

LOCKE, ‘SOME AMERICANS’, AND THE DISCOURSE ON ‘CAROLINA’

JAMES FARR

The human inhabitants of ‘the whole great Continent of *America*’ (IV. xii. 11)¹ captured the imagination of John Locke. They provided, so he thought, historical evidence for a state of nature and ‘a Pattern of the first Ages’ of government (II. 108).² They falsified scholastic philosophies of innate ideas and innate principles. They forced a confrontation between cultural diversity and Christian religion. They dramatized the effect of environment and education, proving ‘Custom, a greater power than Nature’ (I. iii. 25). The inhabitants of America were not alone in provoking Locke on these matters, but their anthropological gravity can be felt amidst the other forces of influence on his philosophy and politics. Locke’s selective use of information about ‘Americans’ or ‘Indians’³ is evident and fairly well documented in the case of the *Two Treatises of Government*.⁴ However, his attention to peoples of the New World

¹ References are to book, chapter, and section of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

² References are to treatise and section of *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

³ I follow Locke in using ‘Americans’ and ‘Indians’ interchangeably and respectfully.

⁴ See, most notably, James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 137–76; and Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). For these scholars and those who follow them, Locke’s fixation on Americans was attended by his ‘agriculturalist’ legitimation for their displacement from ancestral lands. The temporary laws and ‘constitutions’ that Locke wrote for (or conveyed to) the Carolina and Virginia colonies do not support this interpretation very well. See Vicki Hsueh, ‘Cultivating and Challenging the Common: Lockean Property, Indigenous Traditionalisms, and the Problem of Exclusion’, *Contemporary Political Theory*, 5 (2006), 193–214. Of course, there could be contradiction here as in so much else in Locke’s life and writings in connection with

in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* has received far less notice.⁵ Moreover, Locke's references to *individual* Americans or *particular* Indian peoples in the *Essay*, its drafts, or his colonial memoranda have gone nearly unnoticed. And no student of Locke's life and works has heretofore identified 'some *Americans*, I have spoken with' (II. xvi. 6). Thirty-five years ago, Roland Hall first took serious notice of this remarkable passage in the *Essay*, when putting the query, 'When did this occur?'⁶ Daniel Carey has more recently observed: 'When and where these conversations took place remains a mystery'.⁷ Moreover, until now, the *speakers* themselves have remained mysterious.⁸ Identifying these various Americans serves historical, biographical, and textual interests in the study of Locke and the early colonial experiment in the New World. It casts new light on Locke—as theorist, reader, and administrator. It

American affairs and certainly slavery.

⁵ Exceptions include Neal Wood, *The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of 'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Kathy Squadrito, 'Locke and the Dispossession of the American Indian', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 20 (1996), 145–81; Daniel Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), chs. 3–4 (which finds different anthropologies at work in the *Essay* and *Two Treatises*); and Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London: Pickering, 2008). On Locke's anthropology and readings of travel literature, more generally, see William G. Batz, 'The Historical Anthropology of John Locke', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35 (1974), 663–70; Herman Lebovics, 'The Uses of America in Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47 (1986), 567–81; Ruth Grant, 'Locke's Political Anthropology and Lockean Individualism', *The Journal of Politics*, 50 (1988), 42–63; Jeremy Waldron, 'John Locke: Social Contract versus Political Anthropology', *The Review of Politics*, 51 (1989), 3–28; Daniel Carey, 'Travel, Geography, and the Problem of Belief: Locke as a Reader of Travel Literature', in Julia Rudolph (ed.), *History and Nation* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2006), 97–136; and Ann Talbot, 'Locke's Travel Books', *Locke Studies*, 7 (2007), 113–36.

⁶ R[oland] H[all], 'Queries', *Locke Newsletter*, 4 (1973), 43.

⁷ Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson*, 88 n.61.

⁸ Brief notice is given to these Americans in James Farr, 'Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery', *Political Theory*, 36 (August 2008), 495–522, at 498.

deepens our understanding of his anthropo-logical curiosity and philosophical fixation on language; sheds further light on his sources, *in print and out*; and invites further speculation about his colonial propaganda as (principal) author of the chapter-length ‘discourse’ on ‘Carolina’ in the atlas of *America* by John Ogilby.⁹ It also reinforces the interpretation of Locke’s writing as genre-driven and problem-oriented, given the different and perhaps inconsistent uses to which he put Indians in his various texts.

This essay, then, attends to Americans known to Locke—by written accounts or in person—focusing principally on the published *Essay* (1690), Draft B (1671), noteworthy developments *circa* 1671, and Locke’s colonial correspondence and memoranda. It attends, that is, to the words, deeds, and relations of Indians as *Locke* knew them, in and around 1671. This is an admittedly Eurocentric and certainly Lockian framework to measure the historical importance of these seventeenth-century Americans. But this is one of the few ways we have to remember them; and it is nearly the *only* way to measure their influence on *Locke* himself. In rough order, organizationally, this essay follows Locke’s understanding of Americans generically, noteworthy Indian peoples, particular individuals by name or title, and those Americans with whom he spoke directly. Before concluding, it also considers Locke’s principal authorship of the discourse on ‘Carolina’ in Ogilby’s *America* (1671) in the light of what, by this essay and other sources, we know of Locke’s information about Carolina and its inhabitants, both native and colonial. (The discourse on ‘Carolina’ is appended—as is the one on ‘Norumbegua’—for readers’ inspection and comparison). In proceeding this way, the essay offers a special and stylized portrait of Locke and his fascination with Americans. The new or reappraised evidence herein—about Cotachico, Totopotomoy, Opechancanough, Honest, Just, and the Americans in Ogilby’s *America*—is, in places, circum-stantial and conjectural. But, hopefully, it will appear sufficiently plausible and

⁹ John Ogilby, *America* (London: John Ogilby, 1671), 205–12.

credible so as to count as a contribution to—or at least a spur to further debate about—the colonial perspective on Locke’s life and work.

‘Ancient savage *Americans*’

Besides its philosophical abstractions, the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* introduced figures meant to challenge the metaphysical, religious, and cultural opinions of European readers at the close of the seventeenth century. Locke put to good and even devastating effect the philosophical consequences of attending to the capacities and limits of children, ‘idiots’, ‘naturals’, and ‘monsters’. Denizens beyond the borders of the ‘polite’ nations of Europe also appeared on the stage to assist Locke in unsettling scholasticism, innatism, and Church orthodoxy. None did so more than those of the New World. Locke referred to them in some fifteen sections of the *Essay*, to count conservatively. Inhabitants of Peru, Virginia, and ‘the whole great Continent of *America*’ were noted. Some peoples were explicitly named: the ‘Tououpinambos’ of Brazil, the ‘Westoes’ of Carolina, and the ‘Caribbees’ of the islands (I. iii. 9; I. iv. 8). Some ‘*Savages*’ and ‘wild Inhabitant[s] of the Woods’ completed the Indian population of the *Essay* (I. ii. 27), providing Locke with anthropological and cultural diversity to challenge received European wisdom about man, morality, and philosophy in the service of a new way of ideas.

With the empiricist’s concern for evidence and the scholar’s for authority, Locke noted some of his published sources about the Americans. He was particularly forthcoming in I. iii. 9 and I. iv. 8 of the *Essay*. In abbreviated form, he cited Peter Martyr, *De orbe novo decades* [*On the New World*] (1530);¹⁰ Jean de Léry, *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* [*History of a Voyage to the*

¹⁰ A contemporary edition is *Selections from Peter Martyr*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Eatough (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1998).

Land of Brasil] (1578);¹¹ and the French edition of Garcilaso de la Vega, *Le commentaire royal, ou l’Histoire des Yncas, roys du Peru* [*Royal Commentaries of the Incas*] (1633),¹² a work also noted in *Two Treatises of Government* (I. 57; II. 14; II. 102). Locke seemed especially concerned to cite these learned travellers because they provided him with tales of cannibalism and atheism among the Caribs (Martyr), Tupinamba (de Léry), and Incas (Garcilaso). Locke took full literary licence of his sources. European readers should be assured—and horrified—that there were in fact New World peoples ‘wont to geld their Children, on purpose to fat and eat them’ and others who made ‘No Acknowledgment of any God, no Religion, no Worship’ (I. iii. 9).¹³ Indeed, to ‘look abroad into the several Tribes of Men’, cannibalism and atheism were but the extreme cases proving that ‘there is scarce [any] Principle of Morality ... which is not, somewhere or other, *slighted* and condemned by the general Fashion of *whole Societies* of Men’ (I. iii. 10). Locke, as Daniel Carey has demonstrated, used the above sources in support of his ‘sceptical anthropology’ in the late 1670s and 80s.¹⁴ He read them,

¹¹ A contemporary edition is *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brasil*, ed. and trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹² The original edition in Spanish was published as *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Lisbon: 1609). A contemporary edition is *Commentaries of the Incas and the General History of Peru*, ed. and trans. Harold V. Livermore, 2 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). There is also a recent abridged edition by Karen Spaulding (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006).

¹³ Locke used his sources quite selectively and lumped different forms of (un)belief under the label ‘atheism’. He also had *Europeans* in mind when noting ‘that many, in more civilized Countries, have no very strong, and clear Impressions of a Deity upon their Minds; and that the Complaints of Atheism, made from the Pulpit, are not without Reason. And though only some profligate Wretches own it too barefacedly now; yet, perhaps, we should hear, more than we do, of it, from others, did not the fear of the Magistrate’s Sword, or their Neighbour’s Censure, tie up Peoples Tongues: which, were the Apprehensions of Punishment, or Shame taken away, would as openly proclaim their *Atheism*, as their Lives do’ (I. iv. 8).

¹⁴ Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson*, 71–3, 84. Carey opposes sceptical anthropology to ‘a Stoic one predicated on human uniformity and natural internal

that is, well *after* he first drafted the *Essay* in 1671, although he may have heard the gruesome news about Brazilian cannibals somewhat earlier.¹⁵

There were more Americans—and more to their *mores*—than the cannibals and atheists of Peru, Brazil, and the Caribbean. ‘Ancient savage *Americans*’ (IV. xii. 11) were not fully represented by the Tupinamba, Incas, and Caribs alone. These other Americans also served the purposes of Locke’s sceptical anthropology—and much more. They appear to represent more northerly Indians of ‘the great Continent of America’—from Carolina (like the Westo) or Virginia (under a named individual king). These were the peoples of the New World that Locke knew from *other* published sources and the intelligence he gathered in his colonial service as Secretary to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina (from 1671 to 1675), to the Board of Trade and Plantations (from 1673 to 1674), and, more generally (from 1667 to 1682), to Anthony Ashley Cooper (later, the first Earl of Shaftesbury) the most ambitious and entrepreneurial of the Lords Proprietors, for whom Carolina was ‘my Darling’.¹⁶ To appreciate the range of Indian peoples who came to Locke’s attention in his secretarial capacities in the early 1670s, consider his endorsement of information from an early and important colonist, Maurice Mathews, reporting in 1671 on ‘the Indians all about’ the new

principles or impulses’.

¹⁵ Locke mentions Brazil in *Essays on the Law of Nature* (1664). He may have heard of the Brazilians—as well as first come upon the texts of Garcilaso and Acosta—in discussions with Robert Boyle or from reading Boyle’s *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimentall Natural Philosophy* (1663). See Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson*, 85–6.

¹⁶ Ashley, by then the Earl of Shaftesbury, described Carolina as ‘my Darling’ in a 1672 letter to Sir Peter Colleton. See Langdon Cheves (ed.), *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records relating to Carolina* (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1897), 416. On this period of Locke’s life, see Maurice Cranston, *John Locke: A Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 1957), ch. 12; and on Ashley, see K. H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

proprietary colony at ‘Kiawah’—soon ‘Charles Towne’—on ‘Ashley River’. They included:

S^t Helena, ye Southermost; Ishpow, Wimbee, Edista, Stono, Keyawah, where we now live, Kussoo to ye westward of us, Sampa, wando, Ituan, G^t Pa; Sewee, Santee, Wanniah, Elasia, Isaw, [and] Cotachicach.¹⁷

Of these American peoples, Locke in his memoranda took greatest note of the Kiawah, Edisto, and ‘Port Royal’/‘S^t Helena’ Indians, as well as the Cofitachequi and Westo. There was a great range of intelligence about American life here which Locke used, selectively, in the *Essay* and other texts.

Americans—as they appeared in the *Essay*—were humanly and culturally intriguing. However ‘savage’ or ‘wild’, Americans were no less endowed, naturally or rationally, than were people from ‘polite Nations’ (IV. xii. 11).¹⁸ They reasoned ‘clear and rightly’ about their cultural and natural environment (IV. xvii. 4). Their reason may have been ‘native’ and ‘rustick’, but it was ‘likelier to open a way to, and add to the common stock of Mankind, rather than any scholastick Proceeding’—like the European sport of ‘fencing’ with ‘Syllogisms’ (IV. xvii. 6). Their language was also basic, yet environmentally adequate. Their terms were ‘scanty’, but perfectly well ‘accommodated only to the few necessaries of a needy simple Life’ (II. xvi. 6). Even though they had no translatable equivalents for some of ‘the terms of our Law’, colonists could communicate with the Americans and Locke himself could speak

¹⁷ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 334. In modern spelling—following Gene Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1562–1751* (Columbia: Southern Studies Program, University of South Carolina, 1980)—these mainly Cusabo peoples are ‘S^t Helena’ [Escamacu], Ashepoo, Wimbee, Edisto, Stono, Kiawah, Wando, Etiwan, Sewee, Santee, Wina, Esaw, and Cofitachequi. Locke also endorsed information on the Combahee and Kussah.

¹⁸ Compare similar observations in the *Conduct of the Understanding*, eds. Ruth Grant and Nathan Tarcov (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), 168, 179: ‘The woods of America as well as the schools of Athens, produce men of several abilities in the same kind’. Or, again, ‘The Americans are not all born with worse understandings than the Europeans’.

with some of them (III. v. 8; II. xvi. 6). Indians certainly formed ‘whole Societies’ (I. iii. 10) with governmental superstructures; some even bore (or were given) the English title of ‘King’ (I. iv. 12). They lived by their own moral codes and, some rumours to the contrary notwithstanding, most had at least rudimentary ideas of God and worship (I. iv. 19). Americans could count, at least to 20, and gesture to higher numbers (II. xvi. 6). Alert to migratory birds, they had the rudiments of an annual calendar, proof that they had ideas of measurement, duration, and time (II. xiv. 19). They had architectural abilities, too (II. xiii. 20). They used their buildings appropriately, for practical not theoretical purposes. ‘Seldom mentioned in the Huts of *Indians*’ were ‘abstract Maxims, and reputed Principles of Sciences’ of the European sort ‘where Disputes are frequent’ (I. ii. 27). An American, in the natural state, knew ‘Love and Hunting, according to the fashion of his Tribe’ (I. ii. 27), but little about commerce, mathematics, or metallurgy (II. xvi. 6; IV. xii. 11). Indians, collectively, were hobbled by ignorance of iron that ‘lay so long hid in the dark Entrails of *America*’ (IV. xvii. 6). Had they known or could yet be exposed to these matters, their cultural limitations in comparison to Europeans would be lifted. Take an important example of a sovereign American, by *name*:

[H]ad the *Virginia* King *Apochancana*, been educated in *England*, he had, perhaps, been as knowing a Divine, and as good a Mathematician, as any in it. The difference between him, and a more improved *English*-man, lying barely in this, That the exercise of his Faculties was bounded within the Ways, Modes, and Notions of his own Country, and never directed to any other, or farther Enquiries: And if he had not any *Idea* of a God, it was only because he pursued not those Thoughts, that would have led him to it (I. iv. 12).

In sum, Americans were different culturally, but not naturally; and their comparative differences were instrumental to Locke in discerning the ‘human understanding’ and philosophizing the human condition. In what Locke wrote, Indians were neither idealized nor

demonized. Neither noble nor ignoble, they were subjects of stylized comparison to Europeans, anthropologically useful for Locke's philosophical purposes.

Relations and Discoveries

Many of these observations in the *Essay*—about language, religion, mathematics, architecture, and cultural deficit—were *already* sketched in Draft B, late in 1671.¹⁹ They *preceded*, that is, those that followed upon his *later* reading of Martyr, Garcilaso, and de Léry. And they remained more or less in place in Draft C of 1685.²⁰ Locke cut and added a few observations by the time the *Essay* was published in 1690. A couple of these observations are noteworthy (and mentioned below in due course). But the subsequent deletions and additions after Draft B did not drastically change the overall picture of America and Americans that he had sketched in 1671. That overall picture, in turn, was informed by the travel literature—'relations' and 'discoveries'—to which Locke was privy by 1671. Some of this literature was about continental America at large—whether *called* America, Carolina, Virginia, Florida, or the West Indies, place names that were often interchangeable to Locke and Europeans. Thus in his list of 'Writers of *Carolina*' drawn up for Sir Peter Colleton and John Ogilby, Locke could include accounts of *South America* by Herrera, Oviedo, and Acosta, as well as those of the entire '*Nouveau Monde*' by Laudonnière and de Laet.²¹

¹⁹ John Locke, *Drafts for the 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding,' and Other Philosophical Writings*, eds. Peter H. Nidditch and G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 120, 122, 157, 217, 225, 231, 240, 244. The references were *not* in Draft A which—in an inserted addition, presumably near the end of composition—internally mentions the date '10° Jul. 71' (43). Draft B has '1671' on its cover, but no other internal date. Late autumn of 1671 is likely.

²⁰ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning the Understanding, Knowledge, Opinion and Assent* [Draft C], ed. Benjamin Rand (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1931).

²¹ Locke's memorandum is in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 265–6; and E. S. de Beer, (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Locke*, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–), #254. The memorandum is discussed below.

