

John Locke's Note-Taking in France, 1675-1679: Between Journals and Commonplace Books

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Abstract: On 12 November 1675, the physician and philosopher, John Locke (1632-1704), sailed for France without his commonplace books, the notebooks on which he had come to rely. For the next three and a half years, he assiduously recorded in journals things that he saw, heard, thought and read. What effects, if any, did this switch have on his note-taking and thinking? I suggest that Locke embraced the new options presented by the journal form in which notes were not necessarily tied to textual excerpts. Unlike the commonplace book, the journal demanded the dating of entries; and its portability encouraged the noting of on-the-spot observation, testimony, conversation, and trains of thought. On this basis, Locke pursued his inquiries under the rubric of Baconian natural history, adding 'Queries' to both excerpts and empirical observations, taking case histories of his patients, and venturing into new philosophical topics connected with *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). The journal offered the freedom to make a note on any topic on any page; but this meant that Locke had to overlook the distinction between subjects he classified as either 'Physica' (medicine and science) or 'Ethica' (politics and religion) and entered in separate commonplace books. He regarded this as a temporary situation, setting up each journal with marginal heads/titles, cross-references and indexes that linked them to the commonplace books at home. On his return, he transferred selected material from the journals to the appropriate commonplace books. After appreciating the flexibility of the journal in France, Locke consolidated his existing database and retained his well-tried method of searching it.

Keywords: John Locke, journal, commonplace book, indexes, classification of knowledge, queries, transfer of information

In a letter of 25 April 1690, John Locke offered an intriguing piece of information to the German classical scholar, Johann Graevius:

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You will find enclosed herein a fragment of an ancient Roman journal [fragmentum diarii antiquæ Romani], which was recently communicated to me by that distinguished and learned man the earl of Carbery [John Vaughan]. I have the greater pleasure in sending it to you because I do not remember having come across anything of the sort anywhere.¹

This is the only instance, as far as I know, in which Locke specified the journal (or diary) as a type of notebook worthy of scholarly interest. As we shall see, he used journals from 12 November 1675 until 24 October 1704, making a financial entry just before his death on 28 October;² but he did not reflect on the type of note-taking journals entailed. However, in an article entitled “Méthode nouvelle” (“New Method”) in the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (published in Amsterdam in July 1686), he gave a detailed explication of his way of using commonplace books over the last twenty-five years, a method that determined the entry and retrieval of notes.³ One reason for this contrast between silence and explicit attention is that the commonplace book belonged to the genre of *ars excerptendi* (the art or skill of excerpting), a scholarly practice that flourished, especially in German lands, from the early 1600s.⁴ In his *De arte excerptendi* (1689), the Hamburg jurist and scholar, Vincent Placcius (1642-1699), discussed several exponents of note-taking advice, including Locke, referring to his anonymous contribution as a “libro Gallico Anonymo”.⁵ In this article I ask what kind of journals Locke kept in France and whether they were connected in any way with the commonplace books he maintained during a lifetime of note-taking. I suggest that he worked deliberately to make the journals partners of these other notebooks.

¹ Locke to J.G. Grævius, 25 April 1690 in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 4, no. 1286, pp. 63-64 (quotation trans. from Latin by E.S. de Beer). Graevius was professor of politics and history at the University of Utrecht. On ancient journals, see Bacon, *Advancement*, pp. 69-70.

² Lovelace Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke f. 10, p. 28 [error for p. 24]. For extant scholarship on the journals, see the “Introduction” to this issue; and Terenzio, “Journals di Locke”.

³ [Locke], “Méthode nouvelle de dresser des recueils” (the modern spelling, “*recueils*”, displaced “*recueils*” in the eighteenth century); Locke, “A New Method of a Common-Place-Book”. For accounts of this method, see Meynell, “Locke’s Method of Common-placing”; Yeo, “Locke’s ‘New Method’”; Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 176-82, 212-18; Stolberg, “Locke’s New Method”, pp. 452-55; Locke, *Literary and Historical*, pp. 30-34, 46-50 in the section “Writings on the New Method” by Milton and Yeo.

⁴ This note-taking was theorized in learned Latin manuals and treatises; see Zedelmair, “De ratione excerptendi”; Cevolini, *De arte excerptendi*; Cevolini, *Forgetting*; Dêcultot, Krämer and Zedelmair, “History of Excerpting in Modernity”; Zedelmair, “Excerpting/Commonplaces”.

⁵ Placcius, *De arte excerptendi*, p. 10. For advice and reflection on note-taking, see Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 62-116; Yeo, *Notebooks*.

When Locke sailed for France on 12 November 1675, it was probably with the aim of improving his health; he did not return for almost three and a half years.⁶ He set out on this sojourn without his commonplace books, large and small – the paper tools on which he normally relied.⁷ The size of the folio commonplace books ruled them out as travel companions.⁸ Moreover, for the first time in his life Locke began to keep a journal, starting with an entry in shorthand logging his departure from Gravesend, London for Calais.⁹ During his time in France the four journals he used comprised some 1400 pages.¹⁰ Apart from the first, started in London, they are bound with a French almanac for the year.¹¹ Indeed, “almanac” became a label in Locke’s personal referencing: thus on 5 April 1677 he made a list of “Things sent home”, which included “Almanac 76” along with books and other items.¹² This must be the journal for 1676 – an identity confirmed by a later “Inventory” of books which includes “Alman. 76.77.78.79”.¹³

⁶ Locke most likely suffered from chronic asthma but thought it might be phthisis (tuberculosis); see Cranston, *Locke*, p. 160. For an overview of his time in France, see Bonno, *Relations Intellectuelles*, pp. 45-105.

⁷ The Scottish philosopher, Alexander Fraser, implied that Locke did have some commonplace books with him; see Fraser, “Prolegomena”, p. xxviii: “In France, for the first time, his [Locke’s] daily history may be traced in the circumstantial record of a journal, as well as in common-place books”. But see Locke, *Essay Concerning Toleration*, p. 137, n. 2 (editors’ introduction) for the absence of these notebooks in France. They were probably left at the Earl of Shaftesbury’s residence, Exeter House, London where Locke had been living since May 1667. See Cranston, *Locke*, pp. 108-9.

⁸ For example, MS Locke d. 9. This notebook, called “Adversaria Physica”, measures 286×186 mm. In contrast, the journals were almost pocket-book size: MS Locke f. 3 measures 161×108 mm. It is worth noting that most of the medical commonplace books were smaller: MS Locke f. 19 measures 135×83 mm. See Milton, “Locke’s Medical Notebooks”.

⁹ MS Locke, f. 1, p. 1 (12 November 1675). Before this trip Locke did keep memoranda notebooks (for example, MSS Locke f. 11, f. 12, f. 13) for financial accounts, including book purchases and other matters. Cranston, “Locke in France”, col. 737 may have had the early memoranda in mind: “On his travels, as at home, he [Locke] kept a journal ...”. See Locke, *Essay concerning Toleration*, pp. 2-3 (editors’ introduction) for the absence of a regular journal until November 1675.

¹⁰ The last entry of the French trip is dated 6 May 1679, in the fourth journal; British Library (BL), London, Add. MS 15642, p. 92.

¹¹ See MS Locke f. 2 (1677), bound with *Le grand almanach journalier*. On the significance of almanacs, see Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 15-56. While in France, Locke used the new-style Gregorian calendar; see MS Locke f. 1, p. 1 for 19/29 November 1675 (3rd entry) and 20/30 November 1675 (4th entry) – the last of the entries until he returned home showing dates, respectively, in the Julian and Gregorian calendars.

¹² MS Locke f. 2, pp. 100-3, at p. 102 (5 April 1677), “Things sent home”; Lough, “Locke’s Reading”, p. 237.

¹³ MS Locke f. 4, p. 8 (3 February 1680). These journals and other manuscripts (including a draft of the *Essay* titled “Intellectus”) were left in Oxford with George Walls, a fellow scholar at Christ Church, Oxford, while Locke travelled to Salisbury; see Locke, *Draft C*, pp. xxiii-xxiv (editors’ introduction). Walls had accompanied Locke for some of the time in France; they took language lessons with a “French M^r” [Master]; MS Locke f. 1, p. 37 (9 January 1676); Lough, *Travels*, p. 17, n. 5.

These were the four journals used in France. The entries in these were fully dated and made in strict chronological order, whereas the majority of the notebooks he left in England were commonplace books arranged by topical headings attached to undated entries.¹⁴ It is possible that Locke worked and travelled with sections of the journal in unbound quires before binding them at the end of each year.¹⁵ He obviously had his annual journal close at hand as he read, observed, thought, and conversed on his travels, which included extended stays in Paris and Montpellier (where he lived for about fourteen months from 4 January 1676).¹⁶

Locke's journal entries, although regular, were not driven by an obligation to account for each day.¹⁷ In fact, unlike those in Samuel Pepys' diary, his entries are not strictly daily ones, although they sometimes approximated to this when he travelled from place to place. There is nothing in them like Pepys' confession that he had missed a day, or more, and was now repairing this gap: "Up, and enter all my Journall since the 28th of October, having every day's passage well in my head, though it troubles me to remember it".¹⁸ This comment is significant alongside Stuart Sherman's observation that "No English diary before Pepys's moves literally day by day over the entire course of the document".¹⁹ Locke did not respond to a blank diary page that must be filled, but rather to things he saw, heard, read and thought. In this respect his sensibility is closer to that of Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), the French scholar and antiquarian of whom the philosopher, Pierre Gassendi, remarked that "He was so unweary in writing, that he presently noted down, whatever he met with".²⁰ This might appear as almost impulsive registering of whatever touched the senses; however, both these note-takers were informed by well-established interests and a conviction that material stored in the present would be useful in the future.

¹⁴ Despite these distinctions, the boundary between commonplace books and other collections of notes was porous; see Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, pp. 30-34.

¹⁵ Locke, *Draft C*, p. xxii, n. 2 (editors' introduction).

¹⁶ Locke had spent a short time in Paris in early October 1672; see Cranston, *Locke*, pp. 145-46; Locke to John Strachey [mid-October 1672], Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, no. 264, pp. 366-69.

¹⁷ Compare an entry in the diary (from 1624) of the German schoolmaster, David Beck, who lived in the Netherlands: "The 19th, weather as the day before. I wrote an ABC-poem before noon. Read in the afternoon... Did nothing extraordinary besides that. Walked in the evening 4 or 5 times in The Hague without talking to anyone", cited in Blaak, "Autobiographical Reading", p. 63.

¹⁸ Pepys, *Diaries*, 10 November 1665, p. 552.

¹⁹ Sherman, *Telling Time*, p. 35.

²⁰ Gassendi, *Mirror*, Book VI, pp. 191-92 cited in Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World*, p. 13; also p. 28. See MS Locke f. 14, pp. 28, 29, 76 for favourable notices of Gassendi from Boyle and others; and Milton, "Date and Significance", pp. 58-60.

