

Natural Philosophy, Inventions and Religion in the Correspondence between John Locke and Nicolas Toinard (1678-1704)

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The paper examines the copious correspondence between the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) and the French intellectual Nicolas Toinard (1629-1706); Locke made the acquaintance of Toinard in Paris in 1677 or early in 1678, and the latter remained his lifelong friend and most assiduous correspondent. An Orléanais and a devout Catholic, Toinard combined an intense interest in the Scriptures with an enthusiasm for experimental science and inventions of every kind; he introduced Locke to all the French official institutions and to a number of private laboratories. Toinard's principal work, *Evangeliorum Harmonia Graeco-Latina*, was greatly appreciated by Locke for its new method. The paper attempts to explore the bulk of this correspondence in detail, giving an account of the wide range of topics dealt with in the two hundred letters; it is divided into four paragraphs referring, respectively, to the years 1678-1679, 1679-1681, 1681-1686, and 1686-1704. The perspective is diachronic; on some occasions, the focus is on a particular topic which is the object of prolonged discussion between the two correspondents. In the conclusion, attention is drawn to the relevance of this correspondence in the context of the 17th century and of Locke's philosophical thought.

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4. The Correspondence in the Years 1681-1686

At the end of 1681, Locke's letters to Toinard become less frequent; moreover, in a letter of October 1681, Locke seemed impatient when explaining the reason for his prolonged silence to his friend: Toinard neither spoke English nor planned to learn it, and this spared him the trouble of translating his letters into a foreign language, whereas Locke had always endeavoured to write in French or in Latin (a very laborious task, indeed). Locke was afraid the "jargon" of his letters would annoy Toinard, so he had resolved to write less than before.¹⁴¹ However, the true reason for Locke's silence seems to be what he himself wrote a few lines below in the same letter: in speaking about a book Toinard had asked him for (Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum*), Locke had complained about the difficulty of finding it printed in London (Locke to Toinard, Aug. 30, 1681, II, 656), and Toinard had answered he could pay for it (Toinard to Locke, 8 Oct. 1681, II, 661); feeling misunderstood, Locke had interpreted Toinard's words as an offence. "Remember—he wrote in the letter of October—that for

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those who have venal tongues the heart, being situated close by, is none too safe.” In other words, it was better for Toinard not to speak of money anymore.

The incident passed without consequence; in February 1682 Toinard was planning to go to England,¹⁴² but the trip was postponed (in spring the political climate became very hot in England, with Shaftesbury plotting against the king);¹⁴³ after July 1682, the correspondence grinds to a halt for nearly two years, until May 1684.¹⁴⁴ In writing to Locke after this long time, Toinard expressed his regret for the interruption, but his tone was quite formal: probably he was afraid the letter could be intercepted, given the nature of the events which had led Locke to Holland. Toinard seemed to behave as if nothing had happened: he asked Locke for some books on chronology which could be of some help in order to complete his *Harmonia*,¹⁴⁵ and reported on having translated a brief treatise by Joseph Flavius. However, some words at the end of his letter suggest he was well aware of Locke’s adversities: “Il m’est arrive comme a vous une infinité d’afflictions depuis l’interruption de notre commerce.” Another two letters from Toinard, written in a more familiar tone, reached Locke in July,¹⁴⁶ but it was the third, written in November, which seemed more appropriate to Locke’s unfortunate circumstances: the letter contained a Greek epigram which invited everyone to laugh at “Fortune, changeful as a wanton’s play,” and to abstain from continuously feeding “our own distress, viewing unworthy folk in happiness.”

Locke’s answer,¹⁴⁷ his first extant letter to Toinard after his departure for Holland, opened echoing the epigram: fortune had always been the most inconstant divinity, so it was never the case to expect anything good from her. Further on, Locke thanked Toinard for the appraisal of his new method of common-placing,¹⁴⁸ which he had not yet published, considering it a very modest achievement. Once more, Locke gave Toinard *carte blanche* to do whatever he wanted with it, and Toinard finally seemed determined to publish it: some days later, he asked Locke to send a sample of his method to him,¹⁴⁹ in order to arrange for its publication as a separate book. In answer to this point, Locke questioned whether his short method could fill a book and suggested some French periodical as a better location: in his terms, the English miscellanies were “hanging fire at the moment or carelessly managed,” so it was more proper to look somewhere else.¹⁵⁰ Probably Locke still hoped to see his work published in *Journal des sçavants*, but Toinard’s answer disappointed his expectations: the “Adversariorum methodus” was written in English and, as a consequence, Toinard was unable to read it, unless it was translated into French or Latin.¹⁵¹ In that respect, Toinard playfully rebuked his friend for his stingy behaviour, comparing him to Aristotle¹⁵²: the method had been given to him without being really given (“donnez sans etre donéz”).

Locke’s answer revealed some impatience: “I am not the sort of philosopher who might be disposed to give empty words whilst withholding the actual thing; ‘I have published and not published’ seems to me not so much a sagacious remark as the indication of a niggardly and narrow mind.”¹⁵³ Nonetheless, Locke reassured Toinard: he was already translating his method into Latin and would send it to him in a short time.¹⁵⁴

Probably it was not easy for Locke to think of Toinard’s intense social life in Paris without feeling depressed, especially during the terrible year 1685: in that time, Locke had to go into hiding in order to escape from the English envoy Bevil Skelton, who had come to Holland to demand the extradition of English fugitives. “It is the greatest proof of my virtue—Locke wrote to Toinard on Mar. 16, 1685—that in all my wretchedness of absence I can still pray so sincerely for the prosperity and happiness of you all who are

enjoying the blessing of each other society.”¹⁵⁵ Surely these dangerous circumstances were the reason why Locke did not write to Toinard for more than a year; when he did, in May 1686,¹⁵⁶ he apologized for his long silence, and in July expressed the desire to know something about the Latin translation of his method, which he had sent to Toinard a year before.¹⁵⁷ In answer to Locke in December 1686, Toinard did not say anything on this subject, apart from mentioning some tables he had made for his personal use following Locke’s instructions. As usual, Toinard dwelled on many different subjects (a remedy against mouth ulcers, and mostly, a porous, “straining” stone capable of taking away the taste from liquids),¹⁵⁸ but his silence on Locke’s method suggested he had not done anything with it. However, Locke had already abandoned the hope of seeing his work printed in France: in July 1686, a French translation of the “Adversariorum Methodus” had been published by the biblical scholar Jean Le Clerc in *Bibliothèque universelle*.¹⁵⁹ Probably Toinard was attempting to apologize for his negligence when, on February 10, 1687,¹⁶⁰ he complained to Locke (“mon meilleur ami,” in the letter) about the great anxiety which was tormenting him in that period, because of his mother’s death and hard work.

