Locke Surveys New France*

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Abstract: This essay explores John Locke's survey of New France between 1678 and 1680 – especially the spring of 1679 – in book, map, correspondence, and personal contacts with the travel literati of France. Canada was a place of great importance in the geopolitics of early colonial America; and Locke was curious, to say the least, about its people, places, and territorial reach. The centerpieces of Locke's survey at that time – and of this essay – were two ethnographic volumes on the Huron by Gabriel Sagard; the first map of the lower great lakes by René de Bréhant de Galinée; and – it will be suggested – a series of maps of all the great lakes and environs by Claude Bernou. While some mystery remains about Locke's sources, it is hoped the essay sheds further light on the vastness and perhaps the political motivations of Locke's intrigue with the literature of travel and geography of the new world.

Keywords: Locke, Canada, Sagard, Galinée, Bernou.

1. *Introduction*

John Locke must surely be counted among the more curious explorers of the "culture of curiosity" in the seventeenth century[1]. As a philosopher, 'tis true, he cautioned against curiosity wasting the labors of "the understanding" by "med-

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1 N. Dew, "Reading Travels in the Culture of Curiosity: Thévenot's Collection of Voyages", in *Journal of Early Modern History* 10 (2006), pp. 39-59. Also N. Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, chapter 2. On Locke amidst the "curiosi", see G. Di Biase, *John Locke e Nicolas Thoynard: Un'amicizia ciceroniana*, Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2018 (currently being translated as *John Locke and Nicolas Thoynard: A Ciceronian Friendship*). Thanks to both authors for several communications.

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dling with things exceeding its Comprehension"[2]. But maps and travel literature were by no means "beyond the reach of our Capacities"[3]. Locke himself displayed an insatiable curiosity about them[4], especially those explicitly advertised *as* "curious"[5]. His "interest in travel literature was general as well as specific, and extremely wide"[6]. Of his specific fixation on America, Locke mastered what was known or charted about Carolina starting in the early 1670s[7]. By the end of the decade, this included New France, too, with its "great lakes which, taken together, make a vast sea of fresh water"[8]. Locke's interest in Canada or New France lasted all his adult life but his perusal of "relations" and maps of it was intensely focused during the years 1678 to 1680 and especially the spring of 1679 when he was in France among the collectors of travel literature and mapmakers of the Canadian wilds. The centerpieces of Locke's survey at that time – and of this essay – were two ethnographic volumes on the Huron (Wendat) by Gabriel Sagard; the first map of the lower great lakes by René de Bréhant de Galinée; and – it will be suggested – a series of maps of all the great lakes and environs by Claude Bernou. Locke's reading of Sagard has received careful consideration[9], allowing *selective* additions here. His reading the map attached to the travel nar-

2 J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P.H. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, I.I.4, p. 45. Emphasized by U.S. Mehta, *The Anxiety of Freedom: Imagination and Individuality in Locke's Political Thought*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY 1992, p. 3 (claiming Locke's "anthropological curiosity" was restricted to "the human surface", p. 96). On the depths of Locke's "skeptical anthropology", see D. Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, p. 84.

3 Ibid., I.I.7, p. 47.

4 Locke's interest in geographical texts overlaps travel literature proper, granted these genres can be distinguished, as Locke himself did in *Thoughts Concerning Reading* (1703), reprinted in J. Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. by M. Goldie, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997, pp. 348-55. Hereafter *Political Essays*. Maps are obviously geographical "texts", especially when annotated, as Galinée's and Bernou's were.

5 The adjective "curious" abounds in *A Catalogue and Character of Most Books of Voyages and Travels* (1704), printed with the collection by the Churchills, thought by some to be Locke's doing, and reprinted in, among other places, J. Locke *Works*, 10 vols., Thomas Tegg, London 1823, vol. 10, pp. 513-64. "Beyond doubt," Locke played a role in the *Catalogue* even if his authorship cannot be proved. See J.S. Harpham, "Locke and the Churchill Catalogue Revisited", in *Locke Studies* 17 (2017), p. 241.

6 J. Harrison and P. Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1965, p. 28.

7 J. Farr, "Locke, 'Some Americans', and the Discourse on 'Carolina'", in *Locke Studies* 9 (2008), pp. 19-96.

8 In J. Lough (ed.), *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1953, p. 269. Hereafter *Travels*.

9 Especially A. Talbot, *'The Great Ocean of Knowledge': The Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2010, chp. 2, pp. 21-44.

rative of Galinée has barely been noticed.[10] And nothing whatsoever (it seems) has been investigated about Bernou or whomever else (including his correspondents and personal contacts) contributed to Locke's survey of New France. Even then, some mystery remains about Locke's sources.

2. *Canada?*

Why all this *Canadiana*, it might first be asked? Curiosity is sufficient, I think, to explain Locke's survey. He was certainly intrigued by all sorts of places and travels, worldwide, without any apparent consideration besides curiosity. However, there could be additional factors relevant to the context of Locke's inquiries into New France. An obvious candidate is the first Earl of Shaftesbury. Locke's master had been one of the original investors in the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 when the Carolina settlement began. Shaftesbury became its Deputy Governor in 1673 and his "attention to the business of the Company throughout was remarkable"[11]. He engaged in debates about its future course, including whether English traders should simply wait for Indians to bring furs to the Company's posts around Hudson's Bay or to push into new territory for more aggressive trade, south to the great lakes and Huron country where the French predominated. Shaftesbury was a prominent voice on the latter side and a foe of French ambitions of empire. (Eventually, the Hudson's Bay Company would expand its trading territory and add to it a Lake Huron District). Until December 1679, after Locke had returned to England from his four-year travel interval in France, Shaftesbury was still engaged and invested financially in the Company. Locke *may* have been gathering different kinds of intelligence or background information he thought useful to Shaftesbury's Canadian interests, whether trade in fur or mining for copper. He was certainly seeking out infor-

[10] The work was *Récit de voyage de MM. Dollier et Galinée*, written in 1670 but not published until 1879. Without commentary by the editor John Lough, Locke draws from Galinée's book in Locke, *Travels*, p. 271. De Beer quotes Galinée's relation of his voyage to "the lake of Hurons", suggesting that Nicolas Toinard if not Locke, too, was familiar with it. J. Locke, *Correspondence*, 8 vols., ed. by E.S. de Beer, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1976-89, vol. 2, p. 132. Hereafter *Correspondence*. Though Locke is not mentioned, see J.D. Ayre, *The Voyage of Dollier de Casson & Galinée, 1669-1670*, s.n., Norfolk Ontario 2017.

[11] E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, London 1958, p. 85. Also see K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1968, pp. 231-4, 364-5.

mation on Mediterranean-style agriculture and viniculture during his travels in France and would produce a treatise for (and dedicated to) Shaftesbury. Locke, in short, was engaged in what David Armitage calls "agricultural espionage"[12]. The thought occurs, could Locke have been entangled in other espionage?

Shaftesbury aside, the information Locke gathered from his perusal of maps and his fixation on latitudes, longitudes, and territorial boundaries of and within New France could have allowed him to better serve *English national interests* against France. As he once declared of his allegiance, "my conscience will never reproach me for not wishing well to my country, by which I mean Englishmen and their interest every where"[13]. Competition between England and France defined the geopolitical realities of Canadian voyages. The Anglo-French War (1627-29) was fresh enough in mind and the Beaver (or Iroquois) Wars (spanning King William's War) were ongoing until 1701. England had expelled the Dutch from "New York" in 1664, so there was precedent to apply imperial arguments elsewhere. In the latter 1670s, Locke was between stints as a colonial administrator, earlier as Secretary to the Council of Trade and Foreign Plantations, later as the leading commissioner on the Board of Trade. As a reader of Sagard (discussed below), he took notes about Huron practices "fit for our imitation". As a political theorist he was developing a theory of the appropriation of waste-land that was relevant, whatever his intentions, to the justification of colonial expansion and settlement[14]. The charge of waste paradigmatically concerned lands scarcely if at all inhabited by natives (as the comparatively crowded English would have thought) but it could in principle concern the colonial claims of European states, as well. As suggested by Eva Botella-Ordinas, Locke's theory of the appropriation of waste-land "*led to* a new and wider *imperialist theory* encompassing the colonization of part of what he called 'civilized' countries as well. [...] A place might be considered waste if it was uninhabited, unplanted, partially inhabited, wrongly planted, or simply if its nature was not improved enough, even when the territory in

[12] D. Armitage, "John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*", in *Political Theory* 32 (2004), p. 611.

[13] Locke to William Molyneux, 12 September 1696, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 5, p. 699 (seeking information on the manufacture of linen in Ireland in order to protect English woolen manufacture, as well as to encourage Irish hemp production "to supply his Majesty's navy").