1. *Titles, adversaria, indexes and maps (or schemes)*

In France, Locke adopted journals, deciding not to travel with any of the commonplace books he had been using for at least fifteen years.²¹ However, it is important to recognize that although he had not kept regular journals (aside from memoranda containing financial transactions), Locke did not lack experience of the grind of *daily* note-taking. From 24 June 1666 until June 1683, with some gaps, including the years in France, he maintained a weather "Register" in Oxford, making entries under "*Aer*" (air) in the back of a large commonplace book.²² He later continued these records at "Oates", the home of Damaris Masham and her husband, Sir Francis Masham, in High Laver, Essex from December 1691 until May 1703. In doing so, Locke displayed the disciplined, and perhaps compulsive, aspects of his note-taking and personality. On average he made these records once each day, but as early as the third day he filled in six sets of observations at various hours between nine in the morning and ten at night. Occasionally he made late-night entries, such as one on 7 July 1666 at 11pm when he noted "Lightning" – possibly part of a storm which woke him.²³ Although Locke was already a meticulous commonplace note-taker, the habits demanded by this Register may have supported his journal-keeping in France.²⁴

One important feature of Locke's practice in the journals is not modelled on other journals of the time, but rather on recent commonplacing techniques. As soon as he made entries in the first journal, Locke inserted titles (from *titulus/tituli*) in the margins next to them. Those on the first page are "Calais", "Portage", "Vectura", "Diging [sic]", "Invalides" and "Pension", recording things he noticed on the way to Paris and on his first day there (he stayed only ten days before leaving, via Lyons, for Montpellier). This practice derived from

²¹ Locke began to apply the systematic procedures, later called the "New Method", in 1660; Milton, "Locke at Oxford", p. 34.

²² MS Locke d. 9, pp. 531-471 rev. Locke began the Register at the back of the notebook and filled approximately sixty pages.

²³ See Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 1-5, 188-95; Yeo, "Thinking with Excerpts", pp. 197-98.

²⁴ Locke continued to make weather observations in his journal, especially between May 1676 and February 1677 (Lough, *Locke's Travels*, p. xxii). In the absence of his dedicated Register it is not clear how these could contribute to a methodical natural history. Some measurements may be trials of his instruments, such as the hygrometer (not thermometer, as Lough says on p. 107) alluded to in an entry about moisture in "marine winde"; MS Locke f. 1, p. 363 (26 July 1676), "Winde". See also Locke to Toinard (in Latin), 16/26 July 1678 in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, no. 394, p. 596 for "Hygrometrum". From 30 July 1666 he entered readings from an hygrometer in his "Register".

developments within *ars excerpendi*. Since the aim of such note-taking was the retention of excerpts for future use, reliable retrieval was crucial. There was a strong conviction that this was facilitated by giving entries heads, or titles (as Francis Bacon and Locke preferred). However, an important exception was allowed: namely, that notes might be made on loose sheets, or in small paperbooks, as they occurred in reading – that is, in chronological order before being copied into appropriate sections of a commonplace book. The analogy with the passage from merchants' waste books, via journals, to ledgers was routinely cited.²⁵ The Cambridge tutor, Richard Holdsworth, contended that "paper bookes of a portable size in Octavo" were ideal for this initial collection because, as he conceded, indolent students found it too much "to rise every foot to a great Folio book, & toss it and turn it for evry [every] little pasage y^t [that] is to be writt downe".²⁶ It is likely that the intended transfer to topical collections often did not occur. In his *Of Education* (1673), the Oxford scholar and tutor, Obadiah Walker, recommended making an index to several paperbooks containing excerpts – without mentioning any consolidation of these in a large commonplace book.²⁷

In subjects from philology to medicine and natural philosophy, many scholars opted for these preliminary notes (called *adversaria*), often admitting that they were collected in an *ordine fortuito*, not according to a systematic method.²⁸ The chemist and experimental philosopher, Robert Boyle, spoke in the early 1670s of "tumble[ing] over some of my *Adversaria*", describing such "loose Notes" as being taken without "any other order then that wherein they chanc'd to occur to me".²⁹ At first glance Locke's "New Method" might appear to produce such a fortuitous collection, but this was not so. Indeed, one of its advantages was that it made the two-step process from loose notes to organized commonplace books redundant. When making an entry Locke immediately assigned a title to it and wrote this, as he said, "in large letters in the margent

²⁵ More generally, see Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 61-65; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, pp. 150-57.

²⁶ Holdsworth, "Directions" (composed c. 1615-1637), nos. 50-51, pp. 651-52; see Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 49-53.

²⁷ Walker, *Of Education*, pp. 129-30. For Locke's copy, see LL, no. 1019 (under "Education").

²⁸ See Sanderson, *Logicae artis compendium*, pp. 110-14 for the contrast between two ways of gathering commonplaces: *methodica* and *adversaria*; see LL, no. 2548^a. This work is the most likely source of Locke's knowledge of the *ars excerpendi* literature.

²⁹ Boyle, "New Experiments" (1674), p. 225; "Cogitationes Physicae" (1670s-1680s), Boyle Papers (BP), Royal Society of London, vol. 8, fol. 211^r. See also Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 151-70. Boyle usually added marginal Titles to entries in his "workdiaries" (from 1647 to 1691) but acknowledged the disarray of his papers; see Hunter and Littleton, "Work-diaries".

[margin]". Each double opening of a notebook was reserved for entries with titles sharing the same first letter/next vowel combination (for example, *Me* for "Melancholia", *Ve* for "Vertigo"). Locke called this a "*classis*", or class, and his "Index" allowed for 100 of these (see Fig. 1). This practice meant that disparate topics, such as "Veterinaria", "Vertigo" and "Vegetabilia" (all of the *Ve* "class") appeared on the same page, whereas cognate subjects such as "Respiratio" and "Sanguis" were scattered throughout the notebook.³⁰ Yet even so, Locke's method guaranteed that the collection of notes, which he called "my *adversaria*", was searchable and retrievable.³¹

The figure shows two pages from a notebook. The left page is numbered 312 and titled "A New METHOD of". It contains a grid of 100 cells, organized by letter and vowel combinations. The right page is numbered 313 and titled "a COMMON-PLACE-BOOK." It also contains a grid of 100 cells, organized by letter and vowel combinations. The grids are as follows:

Letter	Vowel	Page 312	Page 313
A	a		
A	e		
A	i		
A	o		
A	u		
B	a		
B	e		
B	i		
B	o		
B	u		
C	a		
C	e		
C	i		
C	o		
C	u		
D	a		
D	e		
D	i		
D	o		
D	u		
E	a		
E	e		
E	i		
E	o		
E	u		
F	a		
F	e		
F	i		
F	o		
F	u		
G	a		
G	e		
G	i		
G	o		
G	u		
H	a		
H	e		
H	i		
H	o		
H	u		
I	a		
I	e		
I	i		
I	o		
I	u		
L	a		
L	e		
L	i		
L	o		
L	u		
M	a		
M	e		
M	i		
M	o		
M	u		
N	a		
N	e		
N	i		
N	o		
N	u		
O	a		
O	e		
O	i		
O	o		
O	u		
P	a		
P	e		
P	i		
P	o		
P	u		
R	a		
R	e		
R	i		
R	o		
R	u		
S	a		
S	e		
S	i		
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U	a		
U	e		
U	i		
U	o		
U	u		
X	a		
X	e		
X	i		
X	o		
X	u		
Z	a		
Z	e		
Z	i		
Z	o		
Z	u		
Q	a		
Q	e		
Q	i		
Q	o		
Q	u		

Figure 1: Locke's two-page index containing 100 cells as described in his "New Method". Locke, "A New Method of a Common-Place-Book", 1706, pp. 312-13.

³⁰ See MS Locke d. 9, p. 2 for *Ve* titles; MS Locke f. 19, pp. 158-59, 338 for "Respiratio" and pp. 212-13, 272, 302-3 for "Sanguis".

³¹ BL, Add. MS 28728, fols. 54-63, at fol. 57r; also fol. 61r. This manuscript did not carry a title but Locke called it "Adversarium methodus"; Locke, *Literary and Historical*, p. 147. See [Locke], "Méthode nouvelle", p. 323 for "le mot *Adversaria*".

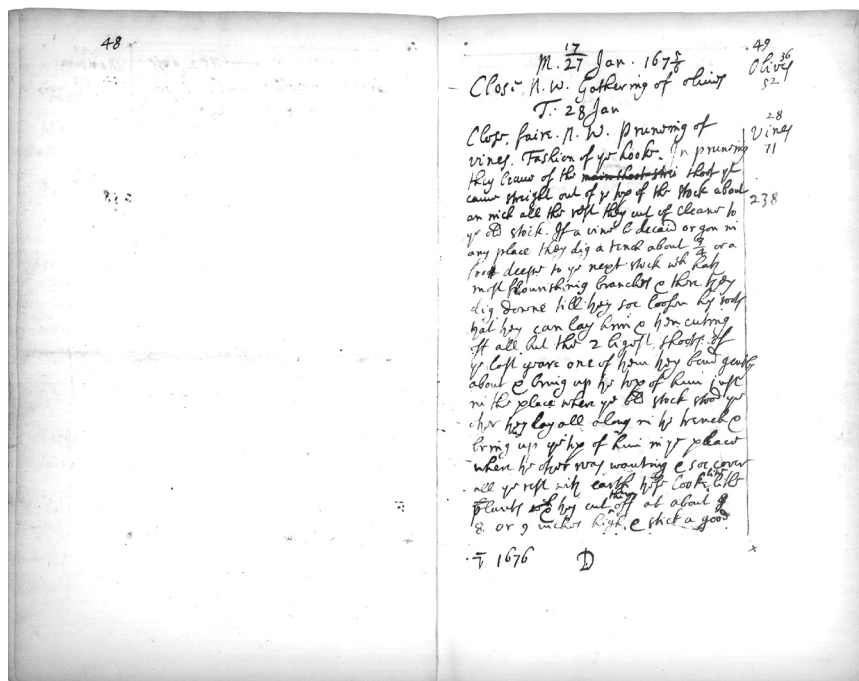


Figure 3. Titles for “Olives” and “Vines” with back and forward cross-references to pages within this journal. MS Locke f. 1, pp. 48-49 (28 January 1676). By permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

and forward cross-references for selected titles. Early in the first journal there are numbers written above and below “Olives” and “Vines” indicating, respectively, the previous page and the following page on which these titles occurred: for “Olives” on p. 49 the backward reference is “36”, and the forward one “52” (see Fig. 3).³³ These references were his attempt to compensate for what the two-page index of the “New Method” provided: the ability to search for any entry at any time.

³³ Locke almost always used Latin for titles in the commonplace books, but usually English for those in the journals.

one consulted the index to see if any page already contained entries for the relevant "class" (*Vi*); if so, the new entry was added to that page. If there was no page already containing titles of the *Vi* "class", the entry was made in the next unused double opening, which then continued to be reserved for titles of that class, and the page number was recorded in the index. Consequently, several entries sharing titles of the *same* "class" might be on just one page of a notebook and the page number entered in only one cell of the two-page Index. However, in the journal, a page could host several titles of *different* "classes". For example, in the journal entry for 7 May 1676, there a seven titles belonging to seven "classes" on p. 251 (just before he gave up); thus "251" needed to be recorded in multiple cells, producing a heavily populated index. Secondly, whereas many of Locke's commonplace books were dedicated to either medical or non-medical topics (see below), the journals hosted an unrestricted range of topics. Hence there were many titles (approximately 520 according to the alphabetical index) and also many of each "class" to accommodate in the index. Locke correctly judged that this would be an issue in the journal and laid out an index that catered for a second vowel and which occupied ten rather than two pages.³⁵ This did reduce some cluttering: for example, without this measure the fifteen entries under *Vi* would have been squeezed into one cell (see Fig. 4). Nevertheless, with only half the journal indexed (up to p. 253 of 526 pages of entries) several cells were already unable to accommodate another page number.³⁶ This was the end of Locke's bid to extend the "New Method" to his journals.³⁷

One feature of Locke's note-taking – the use of separate commonplace books for different subjects – could not be reinstated in his journals because entries were made without regard to topics. In the English draft (1685) of the "New Method" he recommended keeping at least two notebooks as "two different repositorys for those two great branches of Knowledg morall & naturall".³⁸ This is what he had in fact done since 1660: two commonplace books from this

³⁵ In the English draft (BL Add. MS 28728, fols. 60r-v) Locke mentions the option of two vowels, giving 500 classes. See MS Locke d. 9, p. 534 for his partial use of a second vowel in the index; and the image in Yeo, *Notebooks*, p. 180.