Actually, Toinard was really working hard, but not on his *Evangeliorum Harmonia*, as Locke had hoped. On June 16, 1684, he had asked for Locke’s help in order to negotiate with the Amsterdam bookseller Hendrik Wetstein for its publication,¹⁶¹ and on April 29, 1686¹⁶² Locke reported to him on having seen some harmonic sheets printed by Wetstein; they belonged to a harmony of Josephus,¹⁶³ not to that of the Gospel, and Locke was quite disappointed about this: “I would have preferred a Matthew to Josephus.” A few months later, he rebuked Toinard openly for his inconstancy: “in the pursuit of new things, as so often happens, you have little regard for what you have already achieved and possess.”¹⁶⁴ However, in December 1686 Toinard was still working hard on the completion of the harmony of Josephus.¹⁶⁵

5. The Correspondence in the Last Years (1687-1704)

There are no letters from Locke to Toinard in the year 1687 (though there are six from Toinard), and only two in the year 1688 (though seven from Toinard); in November 1688,¹⁶⁶ Locke insisted again on Toinard publishing the harmony of the Gospels, since his friend had reported to him on his being unable to concentrate on its revision properly (“Voilà l’Harmonie deconcertée de nouveau par la conjuncture des affaires”).¹⁶⁷ “Here is harmony disturbed once more—Locke replied—the old sad song; so I must go on complaining, groaning, rebuking, but all in vain.” Toinard’s subsequent letters were full of erudition and attested a persistent interest in biblical chronology,¹⁶⁸ but they said almost nothing about the developments of *Evangeliorum Harmonia*. In fact, the work was already well known to European scholars (Toinard had distributed some sheets among his friends), but Locke was not convinced this was a good thing: in November 1688, he had warned Toinard against plagiarists, an example of whom he found in the Jesuit Richard Simon, whose *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* was to appear in 1689.¹⁶⁹ Toinard knew Simon’s work on the Old Testament quite well: on April 7, 1678, he had discovered the index of his *Historia critica Veteri Testamenti* in a printing house and had reported on it to Bossuet, who had hurried to inform the chancellor in order to stop the printing.¹⁷⁰ As regards Simon’s translation of the New Testament, in January 1689 Toinard was searching for a copy of it;¹⁷¹ later, he criticized it in his “Cahiers de correction” severely.¹⁷² In March 1689, when the French theologian Bernard Lamy published his *Harmonia Evangelistarum* in Paris (1689), Toinard appeared seriously worried: writing to Locke, he described Lamy as “un petit furet,” who had cunningly taken advantage of his good

faith.¹⁷³ Some months later, Toinard seemed really determined to publish an extract of the harmony of the Gospels,¹⁷⁴ but his following letters to Locke do say very little on this subject and focus mainly on numismatics.¹⁷⁵

In August 1688, Locke had sent a copy of the *Abregé* of the *Essay* to Toinard;¹⁷⁶ since November 1688, there are no letters from him to Toinard, until November 1694. There are eight letters from Toinard to Locke in the year 1689; in the first of these, Toinard praised the *Abregé* and spoke of some books he was going to send to Locke by means of an acquaintance of his;¹⁷⁷ in the second, he reported on two books which he had presumably been asked for by Locke.¹⁷⁸ Clearly, Toinard's acquaintances guaranteed a *trait d'union* between him and Locke during these years.

There are five letters from Toinard to Locke in the year 1690, though no more after June 1690, because of the outbreak of the Nine Years' War. The correspondence resumes, though only for a few months, in August 1694 with a letter from Toinard, who finally seemed determined to publish his *Evangeliorum Harmonia* in its full extent.¹⁷⁹ Besides, Toinard promised Locke some copies of a little book written in French, which contained some critical and positive remarks on the New Testament translation edited by the Port Royalists (1676); the author was Toinard himself, who in the preface concealed his identity using the pseudonym "Abbé albigeois".¹⁸⁰ In a subsequent letter to Locke, Toinard revealed the identity of the author (he was one of the "Triumvirs"), and added some sheets of his *Evangeliorum Harmonia*, together with the request to collect some subscriptions in England;¹⁸¹ the correspondence grinds to a halt in November 1694, resuming in October 1697.¹⁸²

Writing to Locke in November 1697,¹⁸³ Toinard had many things to communicate to him: he spoke of horology, African primitive tribes¹⁸⁴ and mechanic inventions (in particular, a machine capable of towing boats on rivers);¹⁸⁵ he also reported on his working on some ancient coins ("j'ai fait graver de medailles apelées abuzivement *Samaritaines*, et celles des *Herodiades*") and on the advancement of *Evangeliorum Harmonia*, which was finally ready to be printed.¹⁸⁶ In answer to Toinard on March 25, 1698, Locke appeared eager to know more about a report by François Froger he had been presented with by his friend,¹⁸⁷ concerning a voyage around the coasts of Africa and South America¹⁸⁸; he was also extremely curious about the customs (especially the way of numbering) of the African tribes mentioned by Toinard.¹⁸⁹ Besides, Locke reported on having written some books which, being in English, he had omitted to send to his friend; he mentioned *An Essay concerning Humane Understanding* and *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, promising to Toinard a copy of the latter, which had been translated into French. On May 20, 1698, Locke reported he had arranged for the book to be sent to Toinard and asked him for his opinion on how to improve it, in view of a fourth edition;¹⁹⁰ moreover, he announced that the *Essay* was going to be translated into a language not unknown to Toinard,¹⁹¹ and exhorted him once again to publish his *Harmonia* immediately, in order to prevent further plagiarism ("others have stolen upon you and have taken possession of the praise that is due to you alone; and others in like manner will take possession of it"). The same warning was readdressed to Toinard on June 12, 1698¹⁹² by an increasingly concerned Locke ("I beg, urge, demand, as is my wont, that it be hastened so that it may appear, lest others be given further opportunity of anticipating it or snatching from you the praise that is due to you"); Toinard answered on July 16 reassuring Locke: his *Harmonia* was ready to be published, though there were some problems with the Dutch editor who had not yet amended some errors in the manuscript, as had been requested by Toinard.¹⁹³

