Inspirational Journeys and Trunks of Books: Initial Notes on Locke the Traveller

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Some to the warres, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discouer Islands farre away:
Some, to the studious Vniuersities;
For any, or for all these exercises,
He said, that Protheus, your sonne, was meet;
And did request me, to importune you
To let him spend his time no more at home.
Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Folio 1, 1623)
Act 1, scene 3

Abstract: The aim of these initial notes is to focus on certain central aspects of John Locke's thought through a conceptual prism that can cast light on new interpretational pathways. The idea is to accompany the reader through Locke's intellectual evolution and the experiences connected with his sojourns in Europe: from his early education in London and at Oxford to his meeting with the First Earl of Shaftesbury, and the political and religious reflections that laid the foundations for the consolidation of his concept of tolerance, his political treatises and *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*.

All his travels were pertinent to Locke's intellectual development. Most of them took place on the Continent, where he encountered books, writers and living figures for the first time, or got to know them better. It was Locke's frequentation of these geographical and cultural areas that made him not simply an English philosopher but an intellectual of the Republic of Letters, a thinker who read and wrote, studied and argued and, ultimately, belonged to Europe as a whole.

Keywords: travels, Europe, Cleves, correspondence, toleration

Introduction

Why should we pause to reflect on the travels of John Locke? What he had in mind was not an *iter studiorum* of the kind that had been common practice since the Middle Ages, nor even to undertake a Grand Tour through southern

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Europe like the gentlemen of his time. Some of his journeys appear to be incidental, like his first trip to Cleves, while others – like his sojourns in Dutch cities – were made under threat of a conviction even worse than banishment. His travels through France were sparked by the curiosity of crossing borders or by the quest for inner peace and perhaps also for new existential stimuli – as appears to be the case of the second journey to Cleves. Finally there came the longed-for return to his homeland and, after a brief sojourn in the insalubrious climate of London, his last journey to Oates.

Locke shows himself to have been a modern traveller; his motivations did not stem from missionary literature or accounts aimed at arousing wonder through descriptions of distant worlds or exotic *naturalia*, but rather from that quest for the truth in which "Exactness is absolutely necessary in Enquiries after philosophical Knowledge". For Locke, this quest for the truth spanned all aspects of social and individual life: "Merchants and Lovers, Cooks and Taylors, have Words wherewithal to dispatch their ordinary Affairs; and so, I think, might Philosophers and Disputants too, if they had a Mind to understand, and to be clearly understood"[1].

Locke embarked upon his journeys – both those actually made and the ones that were only imagined – driven, like the virtuosos of his time, to discover and experience, to compare and exchange notes, to embellish his desk with scientific instruments and his library with books and manuscripts that were rare or hard to find. These experiences, the books and the objects that bear with them their own local history, the touch of the craftsman's hand, the discerning gaze of the merchant and, ultimately, the craving of the curious purchaser: all these elements constitute a cultural prism through which certain central aspects of Locke's thought can be further illuminated.

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[1] J. Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P.H. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1979, III. xi. 10, pp. 513-14.

[2] See D. Soulard, "The Reception of Locke's Politics: Locke in the *République des Lettres*", in J. Champion, J. Coffey, T. Harris, J. Marshall (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain. Essays in Honour of Mark Goldie*, The Boydell Press, Rochester NY 2019,

1. *"Their course about the World, Ours a World make"*[3]

John Locke's first journey was made at the age of fourteen when he left his home in rural Somerset to attend the illustrious and very strict Westminster School in London. In the stiff leather suitcase, or in the more manageable duffel bag made of double canvas, Locke carried with him the book by George Abbot, *A Brief Description of the Whole World* published for the first time in 1599, the works of Lucan and of Thomas Godwin, as well as the documents required for his journey, some loose change, toiletries, probably a razor, scissors, needle and thread, medicine to ward off seasonal ailments, candles and a spare pair of shoes: the bare essentials for a long sojourn away from home[4]. Son of an attorney and clerk to the local Justices of the Peace, Locke travelled with the modest luggage of a young Puritan, but also the lively and curious mind of one who wanted to extend his gaze to the natural and the social world.

He was definitely attracted by travel literature and, as an impassioned and insatiable collector, he amassed many books on travel, geography and imaginary places: 275 titles in all. Of these 195 were travel books, including *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi*, a Utopian novel by Denis Vairasse that was published in London between 1675 and 1679. After acknowledging his personal pantheon – Plato's *Republic*, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and Sir Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* – Vairasse employs a common rhetorical device to tell how he had received from a Captain on the point of death a jumbled mass of papers written in various languages telling the fascinating story of the government, religions and customs of the peoples inhabiting the *Terræ australes incognitæ*. The dying captain entrusted Vairasse with the task of elucidating the contents of these precious pages, setting them in their natural order in the manner he himself would have wished had God not decided that he should die before doing so.

This seems almost like a metaphor for the insatiable love mixed with bitter wistfulness that Locke felt about books in general and was part and

pp. 201-17. The first presentation of this topic was made at the conference "Mobilità degli intellettuali e circolazione di culture" at the Dipartimento di Culture, Politica e Società of the University of Turin, 14-15 June 2012. My thanks to the students, the colleagues and to Bruno Mantelli, Dino Carpanetto and Massimo Firpo for their comments and suggestions. My research on Locke and the Continent will be presented in the forthcoming book: *Locke and the Inspirational melting Pot of Europe*.

3 J. Locke, "Verses on Cromwell and the Dutch war", in J.R. Milton (ed.), *John Locke: Literary and Historical Writings*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019, p.192.

4 See R. Woolhouse, *Locke. A Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge NY 2007, pp. 10-11.

parcel of his intellectual life, as the philosopher confessed just a few months before his death:

> Books seem to me to be pestilent things, and infect all that trade in them, i.e. all but one sort of men, with something very perverse and brutal. Printers, binders, sellers and others that make a trade and gain out of them have universally so odde a turne and corruption of mind that they have a way of dealeing peculiar to them selves, and not conformed to the good of Society, and that general fairness that cements man kind. Whether it be that these instruments of truth and knowledge will not bear being subjected to any thing but those noble ends, without revengeing them selves on those who medle with them to any other purpose, and prostitute them to mean and misbecomeing designs, I will not enquire[5].

As Peter Laslett tells us, when his father died in 1661 John Locke was his only living son, so that before the age of thirty he inherited a patrimony which, although not large, he was able to devote without excessive concern to the purchase of books. As Laslett clarifies: "since Locke never lived on his estate, never married, and never maintained his own establishment, the money was free for spending"[6]. These books that the philosopher collected during his education in London, and especially in Oxford, accompanied him on his travels, in the course of which he collected more as a result of his reading and the people he met. This meshing of books and journeys suggests a few initial notes that I should like to share with the reader.

The biographies of Locke by Cranston and Woolhouse, as well as other works by King, Lough, Aaron, Gibb and, more recently, Boisson and Rivet, Woolhouse, Milton and Goldie, take us through the reading and literary experiences that fascinated the young student and accompanied the mature intellectual[7]. The lines he penned in his youth, between the 1650s and the early 1660s reveal a certain melancholic hesitancy: "We think our selves the Shadows which do fade"[8]. John Locke definitely hesitated about his career.

[5] See Locke to A. Collins, 9 June 1704, in J. Locke, *Correspondence,* ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 8, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1989, p. 314.

[6] J.R. Harrison and P. Laslett (eds.), *The Library of John Locke*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1971, pp.1-2.

[7] For specific biographical essays and more detailed biographical references see the website edited by J.C. Attig, *John Locke Bibliography*, https://openpublishing.psu.edu/locke/bib/index.html.

[8] J. Locke, "Verses for John Greenhill", in Milton (ed.), *Locke*, *Literary and Historical Writings*, cit., p. 199. See also the letter to his father which Locke penned on 10 April 1660, in *Correspondence,* cit., vol. 1, p. 143; see also Locke to J.O., early August 1660, ibid., p. 152.

