Locke and Travel Literature

edited by
Giuliana Di Biase

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Introduction
Locke and Travel Literature

Giuliana Di Biase

By the time of his death, Locke owned one of the largest collections of travel literature ever assembled in Britain. It comprised 195 books, including the massive collections of Ramusio, de Bry, Thévenot, Hakluyt, Purchas, and the accounts of the voyages of Hariot to Virginia, de Léry to Brazil, Sandys to the Ottoman Empire, Gage to the West Indies, and Choisy to Siam. His library also hosted accounts of minor voyages, many volumes of maps and a set of ethnographic illustrations "of the inhabitants of severall remote parts of the world espetially the East Indies"[1]. Locke's works, journals and commonplace books bear witness to his great interest in travel accounts, and the enormous impact the reading of them had on the development of his views on human nature, social custom, religion, ritual, comparative government, coinage, medicine, and many other matters. Numerous scholars have investigated the reasons underlying Locke's enthusiasm for travel accounts, which he seems to have regarded more as a locus of potentially useful information than as a source of entertainment. In 1996, Daniel Carey linked them to his participation in the Royal Society enterprise of constructing natural histories[2], an opinion later endorsed by many commentators. In her book "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge*", Ann Talbot has emphasised the close parallel between Locke's approach to the anthropological data in travel literature and the method he employed to write Baconian-style

[1] Locke to William Charleton, 2 August 1687, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 3, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978, p. 240.

[2] D. Carey, "Locke, Travel Literature, and the Natural History, of Man", in *The Seventeenth Century* 11 (1996), 2, pp. 259-280.

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natural histories[3], an aspect that Patrick Connolly has recently further explored suggesting that the genres of natural history and travel literature overlapped in the mind of early modern thinkers[4].

Connolly has also demonstrated that Locke's interest in travel books deeply influenced the metaphysical and epistemological positions he developed in the *Essay*, where he used evidence gathered from the non-European world to support his anti-Aristotelian views on species and natural kinds[5]. Other scholars have investigated the influence of travel literature in Locke's political writings. Both Barbara Arneil and David Armitage have shown that travelogues were one of main sources of Locke's perception of the new world in the *Two treatises of Government*[6], though their opinions diverge in some important respects. While Arneil suggests that Locke viewed American Indians as less rational than Europeans, Armitage points out that his knowledge of travel literature encouraged his scepticism about human capacities and about the alleged superiority of Europeans[7]. In keeping with Armitage's opinion, Ann Talbot has remarked that, through the reading of travel narratives, Locke developed a form of comparative social anthropology and had a sympathetic attitude towards native Americans, despite his role as a colonial administrator.

Many other commentators, such as Mark Goldie, Mariana Françozo and John Samuel Harpham, have emphasised the significant role that travel literature played in forming Locke's ideas. The aim of this special issue, the first of *Studi lockiani*, is to promote further investigation into this topic so essential for the understanding of Locke's works.

I would like to thank each of the authors for their remarkable essays, which are grouped thematically in this volume. The first essay, written by

3 A. Talbot, *"The Great Ocean of Knowledge". The Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2010, p. 16.

4 J. P. Connolly, "Locke, Pyrard, and Coconuts: Travel Literature, Evidence, and Natural History", in J.T.A. Lancaster, R. Raiswell (eds.), *Evidence in the Age of the New Sciences*, Springer, Cham 2018.

5 P. J. Connolly, "Travel Literature, The New World, and Locke on Species", in *Societate si Politica* 7 (2013), 1, pp. 103-16.

6 B. Arneil, *John Locke and America: the Defence of English Colonialism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996, pp. 21-44.

7 D. Armitage, "John Locke: Theorist of empire?", in S. Muthy (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, p. 12.

Daniel Carey, focuses on Locke's practice of framing inquiries, highlighting the close link between the method he adopted in this activity and attempts by natural historians to capture insights from travellers. Moreover, Carey discusses a neglected manuscript in which Locke outlines a brief set of inquiries devoted to religion.

The second and third essays shift the focus onto Locke's French acquaintances. The rich milieu of travel literati with whom he came into contact in France comes to the forefront in James Farr's detailed analysis of Locke's surveys of New France (1678-1680), which sheds new light on the political motivations of his interest in travel literature and the geography of the new world. The travel books, voyages and explorations mentioned in Locke's correspondence with one of these French literati, the learned Nicolas Toinard, are the topic of my article, which underlines their link to French and English colonial ambitions and particularly to slavery.

The last three essays elucidate Locke's views on toleration. In his contribution, Saulo Silva brings Locke's conception of atheism to the fore, clarifying the reason for his interest in the history and reports of atheist peoples collected in travel books and the meaning of his denial of tolerance to atheists in his *Letter concerning Toleration*. This work also receives considerable attention in Luisa Simonutti's contribution. Through a rigorous examination of Locke's library and works, Simonutti shows how much the reading of travel books on the Levant influenced his views on the limits of human knowledge and on forms of social and religious coexistence. Last but not least, Ann Talbot points out that Locke's mature understanding of Natural Law Theory was derived from a body of Spanish travel literature based on neo-Thomist assumptions about the nature of the state and the universality of human rights, showing how important these sources were in his controversy with Proast.

A short note by Emily Thomas, the author of *The Meaning of Travel,* concludes this volume, and is helpful in keeping the reader abreast of recent publications on the topic of travel literature in early modern philosophy.

Articles

John Locke's Use of Inquiries: Method, Natural History, and Religious Belief

Daniel Carey

Abstract: John Locke maintained a longstanding engagement with the practice of framing inquiries in order advance knowledge in different domains. Influenced by Robert Boyle and the Royal Society, he devised questions on a wide range of topics, shared questionnaires, and wrote to individuals with specific queries, as his journals, notebooks and correspondence testify. Locke's method coincides with attempts by natural historians to capture insights from travellers, armed with suitable questions for a variety of destinations. Little attention has been paid to Locke's approach beyond valuable work by Peter Anstey. This article investigates Locke's commitment to inquiries and modes of communicating them. It also discusses a neglected manuscript in which Locke outlines a brief set of inquiries devoted to religion. Thus he adapted the method of naturalists to advance the anthropological study of religious belief and enthusiasm in particular.

Keywords: Locke, Royal Society, Boyle, natural history, religion.

In an elaborate conceit in *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), John Locke described children as "travellers newly arrived in a strange country, of which they know nothing". On this basis he cautioned against dismissing their inquiries even when they risked becoming tedious. To reinforce the point he remarked that "If you or I now should be set down in *Japan*, with all our Prudence and Knowledge about us":

> we should, no doubt (if we would inform our selves of what is there to be known) ask a thousand Questions, which, to a supercilious or inconsiderate *Japaner*, would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of importance to be resolved; and we should be glad to find a Man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our Demands, and instruct our Ignorance[1].

[1] J. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. John W. and Jean S. Yolton, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989, p. 184 (§120).

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The scenario sketched out by Locke, designed to encourage truthfulness in dealings with children, demonstrates at the same time his consciousness that knowledge acquisition is driven by asking questions, and furthermore that the paradigm case is that of the traveller confronting the unknown.

Locke made widespread use of inquiries across the range of his interests, adopting a method that had become well established in the Royal Society and among key figures associated with the new science like Robert Boyle. In the 1660s, the Royal Society famously compiled a series of questions to be explored by travellers in a range of exotic destinations, while Boyle provided an important general framework for such questions[2]. These contributions are well known, but less familiar is Locke's avid response to this approach, apparent in his adoption of inquiries in his notebooks, journals, and correspondence. The interrogatory mode was more than just a valuable means of establishing matters of fact for Locke, but also a way of organizing conjecture on major themes in his intellectual repertoire.

Locke made a significant intervention by extending the method to encompass not just the natural world but also human custom. In particular, he sought information on religion from travellers as part of a project exploring comparative forms of worship, priesthood, and belief – above all, belief in ostensible revelations. In a largely overlooked early manuscript, Locke mobilized this strategy by producing a set of generic questions designed to elucidate any religion that a traveller might encounter. The scope of the investigation and the assumptions that inform it are instructive, and their formulation would continue to influence his encounter with travellers over ensuing decades.

1. *Historicising inquiries*

The influences on Locke's methodological approach in framing inquiries and his sense of opportunity when it came to exploiting the potential of travel become immediately apparent if we attend to the work of the Royal Society and Robert Boyle. But before exploring these important connections, we need to set such practices in a broader history of early modern engagement with travel and knowledge production. One of the defining features of the period

[2] For previous scholarship, see D. Carey, "Compiling Nature's History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society", in *Annals of Science* 54 (1997), 3, pp. 269-92; R. Yeo, "Queries in Early Modern English Science", in *Intellectual History Review* 32 (2022), 3, pp. 553-73.

is in fact the effort to provide a structured environment in which to acquire useful information in the midst of Continental journeys and expeditions much further afield. Initially we can trace these efforts to Humanist interventions in the art of travel in the sixteenth century and the development of rigorously defined fields of observation[3]. In their most explicit form, they emerged as Ramist tables providing branching structures (often conspicuously modelled on the relationship of genera and species) that took defined categories and broke them down into more specific domains, each requiring attention. The pinnacle is the massive work of the Basel humanist and encyclopedist Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* (1577)[4], but many further examples could be cited, including the short table in Bernardus Varenius's widely circulated *Geographia generalis* (1650). Others preferred to present their instructions not in tabular form but as a list of "heads" or topoi directing the investigation, sometimes in numbered format, as did Egnazio Danti, the Perugian mathematician, astronomer and cosmographer, in 1577[5], or Albert (or Albrecht) Meier, writing under the patronage of the humanist statesman Heinrich Rantzau, in his *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* (1587), a work translated into English in 1589[6]. Others adopted the style of the questionnaire, such as the Dutch humanist and librarian Hugo Blotius, an associate of Zwinger's[7]. We should be sensitive to the different morphologies, modalities, and historical moments in

[3] See J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, Harwood Academic, Chur, Switzerland 1995, revised as *Eine Geschichte der Neugier: Die Kunst des Reisens 1550-1800*, Böhlau, Vienna 2002; J.-P. Rubiés, "Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See", in *History and Anthropology* 9 (1996), pp. 139-90, reprinted in *Id.*, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2007; D. Carey, "Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel", in J.A. Hayden (ed.), *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ashgate, Farnham 2012, pp. 25-51.

[4] See W. Neuber, "Begriffshierarchie und ramistische Wissenschaft in Theodor Zwingers *Methodus Apodemica*", in W. Kühlmann, W. Neuber (eds.), *Intertextualität in der frühen Neuzeit*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt 1994, pp. 253-78.

[5] E. Danti, "Delle osservationi de Viaggi", in *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole*, Bologna 1577, p. 50. For a translation, see T. Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century", in *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994), pp. 41-64.

[6] A. Meier, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces*, Helmstedt 1587; *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions*, trans. P. Jones, London 1589.

[7] P. Molino, "Alle origini della *Methodus Apodemica* di Theodor Zwinger: La collaborazione di Hugo Blotius, fra empirismo ed universalismo", in *Codices Manuscripti* 56-7 (October 2006), pp. 43-67. Blotius's list of questions appeared in print in P. Hentznerus, *Itinerarium Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae*, 3rd ed., Nuremberg, 1629, Yy7r-Zz6v. For a German translation, see J. Stagl, "Vom Dialog zum Fragebogen: Miszellen zur Geschichte der Umfrage", in *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 31 (1979), 3, pp. 611-38 (631-8).

which these contributions occur, but it is apparent that the format was readily convertible between headings and tables, prompted by a common aspiration to give discipline and coherence to travel.

Recognition of the need to inform travel with inquiries, heads, and directions was by no means confined to European journeys. We can see the pattern in various items included in Richard Hakluyt's vast compendium dedicated (largely) to long-distance expeditions, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589; second edition 1598-1600). Hakluyt printed a range of texts offering instruction on what to observe especially geared around commercial interests (from manufacturing techniques to dyestuffs and "merchantable" commodities), identification of natural resources, and markets for English goods[8]. Trading companies engaged in similar practices from the early seventeenth century onwards, such as the VOC (the Dutch East India Company), with its "Memoir of the things which merchants and other officers should observe in compiling their reports or discourses" first issued in the 1610s[9]. Among English sources, the East India Company's archival records feature a document entitled "Progress of questions and answers concerning Japon" from 1627 sent by the company's factors in Batavia[10]. These records speak to the priority of achieving the aims of the administrators and shareholders of the companies by organizing information and coordinating activity at a distance through systems of command.

The most sophisticated early modern intervention of this kind came from Spanish authorities using their own administrative structures and personnel, originating with the Consejo de Indias (the Council of the Indies) formed in 1524. The centralised model of governance and the urgent requirement of information in a standardized format led to the development of printed questionnaires distributed throughout the Spanish possessions in the New World. This project was initiated under the reign of Philip II by Juan de Ovando in his capacity as visitor (*Visitador*) of the Council of the Indies. In 1569 he produced a questionnaire with 31 headings. Juan López de Velasco created a version with

[8] D. Carey, "Hakluyt's Instructions: *The Principal Navigations* and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice", in *Studies in Travel Writing* 13 (2009), 2, pp. 167-85.

[9] G. van Meersbergen and F. Birkenholz, "Writing that Travels: The Dutch East India Company's Paper-Based Information Management", in A. Laursen Brock, G. van Meersbergen, and E. Smith (eds.), *Trading Companies and Travel Knowledge in the Early Modern World*, Routledge, Abingdon 2021, pp. 43-70. They conclude that "the template as it was dispatched with the ships *Witten Beer* and *Swarten Beer* in November 1614 remained remarkably constant until at least 1779" (p. 51).

[10] A. Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan 1613-1623*, vol. 2, British Library, London 1991, pp. 970-72.

135 questions in 1573[11], which was then distilled into a list of 50 questions in 1577 under the title *Instrucción y Memoria de las Relaciones que se han de hazer para la descripción de las Indias, que su Magestad manda hazer para el buen gouierno y ennoblescimienta de ellas*[12]. The success of this undertaking yielded a remarkable body of responses known as the *Relaciones Geográficas*. In 1604, the Council issued an expanded version with 355 questions, the work of López de Velasco's successor as Cosmógrafo, Andrés García de Céspedes[13].

Awareness of the benefits of ordering travel and enhancing its epistemic value through structured questions and instructions was therefore widespread in the early modern period, whether the activity was led by individuals, corporate bodies or states. Within the scope of investigation, natural history and natural philosophy played their part, usually in a way that was conditioned by assessing a politically-defined territory and its resources but sometimes as an extensive inquiry with its own ends.

As the seventeenth century progressed, the impact of this method on natural history developed substantially. Francis Bacon's campaign to reform the study of nature identified the use of questions as a productive means to yield new forms of attention, a practice conjoined with travel. In his "Parasceve, ad historiam naturalem et experimentalem" ("A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History"), part of the *Great Instauration*, Bacon presented a catalogue of 130 different "Histories" embracing an enormous array of subjects (under three broad divisions – the history of "generations", "pretergenerations" and "arts"), encompassing, among other things, the earth and sea, their shape and extent; geographical natural history; the history of winds, clouds, and rain; histories of trees, plants, and shrubs, of fish, birds, quadrupeds, and serpents. Bacon emphasised that questions could be put to good use in this investigation, although they should concern facts rather than causes (*non Causarum dico, sed Facti*)[14].

[11] "Ordenanzas para la formation del libro de las Descriptiones de Indias" (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 3 July 1573), reprinted in F. de Solano (ed.), *Cuestionarios para la formación de la Relaciones Geográficas de Indias siglos XVI/XIX*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Madrid 1988, pp. 16-74.

[12] The *Instrucción* has been reprinted in several places: Solano (ed.), *Cuestionarios*, cit., pp. 79-87; M. Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), *Relaciones geográficas de Indias.–Perú*, vol. 1, Ediciones Atlas, Madrid 1965, pp. 85-90; F. del Paso y Troncoso (ed.), *Papeles de Nueva España*, vol. 4, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid 1905, pp. 1-7. For a translation, see H.F. Cline, "The *Relaciones Geográficas* of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586", in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 44 (1964), 3, pp. 341-74 (363-71).

[13] "Interrogatorio para todas las ciudades, villas y lugares de españoles, y pueblos de naturales de las Indias Occidentales, islas y Tierra Firme", in Solano (ed.), *Cuestionarios*, cit., pp. 97-111.

[14] F. Bacon, *The Instauratio magna Part II: Novum organum and Associated Texts*, ed. with facing-page translations by G. Rees and M. Wakely, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2004, pp. 455, 457, 469.

Bacon had a major impact on subsequent practice in formulating questions or inquiries, notably in activities associated with Samuel Hartlib and the Royal Society. In 1652, Hartlib was responsible for the publication of "An Interrogatory Relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Naturall History of Ireland" (published as an appendix to the second edition of *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie* (1652)). This document, occasionally mentioned but rarely discussed by historians of the use of inquiries, adopted an alternative mode of presentation for asking questions, but its Baconian pedigree is still apparent. The "Interrogatory" is presented in the unusual format of an alphabetical index, with entries running from "Appricocks" to "Wormes". There are 362 separate entries which list the indexed term and then record relevant queries. The focus on documentation, evident in the wish to determine whether different animals, birds, or trees exist in Ireland, complements the governing concern with establishing the country's natural resources, including food stuffs, methods of animal husbandry and agriculture, as well as trades and manufactures of different kinds. Surveying of shores, rivers, and land with arable potential supports the basic plan of assessing Ireland's suitability for commercial and agricultural development. In relation to the productive potential of different trades or natural commodities, the question is frequently posed of what "charges" they incur and what profit they generate (as in the case of pilchard or eel fishing). With respect to animals and birds, the index typically requests information on the "natures and properties" of different creatures[15].

The Royal Society, founded in 1660, followed up on these sources of inspiration and method, developing Bacon's programme and Hartlib's ethos. In one of its early meetings, the Society established a committee assigned to devise "proper questions to be inquired of in the remotest parts of the world"[16]. Minutes from the first decade record discussion and development of inquiries for an array of destinations such as Iceland and Greenland (compiled by Robert Hooke), Virginia, Hungary and Transylvania, Persia, Egypt, the Caribbean, and the East Indies[17]. Henry Oldenburg, the Society's first secretary, communicated the travel inquiries to a wider public in the journal he founded, *Philosophical Transactions*. The topics addressed range from curiosities of nature to

15 "An Interrogatory Relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Naturall History of Ireland", in *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie*, 2nd ed., London 1652, sig. Q4r-V1r. For further discussion, see A. Fox, "Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks and the Discovery of the British Isles, 1650-1800", in *Historical Journal* 53 (2010), 3, pp. 593-621 (595-6).

16 T. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 1, London 1756, p. 15.

17 Ibid., pp. 68, 69, 79, 119, 130, 144, 165-6, 180, 192, 199, 297-8, 318-19.

manufacturing techniques, occasional recommendations for experimentation on site, collection of samples, and other requests.

The particularity of inquiries for specific destinations (however extensive the territory in question) served important purposes of exercising curiosity and responding to prior travel reports, but the Royal Society also recognized the need to supply more general advice on what to observe in the midst of travel. Robert Boyle was prevailed upon to supply "General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or small", a four-page piece published in the eleventh number of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1666. This intriguing document, which was tirelessly circulated by Henry Oldenburg (along with copies of inquiries for specific destinations)[18], is perhaps the best-known single text in the tradition of travel inquiries. Michael Hunter has shown that this document was regarded not so much as an exclusive production of Boyle's but rather as something of a collaborative contribution[19]. Boyle divides the "General Heads" into what should be observed into three areas: the Supraterraneous, Terrestrial, and Subterraneous, with a series of sub-fields for attention, suggesting the influence of Varenius's Ramist table on the structure of his advice[20]. (Elsewhere there is evidence of the impact of the Hartlibian "Interrogatory" on his approach.) Boyle followed up with further contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* in this genre in the same year, his brief "Other Inquiries concerning the Sea", and the more elaborate "Articles of Inquiries touching Mines"[21]. Once again, we can see an overlapping vocabulary of articles, heads, and inquiries, all combining to introduce some degree of order to observations on the

[18] See, e.g., *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A.R. Hall and M. Boas Hall, 13 vols., University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1965-73; Mansell, London 1977-86, vol. 3, pp. 58, 87, 207, 243, 276-7, 340-41, 526; vol. 4, pp. 133, 166-7; vol. 5, pp. 315, 440. The documents were also seen in close relationship. The brief "Inquiries for Persia" points the reader to "Other *Queries*, concerning the Air, Waters, Minerals, Vegetables, Animals, &c. peculiar to Persia" in Boyle's "General Heads" and "Inquiries concerning Mines", *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1667), 23, p. 420. Likewise, the "Inquiries and Directions for the Ant-Iles, or Caribe-Islands" cites Boyle's contributions on mines for inquiries relating to earths and minerals, and "General Heads" on air, winds, and weather; *Philosophical Transactions* 3 (1668), 33, p. 639.

[19] M. Hunter notes that Oldenburg produced a restructured version of the "General Heads" (printed as an appendix in Hunter, "Robert Boyle and the Early Royal Society: A Reciprocal Exchange in the Making of Baconian Science", in *British Journal for the History of Science* 40 (2007), 1, pp. 1-23 (22-3)).

[20] See Carey, "Inquiries, Heads, and Directions", cit., pp. 47-8. I have drawn on this essay for some of the summaries of traditions of inquiry provided above. On Boyle and Varenius, see also P.R. Anstey, "Locke on Measurement", in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 60 (2016), pp. 70-81 (79).

[21] "Other Inquiries concerning the Sea", in *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1666), 18, pp. 315-16; "Articles of Inquiries touching Mines", in *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1666), 19, pp. 331-43.

natural world[22]. Here the Royal Society's practice seems to have had sway over Boyle rather than the other way around, as Hunter argues. Furthermore, we see this method radiate across Boyle's scientific interests, not just those informed by travel[23]. Nonetheless, travel remained a particular locus, guided in part by general recommendations outlined in the texts of advice from 1666 but also in Boyle's personal encounter with travellers[24]. We find a convergence in Boyle's posthumous work prepared for the press by John Locke, *The General History of the Air* (1692). Boyle refers in the preface not only to a "Set of Heads and Inquiries" that he drew up to aid the virtuosi who planned to join him in the study, but also to observations he had been "furnished with by Answers to the Questions I put to divers Travellers and Navigators"[25].

2. *Locke's inquiries*

We are now in a position to consider Locke's extensive deployment of inquiries and his engagement with the tradition. The frequency with which they appear in his manuscripts and correspondence is notable in itself, but their presence also testifies to the importance of a Baconian conception of natural history as a key component of his philosophical outlook and practice, and of the major impact of Boyle on his work, whom he first met in 1660[26]. Among

22 Hunter, "Robert Boyle and the Early Royal Society", cit., p. 11.

23 See M. Hunter (ed.), *Robert Boyle's 'Heads' and 'Inquiries'*. Robert Boyle Project Occasional Papers, no. 1 (2005). https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/141212607.pdf; for wider discussion of his method and debt to a Baconian conception of natural history, see P.R. Anstey and M. Hunter, "Robert Boyle's 'Designe about Natural History'", in *Early Science and Medicine* 13 (2008), 2, pp. 83-126.

24 On Boyle's meetings with travellers, see M. Hunter, *Boyle Studies: Aspects of the Life and Thought of Robert Boyle (1627-91)*, Ashgate, Farnham 2015, ch. 9; S. Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire*, Pickering & Chatto, London 2008, pp. 85-6; M. Jansson, "Eyewitnesses to the Phenomenon of Russian Cold: Robert Boyle and the Accounts of Early Travelers to the North", in *Quaestio Rossica* 10 (2022), 3, pp. 1057-83.

25 R. Boyle, *The General History of the Air*, London 1692, pp. x-xi. See on this topic C. Crignon, "What is at Stake in a Natural History of the Air? Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle", in *Archives de philosophie* 84 (2021), 1, 93-113.

26 P.R. Anstey has argued persuasively that the Baconian legacy is "central to Locke's account of natural philosophical knowledge in the *Essay* [*concerning Human Understanding*]" and that "the construction of natural histories is constitutive of natural philosophy". "Locke, Bacon and Natural History", in *Early Science and Medicine* 7 (2002), 1, pp. 65-92 (68). On Locke and Boyle, see this article and additional information in P.R. Anstey, *John Locke and Natural Philosophy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, pp. 51, 58. Locke owned more books by Boyle than anyone else in his library and participated in two of Boyle's works directly, contributing to *Memoirs for the Natural History of*

his many connections with Boyle with relevance in the current context, we can include Locke's attempt to secure information on a mine in the Mendip Hills in Somerset during a visit in May 1666, although the expedition was largely unsuccessful[27]. Boyle encouraged the endeavour and followed up by stating a wish to provide Locke with "some sheets of Articles of Inquirys about Mines in generall", the work that appeared later that year in the *Philosophical Transactions*[28]. We have already noted Locke's editorial role in pulling together Boyle's *General History of the Air* in 1692 after Boyle's death in late 1691, but his participation in the project effectively stemmed back over the previous twenty-five years[29]. Peter Anstey has documented that among Locke's papers on natural philosophy and medicine there are copies of sets of Boyle's queries on a range of topics. Some are closer in form to "titles" for experimentation[30] – identifying the kinds of inquiries that could be made in interrogating natural phenomena like fire and flame or human blood[31], but others are more obviously interrogatory, requiring engagement with other parties, in some cases in the context of travel (such as a set of queries related to Boyle's *New Experiments and Observations Touching Cold* (1665) that were copied in 1681)[32]. Boyle's "Topics for the

Humane Blood, London 1684, and editing *The General History of the Air*. Locke also had access early on to Boyle's papers "where he would have been privy to many of these lists" of inquiries (Anstey, *Locke and Natural History*, cit., 61).

27 Locke to Boyle, 5 May 1666, J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 1, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, pp. 273-6. Boyle provided Locke with a barometer with which to take readings. Having sought the deepest available mineshaft, Locke was discouraged by the miners from the attempt. They pointed out the practical difficulties and expressed some degree of doubtfulness about what he might be up to. The expedition was not a wasted effort. For some discussion of reports from miners that Locke gathered during the visit, see J. Walmsley, "John Locke on Respiration", in *Medical History* 51 (2007), 4, pp. 453-76 (470).

28 Boyle to Locke, 2 June 1666, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 279. Quoted in Anstey, *Locke and Natural Philosophy*, cit., 62.

29 Anstey, "Locke, Bacon and Natural History", cit., 79.

30 On Boyle's shifting vocabulary and the at times more experimental conception of queries and articles of inquiry, see Anstey and Hunter, "Robert Boyle's 'Designe about Natural History'", cit., 113.

31 See fifty-one heads on flame and fire in Bodleian Library MS Locke c. 42 (first part), pp. 266-7, attributed to Boyle and dated 1682; and queries about human blood datable to 1666-67 in Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 19, pp. 272-3 and 302-3. Boyle's name is not mentioned but they clearly derive from him. See Anstey, *Locke and Natural Philosophy*, cit., p. 62. Anstey (p. 62n86) argues against Walmsley's attribution of the queries to Locke in "Locke on Respiration", cit., p. 467. For a transcription on the heads concerning fire and flame, see *Robert Boyle's 'Heads' and 'Inquiries'*, cit., 34-6; on blood, see M. Hunter and H. Knight (eds.), *Unpublished Material Relating to Robert Boyle's Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood*, Robert Boyle Project Occasional Papers no. 2 (2005), pp. 19-20. https://www.bbk.ac.uk/boyle/media/pdf/BOYLE_Blood_Revise4.pdf

32 Bodleian Library MS Locke c. 31 fol. 49v.

History of Diseases" (a version of which appears in one of Locke's notebooks) is very much continuous with his "General Heads", setting out areas for further investigation in different countries[33].

Boyle was not the only source of inquiries that survive in Locke's papers. A series of "Inquirys concerning the use and Cultivars of the Kitchen Garden & Winter Greenes", deriving from Charles Howard, survives in Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 7, pp. 49-52[34], while another notebook includes transcriptions of correspondence on second sight between the antiquarian John Aubrey and James Garden, professor of theology in Aberdeen, which includes a questionnaire on the topic that Garden devised and various responses he received[35].

Locke developed inquires of his own, confirming his debt to Boyle and the Royal Society. Locke's relationship with the Society was formalized in November 1668 with his election as a fellow[36]. He served on the Council in 1669 and 1672. Using his networks very much in the manner of the Society, Locke evidently encouraged a colonial agent in the Bahamas, Richard Lilburne, to supply information. Responding by letter in 1674 from New Providence, Lilburne apologized for not having "met with any rareities worth your acceptance though I have been diligent in inquireing after them". Nonetheless he provided a brief report of interest on a species of poisonous fish which caused joint pain to anyone who consumed them[37]. The description was sufficiently notable to prompt Locke to communicate it to Henry Oldenburg, and it was read before the Society in 1675 and printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (as "An extract of a Letter, written to the Publisher by Mr. J.L.")[38]. The letter and the printed version reference the fact that Locke had followed up by providing

33 MS Locke c. 42 (first part), p. 98, dating from 1682. Compare British Library Sloane MS 25002, fols 1v-2, transcribed in *Robert Boyle's 'Heads' and 'Inquiries'*, cit., 33-4.

34 See P.R. Anstey and S.A. Harris, "Locke and Botany", in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 37 (2006), pp. 151-71 (165n). They acknowledge Michael Hunter's tracing of the inquiries to Charles Howard in British Library, Add MS 4458, f. 140.

35 MS Locke c. 31, fols 11-25. On this correspondence, see M. Hunter, *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science, and Second Sight in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2001, pp. 23-4. Chapter 4 includes a transcription of the letters, which are dated 2 January and 4 May 1694.

36 M. Hunter, *The Royal Society and Its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution*, 2nd ed., British Society for the History of Science, London 1994, pp. 184-5.

37 Richard Lilburne to Locke, [6 August] 1674, in *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit. pp. 406-7. Anstey, *Locke and Natural Philosophy*, cit., p. 60, has noted the possible connection with Boyle's "General Heads" and its advice to inquire about "*Fishes*, what kinds of them", including "Peculiarities of any kind", *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1666), 11, p. 187.

38 Locke to Oldenburg, 20 May 1675, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 423. *Philosophical Transactions* 10 (1675), 114, p. 312.

his correspondent with additional "Quæres I lately sent him by a ship bound thither"[39]. These were answered by Lilburne in August of that year[40].

Locke again participated in a formal process of circulating inquiries in the early 1690s, on this occasion in conjunction with his friend Dr Charles Goodall. The topic in this instance was medical in orientation, with questions circulated under the heading "Enquiries to be made about Bills of Mortality, Airs, Diseases etc.", which connect with Boyle's interests and approach in several ways while also moving beyond them. The five questions asked about the contents of bills of mortality in foreign countries[41] and the causes of death in various European cities as well as in Constantinople and Smyrna and in colonial territories in America, the Caribbean and elsewhere; the air in different countries "with the temper and alteration" of it by season and "the diseases these countreys are subject to, and the time when?"[42]; the view of physicians about Jesuit's bark (quinine) and their account of it; the esteem in which the physician Thomas Sydenham was held; and the relative social position in different countries of physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and hospitals[43].

Locke's journals and correspondence yield further evidence of the role of inquiries in his repertoire of strategies for pursuing his various intellectual interests. During his extended travels in France (1675-79), among other pursuits he was actively seeking information on crops and commodities that would sustain the economic development of Carolina[44]. In a journal entry of 1677 made

[39] Bodleian Library MS Locke d. 9, pp. 87 and 236. The queries are printed in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 8, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989, pp. 428-9.

[40] Lilburne to Locke, 12 August 1675, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., pp. 424-6. Another Bahamian correspondent, Isaac Rush, sent a (lost) letter on the topic referenced by Rush in his letter to Locke of 19 August 1675, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 427.

[41] In a journal entry from 1679, Locke asked: "Q Whether Anabaptists Quakers & Jews are comprehended in the bills of mortality". Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 28, p. 152.

[42] Boyle included a section on air and its various qualities in his "General Heads" which encompassed attention to diseases "supposed to flow from the Air", whether epidemical or otherwise. "General Heads", cit., p. 187.

[43] Printed in K. Dewhurst, *John Locke (1632-1704) Physician and Philosopher: A Medical Biography. With an Edition of the Medical Notes in his Journals*, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London 1963, pp. 301-2. On quinine (kinkina) Goodall had written to Locke in 1687 asking his assistance in circulating questions on the topic he had devised to ask of "Natives of Peru brought into Europe", Spaniards and priests who had lived there or merchants ([c. 25] July 1687, J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 3, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978, pp. 232-3). Goodall said he had hopes for useful information from Hans Sloane who was shortly to head to Jamaica with the Duke of Albemarle. Goodall's planned book on quinine did not materialise.

[44] D. Armitage, "John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*", in *Political Theory* 32 (2004), 5, pp. 602-27.

while in the Loire he asked "Q. What fruits good there for Carolina or England particularly the plumbs of Tours. Prunes de St. Margaret." Later, he recorded the more general query: "France) Q. Whatever may be usefull in Carolina"[45]. Here the purpose of the question is to organize his own attention as much as it is to ask other parties for their views. In other journals from the same era of travel in France, Locke records his reading and notes on various books. These too became productive of inquiries. In relation to Nicolas Villault's *Relation des costes d'Afriques Appellées Guinée* (1669), he took note of a description of palm wine and asked "Q. How this unfermented liquor comes to fuddle men?" While reading the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Commentaries*, he noted the claim that venomous creatures reacted with "horror" to pepper and inquired: "Q. whether this be true of the East Indian peper that which our author speaks of being the peper of Peru"[46]. Queries in these journals likewise spoke to his interests in medical matters and currency[47]. Responding to a review in the *Acta Eruditorum* of a book by the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli, Locke took note of the discussion of grafting and asked: "Q Whether hence may not be taken a rule in grafting, viz that plants will graft one on another which have seeds alike. JL"[48].

Locke's ethnographic concerns also benefited from the technique of the inquiry. For example, he wrote to his friend Nicolas Toinard in 1679 asking if he knew anything about an African people living near the river Gambra called the Geloofs (i.e. Wolofs or Oulofs), a reference which he had taken personally from Robert Boyle[49]. Locke's frequent exchanges with Toinard include a later letter from 1698 asking him about the customs of inhabitants near the river Senegal. When Toinard sent him a new travel book by François Froger (*Relation d'un Voyage* [...] *aux Côtes d'Afrique, Détroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & Isles Antilles*), Locke responded with inquiries for the traveller concerning Cayenne where he had visited, including the beliefs of native people, their length of life, and the country's different natural productions[50]. On another occasion, Locke

45 Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 15, pp. 42, 91.

46 J. Lough, "Locke's Reading during his Stay in France (1675-79)", in *The Library*, 5th ser., 8 (1953), pp. 229-58 (238, 241).

47 Ibid., pp. 242, 243.

48 Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 9, p. 91.

49 Locke to Toinard, 20 September and 13 October 1679, J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 2, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, p. 117. For the reference from Boyle, see Locke's journal for 1679, British Library Add MS 15642, p. 161. Printed in Dewhurst, *John Locke (1632-1704) Physician and Philosopher*, cit., p. 176.

50 On Senegal see Locke's letter to Toinard of 25 March 1698, J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 6, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1981, p. 361, and Toinard's letter of 6 July 1698, *Correspondence*,

wrote to Hans Sloane to let him know of an opportunity to meet a Japanese individual named "Bango" whom Locke said was "in our neighbourhood" and spoke some English: "I shall not say any thing to you concerning the heads to be talkd on with him, you know soe well better than I what questions are fit to be asked concerning that country. I would only be resolvd in this one whether the Importation of gold and silver be prohibited there"[51].

Locke developed a separate interest in the base (or "nodus" as he called it) used in different countries for numeration, evident in various manuscript sources and surviving correspondence. In the same letter in which he asked Toinard about Senegal he commented: "What you say about the Africans' and Brazilians' arithmetic is most acceptable. I do not know whether I asked you formerly to tell me whether you know of any peoples who have placed the nodus of numeration elsewhere than in the number ten. If you know any such I ask you anew to inform me, for I am eager to learn about it and have long since been inquiring about it"[52]. Evidence that his interest in this topic was indeed longstanding appears in a journal entry nearly twenty years earlier, recording details of a conversation with the important French traveller in India, François Bernier: "Mr. Bernier told me that the Bramins Gentils, the old inhabitants of Indostan, count their time by weeks & give the days' denominations as we doe by the seven planets & in the same order, their day denominated from the sun being the same with our Sunday, & soe of the rest, & in numbering make their nodus as we doe at 10"[53].

