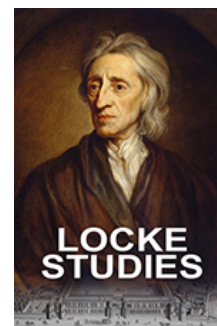


Locke Studies

Locke's Reading of Anton Deusing – An Unrecorded Manuscript Index

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Volume 22, 2022

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1097347ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5206/ls.2022.14798>

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Éditeur(s)

Western Libraries at The University of Western Ontario

ISSN

1476-0290 (imprimé)

2561-925X (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer cet article

Walmsley, J. (2022). Locke's Reading of Anton Deusing – An Unrecorded Manuscript Index. *Locke Studies*, 22, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.5206/ls.2022.14798>

Résumé de l'article

This article presents and transcribes a newly identified John Locke manuscript – an index Locke made of Anton Deusing's *De motu cordis et sanguinis itemque de lacte ac nutrimento foetus in utero, dissertationes* (Groningen, 1655). Deusing (1612–1666) was a polymath and medical eclectic with a scholastic predisposition who wrote numerous medical texts in the 1650s and 1660s. Locke owned and read several of these works, taking notes from them, and indexing at least two of them during his medical research at Oxford in the mid-1660s. The recovery of this manuscript further underlines Locke's own medical eclecticism at this time, highlighting the contrast between his views in this part of his career and the empiricism he later came to evince.

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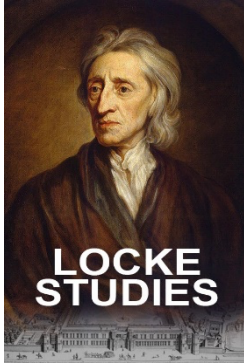
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LOCKE STUDIES

Vol. 22

<https://doi.org/10.5206/lis.2022.14798> | ISSN: 2561-925X

Submitted: 20 MARCH 2022

Revised: 22 DECEMBER 2022

Published online: 6 FEBRUARY 2023

For more information, [see this article's homepage](#).

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Abstract:

This article presents and transcribes a newly identified John Locke manuscript – an index Locke made of Anton Deusing's *De motu cordis et sanguinis itemque de lacte ac nutrimento foetus in utero, dissertationes* (Groningen, 1655). Deusing (1612–1666) was a polymath and medical eclectic with a scholastic predisposition who wrote numerous medical texts in the 1650s and 1660s. Locke owned and read several of these works, taking notes from them, and indexing at least two of them during his medical research at Oxford in the mid-1660s. The recovery of this manuscript further underlines Locke's own medical eclecticism at this time, highlighting the contrast between his views in this part of his career and the empiricism he later came to evince.

Keywords: Locke, Anton Deusing, note-taking, medicine

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In June 2006, the bookseller Bernard Quaritch issued a list of books: *Filmer, Locke and Political Thought From the Library of Peter Laslett (1915–2001)* (Bernard Quaritch list no. 2006/08). Along with Laslett's books, this list also included three manuscripts written or owned by John Locke. The item numbered 2 on the list was a draft in Locke's hand of laws regarding assemblies for the colony of Carolina and may have been an early draft of *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*.¹ The item numbered 5 was an autograph letter to Locke from Paul Neile, dated 22 February 1680/1.² Both of these manuscripts are well known: Laslett deposited typescripts of them in the Bodleian Library in 1952.³

The item numbered 3 in the Quaritch–Laslett list was another manuscript in Locke's hand, an index in Latin, titled at the head across the first three pages “Deusingius d(e) mo(tu) / cordis 12° / Groningæ 1655.” This unrecorded manuscript is an index of Anton Deusing's *De motu cordis et sanguinis itemque de lacte ac nutrimento foetus in utero, dissertationes* (Groningen, 1655), *LJL* 954. Anton Deusing (1612–1666) was a German Orientalist, philosopher, physician, mathematician, and astronomer. He enrolled as a student in Leiden in 1631, studying physics and logic under Burgersdijk and Arabic, Persian, and Turkish under Jacob van Gool, (1596–1667). Through his study of Arab writers, he developed an interest in medicine and in 1637 gained his MD under Adolphe Vorst (1597–1663). Returning to his hometown of Mörs in 1639, he practised medicine and became a teacher of mathematics at the local gymnasium. Later that year he was appointed Professor of Physics and Mathematics at the Gymnasium Illustre in