³⁶ In addition to the *Vi/e* cell, the others were *Me/u*, *Mo/e*, *Oi/a*, *Po/e*, *Sa/i*.

³⁷ Locke did apply the "New Method" in two memoranda books kept in France: MS Locke f. 15 used in 1677-1678, index at pp. ii-iii; MS Locke f. 28 used in 1678-1679, index at pp. 2-3.

³⁸ BL Add. MS 28728, fol. 60v. Accepting the Latin draft of 1685 (BL Add. MS 28728, fol. 73r), the French article of 1686 suggested a third branch, "*la science des signes*"; [Locke], "*Méthode nouvelle*", p. 326. This is the first announcement of the tripartite classification – "*natural Philosophy*"; "*Ethicks*"; "*Doctrine of Signs*" – given in the final chapter of the *Essay*, IV.xxi.

time were labelled “Adversaria Ethica” and “Adversaria Physica” (MS Locke, d. 9), and two others as “Lemmata Ethica” (MS Locke d. 10) and “Lemmata Physica” (MS Locke d. 11).³⁹ Locke did not explicitly define these categories but it is clear from the content of the notebooks that “Physica” embraced medicine, natural history and other sciences whereas “Ethica” covered moral, religious and political topics, including cross-cultural comparisons. Use of this dichotomy preceded his schemes, or maps, of knowledge started in the early 1670s.⁴⁰ Although Locke could not enforce the usual division of subjects on the journal entries he did not stop thinking about this issue, addressing it in at least two entries. In the long entry on “Study” (begun on 26 March 1677, finished on 9 May 1677) there is an affirmation of the importance of disposing thoughts and material in their “proper places” as in a “regular chest of drawers”, a metaphor that echoes the actual filing cabinets suggested and built about this time.⁴¹

A great help to the memory & meanes to avoid confusion in our thoughts is to draw out & have frequently before us a scheme of those sciences we employ our studys in, a map as it were of the Mundus intelligibilis. This perhaps will be best don by every one himself for his owne use as best agreeable to his owne notions, though the nearer it comes to the nature & order of things it is still the better.⁴²

About five months later in an entry of 4 September 1677, Locke outlined one such “scheme” that showed “the principall parts or heads of things to be taken notice of” when “making Adversaria”, or notes. This comprised

³⁹ The notebook, “Adversaria Ethica”, is in private ownership; microfilm copies are held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Film 77) and the Houghton Library, Harvard. Locke wrote “Adversaria 1661” inside the front cover, but the earliest entries are from c.1667; see Milton, “Dating of Adversaria 1661”. In his Lemmata notebooks (MSS Locke d. 10 and d. 11), Locke pre-allocated a separate page to each letter/next two vowels combination; see the images in Stolberg, “Locke’s New Method”, p. 462 and Yeo, “Thinking with Excerpts”, p. 186 from, respectively, MSS Locke d. 10 and d. 11.

⁴⁰ On the various schemes Locke outlined in manuscripts between c.1670 and c.1687, see Di Biase, “Theologia, Ethica”; Di Biase, “Physica in Locke’s *Adversaria*”; Milton, *Abridgements*, pp. lxxix–lxxxii. I thank John Milton for a pre-publication copy of his “General Introduction”.

⁴¹ See Placcius, *De arte excerptendi*, pp. 124–49, with images facing pp. 138, 140; Malcolm, “Harrison and his ‘Ark of Studies’”; Yeo, “Harrison’s *Arca studiorum*”.

⁴² MS Locke f. 2, pp. 128–29 (5 April 1677). When citing from the journals I retain Locke’s spelling but expand contractions. The full entry is at pp. 85–132 (Locke’s pagination), with insertions of some other titles. For early-modern reflections on the externalization of memory, see Yeo, “Between Memory and Paperbooks”.

four main branches of knowledge: Philosophica, Historica, Immitanda and Acquirenda.⁴³ At the end of the entry, as an after-thought, Locke added a fifth “head”, “*Historica Physica*”, covering “the history of natural causes and effects”. This improved the alignment between “Philosophica” and what counted as “Physica” in his notebooks. Locke made it clear that empirical information, for example in medicine, chemistry (or chymistry) and physiology, was crucial in seeking “light into the nature of things which is that which I called above *philosophica*”.⁴⁴ The second “head” of “Historica”, which included “the opinions we finde amongst mankind concerning god religion & morality & the rules they have made to them selves”, definitely captures some of the content of the “Ethica” notebooks and invites, though not explicitly, the cross-cultural material Locke included.⁴⁵ However, the binary division displayed in the notebooks is not easily visible. We need to appreciate that in assigning entries to “Physica” or “Ethica”, Locke was not attempting to posit relationships among the several component disciplines – as he did in his various schemes.⁴⁶

In the scheme presented in the journal of 1677, the last two headings, “Immitanda” (“any beneficial arts”, including self-cultivation) and “Acquirenda” (“naturall products of the country fit to be transplanted into ours”) were connected with note-taking for the first time.⁴⁷ There is a question as to why Locke felt the need to introduce these two categories when all the likely material fitted into either the “Physica” or “Ethica” notebooks. Significantly there is an entry in the journal of 1677 directly above the one for “Adversaria”, with “Imitanda” [sic] as a title in the margin. It concerns moral techniques, such as mediation, to preserve the peace. It is the kind of note that, if at home, Locke would enter in “Adversaria Ethica”, as he did in c. 1672 for excerpts on Japanese

⁴³ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 247-52 (4 September 1677), “Adversaria”, printed in Locke, *Early Draft*, pp. 92-94; Locke, *Political Essays*, pp. 265-67. On the link with note-taking, see Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 204-5.

⁴⁴ MS Locke f. 2, p. 252.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁶ Among the schemes it is useful to distinguish between two types (or series, since there are several of each type): one in which the classification is based on major disciplines and subjects (type A) and the other on ways of knowing (type B). Those marked “Adversaria” (type B) were sketched between August and November 1677; they include MS Locke c. 28, fols. 50-51; MS Locke f. 15, pp. 119-20, 122-23; and the journal entry of 4 September 1677. See Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 204-5; Milton, *Abridgements*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxviii.

⁴⁷ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 250-51 (4 September 1677). See the scheme in MS Locke f. 15, p. 123 where these two headings appear as subdivisions of “Agendorum”.

religious beliefs and practices.⁴⁸ These, and the many journal entries made from early 1676 on Catholic indulgences, relics, saints, the virgin Mary, liturgy, processions and doctrines, were about techniques “for governing of politics or a mans private self” – as stated in the definition of “Immitanda”.⁴⁹ However, it is likely that two preoccupations in France – the project on wine-making and agriculture, and a concern with cross-cultural observations stimulated by travel reports – gave special purpose to this concept. Locke used “Immitanda” as a title for some of his loose notes on Gabriel Sagard’s account of the Huron, a native American people, in his *Le Grand Voyage du Pay des Hurons* (1632).⁵⁰ In the journals, however, “Immitanda” and “Acquirenda” are rarely seen as titles.⁵¹ This is not surprising if Locke conceived these two headings as upper-level categories equivalent to “Philosophica” and “Historica”, as he outlined them in the entry of 4 September 1677. Yet there is no evidence of this intention. As it turned out, he never created separate notebooks devoted to “Immitanda” and “Acquirenda” and the material covered by these two categories was absorbed into the existing notebooks. When Locke started new commonplace books in mid-1679, the distinction between “Physica” and “Ethica” remained as the principal classification.

2. *Accumulating information*

Early in his trip, Locke consulted Albert Jouvin de Rochefort’s *Le Voyageur d’Europe* (1672) about the town walls of Avignon.⁵² However, it is unlikely that he needed a travel manual to tell him what might be worthy of note, although his biographer, Maurice Cranston, insinuated that he did. A few years before

⁴⁸ “Adversaria Ethica”, pp. 132, 134, 136, 138, 140–43, 155. Most of this material came from Montanus, *Atlas Japonensis*, pp. 471, 473, 479 (in Locke’s citations). See also “Lemmata Ethica” (MS Locke d. 10), pp. 12–14, 163 for entries on comparative religious doctrines.

⁴⁹ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 250–51 (4 September 1677). On Catholicism, see MS Locke f. 1, p. 98 (8 February 1676), “Canonization”. For similar entries, see “Catholics” in the index of Lough, *Locke’s Travels*.

⁵⁰ Talbot, *Great Ocean*, pp. 26–28, MS Locke c. 33, fols. 9–10; Farr, “Locke Surveys New France”, pp. 54–60. See Lough, “Locke’s Reading”, pp. 250–52 for reading notes on Sagard.

⁵¹ There is one instance of each in the indexes of the first three journals, and none in the first 92 pages of the journal of 1679, which has no index. There is one entry titled “Imitanda [sic]” in “Adversaria Physica” (MS Locke d. 9, p. 98) and one in “Adversaria Ethica”, p. 316, both made in 1697. The two excerpts are taken from Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 96 and 22 (in Locke’s citations). See LL, no. 1374.

⁵² de Rochefort, *Le Voyageur d’Europe*; MS Locke f. 1, p. 24 (31 December 1675), “Avignon” has this title in the margin.

the publication of his important *John Locke. A Biography* (1957), Cranston gave this colourful assessment:

It cannot be pretended that Locke was a good travel writer. ... Put him in Versailles ... and the best he can find to say about it concerns the mechanics of the waterworks; from the *Tuileries* and the *Invalides* our philosopher ... offers little more than carefully paced-out measurements of the gardens. A meat-packer on vacation from Ohio could scarcely do worse.⁵³

Where Cranston found a lack of flair, Kenneth Dewhurst welcomed Locke's notice of "plain measurable facts."⁵⁴ Preferences aside, we must resist any implication that Locke's travel interests were myopic rather than expansive. Ten years earlier he had been on a diplomatic mission to Cleves, the seat of the Elector of Brandenburg, and he came to France with a repertoire of established interests, a keen curiosity, and a thirst for new information.⁵⁵

It is reasonable to surmise that the travel journal, familiar by the early 1600s, played some part in shaping what Locke observed; however, he was already a proficient note-taker by the time he left for France. When he noted something it was often an addition to what he had previously seen, heard, read or thought concerning a broad range of subjects including political and financial administration, comparative religion, customs and beliefs, architecture, technology, measurement, meteorology, agriculture, medicine, natural history and natural philosophy. To be sure, he sometimes did perform the role of the traveller, revelling in details of the cost and quality of food, wine, horses, and the inns he slept in – mentioning on one occasion his approval of the "clean sheets of the country & a pretty girle to lay them on."⁵⁶ But on certain topics, Locke's note-taking was far more persistent and forensic than anything expected in the diary of a gentleman traveller. For example, his quizzing of local officials about the administration of taxes almost matches the locally-garnered minutiae in the *relazioni* sent by Italian diplomats, and spies, to their masters in Venice.⁵⁷

⁵³ Cranston, "Locke in France", cols. 736-37. This is a review of Lough, *Locke's Travels*.