Most of the relevant literature and intelligence, however, was rather specific to (contemporary South) Carolina, as in the Kiawah, Edisto, Port Royal, Cofitachequi, and Westo peoples noted above. It was contained in yet other published works that, by 1671, Locke owned or read—in particular *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida* (1664) by William Hilton, ‘A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina formerly called Florida’ (1666) by Robert Sandford,²² *America* (1671) by John Ogilby, and *Discoveries ... from Virginia to the West of Carolina* (1672, Latin manuscript in 1671) by John Lederer. When Locke gestured to ‘our late Histories of the *Northern America*’ in the *Two Treatises of Government* (I. 153), he presumably had in mind *these* works by Hilton, Sandford, Ogilby, and Lederer—along with others that he owned or read by Thomas Hariot (1588), Walter Raleigh (1614), Ralph Hamor (1615), Samuel Purchas (1625), John Smith (1631), Gabriel Sagard (1632; 1636), Richard Ligon (1657; 1674), and Thomas Gage (1677).²³

Locke’s new world intelligence *circa* 1671 was also to be found in the colonial correspondence and memoranda that he vetted in his secretarial capacities. First and foremost, this intelligence touched upon the interests of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina and the fate of their new proprietary colony, including its fitful governance under the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* which Locke helped Ashley compose in 1669 and revise in 1670.²⁴ But abundant

²² Sandford’s relation was available to Locke in Ashley’s colonial papers. Cheves included it under the title ‘The Port Royal Discovery’ in *Shaftesbury Papers*, 57–82. It was unpublished until 1885.

²³ See John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford Bibliographical Society: OUP, 1965), ##1205, 1383, 1385, 1455, 1706, 2125, 2409, 2435, 2526, 2527, 2700, 3115. Locke did not own a copy of Sandford, but had access to it in Ashley’s papers and evidently relied on it for his maps and other intelligence. He was also familiar with the travel collections of Richard Hakluyt from which Purchas drew. See Locke’s *Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*.

²⁴ See J. R. Milton, ‘John Locke and the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina’, *Locke Newsletter*, 21 (1990), 111–33; Vicki Hsueh, ‘Giving Orders: Theory and Practice

additional information was passed on which was hugely informative about America and Americans. As secretary, Locke would endorse correspondence and compose summaries of ‘relations’, including about Indians and their entanglements with the colonists. Had Locke not composed such summaries, much colonial information would have been lost, as many of the original letters did not survive. Locke himself was a correspondent with some of the crucial figures in the Carolina scheme, including the (second) Governor Joseph West. His most important two correspondents in American affairs—whose correspondence to others Locke also endorsed—were Sir Peter Colleton and Dr. Henry Woodward. Colleton was the eldest son of Sir John Colleton, one of the original eight Lords Proprietors with Ashley, who inherited from his father the proprietorship, interests in the West Indies trade, and a plantation on Barbados where he lived in the mid 1670s. Locke worked closely with Colleton in London, when together in meetings of the Lords Proprietors, and later received from him plants and medicines.²⁵ Woodward was a surgeon, explorer, and translator. He had been on Robert Sandford’s voyage in 1666 where he stayed with Port Royal Indians as interpreter—in effect becoming the first English colonist in Carolina—until being detained by the Spanish at St. Augustine. Freed by English privateers, he was later shipwrecked on Nevis where, in 1670, he was picked up by the original English colonists sailing on the Lords Proprietors’ ship *Carolina* to their coastal destination. Woodward was then to play a crucial role as a translator and intermediary with a number of Indian peoples, including the Kiawah, Cofitachequi, and Westo. Woodward desired to return to England in 1671 to share important secrets about Cofitachequi, but

in the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63 (2002), 425–46; and (especially) David Armitage, ‘John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*’, *Political Theory*, 32 (2004), 602–27.

²⁵ J. E. Buchanan, *The Colleton Family and the Early History of South Carolina and Barbados, 1646–1775* (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 1989). The Colleton-to-Locke correspondence is in de Beer, *Correspondence*, ##254, 270, 275, 279, 287, and 289.

was held back because of his extraordinary talents. He did return for a while in 1682 when Locke, still in Ashley's service, might have met him, as did the author of the 1682 promotional pamphlet, *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Settlers*.²⁶

Last but not least, Locke's American intelligence was informed by word of mouth. Doubtless, he gathered more information than he read or recorded as a result of the meetings of the Lords Proprietors in London—especially those that brought back information from one of the eight of them, the long-standing Governor of Virginia, William Berkeley. And then there was a telling meeting (or meetings) with 'some *Indians* I have spoken with'—as he originally referred to them in Draft B.²⁷

From this wider array of sources available to him by 1671, then, Locke found more compelling and reliable data for Draft B and, eventually, the *Essay* than was available in Martyr, Garcilaso, or de Léry. From this wider array, moreover, he came to learn more about America and Americans than he eventually revealed in the *Essay* or the *Two Treatises of Government*. He formed an accurate picture of the coast and main of Carolina, as to be able to contribute to two early maps with coastal place names of his nomination.²⁸ Locke

²⁶ R.F., *The Present State of Carolina with Advice for Settlers* (London: 1682), 13. The author, reputed by some to be Robert Ferguson, the radical Whig chaplain in Shaftesbury's circle, credits 'a Person of Honor that has traveled amongst them' for information on the 'natives'. For speculation about Ferguson, see, for example, Bertrand van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 34 and 264 n.75 with further references.

²⁷ Locke, *Drafts* (B), section 50, p. 157.

²⁸ Locke's first map of the Cape Fear region is reprinted in Cornelius M. D. Thomas, *James Forte* (Wilmington, NC: J. E. Hicks, 1959). There is a partial reproduction of Locke's second, larger-area, and more significant map in William P. Cumming and Lois de Vorse, Jr., *The Southeast in Early Maps*, third edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), Plate 35 and pp. 159–60. Endorsed as 'Carolina', the map 'includes the southern and eastern part of the North American continent from Yucatan in Mexico (17° N.L.) to the head of Chesapeake Bay (39° N.L.), and the islands off the coast from Jamaica to the Bahamas'. For discussion of Locke as cartographer, see William

listed native plants and animals in great abundance. Given the prospects for colonial agriculture and viticulture, he noted that the ‘soyle will bear anything’ and that the ‘Indians supply provisions and help to plant’. Their ‘Country’, he summarized, ‘produces sugar canes Cotton tobacco potatoes yames corne and all other plants of barbados’. He discovered that not only ‘deare skins’ but ‘Mosse roabs’ served as clothing, later to make an observation about this American rarity from Carolina in the *Two Treatises of Government* (II. 42). The pearls, silver, and mines about which he read suggested mineral wealth, not to mention commodities ‘advantageous for Trade’.²⁹ Locke heard of the grand scale of ‘Hutt Palace[s]’ (where presumably no one wrangled in the European style over abstract maxims, as he put it in the *Essay* [I. ii. 27]). He followed the exploits of Americans travelling in canoes and dugouts or ‘periagos’, as well as on *English* ships between Carolina, Virginia, and the West Indies. He read of political relationships being discovered among (or attributed to) the Indians—including rank and title. Chiefs were ‘cassiques’, a term of American (most likely Taino) origin, used by the Spanish throughout the New World, and adapted in the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* for a class of gentry. Of these cassiques, some were ‘supreeme’ and others ‘petty’, suggesting that the colonists perceived, or desired, some European-styled complexity in American polities. ‘Captains’, a few ‘Indian Kings’, and even an ‘Emperor’ were to be found.³⁰ Trade, cooperation, alliances, and war accounted for other relations between or among different peoples. Honour and generosity were also accorded the colonists. Locke took note of the ‘stroaking Complim^t’ that Indians paid to the shoulders of the new English

Patterson Cumming, ‘Naming Carolina’, *North Carolina Historical Review*, 22 (1945), 34–42; and Worthington Chauncey Ford, ‘Early Maps of Carolina’, *Geographical Review*, 16 (1926), 264–73.

²⁹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 166, 249, 250, 263, 446.

³⁰ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 166, 194, 218, 249, 262.

strangers. He specially observed the fact that ‘extreame hardships’ were avoided by the colonists because of the ‘very great Assistance from the Indians who shewed them selves very kinde & sould us Provisions att very reasonable rates’. Their ‘accustomed kindnesses’ continued well after.³¹ Indeed, without their help—especially that of the Kiawah, for whom the settlement was first named in 1670—the fledgling colonists would have starved or been decimated by the Spanish and their Indian allies, not to mention the Westo.

From his colonial intelligence, Locke pieced together a bracing portrait of the Westo that far exceeded his single reference in the *Essay* to their ‘tongue’ missing equivalents for the terms of English law. The Westo were not ‘ancient’ Americans, at least on the Carolina scene, but ‘a rangeing sort of people’, menacing migrants from the north, at war with the coastal Indians, armed with guns procured from trade with colonists in Virginia.³² A few months prior to the establishment of the English foothold at Kiawah, as Locke found out, the Westo raided villages, burned crops, killed perhaps hundreds, and dragged off captive women and children. These captives were very likely sold or traded as ‘young Indian slaves’, as certainly were later ones, early victims of the nascent Indian slave trade that the colonists would manipulate and the Lords Proprietors would try to restrict, for a while.³³ Because of their depredations, the

³¹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 66, 165–6, 194, 224, 274.

³² Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 166. The identity of the Westo continues to be a matter of speculation, beyond being the historical enemies of the Lowcountry Indians. See Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 73–83; Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry*, 346–7; John T. Juricek, ‘The Westo Indians’, *Ethnohistory*, 11 (1964), 134–73; and Eric E. Browne, *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

³³ Browne, *Westo Indians*; and Allan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002), ch. 2. Locke was fully apprised of the early Indian slave trade and was himself involved in the African trade—however contradictory this was, given his restrictive theory of slavery by

coastal Indians were ‘affraid of ye very foot step of a Westoe’. They were feared as ‘great warriors’ and ‘inland man-eaters’.³⁴ In connection with this information, Locke picked up an American word for ‘enemy’—namely, ‘Westo’ itself—as well as an American phrase, most likely corrupted from Spanish: ‘Hiddy doddy Comorado Angles Westoe Skorrye’. Locke’s source, Nicholas Carteret, brother of another Lord Proprietor, translated this as ‘English very good friends Westoes are nought’.³⁵

Locke’s curiosity about the Westo was thus piqued in 1670 and sustained through 1674–5 when the Lords Proprietors sought trade relations with them. Woodward was sent for this task, many adventures having intervened. In his ‘Discovery of the Westo’, as endorsed by Locke, Woodward confessed his ‘not understanding ought of their speech’.³⁶ This is the likely source for Locke’s remark in the *Essay* (III. v. 8) about the difficulties of translating English legal terms into the ‘Westoe tongue’. Woodward also wrote directly to Locke from the ‘Westoe Towne’ of ‘Hickauhaugau’ in response to Locke’s inquiry concerning Indian ‘religion and worship’, the motivating theme behind the *Essay* and a standing anthropological curiosity of Locke’s. Woodward reported that—in contrast to the Port Royal who ‘worship the Sun’—‘the westoes amongst whom I now am worship the [de]vel in a carved image of wood. they are seated in a most fruitfull soyle and are a farre more ingeneous people then our coast indians’.³⁷ Locke would later remember this

just war. See Farr, ‘Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery’.

³⁴ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 223, 233, 334, 460.

³⁵ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 167, 199, 387. ‘Westoe Bou’ was ‘Enemies River’.

³⁶ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 457.

³⁷ De Beer, *Correspondence*, #305. For town reference see Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 459. In his letter to Locke, Woodward was more forthcoming about the religion of the Port Royal [Escamacu]. ‘I have made the best inquiry that I can concerneing the religion and worship. Originall, and customes of our natives. especeally among the Port Royall Indians amongst whom I am best acquainted. they worship the Sun and say they

letter, making note of it in his journal of 1679.³⁸ Later yet, while still a member of Ashley's household, he doubtless would have heard their final fate in the Westo War of 1680–1 when they were routed by the English, once again enemies. A Carolina letter of 1682 conveyed residual hostilities and colonial 'revenge': 2 English dead, 9 Westoes dead, 'the rest forced to flight', save for 4 'alive now prisoners', presumably destined for slavery.³⁹ Locke certainly remembered the Westo—though not in all the ways he knew of them—when they made their entrance into the published *Essay* as a late addition sometime *after* Draft C of 1685.

Cassiques, Captains, and Kings

Indian peoples and 'savage *Americans*' in general were not the only subjects that came into Locke's purview. So too did particular *individuals*. These individuals were noteworthy persons, to the English colonists and Locke's informants, often carrying political rank. Some were identified with their places or land, a practice common to Europeans if not Americans. Others bore their own given names, as best the colonists could spell and convey them. Yet others bore virtuous names of English contrivance. All were of considerable importance to the colonists and the Lords Proprietors—as well as the conduct of American affairs—in the opening months of the new colonial experiment in Carolina in 1670 and 1671.

have knowledge of Spirits who appeare often to them. ... to whom every year they have severall feast and dances particularly appointed. they have some notions of the deluge, and say that two onely were saved in a cave, who after the flood found a red bird dead: the which as the pulled of his feathers between their fingers they blew them from them of which came Indians. ... they seeme to acknowledge the immortality of the soul in alloweing to those that live morally honest a place of rest, pleasure and plenty: and contrary wise to the others a place were it is very cold and they are fed with nothing but nuts and acornes setting upright in their graves'.

³⁸ De Beer, *Correspondence*, #305 with de Beer's note about Locke's 1679 journal.

³⁹ De Beer, *Correspondence*, #729 (a letter from Andrew Percivall).

One ‘ubiquitous’ Indian—as Langdon Cheves later called him⁴⁰—helped decide the fate of the colonists when they arrived on the Carolina coast. This was the ‘Cassique of Kiawah’ who offered up his land for siting the colony and who provided onboard navigation to get there. As Locke knew from Sandford’s ‘Relation of a Voyage’, this was a renewal of earlier offers by the Cassique. He had gone aboard Sandford’s ship, met Woodward there, greeted other Indian emissaries—including the ‘Cassique of Port Royall’—and stayed on the ship intending to serve as local ‘pilate ... for their River’. He also promised ‘a large welcome and plentiful entertainment and trade’ with his ‘Country of Kiwaha’.⁴¹ In the four-year interval between Sandford’s discovery and the arrival of the *Carolina*, the Kiawah had, like the other coastal Indians, suffered from Westo attacks. The Cassique’s renewed offer ‘to assist us’—as Locke recorded a colonial correspondent in a 1670 memorandum—was surely motivated by the prospects of an economic and military alliance. The initial benefits of this alliance, however, fell to the English. When the *Carolina* sailed nearly straightaway for Virginia in search of badly needed provisions and arms, it was the Cassique who ‘supplied y^r want of provisions without inhanceing the price upon our necessity’ and whose bowmen were prepared to help the colonists against the Spanish and the Westo.⁴² Judged to be ‘a very Ingenious Indian & a great Linguist in this Maine’, the Cassique of Kiawah also performed another task, highly valued by the colonists and Lords Proprietors.⁴³ He accompanied Woodward—the only proper ‘linguist’ among the colonists—on an inland journey up-country to Cofitachequi, there to serve as translator. The Cassique knew, as evidently Woodward did not, the language of its people and ‘Emperor’.

⁴⁰ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 166 n.2.

⁴¹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 68, 78.

⁴² Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 224 (as recorded by Locke).

⁴³ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 167.

Cofitachequi—‘Chufytachyque’ or ‘Tatchequea’ among Locke’s many alternates—was a few days or a week march northwest of Kiawah settlement.⁴⁴ It was governed by ‘Emperor Cotachico’ whose name we know only from Locke’s memorandum, though it is evidently a variant on the place name.⁴⁵ Cofitachequi was said by several correspondents, as recorded by Locke, to be ‘a very pleasant delitious fruitfull’ country. Woodward even hailed it ‘a 2nd Paradise’.⁴⁶ This was the legendary place to which Hernando de Soto traveled in 1540, as recorded by Garcilaso de la Vega in *Histoire de la Floride* [*History of Florida*] (1605).⁴⁷ Locke purchased this other work of Garcilaso’s in a French edition of 1670; and it is tempting to wonder whether he forged connections between the earlier and later accounts of Cofitachequi.⁴⁸ In any case, Woodward was charged with and successfully ‘made a league with the Emperor thereof and the Petty Cassiques in the way’.⁴⁹ How Cotachico earned the title of ‘Emperor’ is not clear from the records, although the colonists and Lords Proprietors were clearly ready to elevate an American to some paramount position in the region, the

⁴⁴ Cofitachequi continues to intrigue scholars and invite controversy. See (especially) Gene Waddell, ‘Cofitachequi: A Distinctive Culture, Its Identity, and Its Location’, *Ethnohistory*, 52 (Spring 2005), 333–69. A response may be found in Charles Hudson, Robin A. Beck, Chester B. DePratter, Robbie Ethridge, and John E. Worth, ‘On Interpreting Cofitachequi’, *Ethnohistory*, 55 (Summer 2008), 465–90.

⁴⁵ Locke’s memorandum refers to a missing letter of 1672 from Joseph West to Ashley. Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 388. Also see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and West Indies*, v. 7, #764. The online version (re January 1672) misprints (?) the name as ‘Colachico’.

⁴⁶ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 249 (as recorded by Locke).

⁴⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, trans. John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

⁴⁸ Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, #3059. A letter from William Charleton suggests that Locke may have come to own Garcilaso’s *History of Florida* in August 1682. See de Beer, *Correspondence*, #728.

