

JOHN LOCKE

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TWO TREATISES OF  
GOVERNMENT

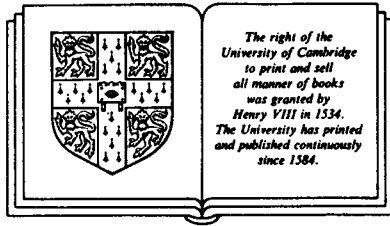
A CRITICAL EDITION  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND  
APPARATUS CRITICUS

BY

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# I

## THE BOOK

'Property I have nowhere found more clearly explained, than in a book entitled, *Two Treatises of Government*.' This remark was made by John Locke in 1703, not much more than a year before he died. It must be a rare thing for an author to recommend one of his own works as a guide to a young gentleman anxious to acquire 'an insight into the constitution of the government, and real interest of his country'. It must be even rarer for a man who was prepared to do this, to range his own book alongside Aristotle's *Politics* and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, to write as if the work were written by somebody else, somebody whom he did not know. Perhaps it is unique in a private letter to a relative.\* What could possibly be the point of concealing this thing, from a man who probably knew it already?

Odd as it is, this statement of Locke anticipates the judgment of posterity. It was not long before it was universally recognized that Locke on *Government* did belong in the same class as Aristotle's *Politics*, and we still think of it as a book about property, in recent years especially. It has been printed over a hundred times since the 1st edition appeared with the date 1690 on the title-page. It has been translated into French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, Japanese and Hindi: probably into other languages too.† It is an established classic of political and social theory, perhaps not in the first flight of them all, but familiar to eight generations of students of politics all over the world, and the subject of a great body of critical literature.

The prime reason for the importance attached to this book of Locke's is its enormous historical influence. We shall not be concerned here with the part which it played in the growth to maturity of English liberalism, or in the development of those movements which had their issue in the American Revolution, the French Revolution and their parallels in southern America, in Ireland, in

\* The Rev. Richard King. Locke's letter to him of 25 August 1703 is printed in *Works*, 1801, x, 305. They had a mutual cousin in Sir Peter, later Lord King.

† See Appendix A (121-129) for a handlist of printings, English and foreign.

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India—everywhere where government by consent of the governed has made its impact felt. We shall certainly have to decide whether or not the book was worthy of the effect it has had, or perhaps to work out a criterion to make such a decision possible. But our first object must be a modest historian's exercise—to establish Locke's text as he wanted it read, to fix it in its historical context, Locke's own context, and to demonstrate the connection of what he thought and wrote with the Locke of historical influence.

We may begin with Locke's own attitude to his own work on government. Our direct evidence is meagre, for we have only two further references to the book by name from Locke himself. One is an exactly similar recommendation made in the same year in *Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*.<sup>\*</sup> This makes no mention of property, but the tendency is clear enough, and it marks his recognition of the uses which the work would have, the same for *Two Treatises of Government* as for everything else he published. They were to be part of the assimilated atmosphere of the English gentleman, the Member of Parliament, the administrator and politician, at home and overseas, but above all the landowner, the local notable.

In the third and most important reference of all he finally did acknowledge his authorship. He was addressing himself to posterity rather than to his contemporaries, to us who can only read him and not to those who could have known him: it was made in a codicil to his will, signed only a week or two before he died. He was listing his anonymous works for the benefit of the Bodleian Library, and he wrote:

'I do hereby give to the public library of the University of Oxford. . . . *Two Treatises of Government* whereof Mr Churchill has published several editions but all very incorrect.'<sup>†</sup>

Without this final, almost accidental afterthought we should have no direct proof that he wrote the book at all.<sup>‡</sup> His anxiety to keep the secret is the more remarkable in that his responsibility was widely suspected from the time of publication. It was talked of in Oxford in 1689, and in 1690 Molyneux was told in London

<sup>\*</sup> *Works*, 1801, III, 272.