He was undecided about whether to become a clergyman – a path mapped out for a career within the college – or to pursue the more uncertain life of a layman. In November 1663 Locke requested advice from the distant relative and childhood friend John Strachey, who urged him not to force himself to a decision. Strachey suggested that he should indulge the versatility of his intellect and consider the prospect of an enriching sojourn abroad of one or two years: "a litle outlandish aire would doe mighty well if not for health yett for reputation"[9]. Locke appears to have taken this advice to heart as he frequented the Oxford circles and the entourage of Robert Boyle.

Between 1660 and 1662 Locke had composed the two pamphlets on the power of the Civill Magistrate in reference to Religious Worship, as well as making notes on the pages of the *Adversaria* dealing with political and religious issues and with the law of nature. His concern in these writings was not so much to critically analyse the magistrate's authority as to bring to the fore the danger posed to the system of government by those who mingled fanatical errors and religious fervour with subversive political projects. Despite his awareness of the importance of individual liberty and social tolerance, Locke consistently argued that such values and inner peace could not be claimed at the expense of the order and unity of the state.

While these stances appear to align Locke with a Hobbesian viewpoint and result in an unoriginal notion of the relationship between Church and State, the letter that he sent to Henry Stubbe, his companion of studies at Christ Church College, in September 1659 reveals the depth of his reflections. In it Locke significantly expresses his admiration for the treatise just published by Stubbe, *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* (London, 1659). Nevertheless, he bewails the fact that the author had not proceeded to supply an historical account of the regime of tolerance applied in the past or in more recent times in countries such as France, Poland and Holland. Such examples would effectively have persuaded contemporaries to follow in their tracks; they were convincing demonstrations, based on everyday experience, of the possibility 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"[10].

[9] John Strachey to Locke, 18 November 1663, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., p. 216.
[10] Locke to S H, mid-September 1659, ibid., p. 110.

Despite his full agreement with Stubbe's tolerant position Locke remained prudent and staunchly expressed a reservation that was to remain a tenet of his thoughts on tolerance, even in their more mature form in the *Letter*: namely the denial of religious liberty for Catholics. To tolerate them would run counter to the safety of the nation. He expressed the fear of interference in social and political matters on the pretext of spiritual jurisdiction. To date this was an issue that he merely posited, but that he was to address later in order "to define exactly where on be gins and other ends"[11]. Henry Stubbe was, moreover, the protégé of the famous republican Henry Vane, the elder brother of the loyal royalist and diplomat Walter Vane, with whom Locke set off in the capacity of secretary for the diplomatic mission in Brandenburg in the autumn of 1665.

2. *On the diplomatic mission in Cleves*

"Monday 13 November 65 we took coach in Oxford for Germany"[12]. This was the opportunity for Locke's first visit to the Continent. In his capacity as secretary he accompanied Sir Walter Vane when they left Oxford to accomplish the diplomatic mission in Cleves, where the Great Elector Frederick William had been in residence for some weeks and would remain until October of the following year. The object of the diplomatic mission was to obtain the goodwill of the Great Elector and his support in the war against Holland that had begun just a few months earlier. It was a mission destined to failure, since Frederick William did not agree to the English requests. For reasons of political opportunity he maintained an attitude that was favourable to Holland – having always admired its social and economic model – while at the same time seeking to keep the war at a distance from his own borders.

Despite this, the journey was significant for the 33-year-old Locke. In addition to drafting the reports that Vane had to send regularly to Charles II on the progress of the negotiations with the Elector of Brandenburg, unofficially he also kept the diplomat William Godolphin up to date on the prevailing moods and political curiosities that he was able to observe in Cleves. Instead, to his childhood friend and neighbour John Strachey he willingly recounted

[11] Ibid., p.111.
[12] Woolhouse, *Locke. A Biography,* cit., p. 60.

the habits and religious customs of the town[13]. Among the relatively few personal letters sent by Locke during his stay in Cleves that have come down to us, the lengthy missive sent to Robert Boyle in mid-December 1665 is of particular interest. Locke expressed his appreciation of the air of cultivated antiquity that one breathed in the Brandenburg town, but also his concerns regarding the inadequacy of scientific, experimental and chemical research that he had observed there: "The rest of their physicians go the old road"[14]. But what struck Locke most profoundly was the social and religious organisation, and in the same letter to Boyle he wrote:

> The town is little, and not very strong or handsom; the buildings and streets irregular; nor is there a greater uniformity in their religion, three professions being publickly allowed: the Calvinists are more than the Lutherans, and the Catholicks more than both (but no papist bears any office) besides some few Anabaptists, who are not publickly tolerated. But yet this distance in their churches gets not into their houses. They quietly permit one another to choose their way to heaven; for I cannot observe any quarrels or animosities amongst them upon the account of religion. This good correspondence is owing partly to the power of the magistrate, and partly to the prudence and good nature of the people, who (as I find by enquiry) entertain different opinions, without any secret hatred or rancour[15].

A few days later, after having attended a religious service in a Lutheran church in the town, he wrote in greater detail to Strachey: "In this church I observd two pictures one a crucifix, the other I could not well discerne, but in the Calvinist church noe pictures at all. Here are besides Catholicks, Calvinists and Lutherans (which 3 are allowd) Jews Anabaptists and Quakers"[16].

Here the particular situation of the German territories needs to be stressed. Following the codification of a new political and confessional order in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and in order to maintain peace and security in the various states, the *Simultankirche* became legitimate and widespread. These were churches and chapels open to the religious observance of three or more confessions, with different hours allocated to worship and the churches equably divided to accommodate the prayers of each of the principal confessions: Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist.

[13] C.R. Sanders, "The Strachey Family, Sutton Court, and John Locke", in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 59 (1951), 3, pp. 275-96.

[14] Locke to Robert Boyle, 12 December 1665, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 228.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Locke to John Strachey, 14 December 1665, ibid., p. 237.

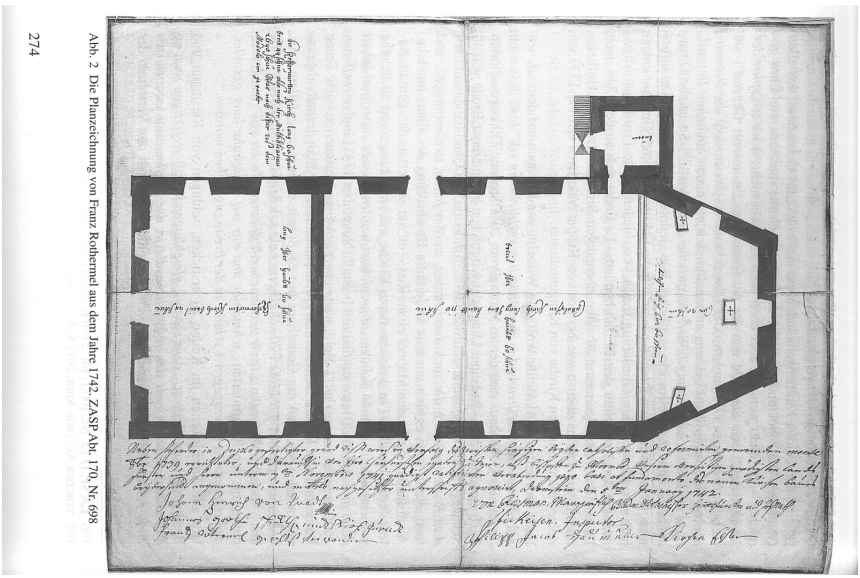

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Abb. 2 Die Planzeichnung von Franz Rothermel aus dem Jahre 1742. ZASP, Abt. 170, Nr. 698

M. Martin (ed.), *Dirmstein – Adel, Bauern und Bürger, Chronik der Gemeinde Dirmstein. Selbstverlag der Stiftung zur Förderung der pfälzischen Geschichtsforschung*, Neustadt an der Weinstraße 2005, p. 274.