¹ This manuscript was purchased by the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, shelfmark Codex Eng 216. There is a pencil note on the front of the Carolina manuscript in Peter Laslett's hand: “Found in a large folio notebook of Locke's described / by him in inside of cover as ‘13/29a Adversaria Theologica [16]94’, / at Ben Damp Forest House, December 1951 / Peter Laslett / (This notebook was later used by the 1st Lord King to sketch a / treatise on the law – starting at the other end).” This refers to Bodleian Library, MS Locke c. 43, which was listed in Locke's Library catalogue as “Adversaria Theologica,” John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), no. 25 (henceforth *LJL* and item number). The text of this manuscript was first published in J. R. Milton, “John Locke and the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina,” *The Locke Newsletter*, 21 (1990): 111–33 at 122. The text of the manuscript will be included in the *Colonial Writings* volume of the *Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke* to be edited by David Armitage.

² This letter was acquired by the Bodleian Library. It has not yet been catalogued but is listed in the accessions database as CMD ID 6115. It was published in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–1989), no. 628, 2: 383–84 (henceforth *Corr.*).

³ Bodleian Library, MS Locke c. 39, fols 3 and 4; see Philip Long, *A Summary Catalogue of the Lovelace Collection of the Papers of John Locke in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 47. Laslett's note on the Carolina manuscript was repeated on the typescript that Laslett deposited in the Bodleian and on a separate typescript that accompanies an early printed copy of the *Fundamental Constitutions* (London? 1672?) in the Library of Congress, shelfmark JK4013 1669 Fol. I am grateful to David Armitage for this latter reference. Laslett also recorded the original location of the letter in a note on the front of the typescript: “[Fragment from the Bendamph Library / Autographed letter of Sir Paule Neile to Locke dated 22 February 1680/1 / found between the pages of Locke's interleaved copy of ‘Pharmacopoea [sic] Collegii Regalis Londini 1677’].” The book referenced is *LJL* 2294, now in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Locke 13.12.

Harderwijk, and from 1640 on he also taught Astronomy. In 1642, he was further made a Professor of Medicine. In 1647, Deusing was appointed Professor of Medicine in Groningen and, a year later, Professor of Philosophy. Deusing published several dozen books throughout his career, presenting an outlook that was broadly traditional. Deusing kept up to date with the latest developments in natural philosophy, reading Boyle, Descartes, and Harvey. But his approach was generally to accommodate new discoveries within a traditional framework. When studying the natural sciences he held that the Bible was the first point of reference, then the classical authors, among whom he favoured Aristotle in general and Avicenna in medical matters. For Deusing, though experience and experiment play a role in the sciences, they should be balanced with the dictates of reason, which were at least as important. He generally adopted the most conservative position consistent with the scientific discoveries of his time.⁴

In the first dissertation in the book that Locke indexed in this manuscript, *De motu cordis et sanguinis*, Deusing acknowledged Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, but maintained his respect for the teachings of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, in his opinion, history's greatest physicians. In the second, *De lacte ac nutrimento foetus in utero*, he argued that menstrual blood played no role in the nourishment of the fetus and that milk, derived from the mother's chyle, was the food of unborn children.

The location of Locke's manuscript index of this book was hitherto unknown, but like the Neile letter, it was acquired by the Bodleian Library from Quaritch at the time of the Laslett sale, and it remains uncatalogued.⁵ The manuscript is a small bifolium, folded vertically to make two leaves and four pages, each leaf measuring 127 × 70 mm. It has no visible watermark. Laslett made a pencil note on the front page, below Locke's index entries, which reads "Found in a book given / by Collins to Locke (221 (666) / Brevis Disquisitio etc) / April 1952 / P. Laslett." The book referred to by Laslett is *LJL 1377, Brevis disquisitio, an & quomodo vulgo dicti Euangelici Pontificios, ac nominatim Val. Magni de A catholicorum credendi regula iudicium solidè atque evidenter refutare queant* ("Eleutheropoli" [Amsterdam] 1633). This book is now in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Locke 5.8b. Locke inscribed the book "Liber / J Locke / ex dono / Viri Amicissimi / Clarissimi[que] / Antonii Collins" on the front board and wrote "Anthony Collins" on the top right of the free front end-paper. Locke catalogued this book under "John Hales," but it was in fact written by the Socinian Joachim Stegmann Sr. (1595–1633). Locke did not become acquainted with Collins until 1703, several decades after the index was made, and the subject matter of the index and the book it was found in were unrelated. The book is a duodecimo, similar in size to the index found in it. One plausible explanation for the placement of the index in the book was that Locke needed a bookmark and cast around

