

剑桥政治思想史原著系列（影印本）

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

洛克政治论文集

Locke

Political

Essays

Edited by

MARK GOLDIE

中国政法大学出版社

LOCKE

洛克政治论文集
Political Essays

EDITED BY

MARK GOLDIE

*Lecturer in History,
University of Cambridge,
and Vice - Master of Churchill College*

中国政法大学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

洛克政治论文集/(英)洛克(Locke, J.)著. —北京:中国政法大学出版社, 2003. 5

剑桥政治思想史原著系列(影印本)

ISBN 7-5620-2376-X

I. 洛... II. 洛... III. 政治思想史—英国—近代—英文

IV. D095.614

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2003)第 036150 号

* * * * *

书 名	《洛克政治论文集》
出 版 人	李传敢
经 销	全国各地新华书店
出版发行	中国政法大学出版社
承 印	清华大学印刷厂
开 本	880×1230mm 1/32
印 张	14.5
版 本	2003年5月第1版 2003年5月第1次印刷
书 号	ISBN 7-5620-2376-X/D·2336
印 数	0 001-2 000
定 价	32.00 元
社 址	北京市海淀区西土城路 25 号 邮政编码 100088
电 话	(010)62229563 (010)62229278 (010)62229803
电子信箱	z5620@263.net
网 址	http://www.cupl.edu.cn/cbs/index.htm

- 声 明
1. 版权所有,侵权必究。
 2. 如发现缺页、倒装问题,请与出版社联系调换。

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT



LOCKE
Political Essays

原书由剑桥大学出版社于 1997 年出版,此影印本的出版获得剑桥大学出版社财团(英国剑桥)的许可。

© *in the introduction, selection,
notes and editorial matter*
Cambridge University Press 1997

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

剑桥政治思想史原著系列

丛书编辑

Raymond Geuss

剑桥大学社会科学和政治科学高级讲师

Quentin Skinner

剑桥大学近代史讲座教授

在政治理论领域，“剑桥政治思想史原著系列”作为主要的学生教科丛书，如今已牢固确立了其地位。本丛书旨在使学生能够获得从古希腊到 20 世纪初期西方政治思想史方面所有最为重要的原著。它囊括了所有著名的经典原著，但与此同时，它又扩展了传统的评价尺度，以便能够纳入范围广泛、不那么出名的作品。而在此之前，这些作品中有许多从未有过现代英文版本可资利用。只要可能，所选原著都会以完整而不删节的形式出版，其中的译作则是专门为本丛书的目的而安排。每一本书都有一个评论性的导言，加上历史年表、生平梗概、进一步阅读指南，以及必要的词汇表和原文注解。本丛书的最终目的是，为西方政治思想的整个发展脉络提供一个清晰的轮廓。

本丛书已出版著作的书目，请查阅书末。

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

Series editors

RAYMOND GEUSS

Lecturer in Social and Political Sciences, University of Cambridge

QUENTIN SKINNER

Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge

Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought is now firmly established as the major student textbook series in political theory. It aims to make available to students all the most important texts in the history of western political thought, from ancient Greece to the early twentieth century. All the familiar classic texts will be included but the series seeks at the same time to enlarge the conventional canon by incorporating an extensive range of less well-known works, many of them never before available in a modern English edition. Wherever possible, texts are published in complete and unabridged form, and translations are specially commissioned for the series. Each volume contains a critical introduction together with chronologies, biographical sketches, a guide to further reading and any necessary glossaries and textual apparatus. When completed, the series will aim to offer an outline of the entire evolution of western political thought.

For a list of titles published in the series, please see end of book.

Acknowledgements

Whether Locke would have welcomed this volume is not quite clear. On the one hand he pronounced that 'What I cannot at all approve of . . . is the absurd industry of editors whose way it is to collect with the greatest care everything that learned men have written, and to give it to the world' (Letter 1262). But on the other hand he also wrote, for the plaque to stand over his tomb: 'learn from his writings; which will show you what is to be said about him more faithfully than the doubtful eulogies of an epitaph'.

