for though I wish for your sake chiefly to be in the town of Rotterdam with you, yet as it is the most public place and common landing and passage of the English, so it will be the hardest for me to be private without great care.

In the next place I must have regard to my health, which I have mightily impaired by my fatigues in the public affairs these last three years, and am now as bad again as when I retired for respite, and recovered myself by my last retreat in Holland; the air of Rotterdam is happily as good or better than any, but that I speak for is to get into such a lodging as I might be warm in the winter time, I being not able to make use of stoves, for which reason my chamber should be the

closer to be well warmed in the winter by the fire only.

I liked both my lodging and every thing very well where I last was, but perhaps that is gone ; if not, then the same room will do perfectly well, only, the light not being so good for reading in the room I lay in, I must hire me both that and another at the other end of the passage, which I made use of sometimes. Now, if this lodging be gone, I would intreat you to seek out a lodging and board for me amongst some good quiet people, either French or Dutch, and I should be glad to be nearer to your quarter : provided it may not be so near or in so public a place as easily to be found by those who see me at any time come to your house, where I may sometimes meet a friend, but except yourself and family will entrust no person to come to my own lodging; by which rule I kept myself so easy and private the last time.

The last thing, and the chief that I shall beg of you to look after for me, is a servant. He whom I had with me last is married and keeps a shop. I have no other that speaks any language but English, so I must take a new one ; I shall bring a youth with me who will serve me very well in my chamber, but for all necessaries, and for help and attendance abroad, buying things for me and the like, I should have one that knows something of the language of the country, and French very well. Whether this be a Dutch or a French servant is indifferent to me ; and all the qualifications I want are sobriety and faithfulness ; for shaving my English servant will serve me. I shall be willing to give ever so good wages, but for a good servant,

that were faithful, and any poor honest fellow that had no ability in any common way of service would serve my turn. So that I should hope you might easily find some such amongst the French, or any other; and, if you could, I should be willing you would secure him, by giving him any allowance you think fit from this time till I come over. Thus you see I trouble you freely with my necessities, and beg to hear from you the soonest. I hope Mr. Benjohan recovers. Dues to all yours and my friends. I am faithfully yours.

LETTER LXXIX. SHAFTESBURY to FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, JUNE 25, 1703.

This is only to give account that I received yours, and to thank you for the pains you have been at to get me a lodging, servant, and conveniences. I hope you have fixed it for me ere this, the lodging especially, for I should be glad to come thither upon my landing, since either at a public house or in yours, were I to stay but a night or two, I might be more liable to be found out by those who might make me uneasy: for I must be more troublesome in this concern of my privacy than I was last time, by so much the more as I have made myself more known in the world, and have acted a more public part, which will place a great many eyes upon me that will seek for mystery where there is none, and think my retirement rather a pretext than a reality, as a certain party of men

have already represented it to our superiors in a talk which it seems the suspicion of it has occasioned.

I shall be much obliged to Mons. Boyd if he can find me such a servant as you describe, of known fidelity, and I should be very glad to eat with such a person as you mentioned in the last of your three proposals: I leave you to determine for me; I desire of all things a retired private and quiet family, and such a one may very well receive me, though my outward character, and the common notion people have of one of my rank, gives but an ill impression.

I shall see few persons besides yourself and family; and no other whatsoever at my lodging. I shall trouble a house with no more than one servant, for when I have put my servant, whom you are to take for me, into the way of serving, I shall, in a fortnight or little more, send back my English servant whom I bring over with me. I am now only thinking of a safe and good convoy, fearing nothing so much as falling alive into French hands; therefore should lay hold of any vessel of war, English or Dutch, where I was sure at least of making good resistance, and this, I think, is harder to find on our side than yours, for our Admiralty affairs grow every day so much worse, as yours I hope grow better since the vacancy of a Stadtholder,* which God of his mercy long continue, as well as that happy success so remarkably appearing ever since that time, and of which your last letter of advice of forcing the

* By the death of King William the Third.

French lines is a sufficient proof. Excuse the haste of this and let me hear from you, I entreat you, concerning my lodging, board, and servant, if you have agreed it. So with my respects to friends, and chiefly to yourself and family, I remain as ever yours.

All my friends, especially Mr. Micklethwait, remember to you.

LETTER LXXX. LOCKE TO SIR H. SLOANE.

SIR,

OATES, 24 FEB. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I should not have been so long indebted to you for a letter without returning you an answer, were I not through laziness or indisposition, call it which you please, grown in that respect perfectly a bankrupt. And yet, had you staid but some few days longer, I had prevented you, and made an offer at redeeming my credit with you. The particular esteem I have for you and the obligations I have to you, made me resolve some time since to send you the continuation of my Register of the Air; wherein there was one obstacle to be got over. Mr. Churchill printed the former part of it in Mr. Boyle's General History of the Air, which he told me some time since he intended to publish anew with additions, and thereupon I promised him the remainder of my Register to be added to what he has already printed. But seeing his other additions not ready, and concluding mine, if there be any use of it, will be lost if not published

in my life-time, I have prevailed with him to consent to give the remainder of my Register to you to be published in the Philosophical Transactions, upon condition the bookseller, who prints the Transactions, will acknowledge the right of the Register to be in him, so that he may print it when he will. The matter standing thus, and believing this trifle of mine would not be wholly unacceptable to you, I had got one year transcribed before I received yours of the 17th instant, with an intention to send it you very speedily. Thus much to alleviate my fault, and to convince you that, though I did not write to you, yet I did not wholly forget you.

To come now to the business of your letter, I can only say to you in short that, wherever the mistake is, Richerius de Belevel, about the Montpelier Garden, is a book that I never had, nor to my knowledge never saw in my life. If I had it, you might command it, as any other book in my study, not only for a week but as long a time as you had occasion to use it. I return you my thanks for the Transactions, which from time to time I receive from you. I wish there was any thing wherein I could serve you here. I am, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. LOCKE.

For Dr. Sloane,* at his house near Southampton House in Bloomsbury Square, London.

* By a letter, dated 15 Mar. 1703, it appears that Mr. Locke sent Sir Hans Sloane his Register for the year 1692,

LETTER LXXXI. SHAFTESB. TO A. FURLEY.

MR. ARENT,

St. GILES'S, 18 FEB. 1701-5.

You have made more than amends for your silence of late, by the length of your kind and ingenious letter, and I must now remain your debtor; being as yet unable to write above a line or two. I have had another relapse of my fever by venturing abroad, but it has been nothing near its former violence, and by its going off thus gradually and allowing me time to get strength, I have reason to hope a perfect recovery, my eyes only remaining troublesome. I entreat you on this account to excuse me to your good father, to whom I am indebted for two late ones. There is no need of your troubling yourself about sending that imperfect book; pray keep it yourself, and if I can one time or other get you a perfect one, you may destroy that. Your correspondence with that ingenious gentleman, who seems truly very fair and candid, must be very improving to you, and I should think you would do extreme-

which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and the manuscript is preserved in the same volume as the letters which have been here introduced. This was perhaps the first of numerous Registers of the weather which followed it, and became common in the course of the 18th century. There is now a Register of the weather for every day kept in the Forster family of Walthamstow, from 1767 to 1829 inclusive.

ly well to continue it. Whatever you communicate to me at any time, will still be very agreeable, as it has been very much hitherto.

Your argument for the antients is a noble one. 'Tis liberty, indeed, that can only polish and refine the spirit and soul as well as wit of man; 'tis liberty that exalts him to manhood, and makes him differ more from the slave, than the slave differs from the beast; and when he has felt and is conscious of this advantage, he will know this difference, not before. And therefore to persons of a certain nation (I mean France, which is of all others the most corrupt in this sense) you will hardly find this argument understood; for, whatever flashes may now and then appear, I never yet knew one single Frenchman a free man. Nor do I think it in nature possible, if they have early sucked that air, or been bred, though in foreign nations, amongst people and books of their own kind. How few even of Englishmen, or, which is more strange, of Hollanders themselves, that truly feel this principle! But try our honest young Polander,* and you will find him staunch I believe. He is just got into the antients, having first tried the moderns and been prepossessed, nevertheless I believe, without partiality to you or me, he will decide in our favor.

* Mr. Crell, mentioned in a subsequent letter as studying at Cambridge, and the writer of the account of Lord Shaftesbury's death, which will close this correspondence.

But I have over-writ myself. and can add only that I am yours, SHAFTESBURY. TO MR. ARENT † FURLEY.

LETTER LXXXII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

St. GILES'S, 24 FEB. 1704-5.

I have still deferred returning you an answer, in hopes of my eyes being stronger, but they still continue weak, and I dare not write above a line or two, and that without any great application or intension of sight.

