

T W O  
T R E A T I S E S  
O F  
G O V E R N M E N T

In the Former,  
The false Principles and Foundation of  
Sir *ROBERT FILMER*,  
And his FOLLOWERS  
Are *Detected* and *Overthrown*.

The Latter, is an  
E S S A Y  
Concerning the  
True Original, Extent, and End of  
CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

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By *JOHN LOCKE* Esq;

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THE FIFTH EDITION.

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*Quod si nihil cum potentiore juris humani relinquitur inopi,  
at ego ad deos vindices humana superbia confugiam : Et  
precabor ut iras suas vertant in eos, quibus non sua res,  
non aliena satis sint : quorum sevitiâ non mors noxiorum  
exsatiât : Placari nequeant, nisi hauriendum sanguinem  
laniandaque viscera nostra præbuerimus. Liv. l. 9. c. 1.*

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L O N D O N :

Printed for A. BATESWORTH in *Pater-Noster-Row*,  
J. PEMBERTON in *Fleetstreet*, and E. SYMON in  
*Cornhill*. M.DCC.XXVIII.

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THE  
P R E F A C E

READER,

**T**HOU hast here the Beginning and End of a Discourse concerning Government ; what Fate has otherwise disposed of the Papers that should have filled up the Middle, and were more than all the rest, 'tis not worth while to tell thee. These which remain, I hope are sufficient to establish the Throne of our great Restorer, our present King *William* ; to make good his Title, in the Consent of the People ; which being the only one of all lawful Governments, he has more fully and clearly, than any Prince in *Christendom* ; and to justify to the World the People of *England*, whose love of  
their

## *The P R E F A C E.*

their just and natural Rights, with their Resolution to preserve them, saved the Nation when it was on the very brink of Slavery and Ruin. If these Papers have that Evidence I flatter my self is to be found in them, there will be no great miss of those which are lost, and my Reader may be satisfied without them. For I imagine, I shall have neither the Time, nor Inclination to repeat my Pains, and fill up the wanting part of my Answer, by tracing Sir *Robert* again, thro' all the Windings and Obscurities which are to be met with in the several Branches of his wonderful System. The King, and Body of the Nation, have since so thorowly confuted his *Hypothesis*, that, I suppose, no body hereafter will have either the Confidence to appear against our common Safety, and be again an Advocate for Slavery ; or the Weakness to be deceived with Contradictions dressed up in a popular Style, and well turned Periods. For if any one will be at the  
Pains

## *The P R E F A C E.*

Pains himself, in those Parts which are here untouched, to strip Sir *Robert's* Discourses of the Flourish of doubtful Expressions, and endeavour to reduce his Words to direct, positive, intelligible Propositions, and then compare them one with another, he will quickly be satisfied, there was never so much glib Nonsense put together in well sounding *English*. If he think it not worth while to examine his Works all thro', let him make an Experiment in that Part where he treats of Usurpation; and let him try whether he can, with all his Skill, make Sir *Robert* intelligible, and consistent with himself, or common Sense. I should not speak so plainly of a Gentleman, long since past answering, had not the Pulpit, of late Years, publicly owned his Doctrine, and made it the current Divinity of the Times. 'Tis necessary those Men, who, taking on them to be Teachers, have so dangerously misled others, should be openly shewed of what Authority their  
Patri-

## *The P R E F A C E.*

Patriarch, whom they have followed, is, or ought to be ; that so they may either recant what, upon so ill Grounds, they have vented, or justify his Opinions. For I should not have writ against Sir *Robert*, or taken the Pains to shew his Mistakes, Inconsistences, and want of (what he so much boasts of, and pretends wholly to build on) Scripture-Proofs, were there not Men amongst us, who, by crying up his Books, and espousing his Doctrine, save me from the Reproach of writing against a dead Adversary. They have been so zealous in this Point, that if I have done him any wrong, I cannot hope they should spare me. I wish, where they have done the Truth and the Publick wrong, (there being scarce a greater Mischief to Prince and People, than the propagating wrong Notions concerning Government) they would be as ready to redress it : And that all Times might not have reason to complain of the *Drum Ecclesiastick*. If any one,  
concern

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concerned really for Truth, undertake the Confutation of my *Hypothesis*, I promise him either to recant my Mistake, upon fair Conviction ; or to answer his Difficulties. But he must remember two Things ;

*First*, That cavilling here and there, at some Expression, or little Incident of my Discourse, is not an Answer to my Book.