Like many other letters in this period, the one from Toinard of July 16 mentioned some new friends of his, in particular Jean Baptiste Du Bos,¹⁹⁴ for whom he had great consideration. In July, Du Bos was visiting London, where he became acquainted with Locke; he received from the latter some books for Toinard (his writings on money, whose notoriety Toinard remarked on in a subsequent letter: “vous passez pour un homme qui a sauvé l’Angleterre, à l’occasion de la monnoies”).¹⁹⁵

On his return to Paris, Du Bos had also taken with him some ancient medals for Toinard, which became the object of some erudite enquiries by Locke in the first months of 1699;¹⁹⁶ for his part, since the late 1698 Toinard appeared particularly curious about voyagers’ reports (he had some thoughts of translating one of them into French),¹⁹⁷ and eager to learn more on English reports, which in his view were those best written (“les Anglois surpassent toutes les autres nations”).¹⁹⁸ Moreover, Toinard asked Locke for new translations of the *Mishnah* (the first major work of Rabbinic Judaism), and Locke was not only ready to comply with his requests,¹⁹⁹ but also increasingly interested in Jewish traditions in the time of Christ (especially those relating to the celebration of Easter).²⁰⁰ Locke’s interest was tied to the reading of Toinard’s *Harmonia*: about all the letters he sent to the latter in the years 1698-1699 contained an explicit mention of the work, though Toinard’s answers left no doubt he was not yet resolved to publish it. On May 1, 1699, Locke informed Toinard he had received Le Clerc’s *Harmonia Evangelica*, hot off the press: it resembled his work in the method, though not in the order. This was of course another warning addressed to his friend, but one year later Toinard was still unable to comply with Locke’s request (“L’ouvrage pour lequel vous paroissez vous tant interesser, est dans une crise don’t on espere une bonne issuë”).²⁰¹

From May 1698, Locke had been planning a trip to Paris,²⁰² but he was forced to abandon his project because of bad health;²⁰³ Toinard’s letters in these last years are full of concern for Locke’s health and witness a deep, sincere affection, together with the regret for not having seen his friend anymore since 1679. In the first months of the year 1700, Toinard was planning to go to England, but writing to Locke on March 19, 1700 he complained about some legal difficulties (the remnant of an old judicial misadventure, which had lasted for over eight years), which prevented him from going to visit Locke at Oates, Lady Masham’s residence (something he desired “passionément”, given the many adversities which troubled him in that time);²⁰⁴ probably legal and financial difficulties were at the root of Toinard’s interest in the English lotteries in favor of the Hospital of Greenwich, an interest witnessed by many of the letters he sent to Locke in this period.²⁰⁵

Writing to Toinard at the end of 1699, Locke expressed a high regard for the works of William Lloyd (“le plus habile chronologiste entre nos scavants”), who had become Bishop of Worcester on Stillingfleet’s death;²⁰⁶ Locke intended to copy some letters from Lloyd to the French Antoine Pagi and Cardinal Henry Noris, in order to send them to Toinard (the correspondence focused on matters of biblical chronology, one of Toinard’s main pursuits), but the frequent mention of Toinard’s name in the letters led Locke to believe he was already familiar with them. Locke’s supposition was right: in a subsequent letter, Toinard replied he was the one who had promoted the correspondence (“c’est moi à qui le public a obligation du commerce que j’ai lié entre ces trois savans hommes”), adding he was ready to supply Locke with all the letters he needed.²⁰⁷ Locke’s interest in chronological matters was surely linked to his writing a paraphrase of the epistles of St. Paul: the name of Lloyd is among those most frequently cited in the many preparatory entries Locke made on his Bible in this time.²⁰⁸

Being “un amateur de chronologie,”²⁰⁹ Toinard was always eager to read more on this topic, which was closely tied to his studies on Scriptural concordances and numismatics. Being still unsatisfied with his *Harmonia*, in the year 1700 Toinard had devoted himself almost entirely to numismatics: on June 5, he reported to Locke on some beautiful “medailles dites Samaritaines,”²¹⁰ whose engravings he reproduced in a subsequent letter,²¹¹ and in two subsequent letters he dwelled at length on a Jewish coin (*siclum*), which had attracted Locke’s curiosity.²¹²

The correspondence in the year 1700 reveals that both Locke and Toinard were somewhat concerned about the chronological problems relating to the reform of the English calendar.²¹³ Writing to Locke on April 6, Toinard wondered whether England would abandon the erroneous Julian calendar and added he had some thoughts about a new calendar, based on a single “canon tres simple”; similarly, on May 21, he spoke of a short work of his concerning a new and simple way to fix the date for the celebration of Easter. In Toinard’s terms, the method could be used everywhere (“n’interesse ni les Grecs ni les Latins, ni les catholiques ni les Protestants”).²¹⁴ In answer to Toinard on this topic, Locke replied he himself had attempted to introduce a very simple method for reforming the calendar, though without success,²¹⁵ but Toinard insisted that his method was different from Locke’s, being based on a single rule.²¹⁶ Toinard hoped that the new Pope, Clement the eleventh, would agree on the necessity of introducing his simple method, and Locke wished his endeavor could be successful,²¹⁷ but the subsequent sporadic correspondence says nothing more on this subject.

On August 29, 1701, after about twenty years, Toinard’s interest in magnetism reappears: he reported to Locke on Edmund Halley’s new charts concerning the variation of the compass in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans,²¹⁸ and asked him for a copy of them. In exchange, he sent to Locke a copy of some observations concerning the variation made in 1698 at the Strait of Magellan, whose results went against those reported by Sir John Narbrough.²¹⁹ These observations demonstrated that the variation in the southern hemisphere always went from the pole towards the east, contrary to what happened in Europe; they appeared also incompatible with William Gilbert’s hypothesis on the earth being “a great magnet.”²²⁰ Locke replied²²¹ that he had compared the observations Toinard had sent to him with those of Narbrough, which demonstrated that the variation on the southern coasts of America behaved irregularly, increasing and diminishing in a short time; he admitted he was unable to understand the causes of this phenomenon, which in his opinion needed further, prolonged investigation: “the last century has been happy as to discoveries, but the observation of the magnetic direction’s changing on the earth is I think neither so old nor so universal as to establish a history on which to construct a trustworthy hypothesis.” In Locke’s view, deeply influenced by Bacon and Boyle, the writing of natural histories (reports concerning the results of continued observations relating to a determinate phenomenon) was the only way of pursuing the knowledge of nature: this was one of the fundamental theses in his *Essay*. As many leading experimentalists, Locke believed that speculation should only be undertaken once the project of natural history was near to completion; this was not the case for magnetism, which had been recently investigated. Toinard was eager to speak more on this subject with Locke (as is shown by a long letter of his of Nov. 1, 1701),²²² but he and Locke had no other opportunity to deal with this argument: in a letter of May 1702, Toinard referred to war as highly probable, and a few days later England declared war on France and Spain.²²³