This was also true for the Duchy of Cleves and the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg governed by the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, a staunch supporter of the simultaneous practice of religion inside and outside the churches for all religious groups.

> What was supposed to follow was a mutually satisfactory resolution of religious differences such that the congregations could be 'restored to a simultaneous exercise' (*restitutionem exercitii simultanei*) in the church or chapels in such places where both confessions resided, with an equal division of rents and goods[17].

This concrete experience of confessional coexistence and political-religious organisation very plausibly fuelled the reflections that the young Locke was

[17] M.E. Plummer and V. Christman (eds.), *Topographies of Tolerance and Intolerance: Responses to Religious Pluralism in Reformation Europe*, Brill, Leiden Boston 2018, pp. 241-42. See also D.M. Luebke, *Hometown Religion. Regimes of Coexistence in Early Modern Westphalia*, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville VA 2016; H. Neumaier, "Simultaneum und Religionsfrieden im Alten Reich. Zu Phänomenologie und Typologie eines umkämpften Rechtsinstituts", in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 128 (2008), pp. 137-76.

engaged in at the time. Indeed, his days at Cleves were driven by a great intellectual curiosity. In the letters he sent to William Godolphin, Locke described the dynastic and matrimonial connections of the Elector and his court and the diplomatic advances that were being made to him and his counsellors. He also included information about the financial situation of the Duchy of Cleves and the County of Mark and the eventual costs of armed action, also mentioning the pro-Dutch and pro-French leanings of the Elector and part of his court due to the economic support received from these countries.

Instead, in the letters he sent to John Strachey, Locke preferred to describe the social and cultural life of the town, the visit to a monastery of Franciscan friars and their way of life and their religious ceremonies. He related the religious functions he had attended in a Lutheran church in the town, as well as the typical aspects of court life. In a letter to Strachey written around Christmastide he described in great detail the scene of "a stable, wherein was an ox, an asse, a cradle, the Virgin, the babe, Joseph, shepheards and angells" that he had seen in the Catholic church of Cleves[18].

As known, the diplomatic mission did not achieve the desired outcome, and by mid-February 1666 Locke and Walter Vane were already on their way home. In the letter sent from London on 22 February, Locke informed Strachey of the abandonment of neutrality by the Great Elector that had been evident for some time, and of how he had sent 12,000 men to swell the ranks of the Dutch army, adopting a position that was shared by the whole of Germany. He also told Strachey about the invitation he had just received to take part in another diplomatic mission to Spain in the retinue of the English ambassador[19]. A few months later he received a similar proposal for an embassy in Sweden[20], but Locke decided instead to return home and devote himself to the study of medicine. In the early days of 1666 he replied to the questions that his friend Strachey had probably put to him in his last letter:

> To what purpose this from Cleve? I'll tell you; if there be any such thing (as I can not vouch the contrary) certainly mine is an Academic goblin. When I left Oxford I thought for a while to take leave of all university affairs. And should have least expected to have found any thing of that nature here at Cleve of any part of the world. But doe what I can I am still kept in that tract[21].

18 Locke to John Strachey, *c.* 26 December 1665, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., p. 244.
19 Locke to John Strachey, 28 February 1666, ibid., p. 264.
20 M. Cranston, *John Locke. A Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York 1957, p. 87.
21 Locke to John Strachey, early January 1666, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., p. 253.

Nevertheless, he did not abandon his reflections on the relation between political and religious power as regards the question of tolerance, and in the months following his Brandenburg experience – in the *Essay* of 1667 – he elaborated the thematic nucleus of his own conception of tolerance.

3. *Physician, political thinker and curious traveller*

At Christ Church Locke continued to pursue his advanced studies in medicine as well as acting as a tutor, until Lord Ashley, future First Earl of Shaftesbury, decided to visit Astrop in Oxfordshire to take the waters as treatment for a liver infection. The physician David Thomas, who was unable to attend his eminent patient, asked Locke for help. This meeting marked the start of a ten-year story that has been masterfully told by Locke's biographers. "That there had been a profound transformation in Locke's thoughts, and that this transformation coincided approximately with the beginning of his close association with Shaftesbury is evident"[22].

The correspondence of the late 1660s shows us a man engaged in physical experiments in the letters exchanged with Robert Boyle and immersed in medicine in the replies to the requests of friends and acquaintances. His dear physician friend David Thomas wrote to Locke in October 1669: "I glad you are returned to London and wish much joy to Mr Asley"[23]. Physician, political thinker and trusted secretary: these were the roles that Locke principally played following his casual and fateful encounter with Lord Ashley. Locke was also intensely engaged in other aspects of the life of the aristocratic dynasty; he negotiated the marriage of the Earl's second son and was tutor to his grandson, the third and most famous Earl of Shaftesbury.

In this article I will restrict myself to drawing attention to various cues connected primarily with the – possibly imaginary – trips to Carolina and Italy and the journeys which the philosopher definitely made through France and the Netherlands and to Cleves. In his capacity as secretary to one of the most eminent Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina, Locke assisted in drafting the Constitution of this new settlement. As stated in the preamble to the 120 detailed articles, the aim of this document was that of:

[22] John Locke, *Political Writings*, ed. by D. Wootton, Penguin Books, London 1993, pp. 36-37.
[23] Locke to David Thomas, 19 October 1669, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., p. 324.

> establishing the interest of the lords proprietors with equality, and without confusion; and that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live, and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy[24].

Even the emphasis on the relation between Church and State and the arguments in favour of tolerance, which Locke probably wished to be penned with greater openness towards all confessions, were composed in a prudential manner with a view to preventing social disorder[25]. Locke's contribution was appreciated by the Lords Proprietors, who had allocated him a title and estates of land in Carolina, but the project ran aground, possibly also due to the accentuation of Shaftesbury's political problems, and Locke never visited his possessions. Referring to Locke's planned voyage overseas – possibly with a certain irony – Nicolas Toinard envisaged his hypothetical plan to arrive in Carolina with a small group of Catholic refugees.

> Pour le voiage de la Caroline, je crois que vous y pensez comme a vous mariner. Quand vous serez prest a aler prendre possession de votre Isle, et que ce sera tout de bon que vous voudrez illustrer l'Amerique par votre presence, je chercheray un nombre sufizant de catholiques pour vous y suivre avec moy, car selon vos constitutions *quand on est sept d'une croiance on y peur avoir une eglise*[26].

Instead, in the course of the 1670s Locke did not cross the ocean, but did cross the Channel to France. The first time the trip lasted less than a month since he was precipitously summoned to return by his Lord, albeit desirous to recount to his friend Strachey in "the words of a gentleman and a traveller" his encounters with the Parisian *virtuosos* and the beauties that had enthralled him: the Louvre, the Seine and the Pont Neuf. "O the advantage of travel! You see what a blessing it is to visit foreign countries and improve in the knowledge of men and manners. When could you have found out this by living at Sutton Court and eating crammed capons and apple pies?"[27]

Several days later he wrote ardently in the same inspired vein to the physician and clergyman John Mapletoft[28]. But the real chance came several years

[24] Locke, *Political Writings*, cit., p. 211.
[25] Ibid., p. 41.
[26] Nicolas Toinard to Locke, 2 July 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence,* ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 2, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1976, p. 46. On the English political situation see the essays collected in Champion, Coffey, Harris, Marshall (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Ideas*, cit.
[27] Locke to John Strachey, mid October 1672, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., pp. 366-67.
[28] Locke to John Mapletoft, 19 October 1672, ibid, pp. 369-72.