⁴⁹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 249 (as recorded by Locke).

better to facilitate trade and the peace requisite for it. Ashley continued to inquire whether ‘the Indian Cassiques’ were ‘absolute supream Lords, in their owne Territorys, or else be Tributary Princes and pay subjection and homage to any greater King who is their Emperor’.⁵⁰ Mathews, for one, responded that he found ‘noe tributaries among them, butt intermarriages & poverty causeth them to visitt one Another; never quarelling who is ye better man’.⁵¹ Locke might have thought that this evidence for the lack of absolute lords or tributary relations confirmed his anthropological scepticism about the actuality or pervasiveness of ‘absolute rule’, perhaps informing his later assault on Filmer in the first of the *Two Treatises of Government*. The ‘multitude of little Kings in the *West-Indies*, out of *Ferdinando Soto*, or any of our late Histories of the *Northern America*’, mentioned in the first treatise (I. 153), proved Filmer wrong and even suggested egalitarian relations among different peoples.⁵²

However nominally imperial he was, Emperor Cotachico was of interest to Woodward and the 140 or so first colonists because of his alleged ‘1000 bowmen’.⁵³ He was of interest to the Lords Proprietors, given rumours of gold and silver mines at Cofitachequi. Woodward found something of great value there and expressed his desire to return to London to share word privately with Ashley. All the colonial leaders, however, could not abide losing his skills as an interpreter and diplomat. Woodward remained in Carolina, but Ashley specially rewarded his services and requested utter confidence about what Woodward had learned from the ‘great Emperor there with whom you have made a League’.

⁵⁰ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 313.

⁵¹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 334.

⁵² See Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry* (16–19) on the fundamental autonomy and boundary-respect of Lowcountry Indians. Locke’s reference to ‘Soto’ suggests his use of Garcilaso’s *History of Florida*.

⁵³ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 223, 249, 258.

If those Inland Countrys have given you any knowledge or conjecture of Mines there I earnestly desire you not to give the least hint of it to anybody whatsoever. ... Pray therefore if there be any such thing keep it secret to yourselfe alone but if it should be convenient, as perhaps it may to give me some hint of in Letters to me Pray call gold always Antimony and Silver Iron by which I shall be able to understand you without any danger if your Letters should fall into other hands.⁵⁴

Woodward returned from Cofitachequi with his secret information. Moreover, the Emperor ‘sent persons with the Dr’ and a promise of his own imminent visit. In his last appearance in the colonial record, eighteen months later, around March 1672, the Emperor revisited ‘Charles town with 100 Indians’ to renew the league. He conveyed information about Woodward’s recent stop at Cofitachequi en route overland to ‘Roanoak near Virginia’. Cotachico then extended a final invitation to the settlers to ‘see’ his land. The colonists did not then think it ‘convenient to do soe’.⁵⁵

Of other Americans, Locke discovered the seafaring exploits of three Indian ‘Captains’—Shadoo, Alush, and Wommony. The latter was Port Royal, the former pair Edisto whose paths crossed more than once. Locke knew from his endorsement of Maurice Mathew’s relation of late May 1670 that ‘Cap^t Shedou, & one Capt. Alush’ had come aboard to inform the second wave of colonists that ‘ye English with two Shippes had been at Port royall & were now at Keyawah’,

⁵⁴ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 316–7.

⁵⁵ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 388 (as recorded by Locke). The intrepid Woodward thought his trip to Virginia would be ‘very hazardous and dangerous’, so he wrote up his will on 17 July 1671 (338). As for the Cofitachequi, the English may have turned upon them in favour of the Westo, or otherwise allowed them to be drawn up into hostilities with the Stono and Kussoe. Mathews, who led military action against the Americans, was indiscriminate in the campaign, including taking captives for slaves. On the Cofitachequi and frontier warfare in this period, see Waddell, ‘Cofitachequi’, 339–50, and, more generally, Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier: 1670–1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929). The Cofitachequi, soon thereafter, became referred to as the Catawba. See Blair A. Rudes, Thomas J. Blumer, and J. Alan May, ‘Catawba and Neighboring Groups’, in Raymond Fogelson (ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2004), 301–18.

thanks to the Cassique's commendation. These were two captains, moreover, 'who were at Barbadoes' previously.⁵⁶ This was clear reference to their having been taken there by William Hilton in 1663. Locke would already have known this from reading about 'a Cap^t of the Nation [of Edisto] named Shadoo (one of them w^{ch} Hilton had carryed to Barbados)' in Sandford's 1666 'Relation of a Discovery'.⁵⁷ The bland report about being 'carried' did not hide the fact that Shadoo and Alush had been taken hostage by Hilton ostensibly for a prisoner exchange. Hilton knew of the prominence of his senior hostage, calling him 'the Chief Commander' and 'Grandy Captain of *Edistow*'.⁵⁸ How, when, or under what circumstances Shadoo and Alush returned from Barbados to their home on the Carolina coast was not evident to Locke, nor has it been revealed since. Locke also gathered information from Sandford about 'Wommony the Cassiques sonne [of Port Royal] (who had alsoe been att Barbados)'.⁵⁹ Thus Wommony, too, had been Hilton's hostage and his return to Port Royal was and remains similarly mysterious. That these Americans were still friendly and ready to assist the English explorers in 1666 and the colonists in 1670 is striking, even granting the allure of an alliance with the English against the Westo and the Spanish.⁶⁰ In any case, Shadoo took Sandford, Woodward, and company to his town and surrounding lands, having his 'long traine of Indians' help them cross 'the branches of Creekes or plashy corners of Marshes'. For his part, Wommony—'the Cassiques sonne'—accompanied Sandford as 'both his Guide and proteccon' during the continued exploration of

⁵⁶ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 170–1.

⁵⁷ Sandford in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 64. Also, 68: 'Shadoo (The Capt: of Edistow that had beene with Hilton att Barbados)'.

⁵⁸ Hilton in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 19, 20.

⁵⁹ Sandford in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 75.

⁶⁰ Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 43.

rivers heading northeast up the coast to Kiawah.⁶¹ In this overall way, Locke had painted for him by ‘discoverers’—Hilton and Sandford—a picture of three prominent Americans, aboard different English ships, exploring the Carolina-Florida coast, sailing to Barbados, intersecting the travels of the Cassique of Kiawah, and helping Woodward, Mathews, and other colonists who would shape their fate.

As Locke was taking in all this information, he was drafting what would become his philosophical masterwork. Into Draft B in late 1671, as we have seen, he added considerable information about America and Americans that had been absent from Draft A, earlier in the year. He also inserted into his draft the name of an Indian, though none of those above from Carolina. Locke used him, as he would another in the published *Essay*, to make a signature point about ‘Custom, a greater power than Nature’ (I. iii. 25).⁶²

& had Tottepottemay been educated in England he had perhaps been as zealous a Christian & as good an Architect as any in it.⁶³

Thus ‘Tottepottemay’ was neither a zealous Christian nor a good architect. But he could have been both, had he had a proper English education. Why Locke chose Totopotomoy in particular for this counterfactual point is not obvious, since any American would do, given his readers’ view of (or ignorance about) the religiosity and architecture of new world people. In any case, it was Totopotomoy who had Locke’s attention. We may presume that Locke knew the most important and almost only piece of information about him, as the English would have judged it. Totopotomoy was a chief of the

⁶¹ Sandford in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 65, 75.

⁶² This phrase first appears in *Drafts* (B), section 10, p. 116. Its immediate reference was to ‘children and young folk’, though ‘Children, Ideots, Savages, and illiterate People’ and ‘wild Inhabitant[s] of the Woods’ (I. ii. 27; cf. I. iii. 12) are part of the larger cast of figures invoked by Locke when emphasizing the power of custom and education.

⁶³ Locke, *Drafts* (B), section 12, p. 120.

Powhatan/Pamunkey who, with many fighters, fought and died in 1656 alongside the English against other Indians—six or seven hundred ‘Richahecrians’ who were most likely the Westo of Carolina—who had come down from the mountains to settle in western Virginia, threatening the colonists’ settlements and expansion. He died for Christians, if he was not a zealous one himself. Further, Totopotomoy was in a line of chiefs—styled ‘kings’ and ‘emperors’—that passed from the legendary Powhatan through Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and Necotowance to him and, after his death, to his widow Cockacoeske. However, Totopotomoy’s power was considerably reduced from that of his predecessors, especially Powhatan and Opechancanough.

How Locke knew much of anything about Totopotomoy—as opposed to, say, Cotachico, Shadoo, or Wommony—is intriguing since so little was then written about him (and he remains an elusive figure today). He might have heard word-of-mouth remembrances from associates of William Berkeley, Lord Proprietor of Carolina and long-serving Governor of Virginia (1642–52 and 1660 through 1677, the year he died). Berkeley had dealings with Totopotomoy, overseeing legislation in 1649 that ‘There shall be laid out for Totopotomoy 5,000 acres of land adjacent to the place where he now liveth and that after a surveig thereof a Patent be granted to him’. Totopotomoy had to petition the colonial assembly to actually receive the patent—and then only for much reduced acreage—just as later, in 1655, he legally protested the killing of a ‘brother’ by an English colonist.⁶⁴

A couple of written texts are candidates for Locke’s source on Totopotomoy. One was *Hudibras* by Samuel Butler, the Restoration satire of Puritans and Roundheads in ‘the Late Wars’ in the form of a quixotic tale of the travels of a New Model Army ‘knight’, Hudibras, and his ‘squire’, Ralpho. In Part II, Canto II, Butler spoofed Puritan justice among ‘our brethren of NEW ENGLAND’

⁶⁴ Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas’ People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 110.

who ignore the crimes of colonists, if they provide needed services. The ‘brethren’ then ‘hang the guiltless in their stead, Of whom the Churches have less need’. Butler used as example a tale of Patch, a cobbler and itinerant minister, who had slain an Indian in time of peace—‘Not out of malice, but mere zeal, Because he was an Infidel’. Then:

The mighty TOTTIPOTTYMOY
Sent to our elders an envoy,
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league held forth by brother Patch
Against the articles in force
Between both Churches, his and ours
For which he crav’d the Saints to render
Into his hand or hang th’ offender
But they maturely having weigh’d,
They had no more but him o’ th’ trade,
(A man that serv’d them in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobble,
Resolv’d to spare him; yet, to do
The Indian Hoghgan Moghgan too
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old Weaver, that was bed-rid.
Then wherefore way not you be skipp’d
And in your room another whipp’d?
For all Philosophers, but the Sceptick,
Hold whipping may be sympathetick.

How Butler knew of ‘Tottipottymoy’ or gave him the title ‘Hoghan Moghan’ is beside the point concerning Locke—though an answer might suggest another source influential on them both.⁶⁵ In any case,

⁶⁵ Butler’s source for the hanging story, apart from Totopotomoy, might have been ‘the Wessaguskus Hanging’ of 1623—as originally recorded by Thomas Morton in *New English Canaan* (1637). Totopotomoy is not discussed by Morton, however, as would make sense given the date and his reporting on ‘New England’. Both Opechancanough and Totopotomoy protested to the colonial assembly about the deaths of Indians, suggesting,

Locke owned *Hudibras* (and it is one of the few texts into which he wrote a lengthy entry).⁶⁶ He later made indirect reference to it in the Preface to the *Two Treatises of Government* when decrying the ‘Drum Ecclesiastick’ that pounded away for divine right.⁶⁷ However, he knew of the lead character well before 1671, having written to his friend John Strachey in 1666 of ‘father Hudebrasse’ when poking fun at ‘divinity disputations’.⁶⁸ Given the religious context of these references, Butler’s satire could have informed Locke, especially had Locke known of the range of Butler’s anthropological curiosity.⁶⁹

Another and more compelling source regarding Totopotomoy was John Lederer’s *Discoveries ... from Virginia to the West of*

perhaps, Butler’s more immediate knowledge of affairs in Virginia. Butler’s use of Totopotomoy is not mentioned or made prominent in most studies of *Hudibras*. Ralph Waldo Emerson, however, noted it in ‘The Comic’. Some later editors of Butler completely missed the reference. For example, in his edition of *Hudibras* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1859), Henry Bohn wrote (at 190 n.3) that ‘This is not a real name, but merely a ludicrous imitation of the sonorous appellations of the Indian Sachems’.

⁶⁶ Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, #1530. The entry, alas, discussed in a ribald way the medical procedures of the physician Tagliacozzi.

⁶⁷ Butler, *Hudibras*, Part 1, Canto 1:
 When Gospel-trumpeter, surrounded
 With long-eared rout, to battle sounded,
 And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
 Was beat with fist instead of a stick.

⁶⁸ De Beer, *Correspondence*, #182. It was Strachey who persuaded Locke not to pursue divinity (and thus ordination) at Oxford, in favour of medicine. He was also, not incidentally, the grandson of William Strachey, author of *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (first manuscript in 1618) and of the story of the shipwreck founding of Bermuda, *True Reportory of Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, written in 1610 and published in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). See, recently, Alden T. Vaughan, ‘William Strachey’s “True Reportory” and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 245–73.

⁶⁹ Butler was exceptionally well informed about travel and anthropology. See Daniel Carey, ‘The Political Economy of Poison: The Kingdom of Makassar and the Early Royal Society’, *Renaissance Studies*, 17 (2003), 517–43.

Carolina. Lederer was a German explorer sent by Governor Berkeley in 1669 and 1670 to make three expeditionary ‘marches’ to the west and south. Cresting the ‘The Apalateans’ and confirming Indian trade routes, he also gave fairly detailed accounts of many different peoples including the ‘Oustack’ (probably the Westo), ‘a people so addicted to arms’ that their neighbours live ‘in continual fear’ of them. On the second day of his first march, Lederer crossed the branches of the Pemaconcock River to find a remarkable place. ‘In the Peninsula made by these two branches, a great Indian King called *Tottopotoma* was heretofore slain in Battel, fighting for the Christians against the *Mahocks* and *Nahyssans*, from whence it retains his name to this day’. Indeed, the place came to cartographic account as ‘Tottopotama’ on Lederer’s ‘general map of the whole territory’ that he appended to his *Discoveries*. This was not the very first map to do so, a distinction that goes to Anthony Langston in 1662. On his much sketchier map—unaccompanied by any ‘discovery’ text—Langston noted ‘Pamaoromeck Tatapootamoy ye Indian Kings Seat’.⁷⁰ But Lederer’s map provides the crucial clue. For on *his* own 1671 map of Carolina, in spelling very similar to Lederer’s, Locke too indicated the place of ‘Tottopotama’. He also used many other site names that *only* Lederer had designated (not to mention following him in error about the existence of a vast inland sea).⁷¹ Locke knew, then, after perusing the map and reading the discovery, about the site memorializing the martial sacrifice of the ‘great Indian King ... fighting for the Christians’.

If Lederer *was* Locke’s source for the name and information on Totopotomoy, then Locke must have had Lederer’s map and manuscript in the autumn of 1671. The timing is a little tricky, but suggestive of Locke’s secretarial interventions and linguistic talents.

⁷⁰ See Rountree, *Pocahontas’ People*, figure 4, p. 111.

⁷¹ On the error-history of this inland lake, see William Patterson Cumming, ‘Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast in the Cartography of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *The Journal of Southern History*, 4 (Nov. 1938), 476–92; and Cumming and de Vorse, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 15–18.

Lederer's *Discoveries* was published in English in 1672, though it had been licensed for publication in London by Roger L'Estrange on 1 November 1671. The work was a translation of Lederer's Latin manuscript by William Talbot, secretary of the Virginia colony under Berkeley's governorship. Talbot, in turn, dedicated the translation to Ashley, promising him, on the basis of Lederer's information, 'unlimited Empires' in the 'West Continent' that will be 'ambitious of subjection to that noble Government which by your Lordships deep wisdom and providence first projected, is now established in Carolina'.⁷² This was just the sort of thing that Ashley presumably liked to hear about his 'Darling' Carolina, much less the prospects of willing subjects and imperial expansion to the west. It was also just the sort of thing that would have been sent to Ashley and his secretary *before* submission for a licence, much less actual publication. We may presume, then, that Locke received and read Talbot's translation and perhaps Lederer's Latin manuscript at the very time he was drafting his philosophical reflections on custom overpowering nature, and using Totopotomoy to do so. Lederer's manuscript, alas, was lost sometime later; and Locke's 'Tottepottemay' was last heard of in Draft C.⁷³

When Locke finally published the *Essay* in 1690, 'the Virginia King *Apochancana*' made his entry in Totopotomoy's place.⁷⁴ As quoted above, Locke allowed that had this grand person 'been educated in *England*' he might have become 'as knowing a Divine, and as good a Mathematician, as any in it' (I. iv. 12).⁷⁵ The parallels

⁷² From Talbot's 'Epistle Dedicatory' in Lederer, *Discoveries ... from Virginia to the West of Carolina* (London, 1672), p. ii.

⁷³ Rand (ed.), *Essay* [Draft C], section 12, p. 46.

⁷⁴ Wood surprisingly ignores the name change when stating that the passage was 'virtually unchanged' in the *Essay*, in *Politics of Locke's Philosophy*, 133.