<sup>†</sup> Will, dated 7 April 1704; codicil, 15 September 1704. Locke died 28 October 1704.

<sup>‡</sup> Though there is conclusive circumstantial evidence. In the Whitehouse Collection (now MS. Locke b. 8.) there are papers of corrections in his hand for the 1694 printing.

## LOCKE'S ATTITUDE TO THE BOOK

that he wrote the work.\* In 1693 Bayle referred to Locke's authorship as if it were generally known, even on the continent. Early in 1695 an Englishman wrote casually enough about the second printing, in a private letter. 'Here is a book written by Mr Locke which makes a great noise, called *Two Treatises of Government*, price 3s. 6d. This Locke was expelled from Christ Church College for his Presbyterian principles and was chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury.'† Inaccurate in detail, but apt in general, this judgment may have been based on special information. Although it would seem that his most hostile critic, John Edwards, was not in the secret in 1697, it was being referred to openly in print in the following year. Walter Moyle, in his *Essay on the Lacedaemonian Government*, declared: 'I would advise you to read first the answer that has been made to *Filmer* by Mr *Locke*, and his *Essay of the Original, Extent and End of Civil Government*; that piece contains the first Rudiments upon this subject. I know a Gentleman, who calls it the A.B.C. of *Politicks*.'

Molyneux in 1698 was not so frank, but even more complimentary: he called it 'An Incomparable *Treatise*,... said to be written by my Excellent Friend, JOHN LOCKE, *Esq*; Whether it be so or not, I know not; This I am sure, whoever is the Author, the greatest Genius in *Christendom* need not disown it.' In 1701 the most powerful and important of all Locke's friends, John, Lord Somers, cited the book with marked deference to its author: his clear implication was that he knew who wrote it and so did his readers.‡

By then, no doubt, Locke had told the great man by word of mouth that the book indeed was his, as he had told Tyrrell and Molyneux, imploring all of them, everyone who challenged him with the secret, to keep his knowledge to himself and out of

\* Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report no. 25, p. 335.

† George Fleming to Sir D. . . . F. . . . , 29 January 1694-5.

‡ Tyrrell to Locke, 20 December 1689, 30 August 1690 (see below, 52 and 80); Molyneux to Locke, 27 August 1692 (*Works*, 1714, III, 502), and his *Case of Ireland*, 1698, 1720 ed., 23 and 130 where he refers to *Locke's Treat. Government* (in his reply Clement, 1698, complains of the abuse of 'Mr *Locke*, or whoever was the Author of that Excellent Treatise of Government'); Bayle to Minutoli, 14 September 1693, 1725, IV, 731. Moyle's *Essay* was printed in his *Works* in 1727 (see p. 58), and the date on the title-page was given as 1698 by the editor, to whom it was dedicated. See Robbins, 1968 pp. 28 ff. For Somers's reference, see note to II, § 139. Other instances could be found, e.g. Cary, 1698; Leslie (?), 1698.

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print.\* And he persisted in all his other exasperating attempts to conceal it, in a way which can only be called abnormal, obsessive. He destroyed all his workings for the book and erased from his papers every recognizable reference to its existence, its composition, its publication, printing and reprinting. All the negotiations with both printer and publisher went on through a third party, who was instructed to refer to the author as 'my friend'. This in spite of the fact that the publisher was a personal acquaintance both of Locke and his agent, and handled nearly all of his other books. In Locke's own library, this book in all its editions was catalogued and placed on the shelves as anonymous, so that even a casual browser should find nothing to compromise the secret.