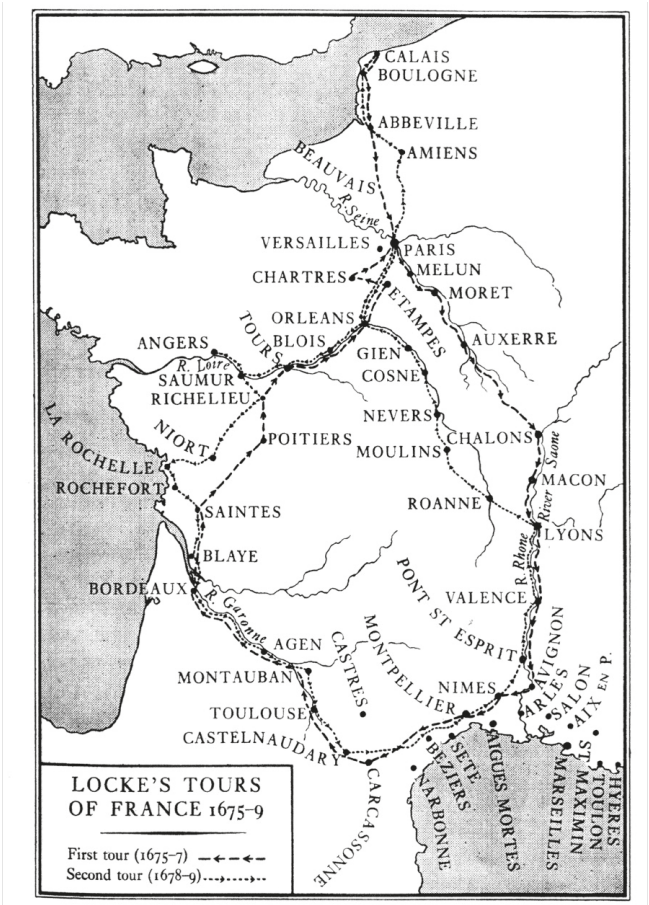
later when Locke was able to make a long visit, crossing France from Paris to Montpellier where he spent 15 months between 1675 and 1677, continuing on to Toulouse and then northwards towards Bordeaux and the Loire and on to Poitiers, Blois, Orleans and Chartres, finally stopping for almost a year in Paris. In the capital he frequented the circle of intellectuals gravitating around Henri Justell, including Pufendorf, Leibniz, Falconieri, Magalotti and many leading exponents of the Royal Society[29]. It was also in Paris that Locke took over the education of the young son of John Banks. The parents of the young scion had imagined for Caleb just a six-month tour of France, and Lady Banks would have preferred to see the return of her rather frail son, but the tutor was staunchly convinced of the educational value of getting to know shores beyond that of Dover.

> 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. [...] They who imagine that the improvements of forain conversation are to be sought by making acquaintance and friendship abroad, seeme to me wholy to mistake the matter, and it appears to me quite another thing. The great benefit to be found by travell is by constant changeing of company, and conversing every day with unknown strangers is to get a becoming confidence and not to be abashed at new faces – to accustome ones self to treat every body civilly, and to learne by experience that that which gets one credit and recommends one to others, is not the fortune one is borne to, but the riches of the minde and the good qualities one posseses[30].

Thus, in July 1678, Locke and his charge left Paris for the south, practically returning backwards over the stages of the previous journey, and also visiting new cities of evocative political and religious history, such as La Rochelle, Saumur and Angers. After this they spent the winter in Paris up to April 1679 and returned to England on the *Charlotte* on the morning of 8 May. Despite his entreaties, Lord Bank had to accept Locke's reasons for not wishing to accompany his charge on the tour of Italy.

[29] Cranston, *John Locke*, cit., p.172. In addition to the classic studies of J. Lough, "Locke's Reading during his Stay in France (1675-79)", in *The Library* 8 (1953), pp. 229-58, and Id., *Locke's Travels in France 1675-9. As Related in his Journals, Correspondence and other Papers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1953, see J. Locke, *Carnet de voyage à Montpellier et dans le sud de la France, 1676-1679*, ed. by G. Boisson, trans. by M. Rivet, Les Presses du Languedoc, Montpellier 2005.

[30] Locke to Sir John Banks, 18 August 1677, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, cit., p. 513.



Map taken from J. Lough, *Locke's travels in France*, Cambridge 1953

When he left Oxford in the early days of November 1675, Locke had left trunks filled with books, maps and scientific instruments in the charge of Samuel Thomas, the Christ Church chaplain. A few days later Thomas reassured him:

> Your goods are put into my custody. viz: 2 Large Trunkes. 2 little Leather-boxes, 7 Firre-boxes. A bundle of Papers. A chymicall Glasse. with 2 other Glasses. 4 Glasse-bottles. A Barometer. A Thermometer and a Large Mapp of France. All but the two large Truncks I can very well dispose of in my owne chamber and study[31].

[31] Samuel Thomas to Locke, 11 November 1675, ibid., pp. 430-31.

When he finally returned from France at the beginning of May 1679 we can assume that Locke found all his belongings. Several years later, when the turbulent political climate convinced him to leave Oxford again – this time in haste – heading for Rotterdam, Locke was once again concerned to leave his books and possessions in the care of Samuel Thomas, and this time also of Robert Pawling and James Tyrrell, who would take care of storing several boxes at Oakley. At the end of August 1683 Locke wrote to Edward Clarke: "Pray talk with Dr. Thomas about the best way of securing the books and goods in my chamber at Christ Church if there should be any danger. There is a pair of silver candlesticks, too, and silver standish of mine in Mr. Percivall's hands"[32]. Locke was in fact under surveillance by government spies who, in a report dated 13 July 1683, wrote: "It is taken notice of in Oxford that from Mr. Locke's chamber in Christ Church, [...] in a clandestine way several handbaskets of papers are carried to Mr. James Tyrrell's house at Oakely [...] or to Mr. Pawling's, the mercer's house in Oxford"[33].

So, these journeys are amply illustrated by the biographers and in Locke's own letters and journals. The lists of books, the manuscript catalogues of his library[34] and lists drawn up at different times of his life illustrate how profoundly the three and a half years he spent in France affected Locke's intellectual development; the same is true of the six years that he spent in Holland in the course of the 1680s.

Just browsing through the notes one comes across details of the careful readings he has already made or anticipates, books that he owns or has borrowed from his hosts or friends. Locke was a thinker very attentive to political and religious issues, the Huguenot question and the intolerance of the Catholics. His manuscripts contain notes on the political and administrative organisation of the cities and the ecclesiastical systems of the two religions, but his curiosity also extends to social practices and cultural experiences, ranging from the fields of medicine and the pharmacopoeias to medicinal plants and agricultural crops, and even the Mediterranean crops that could be transplanted to the other side of the world. This particular type of curiosity also materialised in the writings

32 Locke to Edward Clarke, 26 August 1683, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, cit., p. 603. See also Locke to Edward Clarke, 21 November 1683, ibid., p. 605.

33 The passage is cited in Cranston, *John Locke*, cit., p. 228; see also J.W. Gough, "James Tyrrell. Whig, Historian and Friend of John Locke", in *The Historical Journal* 19 (1976), 3, pp. 581-610, p. 589; Woolhouse, *Locke,* cit., p. 193.

34 See Harrison and Laslett (eds.), *The Library of John Locke,* cit., pp. 14-15; see also J.C. Attig, *John Locke Bibliography*, cit.

that appeared after his death dealing with the cultivation of vines and olives[35], which led to the work on the history of navigation and the catalogue of travel books that appeared posthumously being attributed to Locke's hand[36].