*Secondly*, That I shall not take Railing for Arguments, nor think either of these worth my Notice. Tho I shall always look on my self as bound to give Satisfaction to any one, who shall appear to be conscientiously scrupulous in the Point, and shall shew any just Grounds for his Scruples.

I have nothing more, but to advertise the Reader, that

*A. stands for our Author,*

O.

*The P R E F A C E.*

O. for his *Observations on* Hobbes,  
Milton, &c.

*And that a bare Quotation of Pages,  
always means Pages of his Pa-  
triarcha, Edit. 1682.*



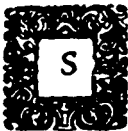
B O O K



T H E  
F I R S T   T R E A T I S E  
C O N C E R N I N G  
G O V E R N M E N T.

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C H A P. I.

§. 1.  Lavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, and so directly opposite to the generous Temper and Courage of our Nation ; that 'tis hardly to be conceived, that an *Englishman*, much less a *Gentleman*, should plead for't. And truly I should have taken Sir *Robert Filmer's Patriarcha*, as any other Treatise which would persuade all Men that they are Slaves, and ought to be so, for such another Exercise of Wit, as was his, who writ the Encomium of *Nero*, rather than for a serious Discourse meant in earnest ; had not the Gravity of the Title and Epistle, the Picture in the Front of the Book, and the Applause that followed it, required me  
to.



to believe, that the Author and Publisher were both in earnest. I therefore took it into my hands with all the Expectation, and read it thro' with all the Attention due to a Treatise that made such a Noise at its coming abroad; and cannot but confess my self mightily surprized, that in a Book, which was to provide Chains for all Mankind, I should find nothing but a Rope of Sand, useful perhaps to such, whose Skill and Business it is to raise a Dust, and would blind the People, the better to mislead them; but in truth not of any Force to draw those into Bondage, who have their Eyes open, and so much Sense about them, as to consider, that Chains are but an ill wearing, how much Care soever hath been taken to file and polish them.

§ 2. If any one think I take too much liberty in speaking so freely of a Man, who is the great Champion of Absolute Power, and the Idol of those who worship it; I beseech him to make this small allowance for once, to one, who, even after the reading of Sir *Robert's* Book, cannot but think himself, as the Laws allow him, a Freeman: And I know no Fault it is to do so, unless any one better skill'd in the Fate of it, than I, should have it reveal'd to him, that this Treatise, which has lain dormant so long, was, when it appeared in the World, to carry, by the strength of its Arguments, all Liberty out of it; and that from thenceforth our Author's short Model was to be the Pattern in the Mount, and the perfect Standard of Politicks for the future. His System lies in a little compass, 'tis no more but this,

*That all Government is Absolute Monarchy.*

And the Ground he builds on, is this,

*That no Man is born free.*

§ 3. In this last Age a Generation of Men has sprung up amongst us, that would flatter Princes with an Opinion, that they have a Divine Right to absolute Power, let the Laws by which they are constituted,  
and

and are to govern, and the Conditions under which they enter upon their Authority, be what they will, and their Engagements to observe them never so well ratified by solemn Oaths and Promises. To make way for this Doctrine, they have denied Mankind a Right to natural Freedom ; whereby they have not only, as much as in them lies, exposed all Subjects to the utmost Misery of Tyranny and Oppression, but have also unsettled the Titles, and shaken the Thrones of Princes ; (for they too, by these Mens System, except only one, are all born Slaves, and by Divine Right, are Subjects to *Adam's* right Heir :) As if they had design'd to make War upon all Government, and subvert the very Foundations of Human Society, to serve their present Turn.

§ 4. However we must believe them upon their own bare Words, when they tell us, We are all born Slaves, and must continue so, there is no Remedy for it ; Life and Thralldom we enter'd into together, and can never be quit of the one, till we part with the other. Scripture or Reason I am sure do not any where say so, notwithstanding the noise of Divine Right, as if Divine Authority hath subjected us to the unlimited Will of another. An admirable State of Mankind, and that which they have not had Wit enough to find out till this latter Age. For however Sir *Robert Filmer* seems to condemn the Novelty of the contrary Opinion, *Patr. p. 3.* yet I believe it will be hard for him to find any other Age, or Country of the World, but this, which has asserted Monarchy to be *Jure Divino*. And he confesses, *Patr. p. 4.* That *Heyward, Blackwood, Barclay, and others, that have bravely vindicated the Right of Kings in most Points, never thought of this, but with one Consent admitted the Natural Liberty and Equality of Mankind,*