He showed a similar cautiousness over some of his other works. He was willing to risk a breach with his Dutch friend Limborch for letting it be known that he had written on toleration, since this fact, as well as his responsibility for the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, was also reserved for final revelation in the codicil to his will.† But nothing exceeded his cold fury towards Tyrrell, a lifelong associate, when he had reason to believe that he had betrayed him over *Two Treatises* in 1690. There is no parallel in the papers of this devious man for the labyrinthine methods he used when the book was reprinted in 1694, perhaps no parallel in literature.‡

All this argues a peculiarity in Locke's personality as a man and in his personality as an author, particularly as a controversialist and especially as a commentator on political issues. This we will consider in its due place. The present importance of his anxiety to keep the secret about *Two Treatises* as long as he lived lies in the effect which it has had on the transmission of the text. His statement in his will betrays his vexation that this book had been mangled by the printer, and implies that he was anxious to leave behind him an authoritative text. There is evidence to prove that

\* Locke obviously told Tyrrell between August 1691 and August 1692 (see below, 79), and Molyneux when he visited him in England in 1698 (see Molyneux to Locke, 15 March 1698, and Locke to Molyneux, 6 April 1698, *Works*, 1801, ix, 450-4 and compare Bastide, 1907, 286).

† Locke, Limborch letters, April 1690, in Kinn's *Locke* 1830, II, 305-11. He never put his name on English printings of the *Education*, though it appeared on the French translation. On his concealing the *Reasonableness*, Dunn, 1967 (ii).

‡ Rand, 1927, 387-94, and the originals, with some unpublished items, in the Whitehouse Collection (MS. Locke b. 8). Rand assumes that the only book referred to in these letters between Locke and Clarke is the *Essay*. But *Two Treatises* is obviously intended in Locke's of 7, 12, 19 (as well as the *Essay*) and 30 March 1694.

he went to great pains to ensure that we should read him on politics in the exact words which he used, and we must turn to the history of its printing to see why it is that we do not do so. Our modern reprints of Locke on *Government* represent a debasement of a form of his book which he himself excoriated, and tried his best to obliterate.\*

This author lived most of his life amongst books. He was well informed about printing and publishing, and the firm of Awnsam and John Churchill, one of the great houses of his day, came to be a part of his life. Yet he could write in June 1704:

Books seem to me to be pestilent things, and infect all that trade in them. . . with something very perverse and brutal. Printers, binders, sellers, and others that make a trade and gain out of them have universally so odd a turn and corruption of mind, that they have a way of dealing peculiar to themselves, and not conformed to the good of society, and that general fairness that cements mankind. †

This profound suspicion of book tradesmen, rather than any argued belief in liberty of expression, made John Locke the champion of the freedom of the press. His bitter experience with the publication of his own works was an important reason. It was certainly *Two Treatises of Government* which irritated him most.

We have said that Locke carefully expunged from all his records every overt mention of this book. It is not surprising, then, that no manuscript version of it or any part of it has ever been recovered. This is another indication that his anxiety to conceal it went far beyond what he felt about his writings on toleration, for example, since he preserved draft after draft of his views on that subject. But although it has never been seen we know that the manuscript on *Government* which Locke sent to the press, or perhaps had copied for the printer, in the late summer of 1689, had some interesting peculiarities. It was a remnant: more than half of it had been lost. It was probably written all over with corrections, amendments and extensions: some recent, others going back six years and more. We shall discuss these features of the original manuscript when we come to the date of composition. The printed text of the first, 1690, edition has the status which comes from being taken from a manuscript original, even though the

\* See Laslett, 1952 (iv), 342, note 2, and 1954 (ii), note 1.

† *Works*, 1801, x, 291, Locke to Anthony Collins.



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cunning author may have made sure by using a copyist that his publisher did not recognize the hand.