⁵⁴ Dewhurst, *Locke*, p. 51. On Locke's philosophical interest here, see Anstey, "Locke on measurement", with citations from the journals of 1676 and 1677.

⁵⁵ On this visit to Cleves, see Cranston, *Locke*, pp. 81-87; Woolhouse, *Locke*, pp. 59-63. On Locke as a scholarly traveller, see Talbot, *Great Ocean*; Simonutti, "Inspirational Journeys".

⁵⁶ See Locke's letter of 1 March 1676 to an unnamed correspondent about his journey from Calais to Paris (drafted in Montpellier in early December 1675); printed in Lough, *Locke's Travels*, Appendix A, pp. 276-81, at p. 280; Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, no. 310, pp. 439-44, at p. 443.

⁵⁷ On *relazioni*, see Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 108-18.

He was also aware of the over-riding power of the *intendants* appointed by the King – who gave him “constant intelligence” – taking the precaution, as Lough observed, of committing this point to shorthand.⁵⁸

The two types of notebook – commonplace books and registers – that Locke used before November 1675 stipulated the kind of information to be collected and the way it should be entered. In commonplace books the material was anchored to a book, testimony or observation and stored under a suitable heading; in the weather register the information was of a specific kind – date and time, temperature, air pressure, humidity etc – and no other, and recorded in designated columns. In contrast, the journal was an open-ended container receiving whatever material the owner decided to notice, albeit constrained to some degree by the conventions relating to the type of journal. The flurry of diverse topics soon after Locke landed in France confirms this. However, it would be wrong to regard these journals as merely capturing the landscapes, buildings, events, and people encountered on horseback, from a boat, or through a coach window. While a succession of diverse topics, often not linked to an excerpt, is certainly a feature of the journals, another aspect is the concentration on a single topic over several days. This is evident in Locke’s vigilant observation of his medical patients and, indeed, of his own episodes of ill health. When he starts on one of these case histories almost all other topics are displaced for days: the illness of the Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, occupied nineteen pages over two weeks (2-16 December 1677) without notice of any other topic apart from “Convulsio” to indicate the fits and severe facial pain she was suffering. In the opening entry of Thursday, 2 December, Locke wrote: “I was cald to my Lady Ambassadrice whom I found crying out in one of her fits”. Over the next two days, prompted by his notes, he sent harrowing letters to his friend, the physician, John Maplecroft, confessing that he was writing “in haste and in feare”.⁵⁹ With relief, on 16 December, Locke remarked of his patient that she was “Quite well”.⁶⁰ About a month earlier the notes under “Febris” regarding the condition of his aristocratic acquaintance,

⁵⁸ MS Locke f. 2, p. 198 (12 July 1677), “*Politia Galliae*”. The two English words quoted here are not in shorthand. For comments, see Lough, *Locke’s Travels*, pp. xliii-xliv.

⁵⁹ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 370-88, at p. 370 (2-16 December 1677), “Countesse of Northumberlands case”; Locke to Maplecroft, 4 December 1677, Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, no. 360, pp. 525-28. Elizabeth was the wife of the English ambassador, Ralph Montagu.

⁶⁰ MS Locke f. 2, p. 388 (16 December 1677); see also MS Locke f. 3, pp. 22-24 (24 January 1678). Dewhurst, “Symposium”, p. 24 says that Locke’s “letters contain the first description of [what is now called] trigeminal neuralgia in Europe”.

Thomas Herbert, the future eighth Earl of Pembroke (from 1683), run from 16 to 25 November 1677. Even in the midst of daily observations and prescriptions, Locke was able to pen two extended notes on "Species" and "Hypocondriacus" – the latter with no hint that Herbert was displaying this condition.⁶¹

3. *Baconian information*

In a review of Lough's *Locke's Travels*, Pierre Michel remarked "that all the possible ways of taking notes on travel are represented" in Locke's journals.⁶² I suggest that one of these was the manner in which Locke envisaged Baconian natural history as a framework for information collection in France. In his essay on "Travaile" (1625), Francis Bacon did indeed sound like a dispenser of travel advice, listing institutions and places to visit – including courts of princes and justices, churches, monasteries, monuments, harbours, libraries, colleges, gardens, arsenals, warehouses. Most of these were in Locke's itinerary, but his journals, while travelling and *in situ* in Montpellier and Paris, conform in a significant way with Bacon's more general counsel that a traveller should "keepe also a Diary" and "sucke the Experience of many".⁶³ Although he did not give specific tips about keeping either journals or commonplace books, Bacon discussed the kind of information worth seeking, noting, and storing.⁶⁴ In the *Parasceve* (Preparative), published with the *Novum organum* in 1620, he sketched an approach to the gathering of preliminary material for "a natural and experimental history" embracing a large range of subjects under four umbrella categories: celestial phenomena, history of "the greater masses", species and the "history of man". Acknowledging that these subjects had to be studied via specific topics, he listed 130 "Particular Histories" – that is, detailed descriptions – such as the history of "the air" (no. 14), "illnesses" (no. 59), "intellectual faculties" (no. 78) and "wine-making" (no. 83).⁶⁵ Many of these intersected with Locke's abiding interests.

⁶¹ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 353-68 (16-25 November 1677), "Febris"; also pp. 356-58 (19 November 1677), "Species"; pp. 366-67 (22 November 1677), "Hypocondriacus". Locke dedicated the *Essay* (1690) to Herbert as "Thomas Earl of Pembroke".

⁶² Michel, "Notes et Discussions", p. 292.

⁶³ Bacon, "Of Travaile", pp. 56-57. See also Bacon, *Advancement*, p. 70 for "Dyaries".

⁶⁴ The clearest instance of advice regarding such practice is Bacon's 1608 audit of his paperbooks. See Bacon "Commentarius solutus", BL Add. MS 27278; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, pp. 215-20.

⁶⁵ Bacon, *Parasceve*, pp. 474-85; see p. 473 for "Particular Histories".

Did Locke's note-taking in France follow Bacon's model?⁶⁶ In terms of some of the injunctions about appropriate information and its sources, there was broad agreement: seek a balance between collecting copious material and recording it with brevity and clarity.⁶⁷ Both thinkers adopted a tolerant stance with respect to what Bacon referred to as "the reliability of the materials taken into natural history": namely, that well-known and everyday phenomena should be included along with the rare and novel; dubious reports to be entered, perhaps with a qualification.⁶⁸ Regarding the excerpting of information from ancient texts, there was a difference of opinion. Although Bacon recognized that Aristotle, Pliny the Elder and others assembled material relevant to natural history, their status was affected by one of his aversions: "no more of antiquities, citations ... and, in short, everything philological".⁶⁹ In contrast, Locke was willing to cite ancient authors and to copy extracts from their works in both his commonplace books and journals. In a journal entry of 5 March 1678 he mentioned Pliny, Aetius ("Medicin Grec tres scavant") and Hippocrates on fevers. In October of that year he quoted Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus" on the child-rearing practices of the Spartans.⁷⁰ Whereas Bacon decreed that "no author should be cited save in matters of doubt", Locke noted both ancient and modern sources in the interest of building an historical record of opinions on a topic.⁷¹ Collectively, the material in his commonplace books and journals, accumulated over a lifetime, did just that.

At the end of the *Parasceve*, Bacon admitted that something was missing: "I intend, by putting questions on all the individual titles to instruct men in the case of every one of these histories what most of all should be investigated and written up". Significantly, he insisted that these must be "questions (not about causes, I say, but facts) ... added, to prompt and encourage further investigation".⁷² Locke agreed that description must be coupled with interrogation, but he also employed "queries" that often did precisely what Bacon prohibited: they conjectured about causal processes.

⁶⁶ I am not asserting that Bacon's *Parasceve* directly guided Locke; however, in Royal Society circles there was a general sense of Bacon's preferences. On Boyle as a likely conduit, see Anstey, *Locke and Natural Philosophy*, pp. 46-59.

⁶⁷ Bacon, *Parasceve*, aphorism no. 3, pp. 456-57.

⁶⁸ Ibid., aphorisms no. 8, pp. 466-69; no. 6, pp. 464-65.

⁶⁹ Ibid., aphorisms no. 9, pp. 468-69; no. 3, pp. 456-57.

⁷⁰ MS Locke f. 3, p. 46 (5 March 1678), "Quartana" (in French); MS Locke f. 3, pp. 306-7 (3 October 1678), "Infants" (in French).

⁷¹ Bacon, *Parasceve*, aphorism no. 3, p. 457.

⁷² Ibid., aphorisms no. 10, p. 473; no. 9, p. 469.

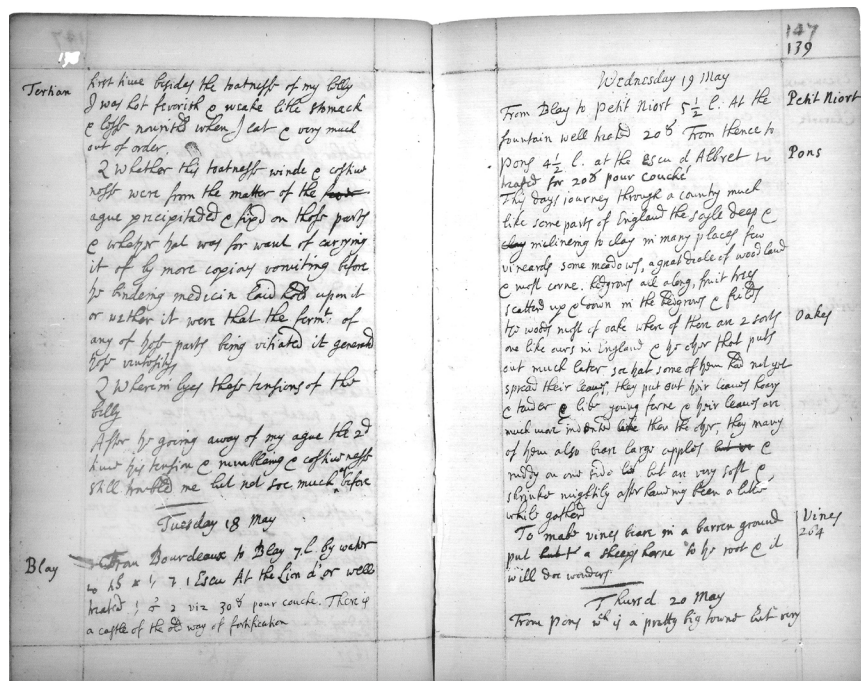


Figure 5. Two Queries (“Q”), incorporating two others, relating to Locke’s accident on 2 April 1677, made at a later date when he was able to recount his symptoms. MS Locke f. 2, pp. 135-38, at p. 138 (14 May 1677), “Tertian”. By permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Locke’s practice of attaching queries (usually marked “Q”, or “q”) to some entries began in his commonplace books in about 1666.⁷³ In the journals, there is an early medical query on 2 June 1676 in an entry on “Apoplexie”: “Query whether the vessels of the lungs are usually broken in apoplexy and whether the blood be coagulated in the veins?”⁷⁴ Not all such queries speculate about physiological processes; rather, they ask about “facts”, as Bacon advised. For example, regarding treatment of “Diarrhoea” in a patient, Locke recorded: “Query: was

⁷³ Queries were not an essential feature of the *ars excerptendi* genre; but for examples in Locke’s notebooks (especially MSS Locke d. 9 and f. 19), see Yeo, “Thinking with Excerpts”, pp. 193-97. More generally, see Yeo, “Queries”.