3. *Locke's inquiries and religion*

Locke made an important contribution to the tradition by firmly incorporating human practice and belief into the scope of studies aided by the use of

vol. 6, cit., p. 445. On Froger, see Locke to Toinard, 25 March 1698, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 358. Locke was also interested in variations in the pendulum in Cayenne and what Froger could report. See Anstey, "Locke on Measurement", cit., p. 80.

[51] Locke to Hans Sloane, 15 March 1697, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 36. In reply Sloane referred to Bango as Chinese, saying that he had attempted to speak with him "but the Language made us have little conversation". Nonetheless he vowed to follow up. Sloane to Locke, 18 March 1697, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 56.

[52] Locke to Toinard (in Latin), 25 March 1698, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., pp. 357-63 (translation by de Beer).

[53] J. Lough (ed.), *Locke's Travels in France 1675-1679 as Related in his Journals, Correspondence and other Papers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1953, p. 282.

inquiries. He may have taken as a point of departure Boyle's "General Heads" which devoted a separate heading to "the earth and its inhabitants". Here he recommended that travellers attend to "both *Natives* and *Strangers*, that have been long settled there" and to take note of their "Stature, Shape, Colour, Features, Strength, Agility, Beauty (or the want of it)[,] Complexions, Hair, Dyet, Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education"[54]. Boyle moves without comment from physical attributes to an assessment of ways of life and the elusive issue of "inclinations". Thus he endorses applying the method of natural history to investigating the cultural and mental tendencies of different peoples. The object of study is evidently human nature and how it is manifested in these domains – which may account for the unexplained emphasis on customs that originate not from education but, by implication, from nature itself. Like much in the document, these remarks are concise and cryptic but nonetheless intriguing.

Some uncertainty remained about the scope of this investigation within the remit of natural history, at least as understood by Henry Oldenburg. Oldenburg omitted the category of "customs that seem not due to education" when he restructured Boyle's "General Heads" for circulation to some of his correspondents[55]. In the reviews he included of travel books in the *Philosophical Transactions* he often explicitly omitted attention to ethnographic matters, but he came back to the issue in the preface the eleventh volume of the *Philosophical Transactions* (1676) and supported investigation of "the intrinsick mentals or intellectuals of Mankind"[56]. Through his published work, most notably the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and its rationale for a natural history of man, Locke may in turn have influenced guidelines for travellers provided by John Woodward in his *Brief Instructions for Making Observations in All Parts of the World* (1696), which appeared with the Royal Society's imprimatur. Woodward wrote to Locke with a copy of the pamphlet. In it, he called for information on natives of Africa, the East and West Indies, Tartary, Greenland, "or any other remote, and uncivilized, or Pagan Countries", with a specific

[54] Boyle, "General Heads", cit., p. 188.

[55] Hunter, "Robert Boyle and the Early Royal Society", cit., p. 23.

[56] *Philosophical Transactions* 11 (1676), 123, pp. 553-4. For further discussion of this question, see D. Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, ch. 1. In parallel, what we might call a hybrid approach, combining curiosity about natural history with attention to antiquities and customs, was well established among other contemporaries active in the Royal Society, such as John Aubrey and Robert Plot, who circulated inquires in aid of their projects. See Fox, "Printed Questionnaires", cit.

invitation to record "their *Tempers*, *Genius's*, *Inclinations*, *Virtues*, and *Vices*", as well as their social practices and "*Notions* touching the *Supreme God*"[57].

Locke's sense of opportunity and adaptation of the method of framing natural history inquiries to explore issues of culture, belief, and knowledge appears in an early manuscript that has not received attention. The undated manuscript, possibly from the early 1670s if not earlier, survives in a guard-book assembled by Public Record Office archivists from materials in the Shaftesbury papers (Locke entered the household of the first Earl of Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) in 1667 and lived in Ashley's residence, Exeter House in the Strand, until 1675). In it, Locke recorded a series of inquiries focusing specifically on religious belief and practice in foreign countries. The questions may have been geared to a particular, although unidentified, religion, as John Milton has suggested,[58] but I believe they are generic, and intended to provide the basis for a thorough anthropological assessment regardless of where travellers found themselves. What did Locke propose as subjects of investigation?

> What they believe concerning God
> Spirits good & bad
> The soule & its state after this life
> Heaven
> Hell
> The world its beginning & duration
> And upon what grounds their belief concerning these things is founded?
> What is [*sic*] the obiects, Manner, Time & Place of their religious worship
> Whether they have priests. How distinguished from others? & whether they are good men?
> Whether they pretend to any Revelation from heaven of their Religion & Miracles to confirme it? And when this was. And what probabilitys offerd
> Whether there be any Apparitions, Oracles, Praedictions, Conjurations or inchantments amongst them?[59]

In analysing the manuscript, Locke's approach appears at first blush to be governed by essentially informational interests: that is, to document the basic substance of religious views. Part of this investigation is conducted through

[57] J. Woodward, *Brief Instructions for Making Observations in All Parts of the World*, London 1696, pp. 8-10. For Woodward's letter to Locke, 6 January 1696, see J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 5, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1979, p. 506.

[58] J.R. Milton, "Locke's Manuscripts among the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office", in *Locke Newsletter* 27 (1996), pp. 109-30 (127).

[59] The National Archives PRO/30/24/47/30, fol. 44.

attention to certain formal aspects of religious life: is there a priesthood? How are priests marked off from the laity? When and where do they worship? What are the objects of veneration? Beliefs similarly have a kind of structure, some of which is predetermined, since to qualify as a religion certain things are required: a conception of the deity, some account of the soul, creation, notions of heaven and hell, and the existence of spirits, either malevolent or benevolent.

But it is striking that Locke's documentary purpose is also framed in ways that indicate a variety of built-in assumptions. When he asks about cosmology, by inquiring about the beginning of the world and its duration, he follows up by inquiring: "upon what grounds their belief concerning these things is founded?" To raise this issue is automatically to regard belief as *having* grounds, and to make it, by implication, propositional, as representing a kind of claim about the world for which supporting argument is required.

The editorial drift becomes more apparent when he broaches the issue of "revelation". By asking "Whether they pretend to any Revelation from heaven of their Religion" he not only seeks to establish a matter of importance at a factual level – whether or not the claim to revelation is made – but he accepts in advance that believers must "pretend" to it, in the sense of alleging something falsely, given the reservation of true revelation to the Judeo-Christian faith. Locke also anticipates that any such communication from the divine would, as a matter of course, require confirmation from miraculous events, hence his interest in when they transpired. But he goes further, notably, by asking "what probabilitys [are] offerd". The investigation has been shaped here by a curious orientation. By definition, miracles defy probability – they interrupt the course of nature and in so doing testify to the power of the divine to communicate through the extraordinary. Locke's question is different: the occurrence of an event as constituting an occasion of the miraculous is itself subject to probabilistic analysis[60].

There is evidence in another manuscript source that Locke identified himself as having explicitly formulated a list of inquiries, possibly the one on religion. In a journal entry from 1676 he records: "Memo. to put into my enquirys

[60] In a posthumously published "Discourse of Miracles", dating from 1702, Locke set out the complex case for how the miraculous should be evaluated and what role such events played in Judaism and Christianity. Locke maintained that we only have a clear account of three figures (Moses, Jesus and Muhammed) who professed to come in the name of the one true God. He added: "For what the *Persees* say of their *Zoroaster*, or the *Indians* of their *Brama* (not to mention all the wild Stories of the Religions farther East) is so obscure or so manifestly fabulous, that no account can be made of it". J. Locke, *Writings on Religion*, ed. Victor Nuovo, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2002, p. 45.

the Nodus of numbers. Their account of time, especially weeks. Their epochs & the age of the world"[61]. While his interest in the nodus of numeration crops up in various contexts, as we have seen, the reminder to himself in 1676 is connected with religion. He was prompted by his reading of a work by the Dutch *Predikant* (preacher) in India, Abraham Roger, in French translation, which reported that the Brahmins (on Locke's calculation) held that the world had existed for 3,892,739 years as of AD 1639[62].

Whether or not Locke is referring in his memo to this specific set, his questions on religion clearly formed the basis for his engagement with a number of correspondents from whom he sought information on native religions. In November 1675, he received a letter from Dr Henry Woodward, who had settled in the Carolina colony, containing extensive information on the Westo Indians and prompted it would seem by Locke's headings. Woodward began by saying "I have made the best inquiry that I can concerneing the religion and worship. Originall, and customs of our natives". Of a group near Port Royal, whom he knew best, he reported on their cosmology and noted that they worshipped the sun, spoke of spirits who often appeared before them, had notions of the "deluge", and acknowledged the immortality of the soul, with rewards in the afterlife for the virtuous and punishments for others. Another group on the Savannah River worshipped the devil "in a carved image of wood", of whom he hoped to provide a further account[63]. Years later, in 1698, Locke was still pursuing the same issues, including in his questions for Froger in Cayenne, as I noted, where he asked "Whether the Indians in the neighbourhood worship or recognize any god besides the stars, and with what kind of worship"[64].

The final question in Locke's short early manuscript covered "Apparitions, Oracles, Praedictions, Conjurations or inchantments". He similarly followed through on this interest by drawing on his network of correspondents. In 1681, he wrote to Toinard with a question for their mutual friend François Bernier, wondering whether he had observed, "parmi les Orientaux tant Turcs que Paiens quelque Sorcelerie. Spectre, Oracles ett et si le Diable se fait vaire [*sic*] a ces gens la comme en l Amarique, la Lapponie et autre part parmi les paiens" (among the Orientals, both Turks and pagans, any sorcery, spectre, oracles, etc.,

61 Lough, "Locke's Reading", cit., p. 233n1.

62 Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 1, p. 388; Lough, "Locke's Reading", cit., p. 233. See A. Roger, *La Porte Ouverte, pour parvenir à la connoissance du Paganisme Caché. Touchant la croyance & la religion des Bramines* [...] *Seconde Partie* [trans. Thomas La Grüe], Amsterdam 1671, pp. 72-4.

63 Dr Henry Woodward to Locke, 12 November 1675, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., pp. 431-3.

64 Locke to Toinard, 25 March 1698, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., pp. 358.

and if the devil appears to these people as in America, Lapland, and elsewhere among the pagans)[65].

Locke took a further opportunity in 1683 when a personal connection with the family of the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth promised dividends in India. His friend, the philosopher Damaris Masham, was Cudworth's daughter. Her brother Charles was departing for India in service of the East India Company. Locke wrote to him with a range of questions, including "whether they have any apparitions amongst them and what thoughts of spirits, and as much of the opinions religion and ceremonys of the Hindos and other heathens of those countrys as comes in your way to learne or enquire". Here he requests documentation in an ostensibly neutral vein, but elsewhere in the letter the editorial drift is more pointed. Locke noted that

> Some of those who have traveld and write of those parts, give us strange storys of the tricks donne by some of their Juglers there, which must needs be beyond leger de main and seeme not within the power of art or nature. I would very gladly know whether they are really donne as strange as they are reported [...][66]

The note of imposture in the reference to "Juglers" is incorporated into the investigation. He wondered, as he went on to explain, whether the perpetrators were Muslims or, as he suspected, "heathens", that is, Hindus, and how they were "looked on by the Bramins and other people of the country"[67]. While the focus of Locke's interest, on this occasion, was India, a particularly fruitful locus of inquiry[68], we have seen that nearer to home he obtained two manuscript discussions of second sight associated with Garden and Aubrey in the 1690s, indicating the breadth of his anthropological inquiries facilitated by inquiries.

Within six months of arriving in India Charles Cudworth was dead, depriving Locke of a potentially valuable source of information on the ground, but Locke did not give up the attempt. Evidence of his determination appears in a letter he received from a later correspondent, possibly a kinsman, called John Lock, who wrote from Surat in January 1703 (the letter arrived in England just ten months before Locke's own demise). In answer to Locke's request for infor-

65 Locke to Toinard, 14 October 1681, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 454.

66 Letter of 27 April 1683, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 591. The questions raised by Locke relate closely to his journal entry of 8 October 1677 recording a conversation with François Bernier. See *Locke's Travels in France 1675-1679*, cit., p. 177.

67 Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 591.

68 See D. Carey, "John Locke's India: Religion, Revelation, and Enthusiasm", in *Cultural Histories of India: Subaltern Spaces, Peripheral Genres, and Alternate Historiography*, ed. Rita Banerjee, Routledge, Abingdon 2020, pp. 15-34.

mation on religion his correspondent concentrated on the level of learning displayed by different sects in the country. He declared the Brahmins "mighty Ignorant in the history of their Religion". As for Muslims, their religion was "well enough known in Europe". What knowledge they had was evidently passed down "from father to son merely by practice" and not by the study of books, as was more familiar in Europe. Thus he engaged if only by implication with a question Locke was concerned with, namely the role of tradition in revealed religions[69]. If someone asked a "Banian", as he referred to them (used generically for Hindus in Western India), why they marked their forehead, he commented, "The Answer they presently make is the Padres and their Book says soe, but very few amongst the Padres can read it themselves." Lock noted the existence of several casts, and singled out for attention the "Vertiats" (Jains) whose beliefs he outlined in some detail[70].

Locke's preoccupation with religion features centrally in his anthropological investigations, but his questions form part of a much larger ethnographic inquiry into government, society, economy, and other matters, reflected in the sorts of issues that he raised with travellers, including Cudworth and Lock in their encounter with India. Some of the challenges and limitations of this method are also apparent in his exchanges. The first of these is the problem of generating a response to the inquiries. There are a number of dimensions to this we need consider. On the one hand the complexity of the questions automatically raises the issue of the competence of the inquirer. In the case of religion a certain amount of observation would have satisfied Locke's demands in some cases – for example in identifying the existence of a priesthood and the performance of rites – standard fare in ethnographic descriptions found in travel writing of the period. But the majority of his concerns require philosophical acuity on the part of the questioner in order to elicit information on belief systems. On the other hand, as we have seen, networks of transmission are needed in order to convey information, which serve to facilitate but also necessarily mediate the process and define its parameters in sometimes hidden ways.

What I would describe as the utopianism of the questionnaire is also apparent here – the expectation that answers can be obtained if suitably directed individuals are employed in the task. Yet the framer of inquiries rarely takes into

[69] See Locke's query in his Lemmata Ethica notebook, likely based on his reading of Bernier: "Q. Whether the Bramines besides their book of Hanscrit make use also of Tradition & soe of others who pretend to a revealed religion? JL." Bodleian Library MS Locke d. 10, p. 163.

[70] John Lock to Locke, 11 January 1703, J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 7, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982, pp. 736-7.

account the conditions of knowledge exchange. The most obvious obstacle is linguistic, a point that never received attention in any of the Royal Society inquiries or in Boyle's "General Heads". But beyond that, the person delegated to ask questions and record answers inevitably relied on the those he encountered. Locke's Surat correspondent (John Lock) commented on the difficulty of eliciting information. He indicated that "what knowledge any European can gain must bee by short questions and one or 2 at a Time for they find it difficult to understand us and wee them." In fact, he acknowledged that the source of his information on the Jains in India was a Jesuit whom he described as a "man of Sober Life, and Good Learning" who was "very inquisitive", but even he professed that he found it "very difficult to inform himself of their Customs"[71].

There is a further sociological dimension to these exchanges that is often overlooked: how did figures responsible for preparing questionnaires and inquiries create an obligation to respond on the part of their contacts? The Royal Society attempted to use its social connections and institutional prestige, the gentlemanly status of participants and a variety of informal ties to impose a moral responsibility – a precarious and far from systematic method, but one necessitated by the lack of resources available to commission journeys by trained observers (an opportunity that only really emerges in the eighteenth century). In his letter to Cudworth, Locke made a considerable rhetorical effort to cultivate a relationship that would encourage his contact to respond to him. He began, it must be said, from a privileged position since he had an entré to Cudworth through his close friend and philosophical sparring partner, Damaris Masham. While offering his inquiries to her brother with a measure of embarrassment, Locke also situated the practice of philosophical correspondence. He explained that there is "a commerce of Freindship as well as merchandise". Although the common motive of travel to the East is "geting mony and growing rich", he hoped to offer the prospect of a "greater advantage by another sort of correspondence with you there"[72].

Having stated his requests, he returns to this theme, suggesting a scenario in which such friendship matures over time from bare civility to a deeper exchange, with a rather nicely phrased comic turn:

> He that in his first addresse should only put of[f] his hat make a leg and say your servant Sir to a man at the other end of the world, may, (if the windes sit right and the ships come home safe to bring back the returne of his com-

71 Ibid., p. 737.

72 Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 591.

> plement,) may I say in two or three years perhaps atteine to some thing that looks like the begining of an acquaintance, and by the next Jubilee there may be hopes of some conversation between them[73].

He closed by describing himself in mocking terms as "a blunt fellow", one "as far removd from the Ceremony of the easterne people you are among as from their country". Locke shaped the prospective exchange in such a way as to avoid placing himself in a position of authority, and invited Cudworth to see it as one of equality, predicated on friendship. The obligation to respond was therefore an obligation of friendship rather than duty to a superior.

4. *From inquiry to conjecture*

At the root of this for Locke, need we remind ourselves, was the desire for solid testimony and material affording philosophical insight. In this final section I consider instances in Locke's notebooks of processes of transformation in which inquiry turns into conjecture and conjecture into philosophy[74]. A substantial example appears from a journal entry in 1677, recorded when he was reading Jean Thévenot's *Relation d'un Voyage Fait au Levant* (1665):

> The Turks very seldome or never betray their prince to Christians says Thevenot p. 111 / 576 & I believe it is true. Q Whether it be not their aversion to our Religion that keepes them soe. For they often betray him to the persians. There are as I conceive fewer Renegados of Turks then of Christians. Q. Whether it be not their great ignorance that makes them soe. And whether it be not the safest way to keepe any people fast to any opinion to make them prejudiced them selves in the right [and] thereupon conclude it unreasonable & impious to doubt or enquire. For there are soe few that have either the meanes to know or the ability to [...] all that is necessary to be understood for the decideing differences in religion that to set them upon enquiry is to expose the greatest part of mankinde either to the artifices of the subtil, or to a perfect hazard of eternall doubt. This practise is thought to suit well with the [needs]

[73] Ibid., p. 592.

[74] We get a taste of this from a journal record made in France while he was reading Bernier. In May 1676, Locke took note of "The way of falling into an Extasie" in the first volume of the *Suite des Memoires du S^r Bernier sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol*, Paris 1671. This led him to conjecture: "Q Whether Extasie be any thing else but dreaming with the eyes open or whether dreaming be any thing else but the appearance of Ideas in the minde without knowing the cause that produces them there as wide wakeing". MS Locke f. 1, p. 256 (not reproduced by Lough, "Locke's Reading", cit.).

> of policy, but by force to keepe people from opining is supposed by many not to agree well with true religion or common charity. JL[75].

Locke moves rather swiftly through the intellectual gears in this instance. The pattern is one in which inquiries – prefaced with a "Q" – are in fact not so much questions as conjectures or answers to a dilemma that Locke poses to himself. The question in that sense already anticipates a reply on his part. The query form may suggest a degree of hesitation, but Locke overcomes it in an argued perspective on how ignorance is encouraged in order to secure people in their opinions. Locke signed this entry "JL", his customary practice in the notebooks when he had arrived at some conclusion which he regarded as representing his considered thinking on a given subject. Locke identifies a stratagem in play – but he terminates with the view that this policy does "not agree well with true religion or common charity". This viewpoint ties into the position he would develop at greater length in the *Letter concerning Toleration*, where freedom of inquiry and opinion forms the cornerstone of the rationale for extending toleration.

My final example comes from an important journal entry on the subject of enthusiasm dated 19 February 1682. Locke reverses the pattern in the sense that he begins with an emphatic statement before arriving at a query. In the entry, Locke starts by defining enthusiasm as "A strong and firm persuasion of any proposition relating to religion for which a man hath either no or not sufficient proofs from reason but receives them as truths wrought in the mind extraordinarily by God himself"[76]. In short they are revelations certified only by the believer. In a chapter on enthusiasm added to the fourth edition of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (Book IV, ch. 19) in 1700, Locke attempted to resolve the dilemma of accepting on the one hand God's capacity to communicate with his desire on the other to police unwarranted and self-authorizing statements about divine illumination. There, he elided reference to anthropological testimony, but it appears in the journal entry on enthusiasm where he noted that "I find that Christians, Mahomedans, and Brahmins all pretend to it (and I am told the Chinese too)". He went on to cite passages from Paul Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1667) and Bernier's *Suite des Memoires*. The first recorded the "Turkish Dervishes [who] pretend to revelations, ecstasies, visions rapture to be swallowed up and transported

[75] Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 2, pp. 270-71.

[76] Bodleian Library MS Locke f. 6, p. 20. Printed in J. Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. M. Goldie, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997, p. 289.

with illustrations of God [...] seeing the face of God" and the second referenced "Jaugis [Yogis] amongst the Hindoos [who] talk of being illuminated and entirely united to God". The force of this was evidently comparative as he adverted twice to the fact that "the most spiritualised Christians" did likewise[77]. Thus his anthropological inquiries were designed to yield insight into a pattern within human intellectual life which gained significance when it was identified as being shared across cultures. The repeated emphasis on pretenses is diagnosed in a medical fashion. He sees the claims as "merely the effect and operation of the fancy" and notices the techniques adopted to instigate illuminations and to "depress the rational power of the mind" – by "fasting, solitude, intense and long meditation on the same thing, opium, intoxicating liquors, long and vehement turning round" (the latter a reference to dervishes)[78].

He closed the passage by noting that he could not recall reading of "any enthusiasts amongst the Americans". This suggested to him a further inquiry: "whether those that found their religion upon revelation do not [...] imagine that since God has been pleased by revelation to discover to them the general precepts of their religion, they that have a particular interest in his favour have reason to expect that he will reveal himself to them if they take the right way to seek it". The answer to this question really came in the chapter on enthusiasm. But we can trace the interest right back to inquiries about religion formulated in his early manuscript. As we have seen, he asked in that context about "Whether they pretend to any Revelation from heaven of their Religion & Miracles to confirme it? And when this was. And what probabilitys offerd". There, as I have suggested, his perspective was already clear but it becomes conspicuous in the journal entry of 1682. The question he posed on that occasion offers itself as something susceptible of an answer through observation, though we might doubt whether a question so loaded could really be tackled impartially. As for Locke, he expressed both caution and optimism at the same time, remarking: "But of this I shall conclude nothing till I be more fully assured in matter of fact"[79].

Inquiries played a lasting part in Locke's intellectual methodology, supporting his investigations across a host of areas. Questions posed for travellers in the context of natural history reflect most obviously his debts to Robert Boyle and the Royal Society in adopting this approach, but he adapted the

77 Locke, *Political Essays*, cit., p. 290.
78 Ibid., pp. 290-91.
79 Ibid., p. 291.

strategy to progress his understanding of issues across a broad spectrum, perhaps most notably in connection with religious practice and belief. Locke may have declined in 1695 the invitation to produce "an historical account of the various ravings men have imbraced for religion" (a suggestion that came via his friend William Molyneux), partly on the grounds that this would result in a "huge volume" in itself[80], but he remained deeply committed to interrogating the anthropology of belief, a project dependent on the testimony of travellers elicited through inquiry.

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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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Travel Books, Slavery and Colonial Ambitions in the Correspondence between John Locke and Nicolas Toinard (1678-1704)*

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Abstract: Scholars studying Locke's contribution to the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* generally report that he had discussed the content of this document with one of his French acquaintances, Nicolas Toinard (or Thoynard). However, no attempt has been made to investigate the reason why Locke regarded Toinard, the author of an *Harmonia Evangeliorum* that he deeply appreciated, as competent in colonial matters. This paper tries to clarify this issue. My aim is to show that, if Locke was credited with being one of the most knowledgeable of Englishmen about the colonial world in his own day, he had found his match abroad in Toinard. Evidence of this is to be found in Toinard's papers and correspondence, including the letters he addressed to Locke. The travelogues, voyages and explorations that he brought to Locke's attention highlight first of all his interest in the French colonization of West Africa, especially in the slave trade. Like Locke, he seems to have invested some money in this human trafficking. Secondly, they show his involvement in French plans for colonial expansion in North America, which is confirmed by his papers and correspondence with eminent political figures and explorers of his time. References to La Salle's 1679 and 1684 expeditions, the Anglo-French conflicts on the Hudson Bay and d'Iberville's enterprises in Carolina are abundant in Toinard's letters to Locke.

Keywords: slave trade, *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, Massiac, La Salle, Canada, d'Iberville.

1. *Introduction*

In 1679, Locke sent Henri Justel a copy of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, which he had worked on in 1669 in his capacity as secretary of the Lords proprietors of the colony[1]. Justel had been promised a copy of the

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1 See J. Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. by M. Goldie, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997,

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Constitutions by Locke while they were together in France in 1677-79[2], yet his knowledge of this document predated his encounter with Locke. The bibliophile Justel, who corresponded with Henry Oldenburg and Robert Boyle, was one of the most important intermediaries between French and English ideas during the seventeenth century. In 1674, he edited the *Recueil de divers voyages*[3], a collection of travel narratives most of which concerned English colonial settlements in mainland North America and the Antilles. The text included a description of Carolina by Richard Blome that attributed the merit of ideating an excellent model of the laws of the colony to one of the Lords proprietors, Shaftesbury[4]. When Justel met Locke in Paris in 1677, he had not yet seen the *Constitutions,* so he was probably eager to receive a copy of the laws from a man closely associated with Shaftesbury.

Another French acquaintance of Locke, the learned Orléans born Nicolas Toinard, might have been shown a copy of the *Constitutions* while they were together in France, because his letters to Locke abound with references to Carolina during the years 1678-81[5]. Both Toinard and Justel raised some objections about the way the *Constitutions* treated Roman Catholics, though for contrasting reasons. The author of the *Harmonia Evangeliorum*, the Latin-Greek *concordantia* between the Gospels that Locke held in great esteem, was concerned

pp. 160-81. Justel thanked Locke for the text: see H. Justel to Locke, 11/21 June 1679, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 2, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, p. 34.

2 Locke informed Toinard that he had sent Justel a copy "ad liberandum fidem". See Locke to N. Toinard, 25 May 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 27.

3 [H. Justel (ed.)], *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique qui n'ont point esté encore publiéz, contenant l'origine, les mœurs, les coûtumes et le commerce des habitants de ces deux parties du monde*, Louis Billaine, Paris 1674. The book was published anonymously; the printing privilege reveals that "H. J." had transferred his rights for the book to the publisher, Louis Billaine. Dally confirms Justel's authorship: see Ph. Dally, "Les Justel (suite) II. Henry Justel (1620-1693)", in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (1903-2015)* 79 (1930), 1, p. 32. Locke possessed this book: see LL, no. 3115.

4 See R. Blome, "Description de l'isle de la Jamaïque, et de toutes celles que possèdent les Anglois dans l'Amérique. Avec des observations faites par le sieur Thomas, Gouverneur de la Jamaïque, & autres personnes du païs", in [Justel (ed.)], *Recueil*, cit., p. 60. The English original had appeared in 1672.

5 The first mention of the *Constitutions* is to be found in a letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 12 July 1678. See J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol.1, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, p. 590. Thomas Stringer delivered some copies of the text to Locke in 1677: T. Stringer to Locke, 7 September 1677 and 11 October 1677, ibid., p. 516 and p. 518. However, Toinard might not be the recipient of one of the copies. Writing to him in 1679, Locke made it clear that the one he had sent to Justel was also for him: "I know that, being in his house, it will be in your power just as if it were in your house, even though it is written in English". See Locke to Toinard, 25 May 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 27. Toinard might have read the French translation of the text that Justel intended to have done: see Justel to Locke, 17/27 September 1679, ibid., p. 105;[January 1680?], ibid., p. 147.

about the Roman Catholics being persecuted in Carolina, whereas the Huguenot Justel believed they should not be accepted in the colony. Thus, we may suppose that Toinard's interest in this document had to do with religion.

I believe that there were other reasons why Toinard read the *Constitutions*. First of all, he boasted a vast knowledge of colonial settlements drawn from travel books and his rich entourage, which included eminent politicians, cartographers, travellers and sea captains. He was acquainted with the abbé Melchisédech Thévenot, an eminent collector of ancient manuscripts containing travel reports, and with François Bernier, whose writings on the Mogol empire Locke admired greatly. Barthélémy d'Espinchal de Massiac, the author of two memoirs on Africa and Brazil, was a friend of Toinard, who introduced him to Locke. Toinard was likewise familiar with the Bishop of Heliopolis François Pallu, who had written an account on his voyages to Siam and the Philippines, and with the nephew of Frederick Coyett, the Governor of Formosa who had been involved in the dramatic events narrated in Cornelis Speelman's *Notitie*. Another of Toinard's correspondents, François Froger, was the author of an important *Relation* on a French expedition to Africa and South America that captured Locke's attention in 1698.

More numerous were the acquaintances that linked Toinard to the exploration of North America, *in primis* the influent abbé Eusèbe Renaudot, a supporter of the explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle. Renaudot corresponded with Toinard for many years and contributed to keeping him abreast of the discovery of the Mississippi[6]. News of the discovery was also sent to Toinard by the abbé and cartographer René Bréhant de Galinée, who took part in La Salle's first expedition to the Canadian lakes, and later by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, who continued La Salle's work in the 1690s. Last but not least, the Orléanais was related to the Beauharnois family[7], who played a leading role in the French navy and the colonial administration of North America between the late seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Locke entered Toinard's entourage while he was in France and had the opportunity to appreciate his vast knowledge of travel literature, in which he took

[6] See BNF, Collection Margry, relative à l'histoire des Colonies et de la Marine françaises, Nouvelle Acquisition Française 9294, "Correspondance et vie de Nicolas Thoynard, d'Orléans; ses relations avec les découvreurs du Mississipi. Extraits du Journal de Cavelier de La Salle (1682). Expédition de Lemoine d'Iberville contre la Caroline (1705)". Henceforth, I shall refer to this source as NAF 9294.

[7] Toinard was married by contract to Anne Beauharnois at his birth in 1628, and lived with her until 1650. See F.A.A. de la Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse contenant les généalogies, l'histoire & la chronologie des familles nobles de France*, suppl. 3, vol. 15, M. Badier, Paris 1786, p. 44.

a keen interest[8]. Soon after the beginning of their correspondence he wrote to Toinard that, if they were to begin an exchange of gifts, he would rather receive some French travel books[9]. Toinard made every effort to satisfy his request, moreover he interspersed his letters with news on voyages and explorations in South America, Africa, the Indian Ocean and North America. This great amount of information sheds some light on the nature of Toinard's interest in colonial settlements, which was not exclusively "scientific", so to speak. In his capacity as secretary of the King[10] and a member of Renaudot's circle, Toinard was fully aware of the overseas expansion plans of his country and of the benefits that might be reaped from them.

Scholars studying Locke's contribution to the *Constitutions* have never investigated the reason why he discussed the content of this document with Toinard. My aim is to show that Toinard was highly competent in colonial affairs. Here I shall mainly focus on his correspondence with Locke and on the travel accounts that he mentioned to him in order to prove this. I shall argue first that the travelogues Toinard brought to Locke's attention highlighted his interest in French attempts to control the populations of West Africa and especially in slave trade, in which he seems to have invested some money in the 1690s. The fact that he informed Locke of this suggests that he might have been aware of his links to slavery, uncovered by recent historiography. Secondly, I shall argue that Toinard's letters to Locke reveal that he was well acquainted with the secret plans behind La Salle's 1684 expedition and, more in general, with French strategies for expansion in North America. He seems to have been one of the brains behind the d'Iberville expedition to Carolina in 1706, and might have attempted to glean information from Locke on English plans in the new world in their correspondence.

1. *Travel books on Cayenne, Barbados and Tenerife*

On 2 May 1679, after spending four years in France Locke set off on his journey back to England. His correspondence with Toinard had already started

[8] See A. Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge". The Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2010.

[9] Locke to Toinard, 15 July 1679*,* in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, cit., p. 56.

[10] De la Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse,* cit., p. 44. This detail is also confirmed by a letter that La Salle sent to Toinard in 1684, where he addressed him as secretary of the King; see NAF 9294, p. 42. Toinard also chaired the Presidential bench at Orléans.

in 1678, when Locke left him in Paris to make a tour of France, and it resumed soon after his departure for England. The exchange of letters is very lively in the years 1679-82, and references to travel accounts are abundant. The first mention of a work of this genre is to be found in a letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 11 June 1679, when he informed him that he was going to send him a "relation" on the Amazon river in a very short time[11]. The account, as Toinard explained in another letter[12], was the long *Dissertation* written by Esprit Cabart de Villermont, which would appear prefixed to the French edition of Christóbal de Acuña's *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas* in 1682[13]. Locke would therefore have to wait three years before receiving a copy[14]. Villermont was a voyager and an influential politician at the French court in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Having been appointed lieutenant general of Cayenne and governor of the islands of Hyères by the King, he played a strategic role in the French Royal East India Company created by Colbert, where he was in charge of gathering commercial intelligence on Asian trade[15]. He was involved in La Salle's expedition in 1684, when he corresponded with the ship captain Le Gallois de Beaujeu and Renaudot. Given his political skills, it is of no surprise that the *Dissertation* was a piece of anti-Spanish propaganda aimed at encouraging the expansion of French settlements in Cayenne. Villermont emphasized the avidity and cruelty of the conquistadores against the Indios and invoked Bartolomé de las Casas to corroborate his criticism of the mistreatment of the "poor savages" inhabiting the area between the river Orinoco and the river Amazon, taken as slaves by the Spanish and the Portuguese[16]. He magnified the riches of Cayenne (such as jade, greatly appreciated in European and Eastern markets) and the economic advantages that France could gain from trading with the Indios, whom he described as sociable and friendly despite the hostility generally attributed to them. The *Dissertation* included a

11 Toinard to Locke, 11/21 June 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 37.

12 Toinard to Locke, 9/19 July 1679, ibid., p. 55.

13 See C. de Acuña, *Relation de la Rivière des Amazones*, 4. vols., transl. by M. le Roy de Gomberville, Barbin, Paris 1682. Villermont's *Dissertation* was included in the first volume.

14 In the meantime, Toinard continued to keep Locke updated on the progress of the French translation, which the latter was eager to read. See Toinard to Locke, 17/27 September 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 108; Locke to Toinard [9 February 1681], ibid., p. 371; Toinard to Locke, 23 February/5 March 1681, ibid., p. 386. However, when the *Relation* was published in 1682, Locke would ask William Charleton, not Toinard, to procure it for him. See W. Charleton to Locke, 16/26 August 1682, ibid., p. 541. Toinard intended to send Locke the first volume, not the entire work.

15 See I. Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime*, Berg, Oxford and New York 2008, pp. 108-9.

16 Acuña, *Relation*, cit., vol. 1, p. 112.

list of works on Cayenne, one of which Villermont harshly criticised[17]. He despised the declamatory tone of the *Relation* written by Blaise François Pagan, which Locke might have read because he reported having found many references to Acuña in it in a letter to Toinard[18]. The *Relation* overtly advocated French expansion in all the Amazon regions, whereas Villermont was more evasive about the true ambitions of his country in that area. Interestingly, in narrating the story of French settlements in Cayenne he omitted some relevant information. He did not say that the French had taken over the land from the Dutch as part of their new mercantilist strategy, known today as Colbertism. Recent historiography has pointed out that, during the 1660s, France had paid off the proprietors of the lucrative sugar plantations in Cayenne, the most important source of profit in that area, transferring the territorial control of the region to the newly established French West India Company[19].

At the time Toinard was writing to Locke about the *Dissertation*, the Company had dissolved and another French company named "de Sénégal" – the first of the many that took this name later – was in charge of shipping African slaves to French settlements in the Caribbean and in Cayenne[20]. The company, formed in 1673, had been enlarged in 1679, after France had seized the strategically well-placed island of Gorée from the Dutch and captured the old Portuguese fort of Arguin. Interestingly, the populations living on the West coast of Africa would become the focus of the correspondence between Locke and Toinard in August-October 1679, as we shall see in a moment.

In July 1679, another letter from Toinard mentioned two English travel accounts, the first on Barbados and the second on Tenerife[21]. Toinard did not name their authors, but the first, as de Beer suggests, was probably Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*[22], because Toinard referred to a French translation that had appeared in 1674 and he joked about

[17] Ibid., p. 156.