[14] See, among others, Armitage, *ibid*; J. Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993; B. Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defense of English Colonialism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996; J. Turner, "John Locke, Christian Mission, and Colonial America", in *Modern Intellectual History* 8 (2011), pp. 267-97; and M. Goldie, "Locke and America", in *A Companion to Locke*, ed. by M. Stuart, Wiley-Blackwell, New York 2016, pp. 546-63.

question lay under the claimed jurisdiction of a 'civilized' country"[15]. If such an expansive account was good for England regarding Spain in the New World ("his example"), why not for England supplanting France in Canada? Information that our colonial administrator gleaned from maps and travel literature about the lands of New France could well serve England, in the event.

This latter speculation about Locke's service to nation and empire orienting his survey of New France gains considerable credibility if the timeline of his curiosity about Canada is extended to later life. His correspondence in the latter years of the seventeenth century, not to mention his continuing fascination with north American maps, reveals a mind still taken with Canada long after 1678-80[16]. As commissioner on the Board of Trade between 1696 and 1700, moreover, he was fully apprised of and assumedly shared England's alarm over France's colonial machinations concerning territory, trade, fishing, forts, evangelism, and Indian alliances, especially with the Five Nations of the Iroquois confederacy. Locke's French friends were one thing, France's colonial ambitions quite another. To take but one striking illustration, consider a piece of state intelligence (at the outer margins of travel literature proper) that circulated among the commissioners warning of "a general insurrection and rebellion of the Indians" as part of a "papist war" designed by the Governor of New France and "his Jesuits"[17]. Soon to retire his own commission, Locke received a summary of the intelligence in a letter of April 1700 from William Popple, Secretary of the Board.

> This Conspiracy of the Indians [...] arises wholly from an Artifice of the French

[15] E. Botella-Ordinas, "Debating Empires, Inventing Empires: British Territorial Claims Against the Spaniards in America, 1670-1714", in *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10 (2010), pp. 153-4, emphasis added. On these matters, see D. Armitage, *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, chp. 7, pp. 114-33.

[16] For example, using the dates of Locke's endorsements, see Nicolas Toinard to Locke, 27 November 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 305 (comparing compass readings of Montreal and Lake Erie as taken by Galinée); Toinard to Locke, 17 July 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 423 (a "machine" for "fast rivers" in "Canada"); William Charleton to Locke, 16 August 1682, Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 541 ("mapps of Canada"); Locke to Toinard,13 November 1684, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 647 (Locke's wish to visit Canada, not having "had a good trip for a long time", as well as wanting "new accounts of travel" in Canada "printed in France" compared to "the very curious things brought from India" to England); Toinard to Locke, 9 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 292 ("an admirable manuscript map of all Canada made by a skilled engineer"); Toinard to Locke, 16 July 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 445 (education of Canadian children); J-B Du Bos to Locke, 31 December 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 537 ("nautical chart of Canada to Hudson's Bay" and a relation of "the Gaspesie province located south of the Saint Laurent river, which is full of curious descriptions").

[17] *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and West Indies* (1700), vol. 18, ##345, 357.

> [...]. The French have industriously spread Reports through the Five Nations [that the English were] designing to take away their Arms in order to the utter extirpation of them. This Belief instill'd into them by the French Missionaries (whom they call the Governor of Canada's cunning men) has put them into such a rage that they are all of them [...] enter'd actually into a combination against the English on that Continent: And God knows what Mischief they may have already done[18].

The French and Indian War was not so far off.

3. *Reading New France*

Whether for colonial intelligence or innocent curiosity, Locke read widely about New France over the course of his life. In his impressive library alone – much less from other texts to which he had access – he came to own or read many of the most significant works by explorers describing their voyages and relating – frequently with maps – the places and peoples of Canada. These included Sagard's pair, *Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* (1632) and *Histoire du Canada* (1636). To them were added the third edition of Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (1618) and its earlier edition in English translation, *Nova Francia Described* (1609). Roughly contemporaneous with these editions were the twinned *Voyages* of Samuel Champlain (1613 and 1619), written as the French pushed further into the native lands of Canada. Later entries to his library included Pierre Boucher, *Histoire du Canada* (1664) and Nicolas Denys, *Description géographique and historique des costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (1672), as well as Claude Dablon, *Relation des Missions des Jesuites en la Nouvelle France, 1671 & 1672* (1673). Much later still, Locke added to his library Chrestien le Clercq, *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie* (1691), Henri de Tonti, *Dernières Déscouvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1697) and two titles by Louis Hennepin, *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situè dans l'Amérique* (1697) and *Nouveau Voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe* (1698). Travels in far northern America by other explorers as legendary as Champlain and Hennepin—Cabot, Hudson, Cartier, Nicollet, Marquette, Jolliet, Allouez, Radisson, Groseilliers, and La Salle—were regaled in these

[18] William Popple to Locke, 19 April 1700, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 7, p. 64. Though beyond its present scope, the intelligence about New France to which Locke was privy on the Board of Trade would complement this study.

histories and relations. Some were also conveyed in the grand collections that Locke owned and recommended that "gentlemen" read[19], especially Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1559-65); Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries* (1599-1600); *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625); and *Recueil de Voyages de Mr Thévenot* (1681)[20] (with its engraved map of the "Mitchisipi" flowing from the western reaches of New France down to the Gulf of Mexico). To these must be added the chapter on "Canada or New France" in John Ogilby's *America* (1670) which Locke not only owned but to which he contributed[21]. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704) by Awnsham and John Churchill was another of these important collections, *perhaps* prefaced by Locke and published in the year of his death.

Fascinating information in the books he owned and others he read fueled Locke's curiosity: prodigious waters; rugged landforms; an endless forest; *voyageurs* in birch bark canoes; arduous portages; punishing winters; the search for a northwest passage to the lands beyond; moose and *castors* in aboundance; ceaseless inter-tribal warfare; enmities over the fur trade between the French and English; and the lands and hunting grounds of many Indian nations with their infidel "savages," prayed upon by missionaries seeking to save their souls according to the missionaries' own lights and liturgies.

Besides New France generally, Locke took special interest in the Huron and their ancestral lands "northward & a litle to the East" of "Lac d'Erié"[22]. This is somewhat surprising because the Huron had been violently displaced by the Seneca thirty years earlier, definitively in 1649. Sagard's volumes – and the travel relations by Champlain and Lescarbot, in Locke's library – preceded the dislocation. Boucher's history of Canada came after, in 1664, though Boucher had in the late 1630s lived among the Huron, speaking their language and fighting alongside their warriors against the Iroquois. The narration and map

[19] Locke, *Political Essays*, p. 353.

[20] I have generally followed Locke's capitalization and spelling (save for a few accent aigus), as well as shortening of some titles (for example, Boucher's short volume of 1664 was *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France vulgairement dite le Canada* which Locke shortened to "Hist du Canada"). See alphabetical entries for these books in Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*.

[21] At least, Locke provided information to Ogilby via Sir Peter Colleton about Carolina and its *Fundamental Constitutions*. See Colleton to Locke, early summer 1671, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 355. At most, he himself composed the discourse "Carolina" that appears in Ogilby's *America*. The case for the latter and reprint of the discourse is in Farr, "Locke, 'Some Americans'", pp. 61-74, 81-96.

[22] Locke, *Travels,* p. 270.

by Galinée also came after, in 1670, though they still referred to "the land of the Hurons". Additional attention was paid to the Seneca who were the westernmost nation of the Iroquois confederacy and had been the leading edge of its invasion that drove the Hurons away in all directions[23]. Locke never mentioned this. But surely he knew about it from texts or the company he kept.

4. *Toinard and "Carolina"*

From 1678 to 1680, Locke was midst his own travels in France or remembering them in correspondence a few months thereafter. Besides Paris and other storied cities of old France which he visited, Locke journeyed to Saumur in August 1678 where he explored the domain of the Order of Friars Minor Récollets[24], the reformed Franciscan order to which Sagard (and Hennepin) belonged. Weeks before, Locke had procured the second of Sagard's two books, "l'Hist. des Canadas", as he spelled it in his travel journal[25]. He may well have discussed Sagard with the Récollets at Saumur. In April 1679, he also visited the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Faubourg Saint-Germain, Paris, with Nicolas Toinard, whom he had recently met through the travel collector Henri Justel. The seminary was the spiritual home to the Sulpician abbés Galinée and François Dollier du Casson, his travel companion in New France, as well as to Claude Bernou. It was there that Locke saw Galinée's map in the chamber of the Superior, Louis Tronson[26]. Toinard was with him and already knew the map as "an enthusiastic reader and collector of voyagers and explorers' narratives and maps"[27].

Toinard proved to be a great fount of information about Canada (not to mention armaments[28] and much else). Later in life, after 25 years of detailed

[23] See B.G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North*, Wadsworth, Belmont CA 1989, 2nd ed.; and, earlier, E. Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*, Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC, 1962.

[24] Locke, *Travels*, p. 221. Locke took note of the "aboundance of good fruit" in the Récollet's garden, especially pears.

[25] Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 209.

[26] Ibid., p. 271. Locke also vented his anti-Catholicism, noting that in a "great roome" of the Seminary there was "one singing their service, not as officiateing, but as practiseing the notes & way of singing & *outward, theatricall part*, for here they learne & begin to practice *the mechanical part of their religion*" (emphasis added).