Two years later, a letter from Toinard reached Locke at Oates: a scrap is all that survives of it, and the

mention of a recent book by Du Bois is the only relevant thing with reference to its content.²²⁴ Perhaps Locke disapproved of Toinard's attempt to resume their correspondence during the war; perhaps his health, which in the last years had grown "daily more burdensome,"²²⁵ impeded him from replying to his friend. In September 1701, Locke still hoped to see Toinard again (the judicial misadventure which had involved the latter had finally come to an end),²²⁶ and still waited for some good news concerning the publishing of *Evangeliorum Harmonia*, though his hopes in this regard were more feeble ("J'attend toujours de vous un petit mot musical mais dans votre dernière point d'harmonie, cela me désolé");²²⁷ all hopes were dashed by the outbreak of the war. Locke died on October 28, 1704, without having seen his friend anymore since 1679; Toinard died two years later, and his *Harmonia* was published posthumously in 1707.

6. Conclusion

The 17th century has often been called the century of reason by the astonishing emergence of the new way of understanding nature and creation associated with the science of Kepler, Galileo, Boyle and Newton. This science was soon felt to be so important and productive of welfare that its promotion became institutionalized in scientific societies both in Paris and London during the 1660s. But this spirited picture is only one face of that remarkable century.

For the vast majority of men and women who lived in Europe during Locke's century, it was a time of violence, war, death, rape, and devastation, a time of religious strife caused by sectarian disputes over the right reading of the Scriptures and the flaunting of royal despotism, justified by the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Surely both Locke and Toinard shared the sense of the programmatic pronouncement made by Thomas Sprat²²⁸ when speaking about the Royal Society and its new science: "the intellectual disposition of this age is bent upon a rational religion." Since science is the study of God's revelation in creation, this was the point of Sprat's pronouncement, it should encourage all humanity to join together in peaceful living by inculcating the ecumenical lesson of rationality and order, which our senses and reason, acting in consort, teach us in the study of nature. Sprat emphasized that it was not the Society's aim to give its work any particular national or religious cast, but to find a "Philosophy of Mankind."²²⁹ Both the *Essay* and Locke's other works were written in the spirit of this universalist union of faith and knowledge, and his correspondence with Toinard offers further evidence of this programmatic intent.

Locke's correspondence with Toinard is evidence of an increasing exchange of information between French and English scientists and intellectuals: the correspondence itself contributed to strengthening the ties between the members of the Royal Society and those of the Académie des sciences, though perhaps a nationalistic rivalry might occasionally have interfered with this project. The rich epistolary witnesses the deep awareness of a communal intent, going beyond political identities.

Nationalistic rivalries were not the only obstacle to face in order to establish effective relationships between scientists from different countries: the minor episode of miscommunication between Locke and Toinard relating to the *gry* (the unity of measurement invented by the former) encapsulates, in many ways, the metrological problem that faced the scientific community of the late 17th century.²³⁰ Locke had developed a rational measurement system derived from a supposed natural constant; in this, he is representative of the ambitions of the *savant* community at large. The untranslatability of his reported data is evidence of the acute

problems inherent in the communication of measurements in this period; Locke's system was still only a private one, although he hoped it would one day be widely adopted. Measurements could only be communicated if a shared system existed, but in order to establish such a system, special objects, techniques and individuals had to travel from one place to another, and this could be a very difficult task in the bellicose seventeenth century. Locke and Toinard's occasional pessimism about the possibility of establishing a shared system was probably based on the awareness of living in such a hostile century.

A similar problem was created by the use of different calendars: the Julian calendar was in force in England until 1752, while France and the other European countries had adopted the Gregorian one since 1583. Confusion over the calendar was seen as an urgent issue to deal with in many English academic circles of the seventeenth century, given the manifold internal and external problems associated with it (international trade; correct determination of the date of Easter and of the March equinox).²³¹ The issue emerges also in Locke's correspondence with Toinard,²³² where it is apparent they had different views on how to solve the problem: Locke thought of a reform of the English calendar, Toinard of a method applicable all over the Christian world.

Locke's correspondence with Toinard is almost silent about politics; however, some details in Toinard's letters suggest he knew more about English political life than what was officially reported to him by Locke (especially about Shaftesbury). This gives more credibility to the hypothesis that Locke might have destroyed some of his letters to or from Toinard, before his departure for Holland: indeed, his connection with Shaftesbury was compromising enough to desire not to leave additional clues about it.²³³

As regards religion, the correspondence with Toinard is evidence of Locke's great interest in harmonic writings, which in his opinion were apt to demonstrate the intrinsic, autonomous rationality of the Scriptures far better than the so many Bible commentaries written in his time.²³⁴ Locke's attempts to convince Toinard that his *Evangeliorum Harmonia* was ready to be published,²³⁵ as well as his disappointment about the scarce and intermittent care his friend devoted to this goal, are clearly apparent in the correspondence, though in the last years his rebuking gives way to gently reminding him of his harmonic work.

Probably Locke's friendship with Toinard helped him to overcome his prejudices about French manners, so harshly expressed during his first stay in France in 1672; moreover, Locke benefited from the irony with which his friend used to face events, which helped him to assume a more detached attitude towards human affairs (though occasionally we find him dreaming with Toinard of escaping the "wickedness of our Europeans" by moving to Carolina). The catholic Toinard was able to joke also on very critical issues, such as infallibility.²³⁶

In spite of the numerical predominance of Toinard's letters, there is no evidence that Locke was somewhat annoyed by them. In his view, Toinard was a talented man with great erudition, and most of all, a devout friend; the religious diversities between the catholic Toinard and the latitudinarian Locke did not impede a deep communion of intents. The common interest in the advancement of the Truth was the cement of their friendship from its very beginning till the end.