[18] B.F. Pagan, *Relation historique* et *géographique, de la grande rivière des Amazones dans l'Amerique*, Chardin Besongne, Paris 1655; Locke to Toinard, 9 February 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 371. Locke owned Pagan's book: see LL, no. 2167.

[19] M.M. van den Bel, "'Against Right and Reason': The Bold but Smooth French Take-Over of Dutch Cayenne (1655-1664)", *Itinerario* 45 (2021), 1, pp. 70-98. The former owners of the sugar plantations in Cayenne were members of the prosperous Sephardic community located there.

[20] H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade. The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870,* Simon & Shuster, London-New York 1994, p. 185.

[21] Toinard to Locke, 9/19 July 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., pp. 53-55.

[22] Ibid., p.53, n. 1; R. Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, H. Mosely, London 1657.

an episode, the selling of servants at the market, narrated in Ligon's book. The translation had been published by Justel in his *Recueil*, where it occupied more than half of the entire volume. In the Introduction, the anonymous author of the collection – so presumably Justel himself – commented that the *History* really deserved its own volume and praised Ligon's meticulously detailed descriptions of sugar production in Barbados[23], where the latter had sojourned for three years from 1647 to 1650 working as a plantation manager. Justel seemed therefore utterly favourable to slavery because of the industry of the colonisers. This attitude was largely shared by the authors of the accounts collected in the volume, though one of them, Richard Blome, lamented the cruel treatment of African slaves in Barbados[24].

The second account, according to de Beer, might be the *Relation of the Pico Teneriffe* that appeared in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, because Toinard wrote that it was to be found in "a book of your society" and related few details on an indigenous people, the Guanches, accurately described in the *Relation*[25]. They were the ancient inhabitants of the Canary islands that the *Relation* depicted as warriors of great physical agility, able to jump from great heights and cultivating the habit of mummifying their dead. The author of the text lamented that they had been almost exterminated by the Spanish, as has been confirmed by recent historiography. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, only very few settlements survived in the interior of Tenerife. Toinard might have been aware of this, because he wrote that the mighty "*Ganches*" living on the other Canary islands were the descendants of this ancient tribe. The Guanches, however, were not the only inhabitants of the Canaries, because a great number of black slaves were collected on the archipelago. This concentration had begun at the time the crowns of Castile and Portugal had joined, facilitating the importation of Africans from Portuguese slave markets (espe-

23 [H. Justel], "Au Lecteur", in *Id., Recueil*, cit., p. 1.

24 See Blome, "Description de l'isle de la Jamaïque", cit., p. 40. This kind of attitude was also typical of Ligon. See S. Scott Parrish, "Richard Ligon and the Atlantic Science of Commonwealths", in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 67 (2010), 2, pp. 209-48, on p. 218.

25 See Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 55, n. 2; Anon, "*A Relation of the Pico Teneriffe. Receiv'd from some considerable Merchants and Men worthy of Credit, who went to the top of it*", in Th. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge*, J. Martyn, London 1667, pp. 200-13. The *Relation,* probably written by some merchants from Bristol, incorporates many pieces of information on the climate of the island, the nature of the soil and the economy of the place, and emphasises the presence of rich gold and silver mines and the florid production of sugar canes, cotton and wine.

cially from the nearby Cape Verde Islands)[26]. By the middle of the century, the Canary islands had become an obligatory stopover point en route to the New World for buying a variety of goods, including slaves, who were particularly numerous in Tenerife[27].

In summary, all the travel books that Toinard mentioned in his letters to Locke soon after the latter's departure showed a more or less explicit link to slavery, being related to areas of a certain importance in the transatlantic slave trade. This was also the case with two handwritten accounts that Toinard began to bring to Locke's attention in August 1679, which were with the utmost probability written by Massiac.

2. *Massiac's memoirs on Angola, Brazil and Chile*

Writing to Locke on 30 August 1679, Toinard reported that the *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile* by the Spaniard Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle[28] contained a mistake that he had been able to detect thanks to an unpublished handwritten account he had found among his papers. Ovalle had mixed two animals up, the "*Querechinchio*" that Locke would mention in the *Essay* to exemplify the difficulty of determining species[29], and the viscacha, a kind of hare living on the plains of Tucuman. Toinard included a description of the two animals in his letter that he said he had copied from the account. He also mentioned another handwritten account in Portuguese providing information on a black bellicose tribe of cannibals living in Angola, the Jagas.

This was not the first time that Toinard had spoken to Locke about Angola. In 1678, in another letter to Locke he had mentioned the "empacaçes", a type of buffalo that lived in that region[30], and the following year he had given his English friend a present of a piece of wood from Angola before his departure from

[26] R. Noland, "Black Presence in the Canary Islands", in *Journal of Black Studies* 12 (1981), 1, pp. 83-90.

[27] Ibid., p. 85.

[28] Toinard to Locke, 30 August/9 September 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 85. Toinard refers to the Italian edition of Ovalle's report, which had appeared in 1646. See A. de Ovalle, *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en él la Campañia de Jesus*, F. Cavallo, Roma 1646. Locke possessed this edition by 1679, as is confirmed by his journal: see LL, no. 2152; Brit. Lib., Add. MS 15, 642, p. 106.

[29] J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, III.vi. 9, p. 445; de Ovalle, *Histórica relación*, cit., pp. 55 and 78.

[30] Toinard to Locke, 17/27 August 1678, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 606.

Paris, as is faithfully recorded in Locke's journal[31]. Locke had also noted down the beneficial effects of a paste made from that wood, which Angolan grandees used to spread on their bodies to cure migraines and other ills.

Toinard's letter of 30 August 1679 bore out that he had a vast knowledge of Angola. He did not reveal the name of the author of the two accounts, yet it is highly likely that it was the French naval engineer Barthélémy de Massiac, as Locke himself seems to suggest in another letter[32]. Massiac had travelled at length in Africa, sojourning for some years in Guinea (ca. 1648-1651) and Angola (ca. 1652-1660). He had set off from Lisbon as an employee of a Portuguese company and sailed to Saint Paul de Assuncion de Loanda, where he had been in charge of completing two Portuguese forts designed to ward off Dutch incursions. His memoir on these travels has unfortunately been lost, but an abridged version written in French was discovered by Pierre Salmon a few decades ago[33], containing many details that are to be found in Toinard's letters to Locke. The memoir describes the bellicose black tribes inhabiting the country and their governors, especially Queen Ginga (or Nzinga), the leader of a fierce cannibal tribe who had fought against the Portuguese and had been converted to Christianity. The Jagas (or Yagas) are not mentioned, yet it is likely that the original account, the one Toinard had in his hands, incorporated a description of this cannibal tribe originally inhabiting the border area between Congo and Angola, who used to carry out raids on its neighbours. These raids were largely to be explained by the demand for slaves, which increased the rivalry among the kingdoms of West Africa in the seventeenth century. Various tribes competed with each other and sometimes even with their trade partners for the large profits deriving from selling slaves to European merchants. Massiac's memoir gave evidence of this. He reported that the Portuguese had not been able to expand their dominion in Angola due to the resistance opposed by its inhabitants, especially the powerful Queen Ginga, who interfered in their slave trading[34].

[31] See the journal entry for 14 April 1679 in J. Laugh (ed.), *Locke's Travels in France 1675-9, as related in his Journals, Correspondence and other Papers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1953, p. 269.

[32] See Locke to Toinard, 30 August 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., pp. 435-6. In the letter, Locke added his greetings to Massiac to his comments on what Toinard had reported on the fishing of "zimbo", a shell used as currency in Congo and Angola.

[33] See P. Salmon (ed.), "Mémoires de la relation de voyage de M. de Massiac à Angola et à Buenos-Aires", in *Bulletin de séances de l'Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer* 6 (1960), 4, pp. 586-604. It would be tempting to identify the French man who wrote the abridged version with Toinard, but the latter arrived in Lisbon in 1666 whereas, according to Salmon, the abstract was written in 1664.

[34] Salmon (ed.), "Mémoires", cit., pp. 593 and 601.

The account also reveals that Massiac owned slaves or was somehow involved in trading them[35], a detail that is confirmed by his memoir on Brazil. After spending some years in Angola, in 1660 Massiac moved to Guinea from where he sailed to Buenos Aires, penning another memoir on his sojourn in that region. Also this memoir has been lost, but a copy was found by Salmon in the library of Amiens[36]. This copy seems to correspond exactly to the other handwritten account mentioned by Toinard, because it contains a description of the quirquincho and the viscacha identical to the one he included in his letter[37]. Notably, a large part of this second memoir has to do with the slave trade, which Massiac described as being one of the greatest sources of wealth in Angola. He reported that around 20,000 slaves were deported from Angola to Portugal, Brazil and other ports in America each year, a detail that has been confirmed by recent studies[38]. Being willing to invest in this trafficking, and being aware of the greater revenues that might be obtained from selling slaves on the river Plate rather than in Europe, Massiac had resolved to move from Angola to Brazil and had embarked on a Dutch slave ship with some Portuguese traders. The ship arrived in Buenos Aires with eight hundred slaves, whom Massiac and his partners expected to sell thus making "the greatest gain ever obtained from a trade"[39]. However, after being attacked by another ship at the entrance of the port of Buenos Aires, they were stripped of more than half the number of their slaves, and the remaining ones were confiscated by the governor of the town. Thus, Massiac had resolved to spend some time in Buenos Aires, trying to recover his precious merchandise. In the meantime, he collected many pieces of information on the region, on its history, inhabitants, economy and the natural features of the coasts from Cape Frio to the Strait of Magellan[40].

Toinard might have been given a copy of the original memoirs by Massiac while they were together at Lisbon in 1666-67. In 1678, he introduced Locke to Massiac, who accompanied him on a visit to Rochefort. A note in Locke's journal reveals that, on that occasion, Massiac had spoken to him about his

35 See ibid., p. 601, where Massiac related how some of his slaves had been able to escape.

36 P. Salmon (ed.), "Le voyage de M. de Massiac en Amérique du Sud au XVIIe siècle", in *Mémoires de la Classe des Sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer*, Nouvelle Série 42 (1984), 3, pp. 21-61.

37 Ibid., pp. 35-36.

38 Ibid., p. 21.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., pp. 35-36.

travels in Angola and Buenos Aires[41]. On his return to Paris, Locke had had other opportunities to converse with Massiac about his travels, as his journal reveals[42]; however, in October 1679 Locke seemed to be eager to know more about the black tribes living in Angola. He advised Toinard that another account written by an English man who had lived among the Jagas for a very long time confirmed what was written in his Portuguese account, and asked him whether it also mentioned the "Geloofs", a black tribe living on the river Gambia[43]. As de Beer suggests, it is highly likely that the English man was Andrew Battel, whose account on his long stay in captivity in Angola had appeared in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*[44]. Battel's narration abounds with horrifying details on the customs and superstitions of the Jagas, particularly their human sacrifices, their cannibal feasts and their cruel habit of killing their children. As for the "Geloofs" – the Wolofs, who had been prey to the Portuguese's raids since the second half of the fifteenth century – it is likely that Locke had been informed about them by Robert Boyle, because they are mentioned in a journal entry for 11 October 1679 that cites Boyle as its source:

> Geloofs are a people 4 or 500 miles or more up the river Gambra they are a very large people much bigger than the English and have the best horses in the world, A stout and war like people but know not the use of guns but are admirable horse men. Salt is the commodity they purchase almost at any rate. The English that went up the river in a pinnace about 400 miles could not go any higher being offended by the muskie small and soft they found in the river there about ariseing from the great number of Crocodiles inhabiting it Mr Boyle[45].

The story of the pinnace and the bellicose people inhabiting the banks of the river Gambia is to be found in the extract of another travel account included in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, written by the Englishman Richard Jobson. He had taken part in an expedition on the Gambia in 1620 and had published his account three years later, soon after his return to England[46]; however, Jobson

41 Lough (ed.), *Locke's Travels*, cit., p. 235 (8 Sept. 1678).

42 Ibid., pp. 257 and 284.

43 Locke to Toinard, 20 September and 13 October 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., pp. 116-7.

44 See A. Battel, "The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adioyning Regions, neere eighteene yeeres", in S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes: in Five Bookes*, vol. 2, W. Stansby, London 1625, ch. 3, pp. 970-85; Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 117, n. 1.

45 Brit. Library, Add. MS 15, 642, p. 161 (11 October 1679).

46 R. Jobson, "A true Relation of Master Richard Iobsons Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John, Knight, and others; for the Discoverie of Gambra [...] Extracted out of his large Iournall", in

did not mention the "Geloofs" but another black tribe living near the village of Tinda, who used to buy salt and slaves from European traders. Purchas mentioned the "Gilofi" in his *Pilgrimage,* where he described them as very talented horsemen living on the river Niger[47].

Thus, there is evidence that Boyle was reading extensively in Purchas in 1679, focusing on English accounts on Angola, Congo and Guinea and discussing their content with Locke. A detail in another letter that Locke addressed to Toinard on 15 July 1679 suggests that this conversation began in the summer of 1679. In this letter, Locke reported that he had been informed – by Boyle, as he would reveal later – that there were many curious books on Eastern antiquities in the Bishop's archive on the "Isle de St Thomas"[48]. Toinard answered that he did not know whether there was an archive in Saint Thomas, in Malabar, which however was not an island[49]. Locke's *lapsus* is illuminating because the island of São Tomé is in the gulf of Guinea and was mentioned by Battel, who reported that the Portuguese used to send their black slaves there[50]. Now, Boyle was a member of the Board of the East India Company, which since the sixties had begun to ship West African slaves to Surat and other Indians ports[51], so we may guess that his interest in the tribes of West Africa in 1679 had to do with this, or perhaps with his being a fervent promoter of Christian mission in American colonies. In 1662, Boyle had become the first governor of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which was mainly concerned with Christianising native people[52], so he might have been thinking of broadening the mission to include black slaves. Locke seems to have been involved in this enterprise as well. His conversations with Boyle in 1679 might be related to the possibility of Christianising Africans in English colonies, an idea that Jack Turner has shown to be of great interest to

Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, cit., ch. 1, pp. 921-6. The story of the ship is to be found on p. 923. Jobson's report had been published in 1623.

47 S. Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage: or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present. In foure parts,* W. Stansby, London 1614, 2nd ed., bk. 5, ch. 14, p. 645.

48 Locke to Toinard, 15 July 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, cit., p. 57.

49 Toinard to Locke, 6/16 August 1679, ibid., p. 65.

50 See Battel, "The strange adventures", cit., p. 970. Since the early sixteenth century, Sao Tomé had played a strategic role in the Portuguese slave trade. See H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, cit., p. 83.

51 See R.B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850,* Ohio University Press, Athens 2010, p. 32.

52 G. Glickman, "Protestantism, Colonization, and the New England Company in Restoration Politics", in *The Historical Journal* 59 (2016), 2, pp. 365-91.

him already at the time he was involved in the writing of the *Constitutions*[53]. The text granted religious toleration to "heathens, Jews, and other dissenters from the purity of Christian religion" with the stated aim of facilitating their Christian conversion[54], but it also provided for the promotion of Christianity amongst African slaves:

> Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves, as all others, to enter themselves and be of what church any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet, no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master has over him, but be in all other things in the same state and condition he was in before[55].

According to Turner, there are good reasons to believe that Locke was the author of this provision, because it strikingly resonates with the language of a gloss on 1 Cor. 7 : 21, containing Paul's instructions to servants, in Locke's posthumous *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*[56]. I shall add another reason to endorse Turner's opinion. In a letter to Locke of 6 September 1679, Toinard reported having been informed by Justel that their English friend had "reformed the article concerning religion in Carolina [...] and improved the condition of the inferiors"[57]. Toinard added that Justel had not been able to explain in what the reform of the article on religion consisted, so that it is difficult to understand what he meant. The ten articles on religion remained almost the same in the second version of the *Constitution*, the one that Justel possessed, the only exception being the addition of an article establishing Anglicanism as Carolina's official religion. Locke is said to have opposed this article, therefore it is very unlikely that Justel was referring to it. However, if the "inferiors" were slaves, as I believe, we may suppose that Locke had told Justel that he was the author of the provision that allowed them to embrace the Christian religion, and that the latter regarded this as a reform of what was happening in Barbados. By distinguishing the slaves' spiritual condition from their civil estate,

53 J. Turner, "John Locke, Christian mission, and colonial America", in *Modern Intellectual History* 8 (2011), 2, pp. 267-97.

54 *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, art. 97 (1670 version), in Locke, *Political Essays*, cit., p. 178.

55 Ibid., pp. 179-80 (art. 107).

56 Turner, "John Locke", cit., p. 278. J. Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*, 2 vols., ed. by A.W. Wainwright, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1987, vol. 1, p. 198. See also 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, p. 22.

57 See Toinard to Locke, 6/16 September 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 95.

Locke had solved the problem highlighted by Ligon, who lamented that they were not allowed to become Christian in Barbados because their owners feared that this might interfere with their being slaves[58]. This might be what Justel had in mind when he said to Toinard that Locke had reformed the article on religion and improved the condition of the "inferiors"[59].

Thus, Boyle and Locke might be conversing on how to promote Christian mission among African slaves in 1679. However, it should also be considered that Locke's interest in West Africans was not limited to this. Following Shaftesbury's example, he had invested in the Bahamas Adventurers in 1672 and in the Royal African Company in 1674, and had many other links to slavery. In his capacity as Secretary to the Council on Trade and Foreign Plantations from 1673 to 1674, he had scrutinized reports on colonial affairs including slavery, and he continued not to question enslavement as a member of the Board of Trade from 1696 to 1700[60]. Like the majority of Europeans at his time, he was utterly favourable to it.

The travel accounts Toinard cited in his correspondence with Locke suggest that he might have a certain interest in this traffic as well. He would continue to mention Massiac's accounts in his letters, though without revealing his name. It is likely that he was alluding to what Massiac had written on Brazil in the letter he sent to Locke on 23 February 1681[61], when he promised that, if he ever visited England (a possibility that never materialised), he would show him something newer and better than Acuña's *Relation*. Moreover, it is likely that the information on the government of the Count of Chinchòn that Toinard promised to provide Locke with on 24 September 1681 had been given to him by Massiac, not by Peñalosa as de Beer suggests[62], because Massiac's

58 See Ligon, "Histoire de l'isle des Barbades", in [Justel (ed.)], *Recueil*, cit., p. 85.

59 I would like to thank James Farr for discussing this hypothesis with me. I agree with him that there is no evidence supporting my argument in Locke's correspondence with Justel. So, I can only guess that Locke had told Justel that he was the author of the charity article while they were together in France; however, there are 19 letters from Justel to Locke in the *Correspondence*, but none from Locke to Justel. This looks strange. It might be that Locke's answers have been lost.

60 See J. Farr, "'So Vile and Miserable an Estate': The Problem of Slavery in Locke's Political Thought", in *Political Theory* 14 (1986), 2, pp. 263-89; W. Glausser, "Three Approaches to Locke and the Slave Trade", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51 (1990), 2, pp. 199-216; J. Farr, "Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery", in *Political Theory* 36 (2008),4, pp. 495-522; B. Hinshelwood, "The Carolinian Context of John Locke's Theory of Slavery", in *Political Theory* 41 (2013), 4, pp. 562-90; M. Goldie, "Locke and America", in M. Stuart, *A Companion to Locke,* Wiley-Blackwell, London 2015, pp. 546-63.

61 Toinard to Locke, 23 February/ 5 March 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 386.

62 Toinard to Locke, 24 September/4 October 1681, ibid., p. 442. De Beer's opinion on Toinard's informant is to be found ibid., p. 455, in note.

memoir on Brazil abounds with details on the history of the Count, who had been viceroy of Peru from 1629 to 1639[63]. Finally, one of the accounts on the river Senegal that Toinard reported having in his possession in a letter to Locke of 6 July 1698 was probably Massiac's memoir on Angola[64]. A few months before, he had informed Locke that he had invested in a company that dealt with trade on "a river from which immense wealth will be obtained if it is well managed"[65]. This letter was the first Locke received from Toinard soon after their correspondence resumed at the end of the Nine Years War, so we do not know when the latter had made his investment. The company to which Toinard referred might be the *Compagnie Royale du Sénégal* established in 1694, after the previous company of Senegal had gone bankrupt. Other French companies trading in that area had met the same fate, which explains why Toinard seemed unsure as to the success of the enterprise. He was certain that, if the company had been managed by the English, they would have made huge profits from trading on the river, because they "surpass all the Europeans in colonial matters"[66]. It is hard to doubt that the lucrative trade Toinard had in mind was the slave trade, because he mentioned three tribes of black people living in that area, "*Jalofes, Foûles, Mandingues*". The first was the tribe that Locke was investigating in 1679, possibly on behalf of Boyle. Toinard added a few details to his letter about the counting systems of these populations, capturing Locke's attention. On 25 March 1698, he asked Toinard for more information on this topic, of great interest to him[67], and on the customs of the Senegalese people, but Toinard's letters are quite short in this period and do not answer Locke's questions on some occasions (as in the case of the many queries he put to him about François Froger's voyage)[68]. Toinard would provide very few informa-

63 Simon (ed.), *Mémoires*, cit., pp. 39-43.

64 Toinard to Locke, 6/16 July 1698, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 6, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1981, p. 445.

65 Toinard to Locke, 26 November/ 6 December 1697, ibid., p. 265.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., p. 361. There are several proofs of this interest in the journals. See for instance Locke's journal notes of 8 October 1677 and 28 March 1679, in Lough, *Locke's Travels*, cit., pp. 177 and 282, both concerning the manner of numbering of Hindustani populations (a detail Locke might have learned from Bernier).

68 Toinard had sent Froger's book to Locke in January: see Toinard to Locke, 6/16 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 289; F. Froger, *Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696 et 1697 aux côtes d'Afrique, détroit de Magellan, Brésil, Cayenne et isles Antilles, par une escadre des vaisseaux du Roi, commandée par M. de Gennes*, M. Brunet, Paris 1698. The book also appeared in English in London in the same year. Locke's questions, which concerned the customs of the Indios living in Cayenne, the fauna of the region and the length of the pendulum recorded in that area, are to be found in the

tion on the Wolof's and Foules's way of counting in October 1698[69].

A few months before, Toinard had reiterated how much might be earned by trading on the river Senegal, though he seemed concerned about the threat of turmoil hanging over that region[70]. He reported that a "great revolution" led by "a Moorish Mohammedan impostor" had taken place in Senegal in 1675 on account of religion, causing death and devastation. The "impostor", as de Beer suggests, might be the marabout that usurped the kingdom of Kayor in 1677, who was deposed by a revolt in 1681[71]. This event is narrated in the *Description des Côtes d'Affrique* written by the French Jean Barbot, who spent some time trading in Africa in the employment of the *Compagnie du Sénégal*, making two voyages to the Guinea coast between 1678 and 1682. The *Description* was completed in 1688 but was not published for many years, and would appear translated into English in the *Collection of Voyages* edited by the Churchills in 1732[72]. It is likely that Toinard was in possession of Barbot's original manuscript, because he advised Locke that his source was the handwritten account of a French commander who had witnessed these events, a description that fits Barbot. His text paints a vivid picture of the Atlantic slave trade, explaining how it was conducted and who was involved, moreover it provides information on the three tribes mentioned by Toinard.

The fact that Toinard had informed Locke of his investment in the *Compagnie du Sénégal* suggests that he might have been aware of his links to slavery. He had read the *Constitutions*, or learned something of their content from Locke and Justel, so he probably knew that the document replicated the Barbadian model of a slave society. Moreover, he and Justel believed that Locke had played a leading role in the writing of it[73]. Toinard expressed contrasting opinions on the text. In a letter of July 1678, he lauded the way the *Constitutions* established that justice was to be administered in Carolina[74], whereas a year later

letter he sent to Toinard on 25 March 1698, ibid., p. 358. They were left unanswered by Toinard, who corresponded with Froger.

69 Toinard to Locke, 16/26 October 1698, ibid., p. 492.

70 Toinard to Locke, 6/16 July 1698, ibid., p. 445.

71 Ibid., n. 4.

72 J. Barbot, "A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea: and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola: Being a new and accurate Account of the Western Maritime Countries of Africa, in six Books", in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some Now First Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English*, ed. by J. and A. Churchill, vol. 5, London 1732.

73 Toinard and Justel often refer to "vos lois", "vos constitutions" in their correspondence with Locke. See Toinard to Locke, 2/12 July 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 47; H. Justel to Locke, 17/27 September 1679, ibid., p. 105.

74 See Toinard to Locke,12/22 July 1678, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 590. De Beer sug-

he complained that they stripped those not belonging to any church of the protection of the law[75]. In November and December 1679, he asked Locke whether there were "new laws of Carolina"[76], probably referring to the 1682 revisions because Justel had received a copy of the 1670 version from Locke, so the "new laws" could not be the amendments made on the original 1669 version. Thus, Toinard seemed to be well acquainted with the document; however, he never mentioned slavery, either in commenting on the *Constitutions* or in speaking about Carolina. In his letters to Locke, as well as in those that he received from him, Carolina is an idyllic land where they dreamed of retiring together rather than a colony worked by enslaved manpower[77]. Probably, both regarded slavery as a subject inappropriate for their elevated philosophical correspondence, which was intended as a sort of evasion from their more important businesses. There is, however, one significant exception. Writing to Locke in 1680, Toinard commended the loyalty of his close friend Aleaume in these terms: "He is among those few people from whose hands I would like you received a million of pounds in guineas, then I would keep on ("vogue la Galere") waiting for your incomes from Carolina"[78]. Here Toinard joked about the double meaning of "voguer la galère", the literal (row the galley, a slave ship) and the figurative meaning (keep on, whatever may come), but the nature of the income he had in mind is clear. If he had had a huge amount of money, which was not the case because he often complained to Locke about his financial problems, he would have invested in slave trading in Carolina, just as Massiac had done in Brazil.

Another detail in the correspondence suggests that Toinard might have invested in the French *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, which had begun trading slaves in the Indian Ocean soon after the colonisation of Bourbon (Réunion) in 1663. In his letters, Toinard often mentioned Bourbon as an alternative to Carolina when he fancied fleeing away from Europe with Locke, but on one

gests that Toinard might be referring to art. 64 (1670 version), which established that a case could not come to trial twice. See ibid., n. 1.

75 This was a reference to art. 101. See Toinard to Locke, 2/12 July 1679, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 47. Justel had addressed a letter to Locke four days before, insisting that Roman Catholics should not be tolerated in the colony: Justel to Locke, ca. 28 June/8 July 1679, ibid., p. 40.

76 Toinard to Locke, 26 November/6 December 1679, ibid., p. 132; 13/23 December 1679, ibid., p. 141. On the revisions of the text, see D. Armitage, "John Locke, Carolina and the *Two Treatises of Government*", in *Political Theory* 32 (2004) 5, pp. 602-27; J. Farr, "'Absolute Power and Authority'", cit.

77 See for instance Locke to Toinard, 29 October 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 120, where Locke jokes about Toinard being king on Locke island (now Edisto island, in South Carolina), and him one of his servants; Toinard to Locke, 17/27 January 1680, ibid., p. 149; etc.

78 Toinard to Locke, 24 November/4 December 1680, ibid., p. 294.

occasion he reported having some business on the island. On 16 June 1680, he spoke about a sea captain who had taken care of "certain affairs" he and other people had at Bourbon, and on 8 September 1680 he mentioned another very experienced captain who had just returned from Surat, the most important port for French commercial activities in the Indian Ocean[79]. Both the captains were probably employees of the *Compagnie des Indes*, and the first, as Toinard related, had taken part in the siege of St. Thomas alongside de la Haye. Other details in his letters suggest that he might have been aware of the content of the correspondence between Colbert and the governor of Bourbon Germain de Fleurimont, because the dramatic events occurring on the island that he related to Locke on 8 September were narrated in the letter that Fleurimont had addressed to Colbert two years before[80]. This brings us back to Toinard's role in seventeenth-century French expansion plans, which seems to have been of a certain relevance.

3. *The exploration of the Mississippi. La Salle and d'Iberville*

The travel accounts that Toinard mentioned to Locke in 1679-82 show that he paid close attention to the colonial expansion of European countries, especially England and Holland. He manifested a special interest in Dutch travel books in his letters. On 2 October 1680, he mentioned the journal of the Dutch explorer Willem Schouten, the first to round Cape Horn in 1616, and on 15 January 1681 he referred to a work by the Governor of the Dutch Indies Cornelis Speelman, the *Notitie* written soon after the conquest of Makassar in 1669. On 22 June 1681, the journal of another Dutch explorer, Hendrick Brouwer, was mentioned by Toinard in connection with the data on the magnetic declination recorded on the coast of Chile, whereas on 6 July 1681 he announced that the French translation of Jan Struys's *Voyages* had just been published, though he was dubious as to the reliability of its content. Later, on 25

[79] Toinard to Locke, 16/26 June 1680, ibid., p. 197; 8/18 September 1680, ibid., p. 246. The second captain is mentioned again in the letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 13 October 1680 in connection with the data on the magnetic declination recorded in the Indian Ocean. See ibid., p. 278.

[80] See Toinard to Locke, 8/18 September 1680, ibid., pp. 247-8. On 20 November 1678, Fleurimont had advised Colbert that the Malagasy labourers ("leur negres" in Toinard's letter) had devastated the island and killed some settlers, and that Bourbon was invaded by rats. Toinard reported all these facts to Locke. Fleurimont's letter is to be found in I. Güet, *Les Origines de l'Ile de Bourbon, et de la colonisation française à Madagascar*, Ch. Bayle, Paris 1888, pp. 133-4.

July 1698, Toinard would refer to another Dutch account on the discovery of Australia (possibly that written by Willem de Vlamingh, which is now lost)[81].

Toinard also manifested a great admiration for Dutch colonial settlements. Interestingly, in the letter he sent to Locke on 8 September 1680 he contrasted the florid cultivations in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope with the disastrous situation of the French colony at Bourbon[82], making his sentiments about the Dutch's superiority over the French in colonial administration quite explicit. However, far greater was Toinard's reverence for the English, whose competence in this field he repeatedly extolled in his letters. He considered England as exceeding "all the other nations" in colonial affairs[83]. Hidden in these compliments there might be the desire to glean information from Locke on English colonial plans, which were of the utmost interest to the Orléanais and his associates, *in primis* Renaudot. In turn, Locke attempted to obtain information on French plans in North America from Toinard, as two letters he addressed to him in 1679 and 1684 highlight.

Writing to Toinard on 13 October 1679[84], Locke asked whether he knew something about the extreme cold that Francis Drake had reported perceiving along the Pacific coast in June and July 1579, at 38 deg. 30. min[85]. Why ask this of Toinard? Because Locke was evidently aware that, by that time, La Salle had begun his expedition to the Canadian lakes with the aim of completing the exploration of the Mississippi river he had started in 1676[86]. In November 1684, that is to say a few months after La Salle had set off on a new expedition to North America, Locke would ask Toinard whether he had received any news

[81] Toinard to Locke, 2/12 October 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 264; 15/25 January 1681, ibid., p. 347; 22 June/ 2 July 1681, ibid., p. 413; 6/16 or 7/17 July 1681, ibid., p. 423; 25 July/14 August 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 452. W. C. Schouten, *Journal, ou Relation Exacte du Voyage de Guill. Schouten, dans les Indes*, *par un nouveau détroit*, M. Gobert, Paris 1618 (translation of the 1617 original); C. Speelman, *Notitie Diendende voor Eenen Korte Tijd en tot Nader Last van de Hoge Regering op Batavia voor den Ondercoopman Jan van Oppijnen* (printed version of the original ms.), KITLV, Leiden 1669; H. Brouwer, *Journael ende historis verhael van de reyse gedaen by oosten de Straet Le Maire naer*, Amsterdam 1646; J. J. Struys, *Les Voyages de Iean Struys en Moscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, et en plusieurs autres païs étrangers*, trans. by M. Glanius, Amsterdam 1681. Locke possessed Schouten's book: see LL, no. 2587.

[82] See n. 80.

[83] Toinard to Locke, 9/19 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 292.

[84] Locke to Toinard, 20 September and 13 October 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 114.

[85] See F. Drake, *The World Encompassed*, The Hakluyt Society, London 1854, pp. 115-7.

[86] See C. Dupré, "Cavalier René Robert de la Salle" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto-Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cavelier_de_la_salle_rene_robert_1E.html.

from Canada, which indicates that he was well informed about the activities of the French explorer[87].

Toinard had evidently understood this and was willing to share some information with Locke. In December 1679, he reported that "a person of his acquaintance" had built a ship on Lake Erie during the summer, and was bound for the "south sea [...] which flows into the Gulf of Mexico"[88]. The ship was the Griffon and the south sea was Lake Michigan, which La Salle was sailing on at the end of October (he reached the mouth of the Saint Joseph river on the 1st of November). Toinard added that it would be better if La Salle headed West, South West and North-West, in order to discover a route to Japan. This detail suggests that he was aware of the plans of the learned abbé Claude Bernou, La Salle's agent in Paris and a correspondent of Renaudot. To be concise, Bernou believed that it would be better for the French to reach the rich kingdoms of Theguayo and Quivira situated to the west of the Great Lakes of Canada, an idea that had germinated in his brain after becoming acquainted with the Peruvian Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa between 1674 and 1677[89]. Peñalosa had been the Governor of New Mexico but he had been forced to flee, due to his clash with the Inquisition, so he had resolved to place his sword at the service of France after a brief sojourn in England in 1670. He had shown Bernou a memoir on Theguayo and Quivira written by himself, where he listed the many advantages that France might gain from taking control of their territory[90]. Bernou submitted a petition to the French government for the conquest of Quivira and Theguayo in 1678, but fearing that it would not receive royal support, he proposed an alternative in 1682 and 1684, the conquest of the Spanish province of New Biscay west of the Gulf of Mexico that Peñalosa claimed he had visited in his memoir[91]. Whether La Salle was involved in this invasion scheme is a matter of dispute[92]; what is certain, however, is that he was entrust-

87 See Locke to Toinard, ca. 13/23 November 1684, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 647.

88 Toinard to Locke, 13/23 December 1679, ibid., p. 141.

89 See J. Delanglez, "The discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources", in *Mid-America. An Historical Review* 28 (1946),1, pp. 3-21, on p. 16.

90 The undated memoir is to be found among Bernou's papers: BNF, Clairambault 1016, Pièces relatives aux Colonies françaises de l'Amérique, et particulièrement à la Nouvelle-France ou Canada (1673-1697). Papiers de l'abbé Bernou, pp. 211-9.

91 See P. Margry, *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines françaises des pays d'outremer*, Part. 3*: Recherche des bouches du Mississipi et voyage à travers le continent depuis les côtes du Texas jusqu'à Québec (1669-1698)*, Maisonneuve et Co., Paris 1879, pp. 44-63.

92 See R. Gross, C.P. Howard, "Colbert, La Salle, and the Search for Empire", in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 113 (2020), 2, pp. 68-101, on p. 75. Regarding La Salle's mistake, which was responsible for the failure of his 1684 expedition, see R. Gross, "A Second Look at 'La Salle:

ed by the King with the command of the 1684 expedition that was to reach the mouth of the Mississippi.

It is likely that Toinard had read Bernou's proposals. One of the advantages from the conquest of Theguayo was, according to Bernou, that France might have reached the Sea of the South, which would supply an easy route for trading with China and Japan[93]. Toinard mentioned Japan in his letter to Locke. Other details in their correspondence suggest that he might have attempted to glean information on Peñalosa from Locke. On 23 February 1681[94], Toinard advised Locke that he had come across an account written in Spanish by a certain "Olenker", whom the King of England had sent to cross the Strait of Magellan in 1669 to find the west passage to the South Sea. The man had deserted the expedition after crossing the strait and had gone to Valdivia. The expedition was that of Admiral John Narbrough, and the man was Carlos Enriques Clerque, probably a spy for the English who was imprisoned by the Spanish at Lima and executed for treason in 1682[95]. Locke did not comment on this information, nor did he answer a question by Thévenot relating to the same topic[96]. Interestingly, in 1684 the abbé Bernou would write to Renaudot that it was Peñalosa who had advised Charles II to send Narbrough to Chile to seize it from the Spanish[97]. Bernou regarded this as a proof that he was not a charlatan; this story however might have already come to the ears of Renaudot, who might have been the brains behind Toinard's questioning Locke in 1681 about Narbrough's expedition.

Surprisingly, a letter that Locke sent to Toinard on 15 October 1681 mentioned Peñalosa, which suggests that Toinard might have spoken of him in a lost letter. Locke assured Toinard that he was well acquainted with the Peruvian and asked him to send his greetings[98]. How he had become acquainted with Peñalosa is a matter of conjecture, but he seemed to have a high opinion of him, because he wrote, "I am honoured to be one of the acquaintances of the

Discovery of a Lost Explorer'", in *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 62 (2021), 1, pp. 5-32.