This is only the beginning of the story which ends with the versions read today. The work of editing is complicated when only printed sources are available, especially when there were several editions in the author's lifetime, and printing difficulties as well. The 1st edition was botched, and no wonder, with such copy and such tortuous communications. We may never know in detail what happened, and the bibliographical problem is for specialists only. Locke certainly interrupted the press, and one of his objects was to change the title of the book and of each treatise, so as to alter the apparent relationship between them. The difficulty is to account for the fact that two sorts, or 'states',\* of the finished book were produced. In the earlier state it had no paragraph 21 in the *Second Treatise*, and a few pages before the point where it should have appeared the ordinary print gave way to three pages in the larger type of the Preface. The second state was made to look normal: nothing is obviously missing, there is no large type. Modern editors in a hurry, just well enough informed to seek out the 1st edition to reproduce, have sometimes lighted on one state, sometimes on the other; hence a great deal of confusion and some mixed up references. †

This 1st printing, our first authority, was completely unsatisfactory to Locke. We have been able to use his personal copy for this edition. Apart from corrections of misprints, it has a few amendments in his hand.

The plot of the story begins to unfold, a story of repeated frustration of Locke's attempts to get out a clear text. The book sold, and in 1694 a new printing was wanted. By this time, we may expect, both his manuscript original and all handwritten

\* Called for reference 1X and 1R, see Laslett, 1952 (iv); Bowers, Gerritsen and Laslett, 1954; Johnston, 1956. Dr Gerritsen has now put forward an explanation which seems to me to make the earlier, more complicated conjectures unnecessary. Though its effects on the text are not important, it implies the following. The passage which is present in 1R and not in 1X was lost at the press and had to be rewritten by Locke. He may have been able to use an earlier copy of his text, or he may have been composing anew. It is therefore very interesting that this passage (see II, 20-21, and especially paragraph 20, 11-23 and note) should contain statements which refer so definitely to the revolutionary events of 1688. It is hoped that Dr Gerritsen's explanation will finally appear in print.

† See notes on II, §16, 1; § 17, 15; § 20, 2; § 21.

copies had been destroyed. So Locke sent a corrected copy of the 1st printing on its roundabout way through Edward Clarke, his third party, and Churchill the publisher to the printer. It had over 150 alterations of sense or extensions, but the final text was worse than ever, so bad that Locke felt like abandoning the whole book. On 12 March 1694, he wrote to Clarke:

There is no contesting with everlasting unalterable neglect. If I receive that other paper I sent for I shall go on with it. If not I shall trouble myself no more about it. Its fate is it seems to be the worst printed that ever book was, and it is in vain for anyone to labour against it.\*

The chastened Churchill offered to scrap the whole edition. But not before Clarke had been told to 'rub up his carelessness a little' for this second was 'ten times worse than the first edition'. They finally agreed to sell it very cheap, so that it should be 'scattered amongst common readers'. Meantime Locke would correct it more exactly, especially as to punctuation, and then Churchill would print it again with better type and on good paper. This is what seems to have happened, though we have no further correspondence which we can attach to the affair. † The 2nd edition of 1694, and it is in fact a cheap and nasty little book, price sixpence, held the field for four years, when it was sold out in its turn. Then the better quality reprint was issued as Locke had demanded, the 3rd edition, 1698. The modifications in the 2nd edition, and the very minor alterations in the 3rd, have been taken account of in our text. ‡

But even this did not satisfy Locke, who seems to have had a standard of perfection above the resources of the printers of his time. This 3rd printing of 1698 had its faults, but it is difficult not to feel that the exasperation which he showed in his will over all the printings of this work had an independent source in an inner anxiety about what he had written. As it became obvious to him

\* Rand, 1927, 389. The 'other paper' was a missing page of corrections. The effect of Locke's vain attempts to clear up the worst of the muddle is to be found in the numbers of cancel leaves in this printing, see Johnston, 1956.

† The references to a book printed in 1698 quoted by Bowers, Gerritsen and Laslett, 1954, where the printer left out whole paragraphs 'in the former sheets of this very book' now seem to concern a different work.

‡ It had two cancel leaves. See Editorial Note (146) for the effect of these successive corrections. Where Locke retained them in his 'text for posterity' (see below) they appear in the present text as a matter of course, and occasionally where he omitted to reinsert them there. All variants are registered in the Collation (447-).