⁷⁵ This assertion of the power of culture and education was well received by some of Locke's readers. In a marginal note to the passage citing 'the Virginia King *Apochancana*' in a first edition copy of the *Essay* (now in the Houghton Library at Harvard), the original owner (most likely Henry Sacheverell, whose later discourse on religion and government

of this published passage to the draft one on Totopotomoy are close, save for the substitution of ‘Divine’ for ‘Christian’ and ‘Mathematician’ for ‘Architect’, as well as the addition of the anti-innatist counterfactual that the ‘King’ *could* have come to the ‘Idea of a God’ had he but pursued thoughts suggesting it. Once again, any American would have served Locke’s point to his readers. But Locke’s change of Indians prompts the question, why and from what further source or sources? Any answer cannot avoid the fact that Opechancanough was a far more famous—indeed, to the English, infamous and notorious—figure from the New World. He was Powhatan’s suspicious and aggressive brother who captured and threatened John Smith in 1608 shortly after the founding of the Jamestown colony, prompting the intervention of Pocahontas. Smith subsequently exacted vengeance in a pistol-wielding, hair-pulling act of humiliation on Opechancanough’s person. After Powhatan’s death in 1618—and a brief interlude under Opitchapam—Opechancanough succeeded as ‘King’ of the Powhatan in 1620. Outraged by English expansion, he organized a sneak attack against the Virginia colonists on 22 March 1622 that left 347 of them dead. After 22 years of unsteady truce, in great age, he mounted a second attack on 18 April 1644 whose toll on English lives was close to 500. Captured shortly thereafter by Berkeley’s militia, Opechancanough was murdered—shot in the back, apparently—by a guard at Jamestown.⁷⁶ The Powhatan under

Locke owned) opined about the abilities of non-Europeans and the irony of empire. ‘Numerous are the instances of Negro Slaves who [once?] removed from the Darkness of their Native countrey have displayed prodigious Abilities; Notwithstanding the avarice of their European Tyrants which prompt them to believe that Talents were alone the Attributes of White Men. Dr. Johnson’s Black Servant made considerable progress in the Classics; some of them have been famous for Arithmetical Computations, and many of the American slaves Preach to their Respective Congregations. Had they (though we condemn the practice) never been transported in another Clime, what ideas could they have entertain’d concerning Languages, Numbers, and True Religion?’

⁷⁶ For the fullest account available, see Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

Necotowance and then Totopotomoy were made to submit and give tribute thereafter.

Opechancanough—in inordinately many spellings—made for gripping reading. Even before going down in English literary history as the engineer of massacres, his exploits were reported by John Smith himself in *A Map of Virginia* (1612) and by Ralph Hamor in *The True Discourse of the State of Virginia* (1614). ‘Opechanckenno’ was noted as a ‘king’ in *The Historie of Travaile in Virginia Britannia* (initially 1618) by William Strachey.⁷⁷ Prior to the armed attack on the colony, Patrick Copland sermonized in *Virginia’s God Be Thanked* (1622) ‘that the sayd Opachankano had more notions of religion in him, then could be imagined in so great a blindness, since he willingly acknowledged that theirs was not the right way, desiring to be instructed in ours’.⁷⁸ Just after the ‘slaughter’, by contrast, Edward Waterhouse condemned in 1622 ‘the perfidious treachery of a false-hearted people, that know not God nor faith’, calling down special scorn on ‘Opachankano the King of these Sauages’.⁷⁹ Smith returned to the tale in *The General Historie of Virginia* (1624) which reappeared, in cribbed form, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).⁸⁰ After the capture and death of the Powhatan chief, the author [John Ferrer] of *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649) looked back on the unfolding of events after the ‘second massacre’ of 1644:

Since the Massacree, the *Savages* have been driven far away, many destroyed of them, their Towns and houses ruined, their cleer grounds possessed by the English to sow Wheat in: and their great King Opechauenow (that bloody

⁷⁷ William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, ed. R. H. Major (London: Hakluyt Society, 1849), 62.

⁷⁸ Patrick Copland, *Virginia’s God Be Thanked* (London, 1622), 28–9.

⁷⁹ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), 13.

⁸⁰ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Book IV, pp. 1712, 1723, 1769, 1788, 1841.

Monster upon 100 years old) was taken by Sir William Berkeley the Governour.⁸¹

The story apparently never grew stale for English readers later in the century. In *America* in 1671, John Ogilby wrote (or, rather, published a relation of John Smith's as his) a short version of the whole business, starting with Smith and Pocahontas and ending with the second 'bloody massacre' by 'those barbarous and perfidious Salvages, whose Blood the present Governor, Sir William Berkley, nobly and justly reveng'd the year following, utterly destroying most of them, and taking Prisoner their chief Emperor, Opichancano, who died not long after in Prison'.⁸²

Locke had much of this material available to him as he made final revisions to the manuscript copy of the *Essay*. He owned, as we have seen, the works by Hamor, Purchas, Ogilby, and a complementary one by Smith (1631) boasting how Smith had 'oppressed' the 'simple savages', occasioning their 'plot how to cut all [colonists'] throats' in 1622.⁸³ While all the publication dates of these works preceded 1671, they were *not* in Locke's library at Christ Church, Oxford in 1681.⁸⁴ Neither were Garcilaso, Martyr, and de Léry. Similarly, Locke owned Ferrer's *Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), but not until later in the 1680s.⁸⁵ In it, Locke found 'that bloody Monster', Opechancanough, accompanied within a page by 'that most judicious and learned Mathematician' from England, Henry Briggs, whose calculations might 'discover a way to China and East Indies or to some other Sea'. This referred to

⁸¹ [John Ferrer], *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (London, 1649), 7, 10.

⁸² Ogilby, *America*, 202.

⁸³ John Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or Any Where* (London, 1631), ch 2.

⁸⁴ Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, where these texts are absent from Appendix 1 that lists Locke's library in 1681.

⁸⁵ Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, #3096, not in Appendix 1.

Briggs's *Treatise of the Northwest Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia* (1622), addressed to the Virginia Company of which he was a member and reprinted soon thereafter in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). Ferrer also referred to 'Iron Ore' lying unused 'in abundance in the Land', a source, perhaps, of Locke's observations, added sometime *after* Draft C, about the 'Ignorance' shown by the 'ancient Savage *Americans*' for 'the Mineral of Iron' (IV. xii. 11), 'so long hid in the dark Entrails of *America*' (IV. xvii. 6). How different things would have been, Locke inferred in the *Essay*, had Americans known of iron or the Virginia king been educated in England.

Sources aside, Locke put the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* before a readership for whom Opechancanough was a more scandalous figure and whose story had longer shelf life than that of Totopotomoy.⁸⁶ In the later 1680s, he was reading discoveries and relations of America in which the *earlier* 'Virginia King' figured prominently and in reference to mathematics and religion. The significance of changes from 'Christian' to 'Divine' and 'Architect' to 'Mathematician' may be minimal, given the connection each has to the other.⁸⁷ But the prospect that the notorious *Opechancanough* could have been 'as knowing a Divine' as someone educated in theology and rituals at Oxford sends up custom over nature and puts down clergymen known for their scholastic disputations. In any case, the reference to 'Apochancana' occurs in a philosophical 'essay' in which one or another 'learned Divine' merits sarcasm for his 'sacred Definition of *Animal Rationale*' (III. vi. 26) and 'some *Americans*' are interrogated about how high they can count.

⁸⁶ Citing Locke, James Tyrrell later took notice of 'the Virginia King Apochancana' in *A Brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature* (London, 1690), 211. In the margin of his copy of Tyrrell's treatise, Locke called attention to *his* being cited at this and five other places. See Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, #3000.

⁸⁷ Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson* (91 n.72) argues, more strongly, that the change of Indians 'indicates a development in his argument' about political anthropology.

‘Some *Americans*, I have spoken with’

The revelation in the *Essay* (II. xvi. 6) that Locke claimed to have ‘spoken with’ ‘some *Americans*’ has been overlooked by almost every commentator. Even works that are attentive to Locke’s colonial affairs—indeed, to the very passage in question—have not noticed or paused to consider this stunning remark.⁸⁸ In short, this autobiographical disclosure from ‘the essayist in the *Essay*’ has mostly been ignored.⁸⁹ Yet, as noted above, Locke not only made this revelation in the *Essay* of 1690 but earlier in Draft B (late 1671) when alleging to have spoken with ‘some *Indians*’. ‘Indians’ remained the referent in Draft C of 1685.⁹⁰ There is no such reference in Draft A circa 10 July 1671.⁹¹ Moreover, Draft B reports Locke undertaking to ‘aske an American how old his son is’ and have him ‘tell you his son was 30 or 40 moons old as it happened’.⁹² The *Essay* further reveals Locke’s likely ‘conversation with them’ about ‘*God and Worship*’ (I. iv. 19).⁹³

⁸⁸ There is no mention of this event in the biographies by Cranston, *John Locke*, or Roger Woolhouse, *John Locke: A Biography* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007). Anthony Pagden discusses this passage without taking notice of Locke’s speaking with Americans, in *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982). The same is true of Derek Hughes, *The Versions of Blackness: Oroonoko, Race and Slavery* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 170 n.71, as also of Wood, *Politics of Locke’s Philosophy*, 134. The exceptions, noted at the outset, are Hall, ‘Queries’, and Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson*, 88 n.61.

⁸⁹ To use the title of R. L. Colie, ‘The Essayist in the *Essay*’, in John W. Yolton (ed.), *John Locke: Problems and Perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 234–61.

⁹⁰ Rand (ed.), *Essay*, [Draft C], section 50, p. 111.

⁹¹ Locke, *Drafts* [A], section 27, p. 43 and also p. 287 in reference to the allograph copy of Draft A with the date of ‘10^o Jul 71’.

⁹² Locke, *Drafts* [B], section 101, p. 225. The American’s dates, Locke says, are based on the ‘synodically revolutions of the moone, i.e. from full to full or change to change’. It is unclear how Locke reconciles the father’s count of ‘30 or 40 moones’ with his claim (in section 50, p. 157) that Indians can only count to ‘20’.

⁹³ By ‘them’, Locke refers to ‘Savages, and most Country-people’ with whom ‘conversation ... will not make one forward to believe’ that their ‘*Ideas of God* and

The principal encounter that Locke reveals is one of the more vivid passages in the *Essay*. One can almost *see* it.

This, I think, to be the reason why some *Americans*, I have spoken with, (who were otherwise of quick and rational Parts enough,) could not, as we do, by any means count to 1000; nor had any distinct *Idea* of that Number, though they could reckon very well to 20. Because their Language being scanty, and accommodated only to the few necessaries of a needy simple Life, unacquainted either with Trade or Mathematicks, had no Words in it to stand for 1000; so that when they were discoursed with of those greater Numbers, they would shew the Hairs of their Head, to express a great multitude, which they could not number (II. xvi. 6).⁹⁴

Given his theory of number, Locke attributed the Americans' limitations in counting past 20 to the want of names in their languages for higher numbers.⁹⁵ By contrast—citing de Léry, in the *Essay* but *not* Draft B—the cannibalistic 'Tououpinambos' of Brazil can only make it to 5, thereafter needing lots of (others') fingers. Locke proceeds in the section to provide English names, based on Latin roots, for 'Millions of Millions of Millions' like 'Octilion' and 'Nonilion' (II. xvi. 6). Asked about such multiple millions, the Americans—we should imaginatively envision—shrugged, bent

Worship' are well developed (I. iv. 19).

⁹⁴ The version of this passage in *Drafts* (B), section 50, p. 157, is very close to the published one, though the section in which it figures is much shorter than that in the *Essay* and there is no qualifying 'enough' about the Indians' 'quick rational parts'. It reads: 'And this I thinke to be the reason why some Indians I have spoken with, who were otherwise of quick rationall parts could not as we doe count to a 1000. though they could very well to 20 because their language being scanty & accommodated only to the few necessarys of a needy simple life unacquainted either with trade or Mathematiques, had noe words in it to stand for a thousand. Soe that if you discoursed with them of those great numbers they would shew you the hairs of their head to express a great multitude which they could not number'.

⁹⁵ Locke already knew from colonial correspondence that larger numbers 'exceeded an Indian account'. Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 249. Compare Hobbes in *Leviathan*, chapter 46: 'The savages of America are not without some good moral sentences; also they have a little arithmetic'.

their heads, and pointed to the countless number of hairs on their heads.

Trusting his word, then, Locke spoke with some Indians about counting numbers after July 1671 and before the year was out. Sometime later, he remembered having also conversed with Americans about God and worship. He may also have spoken with them about architecture (II. xiii. 20)⁹⁶ or witnessed first-hand the ‘decency and civility in their discourses and conversations’.⁹⁷ Mathematics, architecture, and religion were—to recall—the intersecting themes he mentioned regarding Totopotomoy and Opechancanough. Perhaps there is a meaningful connection or source here. Knowing what he was reading and recording about colonial affairs at that very moment in 1671, one can imagine many more topics—medicines, minerals, measurements, hunting, planting, sailing, politics, warfare, or slavery—about which Locke may have engaged his American interlocutors.

The clue to the identity of these Americans lies in colonial memoranda that Locke *himself* composed. Referring to a letter (since lost) from Thomas Colleton—Sir Peter’s younger brother and plantation manager in Barbados—Locke recorded ‘Information’ about ‘Indians’. He took special note of ‘Honest, Just Two Cassiques sonnes clothed and civily treated by him in Barbadoes. The Indians supply provisions and help to plant’.⁹⁸ In another memorandum shortly thereafter, Locke drew at greater length from

⁹⁶ Should an ‘intelligent *American* ... desiring to learn our Architecture’ be ‘told’ (by a scholastic philosopher) that a pillar was something supported by a basis and a basis that which supported a pillar, would he not feel ‘mocked, instead of taught’ (II. xiii. 20)?

⁹⁷ ‘The Indians, whom we call barbarous, observe much more decency and civility in their discourses and conversations, giving one another a fair silent hearing till they have quite done and then answering them calmly and without noise or passion’. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, eds. Ruth Grant and Nathan Tarcov (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), section 145, p. 112.

⁹⁸ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 249. Hsueh noticed Locke’s recording of Honest and Just (though not his speaking with them) in ‘Cultivating and Challenging the Common’, 201.

Colleton's letter (of 19 November 1670), transcribing some of the natural wonders of Carolina.

Canes ginger Cotton olives grow very well there plenty of fish and foule abundance of oysters with good perle turtle hares rabbits otters badgers. honest just people. Two Cosseques sonnes clothed and civilly treated in Barbados by T C.⁹⁹

Upon return of the *Carolina* to Barbados, then, Thomas Colleton heard about Carolina affairs from either Captain Henry Brayne or 'some seamen dispatched' or delivered correspondence (from Maurice Mathews, at least).¹⁰⁰ On board were two Americans whom Colleton welcomed with clothes and civility because they were sons of an important chief (or chiefs) and dressed scantily by English standards. They represented their 'honest just people' and so became to their Barbadian host, *Honest* and *Just*. Their *own* names in their own language were not disclosed. Colleton duly reported all this in his letter; and Locke, in turn, cribbed it for the Lords Proprietors in London before the letter went missing.

On the basis of Locke's memoranda—though *not* the *Essay* and its revelations—four historians over the course of the last century have pieced together what is known (or debated) about the Americans named *Honest* and *Just*. That is, they pursued leads on the two Indians, drawing upon Locke's colonial memoranda, without knowing that Locke himself had spoken with them, as revealed in Draft B or the *Essay*. Langdon Cheves, editor of the *Shaftesbury Papers* (1895), first speculated that 'the Cassique's sons taken to Barbadoes on the *Carolina*' were 'perhaps' the same as the pair who appeared in a 1672 notice of the Bermudas Company

⁹⁹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 258.

¹⁰⁰ 'Dispatched seamen' and Mathews's missing letter to Thomas Colleton noted in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 245, 251, 259, and 260. Mathews quite likely supplied to Colleton the information which he in turn reported about Woodward, Cofitachequi, and the Emperor.

reproduced in 1876 by J. H. LeFroy: ‘A Ketch, was spoken with on the south Coast of the Islands March 22nd “That was sent out of England by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, Bound for the same Port, having in her two Indian Princes”’.¹⁰¹ If so, Honest and Just had to have sailed to and from England after their passage to Barbados. Cheves wondered (with a question mark) whether the returning ship was the *William & Ralph* or the *Blessing*.¹⁰² Writing in 1940 and again in 1963, St. Julien Ravenel Childs provided evidence from the *Calendar of State Papers* (for 1671–2) that the two Indians in question were ‘kindly received’ by Charles II who bestowed on them ‘many rich presents’. Exempting the possibility of the Emperor of Cofitachequi, for reasons not given, Childs initially reckoned that they were ‘the sons of two other chiefs’. He reasoned differently later. ‘The probabilities are that the father of the two youths was the Kiawah chief who had visited Barbados himself as the guest of an earlier explorer’. He went on to ‘hazard a guess that it was a proud day for the Cacique of Kiawah’ when his sons returned on the *William & Ralph* in April 1672.¹⁰³

More recent evidence and speculation about the American ‘sons’ have been offered by Gene Waddell and Alden Vaughan. Contra Childs, Waddell pinned the paternity precisely on the Emperor of Cofitachequi. ‘A series of coincidences’ invited the inference. Waddell noted that the dates that the Emperor travelled to the settlement on Ashley River, on two occasions, closely coincided with the departure of the *Carolina* for Barbados and the return of the *William & Ralph* from England. Indeed, these were the ‘only known visits of the Emperor’ to the fledgling colony. Woodward,

¹⁰¹ J. H. LeFroy (ed.), *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1515–1685* (London: Bermuda Government Library, 1876), i. 740.

¹⁰² Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 476. It was the *William & Ralph*, as noted below.

¹⁰³ St Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526–1696* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1940), 142; and ‘Honest and Just at the Court of Charles II’, *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 64 (1963), 27.

remember, had special intelligence (about gold and silver, but also Indian allies) to share with Ashley in the immediate aftermath of his visit to Cofitachequi. The pair was arguably among ‘the persons sent with the Dr’ by the Emperor just ahead of the Emperor himself. Waddell also points out that Thomas Colleton referred to the Emperor as well as to Honest and Just in his (missing) letter from which Locke drew his own information.¹⁰⁴ Woodward—Vaughan further surmises—was the one who recommended that Honest and Just take passage to Barbados and England.¹⁰⁵ Following Waddell, Vaughan conjectured that the two were ‘sons (probably) of the ‘Emperor’. He continues, guardedly:

Although the Americans’ experience in Britain for a year or more is largely unreported, their status as Indian ‘princes’ and sponsorship by a Lord Proprietor assured them a generous reception. Honest and Just must have seen the major sights of London and vicinity and met many of Restoration England’s dignitaries.