[27] G. Di Biase, "Natural Philosophy, Inventions, and Religion in the Correspondence between John Locke and Nicolas Toinard (1678-1704)", in *Philosophy Study* 3 (2013), p. 570.

[28] Guns are discussed in Locke, *Travels*, pp. 189, 191, 192, 196f, 200, 285; and "bombarda" (a can-

correspondence between them, he confessed to Locke that "I have always loved the canada, and everything related to it"[29]. Shortly after their first meeting in 1678, Locke recorded in his travel journal that it was "Mr. Toinard" who reported that "the French borne in Canada are very handsome people" and the men "all very good marksmen, being all Chausseurs". Everyone wore "excellent [furs]". "But the women have hard & dangerous labour". This burden came young since "in Canada, a French woman has been married at 11 years old & had children before 12"[30]. Locke also recorded that Toinard related that "in Canada in the River St. Laurence about Kebec the[y] ketch vast quantities of eels that in the Spring time come from the Lakes above". "They are some of them as big as a man's thigh & excellent good meat". The French Canadians "Put them alive in an hogshead with salt", wherein "they dye & will keep soe excellent good a long time"[31]. (Toinard presumably learned this – and Locke would have found it confirmed – from Boucher's *Histoire du Canada* [1664] reporting that "eels caught at Quebec [are] in greater abundance" than elsewhere, "some as big as a man's leg" with "tender and delicate flesh" that "keeps very well when salted")[32]. Moreover, Toinard was an associate of Bernou and others in the *Société des Bons Enfants*. He was also very close to Galinée, who died in August 1678, keeping alive his memory in a touching letter to Locke. Galinée was, Toinard attested, "one of the most honest men that ever the earth nor the sweet and salty seas have ever borne, and whose memory of the loss he made of them still holds his heart so seized as if someone were to tell me that Mr. Lock went to the great Carolina sunset"[33].

The mention of Carolina was not incidental to Locke, Toinard, or connections to Canada. Toinard was informed of Locke's colonial involvements, including his contributions to the revisions of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, a copy having been sent to Locke whilst in France[34]. He inquired

non) in MS Locke, d. 1, p. 101. This and other manuscripts (especially MS Locke, c. 33, below) are found in and refer to J. Locke, GB 161 MSS. Locke b. 1-8, c. 1-47, d. 1-13, e. 1-17, f. 1-49, Lovelace Collection, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford.

29 Toinard to Locke, 6 December 1697, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 263.

30 Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 258.

31 Ibid.

32 In this edition, P. Boucher, *Canada in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. by E.L. Montizambert, G.E. Desbarats & Co., Montreal 1883 [1664], pp. 45-6.

33 Toinard to Locke, 24 November 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 301.

34 See J. Farr, "'Absolute Power and Authority': John Locke and the Revisions of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*", in *Locke Studies* 20 (2020), pp. 1-49. Thomas Stringer, Shaftesbury's steward, had earlier sent Locke the 1670 print copy. Stringer to Locke, 7 September 1677, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 516.

frequently about Carolina or its constitution. He also reported to Locke that Justel "told us that you reformed the Article concerning Religion in Carolina [...] and that you had improved the condition of inferiors"[35]. When asking another time whether "new laws have been made for Carolina," Toinard proceeded without segue to note that "a person of my acquaintance had a boat made this summer on Lake Erie to penetrate all the upper lakes of Canada"[36]. (The acquaintance was La Salle whose ill-fated boat was *Le Griffon*). Toinard also noted ships to "Carolina and on the Great Lakes of Canada"[37]. Moreover, the two friends and connoisseurs of travel literature shared the fantasy of together abandoning "all the European rabble," to live on the Isle of Bourbon (which Toinard favored as a Catholic) or in Carolina (which Locke favored as a colonial nobleman)[38]. Locke's "annuities from Carolina" (as the first *landgrave*) included "a very fine island" named for him and where Locke vowed to elevate and serve Toinard as "Emperor"[39]. However wondrous these two places of imagined escape, they did not have a mineral deposit essential for a medicine treating tumors. Of this, Toinard concluded: "All that there is to say is that the composition is not very simple and practicable in all times and in all places. The author would be well taken there to the Isle of Bourbon or to the Carolina, because one does not have in command the ingredients which one finds on the lake of Hurons, known as Michigané or the fresh sea"[40].

35 Toinard to Locke, 6 September 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 95. It is unclear to which of the sixteen or so articles on religion in the 1670 print edition Justel might have been referring or who the "inferiors" were whose condition had allegedly been improved. In any case, Justel himself wrote to Locke that "there are good things in the Carolina Constitutions but we could add and rectify them. It is not for all men to make laws". Justel to Locke, 1 October 1679 (likely written 9 August 1679), in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 68.

36 Toinard to Locke, 13 December 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 141.

37 Toinard to Locke, 20 August 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 79.

38 Toinard to Locke, 27 January 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 149. Also see Locke to Toinard, 13 December 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 322 where Locke wishes Toinard to join him in London, "and if after that you are unhappy with this world, we will go to retire to the Isle of Bourbon or ala Caroline".

39 Locke to Toinard, 6 June 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 32; Toinard to Locke, 12 July 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 47; and Locke to Toinard, 24 October 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 283. Also see Justel's reference to "something rare in Vostre Isle" and to "several foreign Protestant families" "going to populate your Caroline". Justel to Locke, October 1679 (likely written circa 1 August 1679), in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 63.

40 Toinard to Locke, 26 November 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 132.

5. *Travel Literati*

Besides becoming an assiduous correspondent and intimate friend, Toinard introduced Locke to other travel literati, notably the collector Melchisédech Thévenot, as well as another explorer of Canada, the abbé François Gendron, and a would-be colonizer, the abbé Eusèbe Renaudot. Locke had already met the storied travel writer François Bernier[41], but contact with him deepened thanks to Toinard. Locke's biographer once claimed that Bernier "stimulated in Locke an interest in the literature of travel which lasted all his life"[42]. The spirit of the point is well taken, but it doesn't recognize as it should that Locke had *already* formed a keen interest in travel literature concerning Carolina, at the least. He owned or read William Hilton's *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida* (1664) and Robert Sandford's similar relation of 1671, as well as *Discoveries to the West of Carolina* (1672) by John Lederer. He also read (and entered into the colonial record) the "Westo Discovery" (1674) by the explorer Henry Woodward (with whom he corresponded about this fierce and feared slave-trading tribe, rumored to "worship the [de]vel in a carved image of wood")[43]. Of greatest interest, Locke drew up a list of "Writers of Carolina" (meaning America, generally), including Laudonnière, Acosta, De Laet, Martyr, Raleigh, Ramusio, and six others[44]. At the foot of the list, he made explicit reference to the expulsion of "the French out of Canada ann: 1611" by forces under "Sr Sam Argal" (that is, the English victory under Sir Samuel Argall in Acadia, an assault commissioned by the Virginia Company eyeing new lands). He also noted that, along with Sir Lewis, his brother "Sr David Kirke expelled the French out of Quebec Todosac Mons Royall on the River Canada" in 1629 when accepting Governor Champlain's surrender and ending the two-year Anglo-French War. And Locke claimed further that "all these" writers (above), including "Galeacius Butrigarius, ye Pope's nuncio in Spain" (whose discourse on Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland Locke found in Hak-

41 At least by October 1677. Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 177.

42 M. Cranston, *John Locke, A Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1985 [1957]), p. 170.

43 L. Cheves (ed.), *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records relating to Carolina*, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston 1897, pp. 456-62. Henry Woodward to Locke, 12 November 1675, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 432. On Woodward's adventures, see the historical novel by Robert E. Lanham, *The Red Bird and the Devil*, Cardinal Press, Beaufort SC 2022 with its extensive scholarly apparatus. Many thanks to the author for sustained communications about Woodward, Carolina, and cartography. Reference to the Westo Indians in the *Essay*, III.V.8, p. 433. See E.E. Bowne, *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa 2005.

44 Discussed in Farr, "Locke, 'Some Americans'", pp. 65-7.

luyt and Ramusio) "prove or allow the English right from 25 deg: N. L. to ye Northward of Newfoundland"[45]. In short, the English had rights of discovery or conquest from the southern tip of Florida to northernmost Newfoundland. (Might that "right" migrate west to the great lakes?).

There can be no doubt, however, that Bernier impressed Locke deeply. While he did not himself contribute to the travel literature of America, he nonetheless further stimulated Locke's interest in travel and geography to judge by their correspondence and personal conversations. A few months after arriving in France, Locke procured and read four of Bernier's books on the Orient, including the most famous *Histoire de la dernière Révolution des États du Grand Mogul* (1671)[46]. In October 1677, "Mr. Bernier told me" about "the Heathens of Indostan" and how the Grand Mogul "had lately ingagd him self very inconveniently in wars [...] to bring them by force to Mahumetanisme"[47].