Notes

141. Locke to Toinard, Oct. 14, 1681, II, 665. Already on May 20, 1680 (II, 538), Locke apologized to Toinard for his writing in Latin instead of French, which being so bad would offend his "refined ears". There seems to be a little irony in Locke's words.

142. See Toinard to Locke, Feb. 28, 1682, II, 686. Toinard planned to go to England after Easter.

143. On July 2, 1681, Shaftesbury had been arrested on suspicion of high treason and committed to the Tower of London; he was released on Feb. 13, 1682. After some unsuccessful attempts at stirring up a revolt against the King, Shaftesbury left England in November (Milton 2011). Locke stayed in England until the Rye House Plot was discovered in June 1683; he left for the West Country to put his affairs in order the very week the plot was revealed to the government, and by September he was in exile in Holland.

144. See Toinard to Locke, May 24, II, 778.

145. They are a *Dissertatio de Nativitate Emmanuelis* by J. C. Schulin (1670) and a *Dissertatio de Paschate* (1656) by E. Strauch. Almost all the books Toinard asked Locke for in this period have to do with the completion of *Harmonia*.

146. Both the letters were addressed to Thomas Dare, the English fugitive with whom Locke was lodging in Amsterdam. In the first, dated July 13, 1684 (II, 781), Toinard reported on the observation of an eclipse in Paris and in the second, dated Aug. 10, 1684 (II, 783), he spoke of a possible journey of his to Amsterdam to see Locke; the project did not materialize.

147. Nov. 23, 1684, II, 790.

148. In his letter of Nov. 13, 1684 (II, 789), Toinard had reported to Locke that his new method was greatly appreciated by many acquaintances of his.

149. Dec. 7, 1684, II, 796. On Feb. 24, 1685, Locke sent to Toinard an English draft of his method (II, 811); the manuscript (British Library, Add. MS. 28,728, ff. 54-63) survives among Toinard's papers.

150. Feb. 24, 1685, II, 811. The only English learned periodical which appeared regularly in 1685 was the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*; however, since the early 1680s, the Society's future was uncertain: it was struggling financially, losing members, and failing to gain the interest and approval of the Crown. After Oldenburg's death, the Society also lost its greatest link to its foreign correspondents and the broader public.

151. Mar. 8, 1685, II, 812.

152. According to Plutarch (*Lives*, "Alexander", ch. vii), Alexander complained that Aristotle had published what he had withheld from him, refraining from teaching his doctrine in its full extension to him.

153. Mar. 16/26, 1685, II, 814.

154. Cf. "Adversariorum methodus", Latin draft, British Library, Add. MS. 28,728, ff. 46-53. Locke sent Toinard the draft on Apr. 9, 1685 (II, 818). The manuscript includes an "Epistola dedicatoria"; a (possibly later) Latin draft is in the Lovelace Collection (MS. Locke c. 31, ff. 67v-77v).

155. Locke to Toinard, March 16, 1685, II, 814.

156. May 9, 1686, III, 850.

157. July 5, 1686, III, 853.

158. Dec. 22, 1686, III, 884; Toinard mentioned these stones coming from the Canary Islands repeatedly in his correspondence with Locke (Feb. 20, 1687, III 910; Mar. 13, 1687, III, 916, etc.). The water strained in the stones was said to be capable of curing fevers: see Toinard to Locke, Mar. 27, 1687 (III, 919). Toinard intended to send a specimen of the stones to Locke, but he did not find anyone who could carry them to Holland (Oct. 11, 1688, III, 1081).

159. July 1686, ii, 315-40. In a letter to Le Clerc of Sep. 22, 1686 (III, 866), Locke asked him for some copies of *Bibliothèque*, in order to send them to Toinard and his friends in France; on Feb. 20, 1687 (III, 910), Toinard thanked Locke for the present.

160. III, 910.

161. May, 24, II, 778. Wetstein negotiated with Toinard for the publication from 1681 to 1689.

162. III, 850.

163. Locke to Toinard, May 9, 1686, III, 850. Toinard had already spoken to Locke of his harmony of Josephus, which related to the later years of Herod (May 24, 1684, II, 778). Several sheets of this harmony were printed by Wetstein: see Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie* xv (1708): 248. On Dec. 22, 1686 (III, 884), Toinard sent some sheets of this harmony to Locke.

164. Sep. 5, 1686, III, 862.

165. Dec. 14, 1686, III, 885.

166. Nov. 10, 1688, III, 1088.

167. Toinard to Locke, Nov. 4, 1688, III, 1087.

168. See for example Toinard's letter of Jan. 19, 1689 (III, 1097), where he complained about Pagi's misunderstanding of his opinion concerning the way of dating Emperors' Tribunitian power on medals and inscriptions, and attributed to himself the merits of the publishing of Harpocraton's *Lexicon* (see Valois, 1683). Besides, Toinard praised a book by the theologian Henry Noris (the future Cardinal Noris), entitled *Annus et Epochae Syro-Macedonum* (1689).

169. Locke to Toinard, Nov. 10, 1688, III, 1088. In the letter, Locke promised Toinard a copy of Simon's New Testament, which was expected to be on sale in a short time, but the copy went lost. With his controversial works on the New Testament (see Simon 1689, 1690, 1695), Richard Simon became the first scholar to publish a full treatise on the materials of the New Testament textual criticism. Simon's works were quickly overshadowed by the *Prolegomena* of Mill's *Novum Testamentum* (1707), which incorporated most of what was helpful in them.

170. See Preyat (2007, 248). The *Historia Critica* was published in Amsterdam in 1684.

171. Jan. 19, 1689, III, 1097.

172. See Moreri 1749, Vol. 10, 168-169; according to Moreri, Toinard's *cahiers* were published in 1702, with the title *Bruxelles*.

173. See Toinard's letter of Mar. 17-21, 1689, III, 1119. Locke will complain about Lamy's plagiarism in a letter to Toinard

of Mar. 25, 1698 (VI, 2412), gently rebuking his friend: "I always feared this and, being thus minded, implored you formerly so often and so earnestly to publish".

174. Sept. 18, 1689, III, 1181.

175. See for instance Toinard's letter of Dec. 28, 1689 (III, 1224), where he spoke of a dissertation of his, which was going to be published (Toinard, 1690). Locke readdressed a warning against plagiarists ten years later to Toinard (Jun. 12, 1698, VI, 2458), probably alluding to the not yet published *New Testament* by Le Clerc. Perhaps he had heard something from Pierre Coste (the French translator of the *Essay* and *Some Thoughts concerning Education*), who was well informed about Le Clerc.