My own editorial industry has fallen short of absurdity by having had the good fortune to stand on the shoulders of other Locke scholars. To have started such a volume as this from scratch would have entailed many years' work. The project has only been feasible because of the labours of earlier editors of Locke's texts, especially Lord King and H. R. Fox Bourne, who in the nineteenth century laid the foundations of modern Locke scholarship, and, in more recent times, Philip Abrams and Wolfgang Von Leyden, who edited the longest texts printed here, as well as others who have put Locke's manuscripts into print: R. I. Aaron and J. Gibb, J. L. Axtell, John Biddle, Maurice Cranston, Esmond De Beer, E. A. Driscoll, John Dunn, James Farr, Kimimasa Inoue, Patrick Kelly, Peter Laslett, John Lough, John Milton, Philip Milton, M. E. Parker, Clayton Roberts, Mario Sina, and John and Jean Yolton. I am indebted to them all. I particularly thank the Delegates of Oxford University Press for permission to use copyright material from Wolfgang Von Leyden's edition of the *Essays on the Law of Nature*.

Acknowledgements

I would like to record my warmest thanks to those who have made comments, offered suggestions, answered questions, or helped with editorial chores: the late Richard Ashcraft, Virginia Catmur, Conal Condren, John Dunn, James Farr, Richard Fisher, Ian Harris, Kimimasa Inoue, Clare Jackson, Patrick Kelly, Matthew Kramer, Christine MacLeod, John Marshall, Joshua Petersen, John Rogers, Quentin Skinner, Sandy Stewart, Sylvana Tomaselli, James Tully, Ian Wei, Jean Wilkins, David Wootton, and John and Jean Yolton. I must single out John Milton, who generously shared his remarkable knowledge of Locke's papers, saved me from several errors and transcribed some passages of Locke's shorthand.

Introduction

I

We know more about the development of John Locke's ideas than we do about almost any other philosopher's before modern times. At his death in 1704 he left behind an immense collection of unpublished papers, many of which remained in his own *escritoire* until the Second World War, by which time they were in the possession of the Earl of Lovelace. They were moved from a furniture store in Tunbridge Wells to the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1942. Consequently we have not only Locke's published works, which fill ten volumes in their nineteenth-century edition, but also more than one hundred volumes of manuscripts. Besides the Lovelace Collection, there are important materials in the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. Locke's papers include drafts of treatises, memoranda, commonplace books, journals, account books, library lists and medical prescriptions. As well as these, there are some 3,500 extant letters written by or to Locke. These writings cover all of Locke's major intellectual preoccupations: ethics, epistemology, politics, economics, theology, ecclesiology and medicine.

Except for some items put into print by Lord King in 1829 and copied by H. R. Fox Bourne in 1876, the Lovelace Collection was virtually unknown until the Bodleian acquired formal possession in 1947. In the half century since then, much (though not all) that is of theoretical significance has been published. But it is scattered among a host of often inaccessible journals, or contained in volumes long out of print. The purpose of this book is to bring together for

the first time Locke's writings on politics and society, apart from the canonical works published during his lifetime, in a collection as full as is practicable within a single volume.

That the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Locke's *Works* contain only a tiny fraction of the material printed in the present volume is a measure of the modern transformation in Locke scholarship. It is also a measure of the gap between the writings Locke chose to publish and the private working papers known only to his closest friends. His was a life of relentless intellectual activity, yet he published virtually nothing until he was fifty-seven years old. In the immediate aftermath of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688–9 were published, in close sequence, the three works by which he is chiefly known: his political philosophy in the *Two Treatises of Government*, his exploration of the foundations of knowledge in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and his plea for religious liberty in *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Within a few years he also published *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, together with polemical defences of the *Essay* and of *A Letter Concerning Toleration* and a series of treatises on economics and theology. Most of these works had a lengthy pre-history, their topics the object of his thoughts over three decades. Many items in the present volume were preparatory or parallel reflections: they form a palimpsest of Locke's intellectual development.