93 BNF, Clairambault 1016, p. 214.

94 Toinard to Locke, 23 February/ 5 March 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 387.

95 The "relacion" Don Carlos submitted to King Charles II has recently been found: see R. J. Campbell, P.T. Bradley, J. Lorimer, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in his Majesty's Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671*, Routledge, London 2018. Narbrough's mission was meant to glean information on the inhabitants of the coast of Peru.

96 See Toinard to Locke, 22 June/2 July 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 413.

97 See Bernou to Renaudot, Roma, 29 February 1684, in P. Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, cit., p. 73.

98 Locke to Toinard, 14 October 1681, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., p. 455.

Count of Peñalosa"[99]. Locke was convinced that Peñalosa was going to publish his story, and that it would contain something unique and remarkable regarding America. Thus Peñalosa might have met Locke while he was in England and told him of his intention to write a memoir – the one he would show to Bernou later. Apparently, Locke did not know exactly what the memoir contained in 1681, yet he seemed to be aware that it might be of a certain relevance. In 1698, one of Toinard's acquaintances, the French diplomat Jean Baptiste Du Bos, would inform Locke that Peñalosa's book had not yet been published, probably in answer to his request for information[100]. A few months before, Toinard had once again mentioned the story of "Olerke" in a letter to Locke, in the hope that he could provide him with an account of his voyage to Chile[101]. However, even in this case Locke turned a deaf ear to his request[102].

This curious episode serves to highlight Toinard's involvement in Renaudot's intrigues. His intense correspondence with the abbé, especially some enigmatic messages that he received from him, leave few doubts as to his playing a role in the secret plans underlying La Salle's 1684 expedition[103]. Many documents relating to La Salle are to be found among Toinard's papers, including an *extrait* of the journal of La Salle made by the cartographer Jean-Baptiste Minet, who took part in the expedition, and a letter by La Salle dated 22 May 1684 that thanked Toinard for the warm welcome some members of his crew had received at Orléans[104].

Toinard's involvement in French expansion plans in North America becomes more evident in his later correspondence, which abounds with letters from the explorer Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, and his brother Joseph La Moyne de Sérigny. The Canadian native d'Iberville had participated in 1686 in an expedition against the English outposts in the Hudson Bay region, aimed at weaken-

[99] Ibid.

[100] Du Bos to Locke, 19/29 November 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, cit., vol. 6, p. 508.

[101] Toinard to Locke, 25 July/ 4 August 1698, ibid., pp. 451-2.

[102] Locke answered that he did not know anything about Olerke's account and that he would enquire about it; see Locke to Toinard, 15 August 1698, ibid., p. 462. Toinard asked again in October 1698, without receiving any answer: see Toinard to Locke, 16/26 October 1698, ibid., p. 491. However, when, in 1701, Toinard mentioned Narbrough's data on magnetic variation at the Strait of Magellan, he soon received an extract from Narbrough's journal from Locke. See Toinard to Locke, 18/29 August 1701, in Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 7, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982, p. 420; Locke to Toinard, 30 September 1701, ibid., p. 446.

[103] Toinard might have expressed some doubts on the royal assent to La Salle's expedition, because in a letter of 30 April 1684, Renaudot reassured him that the « armada depended on the divine will ». See NAF 9294, p. 52.

[104] Ibid., pp. 44-51 and p. 42.

ing their commercial capabilities. He had returned to France the following year, then gone back to Canada, where he distinguished himself in several military actions against the English forts located around the Bay. In 1694, d'Iberville played a crucial role in the capture of Fort York (Port Nelson), reconquered by the English and again seized by the French in 1697 under his leadership. An allusion to this episode is to be found in a letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 6 January 1698[105]. In 1698, d'Iberville went to the Mississippi River with his younger brother Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne and Toinard's relative Charles de Beauharnois, in order to consolidate French territories in Louisiana; back home, he obtained the necessary funds for an expedition aimed at seizing Charles Town from the English, but he died soon after plundering Nevis island in July 1706. A proposal for expelling the English from Carolina, probably written by d'Iberville, is to be found among Toinard's papers along with the King's assent[106].

Notably, a letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 6 January 1698 mentioned d'Iberville, reporting that he had gone to Hudson Bay "four times by sea and three times by land and river"[107], and in the following years he would continue to emphasise his familiarity with him and to celebrate his enterprises. D'Iberville and Sérigny are mentioned together in another letter that Toinard sent to Locke on 21 October 1701 in connection with some observations on the magnetic declination at Hudson Bay. "The value of these two brothers is not ignored by the English who have an interest in Hudson Bay", Toinard commented[108]. As a member of the Board of Trade, which in Peter Laslett's words was "the body which administered the United States before the American Revolution"[109], Locke was certainly aware of the losses that the English had suffered in the Hudson Bay area at the hands of the French. The Treaty of Ryswick, signed in September 1697, stipulated that the southern part of the Bay should return to the French along with Fort York, which had been assigned to the Canadian Hudson Bay Company. Only Albany remained in English hands, at least until 1713. Thus, Toinard's comment might be ironic.

Significantly, the letters that Toinard received from d'Iberville and Sérigny were not mere reports on what was happening in North America. In one of

[105] See Toinard to Locke, 6/16 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 289.

[106] Anon, "Proposition d'une enterprise sur la Caroline pour en chasser les Anglais", 1705, NAF 9294, pp. 114-18.

[107] See Toinard to Locke, 6/16 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 6, cit., p. 289.

[108] Toinard to Locke, 21 October/ 1 November 1701, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 7, cit., p. 475.

[109] P. Laslett, "John Locke as Founder of the Board of Trade", in J. S. Yolton (ed.), *A Locke Miscellany: Locke Biography and Criticism for all*, Thoemmes, Bristol 1990, p. 127.

them, d'Iberville asked Toinard for information on the battleships anchored in the Portuguese ports at Cape Verde and in South America, crediting him with a perfect knowledge of Portuguese colonies[110], and in another letter Sérigny lauded Toinard for his knowledge of whatever was happening in the Indies[111]. This great competence the two brothers attributed to Toinard was due not only to his familiarity with Renaudot but also to his being related to the Beauharnois family. Charles de Beauharnois, who took part in d'Iberville's expeditions, was a naval officer who served in Quebec and from 1726 governor of New France; Charles's brother, François de Beauharnois, became intendant of Canada in 1702, while his other brother, Claude de Beauharnois, was engaged as a naval officer in supplying French troops in Canada. Toinard's correspondence includes many letters from the Beauharnois' family as well as from Du Bos, who was well acquainted with French plans for North America[112].

Interestingly, most of the letters that Toinard addressed to Locke in the last years of their correspondence refer to Canada. On 9 January 1698, he advised him that he had a map of the entire region (perhaps that made by Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, cartographer and royal hydrographer at Quebec, in 1688), whereas in June he accurately described the way Canadians used to take care of their infants, leaving them uncovered and placing them into cradles made of bark lined with moss. Having read in the Preface of the French translation of Locke's *Some Thoughts concerning Education* that the inhabitants of Siam left their infants unfolded, Toinard highlighted a certain similarity with what happened in Canada[113]. In July, he shifted the conversation to the fur of the buffalos living along the Mississippi, from which he reported he was able to obtain a kind of wool. He would continue to boast of this invention in his letters to Locke in the following years, enquiring about the possibility of selling it in England[114].

Most of the travel accounts that Toinard mentioned in these years concerned North America. In January 1698, he reported having read the French translation of Richard Blome's *The Present State of his Majesties Isles and Territories in*

[110] D'Iberville to N. Toinard, possibly before 1703, NAF 9294, p. 69.

[111] Ibid, p. 98, dated 3 March 1700.

[112] Evidence of this may be found, for instance, in the letters that Du Bos sent to Toinard on 29 June and 8 July 1699, ibid., pp. 88-89. The first contains a piece of information on English settlers in Quebec, the second reports on d'Iberville's route to the Bay of the Holy Spirit.

[113] See Toinard to Locke, 8/18 June 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., pp. 424-5.

[114] Toinard to Locke, 6/16 July 1698, ibid., pp. 444-5; Du Bos to Locke, 14/24 February 1700, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 7, cit., p. 11 (postscript by Toinard); Toinard to Locke, 19/30 March 1700, ibid., p. 38; etc.

America[115], and expressed his joy at seeing the name of his English friend on the map of Carolina in the book – an allusion to Locke island. Toinard asked Locke to procure the map of Philadelphia mentioned by Blome for him (probably the one that Thomas Holme had prepared for William Penn in 1683)[116]. Locke generously sent him a map of the whole of Pennsylvania[117]. This is the first of a number of requests that Toinard addressed to Locke in 1698, few months before d'Iberville set out on a new voyage to complete La Salle's work. In July, he asked Locke whether anything else had been published about Sir Francis Drake's voyage other than the account he had written[118], moreover he hoped that he could send him the second part of the second volume of *Voyages and Descriptions* by the English explorer William Dampier, devoted to Mexico[119]. Significantly, Toinard advised Locke that some sheets of the book, which Du Bos had procured for him, contained an error concerning the longitude of the Panuco river. His interest in that area was evidently linked to the preparations for d'Iberville's voyage to the Gulf of Mexico that he followed with the utmost interest, as shown by his correspondence with Du Bos, d'Iberville and Sérigny.

Toinard died on January the 5th, 1706, a few months before d'Iberville attacked Nevis island. His frequent mentions of the latter in his letters to Locke suggest that he might have been willing to exchange information on the colonial affairs of their respective countries. Locke, however, seems to have been quite evasive in his answers.

[115] Toinard to Locke, 9/19 January 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 291; R. Blome, *The Present State Of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, printed by H. Clark for Dolman Newman, London 1687. The French translation was published in Amsterdam in 1688. The book included sections on Jamaica and the other English Caribbean territories expanded from Blome's 1672 *Description of the Island of Jamaica*, as well as extensive treatments of the North American colonies. These sections had appeared in Justel's *Recueil*.

[116] This is de Beer's conjecture: see Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 291, n. 3.

[117] Locke to Toinard, 1 November 1698, ibid., p. 502.

[118] Toinard to Locke, 25 July/ 4 August 1698, ibid., p. 452. This was *The World Encompassed* (1628). Locke owned the 1635 edition and a French text from 1588 containing an account of Drake's journey: see LL, nos. 994 and 994a. He also owned the 1628 edition of Philip Nichols' *Sir Francis Drake revived:* see LL, no. 993. Nothing new on Drake had been published since 1628, as Locke reported to Toinard. See Locke to Toinard, 15 August 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 462.

[119] W. Dampier, *Voyages and Descriptions,* vol. 2: *in three parts*, J. Knapton, London 1699; Toinard to Locke, 16/26 October 1698, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, cit., p. 492. It took Locke a while to procure this volume for Toinard. See Locke to Toinard, 14 January and 20 February 1699, ibid., p. 567.

Conclusion

I have mainly focused on Toinard's letters with the aim of emphasising his involvement in French expansion plans. I hope I have been able to show that, if Locke was credited with being one of the most knowledgeable of Englishmen about the colonial world in his own day, he had found his match abroad in Toinard. Far from being a learned diversion, their correspondence points out that they were both interested in colonial affairs and in the slave trade. Moreover, both regarded travel literature as a locus of potentially useful information on these topics. Toinard was reading Massiac's and Barbot's accounts while planning his investment in the Company of Senegal, and he was perusing Blome's and Dampier's books while following the preparations for d'Iberville's expeditions.

Another element in Toinard's correspondence with Locke highlights his involvement in colonial affairs, especially those concerning Canada, a country that his relationship with the Beauharnois family had certainly contributed to making of great interest to him. The many "machines" that he accurately described in his letters, some of which were of his own invention, were to be employed in Canada or in voyages and explorations. One of them, a copper vessel for cooking food in a seawater bath, was to be used during long navigations to spare drinkable water[120], whereas the towing machine designed by Hooke about which Toinard enquired in some letters to Locke was to be adapted to navigate that section of the St. Lawrence River which runs from Quebec to Montréal[121]. Another of Toinard's inventions, the hand mill for grinding corn that Locke described in his journal, was probably inspired by the abbé de Galinée, who manifested a keen interest in the way mills might be usefully employed in Canada in their correspondence[122].

[120] Toinard to Locke, 24 September/ 4 October 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, cit., pp. 255-6. The machine, which Toinard continued to illustrate to Locke in other letters, was inspired by Boyle's *machina pneumatica*, though, unlike it, it was without seals.

[121] Toinard to Locke, 6/16 or 7/17 July 1681, ibid., p. 423.

[122] Lough, *Locke's Travels*, cit., p. 206 (13 July 1678). See de Galinée to Toinard, 18 November 1677, NAF 9294, p. 74, where the former reported on the manner of building sawmills in Auvergne, which he believed might be of great use in Canada; de Galinèe to Toinard, 26 November 1677, NAF 9294, p. 78, where he gave some suggestions on how to improve a mill (possibly the one devised by Toinard).

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John Locke and the Atheists: Sociability in the Natural History of Peoples

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Abstract: Locke's social philosophy is developed considering reports that make up the knowledge about distant peoples. Throughout the work *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke brings several mentions of the travel reports to different lands of the terrestrial globe, Brazil, Siam, China, Africa, Middle East, peoples of the north. This strategy of the *Essay* has the function of basing a diversified picture of the beliefs and customs of peoples throughout the globe. About the moral framework of peoples, we question the following, does Locke's philosophy allow us to sustain that morality and sociability depend of knowledge of God? Within these discussions, the problem of the existence of the atheists and atheist societies was present both in travel reports and in the works of English philosopher himself. This fact denotes, we think, that Locke understood that the atheist is effectively a natural condition of humanity. Therefore, how could these ideas be reconciled with the exclusion of the atheists in *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, is it possible to sustain or not the intolerance of the atheists? This paper aims to develop the thesis according to which beliefs in deities can be developed, including the idea of God. However, this does not necessarily correspond to a civilizational advance, nor does it have a universal consensus, it may just be a moral rule better suited to a particular social life.

Keywords: Locke, atheists, natural history of humanity, travel literature, diversity of peoples, toleration.

1. *Introduction*

John Locke's social and moral thought has as one of its characteristics the use of the travel literature in the search to trace a kind of natural history of peoples that can support a coherent social and moral philosophy. On this, Locke devoted much of his attention to studying the customs, beliefs, and forms of social organization of peoples around the world and which were the object of

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the reports of navigators and adventurers. The thesis that this paper aims to defend is guided by what we call John Locke's anthropological atheism, which could also be called natural atheism. This means verifying the historical existence of peoples that Locke calls atheists, as well as the permanence of atheists even in Christian societies.

The thesis of the atheistic naturalness of humanity is supported by Locke from reports that compose a vision about peoples who would be in different stages of sociability. By investigating the way in which the English philosopher structures the natural picture of peoples, we can determine with greater clarity the figure of the atheist present in these reports and, at the same time, the meaning of this social and anthropological category within Lockean social philosophy. Through this guidance, we can launch questions motivated by the following dilemmas, if God is necessary, why is his idea not innate? Why does it not receive a universal consensus from humanity? Why does sociability not depend on belief in the existence of God? After all, if such a belief were necessary, how would it explain the existence of peoples without God? This is a thorny issue in Locke's moral thinking, and his apparent conclusion to define the atheist as a dangerous individual only further blurs these dilemmas. This is one of the reasons why Locke was accused of having unorthodox positions on religious dogmas, despite condemning atheism in works such as *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689).

There is, in a way, a difficulty on this subject because if atheism is natural and the sociability of peoples does not depend on any idea of God, we would be in flagrant contradiction with certain aspects of Locke's moral philosophy. And this dubiousness is present in several important works by Locke such as *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, *Second Treatise of Government*, but, for Locke's interpreters, the issue takes shape with the statement in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* that atheists should not be tolerated. According to Locke, "*those are not all to be tolerated* who deny the being of God. Promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist"[1]. This sentence is often used to emphasize a Locke whose morality would derive from the existence of belief in God and therefore the atheist should not be tolerated since he would be naturally immoral, someone who would not respect the ties that unite individuals in society[2]. Despite being an

[1] J. Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, in *Id., The Works in Ten Volumes*, Th. Tegg, London 1823, vol.6, p. 47.

[2] As A. C. dos Santos says, "there was always the link between the atheist and the libertine, the heretic or a profane monster, who has an obscure instinct, founded on ignorance. It never hurts to re-

important passage, if analyzed in isolation, it answers very little to the questions raised above. Even if we suppose that atheists could not be tolerated at all — those are not all to be tolerated—, this position already comes up short in the question of knowing who is an atheist or not, initially, because it is possible that the denial of God occurs only in thought, without being externalized; moreover, what would it mean *are not all to be tolerated*?

It is necessary to consider that Locke always has in mind that many forms of religiosity do not profess the Judeo-Christian belief in God, such as idolaters and pagans, among other possible forms of religiosity. Which, even having some kind of divinity, are unaware of the existence of God, according to the traditional attributes of Western theology; and among peoples of Christian tradition, and other monotheistic religions, this notion of God is more diverse than univocal[3]. In this regard, would Locke be claiming that only atheists who externalize an atheist movement could not be tolerated? Could atheism as a simple fact of thought be avoided?

In this paper, we will explore these questions from the way in which Locke investigates the diversity of atheists in the history known and reported by the writers of travel books, beliefs in idols, forms of mysticism, all of them unrelated to monotheism. As the author of the *Epistola de Tolerantia* had in mind in defending that,

> Now, whosoever maintains that idolatry is to be rooted out of any place by laws, punishments, fire, and sword, may apply this story to himself: for the reason of the thing is equal, both in America and Europe. And neither pagans there, nor any dissenting Christians here, can with any right be deprived of their worldly goods by the predominating faction of a court-church[4].

It is in this context that the more general question of toleration must be inserted, based on the way in which Locke understood human nature, the customs of peoples, beliefs and traditions. In other words, the intolerance of the atheists, or even the thesis that the atheist is an unsociable being, collides with an unequivocal fact, namely, the existence of several atheist peoples in Locke's

member that in 1677, the English Parliament made atheism a capital offense, and in 1697, through the Blasphemy Act, condemned polytheists, false Christians, and anyone who blasphemed the doctrine of the Trinity". A.C. Dos Santos, "O espírito do ateísmo em Locke", in *Filosofia Unisinos* 15 (2014), 3, p. 231.

3 For an analysis of this argument, see the paper: S.H.S. Silva, "História natural e ateísmo antropológico em John Locke", in *Cadernos Espinosanos* 38 (2017), 107-26.

4 Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, cit., p. 36.

call of the *history of mankind*. We then arrive at the limit situation of the argument and enter into the realism of the Lockean conception of history in which what is observed are more the varieties of customs, beliefs, disbelieves, and every possible kind of morality, something that denotes the diversity of human types. In this way, the moral solution of Locke's thought is not, in fact, to be religious or a believer in a Divinity, but, as he will say in the *Letter*, that people were honest, peaceful, and hardworking; and "If a heathen doubt of both Testaments, he is not therefore to be punished as a pernicious citizen"[5]. It is symptomatic that these facts are denied, and that we remain in the most conservative readings of Locke as a mere religious moralist, incapable of understanding the diversity inherent in humanity.

It is this information that leads him to enter the reports about the most diverse peoples, beyond the simple smoke of English and European chimneys because, otherwise, one could not talk about humanity or human nature. Thus, Locke's contact with travel reports, which encompassed practically the entire known world up to his time, revealed to Locke an incredible and often surprising diversity. Locke realized, for example, that the absence of the monotheistic God in the culture of traditional Brazilian peoples did not compromise the sociability of these peoples, however diverse their customs were. We can, according to Locke's position, affirm that these peoples were atheists because they did not have a monotheistic conception of divinity, but were knowledgeable of natural right and natural laws without which it is impossible to live in society. The accounts of the diversity of peoples allow Locke to advance his ideas in this direction, and these positions appear in works such as *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, *Second Treatise of Government*, in many passages of the *Letters Concerning Toleration*, in the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, a work that Locke contributes to the elaboration.

Other arguments could be added to these, such as the question of understanding that cannot be determined by external measures[6], the distinction between religion and state, etc. But we want to pay attention to the argument of the relativism of customs, the result of a historical naturalism supported by anthropological accounts of travel literature. Above all, from the analysis of passages of works published by Locke, where we will give emphasis, to the first

5 Ibid., p. 40.

6 About this, see the book: S.H.S. Silva, *Tolerância Civil e Religiosa em John Locke*, EDUFS, São Cristóvão, 2013. Especially the second chapter: "Religious Toleration", where we investigate Locke's theses about toleration as an inner principle, of the way individuals form beliefs and ideas, something that, according to Locke, cannot be changed by external measures.

Book of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and to the general thesis that structure the *Second Treatise of Government*. We will delve into Locke's reception of travel literature to investigate the category of the atheist and what position he plays in his works. In this way, our thesis is that the English philosopher constructs what we can call anthropological atheism, which is a naturalistic qualification, supported by the natural history of peoples. With this, we can correctly define how Locke's social thought was developed, revealing the complexity of his moral theory, beyond the simple sentence that atheists cannot be tolerated because of their atheism.

To accomplish this task, we will begin by highlighting the interpretive tradition that has been forming on the subject of travel literature in Locke (1); then, we will investigate the atheist as a natural category of humanity, a thesis built from travel reports (2). We will deepen the theme of atheistic societies with reflections on how Locke elaborated the theory of the state of nature (3); finally, we will defend a position on the place of the atheist in the Lockean theory of toleration (4).

1. *Locke and travel literature: philosophical use and interpretive tradition*

Locke had an extensive number of documents relating to travel accounts, both books and engravings. But this theme has always been marginal within the traditional studies of the English philosopher. However, since the 1950s, debates began on the foundations of travel literature in Locke's philosophy. Hideo Suzuki's paper on Locke's ethnographic theory (1956) reflects this interest, shortly after Maurice Cranston's *John Locke: A Biography* (1957) mentioned Locke's collection of ethnographic prints. Another fundamental study to understand this interpretative bias is the paper by William G. Batz, which defends what he called the "historical anthropology of John Locke", encouraged by Peter Laslett who had already pointed out, in 1960, Locke's interest in this kind of literature in the composition of the *Two Treatises*[7].

Since then, the research that highlights this characteristic of Lockean philosophy has been gaining strength, above all, with the fruitful publications of Daniel Carey on the subject. We can say that an interpretive tradition has been forming that investigates the ethnographic and anthropological bases of Locke's

[7] W.G. Batz, "The Historical Anthropology of John Locke", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974), p. 669.

philosophy, from the way in which travel reports are used in several of his works. More recently, many scholars have developed interests in this topic, such as Ann Talbot, Patrick Connolly, Mariana Françozo, Antônio dos Santos, and many other scholars. These studies have raised fundamental aspects that support Locke's theses on the most diverse topics, from moral and social issues to investigations of what Locke calls natural philosophy. In fact, through these studies of Lockean anthropology and ethnography, the themes are mixed in such a way that both the speculation of natural philosophy and the political, moral and epistemological themes emerge together from the discussion of travel accounts.

Travel accounts are important both in political and social works, such as the *Two Treatises of Government* and *Letters Concerning Toleration*, and in works on the theory of knowledge, such as the *Essay*. In political and toleration works, travel reports allow Locke both to conceive the real possibility of the existence of a natural state, as he himself will affirm when mentioning the forests of Brazil, in the New World, and to investigate the natural diversity of beliefs and customs, something that pulverizes any possibility of universality of beliefs founded on the Judeo-Christian trunk. In *Essay*, this theme is fundamental for the constitution of the natural human being, as elements of its physical and intellectual constitution because only from this constitution will it be possible to define the human and affirm the limit and extension of its understanding.

In the specific case of the *Essay*, his anthropological perspective in the formation of the theory of human history stands out. Resorting to what he calls the *history of mankind* means diving into the investigation of the history, social and moral life of the most diverse known peoples. For Lockean philosophy, these are fundamental data without which the theory of the *Essay* and the thesis of the historical reality of the state of nature in the *Second Treatise* would not exist. Travel literature allows accessing the state of these diverse peoples regarding the use they make of their ideas, something that structures their societies and the basis of morality.

Such interest in collecting materials that portrayed diverse peoples made Locke come to own a large collection of travel books, one of the largest of his time. According to Ann Talbot, who carried out a thorough study of this library, of the approximately 3,641 books in her library, "275 works that could be classified as travel or geography"[8]. In addition, Locke also had an extensive collection of the ethnographic prints that portrayed the life, manners and

[8] A. Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of knowledge": The Influence of Travel Literature on the Works of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden 2010, p. 3.

physical features of the most diverse peoples. Mariana Françozo published a detailed study of this material "[...] depicting indigenous peoples from Brazil, Angola, the Cape of Good Hope, Japan, China, the Indonesian archipelago (Java, Ternate, Amboine, Macassar), Malaysia, and a person labelled as 'Tunquinese' (probably referring to the Gulf of Tonkin, an arm of the South China Sea, currently part of Vietnam)"[9].

Therefore, Locke had a great fascination for acquiring these materials, and through them, he aims to compose a true "natural history of man"[10], based on the experience of those who described the diversity of humanity, a fundamental aspect for the construction of the history of empirical knowledge of peoples. Without this, Locke's philosophy as we know it would not exist, and it is through these accounts that we can effectively know the thorny issues that were at the basis of his thinking, as in the writing of the first book of the *Essay*, in which Locke highlights a natural feature of humanity, too polemic for the philosophy of its time, namely, the atheism.

2. *The atheist as the natural type of humanity: reflections on* An Essay Concerning Human Understanding

Locke's best-known works were published in 1689. The *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, a work written in different periods, with sketches dating from 1671 (Draft A and B) and 1680 (Draft C), had its complete version only published at the end of 1689, with the edition dated 1690[11]. Accordingly James Tyrrell, "recalled some years later, the discussion has been 'about the principles of morality and revealed religion'"[12]. A vast work covering a wide and diverse content, the *Essay* received wide attention in the 18th century, had four editions published during Locke's lifetime and the final version was writ-

[9] M.C. Françozo, "Inhabitants of Rustic Parts of the World: John Locke's Collection of Drawings and the Dutch Empire in Ethnographic Types", in *History and Anthropology* 28 (2017), 3, p. 349.

[10] D. Carey, "Locke, Travel Literature and the Natural History of Man", in *Seventeenth Century* 11 (1996), 2, p. 260.

[11] According to Roger Woolhouse, "Toward the end of May— 1689 —, urged by his friends he said, Locke came to an agreement with the bookseller, Thomas Basset to print and publish *An Concerning Human Understanding* [...]. On December, Locke announced (triumphantly), 'today, as I hope, the last sheet of my treatise on Human Understanding has been printed' [...]. The book (carrying the date '1690') was on sale within a week or so [...]". R. Woolhouse, *Locke: A Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, p. 272 e p. 279.

[12] Ibid., p. 98.

ten in four books: 1) against innate ideas; 2) the origin of ideas; 3) words and things; 4) knowledge and opinion.

In the *Essay*, Locke undertakes a characterization of the human and its progress in obtaining knowledge, therefore, he asserts that, even though there have been different types of societies throughout human history, humans would not stray too far from the dictates of natural law. Furthermore, Locke irrevocably affirmed his will to free humanity from the desire for a universal knowledge of questions "to which our understandings are not suited [...]"[13]. The limitation of human knowledge, very small compared to the totality of the corpuscles of matter[14], does not interfere with humanity's duty to know the rules of moral truth. Locke conceived the human understanding similar to the "line" of a ship whose length reveals, even without being able to scrutinize the depth of the ocean, the navigable limit of the waters. This metaphor is very illustrative and deserves more attention because it is directly related to the moral conduct of men. So,

> It is of great use to the sailor, to know the length of his line, though he cannot with it fathom all the depths of the ocean. It is well he knows, that it is long enough to reach the bottom, at such places as are necessary to direct his voyage, and caution him against running upon shoals that may ruin him. Our business here is not to know all things, but those which concern our conduct. If we can find out those measures, whereby a rational creature, put in that state in which man is in this world, may and ought to govern his opinions, and actions depending on thereon, we need not be troubled that some other things escape our knowledge[15].

These measures consistent with the possibilities of reaching our understanding are the rules established by the law of nature, which correspond to the basic teachings of life in society.

Starting from these relatively optimistic assumptions about the powers of human reason, we find, in the first book of the *Essay*, several passages in which

[13] J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P.H. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, I. i. 4, p. 44.

[14] Ibid., I. i. 5, p. 45. Locke was an adherent of the corpuscular theory of matter in agreement with Robert Boyle, with whom he was a collaborator at the Royal Society. According to Locke, "I have here instanced in the corpuscularian hypothesis, as that which is thought to go farthest in an intelligible explication of those qualities of bodies" (ibid., IV. iii. 16, p. 547). By corpuscles, Locke understood "[...] minute and insensible parts [...]" that makes up the material substance (ibid., IV. iii.11, p. 544). For the discussion of corpuscularism and experimental method in Robert Boyle's philosophy, see: L. Zaterka, *A Filosofia Experimental na Inglaterra do Século XVII*, Humanitas, São Paulo 2003.

[15] Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. i.6, p. 46.

Locke defends that there is no innate content in human minds. Locke engages in a real battle against the theory of universal consensus which, among other things, consisted of a thesis used in religious arguments, whether to affirm the innate idea of the Judeo-Christian God and the religious morality that follows from that idea. Although not referring to a particular interlocutor, Locke was refuting the traditional ideas defended by philosophers called Cambridge Platonists, whose most prominent figures were Ralph Cudworth, Henry More and Benjamin Whichcote. In other words, in the English context, the universal consensus thesis was intended to confront any possibility of holding the atheism as a natural possibility. According to Daniel Carey, "Cudworth, together with his Cambridge colleague Henry More, argued that universal consent constituted a proof that the soul possessed an idea or inclination toward God [...] introduced his supporting evidence without qualification, citing a familiar mixture of classical and contemporary examples, including the peoples of India, China, Siam, Guinea, and, [...] Peru, Mexico, Virginia and New England"[16]. In this way, Locke, by collapsing the scope of universal consent, in addition to the immense fight he bought with theologians[17] and theistic philosophers, also allowed to sustain their philosophy within the framework of a completely original method, in which morality will derive from reason and, even though God exists and having instituted laws of nature, the morality is limited to the simple understanding of the law and not to the difficult knowledge of God. It seems to me that this is also the position of Daniel Carey, "in the *Essay*, he confirmed not only the diversity of moral principles but also that

[16] D. Carey, "Locke, Shaftesbury, and Bayle and the Problem of Universal Consent", in P. Müller (ed.), *New Ages, New Opinions: Shaftesbury in his World and Today*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt 2014, p. 207.

[17] This is the case of the immense exchange of barbs between Locke and the theologian Edward Stillingfleet who wrote the work *Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1697), in which the prelate of Worcester associated the *Essay* to the religious heterodoxy of John Toland. In general, Stillingfleet accused the *Essay* of threatening metaphysical notions of fundamental theological doctrines such as the trinity, the soul, and the existence of God. According to Stillingfleet, "[...] the ingenious Author of *the Essay of humane Understanding* (from whence these Notions are borrowed to serve other purposes than he intended them) that he makes the Case of *Spiritual,* and *Corporeal Substances* to be alike". E. Stillingfleet, *Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity,* Printed by J. H. for Henry Mortlock, London 1697, p. 239. Locke wrote three open letters to Stillingfleet, who had the opportunity to replicate the two initials because he died in 1699, the year of publication of Locke's third Letter. In the Bishop's first reply, the theme of universal consensus, rejected by Locke, is rescued with a kind of accusation against Locke as a detractor of religion, or even of atheism, "and what then would you think of one who should go about to invalidate this argument?" E. Stillingfleet, *The Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr. Locke's Letter Concerning Some Passages Relating to his Essay of Humane Understanding*, Printed by J. H. for Henry Mortlock, London 1697, p. 89.

entire peoples exist without a belief in God"[18].

Furthermore, since nothing is innate, Locke opens the possibility for the diversity and difference of the types and manners of human societies. For this, it is necessary that the innate theory be denied in two senses, in speculative and moral principles. For example, the fundamental speculative principle of identity: "whatsoever is, is; and it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be", or that a triangle is necessarily a figure of three angles. Likewise, there are no innate practical principles in the mind such as, for example, "that one should do as he would be done unto"[19]. In turn, moral and speculative principles can be easily demonstrated that they are not innate by resorting to the following sources:

> a) History of mankind:
> "I appeal to any, who have been but moderately conversant in the history of mankind, and looked abroad beyond the smoke of their own chimneys. Where is that practical truth, that is universally received without doubt or question, as it must be, if innate?"[20].
> b) Natural condition of children:
> "A child knows not that three and four are equal to seven, till he comes to be able to count seven, and has got the name and idea of equality"[21].
> c) Relativity of customs:
> "The great variety of opinions concerning moral rules, which are to be found among men, according to the different sorts of happiness they have a prospect of, or propose to themselves"[22].

If all knowledge is acquired, inevitably, the idea of God is not innate either. In fact, Locke extends this conclusion to wider contours, when he states that "I grant the existence of God is so many ways manifest, and the obedience we owe him so congruous to the light of reason, that a great part of mankind give testimony to the law of nature [...], without either knowing or admitting the true ground of morality; which can only be the will and law of a God [...]"[23]. This passage is fundamental because it summarizes what Locke understands by natural sociability, but it turns out to be a fact completely unnoticed by many scholars of his philosophy and insist on the more traditional interpretation of

18 Carey, "Locke, Shaftesbury, and Bayle and the Problem of Universal Consent", cit., p. 210.
19 Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iii. 4, p. 68.
20 Ibid., I. iii. 2, p. 66.
21 Ibid., I. ii. 16, p. 55.
22 Ibid., I. iii. 6, p. 68.
23 Ibid., I. iii. 6, p. 68.

Locke as a thinker of religious morals; even if that is so, the situation is much broader, as it involves the natural condition of individuals who are naturally atheists. And most importantly, this condition, as Locke himself stated in the *Essay*, allows a large part of humanity to witness the law of nature without actually knowing its creator.

This is because, according to Locke, individuals are rational creatures that possess in germs the faculties necessary for social existence and the appropriation of natural goods. This characteristic opens the possibility for a variety of peoples, a consequence of the combinations of elements that follow certain standards of reasonableness, where the individuals would be like the corpuscles of this diversified social fabric called mankind. Knowledge of this diversity of beliefs, customs and social structure in the history of mankind was revealed to Locke, above all, by the travel literature that flooded the Old World with descriptions of distant peoples. Travel books provided the details of distant societies, with peoples living in a state of nature, many of them existing in full natural sociability, but completely atheists. Such atheistic societies, emphasized by Locke, corresponded to peoples understood as uncultivated and also among those who developed art, science and philosophy, as is the case of China.

Throughout the first book of the *Essay*, the existence of peoples who had no notion of God is a thesis assumed by Locke as a scientific fact— a kind of anthropological atheism— grounded in the descriptive sources of travel literature. The references to Garcilaso de la Vega about the cannibalism practiced by the Caribas of Peru and the Tupinambás of Brazil, who "had no name for God, no religion, no worship"[24]; and this fact should not be understood as the absence of shared reason. The America was always characterized by Locke as a kind of paradise found, where natural sociability, in its purest state, could be verified. According to Ann Talbot, "at the same time as the *Essay*, demonstrated that Locke thought of all human beings as rational and capable of gaining a knowledge of the world and the laws of nature even when living in a state of nature. Savages were, for Locke, as rational as any other human beings"[25]. The absence of the innate idea of God would not compromise the social existence of these peoples; they did not degenerate socially because they did not know something close to the idea of God. But the existence of peoples without God, and even without gods, or worshiping elements distinct from traditional divinities, such as bodies of nature, even animals and types of anthropomorphisms, this challenged the defense

[24] Ibid., I. iii. 9, p. 70.
[25] Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge*", cit., p. 142.

of the necessity of this idea. Locke has in mind that, even without the notions of God and religion, men can live in society because they understand the just and the unjust through simple natural light. As reported by José de Acosta, a Spanish adventurer who traveled through America and wrote the work *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, about the customs of the "Chichimecas"— one of the first peoples who inhabited Central America—, "no tenían superior, ni le reconocían, ni adoraban dioses, ni tenían ritos, ni religión alguna"[26]. It is this idyllic vision of savage, atheistic and idolatrous America, in a complete state of nature or with the formation of governments still incipient, that permeates much of Locke's considerations on the state of nature in the *Second Treatise*.