⁴ This account of Deusing is derived from H. P. Coster, "DEUSING (Antonius)," in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (ed. P. J. Blok, P. C. Molhuysen, and F. H. Kossman (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1930), 8: 383–34, and Gert-Jan C. Lokhorst, "Deusing, Antonius (1612–1666)," in *The Dictionary of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Philosophers*, 2 vols, ed. W. van Bunge, H. Krop, B. Leeuwenburgh, H. van Ruler, and P. Schuurman (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), 1: 265–67.

⁵ It is listed in the Bodleian accessions database as CMD ID 6114.

for something suitably small and ready to hand – the index being on a subject of relatively limited interest and utility in the later stages of his life, when medicine was no longer one of his prime concerns. It appears that all three manuscripts from the Quaritch–Laslett list were found among Locke’s books, presumably when Laslett helped catalogue Locke’s Library at Ben Damph, the residence of the Earl of Lovelace in the 1950s. Lovelace was the descendant of Locke’s cousin, Peter King, to whom he bequeathed his manuscripts and half his library.

At the top of each page of this manuscript index Locke drew a horizontal pencil line, then, from the left of the page, he drew six vertical pencil lines to create a small margin and five narrow columns. Locke then wrote letters at the top of each of these narrow columns. Page 1 lists A, B, C, D, E, page 2 lists F, G, H, I, L, page 3 lists M, N, O, P, R, Q, and page 4 lists S, T, V, X, and Z. (Locke omitted J, K, U, W, and Y). To make an entry in the index, Locke selected a keyword that would describe the entry. He began the entry in the column headed by the first letter of the keyword he wished to index, at the first available space down the page. He then added whatever description of the keyword he thought necessary, and added a page number, or numbers, as necessary, continuing the entry across the width of the page.⁶ Locke noted 46 different topic headings and recorded 55 different references under these headings, the lowest numbered entry “Varices” from page 73,⁷ the highest “Endemii morbi” from page 636.⁸

Locke’s copy of Deusing’s *De motu cordis* is now in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Locke 6.207.⁹ Locke also made several notes from this work in his commonplace books, which indicate that he read this book circa 1661–62.¹⁰ Locke clearly read the whole of the work in detail and it is notable that the first of Deusing’s dissertations in this book dealt with Harvey’s discovery of the circulation of the blood, a subject that would become an increasing focus for Locke’s medical research throughout the 1660s. Locke took numerous notes on this topic from a wide range of authors, recorded several experimental

⁶ See the Appendix below presenting a transcription of the index.

⁷ I.e., varicose veins.

⁸ I.e., endemic diseases.

⁹ Harrison and Laslett indicate that this book has “Notes and/or [a] Page List by Locke,” *LJL*, Appendix II.C, 281, but this is mistaken. Aside from Locke’s usual indications of ownership, there are no notes or marks by Locke in the book. There are a series of manuscript notes on the end-papers of the volume, but these are not in Locke’s hand. The fact that the leaves on which these notes were written have been trimmed to fit with the binding of the book suggest that they were waste paper repurposed by the binder in the process of binding.

¹⁰ Locke made notes in Bodleian Library, MS Locke d. 11, fols 11v, 17v, 29v, 46v, 73v, 77v, and 78v. These notes cannot be dated with precision. There are also notes in MS Locke f. 14, p. 88 and British Library Add. MS 32554, p. 98, which, given Locke’s method of commonplacing, can be dated to 1661–62. Locke’s method, and how it can help date Locke’s reading are described in J. R. Milton, “The Date and Significance of Two of Locke’s Early Manuscripts,” *The Locke Newsletter* 19 (1988): 47–89. I am grateful to Professor J. R. Milton for sharing these details of Locke’s reading of this work by Deusing.

results from work alongside Richard Lower, and presented a sophisticated theory of respiration and physiology in the disputation “Respirationis usus” from 1666–67.¹¹