One thing, however, immediately strikes the reader. Locke's seminal publications are not equally well represented in his surviving papers. Just as the *Essay* was the book to which Locke put his name, which he fiercely defended, and which made him famous, so it was the philosophical investigations which lay behind it that leave the most frequent footprints in his papers. Closely behind follow his preoccupations with religious liberty and the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authority. By contrast, the student in search of deep-laid foundations for the *Two Treatises* will be disappointed. Certainly there are pertinent materials here, such as his anthropological notes concerning government among native American peoples and the essay on allegiance written in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. But on the evidence of the extant materials, the *Two Treatises* appears to be an unexpected eruption, a sudden deviation from his characteristic concerns – or, alternatively,

a book of which its author was keen to destroy any trace, for he did not confess his authorship until his last days.

This is not to say that the present volume is any the less 'political' in its content. Readers of the *Two Treatises* need to adjust their expectations of the character of Locke's politics in order to take account of the salience for him of questions concerning the philosophical foundations of morality and sociability and the proper boundaries of church and state. Moreover, the present volume reveals a Locke whose sense of the political was more practical than might be deduced from the theoretical abstractions of the *Two Treatises*, for he frequently addressed constitutional, administrative and policy matters. 'True politics', he told Lady Peterborough, 'I look on as a part of moral philosophy, which is nothing but the art of conducting men right in society' (Letter 2320).

The longest and most important texts printed here are Locke's earliest treatises, the *Two Tracts on Government* (1660–2), which argue for the magistrate's right to impose a uniform religion upon his people, and the *Essays on the Law of Nature* (1663–4), which investigate the grounds for speaking of a universally binding moral law. These are joined by three further substantial essays, *An Essay on Toleration* (1667), which marked a decisive shift in Locke's views on religious liberty; *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669), a meticulous scheme for North America which reproduced the aristocratic, participatory and localist features of English government; and *An Essay on the Poor Law* (1697), a memorandum prepared for the Board of Trade, which aimed to harness the productive powers of the indigent. These treatises are contained in the first section, 'Major Essays'. The second section, 'Minor Essays', contains seventy shorter pieces, memoranda and fragments. Fifteen of these have not previously been printed. The appendix contains brief extracts from a further four works. The texts have been arranged chronologically within each section, both because a division by subject matter would artificially designate and segregate Locke's concerns and because an understanding of the evolution of his ideas over time has long been at the heart of the investigation of his philosophy.

A caveat should be entered about this volume. Locke wrote these texts over a span of half a century and generally without any intention to publish. The materials are of diverse sorts, including

university lectures, polemical treatises, government position papers, philosophical meditations, notes on reading, epigrams, communications to friends, journal entries written in shorthand, and discarded drafts. Those who have looked at the original manuscripts know that the pages are often riddled with deletions and interlinear insertions. Some of his briefer texts have been wrested from a flow of diary entries or from a patchwork of comments and quotations prompted by books which he was reading. Printing such variegated and imperfect manuscripts in a single sequence and in a standardised typography and format is apt to lend to the whole a spurious impression of coherence, completeness and purposiveness. The reader should be aware that the contents of this book are more like a collection of shards from an archaeologist's dig than the revelation of a Lockean *Summa*.

II

Locke was born in Somerset in 1632. In 1661 he reflected, 'I no sooner perceived myself in the world but I found myself in a storm.' He was ten when his father and his patron took up arms against King Charles I. He was fifteen when his uncle helped evict the Anglican minister of a local parish. He was sixteen when Charles I was executed. And he was twenty-one when he saluted the ruler of the English republic, Oliver Cromwell, in verse: 'You, Sir, from Heav'n a finish'd hero fell.' Locke's roots lay firmly among the Puritans who fought the Civil War in the name of a parliamentary constitution and a godly church. A generation later, early in the 1680s, he wrote the *Two Treatises of Government*, when it seemed to him and to his fellow Whigs that once again Englishmen might have to resist the forces of monarchical absolutism.