Checking the *Calendar* against the *State Papers*, Vaughan confirmed that the Americans received gifts from the court of Charles II (without finding any additional information). In setting the whole affair in the context of the ‘transatlantic encounters’ of American Indians in England, with assiduous research into all possibilities, Vaughan makes clear that the two young Americans of high standing were the *only* visitors of record to have visited England in the period between the 1640s and 1675.¹⁰⁶

The identity of Honest and Just cannot (here and now) be determined any further. Their bestowed names hold few clues to

¹⁰⁴ Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry*, 236.

¹⁰⁵ Childs variously thought this plan originated with *either* William Sayle (the first Governor of Carolina) *or* Colonel Joseph West *or* was simply unknown.

¹⁰⁶ Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 104, 295 n.20.

their identity, beyond possible respect or hopes for their virtues.¹⁰⁷ Like Tried and True or High and Mighty, the names came paired.¹⁰⁸ In *Othello*, Act 5, Scene 1, Shakespeare has his lead character—unaware of villainy—hail ‘O brave Iago, honest and just’. (Could there be something here?) Mainly, though, historians have left us with contradictory possibilities about the Americans’ identity, based on the same evidence. Seventeenth-century English possessives (or lack of them) do not help matters. The ‘two cosseques sonnes’—in Locke’s memorandum—were either brothers with the same father or they were not brothers, each with a different father. If one father, he may have been the Cassique of Kiawah or the Emperor of Cofitachequi or some other coastal chief.¹⁰⁹ If two, they may have been any combination of these ‘cassiques’. Exempting the Westo and the Indians allied with the Spanish, he or they could have led the Kiawah, Cofitachequi, Edisto, Port Royal, or some other Lowcountry people. The Cassique of Kiawah had been particularly generous to the English settlers and may well have governed, in Thomas Colleton’s estimation, the ‘honest just people’ associated with the pair. Travelling aboard English ships was common enough among members of the coastal American peoples, in any case; and Locke’s memoranda and endorsed correspondence (as we have seen) identify the Cassique of Kiawah, Shadoo, Alush, Wommony, and unnamed others on board one or another vessel, including the *Carolina*. Indeed, we should not rule out Shadoo, Alush, or *especially* Wommony—‘the Cassiques sonne’ of the Port Royal who had previously sailed to Barbados. Alas, there are no recorded

¹⁰⁷ Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 295 n.20 suggests that the names ‘may reflect the Barbados background of many early South Carolinians, who often gave such names to their African slaves’.

¹⁰⁸ Locke’s friend, Edward Clarke, described the ‘Accompt of those Rents’ that Locke himself paid to Stratton as ‘honest and just’. De Beer, *Correspondence*, #927.

¹⁰⁹ The ‘King’s relation[s]’ discussed below in connection with the discourse on ‘Carolina’ in Ogilby’s *America*—if, as I believe, the discourse was Locke’s doing—does suggest brothers or perhaps cousins.

instances of the Cofitachequi shipping with English explorers or colonists. If the sons of the ‘Emperor’ Cotachico were those taken to Barbados and England and back, they would have had to have marched from Cofitachequi to the mouth of Ashley River to board the *Carolina* by 15 September 1670, the date of its departure. This means (as noted above) a march of a few days, up to a week, to measure by Woodward’s estimations. The timing of the Emperor’s own visits to the settlement is a crucial clue, as Waddell rightly suggests. Yet, the second and final visit (compared to the first) is harder to fix with any precision. Internal evidence from the correspondence suggests it could have been March 1672, making it a month or so *prior* to the return of the *William & Ralph* around 19 April 1672. Given potential life spans—Opechancanough was reputed to be a hundred years old—Honest and Just could have been nearly any age. However, the reference to them as ‘sons’ suggests youth, but old enough, perhaps, for one of them to have had a 3-year old son of his own—somewhere between ‘30 and 40 moons’ of age.¹¹⁰

Locke—to conjecture—spoke with Honest and Just in London on one or more occasions during and most likely the latter half of 1671. Ship traffic, Locke’s whereabouts, and the Drafts suggest this time and place. The *Carolina*, with two Americans on board, departed from Ashley River on 15 September 1670 and—delayed en route by ‘becalmed’ or ‘contrary winds’—arrived in Barbados on 31 October.¹¹¹ If Honest and Just went on to travel to England on the *Carolina* under Brayne’s command, they would have had to wait awhile in Barbados. For the ship made an additional round trip to Carolina (from 27 December 1670 to 21 March 1671) ferrying more settlers out and returning with pine and cedar. It sailed for England later that spring, arriving in the Thames sometime in late July or

¹¹⁰ Locke, *Drafts* (B), section 101, p. 225.

¹¹¹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 229, 251.

early August.¹¹² It is of course possible that Honest and Just left Barbados on an earlier ship. One commanded by Captain James Gilbert left on 24 November 1670.¹¹³ It transported, among other things, the bundle of letters from September and November that Locke endorsed for his memoranda—including Colleton’s mentioning Honest and Just—as well as some cedar planks—‘the first fruits of that glorious Province’.¹¹⁴ It arrived in London—to judge by Ashley’s correspondence as endorsed by Locke—by 10 April 1671. While other dates are *logically* possible, it seems most likely that Honest and Just landed in England in *either* April *or* August 1671.

While ships came and went, Locke was in London during most of 1671, executing his secretarial duties. He quite likely went down to London docks and boarded ships in this period, as he certainly did shortly thereafter.¹¹⁵ He worked out of The Cockpitt—a theater appended to Whitehall—where the Lords Proprietors usually conducted business. He lived and worked at Ashley’s abode—Exeter House in the Strand—making periodic short trips to his master’s country estate at Wimborne St. Giles in Dorset. It was at Exeter House that Locke held his famous meeting with ‘5 or 6 friends’—including James Tyrrell and most likely Ashley—which prompted the drafting of what was to become the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. The first draft (A) was completed and put aside without reference to any Indians around 10 July. Indians

¹¹² Brayne wrote of his intention to be back in England by ‘latter end of July next’, but the record indicates it could have been August. Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 231, 317 n.

¹¹³ Also aboard was Captain John Coming, erstwhile mate of Brayne who had been aboard the original voyage of the *Carolina*, including the leg to Virginia with the Cassique of Kiawah. He returned to Carolina from London in May 1671 on *The Blessing*, perhaps suggesting that this was the ship that Gilbert captained to England the previous November. Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 231 n.

¹¹⁴ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 220, 314.

¹¹⁵ In 1672, Locke went aboard the *Bahama Merchant*. See BL, Add. MS 15640. The *Essay* (II. xiii. 8–9) discusses chess being played aboard ship.

appeared in Draft B some time later in 1671. Locke may of course have met the Americans before he quitted work on Draft A, remembering only later to add mention of his conversation with them when addressing number and adding more ethnographic confirmation of his sceptical anthropology. Yet, the sheer vividness of his discussion of ‘some *Indians* I have spoken with’ in Draft B suggests a recent conversation and a novel addition to his reflections on the understanding after Draft A of July. Locke was away from London—travelling to Oxford, Salisbury, and Somerset (at John Strachey’s in Sutton Court)—from late September to late October. These various dates conspire to suggest that, while he might have met them earlier, Locke spoke at some length with Honest and Just in August or September—perhaps as late as early November—leaving enough time for their debut in Draft B before 1671 was out.

The likely places for Locke’s conversations were The Cockpitt or the grand houses of the Lords Proprietors in London. Of the latter, the two likeliest were Exeter House or Sir Peter Colleton’s house on ‘St. James Street, near Clarendon House’.¹¹⁶ Because Thomas Colleton had ‘clothed and civilly treated’ the two sons in Barbados and was in frequent contact with his knighted brother, it is also most conceivable that Honest and Just stayed at Sir Peter’s house. Locke reported being in St. James Park in late 1671, taking in the sights of a pair of cassowaries, ever attentive to exotic visitors as a spur to his philosophizing.¹¹⁷ He may even have been present at court—attending Ashley, on the eve of Ashley’s being made Lord Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury—when Charles II bestowed gifts on the young American ambassadors—promising trade and military alliance, one imagines—though Locke had already spoken with them about numbers and names, God and worship. He lost any chance for further discourse by mid-February 1672 when the

¹¹⁶ Buchanan, *Colleton Family*, 90.

¹¹⁷ *Draft (B)*, section 99, p. 221; repeated in the *Essay* (II. xxv. 8).

William & Ralph departed. It stopped at Falmouth on 20 February 1672, leaving a record in the *State Papers*.

The 20th, the *William & Ralph* came in, bound for Carolina. Two princes of the natives of that country are on board, who have been at London, where they were kindly received by his Majesty, and received many rich presents from the King and Court.¹¹⁸

Then, by way of Barbados and Bermuda, the *William & Ralph* arrived in Carolina on or just before 19 April 1672.¹¹⁹ Aboard were the two high-born Americans *and* the first bushel of rice (for seed)—the fated crop of the pre-cotton slave economy in Carolina that ensnared Indians and Africans alike.¹²⁰

‘So just and Honest’ in ‘Carolina’

As did Americans generally, Honest and Just left their trace on Locke’s life and work. Their presence can be felt in Draft B of 1671 through all four editions of the *Essay* published during his lifetime, down to the last in 1700. They may also stalk the pages of a propaganda discourse which, *now*, we might more confidently

¹¹⁸ CSP, *Domestic Series, Charles II, 1671–72*, vol. 12, p. 163.

¹¹⁹ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 372 n., 390 n., 476 n.

¹²⁰ On rice, see Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 377 n., 389 n. Also, A. S. Salley, *Introduction of Rice Culture into South Carolina* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1919).

attribute to Locke.¹²¹ The discourse in question is ‘Carolina’ in the atlas of *America*.

America was published in ‘this Year 1671’ by John Ogilby.¹²² On the title page, Ogilby presented himself as ‘His Majesty’s *Cosmographer, Geographick Printer*, and the Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland’. Following *Africa* (1670), *America* was the second in a series of atlases that Ogilby intended to comprise *A Geographic Description of the Whole World*.¹²³ It was ‘the best of his foreign atlases’.¹²⁴ Ogilby drew liberally from another ‘description of America’ published in 1671 by Arnoldus Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: Of Beschryving van America en ’t Zuid-land* [*The New and Unknown World: or Description of America and the Southland*]. Indeed, he drew so liberally that,

¹²¹ ‘No part of it appears to be by Locke’, claimed de Beer, *Correspondence*, #254 n. A century earlier, Justin Windsor claimed that Locke ‘does not seem to have done anything to produce such a description’, in *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1887), vol. 5, p. 338. In ‘Naming North Carolina’, Cumming suggested, to the contrary, that Locke wrote the ‘propaganda chapter’ because of the glowing account of the *Fundamental Constitutions*. However, he gave no reasons nor cited any texts beyond Colleton’s letter; and he seemed to have in mind the final section as opposed to the discourse as a whole. Cf. Cummings and Vorse, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 17. In *Malaria and Colonization* (124 n.59), Childs also thought Locke the author of the discourse, without providing evidence. He also went on to suggest that Locke may have authored or edited the chapter on Carolina in Richard Blome, *Description of the Island of Jamaica; With the other Isles and Territories in America, to which the English are Related* (1672)—which seems most unlikely, since all the distinctively Lockian features (especially about Americans, philosophy of language, and the *Fundamental Constitutions*) are eliminated.

¹²² Some issues of *America* have a title page with the date of publication as 1670. However, this is either an error or an intentional back-dating. Those issues are identical to the ones with a 1671 date and include within them references to ‘this Year 1671’, in the discourses on Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina itself (185, 197, 211). ‘The 1670 title-page was more than likely printed and added to later copies’, argues Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland: A Bibliography* (Baltimore: The John Work Garrett Library, 1949), 69.

¹²³ According to the ‘writ of assistance’ Ogilby received from the Crown, as reported in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, vol. 11, 1671, p. 447.

¹²⁴ Katherine S. van Erde, *John Ogilby and the Taste of his Times* (Folkestone, Kent, England: Dawson & Sons, 1976), 107.

later, Joseph Sabin would deem the English atlas ‘an impudent plagiarism’ of Montanus, a charge routinely repeated in commentaries and library catalogues.¹²⁵ The general frame of the work and the introductory discussion of ancient writers were, to be sure, most faithful translations from the Dutch. However, even when Ogilby followed Montanus most closely as the atlas unfolded—for example, in the discourses of lands explored or conquered by the Spanish—he often made minor changes, rearranged the presentation, or provided a pro-English version of the narration (as in the case of Florida). He also added new material about the established English colonies in New England, Virginia, and the West Indies (especially Barbados). He selectively identified or failed to hide at least some of his sources.¹²⁶ Then, too, there were *entirely new* discourses on overlooked lands—like Norumbegua in the north—and on new colonies—like Carolina in the south. Nothing comparable in Montanus, the discourse on ‘Carolina’ was unique to Ogilby’s description of the world.

From whatever fitfully identified sources, Ogilby composed (most of) the new discourses on English colonies or places in the New World. Most were written in a clear, plain, and direct manner. They dealt, most often, with discovery narratives, geographic locations, natural boundaries, contested place names, flora and fauna. In them were also unflattering and scandalizing portraits of native peoples. The Mohawks, for example, were ‘a cruel bloody People’; and ‘the Religion in *Florida*’ was ‘abominable, wicked,

¹²⁵ Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present* (New York: J. Sabin’s Son, 1880), v. 12, p. 305.

¹²⁶ In the discourse on Virginia, for example, Ogilby replicated (without acknowledgement) John Smith’s relation of being saved by Pocahontas from the wrath of Powhatan and Opechancanough. Compare Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia* (1624), 46–9. In the discourse on Barbados (377–81), Ogilby concluded by ‘inserting *verbatim*’ a letter from Colonel Robert Rich correcting the description of the island found in Peter Heylin, *Chorography and History of the Whole World* (1666, 3rd edition)—a description ‘in it self very false [and] also much of dishonour to the English nation’ (378).

and cruel'.¹²⁷ Ogilby was not a great stylist, nor was he philosophically inclined. His earlier poetry and translations of works of antiquity were mocked by Dryden and Pope. Later still, Hume contrasted Ogilby's 'pond' to Milton's 'ocean' in matters of 'genius and elegance', so as to prove that there was indeed a genuine 'standard of taste', despite an 'absurd or ridiculous' reader or two who thought all matters of taste were subjective and equal.¹²⁸

The discourse '*Norumbegua*' (contemporary Maine, thereabouts) is a good indicator, I believe, of Ogilby's taste, style, and judgement about what was relevant to convey in a discourse on an overlooked part of the New World. Relying upon Heylin, Buno, and unnamed 'others', Ogilby began by observing that '*Norumbegua*, lying between *Nova Scotia* Northward, and *New England* Southward, is so utterly not taken notice of by many as a distinct Province, that it might seem to be swallow'd up and lost in the two Countreys between which it lies'. Its name may be a derivation from *Norwegia*, a colony out of *Norway*, 'if the Etymologie be not a little too much forc'd' or 'a better be found out'. *Norumbegua*'s towns and cities were 'not certainly known' and its rivers were not navigable very far into the interior due to the 'great Cataracts and Falls of Water'. The 'Air is not bad' and the soil might prove fruitful, at least in those plots 'not either overgrown with Woods or craggy with Hills and mountainous Rocks'. The coasts were shallow, making sailing

¹²⁷ Ogilby, *America*, 150, 221.

¹²⁸ 'Whoever would assert an equality of genius and elegance between Ogilby and Milton, or Bunyan and Addison, would be thought to defend no less an extravagance, than if he had maintained a mole-hill to be as high as Teneriffe or a pond as extensive as the ocean. Though there may be found persons, who give the preference to the former authors; no one pays attention to such a taste; and we pronounce without scruple the sentiment of these pretended critics to be absurd and ridiculous. The principle of the natural equality of tastes is then totally forgot, and while we admit it on some occasions, where the objects seem near an equality, it appears an extravagant paradox, or rather a palpable absurdity, where objects so disproportioned are compared together'. David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary*, eds. Thomas Hill Green and Thomas Hodge Grose (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1889), vol. 1, p. 269.

‘somewhat dangerous’.¹²⁹ English settlers would not rush to pack their bags for the New World upon reading this discourse, but that was not Ogilby’s design.

The discourse on ‘Carolina’, by contrast, was far more alluring, expansive, and philosophically attuned to resident Americans. It cited *no* sources, but read as if inordinately well informed. This raises questions of authorship, as no other discourse does in *America*. It has long been known that Ogilby made a direct appeal to Sir Peter Colleton for information about a map of Carolina. Colleton, in turn, requested help from Locke. However, the assistance Colleton sought from Locke went beyond a map. He wanted a propaganda discourse or description to draw settlers without divulging that it came from the Lords Proprietors whose considerable interests were at stake. This was neither the first nor the last time that Colleton (or Ashley), on behalf of the Lords Proprietors, encouraged promotional descriptions.¹³⁰ Colleton conveyed his request ‘to my Honoured friend Mr. John Lock’ in a noteworthy letter.

Mr. Ogilby who is printing a relation of the West Indias hath been often with mee to gett a map of Carolina wherefore I humbly desire you to gett of my lord [Ashley] those mapps of Cape feare and Albemarle that hee hath and I will draw them into one with that of port Royall and waite upon my lord for the nomination of the rivers etc; and if you would doe us the favour to draw a discourse to bee Added to this map in the nature of a description such as might invite people without seeming to come from us it would very much conduce to our speedy settlement and bee a very great obligation to

¹²⁹ Ogilby, *America*, 138–9.

¹³⁰ Colleton seems to have been behind the earlier discourse (presumably) by Robert Horne, *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina. On the Coasts of Florida ... Together with a most accurate Map of the whole Province* (London: Printed for Robert Horne, 1666). Locke may have had access to this earlier bit of propaganda which also emphasized, among other things, land on good terms and liberty of conscience. Later promotions included *An Account of the Province of Carolina, in America* (London, 1682) by Samuel Wilson (who replaced Locke as Secretary to the Lords Proprietors) and R. F., *The Present State of Carolina with Advice for Settlers* (London, 1682).

