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Madame Chimpanzee, Part I

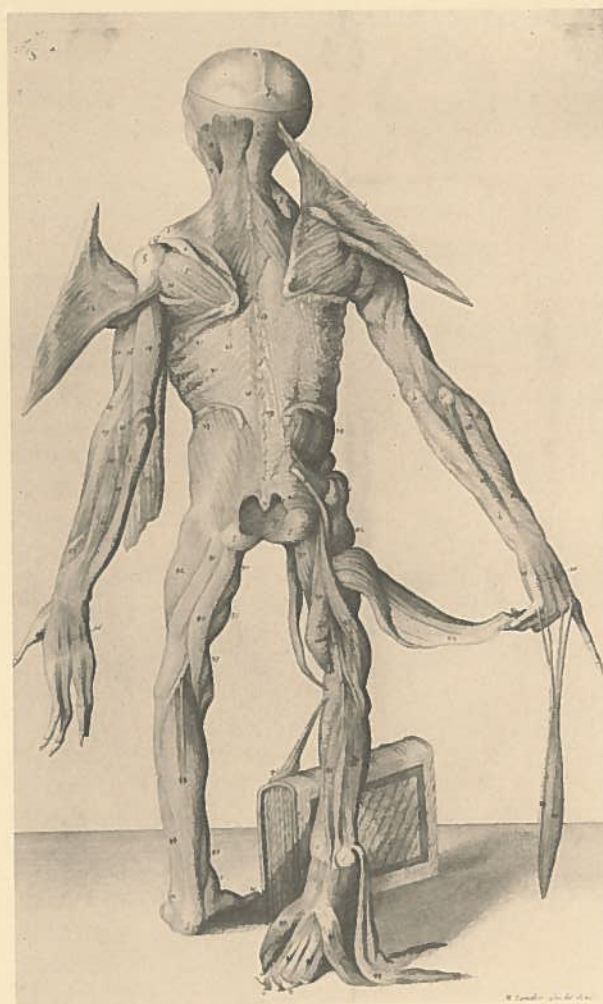
A few years ago the Clark acquired an anonymous thirty-one page prose satire titled *An Essay towards the Character of the late Chimpanzee Who died Feb. 23, 1738-9*, published in March 1739 by "L. Gilliver and J. Clarke at Homer's-Head in Fleetstreet." Lamenting that no "able Pen . . . hath yet" undertaken to draw the character of "the late incomparable *Chimpanzee*," the author humbly proposes to make a "faint Essay" at the task himself. As any contemporary reader would have recognized immediately, the title and the mock panegyric that follows it are at once an allusion to a chimpanzee that had recently been shown in London and a parody of Alured Clarke's *An Essay towards the Character of Her late majesty Caroline*, published a year earlier. While the satire is aimed at a broad range of targets, its comic force derives from the parodic substitution of the chimpanzee for the Queen of England.

The conceit was outrageous enough to serve the author's satiric purposes. Yet in the context of eighteenth-century thought, and more particularly of the events of the preceding few months, it was not as purely fanciful as the modern reader might assume. In portraying the chimpanzee as a lady of high rank and endowing her with the learning and refined sensibilities that Clarke had attributed to Queen Caroline, the satirist took his hint from the extraordinary history of the chimp's five-month stay in London. Since much of the comic effect of the piece depends on the reader's familiarity with the ground of factual details and scientific theory that the satirist plays upon, the first part of this article will focus on the story of Madame Chimpanzee, as the Earl of Egmont claimed she was called. The second part, to be published in a later issue, will turn to the satire.

British interest in chimpanzees, or "orang-outangs," dates at least from the early years of the Restoration, when Pepys viewed a "strange creature" brought from Africa, "a monster," he was persuaded, "got of a man and she-baboone." But it was Dr. Edward Tyson, at the end of the century, who laid the empirical foundations for the fascination with chimpanzees that explains the phenomenon of Madame C (and that continues to the present day). Tyson, an English anatomist and physician, was the first to dissect a chimpanzee. He published the results of his study in *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris* . . . (1699), a comparative anatomy that firmly established this animal just below man in the Great Chain of Being. Tyson's seminal work not only captured the attention of many naturalists but stimulated popular interest in these creatures that resembled man in so many ways.