⁷⁴ MS Locke f. 1, pp. 268-69 (2 June 1676), “Apoplexie”. There are earlier non-medical queries, such as “Sea/Mare”, p. 67 (5 February 1676): “Q. – Have not these [oyster shells] been left there by the sea since retreated”. This query was inserted at a later date, within the entry rather than in the margin.

the clyster too cold through the dispenser's carelessness? The patient complained about this".⁷⁵ Others ask about the efficacy of possible variables. Thus in reporting on a drink to heal wounds Locke wrote: "Q which contributes most to it, the hony [honey] or the herbs?"⁷⁶ Regarding the lowering of a patient's temperature, he added: "Q: whether it were his litle breathing in the night or the purging that removed the fever?"⁷⁷ The full range of these queries is evident in Locke's diagnosis and treatment of his own fever, which he said began on 2 April 1677 in Agen on the way to Bordeaux. He identified the proximate cause of this condition as "a great pole haveing fell upon my head in the boat". Due to recurring fits, he did not make an entry about this until 14 May, but by this time he was able to generate two "Qs" that pondered both treatments and possible causes (see Fig. 5).⁷⁸

Locke was most likely to engage in queries about causes when the topic was one on which he had already worked. In April 1678 he visited the scholar and virtuoso Nicolas Toinard (1628-1706) in Paris. When Toinard extracted the stopper from a large bottle of wine "there rose such a multitude of litle bubbles that they swelled the wine above the mouth of the bottle".⁷⁹ This phenomenon was not new to Locke, as this entry explains: "At his chamber [Toinard's] I saw by chance an experiment which confirmed me in an opinion I have had for a long time viz that in fermentation new aer is generated". Locke's previous experience dated to the mid-1660s in Oxford, when he experimented and speculated in collaboration with the physician, Richard Lower, about the role of fermentation in human respiration.⁸⁰ One result was Locke's "Respirationis usus" (c.1666/67) in which he rejected the Galenic view that respiration cooled the blood and heart, and instead contended that it enabled a volatile salt (probably a nitrous one) carried in the air to be drawn into the blood, thus producing a fermentation that heated and enlivened the body.⁸¹ At Toinard's house about

⁷⁵ MS Locke f. 3, pp. 60-61 (8 March 1678), "Diarrhoea" (in Latin, trans. Dewhurst, *Locke*, p. 108).

⁷⁶ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 98-100 (5 April 1677), "Vulneraria".

⁷⁷ MS Locke f. 3, p. 87 (28 March 1678), "Dysenteria".

⁷⁸ MS Locke f. 2, pp. 135-38, at p. 138 (14 May 1677), "Tertian" (tertian ague, a fever occurring every third, or alternate, day). One of the two "Qs" includes two further queries.

⁷⁹ MS Locke f. 3, pp. 110-11 (21 April 1678), "Fermentation". Toinard and Locke first met in Paris at about this time; Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 579-82. See also Di Biase, *Locke e Thoynard*.

⁸⁰ Dewhurst, *Locke*, pp. 7-8, 12-15; Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists*, pp. 186-92, 195-97. See the detailed account in Walmsley, "Locke on Respiration".

⁸¹ Locke, "Respirationis usus" (c.1666/1667) in Walmsley and Meyer, "Locke's 'Respirationis usus'", pp. 19, 21.

a decade later, Locke included three queries in a journal entry that follows up on his earlier thinking. The last of these invoked the corpuscular hypothesis to explain that fermentation loosens some "particles" in a mixture; it is signed "JL", marking it as an original contribution to debate.⁸² We can see that some of Locke's note-taking exceeded the limits set by Bacon for a preliminary natural history: on certain topics, Locke was not a novice observer in the early stage of a collective project, but rather a theorist seeking to advance an on-going inquiry by posing specific conjectures about causes.

4. *Distinctive note-taking in the journals*

Do Locke's notes in the journals differ in significant ways from those in his commonplace books? One reason to ask this is that while in France he was without access to either his personal library or to the Bodleian and other libraries in Oxford that supported his reading and study from the late-1650s. However, it would be quite wrong to think that entries in the journals never included textual excerpts. Lough's study of Locke's reading in France shows that although his commonplace books were not at hand, his usual way of making notes as excerpts (*ars excerpendi*) continued strongly in the first three journals, stimulated in part by his book purchases in France.⁸³ Even in entries which do not include a textual excerpt, there are often references to some relevant printed source such as *Journal des Scavans*.⁸⁴ A significant development in France is the frequency with which Locke cited the opinion of authors and experts *about* books. He drew upon conversations with physicians, apothecaries, *savants* and travellers, such as François Bernier, Adrien Auzout and Henri Justel in Paris;⁸⁵ Charles Barbeyrac, Pierre Magnol and Pierre Jolly in Montpellier. Some of them told Locke what to read and what to ignore; for example, on 20 October 1678 he reported that Magnol, a botanist and physician, critically assessed the works of several botanical authors, concluding with the judgement that "John Bauhinus is but a compiler".⁸⁶

⁸² MS Locke f. 3, p. 111 (21 April 1678), "Fermentation", "Aer".

⁸³ Lough, "Locke's Reading"; also Simonutti, "Inspirational Journeys"; Carey, "Locke, Travel Literature".

⁸⁴ See MS Locke f. 1, pp. 268-69, at p. 269 (2 June 1676), "Apoplexie" for the direction to "Journal des Scavans 20 Aug 67".

⁸⁵ Justel, a scholar and librarian, emigrated to England in 1681 and became a Fellow of the Royal Society; Woolhouse, *Locke*, pp. 125, 138-39, 147, 161.

⁸⁶ MS Locke, f. 3, p. 311 (20 October 1678), "Botanica". The reference is to Jean Bauhin (1541-1613).

There *are* ways in which some of the notes in the journals differ from those in the commonplace books – namely, in drawing on a wider range of sources, beyond printed books.⁸⁷ In the journals there are more instances of on-the-spot observation, testimony, conversation, and trains of thought. These notes are, very broadly, of two kinds: those which record empirical information (including queries about it) and those which comprise philosophical reflections on a range of concepts connected with drafts of the *Essay*.

Regarding the first kind, some of Locke's favourite topics were extended and deepened through exposure to new empirical sources. His early medical interests, as represented in various commonplace books, such as MS Locke d. 9 and MS Locke f. 19, continued in France; however, he was also able to pursue certain topics in a new way, aided by conversations with some leading physicians and through care of his own patients. One such focus was the psychosomatic conditions of hysteria, hypochondria and melancholy, together with attendant afflictions such as epilepsy, mania/delirium and vertigo. These conditions were not new to Locke – there are entries on them in some of his medical notebooks, such as MS Locke f. 19 which included his notes in Latin on Thomas Willis's lectures at Oxford in 1663-1664.⁸⁸ In his *Cerebri Anatome* (1664) Willis discussed brain function and various complaints with a neurological component such as lack of sleep, pain, hysteria, delirium and melancholia.⁸⁹ Locke followed this precedent and, on occasions, offered his own opinions (signed "JL") such as the proposition that although vertigo was often seen in conjunction with epilepsy and mania, it could also be an effect of "any acute disease", and that it involved the stomach as well as the head.⁹⁰ Moreover, conversations offered him a range of views on both conceptual issues and empirical details: for example, on 18 June 1676 he noted Barbeyrac's opinion that "hysterica is a species of epilepsy" and, on 9 July of that year, he summarised Magnol's detailed description of the rigid behaviour patterns of a female hysteric whose "fits were very admirable".⁹¹ Locke's notes do not primarily

⁸⁷ I am not suggesting that there were only textual excerpts in Locke's commonplace books; see Yeo, "Thinking with Excerpts".

⁸⁸ Dewhurst, *Willis's Oxford Lectures*. This edition includes Richard Lower's notes taken at Willis's lectures of c.1661-1662. See also Dewhurst, *Locke*, pp. 11-13.

⁸⁹ See MS Locke f. 3, p. 133 (18 May 1678), "Cerebri anatome" for authorities on "Anatomy of the brain", including "Willisium"; trans. of Latin in Dewhurst, *Locke*, p. 122.

⁹⁰ MS Locke f. 3, p. 219 (22 July 1678), "Vertigo". On the stomach, see MS Locke f. 3, pp. 203-4 (16 July 1678), "Vertigo", "Stomachus"; and p. 210 (19 July 1678), "Vertigo".

⁹¹ MS Locke f. 1, p. 288 (18 June 1676), "Hysterica", citing "Dr. Barbirac"; MS Locke f. 1, pp. 311-12 (9 July 1676), "Hysterica"; shorthand expanded in Dewhurst, *Locke*, pp. 69-70.

reject authorities, but rather augment his own bank of ideas and information from testimony and direct observation of patients. Nevertheless, in the entry immediately before the one on vertigo he declared his frustration with the Galenic approach, and those doctors still in its thrall who "have given little thought, or none at all, to the specific nature or peculiar ferment (whatever in fact that is) of each disease".⁹²

While in France, Locke focussed on some topics which had not previously occupied his attention. On 30 December 1675 in the early pages of his first journal, he made notes under "Husbandry/Agricultura" and, soon after arriving in Montpellier, he made observations under "Olivae" (9 and 24 January) and "Vines" (28 January). He also drew up lists of various kinds, such as the one in an entry on "Grapes" of 7 February 1676 and on plumbs, pears and peaches of 15 August 1678, and others on prunes, oranges, figs and silk (see Fig. 6).⁹³ The entries under these titles are often cross-referenced within each journal because Locke wanted to find them when composing a response to the request, or command, of his employer and patron, Anthony Ashley Cooper (from 1672, first Earl of Shaftesbury) for what Locke interpreted as a preliminary natural history of agriculture. After collating these notes on his return to England he dedicated a manuscript-book called "Observations upon the growth and culture of vines and olives" to Shaftesbury or, as Locke called him, "my Lord Ashley".⁹⁴ Bacon had included the "History of wine-making" in his *Parasceve*, but it was not a topic which Locke had investigated.⁹⁵ He acknowledged this (as discussed earlier) by including the categories "Immitanda" and "Acquirenda" in the entry of 4 September 1677 that offered a scheme of knowledge which might inform note-taking: the former covered the crafts of wine and oil-making, the latter the transport of grapes, vines, olives and fruit to England.

⁹² MS Locke f. 3, p. 217 (22 July 1678), "MM"; Dewhurst, *Locke*, pp. 136-37 trans. of the Latin. Compare "Morbus", BL Add. MS 32554, pp. 232-33, 237, 246, 248, 250, probably written c. 1666; Anstey, *Locke and Natural Philosophy*, p. 181.