Your most faithful friend and servant.¹³¹

Locke proved eager to oblige. Indeed, he went beyond Colleton's call to get from Lord Ashley a pair of maps and place names of Ashley's design. Locke himself, as discussed above, drew up the map and added his own nominations, some drawn from Lederer (like Tottopotoma) and others honouring Lords Proprietors (like Ashley River and Cape Carteret).¹³² Given this burst of zeal, it seems *most unlikely* that Locke would not have complied with the rest of Colleton's request, namely, the unambiguous solicitation to 'draw a discourse ... in the nature of a description' to encourage settlers to flock to Carolina, without their knowing who was behind the encouraging propaganda.

Locke, furthermore, sketched out what appears to be a very general outline of the discourse on 'Carolina' in Ogilby's *America*. The outline appears at the end of a fascinating memorandum that Locke committed to the two inside pages of Colleton's letter under the misleading endorsement, 'Writers of Carolina'. It was misleading because the memorandum contained much more than the dozen or so writers (including Acosta, Martyr, and Walter Raleigh) he did in fact list. English travellers and discoverers were noted, as was the expulsion of the French from Canada in 1611. Locke made note of sources that 'prove or allow the English right from 25 deg: N. L. to ye Northward of Newfoundland'. The English, that is,

¹³¹ De Beer, *Correspondence*, #254; and (rather differently) in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 264–5. The letter was undated (save for 'Thursday'). Cheves dated it (with a '?') as 1671, which de Beer repeated, though he added that it 'could be a year earlier'. The letter of 31 May 1670 from Rich to Ogilby printed in *America* (see note above) suggests that Ogilby's solicitations for information began and were yielding results a year earlier.

¹³² See Cummings and de Vorsey, *Southeast in Early Maps*, plate 35 and pp. 17–8 and 159–60. Many of the place names on Locke's map ended up on the so-called First Lords Proprietors' map engraved by John Moxon (late 1672?) that Ogilby had added to some copies of *America*. Locke may well have suggested some of the additional names associated with the Lords Proprietors on this later map, like Cooper River, Berkeley County, Colleton River, Porte Carteret, and Clarendon County. Also on this map appears 'Locke Iland'.

rightfully claimed all land from northernmost Newfoundland to the southern tip of Florida. And he listed, as he had on his map, the coastal place names between ‘Albemarle from 35½ to 36½’ through Cape Feare to Port Royal, including ‘Colleton Craven north side of port Royal’. The cartographic, proprietary, and nationalistic features of the memorandum are not to be missed. Then, at the end, Locke offered the following list which has all the appearance of an outline.

Situation Discovery Soyle & shore Subterranea Fossilia Aire & Temperature
Water Rivers Lakes Fish Plants & Fruits Insects Birds Beasts Inhabitants
number Bodys Abilitys of mind Temper and inclinations Morality and
customs Religion Economy.¹³³

While the discourse on ‘Carolina’ in *America* mentioned neither fossils nor insects—and concluded with some extra enticing information about life under the nascent colonial government—it covered the above items in some depth, especially the ‘Inhabitants’.

Colleton’s letter (with Locke’s memorandum in its interior pages) is the only known external evidence that ties Locke to the discourse on ‘Carolina’. The internal evidence, however, strongly points towards Locke’s authorship, at least in great measure. Who else but Locke, in this precise context, could produce—quickly and well—a discourse with such peculiar style, philosophical gravity, detail about Americans, and special pleading for the wisdom of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*? Who else was at the intersection of so much information—all those relations and discoveries—as to write authoritatively on all aspects of Carolina?¹³⁴ The author—to glance quickly over the discourse as a

¹³³ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 266.

¹³⁴ The information contained in the discourse on Carolina—about plants, animals, crops, Indian customs, and the early settlement at Charles-Towne—most closely resembled the materials Locke had available to him in the relations by Hilton, Sandford, Mathews, Carteret, and ‘An Old Letter’. See Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 165–8, 169–71, and 307–9. The philosophical preoccupations in the discourse—especially concerning language—are nowhere to be found in this information, however.

whole—was most certainly an informed propagandist who spun alluring images of the natural bounty, native peoples, and colonial government of Carolina. He was a philosopher who gravitated to problems of language and whose anthropological orientation was informed by the conversations, names, and ‘right Reason’ of Carolina peoples. His sarcastic jabs and digs were reserved for European philosophers hung up on scholastic disputes over terms, as they were in Draft B and the *Essay*. He was a political theorist concerned with the rights, interests, and happiness of the people under comparative forms of government—not to mention ‘Contract’ and ‘the Rules of Law’. He was also a political theorist with an economist’s orientation to ‘Commodities fit to send abroad and furnish foreign Markets’ and to fair contractual relations with Indians over ‘waste Land’.¹³⁵ He was as ready with abundant facts about Indian life, English settlers, and Lords Proprietors as a colonial secretary might be.

When looking more closely at ‘Carolina’, Locke as author looms still larger. The final section that identifies by name the Lords Proprietors and lists some of the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* appears to be very much his workmanship, given Colleton’s solicitation of a text to ‘invite people without seeming to come from us’. That section most clearly sends up as ‘so promising in its very Infancy’ the new colony at ‘*Charles-Town, or Ashley-River*’. It ends on a theme running throughout, namely, that the new colonial government is ‘design’d for the good and welfare of the People’ and is in itself ‘the best and fairest Frame, for the well-being of those who shall live under it’. It discharges its propaganda directly if not crassly, promising to prospective colonists ‘Health, Plenty and Riches at a cheap Rate’. But it also does so under the veil of a political theory that values the rule of law—though not ‘the Charges and vexation of long Suits, to the enriching of Men

¹³⁵ Ogilby, *America*, 210. Compare *Two Treatises of Government* (II. 36) where ‘waste Land’ is alleged to be found in ‘vacant places of America’ but not said to be subject to commercial transactions with Americans there.

cunning in Words’—and promotes a normative ‘Form of Government, wherein it is made every Man’s Interest to preserve the Rights of his Neighbor with his own’. The final section also contains a most knowledgeable crib of the particular constitutional provisions relating to the ‘the Model and Form of Government in the Province of *Carolina*’. These are attributed to Locke’s master, ‘My Lord *Ashley*’ who ‘hath a Soul large enough to wish well to Mankind’. After laying them out, the section concludes on a theme known to have been crucial to Locke during the writing and amending of the *Fundamental Constitutions* in 1669 and 1670, not to mention in earlier and later briefs for toleration, namely, ‘*Liberty of Conscience* ... in the greatest latitude’.¹³⁶ However great the latitude, there were limits (as there were in Locke’s toleration tracts). ‘Atheists, or Men of no Religion’ need not apply, nor (‘on the other hand’) should those bent on imposing ‘Ceremonies and Circumstances of Religion’, associated with ‘a *Pope*’. (Any such popish imposition ‘keeps Men from sedate and temperate Enquiries after Truth [and] eats out the great Cement of human Conversation, *Charity*’).¹³⁷ While Catholics are not positively prohibited from Carolina, the slur at the pope (and papal ‘*Infallibility*’) conveys the Protestant and colonizing appeal of the liberty of conscience.

The final section is not alone (even if it is the most blatant) in propagandizing Carolina—and reading like Locke’s doing. Carolina ‘promises all that the Heart of Man can wish’. It ‘wants nothing but Inhabitants’; and the native denizens already there promise new colonists ‘all manner of friendly Offices’. Nature provides almost everything the Indians need, without agricultural effort, ‘excepting

¹³⁶ In particular, compare the passage with the earlier ‘Essay on Toleration’ (1667) (in Goldie (ed.), *Political Writings*) on papists, ceremonies, factions, and enquiries after the truth.

¹³⁷ Ogilby, *America*, 211, 212. Compare the articles on religion and liberty of conscience in the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, in which Locke had a say, including one aimed at slaves and slave owners as prefaced by the claim that ‘charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men’. Goldie (ed.), *Political Essays*, 179.

a little *Maiz*'. Nature also promises the colonists some valuable commodities 'exceeding any in *Europe*'. 'One of most note and use' is a shrub whose leaves could be brewed into '*Casini*', a health-preserving 'Drink' whose 'taste, colour, and effects' were akin to '*East-India TEE*'.¹³⁸ For the colonists, keen on planting and trading, 'there is nothing which they have put into the Earth that ... hath failed to prosper'. A trio of cultured products stands out, when knowing what Locke had been encouraged to push.

[T]he Trials that they have already made of the Soil and its fitness for such Plantations, assure you, that besides Silk, enough to store *Europe*, and a great many other considerable Commodities, they shall have as great plenty of Good Wine and Oyl, as any part of the World.

The author does not leave it at that. He underscores the natural production of 'Grapes (of which the *English* who are there Planted have made very good Wine)', in contrast to the Indians. And the 'Mulberry-trees' on which silk worms feasted 'grow to an incredible bigness' and are 'the common growth of the Woods'.¹³⁹ Ashley and the other Lords Proprietors had been promoting sericulture, arboriculture, and viticulture from the beginning of the Carolina project, at one point allowing custom-free export of silk, wine and oil.¹⁴⁰ Locke would continue to investigate the culture of these products throughout the 1670s, including his 'agriculture espionage' of France. This long-standing interest came to account in Locke's

¹³⁸ 'Samples of *Casini*' were requested in 'Captain Halsted's Instructions', as signed by Locke for the Lords Proprietors in May 1671. See Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 319. Used in Indian rituals, this tea-like beverage of 'admirable and incomparable Vertues' was noted in Thomas Ashe, *Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of that Country* (London, 1682). John Pechey—a medical friend of Robert Boyle's and perhaps known to Locke—penned *Some observations made upon the herb cassiny imported from Carolina: shewing its admirable virtues in curing the small pox* (London, c1683). Also known as yaupon, cassina is a caffeine-producing holly shrub.

¹³⁹ Ogilby, *America*, 205, 206, 207, 208.

¹⁴⁰ Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 41, 321, 377, 445.

‘Observations on Wine, Olives, Fruit and Silk’ (1680) and *Observations upon the Growth and Culture of Vines and Olives: The Production of Silk and the Preservation of Fruits*, dedicated to Ashley in 1679 but published only much later. ‘The “Observations” should thus be read,’ David Armitage argues, ‘as a sketch for a practical economic future for Carolina in the business of Mediterranean import-substitution growing fruit and producing wine, silk, and olive oil’.¹⁴¹ In this light, the discourse on ‘Carolina’ looks like an attempt at self-fulfilling prophecy.

Consider, finally, the Americans themselves. Along with the rosy picture of the infant colony in the final section, they offer the strongest corroboration of Locke’s authorship. The observations on their language, morality, and customs resonate with those in Draft B (as preserved in the *Essay*) or other works. Given the discourse’s promotional intent, the Americans come across favourably for anxious settlers. But they also come across accurately enough, according to Locke’s colonial memoranda (excepting the understandably unmentioned Westo). They are portrayed in sync with their environment, living off nature’s bounty. Their virtues, language, and customs fit their natural condition, faring not poorly in comparison to Europeans, especially scholastic philosophers. Indeed:

Such is the Honesty of Men, whose Principles not being corrupted with Learning and Distinction, are contented to follow the Dictates of right Reason, which Nature has sufficiently taught all Men for the well ordering of their Actions, and enjoyment and preservation of humane Society, who do not give themselves up to be amus’d and deceiv’d by insignificant Terms, and minding what is just and right, seek not Evasions in the Niceties and Fallacies of Words.

¹⁴¹ Armitage, ‘John Locke, Carolina’, 611. Also, Tim Unwin, ‘Locke’s Interest in Wine’, *The Locke Newsletter*, 29 (1998), 119–51; and ‘The Viticultural Geography of France in the Seventeenth Century according to John Locke’, *Annales de Géographie* (2000), 395–414.

Their natural and righteous principles include being ‘faithful to their Promises, fair and candid in their Dealings’. ‘In their conversation’, moreover, ‘they are courteous and Civill’.

If Men are to be esteem’d for Valor, Honesty, Friendship, Humanity and good Nature, though Strangers to the ceremonious Troubles we are accustom’d to, the Natives of *Carolina* will as little, or perhaps less, deserve the Name of *Miserable*, or *Salvage*, as those that give it them.¹⁴²

Would-be settlers should have no worries upon account of the Americans.

The figures of Honest and Just—those princely Americans with whom Locke spoke about names, number, and morality—seem present on the page when ‘Carolina’ turns from the climate to the native inhabitants.

To this happy Climate the native Inhabitants are very well suited, a strong, lusty, and well shap’d People, who to their well knit and active Bodies, want not stout and vigorous Minds; they are a People of a good Understanding, well Humor’d, and generally so just and Honest, that they may seem to have no notice of, as their Language hath no word for, Dishonesty and Cheating; and the worst Name they have for ill Men is, that they are not good.¹⁴³

The distinctively Lockian fixation on language—how it is that words enable and constrain the moral navigation of the world—is here, when referring to Carolina natives who are ‘so just and Honest’. As a matter of fact—and to prove the pro-English sentiments of the Americans—the discourse alludes to Indians ‘of their own accords venturing themselves aboard our Ships, have gone voluntarily with our Men to *Virginia* and *Barbados*’. More pointedly:

¹⁴² Ogilby, *America*, 208, 209, 211.

¹⁴³ Ogilby, *America*, 208.

some of their King's Relation had been at *Barbados*, and had seen and admir'd the Temper, Fashions, and Strength of the *English* there, and had been very civilly Treated in that Island, they were so well satisfi'd with them, that at the coming of the *English* to Settle there, the several little Kingdoms strove with all the Arts and Arguments they could use, each of them to draw the *English* to Plant in their Dominions.¹⁴⁴

Honest and Just were not the only sea-faring Indians to sail to Barbados, as we have seen. But they were the only 'King's Relation' who were 'civilly Treated' once there, as Locke knew and recorded it. How apt, then, was it for them to appear in a propaganda tract for the new colony. What a glory is Carolina! 'Just and Honest' Americans, undeserving the name 'savage', in peaceful coexistence with English colonists, helping to create a new order in a New World.

These phrases and passages in the discourse on 'Carolina', I submit, sound like Locke, report facts that we know he knew as colonial secretary, and exhibit an anthropological fascination with language and custom characteristic of his philosophy in 1671 and after. In 'Carolina', we discover 'Women not ill Dress'd in Garments of Moss', knowing that Locke made note of this rare Carolina fashion in the *Two Treatises* (II. 42). Its presentation of 'little Governments' of Indians in constant war—as well as 'several little Kingdoms' competing to allure English settlers—resemble phrases also found in the *Two Treatises* (I. 147, 153). References therein to 'Contract', 'Dictates of Right Reason', and 'the Liberty of Conscience'—and many more—provide additional clues that Locke was the (principal) author of the discourse in Ogilby's *America*.¹⁴⁵ This does not disallow that Ogilby added bits here and there. The first sentence situating Carolina reads like the boiler plate opening of most other discourses in *America*. The reference to '*Port Rasal*' is either Ogilby's or a printer's transcription error since

¹⁴⁴ Ogilby, *America*, 209, 210.

¹⁴⁵ Ogilby, *America*, 205, 209, 210, 211, 212.

Locke knew it to be *Port Royal*. Locke knew well that some Americans ‘Dance whole Nights together’, as did the Cofitachequi and Kiawah when the Emperor visited the Cassique and the English around the time Honest and Just left for Barbados. However, the description of the singing as ‘something like the Tunes of the *Irish*’ sounds less like Locke than it does Ogilby, ‘Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland’.¹⁴⁶ Still, should these and a few other minor details and sentences be removed from ‘Carolina’, the colonial discourse and propaganda tract would, I believe, be Locke’s work.¹⁴⁷

Locke’s Americans

Locke, clearly, put some Americans to many uses. They served his propagandizing for Carolina, when he needed them *not* to be savages. As ‘ancient savage *Americans*’, in the different setting of the *Essay*, they helped him philosophize against innatism, scholasticism, and mere-verbal disputation. They were crucial for his proof that custom was a ‘greater power than Nature’, confirming his sceptical anthropology. Some were cannibals and atheists beyond the pale of all known morality, challenging the simple universalism of orthodox divines. Others were Honest and Just, virtuous in their plain-dealing with colonists. Perhaps Locke put Americans to *too many* uses, if what one wants is *the* Lockian view of the New World or *the* Locke who was a consistent philosopher,

¹⁴⁶ Ogilby, *America*, 205, 206, 207, 209, 219. Compare correct spelling of the ‘Port Royal’ in Jamaica (342).

¹⁴⁷ Locke’s later role in proposing a propaganda discourse on Virginia—‘to encourage people to Transport themselves thither’—is additionally suggestive. As lead Commissioner on the Board of Trade in late 1697, Locke composed *Some of the Chief Greivances of the present constitution of Virginia, with an Essay towards the Remedies thereof*. One remedy read: ‘Let a little Book be written giving a good description and large Mapp of Virginia; wherein with a great deal of truth it may be preferred for all the naturall Advantages of a Country to the best Proprietorship of ‘em all. And if the Government will supply what it wants of improved advantages, it may then truly be represented as one of the best Countrys in the world’. See Michael G. Kammen, ‘Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 74 (1966), 141–69, at 158.

political theorist, ethnographer, colonial administrator, and propagandist. Some students of Locke want a consistent portrait of a liberal champion of toleration and natural rights. Others want a consistent portrait of a colonial racist bent on dominating and enslaving non-Europeans. But neither will do. Nor is any consistent portrait to be had in this business, much less in the matter of slavery in America, whether Indian or African.¹⁴⁸ Locke had different purposes in different texts—Draft A, the *Essay*, the *Two Treatises*, the *Fundamental Constitutions*, the discourse on ‘Carolina’ in *America*, the correspondence and colonial memoranda. He was genre-driven and problem-oriented; he was not creating a system of thought, nor (evidently) did he feel the need for consistency across texts, actions, and policies. Indians figured differently in different texts, serving Locke’s varied and sometimes cross purposes.