Melchisédech Thévenot, too, further stimulated Locke's interests in travel literature. Locke corresponded with him directly or through the epistolary offices of Toinard, well into later life. Before the *Recueil* of 1681 with its map of the Mississippi River, Thévenot had previously published (and Locke procured in France) *Rélations de diverse voyages curieux* (1663). In just that vein of curiosity, Thévenot inquired of Locke (via Toinard) about missing pieces of travel literature by Hakluyt mentioned by Purchas in *His Pilgrimes* of 1625. Enlightening the "Public," he insisted, Thévenot plainly sought to pad new editions of his own collections of voyages with forgotten items by the famous Hakluyt[48]. Locke reported that he'd need to consult the Bodleian Library, but "if Hakluyt left anything after him that has not yet been published, I think it must be totally lost"[49]. And three of Thévenot's "curious voyages" were cited by Locke in the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*[50].

Yet another abbé fed Locke's curiosity about New France, as well. The Jesuit priest François Gendron was a notable author and prominent physician at court. He corresponded with Locke on medical issues and gave him, as Locke recounted to Toinard, "one of his books and one of his excellent remedies and

45 Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, pp. 265-6.

46 J. Lough, "Locke's Reading during his Stay in France (1675-1679)", in *The Library*, 5th series, 8 (1953), pp. 231-2.

47 Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 177.

48 See Dew, "Reading Travels", cit., p. 34.

49 Locke to Toinard, 30 August 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 239.

50 References to the voyages of Johann Grueber, Archange Lamberti, and Sir Thomas Roe (spelled by Locke as Gruber, Lambert, and Rhoe) are to be found in the *Essay*, I.III.9 and I.IV.6, pp. 71, 87.

explained the composition to me as well"[51]. Moreover, from 1643 until 1650, Gendron had lived in New France (at Trois-Rivières) as the first European doctor among the Huron. He subsequently wrote *Quelques Particularitez du Pays des Hurons en la Nouvelle France* (1660) in which there was "a brief but curious notice" of Niagara Falls, among other particulars[52]. While Locke may or may not have read the work, he certainly had the opportunity to discuss Canadian matters with Gendron. Furthermore, Locke visited him in Orleans in July 1678. There "I saw at Mr. l'Abé Gendron's Mr. Thoynard's mill that would grind corne enough in 24 howers for 100 men". It was stored "in a little box and set up in an instant"[53]. Even Gendron's fame as a physician had a Canadian provenance and it's hard to believe that it wasn't a topic of conversation. For it was Gendron to whom Toinard referred as having created the rare medicine with "ingredients one finds [only] on the lake of Hurons"[54].

Like Gendron, Eusèbe Renaudot emerges as an important figure in Locke's correspondence both with Toinard and with Renaudot himself. A Sulpician, though educated by Jesuits, Renaudot was, in 1679, the new editor of the *Gazette de France*, founded by his grandfather Théophraste Renaudot, which became the official government newspaper under Louis XIV. Locke and company read the *Gazette* alongside *Les Journal des Sçavans* which periodically covered the latest voyages. Not only as a correspondent, Renaudot was familiar personally with Toinard and with Locke (whom he later described as "a good little man, but a true atheist, a rebel declared against his King")[55]. He was also a close friend of Galinée, as well. Indeed, he came to own Galinée's narrative, adding it to his large collection of travel literature. In this connection, he also authored the *Récit d'un ami de l'abbé Galinée* which reported conversations with La Salle about La Salle's and others' explorations in Canada[56]. Most im-

[51] Locke to Toinard, 14 July 1678, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 585.

[52] F. Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Little Brown, Boston 1927 [1921], p. 139 n.1. Gendron wrote "affroyable hauteur" (but no exact measure) in *Quelques Particularitez du Pays des Hurons en la Nouvelle France*, Paris 1660, p. 7.

[53] Locke, *Travels*, cit. p. 206. Locke wrote Toinard again about the mill. Locke to Toinard, 14 July 1678, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 585.

[54] Toinard to Locke, 26 November 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 132.

[55] Quoted in P-F. Burger, "Eusèbius Renaudot (1648-1720)", in *Dictionnaire-Journalistes: 1600-1789*, Voltaire Foundation, Oxford 1999, #676. https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/676-eusebe-renaudot. Renaudot likely followed Bayle in thinking Locke an atheist. Also Locke's being "a rebel against his King", suggests a reference to Charles II circa 1690, recalled later by Renaudot.

[56] The authorship was once dismissed by J. Delanglez, "La Salle, 1669-1673", in *Mid-America* 8 (1937), pp. 237-53. But that has now been corrected by R. Gross, "La Salle's Claim and the Ohio

portantly for our inquiry into Locke's survey of New France, Renaudot was a very close friend of and collaborator with Claude Bernou, the gifted Sulpician mapmaker. With Bernou, Renaudot promoted La Salle at court and together fantasized about founding a colony on the Gulf of Mexico where each might hold high clerical office, a fantasy put to rest after La Salle's final mortal voyage.

6. *Sagard's Hurons*

Besides contacts and correspondence, Locke's vicarious voyage to Huronia was principally transported by Gabriel Sagard's *Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* (1632)[57] and his *Histoire du Canada* (1636)[58]. The latter was in effect an expanded second edition, containing (with minor changes) the former as its central two books. Thus, Locke commented on the "same" text twice, that is, *The Grand Voyage* and the central portion of the *History of Canada*. Sagard's observations about politics, culture, medicine, sex, and war were most noteworthy to Locke. But an entrée to them concerns the method Locke followed when tagging his more important notes. To follow Ann Talbot's careful analysis, Locke noted Huron practices that were examples of "things we find amongst other people fit for our imitation [...] conducing to the convenience of life"[59]. The phrase was Locke's own of September 1677 when describing an early version of his method of note-taking. In his *Memoranda of Books Read* in France[60], Locke listed the alphabet in capital letters across the top of each folio (recto and verso). Beneath each letter, down the folio, he would enter notes of those items that began with that letter. In this case, if Locke judged some Hu-

River Valley", in *Pennsylvania History* 87 (2020), pp. 338-63, also containing crucial information about Renaudot and Bernou relied upon in this essay.

57 F.G. Sagard Théodat, *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons: Situe en l'Amérique vers la Mer Douce, ès dernier confins de la Nouvelle France dite Canada*, Denys Moreau, Paris 1632. Hereafter *Grand Voyage*. The work exists in English translation as Father Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. by G.M. Wrong, trans. by H.H. Langton, The Champlain Society, Toronto 1939. Hereafter *Long Journey*.

58 F.G. Sagard Théodat, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Freres Mineurs Récollects y ont Faicts pour la Conversion des Infidelles*, Claude Sonnius, Paris 1636. Hereafter *Histoire du Canada*. There is no published English translation, although one in typescript by H.H. Langton exists in the Gabriel Sagard-Théodat Papers (MS COLL 00186), Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto, Toronto. Hereafter *History of Canada (TS)*.

59 "Adversaria B", in Locke, *Political Essays*, pp. 265-7, at p. 266.

60 Lough's title for MS Locke c. 33, in Lough, is "Locke's Reading".

ron practice worth imitating, he would list under "I" the abbreviation "Im:" for *Immitanda*. (One of the other three "heads of things" was *Acquirenda*, "natural products of the country fit to be transplanted into ours [...] for some very useful quality they have")[61].

Talbot summarizes some of the more important imitation-worthy things that Locke recorded:

> Locke's notes from Sagard under the heading *Immitanda* include the Huron custom of the whole community making a house for any that needed one, their charity and the absence of beggars, their hospitality towards strangers, their friendliness and peaceful character, their way of conducting meetings without interrupting one another, as well as practical matters like their technique of fishing through the ice. Locke's notes clearly indicate that he thought lessons could be learned from the Huron[62].

Beyond these matters, there were more particular *Immitanda* that Locke listed, as well. Imitate the Huron, he suggested, because they show "patience and undisturbednesse whatever happens". They are "religious keepers of their word and never betray friend or country". They "very seldome injure one another". And, startlingly, "those that have lost their children in ye war adopt those that are taken prisoners"[63]. (The latter was also noted in one of Locke's *Atlantis* entries: "Those that have lost their children in the war adopt young children that are taken prisoners, and the affection on both sides is as great as amongst the natural, vide Sagard, p. 954")[64]. Locke also noted matters that were not listed as *Immitanda* but clearly enjoyed his endorsement. Some of the most important notes referencing or related to Sagard end with his approving "JL" – *Carolina*, *Justitia*, *Pietas, Politia,* and *Reputation*[65].

Some of the practical matters that deserve "our" imitation – such as "their

[61] Locke, *Political Essays*, cit. p. 267. Besides his four "heads of things" (which included *Immitanda* and *Acquirenda*), Locke used other classifications for his Huronian entries, among them, *Facetia*, *Incommoda*, *Indifferentia*, *Indoles*, *Ignis*, *Licita*, *Mores*, *Paradisus*, *Petitoria*, *Sudor*, and *Superstitio*.