## 4      *The First Treatise*      Chap. II.

§ 5. By whom this Doctrine came at first to be broach'd, and brought in fashion amongst us, and what sad Effects it gave rise to, I leave to *Historians* to relate, or to the Memory of those, who were Coterporaries with *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, to recollect. My business at present is only to consider what *Sir R. F.* who is allowed to have carried this Argument farthest, and is supposed to have brought it to perfection, has said in it; for from him every one, who would be as fashionable as *French* was at Court, has learned, and runs away with this short System of Politicks, viz. *Men are not born free, and therefore could never have the Liberty to chuse either Governors, or Forms of Government.* Princes have their Power absolute, and by Divine Right; for Slaves could never have a Right to compact or consent. *Adam* was an absolute Monarch, and so are all Princes ever since.

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## C H A P. II.

### *Of Paternal and Regal Power.*

§ 6. **S**IR R. F's great Position is, that *Men are not naturally free.* This is the Foundation on which his absolute Monarchy stands, and from which it erects it self to an height, that its Power is above every Power, *Caput inter nubila*, so high above all earthly and human Things, that Thought can scarce reach it; that Promises and Oaths, which tie the infinite Deity, cannot confine it. But if this Foundation fails, all his Fabrick falls with it, and Governments must be left again to the old way of being made by Contrivance, and the Consent of Men (*Ἀνθρώπων κτίσις*) making use of their Reason to unite together into Society.

Society. To prove this grand Position of his, he tells us, p. 12. *Men are born in subjection to their Parents*, and therefore cannot be free. And this Authority of Parents, he calls *Royal Authority*, p. 12, 14. *Fatherly Authority*, *Right of Fatherhood*, p. 12, 20. One would have thought he would, in the beginning of such a Work as this, on which was to depend the Authority of Princes, and the Obedience of Subjects, have told us expressly, what that fatherly Authority is, have defined it, tho not limited it; because in some other Treatise of his he tells us, 'tis unlimited, and \* unlimitable: he should at least have given us such an Account of it, that we might have had an entire Notion of this *Fatherhood*, or *Fatherly Authority*, whenever it came in our way in his Writings. This I expected to have found in the first Chapter of his *Patriarcha*. But instead thereof, having, *en passant*, (1.) made his Obedience to the *Arcana Imperii*, p. 5. (2.) Made his Compliment to the *Rights and Liberties of this, or any other Nation*, p. 6. which he is going presently to null and destroy; and (3.) Made his Leg to those learned Men, who did not see so far into the matter as himself, p. 7. he comes to fall on *Bellarmino*, p. 8. and, by a Victory over him, establishes his *Fatherly Authority* beyond any question. *Bellarmino* being routed by his own Confession, p. 11. the Day is clear got, and there is no more need of any Forces: For having done that, I observe not that he states the Question, or rallies up any Arguments to make good his Opinion, but rather tells us the Story, as he thinks fit, of this

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\* In Grants and Gifts that have their Original from God or Nature, as the Power of the Father hath, no inferior Power of Man can limit, nor make any Law of Prescription against them. O. 158.

The Scripture teaches, that Supreme Power was originally in the Father, without any Limitation. O. 245.

## 6      *The First Treatise*      Chap. II.

strange kind of domineering Phantom, called the *Fatherhood*, which whoever could catch, presently got Empire, and unlimited absolute Power. He assures us how this *Fatherhood* began in *Adam*, continued its Course, and kept the World in order all the time of the *Patriarchs* till the Flood, got out of the Ark with *Noah* and his Sons, made and supported all the Kings of the Earth till the Captivity of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*; and then the poor *Fatherhood* was under Hatches, till God by giving the *Israelites* Kings, re-established the antient and prime Right of the lineal Succession in Paternal Government. This is his Business from p. 12. to 19. And then obviating an Objection, and clearing a Difficulty or two with one half Reason, p. 23. to confirm the Natural Right of Regal Power, he ends the first Chapter. I hope 'tis no Injury to call an half Quotation an half Reason: for God says, *Honour thy Father and Mother*; but our Author contents himself with half, leaves out *thy Mother* quite, as little serviceable to his Purpose. But of that more in another Place.