But it can fairly be said that Locke remained fascinated with Americans, as his lifelong reading and later colonial service suggests. Of the Five Nations of the great Iroquois Confederacy, he took special note of the Huron (about whom he had nothing to say in 1671 when his attention was on the Indians of Carolina). By 1679, however, he was reading of them in Gabriel Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (1636) and *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons* (1632).¹⁴⁹ As manuscripts and *Two Treatises* make clear, the Huron informed his views of piety, elective monarchy, and the parental duty of education. Even Locke’s utopian speculations on ‘Atlantis’ insinuated Huron child-rearing practices.¹⁵⁰ For introducing ‘the Cheriquanas’ in the *Two Treatises* (II. 102), a later scold tried to embarrass Locke (‘a polite philosopher, in these enlightened days’)

¹⁴⁸ As argued in Farr, ‘Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery’.

¹⁴⁹ Both were published in Paris. Locke owned them, though it is unclear when they were purchased. See Harrison and Laslett, *Library*, ##2526, 2527. He also recommended Sagard in *Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman* (1703). There is a contemporary edition of *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, eds. Real Oullet and Jack Warwick (Quebec: Bibliothèque Québécoise, 2007).

¹⁵⁰ *Two Treatises* (II. 59 n., II. 106 n.). Goldie (ed.), *Political Essays*, 259, 271–4.

for sending us ‘to study politics under Cherokee tutors’.¹⁵¹ For all its snideness, there was some truth that Locke did think there were things to learn from Americans.¹⁵² He also continued to think that they could learn from the English, as empire expanded. Perhaps his memory of Honest and Just was revived at just those moments he thought this way. The value of their 1671 visit may well have been on his mind when, as Commissioner on the Board of Trade in 1696, he was joined by four other commissioners in encouraging that

some of the bravest or most credited of our Indians ... be brought to England to see the strength of the King’s forces by sea and land, and the populousness of his dominion, especially the great city of London, the certain knowledge whereof would be of great force to confirm them in their union with us.¹⁵³

Two Americans with whom he spoke a quarter century earlier had experienced this very spectacle. As so many others of the great continent of America, they were, in turn, the objects of colonial inquiry, philosophical fascination, and political administration of a sort that we can no longer fail to associate with Locke.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ George Horne, *Considerations on Mr. Locke’s Scheme of Deriving Government from an Original Compact* (c. 1792) in *The Scholar Armed against the Errors of the Time* (London, 1800), 294. Also see Horne’s *Considerations* in Mark Goldie (ed.) *The Reception of Locke’s Politics: From the 1690s to the 1830s* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999), vol. 4.

¹⁵² In a 1697 letter to Molyneux about ‘the true art of physick’, Locke claimed that ‘in curing diseases, the poor Americans ... clearly out-went’ ‘the learned physicians ... much admir’d in the schools’. De Beer, *Correspondence*, #2277.

¹⁵³ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and West Indies*, v. 15, 1696–97, #286. At about this time, three Mohawks were in London, having been captured from French forces on Hudson’s Bay and carried to Plymouth, England. Two were shown ‘the most remarkable sights of the city’ of London by agents of New York Colony. Shortly thereafter, they returned to America, with gifts. See Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 110.

¹⁵⁴ I wish to thank several scholars who gave freely of their time and knowledge to assist or encourage my explorations and speculations: David Armitage, Mary Bellhouse, Robert Bernasconi, Henry Blanco, Hugh Buchanan, Sean Busick, Thomas Clayton, Mary

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APPENDICES

Norumbegua ¹⁵⁵

Norumbegua, lying between *Nova Scotia* Northward, and *New England* Southward, is so utterly not taken notice of by many as a distinct Province, that it might seem to be swallow'd up and lost in the two Countreys between which it lies, or at least to be thought a part of *Virginia* or *New England* (for *Virginia* largely taken is said to contain *New England*, *Novum Belgium*, and *Virginia*, especially so call'd) and that so much the rather, because the *Bessabees*, accounted by *Sanson d'Abbeville* an ancient People of *New England*, are written to have liv'd near the River *Penobscot*, which is reckon'd to be the same with *Pemtegovet*, or (as some will have it) *Norumbegua*, from which, or from a certain great City of that Name, the Country for fancy's sake must needs be denominated; but since most commonly we find it nam'd and treated of apart, it will not be improper to follow that method, carrying the Bounds of *New England* no farther Northward than the River *Quinnebequi* or *Sagadahoc*, and so determining the main part of this Countrey so that space between the aforesaid River and *Pemtegovet*, excepting a small Southerly portion upon the Banks of the River *Chovacovet*; so that it appears chiefly situate under the forty third Degree of Northern Latitude.

As for the Towns or Cities of this Province, there is but a very uncertain account to be given, forasmuch as the pretended great City *Norumbegua*, from when the Province should take its Appellation, is not acknowledg'd by any of the most authentick modern Writers, nor in any late Voyage or Discovery any mention made either of that or any other considerable Town or City. Dr. *Heylin* supposeth it to be no other than *Agguncia*, a poor little Village, that seems compos'd of a company of Hutts or Sheaves, cover'd with the Skins of Beasts, or the Barks of Trees. But the most favourable conjecture

¹⁵⁵ In Ogilby, *America*, 138–9. Page numbers from *America* are inserted where a new page begins.

is, that it might haply be the Ruines of an ancient Town, which the Natives call'd *Arambeck*, and had probably deserted it long before the arrival of the Europeans in those parts; however, it is not very probably that the Name of the Countrey should be deriv'd from this City, if ever there were any such, or from the River, which appears to have been term'd *Norumbegua* on purpose to make way for this derivation, whereas *Pomtegovet* is the ancient Appellation that properly belongs to it; nor hath any modern one been apply'd to it but that of *Rio Grande*, by *Buno* in his *Comment* upon *Philip Cluverius*, upon what ground is hard to tell, since it is observ'd by *Heylin* and others, to be neither large, nor otherwise much to be commended, being Navigable not above twenty or thirty Miles, in respect of its many great Cataracts and Falls of Water, an Inconvenience with which many other Rivers of *America* are prejudic'd, and rendred impassable.

Before and about the Mouth of this River, which is judg'd to be about eight or nine Miles broad, lie many small Islands, or rather Hills, inviron'd with Water, the chiefest of which is by the *French* call'd *La Haute Isle*, from the high and Mountainous appearance of it to those that see it from afar off at Sea.

The aforementioned *Buno*, though he names, as belonging to *Norumbega*, these several places, viz. *Porto del Refugio*, *Porto Reale*, *Paradiso*, *Flora*, and *Angolema*, from some obscure *French* testimonies, without particularizing any Author, yet he afterwards confesses, that the Names given by the *French*, and those apply'd by the *Spaniards*, are so various and disagreeing, and breed such a confusion, that no Charts or Descriptions had concluded upon either.

[P. 139] As for those who will have *Norumbega* deriv'd from *Norwegia*, in respect of a Colony brought thither from *Norway*, if the Etymologie be not a little too much forc'd, the Invention may pass well enough till a better be found out.

In this Countrey the temperature of the Air is not bad, nor the Soil unfruitful, if it were well cultivated, chiefly towards the Rivers, and where it is not either overgrown with Woods, or craggy with Hills and mountainous Rocks: neither are the Woods unprofitable,

for they afford good Timber and all kind of necessary and useful Wood, especially Beeches, Fir-trees, Wallnut-trees, and other Nuts: The Plains are very pleasant, and yield good Pasturage, onely the Maritime Coasts are so shallow and full of Sands, that the Sailing near them is accounted somewhat dangerous; and this may be imagin'd to be the reason that no Authors have yet met with any Ports or Havens belonging to this Countrey, which they have thought worthy their notice.

Carolina¹⁵⁶

Carolina is that part of *Florida* which lies between twenty nine and thirty six Degrees and thirty Minutes of Northern Latitude: It is wash'd on the East and South, with the *Atlantick* Ocean; on the West with *Mare Pacificum*, or the South Sea; and on the North, bounds on *Virginia*. A Countrey wherein Nature shews how bountiful she can be without the assistance of Art, the Inhabitants (excepting a little *Maiz* which their old Men and Women Plant) depending meerly on the natural and spontaneous Growth of the Soil for their Provisions, the Woods furnishing them with store of Fruit and Venison, and the Rivers with plenty of several sorts of wholsom and savory Fish.

This Maintenance, which without forecast or toil they receive from the natural fruitfulness of the Countrey, will, if we consider either the largeness of their Growth, or the duration of their Lives, be thought neither scanty nor unhealthy, their Stature being of a larger size than that of *English*-men, their Make strong and well proportion'd, a crooked or mis-shapen Person being not to be found in the whole Countrey ; and (where the chance of War, which they are almost continually engag'd in one against another in their little Governments, spares any of them) they live to an incredible old age; so that when the *English* came there, they found some of their Kings, who saw descend from them the sixth Generation.

The Soil is very rich and fertile, producing naturally Walnuts, Grapes (of which the *English* who are there Planted have made very good Wine) Apricocks, Bullys, with a multitude of others; besides the Woods also are full of very good Peaches, and all the Season of the Year strew'd all over with Strawberries. Mulberry-Trees are the common growth of the Woods; and to assure you they are the natural Offspring of the Place, and grow to an incredible bigness,

¹⁵⁶ In Ogilby, *America*, 205–12. Page numbers from *America* are inserted where a new page begins. On the last page of 'Carolina' (212) the typeset is quite drastically reduced in size. This is the only place in *America* where this happens, though there are subtler changes of type at other places in the atlas. This might suggest a last-minute insertion, but other hypotheses are possible.

one whereof the [P. 206] *English* (who are new Planted at *Albemarle Point* on *Ashley River*) made use to fasten the Gate of their Pallisado to, was so large, that all who came from thence say, they never saw any Oak in *England* bigger, which is but the ordinary size of the Mulberry-Trees of this Countrey, which is so sure an Argument of the richness of the Soil, that the Inhabitants of *Virginia* enquiring of the Seamen who came from thence, concerning the Quality and Product of the Countrey, when they were inform'd of the large Mulberry-Trees it produc'd, were so well satisfi'd with it, that they made no farther Enquiry. There are also other Trees, as Ash, Poplar, and Bay, with several sorts unknown to us of *Europe*; but those which make it almost all one general Forrest of large Timber-Trees, are Oak, both red and white, and Cedar. There are also here and there large Groves of Pine-Trees, some a hundred Foot high, which afford a better sort of Mast than are to be had either in *Mary-Land* or *Norway*. These larger Trees weaving their luxuriant Branches into a close Shade, suffer no Under-wood to grow between them, either by their Droppings, or else the Heads of Deer which loosening all the tender Shoots, quite destroy it; so that a great part of the Countrey is as it were a vast Forrest of fine Walks, free from the heat of the Sun, or the incumbrance of Shrubs and Bushes, and so clear and open that a Man may easily ride a Hunting amongst the Trees, yielding a Prospect very pleasant and surpassing. On the Skirts of these Woods grow lesser Trees and Shrubs of several sorts; amongst them are sundry Dying Materials, which how well the Inhabitants know how to make use of, appears in the Deer-Skins that the chief of them wear, which are Painted, or rather Dy'd, with several lively Colours. But amongst their Shrubs, one of most note and use is what whole Leaves make their *Casini*, a Drink they frequently use, and affirm to be very advantageous for the preservation of Health; which, by the description our *English* give of the size, colour, and shape of the Leaf, the sort of Tree it grows on, and the taste, colour, and effects of the Drink, which is nothing but the Decoction of the Leaf, seems to be the very same with the *East-India TEE*, and by those who have seen and tasted both,

affirm'd to be no other, and may very probably be a spontaneous and native Plant of this Place, since those who give us an account of it, tell us, that this so much valu'd Leaf grows most plentifully in *Nanking*, a Province of *China* under the very same Latitude, and very much agreeing in Soil and Situation with this of *Carolina*.

What herbs else the Countrey produces, the *English* Enquirers (who by minding their Plantations and Settlement there, have been taken off from such unprofitable Actions) give us but little account, onely they say, that those Plats of Ground which have been formerly clear'd off by the *Indians* for the Planting their Corn, they found thick cover'd with three-leav'd Grass and Dazies, which the fertility of the Soil thrusts forth, whenever the Natives remove their Tillage to some other place, and leave the Earth to its own production; and in other parts they found plenty of Garden Herbs growing wild. The low and Moorish Grounds are for the most part overgrown with Sedge and Reeds, and such other Trash, which usually incumbers rich and uncultivated Lands; those they call *Swamsas*, which with a little Husbandry would prove very good Meadows. There are also some large and pleasant *Savanas*, or grassy Plains.

These are a part of the Trees and Plants best known to us, that Nature of her self produces, in a Soil which contrives and nourishes any thing. The *English* who are now Planted in the most Northern parts of it, at *Albemarle*, bordering on *Virginia*, have Apples, Pears, Cherries, Apricocks, Plumbs, and Water-Melons, equaling, and if you will believe the Inhabitants, both in largeness of size and goodness of taste, exceeding any in *Europe*. And they who are Setled farther South on *Ashley* [P. 207] River, have found that the Oranges, Lemmons, Pomegranates, Limes, Pomecitrons, *etc.* which they Planted there, have thriven beyond expectation; and there is nothing which they have put into the Earth, that through any defect in the Soil, hath fail'd to prosper.

Besides those things which do serve to satisfie Hunger, or provoke it, the Land doth with great return produce Indigo, Ginger, Tobacco, Cotton, and other Commodities fit to send abroad and furnish foreign Markets; and when a little time shall have brought

those kind of Plants to maturity, and given the Inhabitants leisure to furnish themselves with Conveniences for ordering those things aright, the Trials that they have already made of the Soil and its fitness for such Plantations, assure you, that besides Silk, enough to store *Europe*, and a great many other considerable Commodities, they shall have as great plenty of Good Wine and Oyl, as any part of the World.

The Mould is generally black, mellow, and upon handling feels soft, and (to use their Expression who have been there) soapy, and is generally all over the Countrey just like the fine Mould of our well order'd Gardens. Under this black Earth, which is of a good thickness in most places that they have try'd, there lies a Bed of Marle, and in some parts Clay.

The Rivers are stor'd with plenty of excellent Fish of several sorts, which are taken with great ease in abundance, and are one great part of the Natives Provision, who are never like to want this Recruit, in a Countrey so abounding in large Rivers, there being in that one small Tract between *Port Rasal* [Royal] and *Cape Carteret*, which are not one Degree distant, five or six great Navigable Rivers, that empty themselves into the Sea. These Rivers are also cover'd with Flocks of Ducks and Mallard, whereof millions are seen together, besides Cranes, Herons, Geese, Curlews, and other Water-Fowl, who are so easie to be kill'd, that onely rising at the discharge and noise of a Gun, they instantly light again in the same place, and presently offer a fresh Mark to the Fowler. At the Mouths of the Rivers, and along the Sea-Coast, are Beds of Oysters, which are of a longer Make than those in *Europe*, but very well tasted, wherein are often found good large Pearls, which though the unskilful *Indians* by washing the Oysters do commonly discolour, and spoil their lustre, yet 'tis not to be doubted, but if rightly order'd, there will be found many of value, and the Fishing for them turn to some account.

Besides the easie Provisions which the Rivers and Sea afford, their Woods are well stock'd with Deer, Rabbets, Hares, Turtle-Doves, Phesants, Partridges, and an infinite number of Wood-

Pigeons and wild Turkeys, which are the ordinary Dishes of the *Indians*, whose House-keeping depends on their Fishing and Hunting, and who have found it no ill way of Living in so fertile a Countrey, to trust themselves without any labor or forecast, to the Supplies which are there provided to their hands, without the continual trouble of Tillage and Husbandry. Besides, these Woods are fill'd with innumerable variety of smaller Birds, as different in their Notes as Kinds.

The Temperature of this Province is agreeable to a Countrey, whose Position is on the warmer side of the temperate *Zone*, but yet the Heat is not so sultry nor offensive, as in Places under the same Latitude in the *Old World*; to which moderation of Heat, as well as the healthiness of it, the vast *Atlantick* Ocean, lying to the East and South of it, may perhaps not a little contribute, an instance whereof some think *China* to be; to which deservedly admir'd Countrey *Carolina* exactly answers in its Position and Latitude, the trending from North-East to South-West of its Coast, and the lowness of its Shore, and wants nothing but Inhabitants, to [P. 208] make it equal, if not excell, in all conveniences of Life, as it doth in richness of Soil, that flourishing Empire. The healthiness of the Air is such, that it is not onely benign and favorable to the home-bred *Indians*, and Constitutions accustom'd to it, but the *English*-men who first Planted on *Ashley* River, though for some other Conveniences they Planted on the side, or almost middle of a Morass, and were encompass'd with a salt Marsh, where the Air, pent up with Woods that surrounded them, had not that freedom it hath in open and cultivated Countreys, yet lost not in a whole years time, of a considerable number, any one Person, of any Disease to be imputed to the Countrey, those few that dy'd in that time sinking under lingring Distempers which they brought with them, and had almost worn them out before they came thither. The *Bermudians* (who being accustom'd to the pure Air of their own Island, cannot without hazard of their Lives put themselves into any other Place) assur'd of the healthiness of this Place, which is the next Land to them, and under the same Latitude, venture hither. And generally all the

English Planting in the *West-Indies*, are so taken with the Conveniences of this Countrey, which, as some of the most considerable of the *English* in those Parts say of it, promises all that the Heart of Man can wish, that they send the overplus of their People hither; to which the Inhabitants of *Barbados*, a skilful and wary sort of Planters, well knowing in all the parts of the *West-Indies*, have been found to remove the Hands they could spare. As the Summer is not intolerably nor offensively hot, so the Winter is not troublesom nor pinching, but enough to correct the Humors of Mens Bodies, the better to strengthen them, and preserve their Healths, and so far to check the growth of Plants, that by this stop they may put out more regularly, and the Corn and other Fruits the better ripen together, and be ready seasonably at the Harvest, the want whereof in some Countreys hinders the beneficial Growth of several valuable Commodities, the continual Spring all the year long making that their Crops are never ready, their Trees being laden with green and ripe Fruit at the same time, which is to be seen in the Vines growing between the *Tropicks*, where, though they bear excellent Grapes, yet they cannot make any Wine, whilst the mixture of ripe and sowre Grapes upon the same Branch, renders them unfit for the Press, which from Grapes so blended, though of a good kind, would squeeze out a very crude and useless Liquor. This also is the reason why many Parts where our Wheat will grow very well, do yet lose the benefit of it, whilst the several Ears ripening unequally, never make the Crop fit for the Sickle. But this Countrey hath Winter enough to remove that Inconvenience, and to put such a stop to the Rise of the Sap, and the Buddings of Plants, as to make the several kinds of Fruits Bud and Blossom in their distinct Seasons, and keep even pace till they are fit to be gather'd.