[62] Talbot, *Great Ocean*, p. 27.

[63] MS Locke c.33, f. 10 where Locke draws from Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, chapters 26-7 (on "maxims in general" of "Captains, chiefs, and elders", as well as on the "wars and arms" of "our Hurons"), pp. 415-52.

[64] Locke, *Political Essays*, p. 259. Some of the other ten *Atlantis* entries drew upon Sagard, as well, though without citation or acknowledgment.

[65] See Goldie's commentary when introducing these entries in Locke, *Political Essays*, pp. 271-4. Also see J.R. Milton and P. Milton, *John Locke: An Essay Concerning Toleration and Other Writings on Law and Politics, 1667-1683*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2006, pp. 235, 387-8.

way of fishing under the ice"[66] – suggest *who in particular* Locke thought would benefit from mimicking the Huron. The natural conditions necessary for ice-fishing were exceedingly rare or short-lived for "our" people in England[67]. But "our" English soldiers and traders, when in Canada, would experience them *in extremis* for months at a time every year, on the greatest of lakes and waterways. Other instances of *Immitanda* seem to confirm who would best gain from imitating those worthy "things we find amongst other people" in New France. For example, "Im: parched maize the sole provision of war. 203". Regarding war with the Iroquois, Sagard underscored (on page 203) how each Huron warrior carried only "a bag full of corn meal roasted and scorched", to be eaten without the addition of water or heated by fire. He then observed:

> If Christians were to cultivate the same frugality they might maintain very powerful armies at small cost and make war on enemies of the Church and the Christian name without oppressing the people or ruining the country [...]. These poor savages (to our shame) conduct themselves in this moderate fashion on the war-path[68].

English soldiers and traders would benefit greatly from this dietary practice when anticipating attack or traveling quickly in the forested wilderness of New France[69]. Perhaps, as Locke witnessed at Gendron's, "Mr Thoynard's mill" that could grind so much corn in so short a time "in a little box and set up in an instant" might be worthy in the field, as well.

While cornmeal could be eaten dry and cold without enemy detection of smoke, fire was absolutely crucial in the wild, when safe. So, "Im: The way of striking fire with 2 pieces of dry saulx or such other light wood. 99". At the page in question (which Locke incorrectly numbered), Sagard described "the method or contrivance for kindling fire" by twisting together in "continuous movement" "two sticks of willow, lime, or some other kind of tree, dry and light"[70].

66 MS Locke c. 33, f. 10 in reference to Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 259.

67 The one notable exception during Locke's lifetime occurred later, during the winter of 1683-84, when the Thames froze over for two months, its ice sufficiently thick to support a "Frost Fair" upon it. https://media.britishmuseum.org/media/Repository/Documents/2014_10/11_4/67bb95f0_81ef_4a04_aeb9_a3c1004b5cc6/mid_00599805_001.jpg

68 Sagard, *Long Journey*, pp. 153f.

69 Locke raises another dietary matter when he records "Im: l'oignon du martagon est assez bon a manger. 55" in reference to Sagard's observation (in Sagard, *Long Journey*, cit., p. 51) that "the savages eat the bulb [of matagon lilies], roasting it in ashes, and it is quite good". "We brought some to France", Sagard adds, but they "did not succeed", needing "their own climate and native soil" in Canada. (There would be no better luck in England than in Saumur).

70 Sagard, *Long Journey*, cit., p. 69 (not p. 99, as Locke writes, which is an easy enough error to make).

Not needed in England's towns, presumably, but quite useful knowledge for soldiers or traders who'd lost their flint and steel. And then there was Atti tree bark which, when torn into strips and boiled became like hemp. In that form, Sagard observed, it "binds so well and strongly that one could not wish for anything better or cheaper"[71]. This led Locke to enter a unique *Immitanda* since he framed it as a question (using his distinctive sign). "Im: *Q* whether we have not here as well as they whose bark being boiled make good hemp. Their tree is called Atti 331". This technique might be usefully imitated by the English in New France and perhaps in England, too, *if* an equivalent could be found locally. If not, one might be acquired and transported from elsewhere. Locke then listed a possible substitute, using his shorthand for *Acquirenda*: "Acq: Ononhasquara [...] growing in marshy places that affords good hemp 332"[72]. Locke also seemed to eye other acquirable products, perhaps for Shaftesbury's coffers or the national treasury: "furs. copper 335 dimonds 336"[73].

For all those Huronian things worth imitating or acquiring, Locke's sympathy had its limits, though not his curiosity. While less censorious than Sagard, Locke nonetheless noted Sagard's exquisite if not prurient details about nudity, fornication, adultery, polygamy, and "divorce at pleasure", that were "immorally" practiced by the Hurons with "indifference"[74]. In one place, Sagard seemed relieved to discover that "it was not their custom to sleep with their cousins". But "apart from this, everything is permissible"[75]. In connection with sex – including sexualized dancing – there were "*ceremonies ridicules*" to which Sagard devoted a chapter in each book[76]. Noting the relevant passage in *each*, thus in effect *twice*, Locke described the ceremony: "To recover a sick woman.

71 Sagard, *Long Journey*, cit. p. 240 (Atti likely being basswood).

72 MS Locke c. 33, f. 9 (ellipses substituted for two words I cannot make out, maybe "ou Rabe," the plant).

73 MS Locke c. 33, f. 9 (listed under the abbreviation "Mer.", perhaps for "Mercimonium" [goods]), a category which also includes "cotton & cypre" listed on the same folio but drawn from Girolamo Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Luban* [1675]). In Sagard, *Long Journey,* cit., pp. 242f, Sagard mentions these "earthly" "treasures and riches" when complaining that the unconverted Huron value them in place of the greatest treasure, namely, "one hundred thousand souls to be won for Jesus Christ". However, he confessed that the diamonds "are so beautiful, glittering, and well cut", which he, indeed, "picked up near our convent in Canada".

74 "Indifferentia pudendorum nuditas 75-77 fornicatio 160 divortia 163", in MS Locke c. 33, f. 9.

75 Sagard, *Long Journey*, cit., p. 123.

76 In his two editions of Sagard, *Long Journey* and *History of Canada (TS)*, Langton translates the phrase as "silly ceremonies". This fails to capture the gravity and at least in one case the grotesqueness of the ceremonies Sagard relates or exaggerates.

The young fellows of the village lye with the young wenches in her hut. 313"[77]. Sagard went much further in his account of "all the young men, women, and girls stark naked in the presence of a sick women" (and the report got more graphic from there). In conclusion of the story and chapter, the abbé appealed to God and admonished his countrymen:

> May God be pleased to put an end to such a damnable and wicked ceremony, and to all that are of the same sort, and may the French who foster them by their evil example open the eyes of their mind to see the strict account that they will one day render for it before God[78].

But nothing in Sagard's or Locke's reaction to Huron practices was as horrified or horrifying as the torture of captured prisoners. Sagard expressed in excruciating detail what Locke more reservedly called the "inexpressible torments" perpetrated and suffered by "the Hurons and other people of Canada"[79]. For revenge they committed these acts upon each other; for "feare of disgrace" they endured them to the end[80]. In *Histoire du Canada*, Boucher described the scene as "a perfect image of hell"[81].

Locke completed his notes on Sagard on a new folio dated 25 March 1679, including *Politia* concerning the "elective" "Kings of Canada"[82]. A few entries later, under "C", he added a geographical description titled "Carolina". As we have seen, Locke made connections between Canada and Carolina in

[77] MS Locke c. 33, f. 10 from Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, chapter 16. The other entry reads: "Young men lying with maids for the recovery of a sick woman. 158". MS Locke c. 33, f. 9 from Sagard, *Grand Voyage*, chp. 10.

[78] Sagard, *Long Journey*, cit., p. 120; also Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, cit., p. 293.

[79] "Reputation," as Goldie titles it, noting Locke's marginalia, "Credit. Disgrace", in Locke, *Political Essays*, p. 271. See Sagard, *Long Journey*, pp. 159-62 for Sagard's horrific account.

[80] From "Infamia", MS Locke c. 33, f. 10 in reference to Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, cit., p. 782.

[81] Boucher, *Canada in the Seventeenth Century*, cit., p. 67. Boucher notes, as Sagard does not, that a captive may be spared death. But if spared, "he is still looked upon as a slave" (ibid., p. 69). Boucher also notes that the Iroquois took "slaves, of whom they have a great number, both men and women" (ibid., p. 55). This may have been the main source, in print, for what Locke came to know (but did not record) about indigenous slaves and slave-taking in New France. It is possible, however, that he knew much more about this, as well as about the French taking and keeping slaves in Canada, from his discussions with Toinard or Gendron. For a general account, see B. Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 2012. References to Boucher on pp. 4n, 40, and 141. Thanks to John Harpham.