176. Locke to Toinard, Aug. 15, 1688, III, 1072.

177. Toinard to Locke, Jan. 19, III, 1097. The books were Hesychius of Alexandria's *Dictionarium* and Julius Pollux' *Onomasticon*. Toinard's acquaintance was Ezechiel von Spanheim, who was going from Paris to Amsterdam.

178. Toinard to Locke, Feb. 17, 1689, III, 1109. Toinard spoke of a book by Jean Gironnet, *Philosophia Vulgaris Refutata*, which he was going to send to Locke via Spanheim, and of another by L. Morainvillier d'Orgeville, *Examen Philosophiae Platonicae*.

179. See Toinard to Locke, Sep. 6, 1694, V, 1777.

180. See Toinard, 1693; the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* had been published in 1667 by Daniel Elzevier.

181. See Toinard to Locke, Oct. 15, 1694, V, 1796. In November, Locke had already collected three subscriptions: see Locke to Toinard, Nov. 5, 1694, V, 1808.

182. This time it was Locke who wrote first: see his short letter to Toinard of Oct. 26, 1697, VI, 2337, where he rejoiced at the end of the war. Locke's letter is followed by five letters from Toinard, one written in November 1697, two in January, one in February and one, very short, in March 1698; Locke answered only on Mar. 25, 1698 (VI, 2412) apologizing for the delay, which was due to bad health but also to hard work (Locke reported on his employment at the Board of Trade, which was "rich in salary" but very burdensome, given his age and infirmities).

183. Toinard to Locke, Dec. 6, 1697 (VI, 2355).

184. Toinard reported to Locke on having become a member of the *Compagnie du Sénégal* and on three black tribes living there ("Jalofes, Foules, Mandingues"); he spoke also of a vocabulary Spanish-Guarani (Montoya, 1639).

185. Toinard asked Locke for a description of the machine, a device which he had already been enquiring about in 1680 (see Toinard to Locke, Dec. 7, 1680, II, 594). In 1681, Locke had reported to Toinard on Hooke devising something of this kind (Aug. 30, 1681, II, 656), but he had not sent to him any description. Toinard repeated the request on Jan. 16, 1698 (VI, 2373), asking also for instructions on how to render salt water drinkable. Both the requests reappear in Toinard to Locke, Feb. 21, 1698, VI, 2393). On Mar. 25, 1698 (VI, 2412) Locke replied he did not know anything new on the two inventions, and on Nov. 1, 1698 (VI, 2504) he added that they were both neglected in England, because they were judged useless: in order to render salt water drinkable it would be necessary to boil it and, consequently, to load ships with great quantities of coal (a great loss of space); as regards the machine for towing boats, the wind on the Thames was enough to render it useless.

186. See also Toinard to Locke, Jan. 16, 1698 (VI, 2373): "le text de l'ouvrage pour lequel vous avez marquee tant d'estime, est entierement achevé en 136 pages". On June 12, 1698 (VI, 2458), Locke was still pressing Toinard in order to publish it.

187. Toinard to Locke, Jan. 6, 1698, VI, 2373.

188. VI, 2412. The letter is in Latin. Locke posed many questions to Toinard concerning Frogers' report ("whether they have observed the length of the pendulum in that island [of Cayenne], which is so near the equinoctial line. Whether the Indians in the neighbourhood worship or recognize a god besides the stars, and with what kind of worship. How many years do they usually live? What sort of herb is that Pite of which he speaks?", etc.).

189. Toinard had reported that "les Jalofes et les Foules ne content continuellement que jusque à cinq, et puis ils disent: cinq et un, cinq et deux, [...] etc." On Oct. 26, 1698 (VI, 2497), Toinard will add the name of another tribe living in Brasil, the "Topinanbous": Locke cites them with reference to numeration in *Essay*, II, xvi, 6 (Locke 1975, 207).

190. May 20, 1698, VI, 2442. In the letter, Locke complained about some harsh criticism against his educative method, which had been judged a fine theory difficult to put into practice. Toinard praised *Some Thoughts* highly; he wrote something to Locke about the way of bringing children up in Siam (Jun. 12, 1698, VI, 2450) and in Canada (Jul. 16, 1698, VI, 2470). He also pinpointed some faults in Coste's translation (Jun. 18, 1698, VI, 2454). In a letter of Nov. 1, 1698 (VI, 2504), Locke thanked Toinard for a notice in *Journal de Sçavants* concerning *Some Thoughts*; he attributed its merits to his friend. On Jun. 8, 1700 (VII, 2729), Toinard asked for the last French edition of the work (1699).

191. Toinard had defined the *Abregé* "un chef d'oeuvre" (Aug. 15, 1688, III, 1072), and on Jan. 19, 1689 (III, 1097) had exhorted Locke to publish the *Essay* ("Je suis un de ceuz qui presseroient ledition de l'ouvrage don't nous avons vu et admire l'essay"). Later, on Nov. 1, 1698 (VI, 2504), Locke informed Toinard of his working hard on the fourth edition of *Essay* and of its being translated into French; he also mentioned his answer to Bishop Stillingfleet "sur une chicanerie qui'l me fit sur quelques passages de mon Essay". On May 21, 1700 (VII, 2726), Locke asked Toinard's opinion concerning the work and its translation; on Sep. 30, 1701 (VII, 3009), he was still waiting for Toinard's opinion "avec quelque sorte d'impatience pour corriger les fautes que vous y trouverez". Toinard answered the *Essay* was a "chef d'oeuvre" (Nov. 1, 1701, VII, 3019), as was confirmed also by the physician Deshais Gendron, to whom Locke had sent a copy. Toinard added no more on this subject, apart from reporting Gendron intended to write a book "*de la connéissance de la nature humaine*", which would confute many systems on this topic.

192. VI, 2458

193. VI, 2470.

194. See Toinard to Locke, May 31, 1698, VI, 2444; Jun. 12, 1698, VI, 2450; Jun. 18, 1698, VI, 2454; Oct. 26, 1698, VI,

2497, etc. Du Bos was a miscellaneous author and, from 1720, permanent secretary of the Académie française. Toinard had asked Locke to meet Du Bos, whom he characterized as “un des mes meilleurs amis” (Toinard to Locke, May 31, 1698, VI, 2444; Locke to Toinard, July 16, 1698, VI, 2473). Other recurrent names in Toinard’s correspondence with Locke are those of the French politician Abel Tassin d’Alonne and Doctor Martin Lister.