Locke’s interest in Deusing’s work was not limited to this book alone. Locke’s library catalogue also recorded the *Exercitationes physico-anatomicæ de nutrimento animalium ultimo* (Groningen, 1661), *LJL* 953, now in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Locke 6.268. Locke made notes on this book and also made an index of it.¹² It is one of the few books in which he placed his “Paraph” (at the end of the volume).¹³ Nor was Locke’s interest confined to the books recorded in his library catalogue. In the inventory of Locke’s books bequeathed to Francis Masham, Peter King listed Locke’s copy of Deusing’s *De anima humana dissertationes philosophicæ* (Harderwijk, 1645), *LJL* 954a.¹⁴ Locke also made notes in his commonplace books on a further three works by Deusing:¹⁵

- *Exercitationes physico-anatomicæ, de nutrimenti in corpore elaboratione* (Groningen, 1660).¹⁶
- *Considerationes circa experimenta physico-mechanica illustris equitis Roberti Boylei* (Groningen, 1662).¹⁷
- *Genesis microcosmi, seu, de generatione foetus in utero dissertatio* (Amsterdam 1665).¹⁸

¹¹ These researches are described in J. C. Walmsley, “John Locke on Respiration,” *Medical History* 51, no. 4 (2007): 453–76 and J. C. Walmsley and E. Meyer, “John Locke’s ‘Respirationis usus’: Text and Translation,” *Eighteenth-Century Thought* 4 (2008): 1–28.

¹² Bodleian Library, MS Locke d. 11, fols 13v and 17v, and MS Locke c. 29, fols 13v–14r.

¹³ *LJL*, Appendix II.A, 278.

¹⁴ Bodleian Library, MS Locke c. 35, fol. 48v. It is recorded as an unbound book that was held “at Mr Pawling’s,” the residence of Locke’s London landlord.

¹⁵ These references were identified through the use of G. G. Meynell’s database of Locke’s medical reading. See G. G. Meynell, “A Database for John Locke’s Medical Notebooks and Medical Reading,” in *Medical History* 41, no. 4 (1997), 473–86.

¹⁶ Bodleian Library, MS Locke d. 11, fols 8v, 17v, 55v, and 77v; all these notes appear to date from c.1661–62.

¹⁷ Bodleian Library, MS Locke f. 14, p. 178; this note appears to date from c.1662. Locke also references “Deusingius de Peste” in a list of books at the end of this manuscript volume, p. 274 rev. This is likely a reference to Deusing’s *Disquisitio gemina de peste* (Groningen, 1656).

¹⁸ Locke recorded this book as the last item in a “catalogue of those books I have met with, some at Antwerp, and some in this town,” which he sent in a letter to Robert Boyle from Cleves, 12/22 December 1665 (*Corr.* no. 175, 1: 228). Locke made notes of his reading of the book in Bodleian Library, MS Locke f. 27, pp. 69, 70, and 71, presumably around this time. The note on p. 69 was copied into Bodleian Library,

Contemporary readers can assume that Locke was a thoroughgoing “modern” with little interest in his more scholastic or esoteric contemporaries. This is far from the case. Locke read widely across the full breadth of the medical theories of his day. Locke certainly did read Boyle and Descartes, but he was also fully engaged with the work of such writers as the scholastic Daniel Sennert and the leading chymist J. B. van Helmont, along with scores of other writers from a broad spectrum of medical and scientific traditions. Deusing has been regarded as the “last representative of scholasticism in the faculty of medicine in Groningen,”¹⁹ but can be more charitably viewed as “a conciliatory eclectic of the post-Ramist variety who explicitly situated his work in the tradition of the *philosophia perennis*.”²⁰ Nowadays he is little more than an historical footnote, but Locke clearly read him with great interest on numerous occasions. Locke’s own medical theorising in this period of his medical education was itself notably eclectic, drawing on the Galenic theory of humours and marrying it with the chymical theorising of van Helmont in his note “Morbus” from 1666–67.²¹ This newly identified manuscript index thus serves to remind us again of the breadth and depth of Locke’s medical research during the 1660s, and the wide diversity of his sources.

MS Locke d. 9, p. 42. The note on p. 70 was copied into MS Locke d. 11, fol. 29v. I am grateful to Professor J. R. Milton for these references. Locke also made note of this book in Biblioteca Marciana, MS Latin VII, 22, “Practicae,” p. 728. I am grateful to Professor Peter Anstey for this reference.

¹⁹ Lokhorst, “Deusing, Antonius (1612–1666),” 1: 266.

²⁰ H. Hotson, *The Reformation of Common Learning: Post-Ramist Method and the Reception of the New Philosophy, 1618–c.1670*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 149.