§ 7. I do not think our Author so little skill'd in the way of writing Discourses of this Nature, nor so careless of the Point in hand, that he by over-sight commits the Fault that he himself, in his *Anarchy of a mix'd Monarchy*, p. 239. objects to Mr. Hunton in these Words: *Where first I charge the A. that he hath not given us any Definition, or Description of Monarchy in general; for by the Rules of Method, he should have first defin'd.* And by the like Rule of Method Sir Robert should have told us, what his *Fatherhood* or *Fatherly Authority* is, before he had told us, in whom it was to be found, and talked so much of it. But perhaps Sir Robert found, that this *Fatherly Authority*, this Power of Fathers, and of Kings, for he makes them both the same, p. 24. would make a very odd and frightful Figure, and very disagreeing, with what either Children imagine of their Parents, or Subjects  
of

of their Kings, if he should have given us the whole Draught together in that gigantick Form, he had painted it in his own Fancy; and therefore, like a wary Physician, when he would have his Patient swallow some harsh or *corrosive Liquor*, he mingles it with a large Quantity of that which may dilute it; that the scatter'd Parts may go down with less feeling, and cause less Averfion.

§ 8. Let us then endeavour to find what Account he gives us of this *Fatherly Authority*, as it lies scatter'd in the several Parts of his Writings. And first, as it was vested in *Adam*, he says, *Not only Adam, but the succeeding Patriarchs, had by Right of Fatherhood Royal Authority over their Children*, p. 12. *This Lordship which Adam by Command had over the whole World, and by Right descending from him the Patriarchs did enjoy, was as large and ample as the absolute Dominion of any Monarch, which hath been since the Creation*, p. 13. *Dominion of Life and Death, making War, and concluding Peace*, p. 13. *Adam and the Patriarchs had absolute Power of Life and Death*, p. 35. *Kings, in the Right of Parents, succeed to the Exercise of supreme Jurisdiction*, p. 19. *As Kingly Power is by the Law of God, so it hath no inferior Law to limit it, Adam was Lord of all*, p. 40. *The Father of a Family governs by no other Law, than by his own Will*, p. 78. *The Superiority of Princes is above Laws*, p. 79. *The unlimited Jurisdiction of Kings is so amply described by Samuel*, p. 80. *Kings are above the Laws*, p. 93. And to this purpose see a great deal more which our A. delivers in *Bodin's Words*: *It is certain, that all Laws, Privileges, and Grants of Princes, have no Force, but during their Life; if they be not ratified by the express Consent, or by sufferance of the Prince following, especially Privileges*, O. p. 279. *The Reason why Laws have been also made by Kings, was this; When Kings were either busied with Wars, or distracted with publick Cares, so that every private Man*  
could

could not have Access to their Persons, to learn their Wills and Pleasure, then were Laws of Necessity invented, that so every particular Subject might find his principal Pleasure decypher'd unto him in the Tables of his Laws, p. 92. In a Monarchy the King must by necessity be above the Laws, p. 100. A perfect Kingdom is that, wherein the King rules all things according to his own Will, p. 100. Neither Common nor Statute Laws are, or can be, any Diminution of that general Power, which Kings have over their People by right of Fatherhood, p. 115. Adam was the Father, King, and Lord over his Family; a Son, a Subject, and a Servant or Slave, were one and the same thing at first. The Father had Power to dispose or sell his Children or Servants; whence we find, that the first reckoning up of Goods in Scripture, the Man-Servant and the Maid-Servant, are numbred among the Possessions and Substance of the Owner, as other Goods were, O. Pref. God also hath given to the Father a Right or Liberty, to alien his Power over his Children to any other; whence we find the Sale and Gift of Children to have been much in use in the Beginning of the World, when Men had their Servants for a Possession and an Inheritance, as well as other Goods; whereupon we find the Power of Castrating and making Eunuchs much in use in old times, O. p. 155. Law is nothing else but the Will of him that hath the Power of the supreme Father, O. p. 223. It was God's Ordinance that the Supremacy should be unlimited in Adam, and as large as all the Acts of his Will; and as in him, so in all others that have supreme Power, O. p. 245.

§ 9. I have been fain to trouble my Reader with these several Quotations in our A's own Words, that in them might be seen his own Description of his *Fatherly Authority*, as it lies scatter'd up and down in his Writings, which he supposes was first vested in Adam, and by Right belongs to all Princes ever since. This *Fatherly Authority* then, or *Right of Fatherhood*, in our A's Sense, is a Divine unalterable Right of Sovereignty,