[82] MS Locke c. 33, f. 11 referencing Sagard's page 418. "Elective" kings figure in J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Student Edition, ed. by P. Laslett, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, II.106, p. 338 to counter arguments for absolute monarchy and affirm government by consent. In his note, Laslett calls attention to Sagard.

correspondence with Toinard, as well as in his "Writers of Carolina". Earlier in February 1679, he had composed a different "Carolina" entry, in which he advised "vide Sagard". It encouraged expediency if not leniency in meting out justice against Indians who committed "injuries" to "our people", including "murder"[83]. But the "Carolina" entry of late March 1679 was a geographical one which described the area south of the great lakes including the historic lands of the Hurons' mortal enemies. It read:

> About the latitude of 38 lies a range of mountains running North & South out of which rises a river that falls into Chesapeack Bay. North of these hills runs from east to west a great river called in the country Ohio for its beauty [,] which falls into the gulf of Mexico [.] This river lies about 40 [.] Something north of this is the great Lake of Ery which extends its self from east to west & has communication with severall other great Lakes which taken together make a vast sea of freshwater. This Lake of Ery by a cascade of 120 fathoms perpendicular powers its water into the lake & from thence it runs into the sea by the great river St. Laurence. Bordering upon the east of the lake of Ery are the Iroquois[84].

The 38th parallel is considerably north of Carolina. The Ohio River, beautiful as it then was, "falls" into the Gulf of Mexico only by merging with the Mississippi. And the "cascade" was clearly a reference to Niagara Falls, measured at an astonishing "120 fathoms". This was a measurement in fact recorded *earlier* by Locke in June 1678 (a figure and date of considerable significance in determining when and by what map Locke gathered crucial information for his survey)[85]. Sagard did not mention the cascade or the Ohio. Nor did he refer to latitudes when describing Huron lands or his own travels. So, the geography lesson in the folio entry appears to have had little or nothing to do with either Sagard or Carolina – unless "Carolina" meant America at large. The geographical description is even more intriguing for another set of reasons, however.

Locke reproduced the entry nineteen days later, nearly word for word, in his journal of 13 April 1679 while still in Paris[86]. So exacting is the match that he had to have simply copied the earlier recent entry. However, the few changes that he made to it were significant. Locke did not title the entry this time. He added the name of the lake into which Erie powered its waters, namely, On-

83 In Locke, *Political Essays*, cit., p. 272.
84 MS Locke c. 33, f. 11.
85 Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 201.
86 Ibid., p. 269.

tario (though he had recorded that earlier, too)[87]. Most significantly, he wrote a crucial first line: "A new map of Canada corrects the old ones thus"[88]. So, Locke was reading a map when making the entry in late March and virtually repeating it in mid-April.

7. *Galinée's Curious Map*

Locke's survey of New France was fully informed by maps and by close attention to advances in cartography and geodesy – especially in the determination of longitudes and latitudes by Jean Picard[89]. Locke had not only been collecting maps for some time, he had even drawn two of his own when Secretary to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina earlier in the 1670s[90]. There were maps appended to the relations of New France by Champlain, Lescarbot, and Dablon that he procured while in France. When preparing to return to England in May 1679, Locke boxed up these three books along with Sagard's pair and Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en Brésil* (1578), packing with them "3 maps of Peru, Chili, and Maldives"[91]. Shortly thereafter, mentioning Renaudot, Locke wrote to Toinard about the English cartographer and agent John Seller whose "maps are the best as I have been told being newly made and printing soon"[92].

87 Ibid., p. 201.

88 Ibid., p. 269.

89 Picard's "decisive achievement" for Locke was the famous astronomer's determination of a degree of latitude, allowing for the calculation of the size of the earth. De Beer, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 16n. Locke visited Picard in March 1679 and discussed with him the "pendulum of seconds". Locke, *Travels*, p. 261. See detailed discussion in Di Biase, *Locke and Thoynard*, cit., chapter 2.1, on metrology. In correspondence with (and mostly from) Toinard in the early 1680s, Locke also followed the steady reports of Picard's determinations of the longitudes of various places in France, based on his observations of eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter. These greatly assisted map-making in France later in the century, though not immediately or directly applied to the cartography of New France. Locke had long been apprised of the difficulty in pinning down longitudes. "How useful it must needs be in Navigation, to find out the Longitude of the place exactly". This "deserveth the search of Curious men to find out". Robert Huntington, later bishop of Raphoe, to Locke, 1 April 1671, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 1, p. 352. De Beer notes that precise measurements of longitudes would not be possible until John Harrison devised his chronometers in 1735 and after.

90 Locke's first map of the Cape Fear region is reprinted in C.M.D. Thomas, *James Forte*, J.E. Hicks, Wilmington NC 1959. There is a partial reproduction of Locke's second, larger-area, and more significant map in W.P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1998, 3rd ed., plate 35. These maps are briefly discussed in Farr, "Locke, 'Some Americans'", cit., p. 31.

91 Lough, "Locke's Reading", cit., p. 248.

92 Locke to Toinard, 25 May 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 27.

He had by then already "Bought Sanson's & Duval's maps of Canada"[93]. Both Nicolas Sanson and his nephew Pierre Duval produced more than one map of Canada. But Sanson's map of 1656 is the likely candidate, given its circulation at the time. Duval's map might be the one appended to a voyage of Champlain's, published in 1664. While other "old ones" are possible – say, Jolliet's or Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin's maps – it is a reasonable guess that these particular maps by Sanson and Duval were the ones that served as the cartographic background for the superior "new" one to which Locke was referring[94].

Locke did not identify the "new map" any more than he did the "old ones" (on 13 April 1679). However, into his travel journal eleven days later (on 24 April), Locke entered significant notes about the lay of the land in New France. He claimed:

> This is an Extract taken out of a map made by Mr. l'Abbé Galinee upon the place, who lived in Canada 3 years, which map was shewd Mr. Toinard & me in the Chambre de Mr. Tronson, superieur du Seminaire de St. Sulpice, Fauxbourg St. Germaine, where it is kept[95].

Although Locke's wording is slightly ambiguous, it was likely Tronson himself who showed the map to the two curiosi visiting him, for Galinée had died eight months before (as noted above). In any case, it seems natural to infer – or so I first thought – that Galinée's was the "new map", given the proximity of the dates of Locke's entries into his travel journal. But here the scope of Locke's curious survey of New France becomes considerably more curious, as to its sources.

Galinée's map – *Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environnent* – was appended to the narrative of his year-long voyage into the broader great lakes region with Dollier (and, at the beginning, with La Salle, as well). Map and narrative were sent by ship to France in the summer of 1670, Galinée and Dollier's harrowing voyage having ended in June where it began, in Montreal, where the Canadian Sulpicians were headquartered. A slightly revised map (as amended by two more Sulpician cartographers, Claude Trouvé and Francois Fénelon) was sent in November to the imposing Minister of Finance and overseer of colonial intelligence, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, as "a subject worthy of your

93 Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 202. Locke also records there having receivied "Sanson's booke of maps".

94 These and other maps discussed in this essay may be found at http://rla.unc.edu/emas/emmgl.html.

95 Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 271.

curiosity"[96]. Its destination was the Seminary of St. Sulpice[97]. Nine years later, then, Locke was at the seminary with Toinard peering at a version of Galinée's map and extracting from it.

Locke did not note that he had read Galinée's narrative. While it was relatively short, as relations of voyages went, he likely would not have had the time at the seminary that day. However, he might have heard about its principal contents from Renaudot (who, again, subsequently owned the relation). In any case, as was frequent cartographic practice, Galinée annotated the map with short summaries of important places or events that were described more fully in the narrative. These included canoeing the St. Lawrence upriver, swift rapids and arduous portages, "eel fishing all across the river", strategically placed Seneca villages, the thunderous waterfall between Lakes Erie and Ontario, wintering over "in the most beautiful place I have seen in Canada", the long peninsula in Lake Erie, abundant hunting grounds for moose and other game, the grandeur of Lake Huron named "Michigané ou Mer Douce des Hurons", a bay situated in what was "formerly the land of the Hurons, when they were defeated by the Iroquois", and, very dramatically, a stone idol revered by the Iroquois, anathema to Galinée, on the shore of the *détroit* discharging Lake Huron's waters into Lake Erie:

> Here was a stone with very few figures of men, which the Iroquois looked upon as a great chief, and to which they offered sacrifices when passing this way to go to war. We broke it up and threw it into the water.

While there is much more in Galinée's narrative – not least further reference to "this god of stone" [ce dieu de pierre][98] – Locke nonetheless had a crib of the

[96] Quoted in R. de Bréhant de Galinée, *Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1668-1670 by Dollier de Casson and Bréhant de Galinée*, ed. and trans. by J. Coyne, Ontario Historical Society, Toronto 1903, p. xxxi. This book includes the narrative and (a crude sketching of) the map: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.74339/2. A different version of Galinée's map may also be found at http://rla.unc.edu/emas/emmgl.html. On Colbert, see R. Gross, C.P. Howard, "Colbert, La Salle, and the Search for Empire", in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 113 (2020), pp. 68-101.