I have had a late relapse; but nothing in comparison to those I had before, which makes me ready to presume on a recovery at last, and that I shall escape a consumption, into which my fever and impaired lungs had just carried me.

Whenever there is the same occasion and parallel circumstances with that you mention to me of Mr. Stockdale, there shall not be wanting the same example, if I am then alive; for I know no better use of life than to spend it for one's country and for mankind; and better all at once (if the case may be) than piece-meal, for so mine has gone; but things must be proportioned; and, as profuse as you would seem to be of honest lives in this cause, I cannot but fancy such a scarcity of them, that whilst I count my own of the number, I must think of managing it for the Puble the best I can.

† Arent was Mr. Furley's second son. He went with Lord Peterborough to the West Indies in 1702-3; and in 1705, as his Secretary, to Spain, and died in that expedition.

This I can assure you, that, if I thought it of no use to the public, I should not be at the pains I am at of preserving it; for I was never very fond of life at any time, much less of preserving a weak and sickly one as mine perhaps for the future may prove. God be thanked you yourself hold up so well, and that all your family are so. If I had no public reason to wish your prosperity, that of private friendship would be sufficient to make it of chief concern to me, being, as I am,

Your most sincere and hearty friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

I entreat you to return my humble services to those friends you mention, who have been so kind as to remember me.

The Parliament being near up, I expect Mr. Micklethway and other friends down in the country with me. We have lost the noblest, greatest youth of England, my Lord Huntingdon,* just dead of the small pox, a grief to all our friends and all that loved our cause. Enclosed is a letter which I beg you to forward to Sir Rowland Gwinn at Hanover, by sending it enclosed to the Baron the Hanover envoy at the Hague.

LETTER LXXXIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY.

St. GILES'S, March 7th, 1704-5.

I received yours with the enclosed from Monsr. Le Clerc,

* George, eighth Earl of Huntingdon, who had succeeded his father Theophilus (a great Jacobite), May 30, 1701, died Feb. 22, 1704-5.

to whom I had just before writ as full an account as I was able of Mr. Locke from the time of his coming into our family. If you find not the Treatise of Education in the number of books which Mr. Coste, it seems, makes mention of, which were of Mr. Locke's writing; it is (I suppose) because he had put his name to this, and Mr. Coste speaks only of such books as Mr. Locke had owned to be his in his will, but which had not his name to them, nor were publicly owned by him.

I am much concerned for the continued ill treatment and injustice you have met with in your lawsuit for Mrs. Furley; and I should be more so if I thought this last blow irrecoverable. Law is in all countries a heavy lot. I am sorry it has been yours so long: and if I can hope no further for you, yet at least I hope you will be out of pain at last, and that one way or other it will be decided, for dilatory justice is many times worse than dispatching injustice.

I wonder you should have been so long without hearing from Mr. Micklethwaite. He often makes mention of his letters to you and family: and I wished him to write the more because of my incapacity and distance, that he might give you account of affairs from the center of business.

He intends shortly to take a turn down to me here at St. Giles's, where I have hitherto been very solitary: the Parliament and public affairs keeping my friends in town, and my indifferent state of health having hindered me from being very pressing with my friends to visit me, whilst I was so little fit for any company.

But I thank God I recover very much; though by very slow degrees; and once again I am like to be saved from a consumption: being now, as they say, "got up March hill," and the fine season contributing much toward my strength.

But my strength of eyes is not such as to venture much on long writing: so with my kind services to all your family, and return of services, with many thanks, to such friends as are so kind as to remember me. I remain, as always,

Your faithful friend, SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER LXXXIV. SHAFTESBURY TO A. FURLEY.

MR. ARENT,

ST. GILES'S, MAY 9, 1705.

I received yours and your father's enclosed. I heartily rejoice at his recovery, as I do at your success and present station in the service of your country. I doubt not but you will worthily acquit yourself. You will, however, have need of all your natural goodness and acquired advantages of education, to keep yourself sober and virtuous in so dissolute an age, so debauch'd a nation, and in particular so debauch'd and corrupted a part of it as that wherein you are about to make your entrance into the world. Time was when the fleet of England was both manned and officered by the soberest and most religious sort of our countrymen; but of late days our fleets, especially when in harbour, have presented us with the shamefullest scenes of luxury and riot.

God keep you from the contagion, and preserve you your virtue in spite of example, for you will have none on the side of virtue, but all contrary, and you must live upon the stock you have had before. None had ever better examples in relations, parents, and friends than you have had; none of your degree had ever greater or better helps from learning, converse, and all other parts of a happy education, for which you owe so much to your good father.

These advantages are incumbent on you, and would make your change more shameful, were you capable of changing from a sober and virtuous course, to one more like that part of mankind you are to come amongst. But such ingratitude, I dare pronounce, is far from you; and you will too well remember what is owing to yourself; this alone being sufficient to make you keep your character and good life.

And let me so far put you in mind of the antients and their morality, as to warn you once for all of their great foundation and chief maxim: that all that is noble and generous, the love of one's country, of mankind, all noble and virtuous actions, in short virtue and honesty itself, has rise, progress, health, strength, and safety, in the moderation, and restraint of our appetites; that is to say, in temperance and sobriety. If you have this fortitude I doubt of no other in you, nor of any thing else to make you a considerable man; but it is fortitude indeed, and the highest kind, to resist the torrent of ill example.

In spite of my ill eyes I have scribbled thus much to you. All services to your father and friends on the other side,

which with all manner of good wishes for your prosperity concludes this from your hearty friend and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

I would desire you to take the first opportunity to send that fragment of a book to Mr. Coste hither, taking no notice of me, but letting it fall to him in a negligent manner. He will shew it me no doubt, and I will keep it for you and return it, if I procure you not a better, as I hope. If you send what I mention to you hither to Mr. Coste, you will first give him notice of it in a letter, as by the by, and as in consequence of that curiosity you expressed to him some time since; and if you know no other way to send it, you may have it left at Chelsea, to be sent with any of my things, which are sent every now and then, or at Sir John Cropley's, to be sent hither with any of his things, he being now with me, together with Mr. Micklethwait, for part of the summer, and it would be a great pleasure to us to see you here, would affairs permit; meanwhile you have all services from hence.

To Mr. ARENT FURLEY.

LETTER LXXXV. SHAFTESBURY to FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

ST. GILES'S, JULY 23, 1705.

I received both yours with the signal good news of our forcing the lines, which will be followed, I hope, by a good

harvest of conquest on that side. We expect every moment news of our fleet, from whence good news will be of double satisfaction to us in particular, because of our friends concerned.

I am glad Mr. Arent took well what I wrote to him at Portsmouth. If he escapes these temptations I doubt not but Providence will be favorable in all else, and you will see him returned safe to you, after an honorable expedition and an honorable part in it; for penmen and swordsmen run equal hazards, as I take it, in sea-expeditions; though there may be much of this land-service only, especially if it be Cadiz, as it is reported and believed.

But my bad eyes, the only slow part of my recovery, will not suffer me to enlarge upon any thing.

I had already congratulated, and do again with great heartiness congratulate our friend Mr. Vrooson's advancement, and the honorable manner of it. I beg my remembrances and congratulations to the whole family.

You and yours have all kind remembrances from us here. Mr. Micklethwait talks of going to the Bath for his leg.

He writes to you himself in a post or two. I believe by the time this reaches you, Mr. Crelle, the young man whom your son Arent made me acquainted with, and whom I have since taken care of, will either be with you at Rotterdam, or have writ to you about his coming over to England, for his year is near up which I destined for his studies at Leyden, and I would now have him come over to see me, that I may judge

of his progress and give him further instructions, as also the helps of our Universities, where he may also learn our language, and make further progresses ere he comes into my family to live with me and be serviceable to me in the way of letters and writing, now that my eyes are like to prove weak for the rest of my life. He has several books for me which I would willingly should be sent over to me beforehand, that he may be discharged of the trouble of bringing them, since it will be a hard shift enough for him to bring himself, being such a stranger, and without knowing any thing of the language. I must get you to think of the best convenience for him, either by some friend going over in the packet, or by some master of a ship with a good convoy, remembering also a Spanish or French pass for him, he being a Poland and neuter, so easy to be obtained. I desire you to give him some letters of recommendation as taking no notice that he has or hopes for any friend besides in England. With all kind wishes to you and yours,

TO MR. FURLEY.

I end as ever, &c.

LETTER LXXXVI. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, SEPT. 4TH, 1705.