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that no version correct enough to satisfy such meticulousness would ever appear in his lifetime,\* he made plans to ensure that it should do so after his death. He corrected a copy of the printed version in minute detail, scrutinizing the word-order, the italics, the punctuation, even the spelling, as well as the general sense. It seems that he intended to carry out this process in duplicate, which is what we might expect in him. It seems also that one of the copies he corrected may have been of the 2nd printing of 1694, rather than the 3rd of 1698, which, though slightly revised, was a page for page reprint of its predecessor. The other copy, the text of the 3rd printing corrected between the lines, in the margins and on the fly leaves, is the one reproduced here. Locke himself did not get further than the first few pages in the laborious correcting process, and the rest is in the hand of his amanuensis, Pierre Coste, though Locke's hand does appear occasionally throughout the book. The indications are that Coste was copying from the other master-copy.

Locke must have left directions behind him for the publication of this text for posterity, just as he did in the case of the *Essay on the Understanding*.† Presumably these directions were left with Churchill, the publisher, though it is a little difficult to understand why nine years were allowed to elapse before the book appeared, for the posthumous *Essay* took only two. It may be that Locke's heir and literary executor, Peter King, later 1st Lord King was given the responsibility, or even Pierre Coste.‡ But whoever it was who made the decision, in 1713 this definitive text appeared over Churchill's imprint as the 4th edition, and in the following year it was included in the 1st edition of Locke's *Collected Works*, published by the same firm. And whatever exactly took place between Locke's death in 1704 and 1713, it is clear that the effect he desired was brought about. A fairly reliable text of the book became established, and the earlier, imperfect printings were left behind.

\* Though a new edition was entered in the *Term Catalogues* in 1699.

† The 5th edition, 1706, was obviously a posthumous fulfilment of Locke's own directions, presumably to Churchill: see Yolton's *Everyman* edition, 1961. Introduction.

‡ But see a letter from La Motte to Desmaizeaux of November 1709 (British Museum, Sloane MSS. 4286, f. 91), inquiring for a copy of that edition of *Two Treatises* 'qui a été faite après la mort de l'auteur, où l'on a inséré les corrections dans l'exemplaire laissé à Mr. Coste'. The assumption here is that the text for posterity had already appeared, and it seems to imply rather that someone other than Coste had been charged with it. The context shows that a number of people, including Barbeyrac, knew of the existence of the master-text, and that Coste had a copy of it.

As the eighteenth century wore on the work was sent to press again and again, about once every five years. Each new printing was usually set up from its immediate predecessor, and so the text inevitably declined in accuracy: it lost its original flavour. But in the 6th edition, 1764, this process was arrested. That fine republican eccentric, Thomas Hollis, had acquired in 'his private walks' the Coste master-copy and he published it. He then presented the volume itself to Christ's College, Cambridge, 'where Milton, the matchless John Milton' was bred.\* The present text is a reproduction of this document, made possible by the generosity of the present Master and Fellows of Christ's. But it is not 'the copy from which Mr L hopes that his book will be printed after his death' † to which Coste himself refers. That other volume, the hypothetical second master-copy, has so far escaped a search for recovery begun in 1949. Even now, therefore, editorial work on this book could be overset by the discovery of a yet more authentic version. ‡ So end attempts at perfection.

As his gentleman-scholarly habit was, Hollis did some editorial work on the book before he sent the Coste copy to Christ's. ¶ Subsequent reprints followed this fresh and better version. It was left to modern scholarship, and in particular to the editors of successive reprints after 1884, to go behind all this to the unsatisfactory printings of Locke's lifetime, and to create the prevalent confusion over the text. Hence the imperative need for doing Hollis's work over again, in accordance with our own standards of textual accuracy, presenting the book as the author intended us to read it, but registering his successive corrections. These have their own significance, for they show us how Locke's views in 1694, 1698 and in the period from about 1700 to 1704 differed in microscopic detail from those he originally published in 1689. || Moreover the knowledge that he worked so hard and

\* On Hollis, see Robbins, 1950. Professor Robbins has been kind enough to communicate relevant extracts from the full, unpublished diary of Hollis.