Though Tyson himself carefully maintained the distinction between man and ape, it tended to become blurred in the work of some of his eighteenth-century successors. Linnaeus, in 1736, classified the chimpanzee as a species of man, and Lord Monboddo placed both within the same species, arguing that the chimp was more advanced than certain primitive humans. As part of the attempt to define the relation between man and ape, there was considerable debate throughout the period over the ape's capacity for reason and speech, with learned arguments offered on both sides of the question.

Extant records do not disclose whether any chimpanzees



The rear musculature of the chimpanzee. From Edward Tyson, Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie Compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man (1699). The drawing was done by the anatomist William Cowper.

were brought to England in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, but the sensation created by the arrival of the chimp in September 1738 suggests that none had been on public view, at least, for many years. During the last week of September, every London newspaper reported on the event. Under the dateline "Thurs. 21" the *London Magazine*, for example, announced:

A most surprising Creature is brought over in the *Speaker*, just arrived from *Carolina*, that was taken in a Wood at *Guinea*; it is a Female about four Foot high, shaped in every Part like a Woman excepting its Head, which nearly resembles the Ape: She walks upright naturally, sits down to her Food, which is chiefly Greens, and feeds herself with her Hands as a human Creature. She is very fond of a Boy on board, and is observed always sorrowful at his Absence. She is clothed with a thin Silk Vestment, and shews a great Discontent at the opening her Gown to discover her Sex. She is the Female of the Creature, which the *Angolans* call Chimpanze, or the Mockman.

Although later commentators were to dispute this report of her height, remembering her as having stood two feet, four inches, all the accounts, early and late, were in essential agreement that the chimp was a prodigy. The *London Post and General Advertiser* proclaimed her "perhaps the greatest Curiosity in the known World." The *Weekly Miscellany* of 22 September further reported: "She is so great a Rarity, that 250 Guineas"—then a vast sum—"was offered for her in the Country."

Evidently this offer was rejected, for a few days later the *Daily Post* informed the public that the chimpanzee could "be seen at Randall's Coffee-house against the General Post-Office in Lombard Street." Randall's at that time functioned as a meeting place for persons interested in natural history—if not quite an indoor zoo, then a place where the primary attraction was exotic animals that could be seen on display for a small fee. All autumn the proprietor of Randall's, or more likely the owner of the chimp (they were apparently not the same person), levied a shilling's admission on those wishing to view this "greatest Curiosity in the known World," just as the trustees of Bethlehem Hospital, in nearby Moor Fields, charged visitors a shilling to view the lunatics.

Among the first to visit Randall's was Sir Hans Sloane, the president of the Royal Society and one of the most respected naturalists in England, who pronounced himself "extreamly well pleas'd" with the chimp and "allow[ed] it to come the nearest to the Human Species of any Creature." Sloane's opinion, according to an advertisement that first appeared in the *Daily Post* of 13 October, was universally shared: "the great Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry, who daily resort" hither have expressed the utmost "Satisfaction . . . in the Behaviour" of the "wonderful Creature." Precisely how great the numbers were is nowhere reported, but they included some of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom: by early December the Duke and Duchess of Montague, the Duke of Roxburgh and his son Lord Beaumont, the dukes of Marlborough, Albemarle, and Richmond, and such foreign dignitaries as the Sardinian and French ambassadors had

all made the pilgrimage to Randall's. Although the chimp's promoters chose to focus on the nobility and gentry for advertising purposes, presumably such of the ordinary London citizenry as could spare a shilling helped to swell the crowds.

Stories of the chimpanzee's almost human sensitivity and intelligence soon began to appear regularly in the newspapers. A letter from an alleged "Stranger," for example, which appeared in the *Daily Post* of 26 October, describes a curious event he had witnessed while at Randall's: A woman and her infant were in the audience. Several men present asked the woman to put her baby down, to observe what the chimp would do. When the mother did so, according to the letter, the chimp set down "a Cup of Tea . . . and an Apple," and then, displaying even greater delicacy and refinement, "with both Hands clasped round the Child's Neck, embraced and kissed it, to the great Surprize of all the Gentlemen and Ladies then in Company." Another letter, from one "Publicus," tells a similar kind of tale, but with an amusing twist which suggests that the chimp's promoters encountered a good deal of initial skepticism:

Imagining I should find the extraordinary Accounts which have been so frequently set forth in the News Papers, of the Creature call'd a *Champanzie* to be nothing but Puff and Stratagem, to draw in the Multitude, . . . I could not prevail on myself, (tho' I had the greatest Inclination) to go see it. But on Saturday last I . . . did go as, I then thought, to throw away a Shilling, and took the Dusk of the Evening, when I might not be seen, imagining I should be accosted with nothing but the Sight of a Monkey. But at my Entrance into the Room I found the Creature . . . walking erect as a young Child, and following the Master about; . . . I was fill'd with Surprize to find it so near Humane, and on my asking what Food they gave her, she immediately rose from a Chair she was sitting in, as if she knew what I said, and brought from another part of the Room a Loaf of Bread in one Hand, and a Knife in the other, and gave them to a Person to cut her a Piece, which she both took and eat, in so decent a manner, that I confess my Surprize was so much increas'd, that I could not help thinking it was my Duty to recommend it in this manner to the Publick; especially as I had in some measure injur'd the Proprietor of her, and had prevented several Gentlemen and Ladies of my Acquaintance from going to see it. . . .

Whether or not one, or even both, of these letters were "Puff and Stratagem, to draw in the Multitude," they and others like them are clearly based on specific incidents and no doubt accurately reflect the reaction of the audience. Never having seen a creature like the chimp before and perhaps, like Publicus, expecting deception, spectators were so startled by her humanlike behavior that they were ready to attribute human emotions and human intelligence to her as well.

The temptation to carry the possibilities to their logical end was irresistible. The Earl of Egmont concludes a diary entry detailing his observation of the chimpanzee's behavior and appearance with the comment: "Sir Hans

Sloan says she has all the parts of speech in her, which is as much as to say she is made to speak, which, whenever it happens, may, I suppose, be followed by school instruction; and who knows but she may become as famous a wit and writer as Madame Dacier." As the stories of the chimp's "humanity" proliferated, so too did this mocking (but perhaps only partly mocking) impulse to write about her—and to treat her—as if she were indeed human. The events of the last few months of her life take a grotesquely comic turn that leads straight to *An Essay*.

Near the end of November, not long after Publicus's letter appeared, the *Daily Post* announced that the chimp "hath sat for her Picture," which "is most beautifully and justly engraved on a Copper-Plate, by the known great Artist Mr. G. Scotin, from a Drawing which was taken naked from the Life, by the celebrated Mr. Gravelot." The plate was inscribed to Sir Hans Sloane, obviously an attempt to authenticate the enterprise with the stamp of the Royal Society. Within two weeks prints were being sold all over town by the "Booksellers of London and

Westminster," and they continued to appear in various sizes and visual forms through the following winter.

Whether the print scheme reflected some falling off of business at Randall's, an attempt to shore up profits, is not clear, but two days before Christmas, ostensibly "at the Desire of several Persons of Quality," the chimp was removed "to Mr. Leflour's, at the White Peruke, next Door to the King's Sadler at Charing-Cross." The White Peruke was a small coffeehouse in St. Martin's Lane, where the cost of housing, feeding, and displaying the chimp was probably higher than at Randall's; but her new home had the advantage of lying further to the west, in proximity to the townhouses surrounding Leicester Fields, the present-day Leicester Square. It was apparently at the White Peruke that the chimp was first christened Madame (or Mademoiselle) Chimpanzee. As befitted one that had moved up in society, Madame was given a new wardrobe: "She is now entirely dress'd," the *Daily Post* reported, "after the newest Fashion *A-la-mode a Paris*, which is a great Advantage to the natural Parts she is endowed with." Among the many titled visitors who paid court to Madame in her new quarters during the next two months, royalty itself was represented, in the person of the Prince of Wales.

On 15 February the newspapers reported that she had "grown full two inches" and interpreted this growth as proof "of her being very young" upon arrival in London the previous September. These accounts put her current age at fifteen months; Ephraim Chambers later reported in his *Cyclopaedia* that she was about twenty months. Whatever her age, on Friday 23 February 1739, just five months after her arrival, she suddenly died at the White Peruke. The cause, according to the *Universal Spectator*, was "an intermitting Fever," and there is some evidence that she had been sick periodically since early November.