I have been come hither this fortnight from St. Giles's, to which place the enclosed was sent to me, so that I received it only time enough to send by this day's post. We are in great pain to hear of the expedition: and, as many friends as I

have in it, your son Arent's interest adds considerably to my concern; for, if success attends this great and decisive affair, he will have the suddenest and most advantageous coming into the world that ever any young man had.

We are in great jealousies of a peace carrying on: and that the ambitious designs of some great men push them to raise disturbance between England and Holland on any pretence, the better to color the ill terms they have made for us.

'Tis really the business of some people at Court to raise all the ill apprehensions they can of the alliance, and to magnify the advantages of France; when at the same time I am satisfied we are offered any terms from France which is much lower than we imagine. But Courtiers have their mysteries, and this is now a very great one, that our Court should be willing affairs abroad should look ill. But curse be on those who now do all they can to blow the coals between England and Holland, and make this misunderstanding to be a ground of giving such terms to France as may keep Europe still in terrors, and England under the pretended necessity of a standing force! God give us eyes to see through those mysteries of iniquities!

My affectionate remembrance as I entreat you to my good friends; my health, I bless God, is much restored but not my eyes. Mr. Crelle is with me; and with the rest of mine sends all respects to yours, as does with true affection

Your faithful friend.

LETTER LXXXVII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, CHELSEA, SEPT. 11th, 1705.

The enclosed is for Mr. Le Clerc (which I beg you to direct and forward), and with my bad eyes I have but little strength left. I received your notice of the bill for Mr. Wright and I paid it him the next day.

I rather congratulate than condole your poor sister-in-law's release from her miserable state of life. I hope you will bring your wishes to effect, and that we shall have the happiness of seeing you here now the great obstacle is removed.

I writ to you a few posts since, and our prospect from Spain is still better and better. But God keep us from a treacherous peace, to which end I fear all this dust is raised, and these mutual complaints between the nations.

If we get over this conjunction I hope the war will go on with fresh vigor and when I think to what danger those Ministers expose themselves here who shall venture upon a peace at this time, I am apt to hope that these measures will be broken, and that setting ourselves heartily to the establishing Charles the Third, we shall soon distress France to that degree, that it will hardly be in the power of treacherous ministers to make a bad peace.

write is but a scrawl, a line or two in such sorry manner as my eyes will bear, for though I gradually recover from my long fever, which yet returns now and then upon me, my eyes are still exceedingly weak. But, as long as I have any, I shall always be provoked to use them whilst I hear well of you; nor can I forbear praising you, exhorting you, and putting you in mind of what we have studied together, those noble examples of virtue and love of our country, which were treasured up by you against this season, and now to be practised and brought in use. And since I have played the pedant already in this I have writ, I will end the same, and brag of myself as well as of you in the words of one of our antients, for I may say as well as he, “*Cresco et exulto, et discusse ægritudine viresco, quoties ex his quæ agis et scribis, intelligo quantum teipse supergrederis. Si agricolam arbor ad fructum producta delectat; si pastor ex fatu gregis sui capit voluptatem; quid evenire credis his qui ingenia edueverunt, et quæ tenera formaverunt, adulta subito vident? Assero te mihi, meum opus es. Ego quum vidissem indolem tuam, injeci manum, exhortatus sum. Addidi stimulos; nec lente ire passus sum, sed subiinde incitavi, et nunc idem facio, sed jam currentem hortor,*” &c.

This is all I have to give you in return, for I am now retired into the country after the first week or two of Parliament, which was as much as I could bear, therefore for news I refer you to Mr. Micklethwait, who is in town, but will, together with Sir John and other friends, be with me during the adjournment of Parliament, and for a few days more, at Christmas.

They and all our common friends are well, and rejoice to hear so well of you. Mr. Coste is well settled in Mr. Clark's family, and your good friend Mr. Crelle is gone to Cambridge for his further improvement. He answers your kindness and my hopes of him, and grows every day in learning and knowledge, as you on your side in experience and business, nor less, I promise myself, in worth, honesty, and love of your friends and country, to the joy of your faithful friend, &c, Adieu.

When you are so kind as to write to me, direct always to Chelsea, for if I am here, the letters come as soon.

TO MR. ARENT FURLEY.

LETTER LXXXIX. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

HAMPSTEAD, 11th OF OCT. 1706.

I have been lately so ill of my asthma, by attempting to go to town and see some friends, that I have been forced to remove yet further off than Chelsea, which I am unable to bear at this time of the year when the great smoke of London begins, and the winds, as at this present, sit easterly.

This morning therefore I came away from thence, and am now at a further distance north of London, being soon about to leave the neighbourhood of the town wholly, and go to my home in the West for the whole winter. But happily, last night, my Lord Sunderland came to me to Chelsea, where I had much discourse with him about the affair you have lately

My friends, who I thank God are all well, (with Mr. Crelle who is now in my family,) give kind remembrances to you, as does yours affectionately, &c.

I beg my humble services in particular to all my friends who enquire of me.

LETTER LXXXVIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. ARENT,

St. GILES'S, DEC 5, 1705.

Your former and latter advices, first of the successful attack, and next of the surrender of Barcelona, with the whole progress of your councils (which Heaven has blessed so happily for England and Europe) were of all news I ever received the most welcome.

To hear that you were safe and well, together with this public success, was cause enough of joy to me. But what I have heard of you by others, is over and above, for to hear as I do of your excellent behaviour, diligence, industry, and success in business, is a pleasure that none besides your good father can perhaps so sensibly be moved with as I am, since it has been no small concern to me from your childhood to bring you to act such a considerable part in the world as I always thought your genius capable of. And now I see my hopes and endeavours answered. Mr. Stanhope and others give you a deserving character, and the business you have upon you shews what you are capable of.

And now, Mr. Arent, let me intreat you, as you are more and more a man, to take me more and more as a friend; and,

though I may appear still like a master or pædagogue to you, by admonishing you as I shall often do perhaps, yet consider I am not one of the severe sort.

If I talk of virtue to you, 'tis not the virtue priests talk of. Pleasures that are taken moderately and with injury to no man, are often better essayed by youth than wholly abstained from, for experience in such cases is to a good genius many times the best help virtue can have, and pleasure thus used becomes less considerable, and less an obstacle in the way of a good and generous mind that has liberty, society, and mankind in view, and that loves an honest fame and the love of friends and country beyond the obscure and mean pleasure of a night's debauch, in which every dull sot and insignificant drone is as considerable and as happy as the man of best sense, ability, or courage.

However it be, I am satisfied you were none of those who gave occasion to the Viceroy to throw that odious reproach upon our nation, "that he was besieged by 7000 drunkards;" and I rejoice to hear the newspapers compare the continence of some of our Generals to that we have so often read together of Scipio Africanus. But if that other reproach were just, and I hope it was not, I must be forced to suspend my belief as to the truth of this latter encomium; for, as you have often read at school,

Quid non ebrietas designat?

I could believe the latter vice without the former, but not the former without the latter.

But I must not pretend to engage in a letter: for what I

friends of ours, and, that they may appear hearty in the war and free from any engagements with France, I make even my own zeal questioned, at least my judgment in a great degree. But I care not whom I disoblige, nor what reputation or interest I lose in the world, if I can but in the least be the means of cherishing or preserving a good correspondence between the two nations and the lovers of liberty in both; for which cause I should joyfully sacrifice a thousand lives if I had them. At present I beg you would excuse the disorder of this, for I write under the very pangs of my unfortunate distemper, and am panting for breath, which I shall not be able to take in any degree of ease till I am further removed from this town. So with dues to all friends, chiefly to your good family, I remain your faithful friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

TO MR. FURLEY.

LETTER XC. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, ST. GILES'S, DECEMBER 2d, 1706.

I am again returned hither into my distant west country; being unable to bear the town (as I was in hopes) till the opening of the Sessions of Parliament, which is now put off so long, and little business like to be done till after Christmas.

I tried all that I could, by changing places, to keep in the neighbourhood of London; but I only got a severe fit or two of my asthma for my pains, and was forced to come away ill, but am now recovering again. I am glad, however, that I stayed so long as to receive yours with our friend Mr. Boyd's,

and to communicate contents, as I did with good effect to some of the best of our great men.

I beg my thanks and hearty services to Mons. Boyd, whom I will not yet trouble with a letter, since he has forgot I believe most of his English, and I much unused of late to French. But when I have matter arising (as I shall soon have in all likelihood) from his ingenious and honest thoughts communicated to my friends, he shall be sure to hear from me in such language as I can.