Not satisfied with these radical propositions for the time, Locke wrote yet another chapter in the first book of the *Essay* to return to issues concerning the diversity of peoples. In this regard, it is important to note that one of the fundamental consequences of this method is that "where the ideas themselves are not, there can be no knowledge, no assent, no mental or verbal propositions about them"[27]. This fact was demonstrated by the observation of the lack of knowledge possessed by the children about the need to worship God and "[...] the atheists, taken notice of amongst the ancients, and left branded upon the records of history, hath not navigation discovered, in these later ages, whole nations at the bay of Soldania, in Brazil, in Boranday, and in the Caribbee islands [...], amongst whom there was to be found no notion of a God, no religion?"[28]. Locke's references to this famous passage come from various travel writers such as, *Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil* (1578) of the French Calvinist adventurer Jean de Léry, and *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay y de la Compañía de Jesús* (1673) of the Jesuit missionary Nicolás del Techo, French naturalized in Paraguay. According to Léry, "*Tupinambas* de l'Amérique [...] en premier lieu outre qu'ils n'ont nulle conoissance du seul et vrai Dieu [...] ils ne confessent, ni n'adorent aucuns dieux celestes ni terrestres"[29]. According to del Techo, among the peoples of America there were those who "had little knowledge of God and, consequently, practiced no worship [...]"[30]. As we can see, these accounts quoted by Locke were about peoples without the development of arts and sciences.

However, Locke makes it clear that the knowledge of God depends on the orientation of thought for this purpose, something that is not necessarily re-

26 J. de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, Madrid 1894, p. 233.
27 Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iv. 1, p. 84.
28 Ibid., I. iv. 8, p. 87.
29 J. de Léry, *Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil,* La Rochelle 1578, p. 259.
30 N. del Techo, *The History of the Provinces of South America,* Churchill, London 1732, p. 658.

lated to the level of cultural development of a civilization. This point is fundamental because the *Essay* asserts that there are peoples who, even living under the domain of the arts and where science flourished, even so, "[...] for want of a due application of their thoughts this way, want the idea and knowledge of God"[31]. The examples cited by Locke are China and Siam. These nations possessed arts and culture, development of commerce and philosophy, like Confucianism, but remains without God. Above all, through the reports of French diplomat Simon de la Loubère and Spanish historian Martín F. de Navarette, "[...] will convince us that the sect of the *literari*, or learned, keeping to the old religion of China, and the ruling party there, are all of them atheists [...]". Furthermore, speaking to the European society of his time, "[...] perhaps if we should, with attention, mind the lives and discourses of people not so far off, we should have too much reason to fear, that many in more civilized countries have no very strong and clear impressions of a Deity upon their minds"[32]. Even in religions where a correct teaching about the oneness necessary to the idea of God prevails, many individuals still imagine him as a lord seated in heaven watching his creation. Locke suggests that, even though God is an evident truth that can be extracted from the natural order, the human conduct does not require knowledge of the existence of God[33]. Faced with such difficulty, human reason can derive the dictates of morality, create bonds of social union

[31] Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iv. 8, p. 87. In chapter X of the *Essay*, Locke is quite clear about the difficulties of knowledge of God, which even being something evident demands a series of endeavors of the limited reason of humans to understand something infinite and eternal. And it is this inability that leads to a diversity of conceptions of divinities, and even to having no notion of any form of divinity. Despite being a chapter to prove the existence of God, Locke's conclusion is more skeptical than the idea of the chapter makes clear. So, "this is to make our comprehension infinite, or God finite, when what He can do is limited to what we can conceive of it. If you do not understand the operations of your own finite mind, that thinking thing within you, do not deem it strange, that you cannot comprehend the operations of that eternal infinite mind, who made and governs all things, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain". Ibid., IV. x.19. For a more detailed reflection on this subject, see: S.H.S. Silva, "Locke e a Crítica à Prova Cartesiana da Existência Necessária de Deus: Um Problema Moral", in *Polymatheia* 4, (2008), 5.

[32] Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iv. 8, p. 87.

[33] John Marshall, in his monumental: *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (2006), fails to resolve the tension between the condemnation of atheists in the texts on toleration and their rehabilitation in the first book of the *Essay*. This problem is common and stems from the more traditional interpretation by which Locke had condemned atheists in several of his works. However, the problem is not solved so simply. Even without increasing toleration for atheists, undeniably, Locke perceived the atheists naturally and as capable of morality. So Marshall was forced to admit, at the end of his book, that the "[...] recognition of existence of the atheist societies of Siam and perhaps China in the *Essay* brought Locke some way towards the positions taken by Bayle". J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, p. 704.

and minimal civility that allow the continuity of a society without the need for the idea of Divinity.

On this, let us take as a hypothesis that the naturally atheist man portrayed by Locke is that of the American societies which, in the *Second Treatise*, are understood, according to Batz, as "a universal prototype [...] in sketching the hypothetical State of Nature"[34]. Starting from our initial thesis that sociability does not depend on the knowledge or worship of God, we can demonstrate this by the parallel between the *Second Treatise's* conclusions and the discussion on the diversity of peoples present in the *Essay*.

3. *Until the invention of money, the whole world was like America*

The appropriate starting point for entering Locke's thinking on the state of nature are the conclusions established in the second chapter of the *Second Treatise*, whose title outlines its object*: Of the state of nature*. The path is traditional, the theory of political society must start from the questioning about its origin, something that leads him to the state where humanity naturally found itself. This natural condition consists of what is commonly called the state of nature, as opposed to civil society that originates through the consent of each individual.

According to Locke, the state of nature consists of a social condition of perfect freedom under the limits of the law of nature, as well as equality between beings who have the same mental faculties. In that chapter, Locke understands humanity universally, as the totality of "creatures of the same species and rank"[35], which live a life without subordination or submission, in which the power of jurisdiction of the law of nature is reciprocal[36]. That way,

[34] Batz, "The Historical Anthropology of John Locke", cit., p. 666.

[35] J. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government,* ed. by P. Laslett, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, § 4, p. 269.

[36] The theory of knowledge developed by Locke portrays men with universally equal capabilities. However, it is more developed in some peoples than others due to education, habits and customs, which produce both a variety of opinions and the development of cognitive abilities. This understanding is part of his epistemological conception of the human species and anthropological of humanity that allow universalizing freedom and equality as a natural fact and not particular to a given society. It is always necessary to remember that in the premises of the first book of the *Essay*, Locke argues that all knowledge is acquired, but the germs of faculties are innate.

> The state of Nature has a law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions[37].

The natural individual has the ability to understand the law of nature — which is, as we have seen from the *Essay*, fully adapted to the simplest understanding. As long as this set of general rules is observed, everyone will be able to judge and mutually preserve freedom, health, integrity, and property appropriated by work.

Thus, the right to execute the law of nature against its transgressors is placed in the hands of humanity, and whoever disobeys it "[...] declares himself to live by another rule than that of reason and common equity [...]; the tie which is to secure them from injury and violence being slighted and broken by him, which being a trespass against the whole species [...]"[38]. All humanity, due to the obligation to preserve the collectivity, has the duty to punish the transgressor as judge and executor of the law of nature. For Locke, it would be a *strange doctrine* to defend that in the state of nature everyone has the right to *punish* the transgressor and to *repair* the harm suffered. In other words, this "strange doctrine" would be based on the possession of these two natural powers — punishing and reparation—, and against any offense to the "right rule of reason"[39] "[...] may be punished to that degree, and with so much severity, as will suffice to make it an ill bargain to offend"[40]. The "strange doctrine" of judging and executing according to the law of nature allows the establishment of justice in the state of nature.

Since the perfect liberty of natural life can give rise to partiality in the judgment and execution of the law of nature, when that natural life is corrupted[41], the institution of government consists in a kind of medicine which should cure the disease which threatens to destroy the human species in its natural existence. In other words, the state of nature degenerates into a *state of war* and

37 Locke, *Second Treatise of Government,* cit., § 6, p. 271.
38 Ibid., § 8, p. 272.
39 Ibid., § 9, p. 273.
40 Ibid., § 12, p. 275.
41 The basic principle of the politics and theory of knowledge is the appeal to the foundation of morality. The state of nature theorized by Locke is moral and based on two pillars: the theological institution according to which God, when creating the world, established laws to regulate human coexistence. Here then is the second aspect, even though they are not innate laws, men discover them by reason because are rational laws adequate to the mental powers of humanity. The moral and social nature of primitive communities is the result of divine legislation and of the power of human reason to understand these universal laws of conduct, even without knowing the existence of God.

enmity every time an individual declares himself against the rights of others, something that occurs not because humanity is incapable of living the natural morals, but because of inequality result of the invention of coin. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize the difference established by Locke between the state of nature and the state of war— especially when mentioning the Hobbesian who had confused these two situations— because while the state of nature is peaceful, the other is of mutual destruction. Locke states in the chapter *Of the state of war*, the "want of a common judge with authority, puts all men in a state of nature: Force without right, upon a man's person, makes a state of war, both where there is, and is not, a common judge"[42]. As the state of war is more dangerous in the state of nature because there is no common judge, at a certain stage of development of a given society, the solution to this great difficulty is to establish the corrective ties of politics, and to live on artificial moral laws.

The main cause of the rupture with the natural order, a disaggregated element and cause of civil disorders, is the emergence of expanded appropriation still in the state of nature and not the absence of belief in divinities. Appropriation beyond the need for use is made possible by the emergence of money that allows the profit of all surplus value of production. The consequence of this mechanism is an inequality never before observed in the state of nature. In the fifth chapter of the *Second Treatise* [*Of property*], Locke argues that "no man's labor could subdue or appropriate all, nor could his consume more than a small part [...] enjoyment"[43]. It was the invention of money that introduced greater possessions and a right to them, breaking the law of nature that restricted appropriation to usufruct. The use of money is the way in which the measure of work is undone and the inequality of private possessions becomes dominant as a way in which "a man may, rightfully and without injury, possess more than he himself can make use of by receiving gold and silver, which may continue long in a man's possession without decaying for the overplus [...]"[44]. As we can see, there are two different stages within the state of nature, one initially peaceful, without extended property, whose economy was merely subsistence and lacked the institution of money. According to Batz, "This is the first and purest period of the State of Nature, a 'Golden Age' before 'vain ambition [...] corrupted men's minds"[45]. The second period is that of *amor sceleratus habendi* where the most important event, which corresponds to the end of the first era, consists

42 Locke, *Second Treatise of Government,* cit., § 19, p. 281.
43 Ibid., § 36, p. 292.
44 Ibid., § 50, p . 302.
45 Batz, "The Historical Anthropology of John Locke", cit., p. 668.

precisely in the invention of money and the expansion of inequality[46].

The most emblematic example given by Locke of the golden age was the situation of the peoples of America to justify the theory of the state of nature, "thus, in the beginning, all the world was America, and more so than that is now; for no such thing as money was anywhere known"[47]. America for Locke would correspond to primeval natural life, a fact of natural history that could be proven by the accounts of peoples who live in this vast territory, but which serve as a mirror that reflects the past of political societies. As Daniel Carey well pointed out, "[...] America exists as a kind of political embryo, offering us an insight into the development of civil societies in Asia and Europe"[48]. To this end, Locke uses the accounts of the Spanish explorer José de Acosta, in the work *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590), as a historical and anthropological example that would prove the factual existence of the state of nature. Ann Talbot also highlights this detail, *The Two Treatises* was not a utopia, "although he invited his reader to imagine an island 'separated from all possible commerce' when he considered the effects of money, reflecting the extent to which utopian models had become the accepted method of thinking about society"[49]. The simple and historical method of the *Essay*— historical plain method — corresponds to the use of the investigative orientation developed by Robert Boyle, and by the members of the Royal Society, to analyze the natural history and the characteristics of the peoples non-Europeans. Thus, "and if Josephus Acosta's word may be taken, he tells us that in many parts of America there was no government at all". Furthermore, "'there are great and apparent

[46] In this regard, it is fundamental to consider that Locke was fully aware of the exchange of work for money that established the relationship between master and servant and expanded the extremes of wealth and poverty among those involved in production. Thus, in the *Second Treatise*, "the turfs my servant has cut [...] becomes my property". A similar thought reappears later on, "[...] a free man makes himself a servant of another by selling him for a certain time the service he undertakes to do in exchange for wages" (§ 28, p. 289 and § 85, p. 322). In *Considerations on the Consequences of Reducing Interest* (1691), Locke states: "it is a requirement of commerce that there be as much money as is necessary [...] to be constantly exchanged for commodities and labor". J. Locke, *Considerações Sobre as Consequências da Redução dos Juros,* Editorial Humanitas, São Paulo 2005, p. 114. It is a fact that the alienation of work increases inequality by the simple fact that the good produced ceases to belong to the worker and becomes part of the property of the purchaser of the work. In turn, the sale of work never corresponds to the value of what is produced, and they receive "only enough money to buy food, clothes, and tools". Ibid., p. 114.

[47] Locke, *Second Treatise of Government,* cit., § 49, p. 301.

[48] D. Carey, "Locke's Anthropology: Travel, Innateness, and the Exercise of Reason", in *The Seventeenth Century* 12 (2004), 2, p. 276.

[49] Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge*", cit., p. 89.

conjectures', says he, 'that these men [speaking of those of Peru] for a long time had neither kings nor commonwealths, but lived in troops, as they do this day in Florida— the Cheriquanas, those of Brazil, and many other nations, which have no kings, but, as certain occasions are offered in peace or war, they choose their captains as they please'"[50]. This being the natural and primeval stage of humanity, the government was introduced little by little as coin and commerce took over the relations between the people.

With the continuous growth of economic inequality and insecurity in the preservation of properties, the only way out for certain human communities to return to the peace of the past was to formalize an original contract, leave the state of nature and start a body politic. Hence, governments have no "other end but the preservation of property"[51]. But if this is indeed Locke's understanding of natural morality, which, as we have been highlighting since the beginning of this paper, does not depend on belief in God, how to justify the need for religion and what the reason for the attack on atheists in the *A Letter Concerning Toleration*?

4. *Is it true that atheists cannot be tolerated?*

Answering the question raised above is never an easy task because, as we have seen, there are several interpretive possibilities; however, undeniably, the atheist for Locke is a natural type. But, it is possible to ask, what does Locke actually mean by the anthropological category of the atheist? In this regard, it is possible to give two answers about what Locke actually means by an atheist. In the first book of the *Essay*, Locke, against the theory of universal consensus, understands the atheist as one who has no idea of God. That is a natural anthropological type because everyone is born without ideas imprinted in their minds, and the human mind is like a *white paper*. A human type that represents this natural model are the Tupinambás of Brazil, "they have not so much as a name for God, and have no religion, no worship"[52]. But not just the Tupinambás because, as humanity is naturally atheist, the reports show the inexistence of the knowledge of God in different peoples. On account of these theses, we could even say that there were more atheists in the world at the time of Locke than people who believed in his existence.

[50] Locke, *Second Treatise of Government,* cit., § 102, p. 335.
[51] Ibid., § 94, p. 329.
[52] Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iii. 9, p. 70.

As it requires discipline and guidance to be developed, it is much simpler for people to live without the notion of God than otherwise, and this also makes many peoples take as something divine worship of things that are far from an awareness of Divinity. Locke is very clear about this, "and custom, a greater power than nature, seldom failing to make them worship for divine what she hath inured them to bow their minds, and submit their understandings to"[53]. The ordinary customs of peoples extend this natural atheism— not having the idea of God— to even greater levels, such as belief in idols, "it is easy to imagine how by these means it comes to pass, that men worship the idols that have been set up in their minds; grow fond of the notions they have been long acquainted with there; and stamp the characters of divinity upon absurdities and errors, become zealous votaries to bulls and monkeys; and contend too, fight, and die in defense of their opinions"[54]. In this way, Locke is never surprised by the presence of atheists in the history of the ancients and in the reports that navigation discovered in the bay of Soldania, in Brazil, in the Caribbee islands, Paraguay, "amongst whom there was to be found no notion of a God, no religion"[55].

But not only those nations in which science and letters did not help in the development of the idea of God because nations that had the advantages of science also have little advance in the notion of God. Locke cites accounts of the Siamites, Chinese, and European nations of his time, "in more civilized countries have no very strong and clear impressions of a Deity upon their minds"[56]. Locke warns, "the case of all gentilism; nor hath even amongst Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, who acknowledged but one God, this doctrine, and the care taken in those nations to teach men to have true notions of a God, prevailed so far, as to make men to have the same and the true ideas of him"[57]. Added to these data, all kinds of anthropomorphisms and polytheism, about all these, "as the abbe de Choisy more judiciously remarks, in his *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, it consists properly in acknowledging no God at all"[58]. In other words, they are all atheistic peoples because they do not recognize and worship the "true God", or even have no idea about any worship. All are part of the natural typology of the atheist in its various degrees and levels, from those peoples without any notion to those who have wrong worship about God because, "they had no true

53 Ibid., I. iii. 25, p. 82.
54 Ibid., I. iii. 26, p. 83.
55 Ibid., I. iv. 8, p. 87.
56 Ibid., I. iv. 8, p. 87.
57 Ibid., I. iv. 16, p. 94.
58 Ibid., I. iv.14, p. 92.

notion of God, where unity, infinity, and eternity were excluded"[59].

Back to our question, should all these types of atheists classified here be tolerated or not? The answer, of course, is yes[60]. It is a natural atheism of those who have not correctly developed the idea of God or even arrived at any notion of worship and deities. Otherwise, the greater part of humanity would be condemned to intolerance. Furthermore, virtue is linked to public happiness, and an individual who does not know God can be a just and virtuous person, according to Locke,

> For God having, by an inseparable connection, joined virtue and public happiness together, and made the practice thereof necessary to the preservation of society, and visibly beneficial to all with whom the virtuous man has to do; it is no wonder, that every one should not only allow, but recommend and magnify those rules to others, from whose observance of them he is sure to reap advantage to himself[61].

All this is because the people take advantage of just action, without it being derived from conscience in a Lawgiver who has prescribed them, they do so simply for the benefits they will reap by acting in accordance with public acceptance. And, "Justice and truth are the common ties of society; and therefore even outlaws and robbers, who break with all the world besides, must keep faith and rules of equity amongst themselves, or else they cannot hold together"[62]. So, to whom does Locke refer when he says that atheists cannot be tolerated?

We have reached the end of our investigation, and we will answer the question raised since the introduction of this paper. When Locke denies toleration to atheists in the *Letter Concerning Toleration*, he is thinking of another kind of atheist and not one who simply ignores or has an erroneous view of divinity. The atheist that Locke denies toleration would be the one who destroys the religion, this atheist would be a kind of intolerant and that exists in societies of expanded appropriation and corrupted by *amor sceleratus habendi*. In this intolerance of the atheist, Locke has in mind all who persecute religions and who make of the atheism a weapon against religion and this is very clear in the *Epistola*. According to Locke, "those that by their atheism undermine and

[59] Ibid., I. iv.15, p. 93.

[60] This orientation can also be confirmed by the considerations made in the Constitution of Carolina on the toleration of the natives of that territory. In paragraph 97 of the Constitution there is the following clarification: "but since the natives of this place, which will be part of our colonization, are totally strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or deceit does not entitle us to expel them, or to hurt them", J. Locke, *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina,* Penguin Books, London 1993.

[61] Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iii. 6, p. 68.

[62] Ibid., I. iii. 2.

destroy all religion, can have no pretence of religion whereupon to challenge the privilege of a toleration"[63]. These atheists would behave like members of an intolerant church, bringing chaos and destruction to civil society. It would be a specific type of atheist, where the spirit of sect and enthusiasm would be reconciled in individuals who make their atheism a vocation to eliminate religions and persecute churches. In them there is not simply a lack or ignorance about God, but the bellicose denial that compromises the bonds of civility and community proper to life in society, similar to the case of intolerant churches.

The scholar J. K. Numao, in a paper entitled *Locke on Atheism*, claims that, with this position, Locke would be distinguishing two kinds of atheism, "ignorant atheist, an atheist who has simply no yet developed the notion of a God. I distinguish this kind of atheism from speculative atheism"[64]. In this regard, if we start from the definition that "the speculative atheist is the one who examines religious propositions and then denies them"[65], as a kind of philosophy without God and without being propagated in attacks on religion, we could say that these would not be the atheists condemned by Locke. Especially, because this classification could include the materialistic philosophies of the ancients and other types of doctrine that are not based on the idea of God. This is what Locke argues about the Chinese sect of the *Literati* that "are all of them atheists"[66]. Thus, if speculative atheism is understood simply as the philosophical denial of God without the consequent persecution and attempt to destroy religions, it is possible to understand that they would not be encouraged, but they would not be persecuted either. This case is very similar to what Locke argues in *A Second Letter Concerning Toleration*, against Jonas Proast,

> Which is just such justice, as it would be for the magistrate to punish you for not being a Cartesian, 'only to bring you to consider such reasons and arguments as are proper and sufficient to convince you' when it is possible, 1. That you, being satisfied of the truth of your own opinion in philosophy, did not judge it worth while to consider that of Descartes. 2. It is possible you are not able to consider and examine all the proofs and grounds upon which he endeavors to establish his philosophy. 3. Possibly you have examined, and can find no reasons and arguments proper and sufficient to convince you[67].

63 Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, cit., p. 47.

64 J.K. Numao, "Locke on Atheism", in *History of Political Thought* 34 (2013), 2, p. 260.

65 Passage quoted from the book: *Experiência e Moral*, of the scholar Marcelo Primo, Appris, 2021, p. 143.

66 Locke, *Essay*, cit., I. iv. 8, p. 87.

67 J. Locke, *A Second Letter Concerning Toleration*, in *Id., The Works in Ten Volumes*, cit., p. 75.

The speculative atheism as a mere philosophical opinion which does not compromise civil peace would fall within that broad scope of respect for the diversity of opinion which Locke advocates, and the arguments are the impossibility of changing one's opinion by external measures and the passivity and civility of a certain position. In this way, intolerance to the atheist would be restricted to a certain type of virulent atheist, envisioned by Locke, who could attempt against civil peace.

Finally, what atheist could be tolerated? The answer already appears in the second part of Locke's argument against atheists in the *Letter*, "as for other practical opinions, though not absolutely free from all error, yet if they do not tend to establish domination over others, or civil impunity to the church in which they are taught, there can be no reason why they should not be tolerated"[68]. As we can see, among the different levels and species of atheists, those who try to impose dominion over others, destroying and persecuting churches and religions, should not be tolerated. The others, whether through ignorance or error in belief, there is no reason not to have toleration. And this list of civil freedom would include idolaters, pagans, polytheists, anthropomorphists, materialists, and individuals without any kind of belief or philosophical position on life and the origin of the universe.

Conclusion

This article aimed to scrutinize the true meaning of atheism in John Locke's philosophy, for that, we emphasize the way in which the English philosopher used what he himself called the history of humanity in order to establish a conception of the human in a more plural way possible. In this way, Locke pays special attention to the history and reports of atheist peoples present throughout the travel books. We start from the way Locke approaches these accounts to defend the thesis of the atheist as a natural anthropological qualification of humanity because all humans would be born without any idea of God. And even those who arrive at it have difficulties in qualifying and correctly understanding the meaning of a unitary, eternal and infinite God.

By means of Locke's qualification of the types of atheists, we try to solve the problem of atheist intolerance in the *Letter Concerning Toleration*. We have

[68] Ibid., p. 47.

divided the arguments into two levels to show that in fact Locke does not tolerate a type of atheism, that intolerant atheism, which destroys religion and social peace. In turn, breaking down the same argument, we argue that the *Letter* does not contradict the *Essay's* positions when Locke states that the error of belief can be tolerated as long as it does not aim to establish dominance and persecution of differences.

In the end, we think to correct an old interpretation of Locke's thinking about atheism, which simply states that Locke condemns atheists, but at the same time does not go into the heart of the argument and does not even relate this position to the important considerations of Locke on atheist peoples or people with heterodox beliefs of the most diverse types.

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John Locke and the Levant

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Abstract: Locke was indubitably a convinced traveller, and, in his reflections, he championed the educational value of the Grand Tour. This article addresses travel literature in the countries of the Levant, exploring the intellectual interests that directed Locke's reading towards the works on travelling in the Ottoman world and the Near East. These readings tie up with speculations on the limits of human knowledge and civil and religious power that engaged the philosopher from his time at Oxford to the works of his maturity. This was not exoticism, but a specific historic and critical interest that engaged his considerations on alterity, tolerance, and forms of social and religious coexistence.

Keywords: Levant, tolerance, travelogues, Islam, Locke.

> As to the improvements of travel I think they are all comprehended in these four - Knowledge, which is the proper ornament and perfection of the minde: Exercice, which belong to the body; Language and Conversation[1].

1. *Introduction*

Travelling has always been tied up with knowledge, with *curiositas*, and provides an opportunity for asking questions about alterity, about what is different from us in terms of customs, religion, history, politics and culture. Educational travel, from the *iter studiorum* to the Grand Tour, journeys of exploration and travel undertaken to enrich one's life from numerous points of view. Journeys made for very different reasons: for pilgrimages or to convert new worlds, to

[1] Locke to Sir John Banks, 18/28 August 1677, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol.1, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1976, p. 513.

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sell one's wares and purchase exotic products, to conquer territories and also to describe foreign natural elements, animals and plants, and unknown lands and seas. Journeys that were actually made, and others very often imagined, dreamed or undertaken following the cues of historic narrations and geographical and political descriptions of cities and territories: educational reading for an understanding of those who live beyond the borders.

Locke was definitely a convinced traveller. In his capacity as tutor to the scion of the Banks family he had warmly recommended the educational value of the Grand Tour even though, after many months travelling through France, he decided to return to England rather than continue towards Italy[2]. In *The Conduct of the Understanding* (1706), Locke emphasised the importance of broadening one's horizons through a wide range of reading.

> Error and truth are blended, jumbled, in their minds; their decisions are lame and defective, and they are often mistaken in their judgments. Why? Because they talk with only one sort of men, and read only one sort of books, so that they are exposed to only one sort of notions. They carve out for themselves a little province in the intellectual world, where light shines and (they think) daylight blesses them; and they write off everything else—that vast territory—as covered by night and darkness, and take care to avoid coming near any part of it[3].

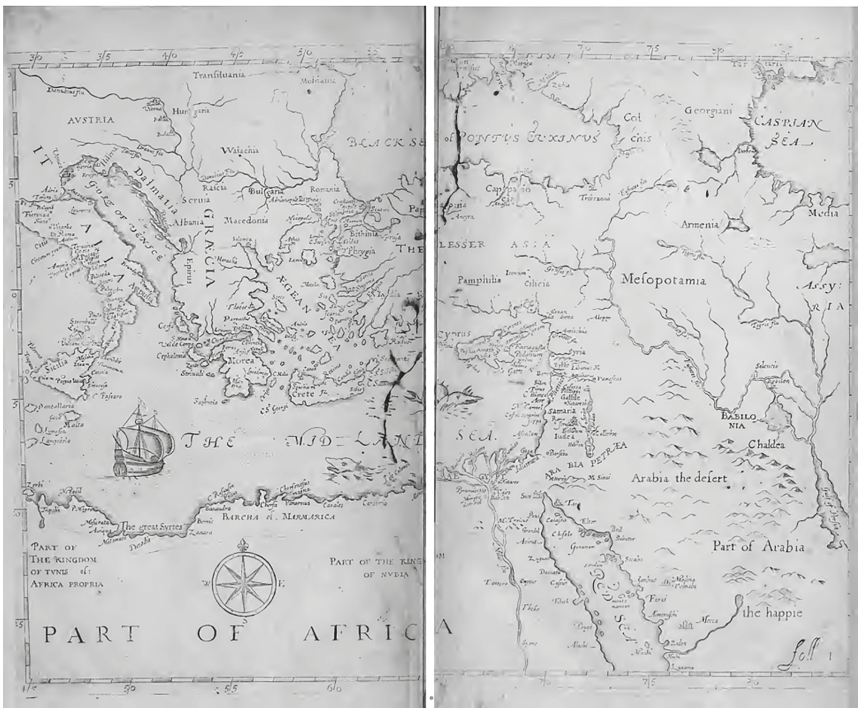
The catalogue of the philosopher's library is full of books describing places that are little-known, exotic and in any case distant, from China to Siam, and the nearest East to the Americas. Several studies, including those of Hodgen and Talbot[4], have stressed the influence that this travel literature had on Locke's thought in the fields of economics, politics, religion and epistemology. In these initial notes it is important to observe the significant presence in Locke's library of various political, historical and geographical works relating to the Levant, an actual area generally identified with a part of the Mediterranean. From the late Middle Ages, this term was used in maritime and trade

2 On this topic see L. Simonutti, "Inspirational Journeys and Trunks of Books: Initial Notes on Locke the Traveller", in *Studi lockiani. Ricerche sull'età moderna* 1 (2020), pp. 131-62.

3 J. Locke, *The Conduct of the Understanding*, ed. by J. Bennett, 2017, p. 3, https://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/locke1706.pdf

4 M.T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1964; A. Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge": The Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden 2010. See also W.G. Batz, "The Historical Anthropology of John Locke", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974), 4, pp. 663-670, and the contributions in this volume of *Studi lockiani. Ricerche sull'età moderna*.

circles to denote the eastern coast of *mare nostrum*, in particular Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Greece[5].



G. Sandys, *Travels: containing a history of the original and present state of the Turkish empire ... the Mahometan religion and ceremonies...,* J. Williams jr, London 1673, 2nd edition.

Even an initial analysis of the several dozen texts gathered by Locke – dealing with travel and historic narrations about the Levant that appeared throughout the seventeenth century – arouses curiosity about the reasons for his marked interest in a literature that went beyond the distant and exotic territories in America and Canada and the East and West Indies, discovered and travelled from the late Middle Ages up to the dawn of the modern age. The *curiositas* about the Levantine world was instead connected with reflections on religious and political tolerance and the importance that the Arabic-Ottoman world had gradually assumed in the eyes of the European observer. Islam no longer

5 T. Carlino, "The Levant: a Trans-Mediterranean Literary Category?", *TRANS-* [En ligne] 2 (2006), http://journals.openedition.org/trans/129; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/trans.129

simply instilled fear, but was also considered with the desire for a knowledge freed from the ancient prejudices towards a world extending from the shores of the Mediterranean that was the cradle of European culture. At the end of the 1670s Locke expressed the feelings of a traveller who had spent many months abroad upon returning home with a new perspective on his friends and society.

> The love of our freinds whose conversation and assistance may be pleasant and usefull to us and the thoughts of recommending our selves to our old acquaintance by the improvements we shall bring home either of our fortunes or abilitys or the increase of esteeme we expect from haveing traveld and seen more then others of the world and the strange things in it[6].

Reading to find out: reading to better address the difficulties of undertaking unusual paths and to better understand the individual and social habits of the inhabitants. Literary, historic and epistolary descriptions that nevertheless often furnished information that was imprecise, incomplete or altered by prejudices and incidental experiences. Therefore, it was important to experience travelling in first person so as to correct interpretations and preconceptions and, after returning home, channel the new knowledge acquired through travel and reading into one's personal life, commercial and agricultural activities and, in general, into the economy, the organisation of the state and culture.

> I don't say that to be a good geographer a man should visit every mountain, river, promontory and creek on the face of the earth, view the buildings, and survey the land everywhere, as if he were going to make a purchase. But everyone must agree that someone who often ventures into a country and travels up and down in it knows it better than someone who like a mill-horse keeps going around the same track or keeps within the narrow bounds of a field or two that he especially likes. Anyone who is willing to seek out the best books in every science, and inform himself of the most significant authors of the various sects of philosophy and religion, won't find it an infinite work to acquaint himself with mankind's views on the most weighty and comprehensive subjects. If he exercises the freedom of his reason and understanding as broadly as this, his mind will be strengthened, his capacity enlarged, his faculties improved[7].

Although Locke had specific contexts and local customs in mind, he was reflecting on universal characteristics that could stimulate the rational capaci-

6 "Amor Patriae", MS Locke d. 1, p. 57, dated 1679, in J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Toleration: And Other Writings on Law and Politics, 1667-1683*, ed. by J. R. Milton and P. Milton, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2006, pp. 385-6.

7 J. Locke, *Conduct of the Understanding*, cit., p. 4.

ties of everyone. For the young student or gentleman in particular, the specific value of travelling was that it could open the mind of the youth to "Tempers, Customs, and Ways of living different from one another, and especially from those of his Parish and Neighbours"[8]. These convictions were central to Locke's thought, and he reiterated them at the end of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, which appeared in 1693 and continued at length to be a benchmark about the education necessary for a young gentleman.

In the pages published for the first time in the *Collection of Several Pieces* by Pierre Desmaizeaux under the title *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman* by which it is generally known, Locke repeated the fact that reading is essential to improve our knowledge.

> The Improvement of the understanding is for two ends; first, ffor our own increase of Knowledge. Secondly, to enable us to deliver and make out that knowledge to others.
> The latter of these, if it be not the chief end of study in a gentleman, yet it is at least equal to the other, since the greatest part of His business and usefulness in the world, is by the influence of what He say's, or write's to others[9].

Alongside the texts on rhetoric, and study of the writings on morality and the art of government of both ancient and modern societies, Locke also listed works of poetry, literature and dictionaries, and all writings related to "the reading of History, Chronology and Geography are absolutely Necessary". Essential reading both for the individual education of a gentleman and for those who aspired to become governors of society: writings that, for the most part, he himself conserved in his own library.

> In Geography we have two general ones in English, Heylin and Moll; which is the best of them, I know not, having not bin much conversant in either of them; But the last I should think to be of most use, because of the new discoveries that are made every day, tending to the perfection of that science; tho I

8 J. Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, ed. by J.W. Yolton and J.S. Yolton, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2000, § 212, p. 262.

9 Ibid., *Appendix III:* "M[r] Locke's extemporè Advice & C.", pp. 319-28, p. 319. As mentioned in the Introduction by the editors of *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, J.W. Yolton and J.S. Yolton, the title was given by Samuel Bold and the text was first published by Pierre Desmaizeaux in the *Collection of several pieces of Mr. John Locke, never before printed, or not extant in his works*, J. Bettenham for R. Francklin, London 1720, under the title "Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman", pp. 231-45. On the longstanding interest of Locke in the non-European world see P.J. Connolly, "Travel Literature, the New World, and Locke on Species" *Society and Politics* 7 (2013), 1, pp. 103-16.

believe that the countries which Heylin mentions, are better treated of by Him, bating what new discoveries since his time have added.
These two Books contain Geography in general; [But whether,] But whether an English Gentleman would think it worth his time to bestow much pains upon that, tho without It, He cannot wel understand a Gazette, This is certain, He cannot wel be without Cambden's Brittan<n>ia; which is much enlarged in the last edition. A good collection of Maps is also very necessary. To Geography Books of Trav[el] may be added. In that kinde the collections made by our [own] countrey-men, Hacklute, and Purchase are very good. There is also a very good collection made by Thevenot in fol: in ffrench, and by Ramuzio in Italian, whether translated into English or no I know not. There are also several good books of Trav[e]lls of English men published, as Sands, Roe, Brown, Gage, and Dampier. There are also several voyages in ffrench which are very good, as, Pyrard, Bergerone, Sagard[e], Bernier, and, which, whether all of them are translated into English I know not. There is at present a very good Collection of Travels never before in English, and such as are out of print, now printing by M[r] Churchill. There are besides these, a vast number of other Travels; A sort of Books that have a very good mixture of delight and usefulness. To set 'them' down all, would take up too much time and room; Those I have mentioned are enough to begin with[10].