⁹³ MS Locke f. 1, pp. 68-70 (7 February 1676), "Uva, Grapes"; MS Locke f. 1, pp. 136-38 (29 February 1676), "Olivae"; MS Locke, f. 3, pp. 254-55 (15 August 1678) "Plumbs drying".

⁹⁴ Locke, "Observations". This was based on Locke's presentation copy, Public Record Office, The National Archives (TNA), London (TNA, PRO 30/24/47/35), 1 February 1679/1680. For the receipt of this, see John Hoskins to Locke, 1 February 1680, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, no. 528, pp. 154-56. The work was first published in London in 1766.

⁹⁵ Bacon, *Parasceve*, item no. 83, p. 481.

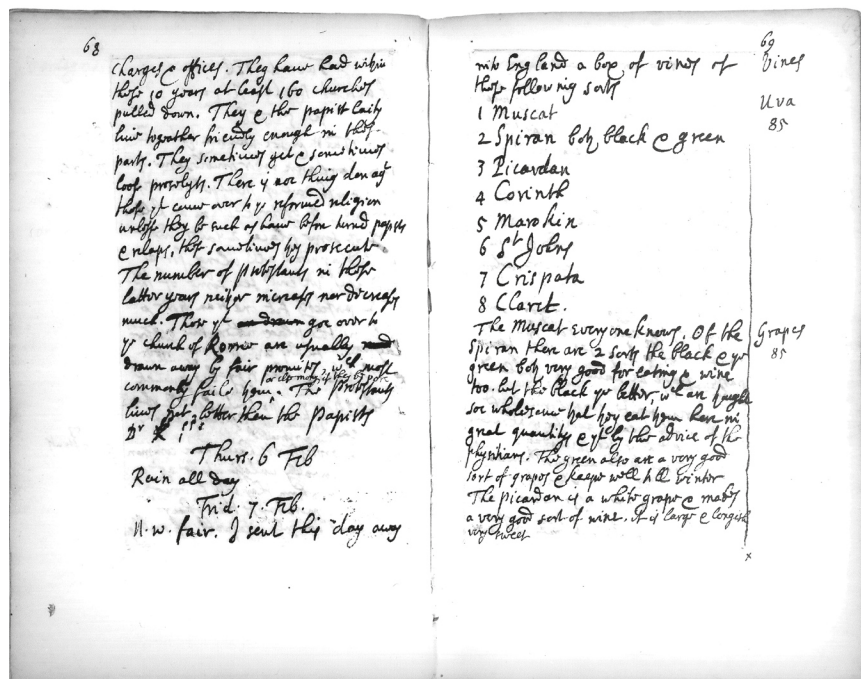


Figure 6. Locke's list of Vines/Uva/Grapes collected in Montpellier. MS Locke f. 1, p. 69 (7 February 1676). By permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

The intensity of Locke's efforts is manifest during the first months in France. Very soon he was ready to send a box containing eight varieties of vine to Shaftesbury.⁹⁶ The detail and rigour of his information-gathering is displayed in a long entry of 10 February 1676 on "The manner of making oyle", which includes a list of twenty-three numbered points about the "Oyle presse".⁹⁷ We should not forget that, for Locke, list-making was compulsive and by no means restricted to this project. Immediately after the virtual essay on oil-pressing he enumerated "The Bishops of this Province", giving eighteen names.⁹⁸ Another pervasive feature of his note-taking is the desire to measure whenever and wherever feasible, an urge nicely betrayed when something thwarted it. When

⁹⁶ MS Locke f. 1, pp. 68-70 (7 February 1676), "Vines", "Uva", "Grapes".

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 76-94 (10 February 1676), "Oyle/Oleum"; Lough, *Locke's Travels*, pp. 31-38.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 97 (10 February 1676), "Bishops Episcopi".

seeking to describe part of an oil press he remarked, with frustration, that "At the little end is a screw, whereof the very screw (for it standing upright I could not measure it) was, as I guess, about thirteen or fourteen feet".⁹⁹ Although Locke's collection of this information is consonant with a Baconian natural history, he did not envisage a systematic comparison of vines and grapes from various regions, such as Burgundy, Champagne and Bordeaux.¹⁰⁰ As Tim Unwin has suggested, this may be because his efforts were directed to satisfying Shaftesbury's immediate demands, with some possibility that what he found, mainly in Montpellier, might eventually assist "English aspirations to develop vineyards in north America".¹⁰¹

For these notes, Locke relied on information exchanged in conversation with people who exhibited various degrees of skill and knowledge.¹⁰² Of course, this also applied to his medical inquiries but most of these communications involved respected authors and practitioners, and their testimony was not doubted.¹⁰³ The contrast with Locke's natural history projects is clear from his remark about garnering material while travelling in the countryside. On the way to Avignon he crossed the river "Durance", noticing the quick current and the confirmation about this from "the informacion of the ferry man".¹⁰⁴ This scenario was typical of his exchanges about olives, vines, fruit etc with peasants in the fields, gardeners, fruit cultivators, wine makers and keepers of silkworms. Thus in March 1676 in Montpellier he noted that "A peasant working in the vineard said they [vines] were never the worse".¹⁰⁵ When he knew the name of an informant he noted it: thus "Jacques, the gardiner at the Physic Garden" on

⁹⁹ Locke, "Observations", p. 345.

¹⁰⁰ Yet while in Bordeaux Locke made sure he saw the famous "Pontiac" vineyard of Arnaud de Pontac (1599-1681); see MS Locke f. 2, pp. 134-35 (14 May 1677), "Pontiac wine".

¹⁰¹ Unwin, "Locke's Interest in Wine", pp. 123, 141-43, 149. On fruit suitable to Carolina, see Armitage, "Locke, Carolina", pp. 611-12 for citation of undated entries in one of the memorandum books (dated "30 Jun 1677") kept in France: MS Locke, f. 15, pp. 26, 42, 91.

¹⁰² This sociability sits uneasily with Locke's acknowledgement of his wariness and shyness; "Lingua" [1694] in *Adversaria Ethica*, p. 38; Locke to Sir John Somers, 28 January 1698 in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, no. 2384, pp. 306-9, at p. 308 – albeit, in this case, when giving reasons for declining an offer of a diplomatic mission. See also Yeo, "Locke on Conversation".

¹⁰³ See MS Locke f. 3, pp. 152-56 (2-3 June 1678), "Quartana" at p. 153 on "Mr Auzot [Auzout]" and his knowledge of fevers: "and this he told me him self. He is well-educated & trustworthy" (last sentence in Latin); Dewhurst, *Locke*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁴ MS Locke f. 1, p. 219 (20 April 1676), "Durance".

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151 (10 March 1676), "Vitis". Contrast Locke's annoyance in Bordeaux when he could not "learne of the work men for want of understanding Gascoin". MS Locke f. 2, p. 134 (14 May 1677), "Pontiac wine".

violets, Madame Fesquet on silkworms and Madame de Superville about drying fruit.¹⁰⁶ Locke duly entered such information but when possible also assessed the reliability of his sources: for example, regarding the importation of orange trees from Italy he wrote “As the Gardener told me; ... but I am afraid in this later part of the story the gardiner made bold with truth”.¹⁰⁷ When he came across local practices he registered some without comment and others with doubt: for example, “Q. also whether, as they say here, linen washed in the old of the moon will be stiffer than what is washed in the new?”.¹⁰⁸ Travelling from Blaye to Petit Niort in May 1677 he noted this local belief: “to make vines beare in a barren ground put a sheeps horne to the root & it will doe wonders”.¹⁰⁹ Later, when incorporating this point in the *Observations* he added that “I have no great faith in it, but mention it because it may so easily be tried”.¹¹⁰

This sums up Locke’s attitude to the information he collected, not just on agriculture, but on many other topics: make notes, measure if appropriate, seek out experts, interrogate the testimony of other sources where possible; and include doubtful material, at least provisionally, as Bacon advised.¹¹¹ Then test empirical facts when feasible, postpone theoretical and therapeutic judgements in the preliminary stage of an inquiry, but assert them on topics in which one is already well-versed. Locke did this himself: his comment on fermentation at Toinard’s house in 1678 is one example. In another case on 1 July 1677 he described the use of the mineral waters at Balaruc for various maladies, affirming that “I have proved this during the last season in the cases of several important patients”.¹¹² Accumulation of information and experience was his warrant.

The second, quite different, kind of note found in Locke’s journals concerns the preservation of ideas and trains of thought. In his “brief life” of Thomas Hobbes, the diarist and virtuoso, John Aubrey, reported that Hobbes accompanied Bacon on his contemplative walks, ready with “inke and paper” to take

¹⁰⁶ MS Locke, f. 1, p. 179 (3 April 1676), “Viola”; pp. 264-69 (2 June 1676), “Silk wormes”; MS Locke f. 3, pp. 255-56 (15 August 1678), “Pears drying”.

¹⁰⁷ MS Locke, f. 2, pp. 189-90 (7 July 1677), “Orange trees”.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 83 (20 March 1677), “Q Moon”; shorthand expanded in Lough, *Locke’s Travels*, p. 136.

¹⁰⁹ MS Locke f. 2, p. 139 (19 May 1677), “Vines”; copied to MS Locke d. 9, p. 264 in 1681.

¹¹⁰ Locke, *Observations*, p. 331.

¹¹¹ Locke argued that testimony increased in value if it conformed with “our own Knowledge, Observation, and Experience”; Locke, *Essay*, IV.xv.4. His notes provided one reference point. See also Shapin, *Social History*, pp. 213-14.

¹¹² MS Locke f. 2, pp. 191-97, at p. 195 (11 July 1677), “Baleruc [sic] waters”; trans. from French, Dewhurst, *Locke*, p. 85.

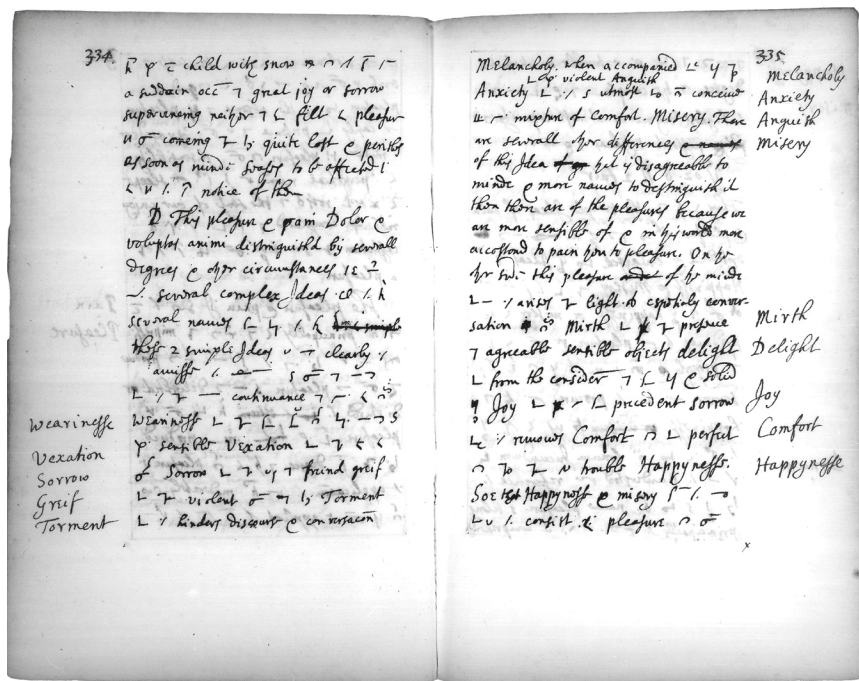


Figure 7. Some of the titles in the series of entries concerning the “Passions”. MS Locke f. 1, pp. 325-347, at pp. 334-335 (16 July 1676). By permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

down “his Notions”; and when composing the *Leviathan* he “carried always a Note-booke in his pocket, and as soon as a Thought ‘darted,’ he presently entred it into his Booke, or otherwise he might perhaps have lost it.”¹¹³ The physician and mathematician, William Petty, also a friend of Aubrey, spoke of his “many flying thoughts” which must be captured.¹¹⁴

Many of the philosophical entries in Locke's journals in France display this character. In his *Essay*, Locke recognized that "*Ideas*" often "float in our mind, without any reflection or regard of the Understanding". Reinforcing this in a letter of 16 May 1699 to Samuel Bold, he observed that "The thoughts that come often unsought, and, as it were, drop into the mind, are commonly the most valuable of any we have, and therefore should be secured, because

¹¹³ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, pp. 426-27, 429.