† 'L'exemplaire sur lequel il [i.e. Mr L.] souhaite que son livre soit imprimé apres sa mort', note in Coste's hand on the final fly of the Christ's copy: see note on II, § 172.

‡ See Editorial Note (below, p. 146) for a discussion of the second master-copy.

¶ Blackburne's *Memoirs* of Hollis, 1780, 224, how he collated this copy with the first three printings 'with no little labour'.

|| Though it bore the date 1690, it was actually printed in 1689 (see below, section III) and was on sale by November of that year. This was normal publishing practice then as it still is for our motor-car makers.

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so often at his text is also important in itself. We must surely suppose that he meant to stand by what he finally approved for us to read. He certainly gave himself every opportunity to see and to revise those points of inconsistency and obscurity which have been seen in his text by so many of his commentators.

So John Locke has not escaped the consequences of the extraordinary attitude which he took up to his book on *Government*. There is an appropriate irony in the fact that the scholars of our own day have been confused by it, not the men of the eighteenth century. Though a study of this work must begin with this complicated story of determined anonymity and failure at the press, there is still more to be said. It was a different, a much modified version which entered into the main stream of European political thinking and affected French, even American revolutionism. Ever since it was translated into French, less than eighteen months after publication, the first of his English works to be put into the polite and universal language of that time, *Two Treatises* has led two quite independent lives. They have touched only at one point: in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1773.

In 1691 David Mazel, one of the Huguenot pastors living in Holland, translated the book.\* He made an excellent version, which is now highly valued, but the book was transformed as well as translated. Locke's *Preface*, the entire *First Treatise*, the opening chapter of the *Second* connecting it with the *First*, were all left out. An *Avertissement* was prefixed, a fair enough statement of the drift and purpose of the text. The paragraphs were re-numbered under chapters and not consecutively through the book; they were divided slightly differently.† A briefer work in an alien language and an altered shape, this essay 'Du Gouvernement Civil' was subtly changed in the direction of the Enlightenment and eighteenth-century Revolutionism. In this form it was re-printed a dozen times in the next century, more often as an independent book in France than in England. In this form it was read by Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. From this version and not, until our day, from the English original, the translations into other languages were made. Did Locke know that his book was being altered in this way? Was he himself in any way responsible?

\* There seems to be nothing to confirm, but nothing to upset, this traditional attribution.

† These paragraph numerations and divisions are recorded in the Collation.

He may have been. He was presumably acquainted with the publisher, Abram Wolfgang, for he also published the periodical *La Bibliothèque Universelle*. During his recent exile in Holland, Locke had contributed to this journal.\* Jean Leclerc, the editor, was one of Locke's closest friends in Holland, and he was no doubt acquainted with most of the protestant refugees, perhaps with Mazel himself though we have no evidence of such a connection. *Du Gouvernement Civil* was anonymous both as to author and to translator, but its preface gets very close to Locke's doctrine and object in writing.

Leclerc published a summary of the whole of *Two Treatises* in his periodical in 1691, from the English original. Nevertheless, the form of the French version may suggest Locke's responsibility, for the *Second Treatise* or *Essay of Civil Government* alone, independent of the *First*, is the form in which it has been read, even by those who have had the *First Treatise* in the volume in hand. We have already seen Locke emphasizing the disconnection between the two treatises when he changed the titles at such a late stage, and we shall present the case for supposing that the *Second Treatise* was the earlier work. I am prepared to believe from these indications that the French, the European and generally appreciated form of this book, was authenticated by Locke. Any overt recognition of the French form would of course have offended his passionate desire for anonymity.