[97] On details of the map, or rather, of its extant tracings, see Coyne in Galinée, *Exploration*, cit., pp. xxxi-xxxvi, 76-89; J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Institute of Jesuit Studies, Chicago 1938; R. Laprairie, "Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate: Hiding in Plain Sight for 350 Years", in *Ontario History* 110 (2018), pp. 152-75; and Ayre, *Voyage*, cit., pp. 81-4.

[98] In the narrative, Galinée wrote that "I consecrated one of my axes to break this god of stone, and then having yoked our canoes together we carried the largest pieces to the middle of the river and threw all the rest also into the water, in order that it might never be heard from again. God rewarded us immediately for this good action" [having "avenged upon this idol"] with the appearance of a roe-buck to kill and eat. Galinée, *Exploration*, p. 67. On the religious ironies and hypocrisies of this

narrative directly inscribed on the map before him.

Galinée's original map was lost during the nineteenth century. It either perished during the Paris Commune or, more likely, was misplaced, if not stolen, by Pierre Margry, director of the archives of the *Dépôt des cartes de la marines et des colonies* which (somehow) inherited the map from the Sulpician Seminary. Margry, however, made a tracing of the map at mid-century and published it in his *Déscouvertes et Établissements* (1879). To compare Margry's tracing (extant at the Newberry Library in Chicago)[99] with Locke's notes from March and April 1679 does nothing so much as raise further questions about Locke's sources (if not his map-reading skills). Mainly, Galinée's map does *not* appear to be the "new map" of Canada that "corrects the old ones". Locke's notes mention features nowhere to be found on the map like the Ohio River, the Chesapeake Bay, the Gulf of Mexico, and the land of the Iroquois. There is no indication of the 40th or any other parallel. There is no line of hills running north and south or east and west drawn on the map the way Locke described. Locke's sense of historical novelty may have been loosely bounded but a map already then 10 years old seems an unlikely candidate to be deemed by him "new".

There is no reason to doubt Locke's written word that he saw and "extracted" something or other from Galinée's map on 24 April 1679, eleven days after hailing the "new" one he apparently had just seen. But more puzzles emerge. What Locke recorded also does not square well with the map, though not everything is amiss. The notes tracked roughly in order the route that Galinée and Dollier followed (though Lake Nipissing – "a little lake, the highest of all those yet known in Canada", home to the "Nipissiriniens où Sorciers" – was noted out of order of travel). On the map, Galinée wrote that the height of the great falls (which he heard but did not see) was "de plus de 200 pieds de haut" (crediting "the report of the Indians"); and Locke similarly put it "neare 200 foot high perpendicular". Locke also followed Galinée's exaggeration of the "great peninsula" in Lake Erie. The "Ile du Montreal" barely made it onto the northeast corner of the map and, even then, was not fully depicted. Quebec was undrawn and unnamed, way further off the map. Locke, by contrast, named and gave latitudes and longitudes for

encounter, see M.W. Walsh, "Revenge Against the Idol: Competing Magical Systems on the Detroit River, 1670", in *Michigan Historical Review* 43 (2017), pp. 55-63. In reference to the annotation on Galinée's map, Walsh suggests that "one might read *figures d'hommes* as a false interpretation of *figure d'un homme*, which Galinée clearly described in his more circumstantial narrative" (ibid., p. 10).

[99] Ayer MS Map 42, Newberry Library. Thanks to Patrick Morris for help inspecting Galinée's map at the Newberry. Different tracings, copies, and annotations of the map are discussed by Coyne in Galinée, *Exploration*, pp. 78-89.

both of these paramount towns of New France. He also gave them for Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac, and "Ongiara" falls, as Galinée's map did not. Indeed, Galinée did not adorn his map with parallels of latitude and only metioned two of them in the narrative, one taken "with the Jacob's-staff that I had brought" (which subsequently disappears from the narrative after the great storm on Lake Erie), the other by "dead reckoning". Neither of these two latitudes nor the places they measured figured in Locke's notes. And longitudes were *never* mentioned anywhere in the narrative or annotated any place on the map. Locke ventured that "the southern side" of Lake Erie "lies in 39, and perhaps farther south", whereas Galinée's route followed the north shore (at "about 42 degrees of latitude", Galinée narrated), remaining silent about the south shore that he had not visited. Indeed, he stated when concluding the narrative that his map marked "nothing but what I saw. Thus you will find only one side of each lake"[100]. Of the isthmus of Long Point – the "great peninsula" in Lake Erie – Locke claimed that "Mr. l'Abbé de Galinée observed the variation of the needle to be 11 d. 15', 21 Mar., about the year '68 or '69, equall to the Variation at Montreal"[101]. But Galinée did not report this figure on the map (nor in the narrative); and he never mentioned having had a magnetic compass on the voyage[102]. Locke also referred to "lac des Illinois" which was not named (and incorrectly merged with Lake Huron) on the map. Crucially, Galinée's map indicated only the southeastern point of Lake Superior where it falls into the channel to Georgian Bay and the body of Lake Huron beyond. He did not thereby represent the lake in full or mention the "warlike" Sioux who lived at its "western end".

8. *The Maps of Bernou*

Given the underdetermination of Locke's notes by Galinée's map, one can only conclude that Locke had access to another map or maps or geographical

[100] Galinée, *Exploration*, cit., pp. 15, 51, 74. Galinée also acknowledged "rather serious faults" in "the map of our journey" pledging to "correct" them "when I have time" (ibid., p. 75).

[101] Locke, *Travels*, cit., p. 270. Toinard later repeated to Locke the exact same variation ("eleven degrees, 15'. to the west"), as well as correcting the date that Galinée observed it "in 1670". Toinard to Locke, 27 November 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 2, p. 305. How or when either of them obtained this figure (from Galinée personally before August 1678 or someone familiar with his compass skills and measurements) is not clear.

[102] I am indebted to John Ayre for his assistance with Galinée's map. He also contends that Galinée did not have a magnetic compass on the voyage.

relations supplying him with additional information and fitting more closely the notes he did in fact take. One map (or, rather, six constituent maps when combined into one) visually portrays the greater part of Locke's notes. While the constituent maps taken together do not match the notes perfectly – some mystery remains – they are far and away closer to them than Galinée's map – or any other map or maps of which I am aware. The six maps were drafted sometime between 1676 and 1679, most likely 1677, by Claude Bernou, the Sulpician mapmaker and friend of Renaudot, Toinard, and other curiosi in the *Société des Bons Enfants*. Bearing Bernou's annotations, the maps collectively portray the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, as well all five great lakes. Indeed, the six in combination later became known simply *as* the "Great Lakes Map". Whether six maps or one, Bernou drew upon his "prodigious collection of journals, letters, narratives, and maps". But he also had access to the *Jesuit Relations* and to the manuscript maps that were kept at the Seminary, including Galinée's. He explicitly borrowed from maps by Sanson, Marquette, Jolliet, and especially Franquelin when making his own. Bernou also gathered information from "the many interviews that he was able to conduct with returning explorers", as well as by some questionnaires about the geography and climate of New France that he designed in the mid-1670s and submitted to colonial officials[103].

Locke's notes strongly suggest that the "new map of Canada" (as he labeled it in April 1679) was Bernou's map centered on Lake Erie[104]. Unlike Galinée's map, Bernou's displayed the 40th parallel; and the 38th was readily inferable just off the map[105]. It showed the range of hills from which an unnamed river

[103] C. Kupfer, D. Buisseret, "The Maps of Claude Bernou (c. 1638-1716)", in *The Portolan* 109 (2020), pp. 8-17, with quotes and date range at p. 8. Images of the maps in their article are each dated "c. 1677". Images of the maps may also be found here, as well: http://rla.unc.edu/emas/emmgl.html. The article clarifies the relationship between the constituent maps and the (later) combined one. "It is clear [...] that Bernou intended for the maps to connect and so to represent a geographical continuum of the depicted regions. Pierre Margry first demonstrated this construct by tracing each of the maps, redrawing them at a common scale, and so producing an overall sketch [...] We have repeated this exercise to demonstrate Bernou's remarkable conception" ibid., p. 15, with image. I am personally grateful to the authors for several communications about Bernou's maps.

[104] A photostat of Bernou's map of Lake Erie (which I consulted) is listed at the Newberry Library as Service Hydrographique Bibliothèque [BSH] B 4044-48, L.C. Karpinski Map Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. It may also be found now as Service Historique de la Défense, département Marine, Cartes et plans [SHD], R67N51 (as referred to by Kupfer, Buisseret "The Maps of Claude Bernou" and Richard Gross, personal communication).