[10] Ibid., pp. 323-4. The editors have carefully identified the texts cited, correlating them with the titles given in J. Harrison, P. Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1971, 2nd edn. (see LL and title-number): "Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Bookes, Containing the Horographie and Historie of the Whole World* (1652), an enlarged edn. of *Microcosmus, or A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford, 1621); both titles were frequently reprinted. Herman Moll, *A System of Geographie* (1701; LL 2009). William Camden, *Britannia* (1586). Locke owned an Amsterdam (1645) edn. (LL 574), and a translation published by the Churchills in 1695 (LL 575). Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1589). Locke owned the enlarged edn. (3 vols., 1598-1600; LL1374). Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages* (1613). Locke owned the 1625 edn. with the title *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (LL 2409). Desmaizeaux correctly spells 'Hakluyt' and 'Purchas'. Melchisédech Thévenot, *Recueil de voyages* (8 parts, Paris, 1681); Locke lacked part 8 (LL 2890). He also owned Thévenot's *Relations de divers voiages curieux* (4 vols., Paris, 1663-72; LL 2889-28898). Giovanni Baptista Ramusio, *Navigationi e viaggi* (3 vols., Venice, 1595-1665; LL 2438). Many edns. published. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A: Dom: 1610, Foure Bookes, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire* (1615); Locke owned the 7th edn. with the title *Travels Containing an History of the ... Turkish Empire* (1673; LL 2553). Sir Thomas Roe, *Mémoires de T Rhoë, ambassadeur du Roy d'Angleterre auprès du Mogol* (Paris, 1663); later included in the Churchills' *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (below). Edward Browne, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria* (1673; LL 498); also a French translation, *Relation de plusieurs voyages faits en Hongrie, Servic, Bulgarie* ... (Paris, 1674; LL 499). Thomas Gage, *The English-American His Travail by Sea and Land, or A New Survey of the West India's* (1648); Locke owned the 3rd edn. with the title *A New Survey of the West Indies* (1677; LL 1205). William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697; LL 910). François Pyrard, *Discours du voyage da François aux Indes orientales* (Paris, 1611); Locke owned the new edn. with the title *Voyage aux Indes orientales* (Paris, 1679; LL 2411) and

2. ... *at first view appear so extravagant* ...

John Strachey, a distant relative and childhood friend of Locke's, had since the early 1660s encouraged him to indulge his own intellectual curiosity and think about living abroad for a while, convinced that this would do him much good, if not in terms of health certainly for his youthful reputation[11]. In effect, Locke's pervasive *curiositas* accompanied him constantly. His book collection reflects his intellectual biography, his interest in so many aspects of social life and the cognitive capacities of the individual, medical and scientific knowledge in general, history, religions, languages, political systems, economic organisation and trade networks, ancient and contemporary geography, and travel literature.

In mid-October 1672 Locke told his friend about the emotions of his first sojourn in Paris in his capacity as the escort of Lady Northumberland and amused himself by ironically describing the sights, encounters and experiences of life abroad, "Perhaps your mouth will water after other matters, but to stop your longing I am to tell you that the great happiness of this heaven upon earth, Paris, lies wholly in vision too"[12]. Nor did Locke spare irony about himself – "I am after the old English fashion" – but continued to be driven by his conviction of the utility of understanding different places and cultures, not only to increase one's own knowledge, but also to help make improvements in the life of one's own country. Some years later, in June 1678, while he was accompanying the son of Lord Banks on his educational tour through France, Locke repeated with conviction:

> I confesse were I to speake freely my opinion concerning what is best for the young gent (as I thinke I may to you) I should considering his temper besides many other reasons thinke, as I have a long time don, travelling better for him then resting at Paris, where a young english gent, (espetially if he be naturally bashfull) will be sure to flee the conversation of strangers and to heard always with his country men, and soe have litle of the advantages with all and more then all the risques of a forain country[13].

his *Voyage concernant sa navigation* (3rd edn. of the *Discours* (Paris, 1619; LL 2411a). Pierre Bergeron, *Relation des voyages en Tartaris* (Paris, 1634; LL 280). Gabriel Sagard Théodat, *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636; LL 2526); and Sagard's *Grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1632; LL 2527). Locke owned several works by François Bernier, including *Voyages ... contenant la description des Etats du Grand Mogol* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1699); cf. LL 284-9. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, published by A. and J. Churchill (4 vols., 1704; LL 3118). Its general preface is sometimes attributed to Locke". *Appendix III*, cit., pp. 319-28.

11 J. Strachey to Locke, 18 November 1663, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 216.

12 Locke to J. Strachey, mid-October 1672, ibid., p. 368.

13 Locke to Dr. Thomas Coxe, 13/23 June 1678, ibid., p. 576.

In the early 1680s, in an affectionate letter to Charles Cudworth, the beloved brother of Damaris Cudworth Masham – who had chosen over a career at Trinity College commercial activities in West Bengal, where he met his death – Locke recalled with friendly enthusiasm his experiences in the distant Indies: "Though you are got quite to the other side of the world yet you cease not to make new aquisitions here, and the character you have left behinde you makes your acquaintance be sought after to the remotest parts of the earth"[14]. He also curiously questioned his traveller friend about the truth of some "strange storys" relating to those distant lands, wishing to know whether indeed the people and events were really as strange as they were recounted

> and whether those that practise them are any of them Mahumetans, or all (which I rather suppose) heathens, and how they are looked on by the Bramins and the other people of the country, whether they have any aparitions amongst them and what thoughts of spirits, and as much of the opinions religion and ceremonys of the Hindos and other heathens of those countrys as comes in your way to learne or enquire[15].

Locke wished to know the answers to many questions, including whether the various Eastern peoples measured time in months, years and weeks in a similar way to the Western calendar, and whether they too used decimal arithmetic or other forms of counting. Another uninterrupted correspondence that developed in the name of friendship and deep affection was that with Locke's trusted friend Edward Clarke. These were long letters dealing with the subject of the education of children and young gentlemen, topics that were delineated by Locke following a crescendo of readings and experiences that, from the world surrounding childhood, were gradually expanded through the right educational paths towards cultivation of the cultural and abstract topics proper to the adult world.

> That which I am going to say to you will possibly at first view appear so extravagant, that you will have reason to suspect that I have warmed my head with this subject, and that I am now so delighted with talking of it to you, that I will propose anything rather than say nothing[16].

[14] Locke to Charles Cudworth, 27 April 1683, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 2, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1976, pp. 590-91.
[15] Ibid., p. 591.
[16] Locke to Edward Clarke, 27 January/6 February 1688, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, vol. 3, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1978, p. 343.

While acknowledging that his educational proposals were those of a true visionary – "confess this of all that I have hitherto writ to you to be the most visionary" – in the letter of February 1688 Locke expounded how important it was for a young man, and obviously for his friend's son, to leave his homeland for a while and undertake a journey, in the conviction that "the seeing of the world and acquainting himself with the men and manners of other countries besides his own has advantages in it, that nothing that a man can learn at home can perfectly supply"[17]. Indeed, seeing the world and knowing the people and the ways of life of other countries beyond one's own brought with it advantages that could never be acquired at home.

Locke also carefully described the ways in which the Grand Tour could be made more culturally profitable. He stressed the fact that the number of young men who were sent abroad to benefit from such an experience was still limited. He also argued that those who did undertake a journey of this kind tended to be accompanied by a tutor who became almost their oracle, thereby depriving the youth of the advantages deriving from direct observation and experience of the unknown world surrounding him, "there be few of them that stand on their own legs, and make their thought and consideration of the ways of mankind." On an even more pragmatic note, he advised Clarke:

> When you think him of an age and proficiency fit to be sent abroad I would advise you to place him for a year or so with some sober and skilful jeweller, either in Holland, or some other convenient country you should pitch on, that there with him he may learn that trade. As for his clothes and other circumstances of his stay, order them during the time as you please; for in other countries arts are not learned as they are in England, where they are bound to be under till six or seven years. By this way he will learn the language of the country sooner and better than in any other. [...] Thus I imagine he may travel over any parts of the world he has a mind to, with more advantage and experience and a great deal less charge than ordinary, and get into the conversation of the persons of condition where he comes[18].

Even in his full maturity, writing to Anthony Collins at the end of October 1703, Locke still revealed an inexhaustible desire for truth in which the journey itself was a metaphor for this quest.

> And if I were now seting out in the world I should think it my great "happyness"

[17] Ibid., p. 346.
[18] Ibid., p. 347.

> to have such a companion as you who had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seeke it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguisd, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true freely. Beleive it my good Friend to Love truth for truths sake is the principal part of humane perfection in this world and the seed plot of all other virtues[19].

Being now "at the end of my day when my sun is seting", Locke continues the letter to his friend regretting the time spent following the paths traced by others and already well-trodden, while he recalled with pride that he had travelled to acquire knowledge and relate what he had known and, although he admitted that such thoughts were "often old mens dreams", he nevertheless glimpsed "openings to truth, and direct paths leading to it".

3. *Different ways towards heaven*

So, for Locke travel was not just a crucial part of the educational experience of the gentleman, it was also a peregrination towards knowledge, a journey towards the truth that must accompany the virtuous man throughout his existence. It was a physical and experiential journey, but also a journey of the mind, a metaphysical journey that implied a sympathetic straining towards the other devoid of prejudice and arbitrary opinions, a crucial starting point for considering alterity, understanding it and tolerating it. Such reflections of Locke's are a leitmotif that pervades his entire intellectual career, from his student days in Oxford when he was taught by eminent masters such as the Arabist Edward Pococke and frequented his fellow students at Christ Church, Henry Stubbe and John Greaves.

In 1659 Locke penned some famous lines to his esteemed friend Stubbe just a few months after the publication of *An Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause; or a discourse concerning the rise and extent of the power of the civil magistrate in reference to spiritual affairs*. Locke expressed his appreciation of the contents of the treatise and the hope for a rapid second edition in which Stubbe would be able to further strengthen his argument by extending the history of tolerance to include more recent times, adding an account of the situation in Holland, France and Poland which, by reason of their closeness, could have great influence in pointing out the new path to be followed,

[19] Locke to Anthony Collins, 29 October 1703, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 8, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1989, p. 97.

> to tread in those fresh steps which time hath least defacd and men will travell in that road which is most beaten though Carriers only be their guides, when you have added the authority of dayly experience that men of different professions may quietly unite (antiquity the testimony) under the same government and unanimously cary the same civill intrest and hand in hand march to the same end of peace and mutuall society though they take different way towards heaven[20].

At the same time, however, Locke also immediately expressed a fear inherent to his reflection on tolerance, questioning:

> The only scruple I have is how the liberty you grant the Papists can consist with the security of the Nation (the end of goverment) since I cannot see how they can at the same time obey two different authoritys carrying on contrary intrest especially where that which is destructive to ours ith backd with an opinion of infalibility and holinesse supposd by them to be immediatly derivd from god founded in the scripture and their owne equally sacred tradition, not limitted by any contract and therefor not accountable to any body, and you know how easy it is under pretence of spirituall jurisdiction to hooke in all secular affairs since in a commonwealth wholy Christian it is noe small difficulty to set limits to each and to define exactly where on be gins and the other ends[21].

He went on to add some ethical-political concerns about the security of a nation that welcomed in subjects who intended to maintain a bond of loyalty and obedience endorsed by a vow made to a foreign sovereignty which, in their zealous eyes, had the power to absolve them from all treachery and perjury, and was willing to pardon them and offer them indulgences and rewards. In these early reflections and political writings Locke displayed a marked scepticism towards those subjects driven by interests other than the peace and justice of the national government; he ended the letter addressing his friend directly: "you can never hope that they should cordially concur with you to any establishment whose consciens, and concearnments both for this world and the other shall always biases them another way"[22].

In the early 1660s, Locke replied to the first argument of Edward Bagshaw "*That because 'tis agreed that a Christian magistrate cannot force his religion on a Jew or Mahomedan, therefore much less can be abridge his fellow Christian in*

[20] Locke to S H [Henry Stubbe], [mid-September? 1659], in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 110.
[21] Ibid., p. 111.
[22] Ibid.

things of lesser moment"[23]. Although Locke was aware of the presence of a plurality of dissenting rites and faiths – such as Jewish and Muslim – within the nation, he nevertheless continued to be anchored to the perception of the danger of political disorder in England that he had experienced in his youth. As he saw it, the magistrate's role as *conservator pacis* continued to be preeminent, and he replied to the author that opening up to so much freedom of conscience "was the first inlet to all those confusions and unheard of and distructive opinions that overspread this nation"[24].

Nevertheless, this was also the time of Locke's first trip to Cleves in the capacity of secretary to the diplomat Sir Walter Vane. The mission to the Great Elector of Brandenburg was destined to failure, but it was an important journey for the thirty-three-year-old Locke, who was able to observe more tolerant religious customs and usages and to visit the *Simultankirche*. These were churches and chapels that simultaneously catered to the rites and rituals of three or more confessions, either by allocating different times of worship or by equitably dividing up the areas within the church so as to provide each of the principal confessions – Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist – with the same possibility of prayer[25]. It is also highly plausible that in this period Locke had the chance of reading the treatise by Roger Williams, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution* (London 1644)[26], which endorsed among the twelve cardinal points of the discourse that divine will had enjoined on mankind, that all men of every nationality and in every country should be allowed to practice their cults, even pagans, Hebrews, Turks and anti-Christians, and that they were to be converted through the power of God's word and not of the sword.

In 1667, just a few months after his return home from the diplomatic mis-

[23] Locke quoted Bagshaw's work in J. Locke, *First Tract on Government*, in *Id.*, *Two Tracts on Government*, ed. by P. Abrams, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1967, p. 127. E. Bagshaw wrote "First, Because it is directly contrary to the Nature of Christian Religion in generall, which in every part of it is to be Free and Unforced; for since the Christian Magistrate cannot, as I think now all Protestant Writers do agree, force his Religion upon any, but is to leave even those poore Creatures the *Jews* and *Mahumedans*, to their unbelief (though they certainly perish in it) rather than by Fines and Imprisonments to torture them out of it; then much lesse may he abridg his Fellow Christian, in things of lesser Moment, and which concerne not the substance of his Religion, from using that Liberty in serving God, which his conscience prompts him to, and the Nature of his Religion doth warrant him in". E. Bagshaw, *The Great Question Concerning Things Indifferent in Religious Worship*, London 1660, pp. 2-3.

[24] J. Locke, *First Tract on Government*, cit., p. 160.

[25] See L. Simonutti, "Inspirational Journeys", cit., pp. 136-9.

[26] See C. Bennett, "John Locke, Muslims, Religious Freedom and the Role of the State", in *International Journal of Education and Social Science* 6 (2019), 5, pp. 39-44.

sion, in an important passage of the *Essay Concerning Toleration*, Locke wrote

> if I observe the friday with the Mahumetan, or the Saturday with the Jew, or the sunday with the Christian, whether I pray with or without a forme, whether I worship God in the various and pompous ceremonies of the papists, or in the planer way of the Calvinists. I see noe thing in any of there, if they be donne sincerely and out of conscience, that can of its self make me, either the worse subject to my prince, or worse neigbour to my fellow subject[27].

Locke had by now become a staunch champion of toleration, which ought to be established by the magistrate as the foundation and safeguard of the peace and tranquillity of the people. In the pages that were probably drafted around 1675, he clearly spelled out the theological-political aspect:

> Though the magistrate have a power of commanding or forbidding things indifferent which have a relation to religion, yet this can only be within that church whereof he himself is a member, who being a lawgiver in matters indifferent in the commonwealth under his jurisdiction, as it is purely a civil society, for their peace, is fittest also to be lawgiver in the religious society (which yet must be understood to be only a voluntary society and during every member's pleasure), in matters indifferent, for decency and order, for the peace of that too. But I do not see how hereby he hath any power to order and direct even matters indifferent in the circumstances of a worship or within a church whereof he is not professor or member. 'Tis true he may forbid such things as may tend to the disturbance of the peace of the commonwealth to be done by any of his people, whether they esteem them civil or religious. This is his proper business; but to command or direct any circumstances of a worship as part of that religious worship which he himself doth not profess nor approve is altogether without his authority, and absurd to suppose. Can anyone think it reasonable, yea, or practicable, that a Christian prince should direct the form of Mahomedan worship, the whole religion being thought by him false and profane? and vice versa; and yet it is not impossible that a Christian prince should have Mahomedan subjects who may deserve all civil freedom; and *de facto* the Turk hath Christian subjects.
>
> As absurd would it be that a Magistrate either Popish, Protestant, Lutheran, Presbyterian Quaker, etc., should prescribe a form to any or all of the differing churches in their way of worship. The reason whereof is because religious worship being that homage which every man pays to his God, he cannot do it in any other way, nor use any other rites, ceremonies, nor forms, even of indifferent things, then he himself is persuaded are acceptable and pleasing

[27] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, cit., p. 274.

> to the God he worships; which depending upon his opinion of his God, and what will best please him, it is impossible for one man to prescribe or direct any one circumstance of it to another: and this being a thing different and independent wholly from every man's concerns in the civil society, which hath nothing to do with a man's affairs in the other world, the magistrate hath here no more right to intermeddle then any private man, and has less right to direct the form of it, then he has to prescribe to a subject of his in what manner he shall do his homage to another prince to whom he is feudatory, for something which he holds immediately from him, which, whether it be standing kneeling, or prostrate, bareheaded or barefooted whether in this or that habit, etc. concerns not his allegiance to him at all, nor his well government of his people. For though the things in themselves are perfectly indifferent, and it may be trivial, yet as to the worshipper, when he considers them as required by his God or forbidden, pleasing or displeasing to the invisible power he addresses, they are by no means so, and till you have altered his opinion (which persuasion can only do) you can by no means, nor without the greatest tyranny prescribe him a way of worship; which was so unreasonable to do, that we find little bustle about it, and scarce any attempts towards it by the magistrates in the several societies of mankind till Christianity was well grown up in the world, and was become a national religion; and since that [time] it hath been the cause of more disorders, tumults, and bloodshed, then all other causes put together[28].

This long passage deserves attention also in the light of Locke's later works, in particular the *Letter concerning Toleration* and the following *Letters*. It offers insights into the possible types of historic sources and reports of travels in the Levant that Locke was able to read and collect in his library[29]. But, even more importantly, it highlights the supremacy in Locke's reflection of a conceptualisation of the relation with alterity based primarily on historic and political considerations, leaving dogma and more strictly theological issues to one side.

[28] J. Locke, "Toleration A", in *Id.*, *Political Essays*, ed. by M. Goldie, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997, pp. 231-3.

[29] Valuable suggestions are found in the article by C. Bennett, "John Locke, Muslims, Religious Freedom and the Role of the State", cit.

4. *The Saints, who are canonized amongst the Turks*

In 1682 in the pages of his Commonplace book, under the heading "Traditio" Locke dwelt on the ethical aspects of the three religions of the book – "The Jews, the Romanists and the Turks, who all three pretend to guide them selves by a law reveld from heaven which shews them the way to happynesse"[30] – emphasising that they were constrained to the same degree to resort to the authority of the interpretative tradition of the texts. In this way, Locke muses, they appear to be admitting that a positive law, and even divine law, cannot be transmitted in writing in a way that is sufficiently comprehensible for all the inhabitants of the earth or, in any case, for peoples who are distant in time, in language and in habits. This is a weak point, which would pave the way to the notion of a natural religion that each man carries within himself, or that could in any case arouse suspicion about the integrity of priests and masters more interested in retaining a role of authority and privilege than in operating in adherence to the rules of faith and of generally recognisable behaviour.

Locke reflected constantly on the possibility of knowledge "of visible certain Truth", and in one of the final chapters of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* dealing with the subject of error and fallacious assent he pondered whether those who teach one thing in the Christian world and another in the Turkish world can be considered oracles and certain and infallible models of truth[31]. However, it is in the first book of the *Essay*, devoted to the critique of innate ideas, that Locke places the existence of innate moral principles such as justice, piety, gratitude etc. squarely in the dock, dwelling primarily on the innate idea of godhead. Based on the very travel literature that Locke had at his disposal on the shelves of his college, or in the home of the Shaftesburys and then that of the Mashams and, above all, in the libraries of Limborch and Furly in Holland and in his own book collection, Locke listed the overseas territories where the population has no notion of God, and the immoral practices perpetrated by distant peoples.

Having reiterated the principle of truth that God must be venerated, Locke goes on to explore the gnoseological principle of the existence or otherwise of an innate notion of divinity, again on several occasions drawing on travelogues and books containing accounts of journeys and descriptions of distant lands,

[30] J. Locke, "Traditio", in *Id.*, *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, cit., p. 393.

[31] J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P.H. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, IV.xx.3, p. 708.

such as the works of Thevenot, Jan de Lery, and La Loubère[32]. Another source was the *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, the introductory pages of which were in fact attributed to Locke himself, albeit only starting from the third edition published in the middle of the seventeenth century. There is, however, no documentation confirming the truth of this attribution or that Locke was responsible for composing the very useful and extensive *Catalogue and Character of most Books of Travels* that completes the long, discursive introduction to the volumes published in the Churchills' print shop[33].

The articles of Gül A. Russell have clarified the fact that, from his schooldays at Westminster and then also at Christ Church, Locke's education comprised not only the classical languages but also the study of Hebrew and Arabic. More specifically, Russell has analysed the influence that Ibn Tufayl's work *Philosophus autodidactus* had on the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*[34].

The first Latin edition of the treatise by this prominent Arab figure was in fact published in Oxford in 1671, in the very period when Locke was engaged in reflections on the cognitive capacities, the extension and limits of human knowledge, the *tabula rasa*, the role of experience and natural philosophy, and was writing the first pages of *De Intellectu humano* (1671). The meshing of events and personal connections is intriguing. Not only was Ibn Tufayl's work translated from Arabic into Latin by Edward Pococke – son of the namesake

[32] M. Thévenot, *Recueil de voyages*, E. Michallet, Paris 1681; *Id.*, *Relations de divers voiages curieux,* 4. vols., A. Cramoisy, J. Langlois and G. Clovsier, Paris 1663-72, LL 2889-90; J. Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, L. Billaine, Paris 1665, LL 2888; J. de Lery, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en Brasil*, A. Chuppin, [Geneva] 1578, also Latin edition, Frankfurt am Main 1590, LL 1718 and 1717; S. de la Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, A. Wolfgang, Amsterdam 1691, also English version, London 1993, LL 1811 and 1811[a].

[33] See Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 8, cit., pp. 172-3; J. S. Yolton, *John Locke A Descriptive Bibliography*, Thoemmes Press, Bristol 1998, pp. 432-3. The ethnographic perspective emphasised by H. Suzuki, "Ethnographical in John Locke's Theories (I)", in *The Annals of the Hitotsubashi Academy* 6 (1956), 2, pp. 47-65, continues to be interesting, particularly in relation to the drafts of the *Essay*. On the other hand, the attribution to Locke of the introduction and editing of the four volumes of *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now First Printed from Original Manuscripts*, A. and J. Churchill, London1704, is no longer supported. However, P.J. Connolly underlined that Locke's correspondence shows that he was consulted about the project of Churchill's A *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. See P.J. Connolly, "Travel Literature, the New World, and Locke on Species", cit., p.106.

[34] See G.A. Russell, "The Impact of The Philosophus Autodidactus: Pocockes, John Locke, and the Society of Friends", in G.A. Russell, *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Brill, Leiden, 1994, pp. 224-65. Locke's contacts with the Pocockes and the comparative analyses of Ibn Tufayl's *Philosophus autodidactus*, Locke's three drafts and the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, all paths sketched out in Russell's essay, are the subject of a historic investigation being carried out by L. Simonutti.

teacher at Christ Church – but Locke had also been the pupil and later colleague of Pococke senior and tutor to Pococke junior, translator of the *Philosophus autodidactus*[35]. Ibn Tufayl's work enjoyed a significant circulation in England and abroad. Here we would simply mention that it was translated into English by the Quaker George Keith in 1674, and that the probable go-between was Locke's friend and co-religionist Benjamin Furly[36]. In the *Advertisement to the Reader* Keith wrote

> Since the Latine Version of it came abroad (which was in the year, 1671.) it is translated into *Dutch* some considerable time ago: after it came into my hands, and that I perused it, I found a great freedom in mind to put it into English for a more general service, as believing it might be profitable unto many; but my particular *motives* which engaged me hereunto was, that I found some good things in it, which were both very savoury and refreshing unto me[37].

Not only did Locke and Furly know about Ibn Tufayl's work, but were so familiar with it that they used the title as a metaphor for a young and promising intellect, as Furly did in the letter to the philosopher dated 28 March 1691, in which he related with moving grief the loss of his daughter Babe.

> Deare friend, I was last night prevented for want of time to write you by the post, and I know not but I maybe too late with this, by a passenger, to let you know the afflicting news of the losse of our dearest Babe, our little Philosophus Autodidactus, whom it pleasd divine Providence, to remove from this visible world, the 26 Instant about 3 in the morning, after 8 days sickness of the mazles, which, with an extraordinary, and almost intollerable pain, in my wives right thigh, keeps her very low[38].

A new English edition titled *The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan*[39] was pub-

35 Ibn Tufayl, *Philosophus autodidactus, sive, Epistola Abi Jaafar ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yokdhan: in quâ ostenditur quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit ex Arabicâ in linguam Latinam versa ab Edvardo Pocockio*, H. Hall, Oxford 1671.

36 See G.A. Russell, "The Impact of the 'Philosophus Autodidactus'", cit., p. 250. See also C. Gallien, L. Niayesh (eds.), *Eastern Resonances in Early Modern England Receptions and Transformations from the Renaissance to the Romantic Period*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham 2019, chap. 6.

37 *An Account of the Oriental Philosophy, Shewing the Wisdom of some Renowned Men of the East; And particularly, The profound Wisdom of Hai Ebn Yokdan, both in Natural and Divine things; ... Writ Originally in Arabick, by Abi Iaaphar Ebn Tophail; And out of the Arabick Translated into Latine, by Edward Pocok, a Student in Oxford; And now faithfully out of his Latine*, Translated into English [by George Keith], For a General Service. Printed in the Year 1674.

38 Furly to Locke 18/28 and 20/30 March 1691, in J. Locke, *Correspondence,* ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 4, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1979, pp. 244-5.

39 Ibn Tufayl, *The history of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian prince, or, The self-taught philosopher* writ-

lished by George Ashwell in 1686, with an extensive summary in French that was rapidly presented to a broad public in the same year of 1686 in the third volume of Jean Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*.

Locke was, therefore, more interested in unravelling gnoseological issues, in demonstrating that even if different peoples could agree upon a name or a sound, this was not sufficient to prove that the idea of God was innate[40]. In the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, he availed of several extravagant and embroidered accounts from this travel literature, from the writings of Vossius, Pietro della Valle, and Baumgarten[41], as well as exotic narrations about the customs and religions of the populations of Siam, the East and West Indies and the American continent. For instance, he referred to the *Viaggi* by Pietro della Valle and quoted a passage from the work of Martin von Baumgarten, *Peregrinatio in Aegyptum, Arabiam, Palaestinam et Syriam* (Nuremberg, 1594) in which the author described the outrageous sexual and nutritional practices of the Muslims and the way in which they venerated as saints madmen and those who had freely given themselves up to penitence and poverty[42]. Such accounts were guaranteed to arouse the sentiments and curiosity of the European reader, and Locke trusted to them without displaying any interest in a theological and dogmatic examination of the truth of the various religious creeds or narrations. Rather, he was concerned with analysing the social fabric of such communities and placing his thoughts within a broader context of the history of different societies and of their forms and contexts.

There are numerous references to the "turbanned nations"[43] in Locke's writings, especially in the *Letters concerning Toleration*. These letters mesh the reflection of the many works on the Levant that Locke possessed with the echoes of a major debate on the dogma of the Trinity that engaged the Anglican world at the time, which was committed to denouncing the factual link be-

ten originally in the Arabick tongue by Abi Jaafar Eb'n Tophail ... ; set forth not long ago in the original Arabick, with the Latin version by Edw. Pocock ... ; and now translated into English [by G. Ashwell], R. Chiswell, London 1686.

40 See J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, cit., I.iv.14-15, and the reference to F. Timoléon de Choisy, *Journal du voyage de Siam*, P. Mortier, Amsterdam 1687.

41 Of the numerous works by Gerardus Johannes Vossius and Isaac Vossius conserved in his library, it is probable that Locke is referring here to I. Vossius, *Dissertationes, the tribus symbolis, Apostolico, Athanasiano, et Costantinopolitano,* Amsterdam, 1642 (LL 3111); Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Venice 1667, 4 vols (LL 3046).

42 J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, cit., I.iii.9, pp.71-72.

43 N. Matar, "John Locke and the 'turbanned nations'", in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2 (1991), 1, pp. 67-77.

tween the English Unitarians and the Ottoman world. Proof of this was to be found in the Letter which the Unitarians allegedly delivered to the Moroccan ambassador Ameth Ben Ameth, who had been invited by Charles II to the English court in 1682 with the greatest pomp[44]. Diplomatic and mercantile relations between the two countries had been consolidated for some time, but the scandal was caused not only by the deferential tone of the Letter but also by the doctrinal affinities and the belief in a single God that transpired from the writings of the English Unitarians and the Muslims.

Despite the fact that in his printed works Locke had always sought to avoid taking a stand on the burning issue of the Trinity, and had denied his closeness to Socinianism at every polemical twist, he was unable to escape the attacks of one of his most staunch opponents, John Edwards, who wished to unmask what he believed emerged from Locke's writings regarding the faith of the Turks and that of the Christians, and what he saw as the weak defence of the Bible against the Quran. According to Edwards, the *Reasonableness of Christianity* was a book for atheists, Turks, Hebrews and pagans, and for certain weak Christians, an undeniably Socinian work in which Christian doctrine was described in such a way as to make it the same as that of Islam.

5. *The Westeran Turk*[45]

There can be no doubt that Locke was very widely-read regarding the Mediterranean world and the Levant. Consequently, his knowledge cannot be reduced merely to the witticisms to be found in his youthful correspondence with John Strachey – "wee breake forth afresh and then the greate controvercie may bee decided betweene the Pope and Turke"[46] – or to a deferent rhetorical circumlocution – "as often as I reade your letter I examine my self what great things I have donne whether I ever yet releivd cittys and conquerd ar-

[44] On these aspects see L. Simonutti, "Paradigmi d'eresia: socinianesimo e maomettanesimo tra Inghilterra e Francia (Stubbe, Locke, La Croze, Bayle)", in *Le ragioni degli altri. Dissidenza religiosa e filosofia nell'età moderna*, in *Philosophica*, 3 DOI: 10.14277/6969-132-4/PHIL-3-8, 2017, pp. 153-76.

[45] "L'Europe, qui se voit menacéé d'un terrible ennemi que vous nommiez fort bien dans une de vos lettres, *The Westeran Turk*, qui porte la desolation par tout." As emphasised by Pieter Guenellon in the letter to Locke of 23 June/4 July 1702, in J. Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 7, cit., 1982, p. 640, citing an expression used by the philosopher in a previous missive which does not appear to have been conserved.

[46] Locke to John Strachey, 22 September 1660?, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., 1976, p. 154.

mys, whether I ever yet made the Turk tremble, and made some other place out sound Lepanto"[47]. Nor can it be restricted to literary references, as in his letter to Elinor Parry, which suggest his probable familiarity with Richard Knolles' *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, (1603), or the *Relation of a Journey*, (1615) by George Sandys[48], although he did continue to bear these works in mind and recommended them years later in *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*.

While Locke's interest in the interactions of power in Europe and in the Mediterranean underlies all his thought, it surfaces only from time to time in sporadic references in his works and correspondence. For instance, it is hard to say for certain whether he had the chance to read the manuscript of the *Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism* by his friend Stubbe. What is certain is that it was a subject that constantly attracted his attention as a physician, a political secretary, a philosopher and a policy maker at the Board of Trade. He read the philological works of Hottinger and his *Historia Orientalis*; in his library he had the works of Paul Rycaut (or Ricaut) on the Ottoman Empire, the Quran in the Paris translation of Du Ryer that appeared in 1647, and the writings of Humphry Prideaux on the life of Mohammed with their polemic attack on the crypto-Muslims, namely the deists and the Socinians.

Locke was a voracious reader and we have to limit ourselves to mentioning just a few texts among those that were of the greatest importance in seventeenth-century culture, along with some already mentioned and cited by Locke. Despite being restricted to works dealing with the Levant and the countries bordering the Mediterranean, this list would already number several dozen texts[49]. These include: George Addison's writings on Morocco (1671); the travel memoirs of François-Savinien d'Alquié (1671); the travels in Africa of Jean Armand, known as Mustafà (1666); the general history of Turkey by Michel Baudier (1624); the navigations and travels in Turkey of Nicolas de Nicolai and of Joseph Georgirenes (1678); the journals of travels in the Levant of Baron Henri Beauvau (1608), Baron Louis des Hayes (1645), Jean du Mont (1694) and George Roberts (1699); the letters written from Levantine lands by Du Loir (1654); the narrations of Gilles Fermanel (1760) and Christoph Fürer von Haimendorff (1621); the history of the Grand Vizier Mahomet published by François de Chassepol in 1676 and the accounts of the religions,

[47] Locke to G W [William (later Sir William) Godolphin], [c. August 1659?], ibid., pp. 94-95.

[48] See the letter from Locke to P E [Elinor Parry, later Mrs. Hawkshaw? early December 1659?], ibid., p. 132, and the valuable notes in the critical appendix.

[49] See Harrison, Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, cit., p. 307.

government and customs in the lands of the Levant written by Gabriel de Chinon (1671); the journey to Jerusalem by Nicolas Benard (1621), that to the Holy Land by Jean Doubdan (1661) and to Galilee by Michel Nau (1670); the numerous writings by François Bernier; the oft-reprinted journeys to the Levant by Sir Henry Blunt; the no less famous journal of travels in Persia and the East Indies by Jean Chardin (1686); the journey to Mount Libanus by Girolamo Dandini (1675) and that to Constantinople by Quiclet (1664); the *Instructions for Travellers* by Philip Sidney (1633), collections of travel journals by Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1680) and numerous other collections published in anonymous form.

Other works that Locke could not fail to have among his papers were the three volumes by Jacob Spon, the Lyons physician who explored the territories of Southern Europe and the Near East with scientific precision, a guide for gentlemen who wished to travel in Italy, in the lands of Dalmatia, in Greece and in the Levant[50], as well as the treatises of Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the most famous of sixteenth-century geographers. Locke shared the curiosity of Henry Blunt, who had undertaken the journey to the Levant "from England by the way of Venice into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosna, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thraces, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo" which in 1650 was already in its fourth edition.

> Intellectuall Complexions have no desire so strong, as that of *knowledge*; nor is any knowledge unto man so certain, and pertinent, as that of humane affaires: This *experience* advances best, in observing of people, whose *institutions* much differ from ours, for customes conformable to our owne, or to such where with we are already acquainted, doe but repeat our old observations, with little acquist of new.[...] I was of opinion, that hee who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not find a better *Scene* then *Turky*: these considerations sent me thither; where my generall purpose gave me four particular cares: First, to observe the Religion, Manners, and Policy of the *Turkes*[51].

Blunt confessed that for a traveller, and for the writer, it was a hard task to understand the organisation of such a mixed society, to discover whether the discipline of the Turkish army – marching against Poland at the time – was similar to that of Europe or if they had new strategies. He was also fascinated by the planning of the bustling city life in the city of Cairo which would have

[50] J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, A. Cellier le fils, Lyon 1678.

[51] H. Blunt, *A voyage into the Levant*, A. Crooke, London 1650, 4th edition, pp. 3-4.

fallen into chaos, famine and desolation if in the Turkish dominion there had been nothing but evil inclinations, "as most Christians conceive", whereas, on the contrary, "*Egypt* is held to have been the fountaine of all *Science*, and *Arts civill*"[52].

The almost 250 packed pages of George Sandys' *Travels Containing an History of the ... Turkish Empire* (1673) with numerous engravings and detailed descriptions, and the books of the traveller and cartographer Melchisédech Thévenot, and his nephew Jean de Thévenot, a naturalist and he too a passionate traveller, undertook not to provide untruthful accounts or waste time on trivialities, or recount only things that could surprise the reader. Indeed, Jean de Thévenot, in his meticulous way, clarified that "ie me suis fortement attaché à dire la verité, ce qui n'est pas de moy ie l'ay marqué afin qu'on ne m'en impute rien"[53], despite, obviously, bringing up the usual charges that "la religion des Turcs est remplie de tant de sottises et d'absurditez"[54].

From the second half of the seventeenth century European culture began to show a growing interest in the Islamic world. This attention was aimed principally at knowledge, albeit mostly for the purpose of refuting the religion and social practices of the Levantine peoples and only rarely for conversion to Islam. There were various reasons why it became increasingly necessary to know Arabic and the texts of the Quran: in order to preach, convert and generally hinder the spread of Islam; to get to know the social organisation of the Muslim world so as to combat it and curb the policy of territorial conquest of Europe undertaken by the Ottoman army under Suleiman I; to acquire a better knowledge of Arabic medicine, philosophy and sciences; and to develop the growing economic, commercial and diplomatic relations with the Arab-Ottoman world.