¹¹⁴ Petty, *Advice*, sig. A2, 2^r (in dedication to Samuel Hartlib); Yeo, *Notebooks*, p. 21.

they seldom return again".¹¹⁵ In making notes he sought to ensure that certain thoughts were given proper "Attention" and "registred in the Memory".¹¹⁶ Compared with most entries in his commonplace books the philosophical journal entries are distinctive in not being reliant on excerpts as a starting point. However, they are not necessarily unexpected inspirations; rather, most are associated with current projects. These entries start on 27 March 1676 and mark Locke's return to philosophy after the completion of Drafts A and B of the *Essay*.¹¹⁷

The most arresting example of Locke's philosophical entries is the rush of ideas starting on 16 July 1676. These entries, the first of which is "Passions" (the governing category), are in shorthand with marginal titles in longhand.¹¹⁸ After this there are approximately eighteen subsidiary concepts such as Love, Desire, Hope and Hatred, entered on the one day in Montpellier (see Fig. 7).¹¹⁹ More than once, Pain and Pleasure feature in this entry: in the *Essay*, Locke said that these ideas "are the hinges on which our *Passions* turn". As von Leyden suggested, this sequence of notes is a trial run for what a full account of the Passions might be – as Locke acknowledged in the *Essay* by stressing in the chapter "Of Modes of Pleasure and Pain" that what he said must not be mistaken "as a Discourse of the *Passions*; they are *many more than those* I have here named".¹²⁰ Some of these ideas involving the passions are indexed in the journal for 1676 as separate items to be retrieved when required. Indeed, Locke obliquely referenced "Study", the subject of the longest entry in the four journals, as belonging to any comprehensive report on the passions, which would include the pleasure "of well directed study in the search and discovery of Truth".¹²¹

There are some entries that raise important philosophical issues, while also beginning with an excerpt. The entry on "Extasy/Dreaming" of 14 May 1676

¹¹⁵ Locke, *Essay*, II.xix.1; Locke to Bold, 16 May 1699 in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, no. 2590, pp. 626–30, at p. 628; also Yeo, *Notebooks*, pp. 214–15.

¹¹⁶ Locke, *Essay*, II.xix.1.

¹¹⁷ See the editors' introduction in Locke, *Draft C*, pp. xviii–xix; and p. xviii for their count of thirty philosophical entries between March 1676 and October 1678. See also Schankula, "Summary Catalogue", pp. 24, 27–30 for "philosophical" entries in the journals kept in France.

¹¹⁸ MS Locke f. 1, pp. 325–47 (16 July 1676). These are preceded by substantial entries on Extension, Simple Ideas, Will, Pleasure and Pain.

¹¹⁹ Locke, *Essays on the Law of Nature*, pp. 265–72 for expansion of the shorthand; see also Locke, *Political Essays*, pp. 237–45.

¹²⁰ Locke, *Essay*, II.xx.3; II.xx.18; Locke, *Essays on the Law of Nature*, pp. 264–65 (von Leyden's introduction).

¹²¹ Locke, *Essay*, II.xx.18.

opens with a quotation – “The way of falling into an Exstasie” – and a marginal reference to “59/p. 41”.¹²² This indicates “Lemmata Ethica” (MS Locke d. 10, p. 41) where, under “Exstasis” (dated 1682), the entry duplicates the opening of a sentence from François Bernier’s *Suite des Memoires sur l’Empire du Grand Mogol* (1671), identified in both entries as on page 158 in a book of 252 pages. Locke read this work in France and made other references to it on the previous day.¹²³ His note in the journal, immediately below the excerpt, opens with a query: “Q Whether Exstasie be any thing else but dreaming with the eyes open ...”.¹²⁴ There is no doubt that by copying Bernier’s description of instances of extasy into “Lemmata Ethica”, Locke recognized this feature of Hinduism (and of the Brahmin elite) as pertaining to comparative religious practices and culture. In “Adversaria Ethica” (from c. 1672) he had already made several entries on Brahminism (again citing Bernier) and also on Japanese religion.¹²⁵ However, Locke’s own thinking about extasy being “any thing else but dreaming with the eyes open”, and his following reasoning about the contrast with “wakeing” ideas, does not fit under “Ethica” as he conceived it; indeed, there is nothing like this in any of his commonplace books.¹²⁶

5. *Putting things back together*

Although the journal entries carried titles, they were not arranged by topic or subject; this meant that the distinction between “Physica” and “Ethica” became invisible. However, established habits quickly reasserted themselves: once back in London, Locke prepared two new commonplace books, MS Locke c. 42A

¹²² MS Locke f. 1, p. 256 (14 May 1676), “Extasy/Dreaming”.

¹²³ Lough, “Locke’s Reading”, p. 231. See LL, no. 286a, published in Paris; this is not the edition printed in The Hague that Locke cites in MS Locke f. 1, p. 254 (13 May 1676). See Bernier, *Continuation of Memoires*, p. 138. For Locke’s acquaintance with Bernier and his works, see Bonno, *Relations Intellectuelles*, pp. 55, 80, 84–86, 97–99; Lough, *Locke’s Travels*, p. 177, n. 1.

¹²⁴ A version of this query appeared in the *Essay*, II.xix.1; see Locke, *Draft C*, p. xx.

¹²⁵ For Bernier, see “Adversaria Ethica”, pp. 100, 155; see n. 48 above for the notes on Japanese religion. For Locke’s questions about ethnography and comparative religion, see Carey, “Locke’s Use of Inquiries”, pp. 24–31.

¹²⁶ J. R. Milton has suggested that Locke may have chosen not to use commonplace books “for recording philosophical material, but rather for factual information of various kinds”, or that he did, but the relevant ones were lost. Milton, “Locke at Oxford”, p. 38; also p. 46. The presence of Draft A of the *Essay* (under “Intellectus” in “Adversaria Ethica”, pp. 56–95) does not affect this comment: it is a lengthy draft of a work, not a standard entry.

(medicine and sciences) and c. 42B (comparative religion, culture and politics) to receive selected material from the journals.¹²⁷ He also made further transfers into some of his existing commonplace books, especially “Adversaria Physica”, “Adversaria Ethica” and “Lemmata Ethica”.¹²⁸ This was possible because the marginal titles, indexes and internal cross-references in the journals aided searches for entries. A significant outcome of this process was the introduction, for the first time, of dated entries in the commonplace books – a gift from the journals that now allowed a documented history of Locke’s reading and thinking.¹²⁹ When he copied material from a journal Locke recorded the date of the entry and also the date on which he entered this material in a commonplace book. Some of these transfers were made in 1679, indicated by 79 either at the top of the page or in the margins; only sections of pages, not individual entries, were dated.¹³⁰ As an illustration of this procedure, the journal entry of 9 July 1676 on “Hysterica” in MS Locke f. 1, pp. 311-12 has a marginal reference to “60. p. 183” which indicates “Adversaria Physica”, called 60 because of the date 1660 on its inside front cover. At page 183 of this notebook, the entry on “Hysterica” continues on to p. 268 where there is a cross-reference to “76 p. 312”, the location of the original journal entry. The transfer of material from the journals did not cease in 1679. Indeed, the entry on “Hysterica” just cited was transferred in 1681; two on “Rheumatismus”, also from that journal, were copied into “Adversaria Physica” in 1681-1682.¹³¹ This confirms Locke’s continuing, or reactivated, interest in certain topics and it meant that the journals kept in France enjoyed an after-life.

¹²⁷ Originally two separate commonplace books, Parts A and B are now bound together. The first entry in Part A, p. 1 copies (with variations) an entry in MS Locke f. 1, p. 51 (28 January 1676), “Diabetes”. Locke also started a commonplace book (MS Locke d. 1) while preparing to leave for England in early 1679. It begins with both scientific and ethical topics (pp. 1-49), whereas entries from p. 53 are exclusively ethical, political and religious. While in France and later in the Netherlands, Locke made notes of his reading on large sheets, labelling them “Adversaria”. See MS Locke c. 33, fols. 1-16; and Locke, *Literary and Historical*, p. 34, n. 7.

¹²⁸ See Locke, *Draft C*, p. xxiii for the editors’ list of several entries (marginal mark 61) transferred from the journal MS Locke f. 1 to “Adversaria Ethica”; however, in contrast with “Adversaria Physica”, cross-references to the journal are rarely given.

¹²⁹ Two qualifications: Locke usually dated *empirical* observations (Yeo, “Thinking with Excerpts”, p. 191) and the order of some of the entries can be determined (Milton, “Dating of ‘Adversaria 1661’”, p. 111, n. 14).

¹³⁰ For an announcement of this practice, which continued for all future entries in commonplace books, not just for transfers from journals, see English draft of “New Method”, BL Add. MS 28728, fols. 60v-61r; Locke, *Literary and Historical*, pp. 226-27.

¹³¹ See the entries on “Rheumatismus” in MS Locke f. 1, p. 407 (18 August 1676) and p. 466 (9 October 1676), both transferred to MS Locke d. 9, p. 37.

However, not everything fitted smoothly, or completely, back together. Indeed, the consolidation of some information in commonplace books highlighted the disaggregated status of journal entries left uncopied. Although this was predictable, given the large number of entries, it is possible that some journal notes had no obvious home in the existing commonplace books. Any secure generalization about this requires more investigation, but one instance involves "Adversaria Physica", the commonplace book that hosted Locke's ongoing interests in medicine (both theory and therapeutics), chemistry, physiology and agricultural topics.¹³² Many notes in the journals united easily with those sharing the same titles in this commonplace book and other medical notebooks – for example, Apoplexie, Epilepsia, Febris, Hernia, Hysteria, Respiratio, Rheumatismus, Sanguis, Tumor, Vertigo, Vulnus. In contrast, entries on mania/madness starting in mid-1676 were not transferred to this commonplace book even though it already held six entries on this concept.¹³³ There was space available on p. 113 for more entries at the time in 1679 when Locke made other notes under "Machina" and "Mars", but none of the six entries on "Mania"/"Madnesse" in the journals is there. It is feasible that these were left uncopied because Locke did not approach madness in neurological and physiological terms, as Thomas Willis did in the lectures Lower and Locke recorded from 1661,¹³⁴ but rather as a matter of psychology involving the formation of "obscure or confused notions of things" that created a dangerous starting point for sound reasoning and judgement.¹³⁵ We have already met another example of notes left in the journals because they did not belong in the commonplace books, namely, the philosophical entries on Space, Extension, Simple Ideas, Memory, Will, Power, and the various Passions. However, not all of these remained homeless – some were incorporated in drafts of the *Essay*.