Our affairs in Scotland look very black. I believe the Union will go; but in such a manner as the nation I fear will severely feel: The best we can hope for is perpetual embroil and distractions in our Parliament, and all other civil affairs, which in one age (I dare boldly prophesy) will not be appeased or brought into any tolerable posture, unless by a remedy more fatal than the disease,—I mean a war and conquest, for if it come to conquest there, it may soon prove conquest here.

God grant in the mean while that our common war may, for the sake of mankind and safety of Europe, be carried on and pushed vigourously notwithstanding this hinderance; as I hope it will on our side, for hardly will our Court think of a dishonourable peace whilst they have such an affair on their hands; and, having so fierce an enemy as Scotland exasperated, they will endeavour the more to oblige, and strengthen themselves by Holland. Indeed it is but a sad prospect for either nation to think of the fair prospect France has of getting such

writ me at large. He is extremely well disposed, as all our Whigs are, and our Ministry, which is in a manner wholly of that sort, and sincere well-wishers to the common cause and interest. The difficulties you know already: 'tis even uncertain yet whether the Whigs and Court joining together have interest enough to carry their main point in Parliament; viz. the Union with Scotland (without which we shall be in great confusion because of the Succession); much more is it uncertain whether they can recover such a past game as to alter the funds established by taking off duties, in a case where the other party will stickle to the utmost, with that very intent to embroil us with Holland, and so put a base and unhappy end to a glorious and successful war. I might well ask you, as I did, concerning my last great letter written in the beginning of the year to some friends of ours from whom I have not since heard, but intreat you to take no notice of it.

My Lord Sunderland has been since in Holland and elsewhere abroad. He is a discerning man, and easily discovered the weak part of our friends of the honest Commonwealth party. The sores and wounds I used to feel with you on this occasion, when all ill news was magnified and all good decried, all on the side of France extolled and all on our side diminished, as a preparation for peace, the much desired and wished for peace on any terms; these sores, I say, of mine which I used to feel with such sad smart in Holland, bled now afresh with the lively and too true relation of my Lord Sunderland, and his description of the chief of those who pass for the Commonwealth party in

Holland. “What (says he) can be more ridiculous than for such as those to pretend a jealousy of our Court, as if they were concerning themselves, or would be any way instrumental in setting up a Stateholder or any other power in Holland? what interest or what inclination can be alleged? or what facts produced? But should the same spirit grow every day more and more in Holland, so that it should come in a manner to be distinguished by one party’s being plainly for a peace, the other for a war, would not this be the way to make us desperate, and join with any, nay even the worst of parties, that should be for the continuance of the war against those that were plainly working for peace and negotiating with France?”

For my own part I had nothing to answer to this but to soften and palliate as much as I was able. ’Tis miserable to think that after so much blood and treasure, and so glorious and speedy an issue of the war as we may justly expect, that just at that instant we should start difficulties, and give our enemies the fruits of our laurels.

I am sorry I can write no more on this subject, but act I always shall to my utmost; nor do I repine at the ungratefulness of my task, which is always to oppose and displease my best friends. For, as in Holland I was always thwarting our jealous, backward, and faint-hearted friends by assuring them all that was possible of good success from the right and honest measures of our Government and court (which every day grows better), so here I am acting the part of an advocate, and supporting, all that I can, the jealous fears and scruples of those

a part of Britain under the title of a new king, which, if the Queen's death at this instant should fatally happen, I scarce see how it would be prevented, and what a blow this would be to the Protestant Religion, as well as the general interest of Europe, is easy to conceive. Nothing in truth but this happy alliance and the strong friendship between us and the Dutch can save this blow. Without it the Protestant succession and Hanover title even to either nation will be of little worth.

But I end with all remembrances to yours, and am as ever yours.

I should have told you Mr. Wright is paid, as I doubt not but you know already.

I cannot as yet understand a tittle of that affair of H. Wilkinson's, and the letters and correspondences hinted. I am wholly a stranger to all; and if said to be otherwise it is imposture and juggle. I hope he is not so false as to pretend he or any other has made me acquainted with what I know nothing of. He is indeed but too vain, and talkative, and pragmaticeal; tho' with abilities and talents sufficient, if he would well employ them. I have been at great trouble, and know not how to dispose of him, having been foully disappointed by some who kept off other advantages by false expectations for him. I have now left him to the wide world with a small sum and clothes fitted out to take his fortune.

LETTER XCII. SHAFTESBURY TO B. FURLEY.

MR. BENJOHAN,

ST. GILES'S, MARCH 8, 1707-8.

Being so true a sharer as I am and always shall be in whatever be called a concern of your family, I cannot but take my part of satisfaction in what you have acquainted me relating to the prospect of an union between two families I have so great an esteem for.

You have done me justice in making me your confident in your addresses to so excellent a young woman as surely she must be who has such excellent parents; and I wish I had interest to second your pretensions; I am sure my recommendations should not be wanting. Having ever observed you so industrious and virtuous a young man, I had no fears for you but of a wrong choice hereafter in these matters, and I spared not to express those fears to you, when last at St. Giles's, because, as I then told you, I looked upon this danger to be the greater for young men that were virtuous and sober, who, allowing themselves no other liberties with the sex, and being innocent as to the practices of the undeserving part, were more liable to be imposed on, and to fix their affections in such a manner as interest and advice of friends could hardly overcome. But you have now so happily directed your choice that your affections cannot be too fixed; and you have nothing, I hope, to overcome but the ordinary difficulties of courtship, in which I wish you all imaginable success and happiness attending it.

If upon this occasion my humble service to Mr. and Mrs. Wright be seasonable, I beg you would present them for me with great heartiness, as I send them. All good wishes and kind remembrances to Mr. Arent, and to your father and brother when you write. I am both in Mr. Arent's and your father's debt as to writing. I hope soon to repay your father, though he intends so soon for England, but will dispense with Mr. Arent, or rather, I should say, give him quarter, since in this busy time of action and great affairs a country-correspondent can be but very dull to one in town. I add only, that I with great confidence and sincerity, good Mr. Benjohan, your truly loving friend and humble servant.

SHAFTESBURY.

For Mr. Benjohan Furley, at Mr. Wright's in Cannon Street, Merchant, in London.

LETTER XCII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

St. GILES'S, MARCH 26, 1708.

I have been this long time answering your long and kind letter, but, whilst our affairs stood in such suspence that a moment one would have thought should have decided 'em, I held my hand. But still they are in suspence as they were, and now, Mr. Arent coming over to you, will save me the trouble and danger of opening our scene of affairs to you. Meanwhile, though I have been resty in this part of writing to you, I have not been so in my endeavours, with all my interest and that of my friends

to serve you and your family; as the affair of both your sons may perhaps witness for me. As to Mr. Arent I will only add that I think him the most fortunate young man I have ever known; for, as to his happiness in being with Lord Peterborough, I am contented the world should be judge as to the merits of his Lord, and the wonderful capacity and ability of such a leader and master, but for Mr. Stanhope* I can super-add, what is far above all other virtues, which yet are equal in him to any of his age; that he is an honest man, whose integrity, probity, and strict morals, give him the just esteem of the truly greatest man and lover of his country that has had the honor to serve it of late years. He is free of all passion or bias, all partiality or resentment.

From him you may be satisfied in all, and his words, or silence at least, if you question him on certain subjects, will satisfy you more fully of what I vainly endeavour, at this distance, by letter. I am sure I have no partiality for those who are called our ministry, but must do 'em justice, and I am sorry to say that, though they have great facility to have done much amiss in many things, they deserve far better of their country and Holland, and particularly of their sovereign, than as they are at present rated by some, both here in England and with you. But enough: I mourn the loss of our great

* Brigadier-General James Stanhope, afterwards the first Earl Stanhope, a character eminent first as a warrior, and subsequently as a statesman and Prime Minister.

friend Mynheer Wellant. God grant there may be a succeeding race of public spirits in your part of the world. Faction and party affection eat us up and undo us here. None are so good as to suffer this country to be served by those who are disagreeable to them in a private respect. Their own merit is the only object they set before 'em. But tho' they have merit and that too very great, 'tis such a one as bids fair, under their management, to destroy their country and mankind. Two great men and friends of yours and mine are of this number. I speak not this to justify that envy of merit which shews itself too plainly in their rivals. But the world is not to be ruined that their merit may be shewn in all its lustre. I naturally perhaps hate some persons who stand in this light, and have in proportion as great or greater disobligations to them than they have. But I sacrifice all resentment and disgust on this occasion, and should think myself unpardonable if I did not. But I must end, being as ever, yours.

TO MR. FURLEY.

LETTER XCIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, NOV. 3, 1708.