Locke had known the works of the French philosophers Descartes and Gassendi since his university years at Christ Church: "The first books (as Mr. Locke himself has told me) which gave him a relish of philosophical studies were those of Descartes" wrote Lady Masham after the death of her friend[37]. But the list of his readings, his notes and the desire to learn French by challenging himself to the translation of Nicole's *Discourses*[38], his frequentation of the physicians of Montpellier, the doctor and astronomer Jolly, the Cartesian mathematician Pierre-Sylvain Régius and, above all, the intellectuals of Justell's entourage, introduced him to the works of Bernier and Malebranche, encounters that certainly provided lifeblood for the manuscript *De Intellectu* that he had with him during his travels through France and that he brought back to England when he left Paris in April 1679 and also took to Holland[39].

Returning from his French journey Locke certainly brought back his precious manuscripts and many of his books. However, even the most careful shipping was perilous, and probably constrained him to leave behind certain books and instruments at the time of departure. The English naturalist and collector William Charleton (the alias of William Courten), whom he met in Lyon and who became a friend for life, wrote to Locke in February 1679 that he had sent to Paris

> your bookes which are to the number of 18 and those seeds which I could procure are in the Box No: (1) the catalogue of both went Inclosed ans I hope they have reached your hands, in the letter of mine I mention'd to you (and againe desire) that if the books be in the least troublesome you will be pleased to sell them, for I shall meet with most of them in England if ever I retourne[40].

35 J. Locke, *Observations upon the Growth and Culture of Vines and Olives*, W. Sandby, London 1766. See Jean S. Yolton, *John Locke. A Descriptive Bibliography*, Thoemmes Press, Bristol 1998, pp. 373-74.

36 See Yolton, *John Locke,* cit., pp. 432-33.

37 See Cranston, *John Locke*, cit., p. 100.

38 See J.S. Yolton (ed.), *John Locke as Translator. Three of the "Essais" of Pierre Nicole in French and English,* Voltaire Foundation in association with Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2000; L. Simonutti, "Locke traducteur de Nicole: *The Weaknesse of Man"*, in C. Le Blanc and L. Simonutti (eds.), *Le masque de l'écriture. Philosophie et traduction de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Droz-Rome, CNR, Geneva 2015, pp. 627-39.

39 J.R. Milton, "The Genesis and Composition of the *Essay"*, in M. Stuart (ed.), *A Companion to Locke*, Wiley Blackwell, Chichester 2016, pp. 123-39 and 132-33.

40 William Charleton to Locke, 18 February 1679, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, cit., p. 684.

Both parties to this correspondence display a striking interest in travel literature and in the cultures of other lands and continents. In September 1673, Locke received from William Allestree some pictures – probably coloured drawings – illustrating "The Lives and manners of the Laplanders"[41]. In August 1687 Locke wrote to his friend William Charleton from the important naval hub of the city of Amsterdam:

> I have already spoke to a friend of mine to get for you any raretys that he can light on in the East India fleet which is now here every day expected. I the last weeke put into the hands of Mr. Smith a bookseller living at the Princes Armes in Paulus Churchyard 26 Draughts of the inhabitants of several remote parts of the world espetially the East Indes they are marked thus .2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10 .11.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.24.25.26.27.28.29.30. and the names of most of them writ on the backside with my hand, those whose names are not writ if you know them not I will get explain here, the Brasilian Canibals (of which there are one or two) are easily known, but since there was not the name of the particular nation from which they were taken I would not adde them my self. For the excellency of the drawing I will not answer they being don by my boy who hath faithfully enough represented the originals they were copyed from, soe that one may see the habits and complexion of the people which was the main end they were designed for and therefore you must excuse them if they be not excellent pieces of painting[42].

41 William Allestree, "Notes on a picture showing Lapp life", 16 September 1673, ibid., pp. 390-91.

42 Locke to William Charleton, 2 August 1687, in Locke, *Correspondence,* ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 3, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1978, pp. 239-40. The study by Mariana de Campos Françozo describes and analyses the drawings listed in the letter, most of which have come down to us. The pictorial material reproduced for William Charleton by Locke's secretary and copyist Sylvester Brounower illustrates the philosopher's significant and constant interest in travel literature and exotic peoples and cultures. The author of the essay clarifies: "This article will expand the argument to show that the Locke drawings set were part and parcel of Locke's studies of the natural history of the non-European world, and therefore may have helped to inform his ideas on the natural man. While this article will not delve into the historical anthropology and the political philosophy of John Locke, it aims to bring the Locke drawings collection to light by contextualizing their production as a direct consequence of Locke's six-year stay in the Netherlands. As this article will show, Locke's frequent contacts with scholars, artists, travellers, and their accounts of the native peoples encountered in the Dutch commercial and colonial settlements in Asia, Africa, and South America were the direct source of inspiration for this collection of ethnographic images." M. de Campos 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, pp. 349-74, p. 351.

S. Brounower, *A Brasilian Cannibal*, c. 1683-1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.26). The image is taken from M. de Campos 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, pp. 349-74.

4. *"Thus whither from sea or land our quiet flows". In Holland and again in Cleves*

Lady Damaris Masham, daughter of the Cambridge Neoplatonist Ralph Cudworth, was John Locke's friend for over twenty years. Reminiscing about the significant moments in the life of her late-lamented friend, she provided a glimpse into the climate that induced Locke to leave his own country for

Holland in 1683. In the letter she sent to the Remonstrant theologian and philologist Jean Le Clerc in Amsterdam in the early days of 1705, she consigned to posterity the first biographical and intellectual portrait of the great philosopher. Drawing on her personal memories, the impressions formed through her epistolary exchange with Locke during his Dutch years and the stories he told her in person when he returned to England, at the peaceful manor at Oates, she wrote:

> In the later end of the year 1683 he went into *Holland*, where injoying better health than he had of a long time done in *England* or even in the fine Air of Montpelier he had full leisure to prosecute his Thoughts on the Subject of *Humane Understanding:* a work which in probabilitie he never would have finish'd had he continu'd here. How he pass'd his time in this Retreat you can better tell than I. I have only heard say that he liv'd here very retir'dly: happy (whilst at Amsterdam) in your Conversation and that of the Excellent Monsr. Limborch, whom he often wish'd for in England after his return hither[43].

When Locke disembarked in Rotterdam, he was in the fifty-second year of his life. He left behind him an England and its Crown riven by mistrust, conspiracies of both Catholics and Protestants and the discovery of the Rye House Plot. Moreover, Locke was stricken by the recent death of his friend and protector, the First Earl of Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury had preceded him in voluntary exile in Holland to avoid being arrested on the charge of having plotted against the King. Denying his involvement in any subversive plan against the Crown or in support of the Duke of Monmouth, in a long letter to Lord Pembroke, Locke describes his first spell in Holland:

> My time was most spent alone, at home by my fires side, where I confesse I writ a good deale, I thinke I may say, more then ever I did in soe much time in my life, but noe libells, unlesse perhaps it may be a libell against all mankinde to give some account of the weaknesse and shortnesse of humane understanding, for upon that my old theme de Intellectu humano (on which your Lordship knows I have been a good while a hammering), has my head been beating, and my pen scribleing all the time I have been here except what I have spent in travelling about to see the country[44].

[43] J. Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ed. by M.G. Sina and M. Sina, Olschki, Florence 1987-97, vol. 2, p. 505.
[44] Locke to Thomas Herbert, 28 November 1684, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, cit., p. 664. See also C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period. Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces,* Brill, Leiden 1993.

During the late 1670s and early 80s Locke had been committed to political reflections while writing the *Two Treatises* and being involved with the activities of the Whig party. His contacts with medical and religious circles, especially in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam, stimulated a greater interest in epistemology and theology, and his political reflections were joined by the study and discussion of exegetical-religious questions in addition to focus on the contemporary political-religious debate. Locke's friendship with Philippus van Limborch, Jean Le Clerc and, more generally, his contacts with the Remonstrant circle and with Benjamin Furly and the "De Lantaarn" club in Rotterdam were extremely influential at this time[45].