²¹ J. C. Walmsley, “‘Morbus’—Locke’s Early Essay on Disease,” *Early Science and Medicine* 5, no. 4 (2000): 366–93.

Appendix

Locke's index of Deusing's *De motu cordis et sanguinis itemque de lacte ac nutrimento foetus in utero, dissertationes* (Groningen, 1655)

Bodleian Library accessions database as CMD ID 6114. Authorial emendations or corrections are recorded in the footnotes. Deletions are indicated by single square brackets. Alterations by overwriting are indicated by doubled square brackets. Editorial insertions are enclosed in angle brackets. Readily identifiable readings of Locke's contractions have been silently expanded.

fol. 1r

A B C D E Deusingius d⟨e⟩ mo⟨tu⟩²²

Anima sensitiva ē materia subtilis. 93²³

Cor quomodo se contrahit 101.²⁴ 103. 133

Dolor. r. f. 123. 154

Anhelositas ab impedita circulatione in pulmonibus 82

Anima brutorum ē substantialis. & immaterialis 157

Convulsio. c 189. 192

Cordis dolor in febres pestilentia c. 254.

Calor. r. f. 298

Alba. e quibus vasis. 546²⁵ in infantibus fæmellis sæpe observa ibidem

Capitis vulnera o. 636

Endemii morbi. 636²⁶

²² The manuscript is damaged.

²³ 9[[6]]3

²⁴ 10[[0]]1.

²⁵ [in] 546

²⁶ Below this entry is Laslett's pencil note: "Found in a book given / by Collins to Locke (221 (666) / Brevis Disquisitio etc) / April 1952 / P. Laslett."

fol. 1v

F G H I L cordis 12°

Fermentatio. r. f. 101.

Frigus. quomodo contrahit 140.

Ignis. r. f. 165

Lactis c. mammarum raritas 329

Lac in gravidis ob auctum calorem. 434.

Lactantes cur meliore habitudine. 450

Lac cur ad mammas fluit copiosius post partum. 467

Feces virides infantum frigidi ventriculi s. 509

Lac e menstruo sanguine 559

Lactantium observa 561

Lactantes minus mingunt. o. 575

Lac ex sanguine fit infrigidatione mamarum 557.

Lac statim a partu salsum & purgans. 583.

Lien datur tantum bibacioribus 599.

Lienis usus. 600

Lactis abundantia repellentibus ad brachia m.

Lac quomodo a flatulentis generatur. 605.

Lactis. c. in gravidis 606

fol. 2r

M N O P R Q Groningæ 1655

Musculorum motus 189. 243.

Menstruis instantibus intumescunt mammæ. 331

Menstruus sanguis quomodo lacti gignendo conducit 333²⁷ 387.

Mamarum inflammatio a nimio lacte fit impedita circulatione. 352.

Mammæ²⁸ extenuatæ²⁹ cur. s. abortus. 392. 614.

Menstruo sanguine ò nutritur fætus. 408

Menses post conceptionem cur sistuntur 410

Pancreatis. u. 418. 424

Prægnantis vomitus trimestris. h. 445

Menstruorum quantitas. 409.

Placentæ usus 546

Pingue maxime nutrit. o. 619.

Pluritis. o. 634.

fol. 2v

S T V X Z

Varices. c 73.

Sensus naturalis q. 188. 218. 257

Sudor quibus lien hepar. pancreas aut Mesenter inaruit non sudant 361.³⁰

Cuixmala, Mexico

²⁷ Possibly “337.” The last number is barely visible at the edge of a frayed manuscript.

²⁸ Mamm[[is]]æ

²⁹ Ext[[æ]]enuatæ

³⁰ The author is grateful to Michael Webb, Curator of Early Modern Archives & Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library for the details of Locke holdings in the Bodleian Accessions Database. He is also indebted to Alexandra Franklin, Project Co-ordinator at the Bodleian Libraries Centre for the Study of the Book, for an invitation to discuss this discovery at the “John Locke’s Library” workshop on 12 March 2022 and to the participants there for helpful questions and commentary. J. R. Milton provided invaluable help with references to Locke’s reading and the transcription of Locke’s Latin, as well as advice on the paper as a whole. Peter Anstey provided a helpful reference to Locke’s reading of Deusing in the notebook at the Biblioteca Marciana, as well as editorial advice. I am grateful to the anonymous referee from *Locke Studies*. All remaining errors are the responsibility of the author.

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