I have not this many a day received a greater satisfaction than the reading your letter, and the account it brought me of your health and welfare. It would be strange indeed if so good and deserving a man as yourself met not with the utmost gratitude and kindness from relations; and yet as the world goes, 'tis next to a miracle to see a true and hearty affection

paid by children to parents, and chiefly to see a young daughter-in-law act such a part, but one might expect this from so good a family and education as hers.

Were I capable of envying (especially in a friend's case), how much could I envy the happiness of your son, who could gain a wife so educated, and under such good parents? How little of this kind is to be found in our nobility or gentry? nay even among our citizens, who I think truly, are for the most part more sumptuous, proud, luxurious, and corrupt than either. So that I fear it will be my fortune never to be a father or continue my family, since my only brother (who might with better success, perhaps, try his fortune this way in a lower rank of gentry) refuses to think of marriage, and leaves * the

* Lord Shaftesbury married, a few months after the date of this letter, Jane, daughter of Thomas Ewer, of Lea in Hertfordshire, Esq; by whom he left an only infant son, at his death in 1712-13. The Countess long survived, until 1751. His brother Maurice, who seems to have retained his ancestral name of Ashley, and is therefore erroneously called Cooper in p. 117), also afterwards married Catherine, daughter of William Popple Esq. but had no issue. Mr. Ashley made a translation of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, which passed through two or three editions, and was much praised by his nephew Harris, the author of *Hermes*. There are two portraits of the Hon. Maurice Ashley at the family seat, both painted in 1702, one in a full shooting suit, with a gun in his hand, and boots, but a flowing wig on his head; and the other in a blue gown, with his brother the Earl.

heavy part upon me ; which I only call heavy on account that there are so few of my own degree or of those circumstances that can justify my marriage, who have any sort of education that promises good. Thus you see in return to your kind and friendly imparting of your private affairs, which Providence has made so happy, I write with freedom of my own which, whatever they are, or are like to be, I thank God I can be satisfied with ; and, tho' I long enjoyed one of the most firm and steadiest healths, and am now so far from it, especially when in or near the town of London, I am notwithstanding as happy as ever in myself, and can enjoy equally the prosperity of my country and friends, tho' excluded the same advantage of serving 'em, which I did heartily whilst I was able.

This comfort and this inward satisfaction and content is the reward of such as, out of love to virtue and goodness, do all the good they can, and spend their lives in this chiefly. For whether reward come as in your case Providence has ordered it, whether the blessings of children, and those excellent ones, with other acquisitions of new friends and relations, even in an old age, or whether it be the contrary, as in the case of ill health even in youth, and other misfortunes which might cause others to repine, it will not be so with the man who never followed virtue for a bribe, either in this world or the next ; but who would do the same again and again, though under a thousand misfortunes, and with no prospect further than the satisfaction of friendship in itself, and befriending mankind as much as possible. So that upon the whole, though my case and

yours are far different, I am not a less happy man nor less fitted to receive the joy and congratulations in the outward happiness and prosperity of such a friend as you are. And I rejoice too for the sake of mankind that there is in being the example of so good a parent, so well rewarded in children.

I am somewhat concerned for what you write of Mr. Arent, because I heard he was grown so lean. But if he have rest (as he has had perhaps, being left at Barcelona,) the hot climate may do better for him than any place. I write no news from hence, our expectations being all from your side. Mr. Micklethwayt has been this month or two in the North, but is returning. I am, as ever,

Faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

My kind love and services to all yours.

LETTER XCIV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

ST. GILES'S, JAN, 15, 1708.

I was extremely satisfied with yours, which has given me an account of your health and the care of it, which is now become so necessary. The satisfaction you feel in looking back on your past life, and viewing how Providence has blessed you to see your greatest dangers over, your children virtuously bred up, and in a prosperous way of business in the world, this, and what I hope I may add too, notwithstanding our late pullbacks, the good prospect of the age and the security

of the Protestant Religion and liberties of mankind on a happy foundation of good correspondence between the two nations of Britain and Holland, the conductors of this great work, all this, I say, is a just subject for you to rejoice with yourself as conscious of the good share you have had in the promoting this public happiness, and how God has blessed your honest endeavours in respect of your relations and friends: but I hope still that this consummation, which I own would be a most happy one, were it to be final even now, will not however be a hindrance to you, or a slackening of your endeavours to preserve yourself as long as possible for the same country and friends' sake whom you have hitherto so worthily and successfully served.

You are the more encouraged to this by that vigour of mind and spirits which God has bestowed on you in an extraordinary manner: so that your years, though they may bring more pains and difficulties on your body, have no influence on your mind and better parts, which are likely to be preserved so for many years, if you do but support the outside frame: and even that too is so excellent in its kind, that with watchfulness and diligent application it may be long preserved. If such an one as you should neglect to bestow some pains in this respect, consider what it must be to one yet under forty (as I am by a year or two) who yet am forced to treat myself with more pains than you have need to do. My love of life was never very great; even when I had vigorous health and was the most active in business, I never thought it a matter of difficult resignation. But with the pains and distempers I have of late years contracted, 'tis well I have a thought of duty to over-bal-

ance all discontent: otherwise I might soon fall into a certain negligence of my health, which in my state would soon make my dismissal, and send me out of the world: but whilst I can have any share (be it ever so little) in the service of my friends, my country, or mankind, I can be contented with any life, any health, or any constitution ever so bad, and can live as happily thus as at any time of my life: rejoicing that my days of youth are well over, and that I have passed those temptations of a more florid age, which might have thrown me far out of the road of virtue, and deprived me of those sentiments by which alone I can enjoy my friends or self. In the mean time it has pleased God, as remote as I have thought myself from business and a capacity of serving either my friends or country, to throw many opportunities across me, and to make even this scene of my life no narrow one in affairs of a public nature. All this last summer I had health enough to be about the town, and give some assistance to our best friends of greatest interest, and now in the winters that I am unable to approach London, I am employed in settling interests for the public in a part of Britain where the most elections lie, and in a county where I have the chief influence.

After several years of the Queen's reign that I was ill treated and look'd upon with the utmost enmity by the Ministry, I am at last much better thought on: and they are now convinced that I have been no small friend to them, and unalterable by ill usage. For knowing, as I have done all along, that the Ministry, from the very first year of the Queen's reign, were at

the bottom true to the interest of the common cause, and that of the mutual good correspondence between the two nations, I passed by all other regards, and applied myself to give them credit and honor both here and abroad with you in Holland where I came so soon after the King's death. This you may well remember, by my conflicts with many of our mistaken Whigs, and those who out of a false zeal arraigned both Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin in the highest manner. And by the way I would beg you to call to mind one interview which I had with Mynheer Van Wallant (at his own desire), where he himself first privately, and then others of note and interest publiely, sought to me to be well instructed of the real disposition and temper of our Ministry in those early days. They were persons who had long known me, and (by your means and other friends whom I had lived so long with and known so intimately in Holland during the King's life) had received such an impression of me, and conceived such favourable thoughts as were above what I deserved. At this time I took the utmost pains (as you must well remember) to wash away all ill impressions of the Ministry, and assure Mynheer Wallant and the rest of the fidelity of our Ministry to the common cause, and their particular regard to the States, and the maintaining a good correspondence. 'Twas then I ventured to give such a character of Lord Marlborough in particular as was wondered at by many, and often reproached to me till the battle of Blenheim, when I left you and came over for England.

You may remember too, even as early as the first post

after the King's death, what letters of assurance I wrote, which were thought fit to be translated and published to confirm people's minds abroad.

You may wonder, perhaps, what all this means: that I should be thus enumerating my own merits, and looking back so far for my own commendations, but thus the case is: I have just lately experienced some particular favors, and have received marks of such regards from our Ministry (I mean in particular our two great Lords) from whence I may be able, by improvement of my interest, to do some public service, that I am extremely willing to shew I do not ill deserve their compliments. I am seldom behind hand in good turns with any body. But here I may truly say I have been before hand; and I should be highly pleased to shew them so much, though, as matters stood before, when I was ill used, I had too much stomach, as they say, to let it be known how much I was in their interest; and by some silly mistakes of pamphlets written, and spiteful things dispersed, I was really taken by them for an antagonist instead of a champion and stickler for them, as I had been abroad and at home.

I know not what acquaintance Mynheer Wallant has kept with our great Duke, but if they stand tolerably well together, and are upon conversing terms, I should be mighty glad if, when he comes over, a word or two could be dropt in discourse concerning me, and that Mynheer Van Wallant would only say as by chance, what idea I very early gave him of our Queen and Ministry, and in particular of Lord Marlborough, both as

to his minister and soldier capacity. The States are now, and have been long since, convinced of the sincere services he has done, and is ready to do them, and if nothing else had been able to convince them, the transactions in the House of Lords now lately might suffice; for the Ministry, and particularly that noble Duke, has been severely questioned by the malignant party, and inveighed against for being too much Dutchmen. Thank Heaven that our Ministry cannot by their worst enemies be reproached for being Frenchmen; and for that other reproach, I hope they will ever hold it honourable. I am sure it is one of the main reasons that makes me so much their friend.