Locke devoted himself to reading the most representative works of Remonstrant thought and the Dutch authors committed to theological debate. On 20 March 1684 he noted in his journal his ownership of the second edition of the *Opera theologica* by Episcopius, which he then perused attentively. Appearing in the same list of books are the *Colloquia familiaria* by Erasmus – later also joined by the *Adagia* – as well as works of biblical exegesis, such as the edition of the New Testament by Jacob Cappel, and the *Ethica Aristotelica et Christiana* by John Crell, published in Amsterdam in 1681. He also read a number of minor works by Episcopius and the *Opera theologica* by Courcelles.

In the same years Locke also tackled the works of erudite Dutchmen, Gronovius and Senguerdius, one of Limborch's teachers, the numerous writings of Vossius, the works of theologians and controversists such as Coornhert, Wtenbogaert, Van der Waeyen, Van Dale and the *Opera posthuma* of Spinoza. He returned on several occasions to various writings by Velthuysen – friend and correspondent of Limborch – and by Grotius. In relation to the latter, in the early months of 1684 he procured the most recent editions of the *De veritate religionis Christianae* and the *De jure belli ac pacis* – both published in 1680 – and of the *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, in the 1677 edition. Also present in the library of his Dutch period were the *Ecclesiarum Belgicarum confessio et catechesis* in the Utrecht edition of 1660, the *Storia del concilio tridentino* by Sarpi, the works of Calvin and that of Beza on the punishment of heretics. Also significant is the attention that Locke devoted to

[45] See L. Simonutti, "Locke and the Dutch," in W. van Bunge, H. Krop, B. Leeuwenburgh, H. van Ruler, P. Schuurman, M. Wielema (eds.), *The Dictionary of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Dutch Philosophers*, Thoemmes, Bristol 2003, vol. 2, pp. 633-39; Ead., "Political Society and Religious Liberty. Locke at Cleves and in Holland", in *British Journal of the History of Philosophy* 14 (2006), 3, pp. 413-36.

the editions of the Old and New Testaments and the works of biblical exegesis by English and Dutch writers, as well as by authors such as Buxtorf, Spencer and especially Louis and Jacob Cappel. As well as the latter, the ethical and theological works of the two Crells, Johannes and Samuel – in addition to the works of other Socinians such as Volkelius, Schlichtingius and the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* – aroused Locke's interest.

During his sojourn in France Locke had read several political and religious treatises penned by Huguenots in response to mounting persecution by the Catholic Sun King, including the works of Pajon, D'Huisseau and Claude, as well as collections comprising the Edicts of Pacification. In Holland Locke returned to reading a rapidly growing pamphlet production, stimulated by the pressure of events, that had found a haven in the milieu of Dutch intellectuals and publishers. Locke's extensive and varied reading during these Dutch years – in theology, medicine, politics, philosophy, scholarship, natural sciences, geography, travel books, literature, etc. – is illustrated in the two inventories of his library, drawn up in 1686 and again shortly before he left Holland, and in the long lists of books that fill the pages of his journals, interspersed with brief comments, notes of lent and borrowed volumes, of works sent to friends, details of journeys, changes of address and payments made.

The significance of the collaboration between Locke and Le Clerc for the reception of the philosopher's works on the Continent is well known. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that for Locke it also provided insight into the culture of the Refuge and the political and religious debates of not only French, but Dutch and English liberal Protestantism, as well as connections with theologians, polemists, printers and intellectual émigrés in Holland, some of whom became translators of his works and close collaborators, such as Pierre Coste and Pierre Des Maizeaux.

During his time in Holland, most probably urged by the curiosity of his friend and correspondent Damaris Masham, while travelling in certain regions of the country Locke took the opportunity of visiting Wieuwerd, a village close to Leeuwarden, where a famous community of Labadists lived. Damaris Cudworth Masham had been reared in the Neoplatonic and Latitudinarian circles of Cambridge; she integrated the philosophical education received from her father with her interest in Locke's own philosophy. In the letters she sent him between 1684 and 1685 she stressed the legitimacy of the ethical and mystical component of philosophical and theological thought and questioned her friend about certain Protestant brethren, the Labadists since she had

heard great praise of their way of life, religious ideas and social organisation. While responding to Lady Masham's interest by sending her works by Labadist writers, Locke revealed his own scepticism about a confessional sect that granted too much space to zeal and submission and too little to the rationality and liberty of its adherents. On 22 August 1684, after having spent the day in the community of Wieuwerd, in his journal he wrote a detailed report on the rules of coexistence within the community in which private property was not allowed and the religious and social discipline of which was in the hands of the pastor Yvon. After acknowledging the purity of heart of these believers, Locke went on to stress the anomaly between their strong mystical-religious sentiment and the role of *dominus factotum* which their spiritual guide, the pastor Yvon, had taken upon himself.

In early 1687 Locke moved to the house of Benjamin Furly in Rotterdam, where he spent many happy months surrounded anew by the dissident friends, Quakers, Republicans and Huguenots that gathered at the learned merchant's house. But before this, his sojourn in Amsterdam was interrupted by other journeys. Induced by political events in the homeland and his frequentation of dissident circles, he stayed in Utrecht through the winter of 1684-85 and the autumn of 1686. In the autumn of 1685 he also spent several weeks in Cleves.

Once again we should stress here that Locke's first sojourn in Cleves must have played a significant role in his intellectual evolution since twenty years later – and against the advice of his best friends of the time, the Dutchmen Philippus van Limborch and Pieter Guenellon – he unexpectedly decided to return to visit the city, a journey on this occasion shrouded in secrecy. In answer to his friends' questions about the reasons for his departure, he explained it as a desire for rest from his travels and worries in the "calm and clear air" of the country town. But his assertions failed to dispel his friends' perplexity and a certain air of mystery, and the real motives for this visit are far from having been explained.

> Dans ce que vous avez eû la bonté de me dire sur la maniere dont nôtre Ami passoit son temp, lorsqu'il étoit hors de l'Angleterre il y a un endroit sur lequel j'aurois souhaité que vous vous fussiez expliqué d'avantage. Je veux dire que vous m'eussiez appris quelles étoient ces promesses qui l'engagerent à aller à Cleves et par qui elles lui furent faites: car je ne sai rien de tout de cela[46].

[46] Damaris Cudworth, Lady Masham to Philippus van Limborch, 17 September 1705, Universiteit Bibliotheek-Amsterdam, MS. M.31c.

This was what Lady Damaris Masham wrote to Limborch in September 1705 when, after the death of the philosopher, she was requested by Jean Le Clerc and Pierre Coste to help reconstruct the various events of Locke's life for the purposes of a biography. Although the noblewoman had had Locke as her guest for over ten years, consolidating what was effectively a much longer intellectual association, not even this friendship had been able to elicit any revelation regarding the philosopher's mysterious sojourn in Cleves in the autumn of 1685.

With a tone of mild reproach, Limborch recalled that Locke had been persuaded to undertake this journey by a certain vainglorious individual, but that he very soon returned to Amsterdam since he had had been unable to find a position in which he felt secure[47]. Limborch provided Lady Masham with all the scant information in his possession regarding Locke's departure for Cleves. His philosopher friend had been induced to make this trip by an individual whose name Limborch does not reveal, although he knows it, while stressing his distinctly bragging character. He recalls how, along with Veen and Guenellon, he accompanied Locke to board the ferry for Utrecht, and remembers the reluctance with which he took leave of his friend.

Once he had reached the Brandenburg town Locke did not fail to forward news of himself, continues Limborch, who concludes his account to Lady Masham by recalling how in the space of a few weeks the philosopher became aware of the vanity and boastfulness of this mentor and returned to Amsterdam. Here he resumed his close frequentation of Limborch himself and his secret life under the pseudonym of Doctor van den Linden.