195. Toinard to Locke, Aug. 4, 1698, VI, 2476.

196. See Toinard to Locke, Oct. 26, 1698, VI, 2497; Locke to Toinard, Jan. 14-Feb. 20, 1699, VI, 2550. Toinard had reported to Locke on a medal coined during the reign of Antigonus (42-38 B.C.), written in Greek and Samaritan characters; Locke had some perplexities concerning the date of the coin: Greek could not be the Jew’s common language in the time of Christ, as the Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius affirmed. Toinard replied Vossius was right: Greek was a language familiar to Jews in the time of Christ because of trade (Toinard to Locke, Apr. 28, 1699, VI, 2571). Locke continued to enquire on other medals cited by Toinard: see Locke to Toinard, May 1, 1699, VI, 2580.

197. See Toinard to Locke, Aug. 4, 1698 (VI, 2476). Toinard was still enquiring about the report on the voyage of “Olenker”; he intended to translate a memoir on his voyage written in Castilian, which was in his possession, but Locke did not know anything about it: see Locke to Toinard, Aug. 15, 1698 (VI, 2483), where he suggested he should translate Navarrete’s report on China (1676) instead. Toinard was quite surprised about this answer; as for Olenker, he reported to Locke on his story being narrated by Father Manuel Rodriguez (1684; see Toinard to Locke, Oct. 26, 1698, VI, 2497). The voyage was that of Sir John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan: see Toinard to Locke, Aug. 29, 1701, VII, 2983, where he reported on having a translation of it. Locke sent an extract of Narbrough’s report to Toinard on Sept. 30, 1701 (VII, 3009).

198. See Toinard to Locke, Jan. 19, 1698, VI, 2375, where he asked for a book on the American colonies by R. Blome (1688). Later, on Oct. 26, 1698 (VI, 2497), Toinard asked for Dampier’s *Voyages* (1699); in exchange, he sent to Locke Bouvet’s book on China (1697; Locke to Toinard Dec. 5, 1699, VI, 2644).

199. See Toinard to Locke, Oct. 26, 1698, where he asked for Guise’s translation of the *Zeraim*, the first and shortest *Seder* (“Order”) of the *Mishnah* (see Guise 1690); Locke reported to Toinard on Pfeiffer’s *Exercitationes de Judaeorum libris* (1687) and on the first book of Surenhus’ Latin translation of the whole *Mishnah* (1698-1703; Locke to Toinard, May 1, 1699, VI, 2580).

200. See Locke to Toinard, Feb. 20, 1699, VI, 2550, where he posed him some questions concerning the measurements in the Temple in the time of Christ (Toinard’s *Evangeliorum Harmonia*, 153). In 1687, Toinard had answered Locke’s questions concerning the Jewish text of the Old Testament in the time of Christ (Apr. 3, 1687, III, 923); probably, the familiarity with the Remonstrant theologian Philippus van Limborch, whose *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1687) reported on his controversy with the Jewish Orobius, had led Locke to enquire about these matters more in detail during his stay in Holland. Later, Locke enquired also about Jewish old coins and medals (Locke to Toinard, Jun. 5-11, 1700, VII, 2732; answered by Toinard on June 30, 1700, VII, 2736); see also Locke to Toinard, July 3, 1700, VII, 2737.

201. Toinard to Locke, Apr. 6, 1700, VII, 2699.

202. See Toinard to Locke, May 31, 1698, VI, 2445, where he reported on having been informed by Doctor Lister of Locke’s plan to go to France.

203. See Locke to Toinard, July 14, 1698, VI, 2473: “It has been added to the other disadvantages of my ill health, that it has prevented me from greeting and embracing you in Paris”.

204. See Toinard to Locke, Mar. 19, 1700, VII, 2693; May 21, 1700, VII, 2725. In May, Toinard reported on his daughter being sick; he had already lost another daughter some years before.

205. Toinard asked Locke to buy some tickets on behalf of him; see Locke to Toinard, Apr. 8, 1700, VII, 2707; Toinard to Locke, June 5, 1700, VII, 2727; etc. As for the financial problems, see Toinard to Locke, May 21, 1700, VII, 2725: “Toute ma consolation seroit de me plaindre une fois en votre presence de la malheureuse etoille qui me commet avec de pareilles parties qui auroient pu, et meme du, me procurer sans peine plus de bien que je n’en peux attendre du gain de mon process”. Unfortunately, Toinard did not gain anything from his involvement in the English Lotteries.

206. Locke to Toinard, Dec. 5, 1699, VI, 2644. Locke reported to Toinard on a new chronological work by Lloyd (1699), which he had refrained from sending to him because it was in English. Toinard replied he had read the work “avec une tres grande satisfaction” (Mar. 19, 1700, VII, 2693). Probably Locke was right in supposing Toinard was learning English (see Locke to Toinard, Dec. 5, 1699, VI, 2644: “Du Bos wrote me that you are studying the English language”); however, some months later Toinard reported on having been unable to understand some lines in a letter from Locke (Apr. 23, 1700, VII, 2717) because they were written in “un langage non chretien” (English; see Toinard to Locke, May 21, 1700, VII, 2725).

207. Toinard to Locke, Mar. 30, 1700, VII, 2693. Toinard supplied Locke with the letters he lacked: see Toinard to Locke, Apr. 6, 1700, VII, 2699, and May 21, 1700, VII, 2725. In exchange, Locke promised him a book by Lloyd’s son, *Series Chronologica Olympiadum* (notice in *Journal des Sçavants*, 1701, 133-4; Locke to Toinard, May 21, 1700, VII, 2726), and reported to him on another book by Lloyd concerning the prophecy of Daniel (Locke to Toinard, May 28, 1700, VII, 2728; the book was not published).

208. See Locke, 1987, vol. 2, 691. Another recurrent name in the Bible is that of Isaac Vossius, who is cited in some explanatory notes in the *Paraphrase*; Vossius was mentioned in Locke’s letter to Toinard of Jan. 14 and Feb. 20, 1699, VI, 2550.