A precursor in the study of the Islamic world and language was the erudite Guillaume Postel, whose *Histoires Orientales et principalement des Turkes* (Paris 1575) was in Locke's possession. Edward Pococke, the biblical scholar and professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Christ Church, and John Greaves, a scientist and passionate collector, were among the most influential figures for the young Locke, through both their works and his frequentation of them at Oxford. Locke was attracted by a study of the Arabic-Islamic world devoid of prejudices and theological-dogmatic diatribes. His reflection was not aimed at

[52] Ibid., p. 6.
[53] J. de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, L. Billaine, Paris 1665, *Preface*.
[54] Ibid., p. 71.

defining the dogmas of a true and universal religion, but at envisaging a broad notion of tolerance, and the historic accounts of the state, politics and religion of the Turkish-Ottoman world represented a significant stimulus and source.

6. *The just measures of reason*

On Sunday 19 February 1682 Locke noted in his Journal:

> A strong and firme perswasion of any proposition relateing to religion for which a man hath either noe or not sufficient proofs from reason but receives them as truths wrought in the minde extraordinarily by god him self and influences comeing immediately from him seemes to me to be Enthusiasme, which can be noe evidence or ground of assureance at all nor can by any meanes be taken for knowledg. For I finde that Christians, Mahumetans, and Bramins all pretend to it (and I am told the Chineses too) But tis certain that contradictions and falshoods cannot come from god, nor can any one that is of the true Religion be assured of any thing by a way whereby those of a false religion may be and are equally confirmed in theirs[55].

He went on to corroborate this statement by drawing on the stories contained in Rycaut's book, recalling the description of the Turkish dervishes who claim that, through their mystical whirling, they are enlightened by God, can see his face and listen to his word. Locke also emphasised that Bernier's tales too recorded the fact that certain Hindu sects similarly believed that they were enlightened by and intimately united with God, just as the more spiritualised Christians did. However, as regards such illuminations, Locke immediately specified that, however clear they might appear to be, they could not carry greater knowledge or certainty than the proofs of truth supported by reason. On the contrary, they continued to be no more than imaginings of the fancy, because it is not the clarity of the fancy but the evidence of the truth that yields certainty, "but mear imaginations of the phansy how clearly soever they appeare to or acceptable they may be to the minde for tis not the clearnesse of the phansy, but the evidence of the truth of the thing which makes the certainty"[56].

[55] J. Locke, *An Early Draft of Locke's Essay. Together with Excerpts from his Journals*, ed. by R.I. Aaron, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1936, p. 119.
[56] Ibid.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF: [Frontispice : histoire de l'Empire Ottoman. Hommage rendu au Sultan en présence de l'armée. Au fond, vue de Constantinople.]

Locke is hence referring to chapter 13 of Book II of Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire containing the maxims of the Turkish politie, the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries, their military discipline*, in the London edition of 1670. This work was published for the first time in 1666, albeit with the date of the following year, and very few copies of this first edition survived the great fire that struck London in 1666. It was rapidly reprinted and enjoyed enormous popularity, being translated into

various European languages[57]. It is interesting that Locke's book collection also included the French translation in the 1677 edition, probably indicative of his interest in the Near East cultivated since his Oxford days that he had not abandoned during his travels in France.

Rycaut spent several years in the Ottoman Empire, from 1660 to 1667, in the service of the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea, and later in Smyrna, where he remained up to 1677, also acquiring a knowledge of Turkish. His work contains a detailed account of the Ottoman political, military and religious organisation. Nevertheless, it continued to follow the pattern of the 15th-16th-century treatise drafted for defensive purposes, concerned with providing details about the organisation of the state and military enrolment, the naval military forces etc., portraying the Ottoman state and the despots in line with stereotypes of prejudice and fear. At the same time, in the chapter dealing with the promises of tolerance made by the Muslims towards all the religions present in the empire, Rycaut fully expounds the contents of an important treatise in the form of a contract drawn up by Mohammed himself as a warranty that he did not intend to either persecute or destroy the Christian religion. He states that the original text was found in the convent of the monks of Mount Carmel and later conserved in the library of the King of France and that he had copied the contents word by word for the reader's benefit. He ends the long quotation from the treatise by stressing that it had been emanated at the dawn of Muslim political power, when it was still very weak but that once Islamic political power had become established this tolerant attitude had, on the contrary, been replaced by the violence of the sword and by social and religious persecution The dual register used by the author of *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* in actual fact reflected the European vision of the Levant, and above all the history and vicissitudes of contemporary England.

The work was undoubtedly an important source for Locke and formed part of the background to his reflections on the subject of tolerance as a form of political organisation on the part of a government that intends to guarantee the peace and prosperity of its subjects. Rycaut's work also linked up with the stimuli of the erudite context of Christ Church, Locke's friendship with Stubbe and Greaves,

[57] For further information see L.T. Darling, "*Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire'*", in *Journal of World History* 5 (1994), 1, pp. 71-97; W. Schweickard, "Paul Rycaut, *'The present state of the Ottoman empire'*. Textual tradition and lexical borrowings from Turkish", in *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 132 (2015), pp. 187-96.

and his accompaniment of Edward Pococke in his travels in the Ottoman world, and with the tolerant political vision of William Penn and the Quakers[58].

The pages of Locke's Journal continue the strand of reflections on the Christian and Mohammedan religions, while also addressing the cults in use in the distant East and West Indies. He endorsed the fact that "Enthusiasme is a fault in the minde opposite to bruitish sensuality as far in the other extreme exceeding the just measure of reason as thoughts groveling only in matter and thing of sense come short of it"[59]. Reason rather than zeal provides the correct measure for governing a nation and the relations between different churches and religious communities. As he stated in the first lines of the *Letter concerning toleration* "Everyone is orthodox to himself," and expecting to bend the conscience of a man to believe one's own as the only certain truth is an act that is completely opposed to evangelical teaching. He asks his reader whether, in a foreign land where to the eyes of a Mohammedan or a pagan prince the Christian religion could seem false and offensive towards God, Christians themselves might in turn be persecuted? However, Locke wishes his reasoning to be even clearer and so he provides an example: let's suppose that in the city of Constantinople there are two churches – one Arminian and the other Calvinist. Although they diverge from each other in certain doctrines and ceremonies, neither of the two churches shall be entitled to attack the other of claim that it is orthodox and judge the other to be in error or heretical[60].

7. *Conclusion*

The picture sketched out in this article offers an initial motivation for Locke's interest and the conservation among his papers of a short but important Arabic manuscript translated into English, probably by his friend John Greaves, that includes fragments from the *Doctrina Machumet*[61], the dialogue between Mohammed and an eminent rabbi. Although the manuscript is known, it has not yet been analysed or set in relation to its complex history.

[58] N. Matar, "England and Religious Plurality: Henry Stubbe, John Locke and Islam", in *Studies in Church History* 51 (2015), pp. 181-203, p. 192.

[59] J. Locke, *An Early Draft*, cit., p. 121.

[60] J. Locke, *On toleration and the unity of God*, ed. by M. Montuori, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 34-35.

[61] *Doctrina Mahumet*, in Theodore Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae ac doctrina ipseque Alcoran*, Johannes Oporin, Basel 1543, pp. 189-200.

Nor has investigation been made of its significance in relation to the *Essay* and the *Letters concerning Toleration*, Locke's political and religious reflections and his conviction that infidels and heretics are to be fought with the power of words and not that of weapons, as well as his reiterated defence of religious unity through the safeguarding of the multiplicity of rites. A study by the author for a new chapter in Locke's thought, based on a critical edition of the manuscript and its history, is currently in the course of publication.

Towards the end of his *Letter* Locke penned a memorable passage, driven by the conviction that religious zeal – and not the inevitable diversity of opinion – is responsible for the conflict and wars of the Christian world and the refusal to tolerate those who think differently.

> Those that are seditious, murderers, thieves, robbers, adulterers, slanderers, etc., of whatsoever Church, whether national or not, ought to be punished and suppressed. But those whose doctrine is peaceable and whose manners are pure and blameless ought to be upon equal terms with their fellow-subjects. Thus if solemn assemblies, observations of festivals, public worship be permitted to any one sort of professors, all these things ought to be permitted to the *Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Quakers*, and others, with the same liberty. Nay, if we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither *Pagan* nor *Mahometan*, nor *Jew*, ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth because of his religion. The Gospel commands no such thing[62].

In the *Postscriptum* Locke again asserts that religious diversity should not set men against one another, and that a Turk is not, nor should be judged to be, heretical or schismatic for a Christian. However, it was in the *Third Letter* of 1692 that, in pressing his critical polemic against Jonas Proast, Locke unequivocally formulated the broader conception of toleration, namely that Jews, Muslims and pagans cannot be excluded from political society and deprived of their civil rights. "I think you are under a Mistake, which shews your Pretence against admitting Jews, Mahometans and Pagans, to the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, is ill grounded"[63].

This marked a crucial stage in the achievement of political tolerance in the modern age, and in the intellectual career of Locke whose convictions were maturing, efficaciously fuelled by numerous cultural elements, reading, corre-

[62] Locke, *On toleration and the unity of God*, cit., pp. 102-103.

[63] J. Locke, *A third letter for toleration, to the author of the third letter concerning toleration*, A. and J. Churchill, London 1692, chap. 3, p. 78. See also N. Matar, "England and Religious Plurality", cit., p. 199 and ff.

spondence and travel experiences in England and Europe. The philosopher's gaze towards the Levant went beyond the ancillary late-mediaeval and sixteenth-century vision of a study of Arabic and Hebrew functional to an understanding of the Bible. It was instead driven by the desire to understand the organisation of the Muslim state and society and its literature, and to tolerate its forms of religion while continuing to see them as mistaken. Therefore, the time is ripe for a new analysis of the concept of tolerance in Locke in relation to the Hebrew and Islamic worlds and within a broad and diversified cultural context; these pages contain some initial notes moving in this direction.

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Ibn Tufayl, *An Account of the Oriental Philosophy, Shewing the Wisdom of some Renowned Men of the East; And particularly, The profound Wisdom of Hai Ebn Yokdan, both in Natural and Divine things; ... Writ Originally in Arabick, by Abi Iaaphar Ebn Tophail; And out of the Arabick Translated into Latine, by Edward Pocok, a Student in Oxford; And now faithfully out of his Latine,* Translated into English [G. Keith]: For a General Service. Printed in the Year, 1674.

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All the World is not Mile End: Content and Context of Locke's Letters Concerning Toleration

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Abstract: "All the world," wrote John Locke in *A Letter concerning Toleration*, "is not Mile End." It was an inversion of a line from a comedy by Francis Beaumont in which a young Londoner asks naively "Is not all the world Mile End, Mother?" When the play was first performed in 1607 London was a small, enclosed, still defensible, urban space and Mile End was in the open countryside outside the walls. By the time Locke published the Third Letter for Toleration in 1692 London had spread beyond its walls to become a very different city operating as a node in a number of interlocking global trade networks. Locke could expect his riff on the Mile End line to be understood by a reading public whose horizons had widened beyond the confines of their city and parish. He was, by implication, sitting his opponent Proast among the staid citizens that the play had mocked. Yet Proast's argument is often accepted as far more compelling than the case Locke made for religious toleration which has largely been replaced by twentieth century versions of Social Contract Theory and theories of rights based on the concept of the Westphalian System. These theories have coloured the way in which Locke's letters on toleration are read and a significant element of their content and context elided. The key element missing from modern readings is Locke's reliance on travel literature and particularly the Spanish travel literature which formed the basis of his theory of Natural Law. Locke followed his Mile End remark with a discussion of America largely drawn from José de Acosta whose works were part of a much older and more philosophically sophisticated debate on toleration and coercion than that in Protestant Europe which is often seen as the dominant or even the sole tradition of toleration. A focus on the Mile End passage in Locke's third letter on toleration makes it possible to explore this wider context of Locke's case for toleration.

Keywords: Locke, travel literature, theatre, Acosta, Proast.

1. *Introduction*

"All the world," wrote John Locke in *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, "is not Mile End." It was an inversion of a line from a comedy by Francis Beaumont in

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which a young Londoner asks naively "Is not all the world Mile End, Mother?"[1]. When the play was first performed in 1607 London was a small, enclosed, still defensible, urban space and Mile End was in the open countryside outside the walls. By the time Locke published the Third Letter for Toleration in 1692 London had spread beyond its walls to become a very different city operating as a node in a number of interlocking global trade networks. Locke could expect his riff on the Mile End line to be understood by a reading public whose horizons had widened beyond the confines of their city and parish. He was, by implication, sitting his opponent Proast among the staid citizens that the play had mocked. Yet Proast's argument is often accepted as far more compelling than the case Locke made for religious toleration which has largely been replaced by twentieth century versions of Social Contract Theory and theories of rights based on the concept of the Westphalian System. These later theories have coloured the way in which Locke's letters on toleration are read and a significant element of their content and context has been elided as a result. The key element missing from modern readings is Locke's reliance on travel literature and particularly the Spanish travel literature which formed the basis of his theory of Natural Law. Theatre played an important role in comprehending the reports published in the form of travel literature and Locke's, often neglected, interest in drama casts an interesting light on the intellectual environment in which he developed his philosophy. The combination of plays and travel literature is expressed in the passage which follows the Mile End remark and consists of a discussion of America largely drawn from José de Acosta whose works were part of a much older and more philosophically sophisticated debate on toleration and coercion than that in Protestant Europe which is often seen as the dominant or even the sole tradition of toleration.

2. *Natural Law*

Locke wrote four letters on toleration. The first was written in Latin and addressed to his friend Philip Limborch, a minister of the dissenting Remonstrant church in the Dutch Republic. It was translated into English by another friend, William Popple, a wine merchant and nephew of Andrew Marvell. Popple had narrowly escaped from France after the Revocation of the

[1] F. Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, London 1613.

Edict of Nantes and subsequently served with Locke on the Board of Trade[2]. Jonas Proast took issue with this English translation. He was a combative Anglican clergyman who had been ejected from the chaplaincy of All Souls College, Oxford in the disputes between Catholics and Anglicans during the reign of James II and was refused reinstatement by Locke's friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson, during the conflicts between Low and High Church Anglicans[3]. This article will consider one passage in the *Third Letter Concerning Toleration* published in 1692 and directed at Proast. It was in this letter that Locke remarks,

> you wonder at my news from the West-Indies; I suppose you found it not in your books of Europe and Asia. But, whatever you may think, I assure you all the world is not Mile-End[4].

He immediately launched into an account of natural law theory as evidenced by Native Americans. The modern reader might well wonder what Mile End has to do with America and, for that matter, what the connection is between Native Americans and religious toleration. The Mile End remark is often omitted from modern editions of the text as though it were an extraneous passage in a work that already offers an unsatisfactory defence of an unsatisfactory concept. Belief, it seems, can be, and is, coerced, making persecution perfectly rational[5]. Jonas Proast's case seems to have won the day[6]. The Mile End remark looks like one more irrelevance in an argument that is flawed in its basic premises and based on assumptions that are no longer a viable basis for political theory[7]. Among philosophers, the opinion of Louis Althusser that the state of nature was "a myth of idealist philosophers and empiricists" has become surprisingly representative of the general view[8].

2 C. Robbins, "Absolute Liberty: The Life and Thought of William Popple, 1638-1708," in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 24 (1967), 2, pp. 190-223.

3 R. Vernon, *The Career of Toleration: John Locke, Jonas Proast and After*, McGill Queen's University Press, Montreal 1997, p. 12.

4 J. Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration and other Writings*, ed. by M. Goldie, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis 2010, p. 76.

5 J. Waldron, "Locke: Toleration and the rationality of persecution", in S. Mendus, *Justifying Toleration: Conceptual and Historical Perspectives,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, pp. 61-86.

6 J. Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994 p. 362.

7 J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke: an Historical Account of the Argument of the Two Treatises of Government*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1969, p. xi.

8 L. Althusser and G. M. Goshgarian, "The Myth of the State of Nature: Extract From *Initiation à la philosophie pour les non-philosophes",* in *Diacritics* 43 (2015), 2, pp. 16-22.

Locke scholars, philosophers and political theorist alike have come to see Locke's natural law theory as bad history, bad sociology and bad psychology. They have decided that "the free individual of the pre-political state seems to be a mythical creation of the political theorist"[9]. Jeremy Bentham struck the first blow with his "nonsense upon stilts" description of natural rights[10]. John Stuart Mill's argument for toleration superseded Locke's for a while although it fell into neglect along with the rest of Utilitarianism[11]. To a great extent Natural Law Theory has now been replaced by Social Contract Theories that have emerged out of the collapse of Utilitarianism[12]. Locke's theory of natural law and the state of nature struggled to survive even among contract theorists. John Rawls avoided the state of nature and instead based his contract theory on what he conceptualised as an original position which he insisted was not an actual historical reality, but rather "a hypothetical situation characterized so as to lead to a certain conception of justice"[13]. What is common to all of Social Contract theories is that to one degree or another they assume political society to emerge out of a series of logical decisions made by rational agents[14].

The same caveat can be made in relation to the Westphalian System which dominates the field of International Relations. It is the theory that the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War in 1648, created a system of sovereign states which granted rights, including religious toleration, to their citizens[15]. The Westphalian System makes rights dependent on the dispensation of the state in contrast to Locke's universalism which assumes rights to be independent of the state and recoverable by aggrieved citizens. Locke did not mention the treaty of Westphalia as a source of rights and it was not until the 1960s that the phrase "the Westphalian system" began to appear[16]. It is very much a neologism and one that has increasingly come under fire for being ignored or overridden in former colonial countries or Eastern Europe

9 R.I. Aaron, *John Locke*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1971, p. 273.

10 J. Bentham, "Anarchical Fallacies", in J. Bowring, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham,* vol. 2, William Tait, Edinburgh 1843.

11 G. Finlay, "John Stuart Mill as a Theorist of Toleration", in D. Castiglione and C. McKinnon, *Toleration, Neutrality and Democracy*, Springer, Dordrecht 2003, pp. 125-139.

12 A. Weale, *Modern Social Contract Theory,* Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020, pp. 23ff.

13 J. Rawls, *Theory of Justice,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 1971, p. 11.

14 G. Tulloch and J.M. Buchanan, *The Calculus of Consent: the Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis 1999, p. 23.

15 B. Mendelsohn, "God vs. Westphalia: Radical Islamist Movements and the Battle for Organising the World", in *Review of International Studies* 38 (2012), 3, pp. 589-613.

16 S. Schmidt, "To Order the Minds of Scholars: The Discourse of the Peace of Westphalia in International Relations Literature", in *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2011), 3, pp. 601-23.

after the collapse of the USSR[17]. The concept of Westphalian sovereignty has, it is argued, always assumed that only European powers had a legitimate claim to authority[18]. Contract Theory and the Westphalian System have lost much of their persuasive power. Neither seems to provide an undisputed theoretical basis for the modern nation state, the global system of states or human rights. It might seem an appropriate moment to re-examine Locke's letters on toleration.

3. *Mile End and America*

So what about Mile End? This article will argue that, far from being redundant, Locke's Mile End remark is indicative of the universalistic ambitions of his philosophy and places the letters on toleration firmly within that philosophy rather than seeing them as something put together for an immediate polemical purpose. It will show that the play from which the line came was part of a cultural response to the experience of transoceanic voyages as writers and audience tried to make sense of what made no sense in the context of existing orthodoxies derived from biblical and classical texts. It will discuss the way in which Locke's fascination with plays and romances reflected his early attempts to comprehend an emerging new world. It will demonstrate that Locke's mature understanding of Natural Law Theory was derived from a body of Spanish travel literature based on neo-Thomist assumptions about the nature of the state and the universality of human rights. There are potential aspects of any discussion of toleration, at the time and since, that Locke did not deploy in his letters or only used to a minimal extent. The article will examine those absences. Locke's failure to discuss the economic questions that were already being linked to toleration and remain a major theme to this day will be explored. Neither economics nor religious background provide a sufficient explanation for the position Locke took on toleration as a comparison with his younger contemporary Daniel Defoe will demonstrate. The immediate context of the letters was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the discussions on toleration in the Dutch Republic and between High Church and Low Church Anglicans. Locke was involved to one degree or another in all of them yet, as the article will show, he called on arguments that took him beyond this remit.

[17] S.D. Krasner, *Sovereignty*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ 1999, pp. 40ff.

[18] T. Kayaoglu, "Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory", in *International Studies Review* 12 (2010), 2, pp. 193-217.

The Mile End remark is a case in point. It combines an implied reference to a play and to José Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* reflecting the trajectory of Locke's own intellectual journey from someone who accepted the "absolute and arbitrary" authority of the state in religious matters not prescribed by scripture to a position in which he denied the state had any jurisdiction in religious matters. To the extent that Locke's early reading of plays was replaced by travel literature it was hardly more acceptable as a source of knowledge in learned circles. He could have presented a far more orthodox argument for toleration. This article will explore the way in which his references to America reflected a body of literature that went beyond a strictly national or even Christian European context.

4. *'The Knight of the Burning Pestle'*

Locke took the Mile End reference from a comedy by Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Locke had a copy of the play and a collected edition of all Beaumont's works[19]. At some point he had been bitten by the theatre bug to the extent that he even tried his hand at writing a play[20]. Locke may have drafted out this plot scenario sometime in or before 1661 while he was reading romantic novels and exchanging letters with a group of young women in Oxford. It is an aspect of his reading that is seldom integrated with what is usually considered his more serious studies. In that respect it resembles travel literature. Both these somewhat anomalous forms of literature are combined in the Mile End passage. Bawdy comedy and travel literature sit side by side in an argument which, to Locke scholars, is decidedly light on philosophy.

In an early modern context that was not strictly true. Commercial theatre, itself a relatively new phenomenon, was a medium in which new ideas and experiences could be explored in a consciously artificial space. Drama had the ability to mitigate the shock of the new but it was not entirely risk free. Even allowing for the emollient effects of comedy, playwrights walked a dangerous line. Imprisonment, nose slitting and ear clipping, riot, or simply commercial failure awaited those who misjudged their audience or the temper of the times. *The Knight with the Burning Pestle* is a case in point. It flopped when

[19] J. Harrison and P. Laslett, *The Library of John Locke,* Oxford University Press, Oxford 1971.

[20] D. McInnis, "'Orozes King of Albania': an Unpublished Plot for a Stage Romance by John Locke", in *The Review of English Studies* NS 65 (2014), 269, pp. 266-280; Bodleian MS Locke e. 6.

it was first performed by the Children of the Revels at the Blackfriars theatre in 1607[21]. The audience, the play's editor complained, when it was published did not appreciate "the privy mark of irony about it[22]". Beaumont might have anticipated a more appreciative audience with a better tuned sense of irony at the Blackfriars theatre which attracted a sophisticated clientele compared to some of the other theatres. It charged sixpence, even two shillings and sixpence for a box, rather than a penny at the Globe across the river[23]. Even so the play was perhaps better suited to an audience at the Inns of Court where the smart young men could laugh at the citizens of London and appreciate the play's experimental handling of the relationship between players and audience and its cross cutting between genres[24].

Blackfriars theatre goers may have been prosperous but the perspective of most Londoners at the beginning of the seventeenth century was still confined to their city and their parish. The East India Company had been founded only seven years before the play's first production. The Royal Africa Company would not be founded for another half century. To understand the meaning of the Mile End line we have to adjust our sense of geography and space. Mile End today is an integral part of London's urban environment. It is only about 15 minutes along the District Line from Blackfriars. In 1607 it was more than an hour's walk away and crucially a mile beyond the city wall in the Liberty of the Tower. Mile End was one of a group of extramural hamlets that occupied a distinct political, economic and social space that was beyond the control of the citizens and civic institutions of London. It was in a very real sense "foreign" when that term was used to denote anyone who came to London from outside the walls even if they were English. Mile End actually was the world.

The district was invested with an extra element of foreignness because it was to the open spaces of Mile End that the citizens of London periodically marched with the banners and ensigns of their train bands flying, fifes and drums playing, to stage mock battles in preparation for invasion. One of Beaumont's characters recalled the rout of the Spanish army at Mile End as

21 J. Dillon, "'Is Not All the World Mile End, Mother?': The Blackfriars Theater, the City of London, and 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle'", in *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 9 (1997), pp. 127-148.

22 Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, cit.

23 L. Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: a Jacobean Theatre Repertory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, p. 61.

24 B.E. Whitred, "Why 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle' flopped at Blackfriars in 1607", in *Early Theatre*, 15 (2012), 2, pp. 111-130.

though it had been a real event rather than a drill. Mile End was only slightly less thrillingly remote and exotic than Waltham Forest, even further to the east of the city where the characters of Beaumont's play became lost in act two.

The eastern approaches to London regularly featured in early seventeenth century comedies as a strange, fantastical and dangerous place. Two years earlier in *Eastward Ho!*[25] the impecunious Sir Flash sailed in search of Virginian gold only to be shipwrecked on the Isle of Dogs in the Thames believing it to be France. His wife Gertrude, a city goldsmith's daughter, set out to find her husband's fictional castle and was reduced to camping in her coach selling off her possessions and hoping that a fairy would rescue her. In *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*[26] two sempstresses were robbed and threatened with rape as they delivered orders to a customer at Mile End[27]. All the outskirts of London were dangerous and remained so in Locke's day. Friends who visited him at Oates in Essex risked encounters with highwaymen as they passed through Epping Forest. But Elizabethan and Stuart theatre mixed these real dangers with the imagined gold of Virginia and enchanted castles in the air creating a Cervantes-like amalgam of travel literature and chivalric romances all located in the near-abroad of London's East End.

Locke may never have seen The *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, or any other play, as a boy or young man since the theatres were suppressed in 1642. Nevertheless he entered a theatrical atmosphere when he left Somerset for school in London in 1647. Plays were a recognised pedagogical technique and Westminster School was famous for its Christmas play. Theatrical performances were a means of imparting religious doctrine and confidence in spoken Latin. Before the civil war contemporary plays had been performed in educational settings. Locke's headmaster at Westminster, Richard Busby, distinguished himself playing the role of Cratander in William Cartwright's play *The Royal Slave* in front of Charles I when he was a student at Christ Church[28]. So great was his success he dreamed of becoming an actor[29]. Locke probably missed out on similar opportunities, or temptations, since professional players and even amateur dramatics were banned at the university while he was a student.

The Knight with the Burning Pestle survived in the repertoire of Beeston's

25 G. Chapman, B. Jonson and J. Marston, *Eastward Ho!,* London 1605.
26 T. Haywood, *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, London 1607.
27 J.E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy 1598-1642*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2009, p. 62.
28 F.G. Russell Barker, *Memoir of Richard Busby*, Lawrence and Bullen, London 1895.
29 M. Cranston, *John Locke: a Biography*, Longmans, London 1957, p. 18.

Boys at the Cockpit in Drury Lane until the suppression but it and the boy companies were out of fashion by the time Locke was back in London in 1667. Comedy themes had changed by then. The unfamiliarity of the city rather than the surrounding countryside was now the favoured device for comic effect. Wide eyed country wives found their adventures in the newly expanded west end of London. Locke does not seem to have plunged into the revived theatrical milieu. He broke off the relationship with the women he had known in Oxford and, with the prospect of a career ahead of him, turned his attention to more serious matters. Writing from London in 1668 he characterised plays, along with hunting, as "innocent diversions" which might be permitted as a means of mental refreshment "but if I spend all or the greatest part of my time in them, they hinder my improvement in knowledge and useful arts, they blast my credit, and give me up to the uneasy state of shame, ignorance and contempt, in which I cannot but be very unhappy."[30] His stern admonition to himself testifies to the attraction that theatre held for him. It is evidenced by the books in his library and his familiar recall, nearly thirty years later, of a line from an old play that must still have delighted him even if it was by a playwright often dismissed as a Catholic divine right royalist[31].

5. *Locke and Defoe*

By the final decade of the century when Locke wrote the *Third Letter Concerning Toleration* he could expect his riff on the Mile End line to be understood even if it had gone over the heads of the audience in 1607. London was expanded and rebuilt in a wave of speculation and renovation following the Great Fire of 1666. It was the same city as Beaumont's London, or even the London of Locke's youth, in name only. The aristocratic palaces that had once lined the Strand had almost all gone, replaced by multi-storied houses and commercial buildings. Exeter House, where Locke had lived as the Earl of Shaftesbury's secretary, had become a shopping mall[32]. By the turn of the century London was on its way to becoming one of the very few large cities in

[30] Bodleian MSS, Locke c. 28, ff. 143-4.

[31] R. Zaharias, "Rafe's Rebellion: Reconsidering 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle'", in *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31 (2008), 3, pp. 103-126.

[32] E.B. Chancellor, *The Private Palaces of London*, Kegan Paul, London 1908, p. 49.

Europe with a population of between 400,000 and 575,000[33]. It still did not rank among the largest cities on a global scale. Istanbul dwarfed it, as did many Asian cities[34]. Nonetheless, the rapidity and scale of the change was difficult to comprehend. Contemporary observers believed that the population numbered in the millions[35]. London went from being a somewhat peripheral European city to being at the centre of several interlocking global networks. Londoners' perception of the world expanded with the city and its commercial connections.

London's economic growth might be thought to have encouraged greater religious toleration. Religious refugees and migrants helped to swell the population and establish new suburbs. Mile End road was the site of the first Jewish cemetery by 1657. Toleration was not, however, an inevitable outcome. If the rate of growth was spectacular so too it was disturbing because it threatened to erode the settled social relationships which had been the bedrock of the older, smaller city. One of those who was disturbed by the growth of London and the new social trends that accompanied it was Locke's younger contemporary Daniel Defoe. Defoe accepted the limited degree of toleration allowed by the 1689 Toleration Act, he was a dissenter himself, but did not believe in extending toleration to non-Trinitarians[36]. He saw in the possibilities for Sunday jaunts to bun houses, tea gardens and breakfast huts the danger of moral transgression and encroachments on privilege[37]. Servants forgot their place and apprentices imagined they were the equal of their masters in this new London. Expansion and greater diversity could produce a conservative reaction as well as greater tolerance of diversity and lessening of status distinctions.

For Defoe, family worship was the antidote to the social breakdown he perceived. Men had a duty to impose Bible readings, prayers and psalm singing on their households, he maintained, no matter what the cost. His *Family Instructor* offers a bleak picture of wives who resisted their husbands' self-

33 J. White, *"A Great and Monstrous Thing": London in the Eighteenth Century*, Bodley Head, London 2013, p. 33.

34 R. Birn, *Crisis, Absolutism, Revolution: Europe and the World 1648-1789*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2005, p. 11.

35 M. Pelling, "Skirting the city? Disease and social change and divided households in the seventeenth century", in P. Griffith and M.S.R. Jenner, *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural History of Early Modern London*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2000, pp. 154-175.

36 K. Clarke, *Daniel Defoe: the Whole Frame of Nature, Time and Providence*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2007, p. 35.

37 S. Pennell, "'Great quantities of gooseberry pie and baked clod of beef': victualling and eating out in early modern London", in P. Griffith and M.S.R. Jenner, *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural History of Early Modern London*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2000, pp. 228-249.

appointed Christian ministry driven to depression, mental breakdown and moral ruin.[38] His faith in patriarchal authority echoed the sentiments that Jonas Proast had expressed in his criticisms of Locke's letter when he demanded

> I pray, what is it that warrants and authorizes Schoolmasters, Tutours, or Masters, to use Force upon their Scholars, or Apprentices, to bring them to Learning, or to the Skill of their Arts and Trades,[39]

Proast could take it for granted that teachers, university tutors, masters of apprentices and the employers of servants all had the right to beat those in their charge, as parents did their children and husbands their wives. Patriarchal authority was essential to the entire process of socialisation, social control and education. Coercion by those who held such authority was basic to the general understanding of the way society worked and went largely unquestioned. Locke's writings on education were unusual in this respect but even he recommended that pauper children should be whipped[40]. Proast's argument was that since coercion was useful in teaching Latin or imparting a trade then it would be equally effective in instilling sound religious principles. Locke's challenge to patriarchy in government ran right through society and threatened institutions that were fundamental to social life.

Defoe's defence of religious coercion in the home points to a more complex picture both of toleration and of coercion. Defoe took different positions at different times and in different political contexts, as did Locke[41]. Their positions on the subject evolved over time in response to changing political circumstances and the direction of the debate. Defoe's insistence on the importance of family worship was, at least in part, an indirect response to Locke's insistence that belief could not be coerced which opened the way to alarming levels of individualism in religion. Locke left the door open for free-thinkers, Deists and atheists. Defoe shut it firmly giving distinctly Deist arguments to the errant wives who featured in his dialogues on family worship.

Locke and Defoe were both Christians and both came from a Calvinist

[38] D. Defoe, "The Family Instructor II", (orig. 1718) in P.N. Furbank, *Religious and Didactic Writings*, vol. 2, Pickering and Chatto, London 2006.

[39] J. Proast, *A third letter concerning toleration in defense of The argument of the letter concerning toleration, briefly consider'd and answer'd*, Oxford 1691, p. 18.

[40] P. Gay, "Locke on the Education of Paupers", in A.O. Rorty, *Philosophers on Education: Historical Perspectives*, Routledge, London 1998, p. 189.

[41] Y. Deschamps, "Daniel Defoe's Contribution to the Dispute over Occasional Conformity: An Insight into Dissent and 'Moderation' in the Early Eighteenth Century", in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46 (2013), 3, pp. 349-361.

background but they arrived at different conclusions about toleration. It is still sometimes argued that Defoe was trying to bring Locke's philosophy to life in his novel Robinson Crusoe[42]. The connection between them owes more to Defoe's enemies than Defoe himself. He always denied that he was indebted to Locke and Locke's association with reputed Deists would have made any conscious use of Locke's philosophy of questionable value for Defoe[43]. Locke remained a committed Christian and his argument in favour of toleration has been characterised as evangelical[44]. Defining Locke's attitude to toleration by his religious outlook alone is not sufficient in itself since Defoe's insistence on coercion of belief in the household demonstrates that not all evangelical Calvinists ended up singing from the same hymn sheet.

6. *The Economics of Persecution*

The complexity surrounding toleration and Locke's attitude to it extends to economics. Persecution and coercion are assumed to be bad economic policy and this tends to colour the way that modern readers understand Locke's approach to toleration. Interestingly, Proast seemed to implicitly accept that toleration would benefit trade or at least recognised that this was already a common argument in favour of toleration. Under criticism, he grudgingly conceded that the author of the letter had not advocated favouring trade at the expense of religion.

> Where I say that some seem to place the advancement of Trade and Commerce above all other Considerations, you tell me that if I do not know that the Author places the advancement of Trade above Religion, my Insinuation is very uncharitable. But I thought I had sufficiently prevented such an interpretation of my words, by acquitting the Author but just before, of any ill design towards Religion. That there are some Men in the World, who are justly suspected of the Crime I mention, I believe you will not deny. And I assure you I did not intend, by those words, to bring any Man under the suspicion of it, who has not given just cause for it[45].

[42] B.C. Cooney, "Considering Robinson Crusoe's 'Liberty of Conscience' in an Age of Terror", in *College English* 69 (2007), 3, pp. 197-215.
[43] Clarke, *Daniel Defoe*, p. 51.
[44] M. Goldie, "Introduction", in Goldie, *A Letter Concerning Toleration and Other Writings*, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis 2010, p. xii.
[45] Proast, *A third letter*, p. 4.

The Third Letter of Toleration, like its predecessors was anonymous, and Locke never admitted to having written any of them but it seems to have become common knowledge and it is likely that Proast knew he was the author. It must have made sense to him that Locke would favour trade. What is interesting in retrospect is that Locke did not mention trade in relation to religious toleration. Modern economic historians still assume that there is a positive correlation between toleration and economic development either because the inward migration of religious exiles stimulates the economy or because toleration promotes the development of human capital which in turn leads to greater economic growth.

States that were open to religious refugees such as the Huguenots, it has been argued, enjoyed greater prosperity[46]. Economic individualism was the essential counterpart of religious toleration it seemed and a free market economy produced a free market in religion[47]. The argument has always been ill-defined. Protestantism itself is sometimes identified with a lack of persecution and Roman Catholicism regarded as inherently intolerant and prone to persecution. Max Weber's argument that Protestantism was the promoter of economic success in Protestant Prussia as opposed to Catholic South Germany still has some currency in the twenty-first century[48]. The equation is made between Protestantism, literacy and the human capital necessary for economic development. The same argument has been extended to non-religious persecution in China. The literary inquisitions that saw scholar-officials condemned by the Qing emperors of China, it has been suggested, led to a fall in literacy and less economic development in the home regions of the persecuted scholars[49]. The archetypal form of systematic ideological persecution is, of course, the Inquisition and it has been suggested that the activities of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition had an effect on the economic development of Spain that can be measured down to the present day[50].

The Inquisition was something Locke was acutely aware of and studied in some detail but his interest did not relate to its potential impact on economic

46 C. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Present*, trans. by F. Hardman, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh 1854.