It emerges, then, that Locke had initially planned to spend the winter in this peaceful spot with its particularly healthy climate, to the extent that he had even invited his Amsterdam friends to visit him there[48]. Limborch's reply was that such a visit would have been possible in the late Spring of 1686, except naturally in the felicitous event of his friend's early return to Amsterdam. Before leaving for Cleves Locke had read the manuscript of the *Theologia Christiana*, Limborch's principal work which was to appear in 1686, the final four chapters of which were devoted to the question of toleration and the illegitimacy of coercion of heretics.

[47] Limborch to Lady Masham, 6 April 1706, Universiteit Bibliotheek-Amsterdam, MS. D.III.16, 55v.

[48] Locke to Philippus van Limborch, 18 September 1685, in Locke, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, cit., p. 740.

During the weeks of his sojourn in the Brandenburg duchy, and in the winter of 1685, Locke put the finishing touches to his *Epistola de tolerantia*, and it is very likely that he had planned to continue the drafting of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* during the peaceful months in Cleves[49].

He had brought with him Le Clerc's reply to the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Paris, 1678) written by Richard Simon, and so he applied himself to an attentive critical reading of the essay *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Amsterdam, 1685). It was possibly therefore with a view to working in peace that Locke chose a place which he already knew and which, twenty years earlier, had struck him on account of its economic and social organisation and the remarkable religious liberty which managed to thrive within a political context of a monarchic and absolutist stamp. At Cleves, still under cover of pseudonyms, Locke was the guest of Mayer, the Great Elector's secretary[50].

No less significant was the political and social context of Brandenburg at the time, and to an even greater extent that of the Duchy of Cleves, which enjoyed legislative privileges designed to protect the Catholic community and religious plurality in general. For Frederick William, the political ideal of a modern state based on a strong administrative centralisation, and consequently capable of safeguarding personal property and security, was founded on three principles that guaranteed its prosperity: to seek the welfare of the subjects without exclusion based on their religion, to develop commerce and to increase the population. At his explicit wish, and in line with the Great Elector's political – and, even more pointedly, economic – plan, the Duchy of Cleves became a place of refuge for exiles from all countries. It attracted Poles, Waldensians, Socinians and Mennonites, but also Germans with religious ideas that were opposed to those of their own prince. It welcomed Catholics from Holland and thousands of Huguenot refugees in flight from the persecutions and *dragonnades* of the France of the Sun King that culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes proclaimed in October 1685. Significantly, Frederick William replied to this in November of the same year with the Edict of Potsdam, which opened the frontiers to the French exiles, promising them free allocation of land and building materials and exemption from taxes for six years[51]. This was a religious

[49] Locke to Philippus van Limborch, 26 September 1685, ibid., pp. 747-49.

[50] R. Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's "Two Treatises of Government"*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1986, p. 471.

[51] G. Dethan, "L'absolutisme en Prusse au XVIIe siècle: Le Grand Électeur Frédéric Guillaume", in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 76 (1962), pp. 267-73, 271-72.

freedom and political toleration which, far from thinning the ranks of the numerous religious communities and weakening the organisation of the state, on the contrary actually strengthened it and signified a crucial contribution to demographic growth and social and economic progress. The enactment of such a political programme could not fail to interest the author of the *Epistola de tolerantia*.

Locke's dialogue with the friends he had met during his travels and in Holland persisted through the following years, during his sojourn in Rotterdam and after his return to England. Limborch played a decisive role in publishing the *Epistola*, after which he was also an attentive reader of the subsequent replies by Proast, of the writings on Christian religion and of *The Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Even after Locke had left Amsterdam, the relations between the two authors were not weakened, even if the ethical-religious aspects of one's thought and the philosophical-gnoseological aspects of the other's progressively came to mark a divide in their cultural evolution.

Locke and Furly may have had the opportunity to meet when Locke disembarked in Rotterdam in September 1683, although it is more likely that the meeting took place in the course of Locke's journeys through Holland between May and June 1686, or that they were introduced by their common acquaintance, the radical writer and politician John Freke. In any case, from February 1687 Locke became an almost permanent guest at Furly's house and part of the wealthy merchant's circle of acquaintances and correspondents. Furly devoted himself to his commercial activities with such profit that he was recognised as one of the foremost businessmen of the city, and he devoted the same energy to his patronage of literature and free intellectual activity.

The principal arguments of the letters between Locke and Furly during the philosopher's sojourn in Holland were criticism of the political and religious organisation of the Labadists and the appearance of the *Essay* in abridged form. But above all they shared an intense interest in the mediaeval codex *Liber Sententiarum*, which Locke had been able to see during the months he spent in Montpellier. Furly had purchased the transcription and later acquired the codex itself, which was to become the rarest and most expensive item in his library. From March 1688 their mutual friend Limborch also became directly involved in this editorial scheme, which had its epilogue in 1692 when the *Historia Inquisitionis* was published, edited by the Amsterdam theologian. The volume constituted a highly incisive means for intervening in the political-

religious debate which in these very years was involving Locke, Limborch and Furly, as well as numerous English exiles and French refugees, the Huguenots and the liberal Protestants, the Latitudinarians, and the dissidents who had remained in their own country.

Locke must then have found himself at his ease at the "Lantaarn" both in terms of the cultural climate which, as we have observed, reigned there, and in terms of the individuals who gathered at the club during these years: Quakers such as Arent Sonneman, doctors such as Hermanus Lufneu (whose work on fermentation, on sympathetic operations and on hydrostatics was attentively reviewed in the pages of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* and in Rabus's magazine), Tobias Ludwig Kohlhans, a doctor and defender of Quakerism in Germany, and Van Helmont. Then there were polygraphs including Peter Rabus – involved in a Dutch translation of Locke's *Essay*, albeit an edition that never saw the light of day – a friend of Bayle, Van Dale, and Balthasar Bekker, an individual of considerable importance as well as editor of the erudite journal *Boekzaal van Europe*, and theologians including Limborch and Le Clerc. There were also philosophers, among them Bayle and the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as dissenters and refugees and eminent politicians such as the ambassador Adriaan van Paets, connected with the Rijnsburg Collegiants and the Remonstrants.

Locke's encounter with Furly's library – over 4,400 volumes representing the most brilliant and also the most polemic publications of the seventeenth century, as well as the ancient and Christian classics – must have been an extraordinary experience. Just a few days after his arrival in the merchant's house, on the first of March 1687, Locke borrowed from this library the works of Dirk Coornhert and of Camphuysen, a *Synopsis linguae latinae* and, more particularly, the work by the heretic and tolerant Caelius Secundus Curio, *De amplitudine beati regni Dei* (Basle, 1554). All of these, apart from those of Coornhert, are effectively works that do not appear in the inventory of Locke's library. But it was above all during 1688 that Locke in his journal made long lists of books in which he was interested, with their respective prices, which he occasionally purchased at auctions. In these extensive lists the notes for purchase of books for his own library are intermingled with those destined for Furly's. In fact, Locke in turn also lent books to Furly, such as the writings of Cingallus Hermannus, the pseudonym of Johannes Crellius, *Scriptura S. Trinitatis revelatrix* (Gouda, 1678) just as he acted as go-between in the loan to the Earl of Pembroke of Furly's volume of the work *Kabbala denudata* (Frankfurt, 1677).

An estimate of the precise effect of the influence of Limborch's and Furly's circles on the English philosopher is something which has yet to emerge with greater clarity[52]. What is certain is that his stay in the Low Countries was an experience that remained central in Locke's mind.