209. Toinard to Locke, Jun. 8, 1700, VII, 2729.

210. Toinard to Locke, Jun. 5, 1700, VII, 2727.

211. Toinard to Locke, Jun. 30, 1700, VII, 2736.

212. See Locke to Toinard, Jun. 5, 1700, VII, 2732. The letter contains a mention of the *Harmonia*, as is usual in this period: “Vous ne travaillez jammais inutilement sur les medailles, et la republique des letres profit beaucoup de vos lumiers, mais quelque

part que j'y prens permettez moi d'avoir tousjours la memoire Harmonique". On Jun. 30, 1700 (VII, 2736), Toinard replied to Locke on the *siclum* and reported on a new book on Jewish coins, whose author (Sperlingius 1700) was "fort ignorant dans la connoissance de l'antique en fait de medailles"; on Jul. 3, 1700 (VII, 2737), Toinard dwelled on some inscriptions on Jewish coins.

213. There was much debate in English academic circles in Locke's time on this subject (Poole 1998, 68-70). Locke already referred to "our erroneous calendar" in a letter to Toinard of Jun. 10, 1680 (II, 546). See the Conclusion.

214. Toinard to Locke, Apr. 6, 1700, VII, 2699, and May 21, 1700, VII, 2724.

215. Locke to Toinard, Apr. 23, 1700, VII, 2717. Locke had described his method to Hans Sloane (Dec. 2, 1699, VI, 2640; see the Conclusion).

216. Toinard to Locke, Jan. 1, 1701, VII, 2830.

217. Locke to Toinard, Jan. 1, 1701, VII, 2836.

218. August 29, 1701, VII, 2983. Halley published several papers on the variation of the compass in the *Philosophical Transactions* (Halley 1753, 563-578). In 1701, Halley published the first magnetic charts of the Atlantic Ocean and some of the Pacific Ocean, showing curved lines that indicated positions in the oceans having the same compass declination. Toinard had become acquainted with Halley in Paris in 1680: see Toinard to Locke, Dec. 28, 1680, II, 605.

219. See Narbrough, 1670-75.

220. See Gilbert, 1600.

221. Sept. 30, 1701, VII, 3009.

222. VII, 3019.

223. May 2, 1702, VII, 3132.

224. July 20, 1704, VIII, 3584. The book was entitled *Les Interests de l'Angleterre mal-entendus dans la guerre présente*; according to Toinard, it was mistakenly attributed to an English writer.

225. Locke to Toinard, May 21, 1700, VII, 2726.

226. See Toinard to Locke, Aug. 29, 1701, VII, 2983, where he complained about the long trial which had prevented him from going to visit Locke ("J'ay trop de chagrin de penser à la fatalité qui m'a privé des douceurs efectives que j'aurois goûtées en vous embrassant"). On Nov. 1, 1701, VII, 3019. Toinard reported on an annoying aftermath of the trial, which prevented him from going to visit Locke soon, and on his decision to postpone the trip to the following year.

227. Locke to Toinard, Sept. 30, 1701, VII, 3009.

228. Sprat, 1667, 374.

229. Sprat, 1667, 63.

230. The chaotic diversity of weights and measures in *ancient régime* Europe was a familiar problem (see Kula 1985, 161-184): in 1684, Locke asked Toinard for the translation of some measurement terms from Montpellier, because a friend there had sent him a recipe for baking bread and he could not understand what the measures in the recipe referred to (Locke to Toinard, Nov. 23, 1684, II, 790). Other references to measurements are in Locke to Toinard, Sep. 20 and Oct. 13, 1679, II, 508; Oct. 29, 1679, II, 510.

231. The Julian calendar year gained about three days every four centuries compared to observed equinox times and the seasons; in 1680, the Julian Calendar was ten days behind the Gregorian one.

232. In November 1680, Locke sent the book by the mathematician Jonas Moore to Toinard: it contained an attempt to introduce a simplified calendar for common use. Locke complained about the confusion over the calendar and supported a gradual changeover (see Locke to Hans Sloane, Dec. 2, 1699, VI, 2640: "The remedy which I offer is that the intercalary day should be omitted the next year and soe the ten next leap years following by which easy way we should in 44 years insensibly return to the right").

233. Also when he became a member of the Board of Trade, Locke preferred other topics to politics in the correspondence with Toinard, which assured him a "learned leasure"; see Locke to Toinard, Mar. 25, 1698, VI, 2412 ("As to what relates to myself you congratulate me on my affairs being in such a prosperous state. I acknowledge that an employment, rich enough in salary, has been offered to me without my seeking it, but late in the date, when age and infirmity are growing burdensome; I must sound a retreat at some time, so that when I am withdrawn within my bounds what remains of my life may be free for me to spend quietly in learned leasure").

234. Locke's hostility to Biblical comments is clearly apparent in *Essay*, III, ix, 9 (Locke 1975, 480): "Comments beget comments, and Explications make new matter for Explications". Locke was aware that Toinard's *Harmonia* broke new ground: early compilers, from Tatian onwards, were concerned in most cases primarily with edification, while Toinard was concerned mostly with historical scholarship. In his opinion, scholars should be presented with the materials so arranged that they could construct a composite narrative for themselves, without being forced to accept that suggested by compilers.

235. Locke was not the only one who pressed Toinard to publish his harmonic writings, as is shown by a letter from Leibniz to the abbé Claude Nicaise: "Il serait à souhaiter que Mons. Toinard nous voulut donner ses Harmonies [...] Vous obligerés le public, Monsieur, si vous le pressés pour cela" (Caillemer 1885, 29).

236. See Toinard to Locke, May 21, 1700, VII, 2725, where he reported that cardinal Coislin and cardinal Noris had drunk to his health during a dinner in Rome; since they were infallible (something Locke should not call into question), Toinard playfully concluded he was sure to be healthy. Toinard was not a bigot, as is shown in the correspondence by some irreverent jokes concerning the Catholic religion: see Toinard to Locke, Jan. 1, 1681, (II, 605), where he playfully reported on the conversion to Catholicism of many Laplanders, who in his opinion had been convinced by good wine distributed during Communion; see also Toinard to Locke, July 16, 1681 (II, 648), where he compared the lecherous Siamese monks described by the traveller Jean Struys

to Catholic friars. Besides, Toinard was not a quarrelsome man: in 1696 he complained to the chancellor Boucherat about the behavior of the Jesuit Edmond Rivi re, who had fiercely criticized his *Discussion* (Toinard 1693) in the *Apologie* (1694), but a little later he withdrew his complaints and destroyed some copies of the *Discussion* (Moreri 1749, t. X, 168-70).

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