This view has its difficulties, for it makes it necessary to ask why he did not adopt this form for subsequent English editions and in his text for posterity. It leaves open a decision on the extent to which he oversaw the French edition. Nevertheless we may believe that Locke would have been pleased to think that the French form, the independent *Second Treatise*, was to be received into the canon of classics on political theory.†

Whatever the status of the French version for Locke, it did not

\* The closer study of Locke's books now possible shows that in this article Locke's contributions were confused with Leclerc's. Dunn, 1969 (ii) has cast serious doubt on the extent to which the American or French revolutionists actually read the book, or how relevant its doctrines were to their beliefs and actions.

† Locke's own copy of *Du Gouvernement Civil* has written in his hand on the title: *Pax ac Libertas*. See Harrison and Laslett, 1965, p. 33 and plate 6. This is the only known example of his adding to the title of one of his own books. On the final page he has also added the personal sign which he used to authenticate his signature on financial documents. This sign is found on a dozen or so of Locke's books, and may have had a meaning to him which has not been recovered.

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affect his corrections to the English versions, and he showed no sign that he realized the growing influence of the work on a readership far wider than his English public. That public, as the eighteenth century wore on, was no longer confined to readers of English in the British Isles, for it included those men in the North American colonies who were importing Locke's books, especially the collected editions, in such large numbers. When at last in 1773 the crucial relevance of Locke's political doctrine to the controversy over the rights of the Americans called forth a reprint from Boston, the text reproduced followed the standard English edition (Hollis's 6th edition, 1764). But the form of the book was the French form, not the English: no *First Treatise*, and the first chapter of the *Second* omitted.\* What more intriguing example could be found of the well-known pathway of radical thinking from its origin in England, by way of French Protestants in Holland and French political criticism at home, to the new Englishmen of the New World?

So much for Locke's book as a book and the plot of its development to a giant of historical importance. The whole story could be told at much greater length. There is a striking illustration of Locke's attitude to the work, his unwillingness to own it and to take responsibility for its effects, in his failure to take any notice of Molyneux's *Case of Ireland*. Here a close friend was using the book as it was always going to be used, to justify a people in their demand for a voice in their own government. Locke's name appeared in the ensuing controversy. There are signs that Locke felt concern, perhaps even contemplated changing his text, yet he said nothing: his final corrections ignored the whole thing. †

Or we could watch the interplay between editions of Locke and the crises of government and opinion. There was no American edition after 1773 until the twentieth century; a proposal for publication by subscription in 1806 apparently got no response. But during 'L'an III de la République Française' (1795) it appeared in revolutionary Paris in four different sizes, a neat tapering pile. Traditionalists in contemporary Britain were disturbed by the uses being made of the great philosopher of common sense

\* See Appendix A: this printing has neither chapter nor paragraph numbers.

† Information from Mr John Dunn, of King's College, Cambridge. See references in note ‡, p. 5 above, and compare Laslett, 1957 (i). Molyneux's reproduction of passages from Locke is recorded in the notes to II, §§ 4, 134, 177, 178, etc.

#### EDITIONS OF LOCKE AND DEVELOPING OPINION

and moderation by revolutionaries at home. In 1798 Bishop Thomas Elrington produced his edition of the book, introduced and annotated with remarks directed against citizen Thomas Paine so as to establish the distinction 'between the system of Locke and the theories of modern democrats'.\* The first Spanish edition appeared in 1821, at the outset of the critical decade for the independence of the Spanish-American communities: in 1827 a further reprint was smothered in the press at Madrid.

Meanwhile the political theory of *Two Treatises of Government* had established its place in the minds of Montesquieu and Rousseau, Burke and Jefferson. We must now turn our attention to the personal qualities and the personal experience of the man who brought this system into being, and whose attitude to his own creation was such a singular one.

\* Elrington was the only editor to notice the peculiarities of the 1st edition: his notes have been incorporated here.