47 R.H. Dees, "Establishing Toleration", in *Political Theory* 27 (1999), 5, pp. 667-693.

48 S.O. Becker and L. Woessmann, "Was Weber Wrong? A Human Capital Theory of Protestant Economic History", in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124 (2009), 2, pp. 531-596.

49 M. Koyama and M.M. Xue, "The Literary Inquisition: The Persecution of Intellectuals and Human Capital Accumulation in China", in MPRA Paper 62103, (2015) University Library of Munich, Germany. https://ideas.repec.org/p/pra/mprapa/62103.html

50 M.J. Vidal Drelichman and H-J. Voth, "The long run effects of religious persecution: Evidence from the Spanish Inquisition", in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118 (2021), 33.

development. While he was in Montpellier, he copied sections of the report of the inquisition that had been held in Toulouse in the fourteenth century following the Albigensian crusade. Locke went to considerable lengths to secure ownership of the manuscript for his friend the Quaker and bibliophile Benjamin Furly[51]. Philip Limborch borrowed the manuscript from Furly for his *History of the Inquisition*[52]. Locke, Limborch and Furly feared that the manuscript would fall into Roman Catholic hands and be destroyed[53]. The original Latin letter on toleration was addressed to Limborch[54]. Locke's mature views on toleration arose in part at least out of discussions within this group of friends while he was taking refuge in the Dutch Republic. Although they did not share a common position on how far toleration should extend there was a common purpose between them.

Locke lived in an atmosphere of plots, counter-plots and conspiracies. Arcane and antiquarian though a mediaeval manuscript may seem in terms of modern theories of toleration and freedom of conscience, for Locke and his contemporaries it had an immediate and pressing relevance. They saw the Inquisition as a real political and religious threat that could be used as an instrument of absolutism. Locke's attitude to the Inquisition was, therefore, a response to those real and imagined political imperatives not a subdivision of economic policy. He could have made the case for the economic importance of toleration. It was not an unreasonable argument for a man who had worked at the Board of Trade and had investments in major trading companies to make and it was, to judge from Proast's comment, an idea that was already in circulation. Some of Locke's followers were later to make a case for toleration on economic grounds[55]. Locke signally failed to do so.

7. *News from the West-Indies*

Just as Locke's interest in the Inquisition cannot be related to economic considerations so his interest in travel literature should not be interpreted as entirely related to his role on the Council of Trade and Plantations or as secretary

[51] Liber Sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae, British Library Add MS 4697.

[52] P. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam 1692.

[53] M.A.E. Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", in *The British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1972), 3/4, pp. 83-92.

[54] J. Locke, *Epistola de tolerantia*, Gouda 1689.

[55] T. Gordon, *An Essay on the Practice of Stock-jobbing, and some Remarks on the right Use, and regular Improvement of Money. In a Letter to a Gentleman, and a Proprietor of South-Sea Stock*, London 1724.

to the Lords Proprietor of Carolina[56]. He certainly sought information from the captains of merchant ships and they presented Locke, as a distinguished public official with elevated connections, gifts of curiosities collected on their travels but his vast library of travel literature was not purely utilitarian in character. Rather than providing him with a shopping list for colonial ventures Locke's travel books, particularly those on the Americas, reflect his developing views on natural law theory and the origins of the state.

Proast expressed his surprise at Locke's "News...from the West-Indies" by which he meant Locke's comments on the political organisation of Native American societies.

> The News you tell us here from the West-Indies, of Commonwealths there, wherein, in time of Peace, no body has any Authority over any of the Members of them, is indeed very wonderful and surprizing. For I confess I thought before, that there could be no Commonwealth, without Government; nor Government, without Authority in some body, over those who are to be govern'd.[57]

His surprise came in response to Locke's comment in his previous letter.

> There are nations in the West Indies which have no other end of their society, but their mutual defence against their common enemies. In these, their captain or prince is sovereign commander in time of war; but in time of peace, neither he nor anybody else has any authority over over any of the society.[58]

The argument had continued between the two men from their first exchange of letters. Locke had argued that a ruler or magistrate only had authority in civil matters and that this power did not extend to religion. It was the duty of a civil ruler to protect,

> Life, liberty, physical integrity, and freedom from pain, as well as external possessions, such as, land, money, and the necessities of everyday life, and so on.

The civil ruler, Locke insisted "has no mandate from God" and could not impose religion on their subjects because "no one can believe at another's behest". The test of belief, for Locke, was an inward one rather than external conformity.

[56] B. Arneil, "Trade, Plantations, and Property: John Locke and the Economic Defense of Colonialism", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55 (1994), 4, pp. 591-609.
[57] Proast, *A third letter*, p. 62.
[58] J. Locke, "A Second Letter on Toleration", in R. Vernon, *Locke on Toleration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 106.

> No matter what you profess with your lips or what external worship you offer, if you are not inwardly and profoundly convinced in your own heart that it is both true and pleasing to God, it not only does not assist your salvation, it positively hinders it.[59]

Proast had countered that the purpose of a commonwealth or civil society was to safeguard "the spiritual and eternal interests of men" as well as their material well being[60]. Locke developed his case in his next letter by referring to the case of the West Indies or the Americas where he claimed there were societies that appointed war leaders who had no authority in peacetime. Proast doubted that any society could exist without some form of permanent political authority and Locke hit back with the Mile End remark. Proast had failed to find descriptions of such societies in "your books of Europe and Asia" so he thought it was untrue[61]. Ultimately, Locke's case in favour of the purely secular nature of civil society hung on the evidence of travel literature, as did his refutation of royal absolutism in *The Two Treatises of Government* and the thesis that ideas were not innate to the human mind in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

8. *Religious toleration in England*

Locke could have made a case for the purely civil nature of political authority and in favour of religious toleration without reference to the Americas. He cited Richard Hooker, the sixteenth century Anglican theologian, and the epistles of St Peter to the effect that political society was a human creation and was not ordained by God. He could have made use of an existing tolerationist discourse which went back to the mid-seventeenth century. John Milton had insisted that neither the state nor church could claim infallibility where religion was concerned. Roger Williams, who was driven out of the Massachusetts Bay colony by the intolerance of the Puritans, denied that the Old Testament provided a blueprint for the foundation of a godly, Christian commonwealth and advocated comprehensive toleration[62]. The Cambridge Platonists shared with Locke what

[59] J. Locke, "A Letter on Toleration", in R. Vernon, *Locke on Toleration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 7.

[60] J. Proast, "The Argument of the Letter Concerning Toleration", in R. Vernon, *Locke on Toleration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 62.

[61] *Letter Concerning Toleration* ed. by M. Goldie, p. 7.

[62] T.N. Corns, "John Williams, John Milton and the Limits of Toleration", in S. Achinstein and E. Sauer, *Milton and Toleration,* Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, pp. 72-85.

has been called "the argument from ignorance". Since no one could claim to know the exact nature of religious truth with certainty toleration of divergent views was necessary. Locke used the argument repeatedly in the letters on toleration and often cited the Cambridge Platonists whose books he recommended as a sound guide to religion. Like Locke they insisted that conscience could not be an infallible guide to truth[63]. From 1691 Locke lived at the house of Damaris Masham, the daughter of the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth, and some scholars have traced an influence through her of Cudworth's ideas on Locke[64].

The emergence of a group of churchmen, often identified collectively as Latitudinarians, in the later seventeenth century, who advocated a broadly based and inclusive form of Anglicanism, gave a new impetus to what was by then a long standing case for toleration. Gilbert Burnet, who was made Bishop of Salisbury after the "Glorious Revolution", had argued that freedom of religion was protected by the laws of England even before Locke published *The Two Treatises of Government*[65]. Archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson was a popular preacher whose sermons were read long after his death in 1694. Like Locke, he emphasised rationality and morality over doctrine[66]. Locke was particularly close to Tillotson with whom he felt free to discuss difficult theological problems and greatly regretted his death. Some have argued that it would be a mistake to group Locke with the Latitudinarians[67]. There was always the suspicion that some at least of them were time-serving opportunists who had adapted to the new regime. King William came increasingly to regard Burnet as a pious fraud[68]. Burnet's views were not entirely in accord with Locke's since, while he abhorred persecution, he seems to have believed that there was a religious basis for the state[69]. Locke had a far more sceptical attitude towards the state and, in his mature works at least, did not wish to

63 G.A.J. Rogers, "Locke and the latitude-men: ignorance as a ground for toleration", in R. Kroll and P. Zagorin, *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England 1640-1700*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, pp. 230-252.

64 J. Broad, "A Woman's Influence? John Locke and Damaris Masham on Moral Accountability", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, (2006), 3, pp. 489-510.

65 M.I.J. Griffin jr., *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth Century Church of England,* Brill, Leiden 1992, p. 30.

66 J.M. Blosser, "John Tillotson's Latitudinarian Legacy: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and the Pursuit of Happiness", in *Anglican and Episcopal History* 80 (2011) 2, pp. 142-173.

67 J.Tully, "Locke", in J.H. Burns and M. Goldie, *Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, p. 645.

68 Cranston, *John Locke,* p. 317.

69 T. Claydon, "Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715", in *The Historical Journal* 51 (2008), 3, pp. 577-597.

allow it the capacity to determine matters of faith[70].

Locke's relationship with the Latitudinarians was complex. While he may have harboured doubts about Burnet, he was on good terms with Burnet's wife and took her advice seriously[71]. Edward Stillingfleet can be numbered among the Latitudinarians. He had attempted to include dissenters in his congregation when he was rector of St Andrews, Holborn[72]. Influenced by the Cambridge Platonists, he accepted that conscience was not a guide to truth and allowed for diversity in matters not prescribed by scripture[73]. Yet, despite his broad church principles, he was one of Locke's sternest critics and engaged in a long running and often intemperate dispute with Locke about the *Essay*. If we take the Latitudinarians to be a group it was not an homogeneous one.

Whatever differences may have existed did not prevent Locke from working with both Burnet and Tillotson on Philip Limborch's *History of the Inquisition* which included the text of the manuscript Locke had gone to such lengths to preserve. The book was dedicated to Tillotson and laid out the horrors of persecution over the centuries which linked it to absolutism in all its forms. The Third Letter of Toleration can be seen as part of an increasingly acrimonious dispute between High Church Tories and Low Church Latitudinarians in which Proast wrote on behalf of the Oxford-based High Church Tories and Locke on behalf of Tillotson and a more comprehensive form of Anglicanism[74]. However, it could equally be argued that Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, which became very much a joint tolerationist project, fits into this categorisation rather better than the letter since it was aimed firmly at the Roman Catholic Church and those who were suspected of wanting to return to its ceremonies, without any material about America.

70 D. Lucci, John Locke's Christianity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2020, p. 179.

71 R. Woolhouse, *Locke: a Biography,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, p. 431.

72 S. Mandelbrote, "Religious Belief and the Politics of Toleration in the Late Seventeenth Century", in *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 81 (2001), 2, pp. 93-114.

73 W.M. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England 1660-1700*, University of Georgia Press, Athens 1993, p. 29.

74 M. Goldie, "John Locke, Jonas Proast and Religious Toleration 1688-1692", in J. Walsh, C. Taylor and S. Taylor, *The Church of England 1689-1833,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993, pp. 143-171.

9. *Travel Literature*

Locke could have settled in his letters on toleration for a reiteration of well rehearsed arguments sustained by the bonds of friendship and sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority that were intended to define the nature of the national church and provide a foundation for political harmony in a state that was still open to challenge from within and threats from abroad. With his reference to the West Indies he chose to go further and make a universal case for toleration rather than base himself on strictly English or even purely Protestant precedents. The letters can be compared to *The Two Treatises of Government* in which he went beyond penning a straightforward exclusionist tract designed to demonstrate why James should not be king[75]. In the immediate polemical sense citing travel literature might not have helped his case very much since there was still no settled and established view of the nature of indigenous societies in the Americas and their implications for what would be called history, political science, sociology, theology and anthropology today, which were still being framed in essentially biblical and classical terms of reference. Land masses of unknown but evidently vast scale, inhabited by a bewilderingly diverse range of peoples, speaking languages unrelated to any that were known to Europeans could not be absorbed into the existing framework of knowledge. Two hundred years after Columbus sailed across the Atlantic the Americas were still sending shock waves through the intellectual life of Europe as Proast's comments demonstrate.

Reliable information was scarce initially and the Americas were absorbed into the fantasy landscapes of chivalric romances. The Spanish monarchy kept a tight control over reports and maps making it difficult for English writers to get hold of even the limited amount of information that was known about the new continents and the societies that inhabited them. Richard Hakluyt who published one of the first English accounts of the Americas had to gather information from Portuguese exiles in France and from French sailors who knew the coast of North America despite his claims of English precedence[76]. Not only was it difficult to acquire accurate information but the state of knowledge was fluid. Old certainties were challenged but little definite could be put in their place. Spanish cosmographers were the first to deal with the problem and they had to develop novel epistemic methods to cope with each

[75] P. Laslett, "The English Revolution and Locke's 'Two treatises of government'", in *Cambridge Historical Journal* xii (1956), 1, pp. 40-55.

[76] R. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation,* London 1589.

piece of new material[77]. Even treating an eye-witness account as a reliable source of information when it challenged established knowledge required a different epistemological approach. Principles established in courts of law could be applied to reports from the Americas so that two independent eye-witnesses were generally better than one. It was an approach that had its own problems since more than one eye-witness claimed to have seen mermaids[78]. Travel literature did not provide a ready made store of empirical data.

Edward Stillingfleet, who acquired a collection of travel literature comparable to Locke's own, challenged Locke's use of travel writers who were "mere strangers and persons looked on as enemies"[79]. Spanish writers were unreliable, as far as Stillingfleet was concerned, because they wanted to justify the enslavement of Native Americans by claiming they had no religion[80]. Travel literature did not shed its air of unreliability easily. It was in the context of this disintegration of old certainties and a lack of any authoritative systematisation of new knowledge about the Americas that the city comedies fabricated their own fabulous cosmography beyond the walls of London. The problem was never satisfactorily resolved so that even in the late seventeenth century travel literature remained a highly suspect and unreliable form of evidence. From a purely polemical point of view, Locke might have done better to avoid it.

10. *José de Acosta*

Locke did not cite any specific travel books in his replies to Proast but in the *Two Treatises of Government* and the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* he cited, quoted and paraphrased a number of travel writers on the Americas. He used the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta in *The Two Treatise of Government* on the question of the social organisation of Native American societies,

> And if Josephus Acosta's word may be taken, he tells us, that in many parts of America there was no government at all. There are great and apparent conjec-

[77] M. Portuondo, *The Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2009, p. 299.

[78] A. Gerbi, *Nature in the New World from Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*, trans. by J. Moyle, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1985.

[79] E. Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae: the Philosophy of Edward Stillingfleet including his replies to John Locke*, vol. 3, ed. by G.A.J. Rogers, Thoemmes Press, Bristol 2000, p. 279.

[80] A. Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge": the Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden 2010, p. 176.

> tures, says he, that these men, speaking of those of Peru, for a long time had neither kings nor commonwealths, but lived in troops, as they do this day in Florida, the Cheriquanas, those of Bresil, and many other nations, which have no certain kings, but as occasion is offered in peace or war, they choose their captains as they please.[81]

This captains and kings passage from Acosta sounds close to the point that Locke made to Proast. Locke had Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* in both English and the original Latin[82]. His book contained information that was otherwise kept under lock and key in the Council of the Indies archive and may have taken some years to come to press[83]. It was an attempt to provide an encyclopaedic description of the Americas that would act as a manual for future missionaries. Later travellers such as Alexander von Humboldt were impressed by the material in Acosta's book even though his purpose was religious rather than scientific. Humboldt recognised that the book must have had an impact on European intellectual life at a time when reliable reports from America were scarce[84]. What that impact was on Locke only began to be seriously studied in the second half of the twentieth century. Travel literature has been seen as providing a confirmation and illustration of the conditions that existed in the biblical Garden Eden[85]. It has been put into the context of European colonial expansion[86], and the development of political anthropology[87]. The great stumbling block has always been that the Early Modern travellers whose books Locke used were not informed observers in the sense that anthropologists defined their own discipline in the course of the twentieth century. They represented the antithesis of scientific anthropology as it was developed by Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski and their students[88].

Acosta was not an obvious reference, and certainly not a source that could

[81] J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. by Peter Laslett, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1960, p. 102.

[82] J. a Costa, *De Natura Novi Orbis libri duo*, Cologne 1596; J. de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies,* London 1604.

[83] Portuondo, *Secret Science*, p. 264.

[84] T.R. Ford, "Stranger in a Foreign Land: Jose de Acosta's Scientific Realizations in Sixteenth-Century Peru", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), 1, pp. 19-33.

[85] W.G. Batz, "The Historical Anthropology of John Locke", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974), 4, pp. 663-670.

[86] D. Carey, "Locke, Travel Literature, and the Natural History of Man", in *The Seventeenth Century* 11 (1996), 2, pp. 259-280.

[87] D. Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, p. 92.

[88] Talbot, *Great Ocean*, p. 251.

be expected to occupy such a central place for Locke, since he was part of intellectual tradition that was very different from the Baconian natural history that characterised much of Locke's work[89]. The gap may not have been as wide as it seems at first glance. Locke's mentor Robert Boyle respected Acosta's knowledge of the Americas and cited him on the refining of gold and silver[90]. Acosta was a valid source for Boyle because he had first-hand experience after living in America for many years which was coupled with an extensive knowledge of the classical sources such as Pliny. Bacon's anti-Aristotelianism should not be exaggerated. He may not have repudiated Aristotle completely but rather rejected Renaissance Aristotelianism when he attempted to strike out in a new direction[91]. Nonetheless there was a turn away from scholasticism which was made explicit by Thomas Spratt when he said that the Royal Society "intends a philosophy for the use of cities, and not for the retirements of schools"[92]. Despite a certain nuance in the attitude of Royal Society natural philosophers toward Aristotle, the situation in Spain was entirely different. In Spain there was no turn away from Aristotle, quite the reverse, Spain saw a vigorous revival of Aristotelianism and an attempt to frame the new information coming from the Americas and elsewhere in Aristotelian terms. Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* was a thoroughly Aristotelian work[93]. Faced with a flood of new material the response in Spain was to revive Aristotle not consign him to the past.

11. *Spanish Revival of Aristotelianism*

Acosta belonged to a Spanish neo-Thomist school that can be traced back to the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, who was trained at the Sorbonne, where he came under the influence of the Flemish Thomist Peter Crockaert. Returning to Spain he eventually became professor of theology at the university of Salamanca. His lectures were never published but they were widely circulated in the form of students' notes giving him an extensive influence not only over

89 P.J. Connolly, "Travel Literature, the New World, and Locke on Species", in *Society and Politics* 1 (2013), 7, pp. 103-116.

90 R. Boyle, *The Sceptical Chymist,* Sixth Part, London 1661, p. 371.

91 B. Vickers, "Francis Bacon and the Progress of Knowledge", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992), 3, pp. 495-518.

92 T. Spratt, *The History of the Royal Society,* London 1667, p. 76.

93 Portuondo, *Secret Science,* p. 262.

his own students but over the students of his students in faculties of theology throughout Spain and among missionaries in every part of the Spanish empire. Salamanca was globally connected and became the intellectual centre at which the novel experiences of Europeans were turned into new knowledge[94]. The framework within which that process of knowledge formation took place was Aristotelian.

It has been argued that Locke only cited Hooker, as he did in *The Two Treatises of Government* and the Letters of Toleration, because Hooker was an acceptably conservative source behind whom he could hide his own more challenging ideas when there was, in reality, very little in the way of substantial agreement between them[95]. Not everyone has accepted that Locke's use of Hooker was purely tactical[96]. The connection Locke made between Hooker's views on natural law and what amounts to a summary of a passage from Acosta tends to support the idea that Locke owed a genuine intellectual debt to Hooker. Hooker's ideas had been highly controversial when they were first published because they reflected the influence of Aristotle and Aquinas. He was accused of importing "Romische doctrine" and the "darknesse of school learning" into English Protestantism[97]. What Locke found in Acosta was the same neo-Thomistic natural law theory that Hooker used but in Acosta's case developed in relation to America.

In England the theory of Natural Law is most often associated with Thomas Hobbes who took the view that life in the state of nature was "solitary, poore, nasty, bruitish and short"[98]. Locke expressed a similar opinion in his early writings. He described the state of nature as having

> no peace, no security, no enjoyments, enmity with all men and safe possession of nothing, and those stinging swarms of miseries that attend anarchy and rebellion.[99]

[94] T. Duve, "The School of Salamanca: A Case of Global Knowledge Production", in T. Duve, J.L. Egío and C. Birr, *The School of Salamanca: A Case of Global Knowledge Production*, Brill, Leiden 2021, pp. 1-42.

[95] L. Strauss, *Natural Right and History,* Chicago University Press, Chicago 1953, pp. 179-180.

[96] E. De Jonghe, "Locke and Hooker on the Finding of the Law", in *The Review of Metaphysics* 42 (1988), 2, pp. 301-325.

[97] W.J. Torrance Kirby, "Richard Hooker's Theory of Natural Law in the Context of Reformation Theology", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999), 3, pp. 681-703.

[98] T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by R. Tuck, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1966, p. 90.

[99] J. Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, ed. by P. Abrams, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1967, p. 156.

He was probably influenced by Hobbes, although he never admitted as much, but he could have found the state of nature framed in similar terms by Samuel Pufendorf for whom it was a condition of "war, fear, poverty, nastiness, solitude, barbarity, ignorance, savagery"[100]. In the wake of the Thirty Years War the state of nature was seen principally in terms of the breakdown of social order in a European context rather than the social condition of non-European peoples. Having grown up during the English Civil War, Locke's early thinking was shaped by the turmoil of the period. Even without that experience there was a classical precedent for viewing the state of nature in these grim terms. For the Stoics the state of nature was an a-social or pre-social condition in which human beings lived as isolated individuals leading an animal-like existence without culture. By the time Locke came to write *The Two Treatises* his conception of the state of nature had changed. He now saw it as a social condition. Those living in a state of nature could own property and make agreements without giving up their fundamental equality and freedom under the law of nature. Locke's new approach to the state of nature reflected his extensive reading of travel literature.

12. *Natural Rights and Toleration*

Acosta's work was central to Locke's changed understanding of the state of nature. It grew out of a Spanish debate about coercion and the nature of belief that dated back to the forced conversion of Muslims and Jews. Some argued that the New Christians should be accepted as imperfect Christians and that social inclusion would encourage them to become better Christians others that coercion was appropriate because they had been given long enough to convert and should be expelled from the country[101]. The conversion of Native Americans raised similar issues and Vitoria applied the same principles he had expounded in relation to converts in the Iberian peninsula to the Americas in his *De Indiis* lecture. Forced conversion would not produce Christian believers but would produce hostility, he maintained[102]. Bartolomé de las Casas took

[100] S. Pufendorf, *On the Duty of Man and Citizen according to the Natural Law*, ed. by J. Tully, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, p. 118.
[101] S. Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2015, p. 2.
[102] Ibid., p. 45.

up Vitoria's arguments in a debate held at Valladolid to decide whether it was lawful for the Spanish king to wage war on Native Americans[103]. His opponent, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, argued that war was not only legitimate but was the necessary precursor to conversion. It was this debate which provided the basis for subsequent discussions of coercion and toleration throughout the Spanish Empire and provided the context for many of Locke's collection of books on America. Locke had Las Casas' *History of the Indies* although he did not cite it directly in any of his works[104]. Acosta differed from Las Casas in some respects but had been educated in the same neo-Thomist tradition. He rejected the idea that genuine conversion could come out of the violence of the Spanish conquest[105]. Like Locke he stressed the importance of personal belief and insisted that faith was necessary for salvation.

We are perhaps accustomed to seeing the rise of religious toleration in a Protestant or northern European and, by extension, North American context. Acknowledging Locke's debt to Acosta and Spanish neo-Thomism shifts that perspective. Locke's view of who should be tolerated remains narrow and no less determined by the perceived political imperatives of the day among the Whig elite, but the theory itself becomes much richer and less specific to a particular national environment. Instead of defining toleration in terms of English law and English history or Protestant practice and doctrine, Locke was attempting to base his case for toleration on a theory of natural rights that had a claim to universal application. The claim was not entirely unfounded since Thomism had originally developed in response to the influx of Arabic texts, particularly those of Ibn Rushd or Averroes, which made it possible to develop a coherent curriculum of Aristotelian philosophy in Christian Europe for the first time[106]. Vitoria's revival of Thomism was another later response to the persistence of Islamic and Jewish culture in Spain. His extension of the Thomist conception of natural rights to America represented a further widening of the theory which was not entirely one sided but involved the recognition that Native Americans were rational beings who needed to be convinced and persuaded

[103] M. Zamora, *Language, Authority and Indigenous History in 'The Comentarios reale de los Incas',* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, p. 92.

[104] B. de Las Casas, *Histoire des Indes,* Lyons 1642.

[105] I.W. del Valle, "José de Acosta, Violence and Rhetoric: The Emergence of Colonial Baroque", in *Calíope* 18 (2013), 2, pp. 46-72.

[106] C. Burnett, "Arabic into Latin: the Reception of Arabic Philosophy into Western Europe", in P. Adamson, R.C. Taylor, *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, pp. 370-404.

rather than physically coerced into accepting Christianity. Acosta based his history on interviews with Native Americans as well as conventional classical texts. Garcilaso de la Vega, another of the authors Locke cited, wrote about Inca culture and beliefs from the inside, as the son of an Inca princess and a Spanish conquistador. His aim was to explain the culture of his mother's people to the Spanish. Having built up a library of this character Locke could justifiably feel that he was getting "beyond the smoke of his own chimney"[107] and escaping from the little "goshen in the intellectual world"[108] that he thought trapped other scholars.

13. *Conclusion*

Locke's early interest in plays and romances reflected a desire to comprehend the new world that Europeans became aware of as a result of the transoceanic voyages of the fifteenth century. If over time he collected more serious sources of information he nonetheless remembered the line that he threw back at Jonas Proast showing a strong element of continuity in his thought. Digesting the new information was a protracted affair and Proast's surprise at Locke's news from the West Indies was probably genuine even though Acosta's *History of the Indies* was by then nearly a century old. Few people knew as much about travel literature as Locke and even fewer could integrate it into the existing framework of knowledge derived from Biblical and classical sources.

The *First Letter Concerning Toleration* can be seen in terms of a discussion taking place among Dutch dissenters, English and French exiles in the Netherlands. Subsequent letters were written in the context of the dispute between High and Low Church Anglicans for control of the national church. If that was the sum total of what the letters were about they could have been much simpler. Locke did not have to bring America into the discussion. By doing so he was taking the debate into intellectual territory that was highly controversial and did not, in his opponents' eyes, and probably his supporters' eyes too, appreciably strengthen the case for toleration. The limits Locke placed on toleration were politically expedient but the general scope of the case he made for toleration was not. It was universal and challenged institutions that

[107] J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P.H. Nidditch, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1975, p. 66.
[108] J. Locke, *The Conduct of the Understanding,* London 1801, p. 12.

were essential for socialisation and education.

The growth of London as a global trading centre could conceivably have given Locke the opportunity to discuss toleration in terms of its potential in relation to trade and industry. He could have presented it either as a cause or a consequence of economic growth. London was a far more diverse city as well as a larger one by the end of the seventeenth century. Reactions to that growth were by no means uniform. Defoe's call for family worship to be maintained reflects a more conservative response to economic growth and indicates that there was more than one possible attitude to religious toleration even among Calvinists. Proast clearly expected Locke to argue that toleration would benefit trade and some of Locke's followers were later to do so. Locke's failure to argue in favour of toleration on economic grounds is worth emphasising because the belief that the economic case for religious toleration is strong is still prevalent and has tended to distort the understanding of Locke's letters and the history of religious toleration generally. Toleration has come to be seen as a part of an ideological current restricted to liberal, Protestant, capitalist countries and alien to the rest of the world. Locke's use of Spanish travel literature suggests that this was not the case.

Locke's letters drew on a body of literature which had emerged from Spanish neo-Thomism and was a product of a prolonged interaction between Islam, Judaism and Christianity to which was added the intellectually destabilising impact of America. The debate on coercion and toleration went back much further in Spain than in England. It was intellectually richer and based on more sophisticated philosophical foundations than even the most closely argued Biblical, legalistic or economic argument for toleration. Locke's reliance on Spanish travel literature indicates that his case for toleration was not restricted to immediate political or confessional concerns. Although such contingent issues were certainly present in the letters and account for a large element of the context, they do not provide a comprehensive account of the content which was not a direct response to the particular historical situation that existed in England when Locke wrote them.

Locke's letters developed a universal case for toleration which presents problems for modern readers who do not accept Natural Law Theory as a valid basis for assumptions about rights. His letters on toleration have been largely ignored as a result. A much narrower conception of toleration has been developed on the basis of Social Contract Theory or the Westphalian System. While these theories themselves are increasingly regarded as mythical, Natural Rights Theory has not made a successful comeback to intellectual respectability.

It would seem to be the equivalent of accepting that the existence of mermaids was necessary for an adequate theory of marine ecology. Locke's intellectual journey from Mile End to America is no longer open for us to make. What can be said, however, is that in recovering that wider context of the letters on toleration they regain a relevance that is otherwise lost. Far from being redundant, when the letters on toleration are read in the context of Spanish travel literature they point to the absence of a well founded theory of universal rights in modern political theory and philosophy.

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Notes

Travel, Philosophy, and Locke's Openness to the Unknown

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Abstract: Travel was crucial to early modern European philosophy. This note explains the case I make for this thesis in *The Meaning of Travel*, drawing on the importance of travel to the likes of Francis Bacon, Margaret Cavendish, and John Locke. It argues that travellers and philosophers came to share a growing awareness that much of the world is unexplored, and unknown.

Keywords: Travel, Exploration, Locke.

Note

Travel was crucial to early modern European philosophy - and, in particular, to the work of John Locke. The editors of this special issue have kindly asked me to say a little about the case I make for this thesis in *The Meaning of Travel*.

Let me start by stressing that travel was hugely important to early modern Europe generally. The European 'Age of Discovery', powered by improved ship-building and navigation techniques, saw Portuguese, French, Spanish, Dutch and British sailors crisscross the globe. These fifteenth and sixteenth century ships led to new trade routes, new maps, new colonies. European states competed to 'discover' lands, societies, and goods previously unknown to them. As the preface to a popular 1704 *Collection of Voyages and Travels* explains:

> Astronomy has receiv'd the Addition of many Constellations never seen before. Natural and Moral History is embellished with the most beneficial Increase of so many thousands of Plants it had never before received, so many Drugs and Spices, such variety of Beasts, Birds and Fishes, such varieties in Minerals, Mountains and Waters, such unaccountable diversity of Climates and Men.[1]

[1] Anon, "Account of the Progress of Navigation", in A. Churchill (ed.), *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 1, London 1704, p.lxxiii.

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The success of these voyages led to immense public interest in travel books, maps, atlases, geography, geology, and botany. Many books around travel ran through multiple editions, including a 1662 *Geographical Dictionary*, and a 1671 *Geographical Description of the World*. At least one mapmaker built a business out of printing atlases, coasting pilots, charts, navigation handbooks, and almanacs[2]. Gradually, European philosophers also become fascinated by travel.

In the early seventeenth century, Francis Bacon placed travel at the heart of his new philosophy of science, arguing that, through travel, science would ultimately bring about the Biblical apocalypse that would lead to the new world. René Descartes argued it is good for us to travel and learn the customs of various peoples, so we do not think everything contrary to our own ways "ridiculous and irrational". Drawing on a long tradition of travel-themed thought experiments, Margaret Cavendish used the burgeoning travel narrative genre to craft her own philosophical thought experiment, *The Blazing World*. John Locke used travel books to fuel philosophical arguments on a broad range of topics, from innate ideas to species categorisation. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* argued that travel is essential to education. Mary Wollstonecraft used her travels through Sweden, Norway, and Denmark to advance her feminist arguments for the education of women. I argue it is no coincidence that this philosophical interest overlapped with the Age of Discovery: like everyone else, philosophers became caught up in the excitement.

Within early modern philosophy, I suspect a key element of travel must even have seemed to parallel philosophy: its exploration of the unknown. Early modern sailors sought the new, the unfamiliar. They *literally* expanded the limits of the known world. As Figure 1 shows, by 1570, European maps roughly outlined all the continents (excepting Australia and Antarctica in the 'unknown' south).

[2] On travel-related works, see M. Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2001; and J. Hayden, "Intersections and Cross-Fertilization", in J. Hayden (ed.), *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse 1569-1750*, Routledge, London 2012, p. 16. On enterprising mapmaker John Sellars, see L. Worms, "Seller, John (*bap.* 1632, *d.* 1697)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25058. I discuss these aspects of the Age of Discovery further in E. Thomas "Travelling for Exploration: Science, Space Travel, and Personal Discovery", in M. Niblett and K. Beuret (eds.), *Why Travel?*, Bristol University Press, Bristol 2021.

Several early modern philosophers seemed to share in this feeling of exploration. George Berkeley likened his investigations to a "long Voyage", traversing "wild Mazes of Philosophy". Halfway through *A Treatise of Human Nature*, David Hume imagines himself as a sailor who has struck shallow water, narrowly escaping shipwreck. Safety tempts him to remain perched on the rocks, rather than venturing out onto "that boundless ocean, which runs out into immensity". Yet Hume decides he will put out to sea again, in the same "leaky weather-beaten vessel"[3]. Just as adventurous travellers coveted new places, these radical philosophers crafted new questions, shook old assumptions. Could the world comprise ideas? Are women rational?

In my view, the growing awareness of how *much* world there is to explore, how *many* things humans do not know, underlies many of Locke's philosophical arguments. Locke travelled widely through Europe, and his library contained nearly two hundred travel books[4]. Some of his philosophical arguments

3 See G. Berkeley, *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous,* London, 1713, Preface; and D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature, Book I.* London 1739, pp. 457-8; p. 467.

4 See D. Carey, "Compiling nature's history: travellers and travel narratives in the early Royal Society", in *Annals of Science* 54 (1997), pp. 269-92; and A. Talbot, *"The Great Ocean of Knowledge": The influence of travel literature on the work of John Locke*, Brill, Leiden 2010.

explicitly make use of this reading; for example, he uses descriptions of foreign plants and animals to explore problems in the way we classify biological creatures. Later, these problems drive Locke's view that we can't know the real essences of creatures[5]. I suspect they also drive Locke's reasoning on philosophical issues that are not obviously connected with travel. Reflecting on the limited extent of our knowledge, Locke famously argues that we "possibly shall never be able to know, whether Matter thinks, or no"[6]. Given the size of the universe, and the increasing numbers of creatures discovered by science, Locke's position on thinking matter seems quite sensible.

To date, only a few pieces of literature have seriously considered the connections between philosophy and travel[7]. *The Meaning of Travel* sought to address this neglect, further exploring philosophy-travel intersections in all the early moderns named above[8]. It also considers the effects that philosophy has had on travel practices. For example, Henry More divinised infinite space and, as his absolutist theory made its way into Isaac Newton and a wide variety of artists, this rendered infinite-seeming landscapes, such mountains and seascapes, more attractive to tourists. Edmund's Burke's philosophy of the sublime led to a tourist craze for waterfalls, craggy cliffs, and forbidding ruins. Finally, I showed that these philosophy-travel intersections are connected in all kinds of ways. These episodes are not isolated incidents, but rather parts of a long, rich tradition of philosophical engagement with travel. Travel is important to early modern philosophy, and to philosophy more broadly.

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5 See P. Connolly, "Travel Literature, the New World, and Locke on Species", in *Society and Politics* 7 (2013), pp. 103-16.

6 J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London 1690, IV.iii.6.

7 With regard to travel and early modern philosophy, I found the following especially important: D. Carey "Compiling nature's history", cit.; P. Connolly "Travel Literature", cit.; L. Cottegnies, "Utopia, Millenarianism, and the Baconian Programme of Margaret Cavendish's The Blazing World (1666)", in C. Houston (ed.), *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, Routledge, Aldershot 2010; M.H. Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, Cornell University Press, New York 1959; A. Talbot, "*Great Ocean*", cit.; and K. Winkler, "Empiricism and Multiculturalism", in *Philosophic Exchange* 34 (2004), pp. 55-84.

8 Although, for my work on Wollstonecraft, see E. Thomas, "The Road Less Travelled: The Case of Mary Wollstonecraft", *History Today* 71 (2021), pp. 28-39.

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