5. *The "Isabella". London and Oates*

It was a journey at once longed-for and tinged with sadness. In the early weeks of 1689 Locke went to Amsterdam to bid farewell to Limborch and his other dearest friends. On 15 February, through the good offices of Furly, he sent his luggage – 16 boxes and a small barrel[53] – back to England. Finally on 20 February 1689, accompanied to the gangway by his faithful friend, John Locke boarded the *Isabella* and left Holland for the last time[54]. This is how Elisabeth Thorson relates his journey home:

> Locke watched as the silhouette of Rotterdam steadily shrunk into a black dot on the horizon, until it was swallowed completely by the mist. He silently bid farewell to the continent, his friends in Amsterdam, and to 6 years in exile. A true sailor, he thought, experiences in life two chief joys: the first one when he departs, with the ocean's vastness and adventures before him, and the second; when he returns and sights his homeland, at last, with Neptune's trials behind him. Locke was not a sailor. What he felt, in that moment, was a mixture of hope, relief, bewildered uncertainty, and slight seasickness (possibly caused by the pickled herring he'd had for breakfast). His hope was for England, his relief for finally returning, and his uncertainty as to what he was returning *to*. He thought especially of Damaris Cudworth. And perhaps of the condition of his books, that he had left behind in Oxford[55].

[52] L. Simonutti, "Religion, Philosophy and Science: Locke and the Limborch's Circle", in J.E. Force, D.S. Katz (eds.), *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin,* Brill, Leiden 1999, pp. 295-324; Ead., "English Guests at 'De Lantaarn': Sidney, Penn, Locke, Shaftesbury and Toland", in S. Hutton (ed.), *Benjamin Furly (1636-1714) a Quaker Merchant and his Milieu,* Olschki, Florence 2007, pp. 31-66.

[53] Cranston, *John Locke*, cit., p. 310, footnote 3, specifies that according to a note in the journal dated February 1689 "thirteen of these boxes (nine 'double boxes' and four 'rough deal boxes') contained books; one was a 'little deal box with old linen and woollen in it'; another was a 'little casque with iron furnace in it'".

[54] Ibid., pp. 310-11; Woolhouse, *Locke,* cit., pp. 264-65.

[55] E. Thorson, *John Locke and The Order of the Black Keys Or After Six Years in Exile*. Copyright © 2019 Dr. Elisabeth Thorson, pp. 1-8, [preprint]. I should like to thank the author for having let me read her short novel.

Locke returned to find a country that had changed under the rule of William of Orange, but the London climate and his burden of commitments made his asthma worse and convinced him to settle permanently in the welcoming manor house of the Mashams. The friendship between Lady Masham and Locke probably developed towards the end of 1681, after their first meeting. She had a preferential exchange with Locke for over a decade and was the inspiring muse of intellectual life at the manor of Oates[56]. Thus, the trunks and boxes of books that had accompanied him on the Continent, the objects he had gathered on his travels and his possessions stored by Tyrrell in his absence set off for their last journey:

> Locke entrusted Tyrrell with the storage of his furniture and books from Christ Church when he had to move abroad in 1683. Back in England seven years later under William III, by 1691 he was moving from London lodgings to a more permanent home with Sir Francis and Lady Masham at Oates in Essex and asked for his Oxford belongings to be returned to him. This took a long time, because of the problems of transporting safely furniture, household goods, and valuable items as well as numerous heavy books. Much was sent by the newly restored river-barge route between Oxford and London[57].

The shipping was carried out in several consignments, and with some difficulty on the part of Tyrrell in preparing the boxes of books and objects that he had kept in storage for years in the family homes at Shotover and Oakley. Some of the books had been borrowed by Tyrrell himself or his relatives to read and sometimes never returned[58]. "This consignment included six large boxes, two smaller and a trunk, plus a large bundle of linens, and a cane chair. Locke's goods from Christ Church included a very large number of books as well as items awkward to pack (two carpets were too big to go in the bundle)"[59].

[56] See L. Simonutti, "Lady Damaris Masham, Liberty, Reason and the Love of God", in *Laboratorio dell'ISPF - Rivista elettronica di testi, saggi e strumenti* 15 (2018), pp.1-14, http://www.ispf-lab.cnr.it/archive.

[57] E. Berris, "On the Lending and Losing of Books: 'how many more of your books I daily make use of'", Saturday, 15 June 2019, https://frozenink.blogspot.com/2019/06/on-lending-and-losing-of-books-how-many.html. For a more complete picture of the books and possessions that Locke had stored with friends and that he exerted himself to get back to Oates, see Woolhouse, *Locke,* cit., pp. 300-302.

[58] See James Tyrrell to Locke, 29 June 1691 and 15 October 1691, in Locke, *Correspondence*, ed. by E.S. De Beer, vol. 4, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1979, pp. 286-87 and 316-17. The letters contain a detailed list of the items stored in the chests at Oakley and of several books borrowed by Tyrrell to read.

[59] E. Berris, "On the Lending and Losing of Books", cit.

Together with the reserved and prudent Locke, Damaris Masham turned her house at Oates into a meeting place, a site designed for "Rational Conversation" between numerous overseas scholars and English friends. As she wrote to Leibniz in August 1704: "Rational conversation with mutual Good will, has the greatest charms that I know in life, and I have hitherto been very happy in respect of that enjoyment"[60].

This 'salon' was partially virtual, comprising not only the philosopher's visitors, but also the network of correspondents which Locke in particular, but Damaris too, succeeded in establishing with the intellectuals, politicians and cultured and curious individuals of their time. Pierre Des Maizeaux, Frans Limborch – son of the theologian from Amsterdam – Pierre Coste, friend, translator and tutor of Lady Masham's only son, as well as Edward Clarke, Peter King, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, William Popple, Lord Peterborough (later Marlborough) and Isaac Newton were among the most assiduous and famous visitors to the salon at Oates. But there were also a number of prominent figures, including personal friends, living on the Continent who would have liked to spend time with Locke and Lady Masham but were on various occasions prevented from doing so. Despite this, their ideas and their writings continued to chart the philosopher's boundless intellectual horizons.

Conclusion

Locke's intellectual evolution and the experiences connected with his sojourns on the Continent were charted in the numerous letters sent to friends, the official reports and the daily entries in a sort of travel journal. The details provided range from his early education in London and at Oxford to his meeting with the First Earl of Shaftesbury, to the political and religious reflections that laid the foundations for the consolidation of his concept of tolerance, his political treatises and *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*. The aim of these initial notes is to focus on certain central aspects of Locke's thought through a conceptual prism that can cast light on new interpretational pathways.

These encounters, readings and experiences made Locke an emblem of the new man conceived by Francis Bacon in 1601 in his brief essay "Of Travel".

[60] Lady Masham to Leibniz, 8 August 1704, in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Die Philosophischen Schriften,* ed. by C.I. Gerhardt, vol. 3, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin 1887, p. 361.

This travel was not simply the Renaissance ideal of education of the young aristocrat, comprising study, attendance at the university and the encounter with learned men from other countries, with other histories, religions and politics, so as to be able to adopt the role "wise man" in one's own country. For Bacon, travel represented a crucial component in the quest for true knowledge, not pursuant to *auctoritas* but pursuant to a new method and order. Travelling that fostered the acquisition of knowledge and experience, the selection of flowers with which to adorn national culture once one returned home, without neglecting to keep alive through correspondence the relations with the worthy people encountered.

Thirty years later, in the brief handbook *Profitable Instructions Describing what Speciall Observations are to be Taken by Travellers in All Nations, States and Countries*, which Locke had in his library, Benjamin Fisher – very plausibly the author of the *Preface* – described in more explicit terms the training of the "perfect Man", prefiguring an ideal that also surfaces recurrently in Locke's thoughts.

> For ability to treat with men of several humours, factions, and Countries; duly to comply with them, or stand off, as occasion shall require, is not gotten onely by reading of books, but rather by studying of men. Yet this ever holds true; The best scholler is fittest for a Traveller, as being able to make the most useful observation: Experience added to learning, makes a perfect Man[61].

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