I am sorry for the quarrel our friend Lord P. is engaged in with the Ministry;* but not so much with the Ministry (for they are rather neuters), as with our old Whigs; he being more in the party of a certain Gent. a friend of ours,† who in a manner stands single, being broken from his old party, and equally hated by both.

'Tis the sad fate of human affairs that such divisions should happen. By this means not only the actions of many great

* The Earl of Peterborough's conduct underwent the strictest inquiry in Parliament; but at length, Jan. 12, 1710-11, the House of Peers voted, "That during the time he had the command of the army in Spain he performed many great and eminent services; for which he had the thanks of that House;" and the Lord Chancellor expressed himself in the warmest terms on the occasion. See Collins's Peerage. † Mr. Harley.

men are unrewarded, and meet sometimes an undeserved and contrary return, but a whole nation too much suffer, and a good cause be deprived of able and successful hands to serve it. This may perhaps be our case, and we are not likely to see your friend Lord P——employed again, as I could heartily wish. The branch is very great between him and all our other friends, Lord S——d† in particular, who in the affair of the Admiralty has carried himself extremely well, and shewn that no relation or private influence could bias him. I doubt not but Mr. Arent will carry himself with prudence in these difficulties, and understand how to be faithful and just to his master, without engaging in an invidious manner beyond his province. I should have had his company here this Christmas, but for the new attack that is made against his Lord, and I should then have given him my best advice, though, by what I hear, he acts so well that there is no occasion.

Our friend Mr. Micklethwayt is just now with me, and gives kind remembrances to you and yours, 'tis time to end with my own, which you can never doubt of as being unalterably yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

I believe Lord P——'s enemies will gain little honor by their attack upon him, but rather add to his. I am sorry some of our friends should engage so warmly against him, and that

† Charles Earl of Sunderland had become Secretary of State Dec. 3, 1706, and remained in that office until June 1710.

by this opposition he meets with he should be forced to join himself with certain great men of the old Tory race of Charles and James's ministry, who are not only the greatest enemies of our cause, but who in particular have the greatest hatred to him, and have formerly done him the highest injuries, as they will surely do again when once they have no further occasion of his interest, parts, and merits, to play against the Court, with which they are so much at variance, for no good reason you may be sure.

As for what I have writ concerning Mynheer Wallant, the affair, as you see, requires no haste, for the Duke is not like to come over very soon, but, if you find any easy opportunity, I would not, however, that you should neglect to use the first. It may be a means for me to do many good services; for oft times the greatest friendships are made from reconciled differences, especially where the differences have not been real, but through misunderstanding only. I wish, if I have any interest, or come to have any with our Ministry, that I may have opportunities of representing matters aright, to prevent mischiefs that may arise from our ill understanding of the true interests of Holland, and from an ignorance of the right men, and honest cause there. I should be glad on this account hereafter to renew again my correspondence with some of our friends on your side; if any of them (*viz.* Mynheer Paats, or Van Twedde, or Flink,) enquire of me, be so kind as to acquaint me with due respects, &c.

Pray be so kind as to continue your account of the troubles in Guelderland, which, if ended, I hope are not altogether to

the ruin or overthrow of the Commonwealth party.

LETTER XCV. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

JAN. 13, 1708-9.

I had just left Chelsea, and was come to Sir John Cropley's in Surrey, * where I now am, intending to proceed on my journey to St. Giles's, when I received your first letter concerning the poor oppressed gentleman at Amsterdam. I thought to have writ fully and at leisure concerning that affair, as soon as I reached my journey's end; but I was detained here, as I still am, by the very severe weather, which, if in proportion with you in Holland, I can't but be concerned for your health, for I have much ado to resist it myself, even by keeping myself within doors and as warm as possible. Meanwhile I received your second letter of despair in respect of the poor gentleman, and indeed it would be but little service that I could hope to do him by writing in his behalf to persons with whom I have no correspondence of long time, and such too as I would not trouble with any private concern, having reserved the little interest I have for the public, and to do, upon occasion, some good office between the two nations for the common interest

* The family seat of Sir John Cropley was at Brandon, in Durham. Sir John accompanied the Earl in his travels, 1686, and was M. P. for Shaftesbury (see p. 119). There is a whole-length portrait of him, in a long gown, at Winbourn St. Giles, and the present Earl is named Cropley after him.

of liberty and mankind.

I know too well that there are sore places in most of the particular Governments of your Provinces as well as towns. I am one who, out of love to common weal and the interest and reputation of free Government (besides my particular affection for that mother nation of liberty), would do all I could to hide and conceal these blemishes, and cover the nakedness of our dear parents. And indeed what do these blemishes amount to? No more than the bare frailty of human nature; for, though humanity is indeed improved and raised by free Government, yet man will still be man; and his infirmities will appear. Even a whole people, when truly free, and truly and faithfully represented, will oft times do injustices, and whether by their deputies as in Holland, or collectively in a body by themselves (as of old in Athens and other democracies,) their passions and infirmities will appear, and shew them to be mere men. How much more must this break out when the people are not perfectly represented; but thro' the ease and security of the Government, a few or a select number have the administration of affairs! These men, if in the main they administer well for the public, will be permitted to rule, and being supported by their merit with their countrymen in general, they will easily, where they are provoked, revenge themselves tyrannically on a particular person now and then, and by their credit suppress the noise that may be made about it. But alas! what is this in comparison to what is endured in mere monarchies? how much easier is it for a Prince who has gained a great reputation, to suppress a single

man? when the perpetual danger of such Governments is, that no sooner has a Prince done great things for his country, but he has the sovereign power in a manner devolved upon him, and by the foolish zeal of the people is made absolute, almost whether he will or no. For, to go no higher than our own times, what think you had become of our English Constitution, had King Charles the Second not been a prodigal, King James a bigot, or had King William not been victorious, and gained those advantages, which, by the blessing of Heaven, have been obtained by the common force and united virtue of the two nations led by a private man, and under the good influences of a mild, virtuous, and pious Queen? This I have ventured to hint to you, to stop a little that good zeal and generous indignation, which on the account of this private injustice you expressed a little too feelingly: besides that indeed in the very case of this unhappy gentleman (as set forth by himself,) there appears a most unhappy conduct, and a plainly mutinous, seditious, and unjust manner of supporting a just cause; for a rude and riotous appeal to the people is, of all injuries, the greatest that can be offered to a free Government, and is most destructive to popular Government itself.

But no more now, but my best wishes to you and all yours.
I am, as ever, faithfully yours.

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XCVI. SHAFTESBURY to FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

CHELSEA, MAY 28TH, 1709.

Though I delayed my answer to your former letter (having had a long fit of my asthma, which kept me a month from this place), I would not wait a post, but dispatch instantly what you desired of me as to my Lord Townsend,* and have therefore enclosed a letter to him, which I here send to you to deliver as you see occasion, for I had no other occasion of writing to him but as you desired on your own account.

I hope you will excuse my saying more as yet, till I am a little more recovered; for I am not fit to apply to any thing as yet.

All our eyes are on your affairs at the Hague, and we expect to hear no more of camps, so I hope you will inform us of what success we are like to have in a way of treaty. For my part (as you and my other friends well know) I never feared nor had the least apprehension in the war. But now for the first time I begin to know what fear is, and tremble at a peace. I laughed at the French swords when opposed to ours; but I dread the force of corruption, and those other weapons, which they can better manage and we less ably resist. God send us firmness and courage in this sense, and that no weak

* Lord Townshend had been sent to the Hague as Plenipotentiary to treat for peace with France.

places be found in the breasts of those that act for either nation!

The excessive weakness of France would have forced her to comply with any thing we could have asked. But the false politics of some well-meaning and worthy men in joining with those who still lessened her wounds and magnified her vigour and remaining power, will be a snare to us in the treaty. For this will infallibly be the occasion of making an indifferent peace pass for a most advantageous and triumphant one. Whereas, the naval power of France subsisting, and the means of it remaining still in their northern settlements in America of Canada and Quebec, &c. their trade also being likely (by our folly and the general madness of Europe in running after their fashions and manners,) to rise again in a few years, we may yet in our time see the beginning of a more dangerous struggle for the liberties of Europe and mankind.

But I can add no more at present but that I am as ever,
Affectionately yours.