In between, however, Locke recoiled from many of the convictions that inspired the Civil War, and he shared in the visceral cultural reaction that marked Restoration England. Arguably his political development is best described as a gradual rediscovery of the principles of 1642, but in successive modifications of sensibility by which godly Puritanism was transformed into Enlightenment Whiggery. The latitudinarian Anglicanism of his later life contained within it characteristic attitudes of the moderate Puritanism of the 1640s: a rejection of divine right claims, whether of doctrinaire

monarchists or republicans, or of Episcopalians or Presbyterians; an 'anti-formalism' that accented virtuous conduct rather than credal or ceremonial dogma; a distaste for sectarians and 'enthusiasts' (whatever their legitimate claims to toleration); and a horror of Roman Catholicism both as a theological monstrosity and a threat to civilised society.

Locke's adult life can be divided into four phases, the first three of which fill the period of the Restoration, between the return of Stuart monarchy in 1660 and its second overthrow in 1688. At first he was an Oxford don. He took pastoral care of gentlemen's sons and taught them Latin, Greek and moral philosophy. He evaded the normal expectation that he would become a clergyman; he studied medicine, which he thereafter practised informally; and he ventured into public life as secretary to an embassy to Cleves.

In 1667 Locke abandoned the academic seclusion of Christ Church and joined the household of Lord Ashley, who was Charles II's Chancellor of the Exchequer and later became Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor. Locke acted as Ashley's political confidant and secretary and as tutor to his grandchild. Ashley was a great landed magnate, his income several hundred times that of a labourer. Locke served him when he was in power, acting as secretary to the Proprietors of Carolina and to the Council of Trade. He served him in opposition, when, at the end of the 1670s, the earl attacked the growth of 'popery and arbitrary power' and rallied a political movement that acquired the name Whig. He served him in defeat, when opposition turned to treason. Finally, when his master fled to Holland, Locke followed.

From 1683 until the beginning of 1689 Locke lived in the Dutch republic, among the community of fugitive English and Scottish Whigs and religious Dissenters. Sometimes he went into hiding, for fear of kidnap by English government agents. Had he died at this time, he would have left scarcely a mark on the historical record, a suspect servant of a fallen aristocratic courtier.

In the last phase, after returning to England in February 1689, Locke's life was transformed. He became a doyen of the republic of letters, an internationally renowned philosopher, an adviser to government, the 'great Mr Locke'. He lived most of the time in the Essex household of Damaris Masham, a clever woman with a dull husband. He corresponded with a circle of Whig politicians and

courtiers who called themselves 'the College' and who were closely involved in the ending of press censorship in 1695 and the national recoinage of 1696. He served on the Board of Trade, deliberating on such matters as the Irish textile industry and the grievances of Virginia. He wrote commentaries on the Scriptures and puzzled over biblical chronology with Isaac Newton. Damaris Masham was reading the Psalms to him when he died on 28 October 1704.

III

Since the discovery of the *Two Tracts on Government* it has become common to see Locke as arriving belatedly at radical political views, the early conservative becoming the revolutionary Whig. And indeed, Locke gives the impression of being reluctantly driven to new positions against the grain of his temperament, which was cautious, anxious and painfully sensitive to the fragility of social order. The mood of ideological exhaustion that most English gentlemen felt after twenty years of turmoil is palpable in the preface to the *Two Tracts*. 'War, cruelty, rapine, confusion' have 'wearied and wasted this poor nation'; the world tumbles between tyranny and anarchy; the passionate multitude is armed with cries of liberty and conscience.

The *Two Tracts* addressed a crucial unresolved aspect of the process of restoration. Monarchy had returned, but the character of the re-established Church of England was not yet settled. Episcopalians and Presbyterians quarrelled over whether Christ intended his church to be governed by bishops. Some thought that the rituals laid down in the old Book of Common Prayer were popish superstitions. The new sects, such as the Quakers and Baptists, demanded liberty of conscience. Locke's Christ Church colleague, Edward Bagshaw, opposed the re-imposition of ceremonies and formalities. Locke responded with the *Two Tracts*.