¹³² It is clear that this notebook was the default repository for these topics because some cross-references in the journals simply cite a page, without the 60. Thus on 24 February 1676 in MS Locke f. 1, pp. 122 and 131, Locke wrote 238 in the margin under both "Vineard" and "Vinum", knowing that this was all he needed: MS Locke d. 9, p. 238. There was no confusion with "Lemmata Physica" because he made no transfers to that notebook; see Milton, "Dating of 'Adversaria 1661'", p. 115.

¹³³ MS Locke d. 9, pp. 112-113, "Mania".

¹³⁴ See Willis on "Mania" in MS Locke f. 19, pp. 114-19.

¹³⁵ MS Locke, f. 2, p. 347 (11 November 1677), "Error". Relevant entries include MS Locke, f. 1, p. 320 (15 July 1676), "Mania/Fatuitas (stupidity)"; MS Locke, f. 2, p. 348 (11 November 1677), "Madnesse/Folly": "where a man argues right upon wrong notions or termes he does like a mad man, where he makes wrong consequences he does like a foole"; MS Locke f. 3, pp. 19-21 (22 January 1678), "Madnesse".

As studies of humanist commonplace books have shown, textual excerpting sacrificed context and often details of the book being commonplaced.¹³⁶ Something similar occurred in Locke's notebooks when transfers of single entries neglected surrounding information. In one of the commonplace books started in 1679, he copied the entry on "Hernia" from his journal entry for 19 March 1676. Immediately above this there is another entry under "Vulnus" which he copied into the same commonplace book.¹³⁷ However, this proximity of related entries ("Hernia" and "Vulnus") in the journal was lost in the transfer: the topics ended up on different pages due to the different alphabetical classes (*He* and *Vu*) of the titles. Similarly, entries on "Hysterica" and "Epilepsia" of 18 June 1676 were separated when copied into Locke's "Practica" notebook devoted to Daniel Sennert's *Praxis medica* (1656) – hence the marginal cross-references to "pr. p. 690 and pr. p. 167".¹³⁸ The compensation for such losses was that various sources on the same topic were brought together in one notebook, allowing for comparisons of earlier and later notes, and sparking new ideas, assisted by the fact that Locke often added to copied entries, or brought several together, sometimes in the course of expanding shorthand into longhand.¹³⁹

Locke's notes certainly included what scholars have called brief facts or nuggets of information gathered from books, observation and testimony; but some of them were more than this.¹⁴⁰ Those excerpts and observations with which Locke interacted by attaching comments, queries and his own signature formed higher level clusters of information and thought relating to certain classes of facts.¹⁴¹ Material from the journals significantly added to, and in some cases initiated, these clusters on favourite subjects such as respiration, arthritis, wounds, fevers, hysteria, weather, agriculture, wine-making and comparative religion. These expandable notes became powerful tools for the advancement of projects, even if Locke did not publish on all of them.

¹³⁶ See Cave, *Cornucopian Text*; Crane, *Framing Authority*; Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 43–44.

¹³⁷ MS Locke, f. 1, p. 157 (19 March 1676), "Vulnus, Hernia" copied to MS Locke c. 42A, pp. 8, 10.

¹³⁸ MS Locke f. 1, p. 288 (18 June 1676), "Hysterica", "Epilepsia". The "Practica" notebook is in the Biblioteca Marciana (Ms. Lat. 23), Venice; see Stolberg, "Locke's New Method", p. 451.

¹³⁹ See MS Locke f. 1, pp. 122–23 (24 February 1676), "Vineard", and related entries from the same journal copied in 1679 to MS Locke d. 9, p. 238 under "Vinea"; also MS Locke f. 1, pp. 311–12 (9 July 1676), "Hysterica" copied in 1681 to MS Locke d. 9, p. 183, continued on p. 268 and expanded into longhand.

¹⁴⁰ Daston, "Perché i fatti sono brevi?"; Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 2, 198.

¹⁴¹ Yeo, "Thinking with Excerpts", p. 199.

6. Conclusion

Locke's adoption of journals in France was a significant moment in his lifetime of note-taking. It entailed departures from his usual habits: there were no separate notebooks for topics belonging to the "Physica" and "Ethica" categories; each entry was immediately dated; and the indexes were not completed until the end of each year. However, Locke took advantage of the freedoms allowed by the journal form – the liberty to note anything on any page, touching on several ideas in succession; the option of pursuing a single topic over several days in consecutive pages, as seen in some of the medical and philosophical entries; and the chance to develop pre-existing topics. He did not abandon note-taking centred on excerpts from books, but while in France more of his notes were initiated by observation, conversation and reflection; and many of these incorporated queries (already present in some commonplace books) that involved theoretical conjectures. The latter included philosophical queries relevant to the *Essay*. These actions contributed to the variety and detail we now see in the journals. Yet on return to England, Locke did not make the journal his notebook of choice; rather, he enriched his commonplace books with material collected in the journals.

When the commonplace book resumed its function as the repository of information, queries and ideas, Locke continued the journal as an annual diary of names, appointments, financial transactions (including book purchases), lists of various kinds and some notices of passages in books. Any generalization about the content and purpose of the journals after May 1679 is complicated by the fact that he did occasionally enter significant material, such as the entries on religion, reason, knowledge, and enthusiasm printed by Mark Goldie, and the important reflection on memory and personal identity of 5 June 1683.¹⁴² During his exile in the Netherlands from 7/17 September 1683 to February 1689, Locke was again without his commonplace books and depended on journals in conjunction with drafts of his *Epistola de Tolerantia* (1689) and the *Essay* (1690). The journals of this period are beyond the scope of this article, but one observation seems safe: after he returned to England the marginal titles, indexes and cross-references that linked the journals to the commonplace books begin to disappear. "Cash" (for financial matters) remains as a recurring

¹⁴² Locke, *Political Essays*, pp. 277-82; 289-91 (from MSS Locke f. 4, f. 5, f. 6). See MS Locke f. 7, p. 107 (5 June 1683) beginning "Identity of persons".

preoccupation, but even significant entries are without titles.¹⁴³ Moreover, no journal after 1678 has an index. It seems that by the 1680s Locke was no longer concerned with effective communication between the journals and commonplace books, or perhaps assumed he could rely on memory and page turning to find what he wanted – a feasible option given the steadily reducing length of the post-1679 journals. There are only twenty-four pages in the final journal of 1704, closing with its last entry on 24 October, four days before Locke's death.¹⁴⁴

When he reached London on 30 April 1679, Locke had already made the decision to return to his former note-taking practices.¹⁴⁵ Did he miss a chance to explore a new path, “one less traveled by”?¹⁴⁶ The main alternative was a recourse to “loose” notes on slips of paper – in contrast with those organized in some fashion and kept in bound notebooks.¹⁴⁷ Thus in considering the best way of writing about novel, and perhaps inchoate, empirical particulars Robert Boyle eschewed “Methodical Treatises” and favoured writing in “a more loose and unconfin'd way”.¹⁴⁸ Locke shared Boyle's anxiety about premature generalization in science and advised careful collection of information as a preparation for conjecture and theory. However, in his view, this did not entail a completely unstructured archive. Quite the opposite. From the start, Locke avoided the prospect of a chaos of notes and the sensation Boyle described, positively, as tumbling over “divers loose Notes”.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, in labelling some of his early notebooks as either “Physica” or “Ethica”, Locke foreshadowed the declaration in the final chapter of the *Essay* about “the three great Provinces of the intellectual World, wholly separate and distinct one from another”.¹⁵⁰ This

¹⁴³ For helpful comments on the post-1679 journals, see Terenzio, “Journals di Locke”, pp. 202–5. This time away from England put Locke's commonplace books into suspended animation; some were not used intensively again, whereas “Adversaria Theologica” (MS Locke c. 43) was started in c. 1694.

¹⁴⁴ MS Locke f. 10, p. 28 [error for p. 24]. After 1683 as the journals reduced in size they came to be bound as follows: MS Locke f. 8 (1684–85); MS Locke f. 9 (1686–88) and MS Locke f. 10 (1689–1704). The commonplace books also decline in use: the latest date (for a page) in both “Adversaria Ethica” and “Adversaria Physica” is 1698.

¹⁴⁵ See BL Add. MS 15642, p. 93 for the day he landed in London as 30 April/10 May 1679.

¹⁴⁶ Frost, “The Road not Taken”, p. 131.

¹⁴⁷ For an early example, see Kraemer and Zedelmaier, “Instruments of Invention”, pp. 330–31, 334.

¹⁴⁸ Boyle, *Excellency*, p. 82, cited in Yeo, “Loose Notes”, pp. 336–37. See also Gassendi, *Mirrouir*, Book VI, pp. 191–92 on Peiresc's loose pages.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Yeo, “Loose Notes”, p. 343; see n. 29 above.

¹⁵⁰ Locke, *Essay*, IV.xxi. The third division was “the Doctrine of Signs”; see n. 38 above.

willingness to delineate between fields of inquiry which, by implication, could for the most part be pursued independently, fits with Locke's preference for keeping like with like over the unexpected combinations welcomed by those who recommended loose notes.¹⁵¹ Although the arrangement of his commonplace books was in terms of titles of the same "class", not subjects, it did bring old and new notes, and past and present authorities on certain topics, together on the same pages, such as those hosting the entries on olives, vines, grapes and fruit; epilepsy, hysteria, melancholy and vertigo. This collation of material supported comparison of data and opinion across both time and space which, in itself, could generate new ideas.

In the article of 1686 describing his "New Method" of making, arranging and retrieving *adversaria*, Locke did not mention his journals, no doubt because they did not belong to the *ars excerpendi* genre. But in referring to twenty-five years of experience using this method, he overlooked the period in France in which he tried to ensure that the journals could deliver their content to the commonplace books left at home.¹⁵² Locke's accumulation of information in notes was not an unguided gathering of novel and curious things (although this was one aspect); rather, it was a deliberate building on *previous* notes, a practice that sometimes revealed shifts in his thinking. The journal entries amassed in France significantly expanded the network of cross-references and transfers, evident to a more limited extent in the pre-1676 commonplace books. More research, hopefully aided by digital searching, may reveal the extent to which the four journals Locke maintained during his travels played their part in assembling a copious and orderly repository of information and ideas over a lifetime.

Abbreviations

LL: Harrison, John, and Laslett, Peter, *The Library of John Locke*, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford 1971.

¹⁵¹ See Cevolini, "Universal Index", pp. 36-38, 43-46; Yeo, "Harrison's *Arca studiorum*". For reflection on this scholarship, see Crişane, "Traversing Disciplinary Boundaries".

¹⁵² In the letter of dedication Locke said more than twenty years; in the text, twenty-five ("25 ans"); [Locke], "Méthode nouvelle", pp. 319, 321.

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