To this happy Climate the native Inhabitants are very well suited, a strong, lusty, and well shap'd People, who to their well knit and active Bodies, want not stout and vigorous Minds; they are a People of a good Understanding, well Humor'd, and generally so just and Honest, that they may seem to have no notice of, as their Language hath no word for, Dishonesty and Cheating; and the worst Name

they have for ill Men is, that they are not good. They are a stout and valiant People, which appears in the constant Wars they are engag'd in, not out of covetousness, and a desire of usurping others Possessions, or to enrich themselves by the Spoils of their Neighbors, but upon a pitch of Honor, and for the glory of Victory, which is their greatest joy, there being no parts of their Lives wherein they enjoy so much satisfaction, and give themselves so wholly to Jollity, as in their Triumphs after Victory. Valor therefore is the Vertue they most esteem and [P. 209] reward, and he which hath behav'd himself well in the Wars, is suffer'd to wear the Badges of Honor, and is advanc'd beyond others with some Marks of his Courage; which amongst some is blacking the Skin below his Eyes with black Lead, in fashion something of an Half-Moon; which Mark of Courage is not suffer'd to be worn by any, but those who by some brave Action, as killing the Enemy's Leader, etc. hath signaliz'd himself in their Encounters. They are faithful to their Promises, fair and candid in their Dealings, and so far from Dishonesty, that they want even the Seeds of it, *viz.* Forecast and Covetousness; and he will be very little apt to deceive you to Day, who troubles not himself much about to Morrow, and trusts for the Provisions of the Day to the Day it self; which proceeds not in them for want for Wit, but desire of Content and Quiet, or by the help of their natural Reason they enjoy that Happiness which the Philosophers could not by their Study and Reading attain to, whilst these Men cut off those Desires which Learning could never help the other to Govern, and which if once permitted to run out beyond the present, are capable of no Rest nor Bounds. In their Conversation they are courteous and civil, and in their Visits make Presents to one another; when they meet, their way of Salutation is stroaking on the Shoulders, and sucking in their Breath; and if he be a great Man whom they Salute, they stroak his Thighs too; as civil an Address, as those Patterns of good Breeding, the Hero's, us'd to their Princes, who in their greatest Courtships, we are told, embrac'd their Knees: After their Salutation they sit down; and it is usual with them to sit still almost a quarter of an hour before they speak, which

is not an effect of stupidity or sullenness, but the accustom'd Gravity of their Countrey ; for they are in their Tempers a merry, frolick, gay People, and so given to Jollity, that they will Dance whole Nights together, the Women sitting by and Singing, whilst the Men Dance to their Ayr, which though not like ours, are not harsh or unpleasing, but are something like the Tunes of the *Irish*: So that if we will not let our selves too fondly admire onely the Customs we have been bred up in, nor think Men are to be valu'd for making Legs after our Mode, or the Clothes they wear, which, the finer and gayer they are, always the more to be suspected of Luxury and Effeminate-ness; if we will allow but these Men to follow the Garbs of their own Countrey, and think them fine enough in a shape onely to hide their Nakedness before, or a Deer-skin hanging loosely on their Shoulders, and their Women not ill Dress'd in Garments of Moss, and Necklaces of Beads, whilst the Fashion of Courts require no other Ornaments; if, I say, a long and pleasant Life, without Distemper or Care, be to be valu'd, without the incumbrance of unnecessary Trinkets; if Men are to be esteem'd for Valor, Honesty, Friendship, Humanity and good Nature, though Strangers to the ceremonious Troubles we are accustom'd to, the Natives of *Carolina* will as little, or perhaps less, deserve the Name of *Miserable*, or *Salvage*, as those that give it them. 'Tis true, the *French* and *Spaniards* who have Planted amongst them, or with little Armies travell'd their Countrey, have been ill handled by them; but yet the *Indians* never did them any harm, or treated them otherwise than Friends, till those *Europeans* by their breach of Faith and several Outrages, have provok'd their just Revenge; and they did nothing but what most vertuous and generous sort of Men are apt to do, to revenge those Affronts, which did not agree with their Tempers tamely to endure. That this did not proceed from treachery and inconstancy in their Natures, is apparent in the contrary Correspondence they have been with the *English* Setled amongst them, to whom they have been all along very kind, as they were at first very covetous of their Company; for after that some of their King's Relation had been at [P. 210] *Barbados*, and had seen and

admir'd the Temper, Fashions, and Strength of the *English* there, and had been very civilly Treated in that Island, they were so well satisfi'd with them, that at the coming of the *English* to Settle there, the several little Kingdoms strove with all the Arts and Arguments they could use, each of them to draw the *English* to Plant in their Dominions, by commending the richness of their Soil, conveniency of their Rivers, the healthiness of their Countrey, the disparagement of their Neighbors, and whatever else they judg'd might allure the *English* to their Neighborhood. Nor was this onely the first heat of Men fond of Novelties, and as soon weary of them again, but ever since the *English* first Planted at *Albemarle Point*, or *Ashley River*, they have continu'd to do them all manner of friendly Offices, ready on all occasions to supply them with any thing they have observ'd them to want, not making use of our Mens Necessities, as an opportunity to enhance the Price of their Commodities, a sort of fair Dealing we could scarce have promis'd them amongst civiliz'd, well bred, and religious Inhabitants of any part of *Europe*; and though they are much frightened with our Guns, both small and great, yet like innocent and well-meaning People, they do not at all distrust our Power, but freely, without suspicion, trust themselves, both Men and Women, even their Kings themselves, in our Town, Lodging and Dancing there frequently whole Nights together, upon no other Pledges but the bare confidence of our mutual Friendship; nor do our Men use any greater caution in Conversing with them, stragling up and down, and travelling singly and unarm'd through their Woods for many Miles about, and are so far from receiving any injury or ill treatment from them, that on the contrary they are kindly us'd and Entertain'd, and guided by them in their Way whenever they desire it; and when any of our Men meet them in their Walks, the *Indians* all stand still till they are gone by, civilly Saluting them as they pass. Nor doth this Assurance of theirs bound it self within their own Homes, they of their own accords venturing themselves aboard our Ships, have gone voluntarily with our Men to *Virginia* and *Barbados*. Nor have the *English* been wanting on their parts in any thing that may preserve this Amity, being very

cautious of doing them any injury, bartering with them for those things they receive of them, and buying of them even the waste Land they make no use of.

Besides the simplicity of the *Indians* Diet, it is very remarkable, that they have a general aversion to those two things which are most acceptable to our Palates, and without which few of us either eat or drink with any delight; for in their Meats they cannot endure the least mixture of relish of Salt; and for their Drink, they utterly abominate all manner of strong Liquor; to the latter whereof, their large Growth and constant Health, is perhaps not a little owing.

Every little Town is a distinct Principality, Govern'd by an Hereditary King, who in some places is not Son, but Sisters Son to the precedent King, the Succession of the Blood-Royal being continu'd by the safer side. The great Business of those Princes is to lead their Men out against their Enemies in War, or against the Beasts in Hunting; for unless it be to appoint them where to Hunt, or else to Consult about making some Attempt upon their Enemy; he hath but small trouble in the Governments of his Subjects, who either through their own Honesty, or the few occasions they have for Controversies in their *extempore* way of Living, need few Laws, and little Severity to keep them in order; but yet they Govern their People without Contract, and fail not of a ready Obedience to their Commands; so that when some of them have bought things of such of the *English*, who by the Orders made amongst our selves were not to Traffick with the *Indians*, they have, upon Complaint made to their *Casiques*, been restor'd again, though in strict Rules [P. 211] of Law they were neither bound by, nor oblig'd to take notice of the Rules which were made onely to Govern our own People, and had at just Prices bought what they carry'd away; such is the Honesty of Men, whose Principles not being corrupted with Learning and Distinction, are contented to follow the Dictates of right Reason, which Nature has sufficiently taught all Men for the well ordering of their Actions, and enjoyment and preservation of humane Society, who do not give themselves up to be amus'd and deceiv'd

by insignificant Terms, and minding what is just and right, seek not Evasions in the Niceties and Fallacies of Words.

The same is to be said of the first Discovery of this Countrey, as hath been formerly said of *Virginia* and *Florida*, of both which it partakes; but as to the present Interest and Propriety, the *English*, besides all *Virginia* intirely, have also so much of *Florida* as makes up this considerable Province of *Carolina*, which soon after the happy Restauration of His present Majesty King *Charles II.* from whom it receives Denomination, was granted by Patent to *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, L. Chancellor of *England*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain of His Majesty's Houshold, Sir *William Berkley*, Knight and Baronet, and Sir *John Colleton*, Knight and Baronet.

The Lords-Proprietors of this Countrey, for the better Settlement of it according to their Patent granted unto them by His Majesty, and for the enlargement of the King's Dominions in those parts of *America*, have been at great Charge to secure this so rich and advantageous a Countrey to the Crown of *England*, to whom of ancient Right, by the Discovery of Sir *Sebastian Cabott* in the time of *Henry* the Seventh, it doth belong, and for its Situation, Fertility, Neighborhood to our other Plantations and several other Conveniences, of too valuable consideration to be negligently lost: By the Care therefore and Endeavors of those Great Men, it hath now two considerable Colonies Planted in it, the one of *Albemarle*, on the North side, bordering on *Virginia*, where are some hundreds of *English* Families remov'd thither from *New England*; and some of our other Plantations in the *West-Indies*; and another towards the middle of the Countrey, at *Charles-Town*, or *Ashley-River*, a Settlement so hopeful, for the healthiness of the Land, and convenience of access by a large deep Navigable River, and so promising in its very Infancy, that many of the rich Inhabitants of *Barbados* and *Bermudas*, who are now crowded up in those flourishing Islands, and many in our other *American* Plantations, are turning their Eyes and Thoughts this way, and have already remov'd

part of their Stock and Servants thither. Nor is it to be doubted, but that many, following the Example of those who went to *Albemarle*, will be drawn to this better Plantation at *Ashley-River*, from *New-England*, where the heat of their Zeal, and the coldness of the Air, doth not agree with every Man's Constitution; and therefore it is to be thought, that many well temper'd Men, who are not much at ease under such Extrems, will be forward to remove hither.

The Lords-Proprietors, for the comfortable subsistence, and future enrichment of all those who shall this Year 1671. Transport themselves and Servants thither, allow every Man a hundred Acres *per* Head, for himself, his Wife, Children and Servants, he carries thither, to him and his Heirs for ever, paying onely one Peny an Acre, as a Chief-Rent; which Peny an Acre is not to be paid these nineteen years; and those Servants who go along thither with their Masters, shall each also have a hundred Acres upon the same Terms, when he is out of his Time. But though these Conditions are very advantageous, and the Countrey promises to the Planter Health, Plenty and Riches at a cheap Rate, yet there is one thing that makes this Plantation more valuable than all these [P. 212] things with as great certainty as the state of humane Affairs, and the transient things of this Life are capable of, in a well continu'd Form of Government, wherein it is made every Man's Interest to preserve the Rights of his Neighbor with his own; and those who have the greatest Power, have it limited to the Service of the Countrey, the Good and Welfare whereof whilst they preserve and promote, they cannot miss of their own, the Lords Proprietors having no other aim, than to be the greatest Men in a Countrey where every one may be happy if it be not his own fault, it being almost as uncomfortable, and much more unsafe, to be Lord over, than Companion of a miserable, unhappy, and discontented Society of Men.

With this Design the Lords-Proprietors, who are at great Charge for carrying on this Plantation, have put the framing of a Government into the Hands of one, whose Parts and Experience in Affairs of State are universally agreed on, and who is by all Men

allow'd to know what is convenient for the right ordering Men in Society, and settling a Government upon such Foundations, as may be equal, safe, and lasting; and to this hath a Soul large enough to wish well to Mankind, and to desire, that all the People where he hath to do might be happy. My Lord *Ashley* therefore, by the consent of his Brethren, the rest of the Lords Proprietors, hath drawn up, to their general satisfaction, some fundamental Constitutions, which are since, by their joynt approbation, confirm'd to be the Model and Form of Government in the Province of *Carolina*; the main Design and Ballance thereof (according to the best of my memory, having had a Copy thereof) in short is as followeth:

1. Every County is to consist of forty square Plots, each containing twelve thousand Acres. Of these square Plots each of the Proprietors is to have one, which is to be call'd a *Signiory*. Eight more of these square Plots are to be divided amongst the three Noble-men of that County, *viz.* a *Landgrave*, who is to have four of them; and two *Casiques*, who are to have each of them two apiece; and these square Plots belonging to the Nobility, are to be call'd *Baronies*. The other twenty four square Plots, call'd *Colonies*, are to be the Possession of the People: And this Method is to be observ'd in the Planting and Settling out of the whole Countrey; so that one Fifth of the Land is to be in the Proprietors, one Fifth in the Nobility, and three Fifths in the People,

2. The *Signories* and *Baronies*, that is, the hereditary Lands belonging to the Proprietors and Nobility, are all entirely to descend to their Heirs, with the Dignity, without power of alienation, more than for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or two Thirds of their *Signories* and *Baronies*, and the rest to be *Demesne*.

3. There will be also some Mannors in the Colonies, but none less than three thousand Acres in a Piece, which, like the rest of the Colony Lands, will be alienable, onely with this difference, that it cannot be parcell'd out, but if sold, it must be altogether.

4. There is to be a Biennial Parliament, consisting of the eight Proprietors, the *Landgraves* and *Casiques*, and one out of every

Precinct, that is the six neighboring Colonies, for the People, chosen by the Freeholders; these are to sit and Vote altogether for the making of Laws, which shall be in force no longer than sixty years after their Enacting, the great mischief of most Governments, by which not onely the People are mightily entangled by multiplicity of Rules and Penalties, and thereby laid open to the Malice and Designs of troublesom Men and cunning Projectors; but, which is far worse, the whole frame of the Government in tract of time comes to be remov'd from its original Foundation, and thereby becomes more weak and tottering.

5. There are eight supream Courts for the dispatch of all publick Affairs; the first consists of the *Palatine*, who is the eldest of the Proprietors, and hath power to call Parliaments, and dispose of publick Offices. The other seven supream Courts are, 1. The chief Justices for the determining of Controversies of *Meum* and *Tuum*, and judging of Criminals. 2. The Chancellors, for passing of Charters, and managing the State Matters of the Province. 3. The High-Constables, for Military Affairs. 4. The Admirals, for Maritime Affairs. 5. The High-Stewards, for Trade. 6. The Treasurers, for the publick Stock; and 7. The Chamberlains, for Ceremonies, Fashions, Marriages, Burials, *etc.* These are the seven supream Courts, to whom lies the ultimate Appeal in all Causes belonging to them. Each of these Courts consists of one Proprietor, and six other Councillors, whereof two are chosen by the Nobility, and two by the People. All the number of these eight Courts joyn'd together make the Grand Council, which are in the nature of a Council of State, and are entrusted with the management of Affairs of greatest concernment. There is also in every County a Court, and in every Precinct another; from the Precinct Court there lies an Appeal to the County Court, and from the County Court to the Proprietors Courts, to which the Matter in question belongs, and there is the last decision and determination thereof, without any farther Appeal. And to keep the People from the Charges and vexation of long Suits, to the enriching of Men cunning in Words, care is taken, that no Cause shall be Try'd more than once in any

one Court, and that profess'd. Pleaders for Money shall not be allow'd.

Liberty of Conscience is here also allow'd in the greatest latitude, but yet so, that neither Atheists, or Men of no Religion, are permitted; Atheism, Irreligion, and vicious Lives being condemn'd as disagreeable to humane Nature, inconsistent with Government and Societies, and destructive to all that is useful to, or becoming of Mankind; as on the other hand, rigorous Imposing of, and hot Contentions about the Ceremonies and Circumstances of Religion, is an occasion of perpetual Strife, Faction and Division, keeps Men from sedate and temperate Enquiries after Truth, eats out the great Cement of human Conversation, *Charity*, and cannot be found in any one, who hath but modesty enough to think himself less than a *Pope*, and short of *Infallibility*.

There is also to be a Register of all Grants and Conveyances of Land, to prevent even the occasions of Controversies and Law-Suits.

There are several other less considerable Particulars in this Government, all contriv'd and design'd for the good and welfare of the People; all which are so well put together, and in such equal proportion ballance each other, that some judicious Men who have seen it, say, it is the best and fairest Frame, for the well-being of those who shall live under it, of any they have seen or read of.