[105] The 38th parallel was in fact shown on a previous, larger-scale map of the great lakes by Bernou (BSH B 4044-47; cf. SHD R67N52, called "the smaller Jolliet" map) which Locke may have seen, as

descended eastward into the "Chesapeack Bay", as Locke spelled it. (Annotated on the map: "Rivière qui se Rend dans la Baye de Chesapeack"). North of those hills running in the opposite direction and destined for the Gulf of Mexico lies plainly depicted "Riviere Ohio Ainsy dite a cause de la Beauté". Locke identified this as the "great river, called in the country Ohio for its beauty". Further north lies Lake Erie out of which powers the great cascade that Locke named "Ongiara" (following Sanson's "Ongiara Sault") and where Bernou annotated the destruction of the "Niagagarega Nation". In addition, Locke grossly exaggerated the height of the falls *exactly* as Bernou did, using the same number and a similar measure. Bernou scaled it at an incredible "120 toises", deploying the colonial measure used in New France, and Locke at "120 fathoms", using the English nautical measure (where both 1 fathom and 1 toise roughly equal 6 feet)[106]. "Bordering upon the East of the Lake Ery are the Iroquois", Locke wrote, precisely where Bernou annotated their homeland.

Furthermore, the consonance between Bernou's maps, taken collectively, and Locke's notes (of 24 April 1679, eleven days later after the "new map") is similarly suggestive. All the rivers, lakes, and great lakes that Locke named are on Bernou's maps, separately and when combined later as the "Great Lakes Map". Lakes Huron and Illinois (Michigan) are separated on the maps as they are in fact, consistent with Locke's naming and describing them separately. Locke (wrongly) claimed that Lake Erie was "biger than the Lake Superior" which nonetheless accorded with its exaggeratedly large size ("by a factor of two") on Bernou's map[107]. However, when it came to Niagara Falls, Locke abandoned the figure of "120 fathoms" used just eleven days previously, as well as a year before that in June 1678. Instead, he used Galinée's figure of "200 feet" (further suggesting information being drawn from *both* Bernou's *and* Galinée's maps). Bernou's map depicted the entirety of Lake Superior, as Galinée's did not, but

well. This latter map was Bernou's reduced and modified copy of Jolliet and Franquelin's ("Griffons") map of 1675 (BSH B 4044-37; cf. SHD R67N39). See Kupfer, Buisseret, "The Maps of Claude Bernou", cit., p. 9.

106 I believe (as Richard Gross confirmed in personal communication) that Locke got this figure from Bernou's map of Lake Erie (which is also on Bernou's map of Lake Ontario [BSH B 4044-43; cf. SHD R67N47]). Recall that Locke referred in his travel journal to "120 fathoms" in both June 1678 and April 1679. Where Bernou got his measurement is (at present) unknown. The figure "120", in any case, does not appear on maps by Champlain, Lescarbot, Sanson, Duval, Allouez, Jolliet, Marquette, Franquelin, or Francesco Bressani. As noted above, it also does not appear in the narratives by Galinée, Gendron, Boucher or any other of which I am aware. Thanks to Richard Gross for invaluable assistance with Bernou's maps and his coterie, especially Renaudot.

107 Kupfer, Buisseret, "The Maps of Claude Bernou", cit., p. 13.

whose size and shape Locke approximated (and exaggerated) at "200 lieux de long" and "a pretty regular oval" (whereas Lake Michigan looks more oval on the map)[108]. All the place names that Locke described are there on the map, too: Quebec ("the capital"), Montreal ("an island in the same river"), Sault Ste. Marie (with its Jesuit "establishment") and Mackinac Island (at the mouth "du lac Illinois"). Even "la point du St. Esprit" was correctly placed on the map (on the southwest shore of Chequamegon Bay near where I write these lines) close to the "west end of the Lake Superior"[109], as Locke put it. Found there was another Jesuit "establishment" (Bernou wrote "Mission") located "amongst a warlike people called Nadoüessiou". The annotation on Bernou's map claimed that the "Nadoüessiou" were "fort belliqueux et la terreur de ces contrées".

As close as the fit is between Bernou's maps and Locke's notes, some discrepancies or lacunae remain. Locke used shorter names for the great lakes than Bernou did[110]. Despite the fact that Bernou drew parallels of latitude (allowing minutes to be inferred), Locke's determinations for the principal sites of New France were only closely but not exactly aligned with the map. As in the case of Galinée's map, furthermore, Bernou's maps did *not* have meridians of longitude. Finally, had this been just a few years ago there would have been an insurmountable hermeneutic hurdle, namely, squaring Locke's notes of 1678 and 1679 with the dates of Bernou's maps. With supreme confidence in 1938 (and repeated with acknowledgments by others since), Jean Delanglez dated Bernou's maps between 1680 and 1686, closer to the latter[111]. Recent scholarship, however, overturns this. As previously noted, Carl Kupfer and David

[108] The exaggerated measure of 200 leagues seems to originate with Claude-Jean Allouez (1669) [BSH B4044-74; cf. SHD R67N76]. See C. Kupfer, D. Buisseret, "Seventeenth Century Jesuit Explorers' Maps of the Great Lakes and Their Influence on Subsequent Cartography of the Region", in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6 (2019), pp. 57-70, at p. 61.

[109] Location and annotation by Bernou appear to follow those of Allouez's map (ibid) or their reproduction on maps by Marquette (1674) and Franquelin/Jolliet (1675). Galinée himself wrote about "Pointe du Saint-Esprit, a place at the head of Lake Superior, where the remnant of the Hurons retired after the burning of their villages" by the Seneca. Galinée, *Exploration*, p. 71. Also, C. Corcoran, "The Location of La Pointe", in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 30 (1946), pp. 78-84.

[110] Bernou annotated "Teiocha Rontiong, dit communément Lac Erie", "Lac Mitchiganong ou des Ilinois", and "Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou Mer Douce des Hurons" (the latter following Sanson's use of "Karegnondi" on his 1656 map). Ontario is also named "Frontenac". However, like Locke, Bernou used shorter names in his previous ("smaller Jolliet") map (BSH B 4044-47; cf. SHD R67N52), namely, Lac Superieur, Lac des Illinois, Lac Hurons, Lac Erie, and Lac Frontenac (Ontario).

[111] Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, cit., p. 36, rejecting Francis Parkman's earlier dating of the map (without attribution to Bernou) to "at least three years" after Galinée's map, in Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery*, cit., p. 476. For example, as recently as 2018, Laprairie, "Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate", cit., pp.158-61, followed Delanglez's dating.

Buisseret now range the dates of Bernou's maps between 1676 and 1679, more specifically "c. 1677"[112]. Locke's notes not only coincide with these dates but would appear to confirm them.

Locke had any number of occasions when in Paris to view Bernou's maps or even to meet him in person, thanks to their mutual contacts with Toinard and Renaudot. However, this is not known for sure. In the end, the evidence tying notes to maps and thus Locke to Bernou is internal and inferential, strong though I think it is. In a later letter of 1698 in which he found reference to "an infinity of curious things" in a recent book, Locke was informed (or reminded) by a travel-literate friend soon to be the permanent secretary of the French Academy, Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, that Bernou had translated a "very curious" voyage to China in 1689[113]. That is sign, at least, that Locke knew of Bernou at one time or another. But it does not prove a cartographic encounter in the late 1670s.

My overall surmise, nonetheless, is that in April 1679, in Paris, when in the company of the curiosi and travel literati of France, soon after reading and extensively noting Sagard's two volumes on the Huron and shortly before returning to England, Locke saw and extracted from Galinée's map, as he indeed confided to his travel journal. But he must also have had Bernou's maps in hand or in mind to have taken the notes that he did. Those maps would have likely been submitted by Bernou to Louis Tronson, his Superior, and archived at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, just as Galinée's had been. Tronson (perhaps with an intervention by Renaudot, if not Bernou himself) extended to Locke (and Toinard) the opportunity to see the manuscript maps at one time or another. Locke recorded extracting from only one map, Galinée's. Alternatively, Locke had already seen Bernou's maps away from the Seminary, courtesy of Renaudot or Bernou. In either scenario, Locke had seen and noted much from Bernou's maps of the great lakes as early as June 1678 and no later than March 1679, before seeing Galinée's map in April 1679. *Even then*, he still had to have relied upon other maps or relations of geographical information, especially for longitudes. Locke was clearly invested in their determination, as were ship captains and colonial intelligencers, despite the fact that Canadian explorers' estimations of them were generally "useless"[114]. Seldom did maps of New France display longitude lines. The

[112] Kupfer, Buisseret, "Maps of Claude Bernou", cit., p. 8, passim; dates confirmed by Richard Gross, personal communication.

[113] J-B Du Bos to Locke, 31 December 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 537.

[114] Gross, "La Salle's Claim", cit. p. 344. In discussing Galinée's map of 1670, Ayre, cit., p. 82, states that "precise longitudinal mapping would not be possible for almost a century after our traveler's journeys until accurate clocks were invented". On a later map of 1682, "Bernou might have been better

exceptions – like Champlain's of 1632 or Sanson's of 1656 or one of Franquelin's from the mid-1670s – do not match Locke's figures; and, like Galinée's, they omit places that he deemed noteworthy. Locke, of course, may have erred in the notes he took or the precise longitudinal measurements he reported. If not, his further sources seem presently as mysterious and unretrievable as the axed fragments of the "god of stone" that Galinée condemned to the waters of the great lakes where they remain to this day.

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