Locke's procedure in the *Two Tracts* is not unlike that of the later *Two Treatises*. The first part clears the ground by a combative and minute refutation of his opponent's interpretation of Scripture. The second part presents his own position in more synoptic and less polemical terms. Locke's subject matter is apt now to seem arcane. Readers have searched for fleeting reflections on the nature of political authority. Locke agnostically says that there is no need

to 'meddle with that question whether the magistrate's crown drops down on his head immediately from heaven or be placed there by the hands of his subjects'. However, he does assert that 'the supreme magistrate of every nation . . . must necessarily have an absolute and arbitrary power'. He was not here defending monarchical 'absolutism', but the juridical view that in every state there must be an ultimate legislative power, since, he goes on, it is no different in a 'pure commonwealth' (a republic), 'the same arbitrary power being there in the assembly'.

These were incidental remarks. The main topic is the legitimacy of the ruler's imposition of forms of religious worship. The key term of art is 'things indifferent', or 'adiaphora', a subject of intense debate in English Reformation thought. In an authoritative tradition, pre-eminently represented in Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, it was held that although God must be worshipped, he was not unduly prescriptive about how this should be done. Hence, while some matters of ritual (and of morality and church government) had been prescribed by divine law and were 'things necessary' to salvation, there was a broad array of ritual performances (and of behaviour and jurisdiction) which were non-prescriptive and were 'things indifferent' to salvation. In this latter sphere, it was argued, the magistrate had discretion to impose outward forms of public ritual and ecclesiastical government for the sake of decency and good order. The magistrate was still visibly the Lutheran Godly Prince, in whose hands lay the external arrangements of religious as of secular life. Arguably, adiaphorism was the sustaining doctrine of the Church of England as an inclusive national church. It entailed a strong sense that while some things were *jure divino* (by divine right) and hence not subject to human choice, most things were *jure humano* (by human law) and were legitimately subject to such human arrangements as seemed practical.

It followed that zealots who thought that every iota of human life was governed by divine revelation – all actions being either commanded or forbidden by God – were dangerously misguided. They were apt to challenge the magistrate as ungodly at every turn, either demanding particular impositions, or claiming a Christian liberty of exemption from superstitious human contrivances. Such were the fanatics who, Locke wrote, had brought England to 'the

tyranny of a religious rage'. Locke's line of thought was a conventional piece of Anglican (and moderate Presbyterian) adiaphorism. In less palatable form, it was also Hobbes's view, for *Leviathan* was a deliberate *reductio* of the adiaphorist position, in that what is *jure humano* almost entirely occludes what is *jure divino*.

Locke's *Essay on Toleration* (1667) marked a decisive change of mind. He now repeatedly asserted that the magistrate's sole concern was the 'peace, safety, or security of the people'. Any law not driven by this criterion was 'meddling'. Since no particular ritual could be said to endanger the state, it was no business of the state to impose. Thus not only must speculative theological opinion be free, but also 'the place, time, and manner of worshipping'. Locke began to attempt to erect a theoretical barrier between the ecclesiastical sphere and 'civil concerns'. The Lutheran Godly Prince disappeared. Locke conceded that religious symbols could become rallying cries for 'factiousness and turbulency' and he continued to believe that an empirical assessment of threat would yield the conclusion that Papists and some Protestant fanatics were dangerous. The magistrate might suppress them as underminers of the commonwealth, but he advised the magistrate that persecution, where it is not necessary, is a sure way of turning innocent sectaries into seditious rebels. He also began to adopt the language of the political economists, advising that toleration would promote the 'number and industry' and the 'riches and power' of the nation.

There were, again, incidental remarks on the origins of political authority. Locke now said that those who preach *jure divino* monarchy had 'forgot what country they are born in'. But he remained emphatic that even those people with affronted consciences, wrongly coerced in religious matters, should quietly 'submit to the penalty the law inflicts'. Outside the *Two Treatises* it seems impossible to find Locke unequivocally endorsing a right of armed resistance.

Locke's new position is also visible in his critique of Samuel Parker's adiaphorist and Hobbesian *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1669). In a series of further fragments in the 1670s and 1680s, such as 'Civil and Ecclesiastical Power', 'Ecclesia', 'Pacific Christians' and several headed 'Toleration', the lineaments of Locke's mature position are visible. Above all, he decisively removed temporal magistracy from the sphere of religion: the security of the common-