All kind wishes and congratulations to your son and daughter and all yours.

LETTER XCVII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

REYGATE, MAY 22ND, 1710.

After the receipt of yours by Harry Wilkiuson, I resolved to enquire for a safe hand to carry you an answer from me, that I mig^t be as free as pen and ink will safely allow. And

now I have an occasion offered me by the passage of a good lady, who goes over to settle her son at some school where he may be best taught the languages and rudiments of trade; for, though, as the eldest child, he will be intitled to a moderate estate, yet it being not such as to maintain him properly in the rank of gentry, she prudently resolves to bring him up to business, that if he gains little by it, he may at least learn industry, avoid idleness, acquire a good habit of frugality, and learn to improve what he has of his own. She is a worthy good lady, and intimate with my best friends, with whom she has lived long in strict friendship, I know you will gladly assist her with your advice, which is all she desires, knowing your character so well, and trusting to your judgment.

'Tis well that Mrs. Mellish (the lady I recommend to you) had no other affairs of a troublesome nature; for, whatever respect I have for her, I should refuse to engage you in any concern which might occasion you that fatigue and trouble which you are too apt to give yourself beyond what your strength can bear in a friend's case, or any of a compassionate kind. As much compassion as there was in your Amsterdam acquaintance's, I cannot without regret consider what harm you have done yourself this last winter at your age and in your circumstances of health; I am sorry you set no greater a price upon yourself. Your life surely is too well valued by your good relations and dear friends of long standing to suffer you, without injustice done them, to throw away your health at that rate. And, as for what public service may appear in such a

ease, surely the balance lies much stronger another way, and you might justly reserve yourself for better occasions of service to your own native country †, and the interest of that in which you live †: for, allowing that gentleman's cause was ever so just, yet I am sure, by the papers of his own, which you transmitted me, he prosecuted it in a most unjust, insolent, and, forgive me the word, traitorous manner. For to me the greatest traitor in the world ever was and will be that man, who, under pretence of love to the people, or their interest, will raise them to sedition, appeal to their tumults and gathered numbers, and attempt to work upon their passions, and incense them to be the executioners of their magistrates. Such was the spirit that destroyed the generous pair of patriots in 72, on your side; and such is the disposition of those pretended loyal men on our side, who but a month ago were raising sedition and appealing to the people, whom in their heart they abhor. But, thanks be to God, the sound part of our people were far from being moved; they bore the insolence of the conspirators, and suffered many days the insults of a lewd rabble, of which not one is like to be punished by the Government*. They

† England.

† Holland.

* This alludes to the turmoils relative to Dr. Sacheverell. The rioters were tried three days after the date of this letter; but having pleaded guilty their punishment was very slight. Four were fined twenty nobles each, and eleven fifteen nobles. Complete History of Europe for 1710.

could easily have righted themselves and defended the house and persons of their friends: but so noble a testimony have those called Whigs given of their regard to magistracy, that when unprotected and exposed they would do nothing even in their own defence, when, with a word given, they could have suppressed and knocked in head a treble number of such rascally villains as were got together and raised in rebellion by the professors and preachers of submission and loyalty. But such respect ought ever to be borne by all good people towards every Government that stands upon the foundation of laws, and has any thing that may be called a constitution; —that, however unjustly things may for a while, or on some particular occasion be administered, they will bear with patience those infirmities and occasional corruptions and mismanagements which are incident to all Governments, and are natural to men as men, rather than by a sudden zeal or animosity in their own or friends' case (when unhappily injured or ill dealt with) attempt to unhinge the Government itself, and stir up the minds of the people against their magistracy and settled form, which fails not to end in cruelty and tyranny. For so the best Commonwealths have been converted into the most absolute tyrannies. And thus, as a friend to the people, I ever was and must be the greatest enemy to those who, on any account less than immediate impending ruin of their State, shall dare appeal to their tumults, and invite them by their riotous assemblies to intimidate their Magistrates.

If I have been too warm against sedition in what I have

writ to you on the case of the poor abused and much injured gentleman, for so I truly believe him, notwithstanding what I lay to his charge in another respect, you must remember that it is not only my country's case at present which warms me, but a friend's. 'Tis yourself I am concerned for, and grieved to hear how you have exposed yourself for this gentleman's sake. I hope what you have remaining of health and strength, you will manage better for the future.

As for my own state of health, 'tis so very indifferent, and I have again passed another so sad a winter, that I speak feelingly. What I have remaining of life I will employ the best I can, but the less I have, the better I ought to manage it. And this I think my duty as it is yours.

Our good cause is far from sinking, whatever appearance these tumults may have. The admirable patience and moderation of the Whigs makes their principles better known as the conduct of the other party exposes theirs. You may rest satisfied in this I here write you; that though the several parties of Tories and other false brethren of the Whigs are more united and in concert than ever, so that by means of some unfortunate disturbances at Court their party seems prodigiously formidable, yet they never were in a better way of ruining themselves and their cause, nor was the principle of liberty and hatred of slavery and priestcraft ever higher in its ascendant. The Pretender's party may flatter him to some desperate attempt; but the issue is like to be far worse for him than ever; and may only make us see hereditary right mount the scaffold, and the

ax employed as the law directs, which has long since set that pretence of right aside, and given us our good Queen over the head of that pretended heir, and the House of Hanover over the other pretenders of Savoy, &c. on the same hereditary foundation.

My kind and affect. remembrances to all yours.

I am your sincere and faithful friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XCVIII. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

REIGATE, JULY 17.

It is with great concern I hear from you of your relapse into your ague or intermitting fever; and I am still more concerned to hear your physicians are either wholly against your taking the bark, or, what is worse, give it you in trifling quantities. The time you have delayed too is enough to prove fatal if your fits have been many and severe. However, to communicate what I can to you with the utmost expedition, (for 'twas but this moment I received your request, and am sending this away as soon as possible,) my first warning to you is to get instantly three or four ounces of the best bark, and get it to be finely powdered, for if the difference be so great in coffee, which is drunk for pleasure, what must it be between pure bark freshly beat into powder, and that which has lain stale in shops,

perhaps in paper merely, for days or weeks, if not months together?

This is the first care; next, as your disposition is, if requiring cordials, to take it in strong white wine, mountain-wine, or what best suits your stomach, otherwise in cool milk-water, or plainly made up into a bolus by some few drops of any innocent syrup. If you are costive, it may be in the syrup of violets or syrup of red poppies, especially if you cough, this latter being one of the best remedies of that kind. But the greater fear in taking the bark is the contrary, viz. a looseness, in which it never did nor ever will do good. So that if you are the least inclined this way, and go to stool too often, you must take the bark in half a spoonful of syrup of white poppies (called diacodium) and so mixt up as you like it with any comfortable warm still waters, or restringent strong red wine. In this case syrup of quinces, conserve of red roses, and confection alcermis will be of use. All must be used to stop such a habit of body, else the bark will be in vain, as it will certainly be, if the doses are not full and frequent, that is to say, a dram each time till you come to an ounce or ounce and an half: beginning the moment your fit is off, and repeating it every third or fourth hour, being waked in the night on purpose, however sweetly you may sleep, and contriving, as well as you can, that your eating and drinking may be just between the four hours, that you may take your bark two hours after and about as much before any nourishment. The last dose you take going

to your first sleep at night should be the furthest off from your supper, because of taking the syrup of white poppies, which is best on an empty stomach, and whether you are too open or not, I would have you the first night take your bark in syrup of that kind going to sleep. But if you are really loose, or find the bark makes you so, you must put a large spoonful to your bark, and join at other times all the comfortable or spicy things you can to stop your laxity. If you can take an ounce, beginning from the ending of the fit, and so in repeated drams till the time you expect the return, you may best stop and ease yourself whilst the time of your next fit is, though the fit come not : and then begin again at the time the fit would have ended if it had come. If it please God you miss your fit, you may ease yourself by taking the drams slower, or diminishing them to half drams at a time (taking the whole one at night), and so till you have taken the full ounce and an half.

If after this it return, I would not have you discouraged from taking the bark anew; if the force of the distemper be once broke by the bark, you may master it if you please, for though it return again and again, if weaker every time than other, you are sure to conquer it, if you will follow your blow. But people are faint-hearted, desist, and so are conquered by the disease. If you purge, as doctors are too ready to prescribe, you destroy all. A month after will be time to do it, and then mighty gently, and at night the bark again with a large spoonful of syrup of white poppies, and another dram of the bark

the moment you awake in the morning, and so till you have taken half an ounce more.

This is your friend Dr. Locke's and all our ingenious and able doctors' method. This has saved my life, and but for the bark I could not now live. I am satisfied that of all medicines that physicians ever prescribed, if it be good of the kind and properly given, 'tis the most innocent, and leaves the least harm behind it, whatever bugbear the world makes of it, and especially the tribe of inferior physicians, from whom it cuts off so much business in a distemper which they make the chiefest gain from. In great haste to dispatch this to you, kindest remembrances to all yours, I remain, as ever, yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

I sent you a long letter by Wilkinson, about public affairs, which continue in the same posture and uncertainty of the Parliament's dissolution, which all good men fear, all ill hope, but we gain time however.

* I have no means of ascertaining whether Dr. Locke was related to John Locke the philosopher.

LETTER XCIX. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

NAPLES, 22 MARCH, 1712.

'Tis a sensible grief to me that I must at one and the same time condole with you on two such melancholy subjects as that of the death of your son,* and that of the life and triumph of the common enemy, his cause, and party in our native country. In the latter of those you know my concern is equal to your own; and in the former, not far behind. Besides my natural friendship for one who was your son, he was in particular, as you well know, my pupil and élève, in whose education and advancement I took so great a part, that I may justly sympathize even in a fatherly affliction for his loss, and next to a real parent or a brother, he could have none a truer mourner, or with more reason than myself.

I am sorry withal to hear the repeated account of your severe cough; as I have sometimes been successful in prescribing remedies to you, and have learnt much in this kind by my own infirmities, let me desire you to try a spoonfull of good syrop of white poppies, or what the apothecaries call diacodium, just on your going to bed. It must be when your stomach is empty long after supper, that you must take it. If you are apt to be loose it will be of double advantage: if bound, it will not do so well: it should not be often repeated. If it be any

* Mr. Arent Furlv.

way inconvenient you will soon find it. There can be no danger in the trial.

If your ague or intermitting fever should return, pray spare not to take the bark, as I formerly with good success and particular care directed you in my letters.

My own health has been exceedingly depressed this winter; of which this latter part has been the coldest known of a long time in this climate. My little conversation, in my chamber, whence I have not been able as yet to stir, is with some few men of art and science, the virtuosi of this place, as in particular the family and friends of the famous Don Joseph Valetta, of whom the Bp. of Salisbury* speaks so honorably in his Travels. Medals, and pictures, and antiquities, are chief entertainments with us here. And on these subjects I shall have papers now and then to enclose to you to forward: I wish our Ministers in England may not take them for politics. They would be much deceived if they should break open my letters in that expectation. Whatever my studies and amusements are, I endeavour still to turn them towards the interests of virtue and liberty in general. As for particular engagements in the public or my country's cause, I am precluded. But whilst I have the least breath or life, nothing can preclude my endeavours to express to my friends, and yourself most particularly, how much I am, as of old, with constancy and sincerity, &c.

† Burnet; his Travels were published in 1687.

My kind remembrances to your sons and family, and to such friends as happen to remember me. Adieu.

LETTER C. SHAFTESBURY TO FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY,

NAPLES, 19 JULY, 1712.

Though I am as little fit as of long time to write to you with my own hand, I am forced to do it, (both Mr. Crelle and my other head-servant being sick,) to condole for the most sad shame and reproach of our nation, which I never thought to have lived to see, and which makes my sad health and little prospect of recovery the less grievous to me, as a means to end that sense of shame, which I shall ever retain for my country, even though it should recover itself from these calamities, such as it is like to bring on the rest of the world as well as on itself. You have known my heart many years, and that hitherto on all occasions I gave comfort, and was ever on the promising side; till the fatal villainy of the seditious priest Sacheveril, and the fall of the old Ministers, and Whigs, never was I dejected till this turn. And now bear me witness, in my last retreat into Holland, how hard a part I had upon me to justify and support the conduct of our two great Ministers, though my enemies, and at variance and defiance with us poor Whigs, whom they called in to save them when it was too late. But 'tis not this I complain of: 'tis of the incredulity or rather injurious suspicions and surmises

which some of our good friends in Holland always entertained of our Ministry even when they did best, and when by repeated letters from England I engaged body for body in their behalf. This made me weary of a correspondence I otherwise should have cherished to the last. You may remember in your own house with what difficulty and opposition I satisfied Mynheer Welant (since dead) of the right views, intention, and capacity of a Lord Marlborow and Godolphin. This was before the first campaign was over, and at a time when I myself as well as my party and all poor Whigs, were the most hardly used by those two Lords, who now can only keep their heads up by our endeavours and support. Thus the world runs. But Providence is in all: and every honest man carries his own reward within his breast; I have mine, I bless God, in a good conscience of having done my best, and even brought myself to this weak state of health by my cares and labours for the good interest and cause of liberty and mankind.

Farewell.

I pray God preserve you and family, and the few good in this dishonest generation. Your old acquaintance and mine, the lord who negotiates in these parts as Ambassador, had better turn General and fight again, this being the fitter part for him. He and the younger lord you name to me have acted alike honestly, and with the same regard to their old friends and principles. Pray beware how you trust. Adieu.

Your two last received are of the 21st and 24th. I hope you received a thick packet I sent you last post.

LETTER CI. CRELL TO FURLEY.

SIR,

NAPLES, 21 FEB. 1713.

Yours of the 27 of Jan. found my Lady Shaftesbury in the greatest affliction, as you can easily imagine, after the loss of my Lord, who died the 15th of this month, at 10 o'clock in the morning. His Lordship was in so perfect resignation to the will of God, that he did not only bear his pains and agonies with patience, but also with perfect cheerfulness, and the same sweetness of temper he always enjoyed in the most perfect health. And though he was so mighty weak that 'tis but seldom his Lordship could speak, yet whenever he was able, we, who had the honour to be about his person, had the pleasure as well as improvement of hearing his wise pious discourses and admonitions, which I hope will have the effect on us as I am sure my lord designed them for, in making us better every day he lived, in order to resign so good a master without repining at the will of Providence.

I would enlarge upon this subject, but his Lordship's distinguished character and merit is so very well known in Holland, as well as in other Courts of Europe, that the Viceroy said, when I notified to him this sad news, that he would serve the Countess of Shaftesbury, not only as being Count Borromee of Milan, but as Viceroy of Naples, in behalf of his Imperial Majesty, whose august family owed so much to this great

genius, who influenced our Parliaments &c. His lordship's body is embalmed and ready to go by sea in a very little while; which done, my Lady, according to my Lord's last desires, sets out for Rome, in order to reach England, family, and friends the soonest possible. I don't know yet which route to take, expecting Mr. Molesworth's, the Envoy's at Florence, advice; but I fancy we shall go through France, as being the most expeditious way. You will be so kind as to send our letters back again into England, or whatever else might come to your hands for us after the receipt of this. Mr. Wheelock, jun. had orders to adjust the accounts with you after his arrival at Rotterdam. My Lord had the satisfaction to receive your obliging letters till the very last. All his friends can do, is to lament their loss, among whom none are more sincerely concerned than,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CRELL.

P. S. My Lady received yours of the 24th, which came later than it ought to be.

LETTER CII. E. FORSTER TO HIS BROTHERS.

DEAR BROTHERS, LONDON THE 9 FEB. 1749-50.

I have been extremely glad to hear you had gone through your measles well, and hope your health is by this time

perfectly established; your mama is thank God purely recovered.

We yesterday had in London a violent shock that was sensible in every part of the town from Wapping to St. James's: I heard likewise it was perceived at Wandsworth: should be glad to know if any body at Hertford heard anything like it. I myself was in a Hackney coach at the time (half an hour after 12 o'clock) it is said to have happened, so perceived it not, till we heard of some magazine or powder mill's having exploded. People will think it an earthquake: if it were perceived with you, I believe it must be so, tho' I am told it was attended with a great noise, which I believe an earthquake seldom is.

Herewith I have sent you *The Students*, the new play, I hear we are soon to have another at Drury lane called the *Roman Father*: I suppose either *Brutus* or *Virginius*, that is I think the name of *Virginia's Father*) is to be your hero.

Our compliments wait on Mr. Worsley and family. I am,
&c. E. F.

LETTER I*, SIDNEY TO FURLEY.

[OMITTED AT PAGE 4.]

DEAR FRIEND, London, Jan. the 3d, [1577-8]

About the 25th of the last month I sent you three bills of exchange, for the sum of £100 sterling, and this day I send you the duplicates of them, and having therein mentioned the reasons that had principally persuaded me to take the course that for the present I do intend, I hope they came safe into your hands, and have at this present no more to do than to send you the duplicates, of them, nor to say but that I am truly,

Your very affec. friend, AL: SYDNEY.

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