A more professional opinion on Madame's fatal illness was soon forthcoming. On the twenty-fourth of February an autopsy was performed "in the Presence of Sir Hans Sloane . . . and Mr. [John] Ranby, Surgeon to his Majesty's Houshold." They adjudicated, with all the solemnity usually reserved for their distinguished human patients, that death was caused by "the extravagant Quantity of the fluid Part of its Sustenance" (Madame was widely reported to be addicted to tea), "and that it was attended with a confirmed Jaundice." Jaundice then carried the connotation of hepatic poisoning, as it does now, and it was much more common in an age unable to preserve perishable food well. These same authorities also formally pronounced her (what everyone was by now convinced of in any case) "perfectly of a human Specie."

The *Universal Spectator*, in reporting the death of Madame C, had observed that the owner suffered a considerable financial loss, "as she was a kind of an Estate to him." Nevertheless, he contrived to salvage something from the ruin by putting her body on public display. If we can believe the account in the *London Evening Post* of 28 February, this final spectacle was a worthy climax to the history of her stay in London:

Preparations are making at the White Peruke at Charing-Cross, for laying in State the African Lady Mademoiselle Chimpanzee, . . . which we hear is to be



The authorized portrait of Madame Chimpanzee. Reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

in the manner of the *Angolans* (the place of her Birth) the Inhabitants of that Country being noted in History, for many Centuries, for their extraordinary Pomp, Magnificence and Care which they shew to their deceased Friends, which Custom still subsists amongst them; and as this Lady hath had so much respect shewn to her by the most eminent Quality and Virtuosi when alive, 'tis to be hoped that the manner in which she will there lie, will be a pleasing Sight to the most Polite of both Sexes, and . . . great Care will be taken to Blazon her Arms, so as not to exceed the Bounds of proper Heraldry. . . . There are two Males of the same Species will attend her Corpse, in proper Attitudes, which are suppos'd to be her Elder and Younger Brothers, but both died in their Voyage hither.

The papers do not divulge her burial place, but it may be that a special site was chosen to perpetuate her memory.

Just over a month later, on 29 March 1739, the *London Evening Post* announced the publication of *An Essay towards the Character of the late Chimpanzee*. It was a small step for Madame from her apartment at the White Péruce to the pages of *An Essay*. As everybody who was anybody had observed and commented upon her, so, it appears, had she observed them, and she was not backward about voicing her opinions through the satirist. Madame's side of the story will be the subject of the second part of this article.

G. S. ROUSSEAU
Clark Professor, 1985-86

ASECS Clifford Lectures

At this year's American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies conference, held in Williamsburg, Virginia, Norman J. W. Thrower, Director of the Library, and G. S. Rousseau, Clark Professor for the current year, joined Simon Schaffer of Cambridge University on the panel of a plenary session devoted to the Clifford Lectures for 1986. The program, on "Halley and His Comet," was the second in an occasional series supported by the Clifford Fund, and it marked the first time that a Clark Professor and Director have addressed the same plenary session at an ASECS conference. Professor Thrower began the proceedings with an account of Halley's life and scientific achievements. Dr. Schaffer then considered English cometography in the contexts of European astronomy and of scientific study generally, and Professor Rousseau concluded the session with a discussion of the literary treatment of comets.

In addition to the lectures, the Clifford Fund supports a prize in the field of eighteenth-century studies, awarded annually to an article-length study. The fund was established in honor of James Clifford (1901-78), who was William Peterfield Trent Professor at Columbia University.

Serendipity at the Clark: Spinoza and the Prince of Condé

The Clark Library is justly renowned for its rich collection of English books printed between 1640 and 1750. Some think that since this is its main holding, there is little that is of interest for topics outside the English scene. Given the concentration of books printed in England, the Clark has some, probably many, that scholars would not normally consult because they are translations of well-known works printed on the Continent and obtainable in the original form at UCLA, the Huntington, USC, or elsewhere. However, when one is at the Clark and suddenly needs information about a continental European matter, one uses what resources are at hand. Sometimes this leads to astonishing results.

One day in 1982 I wanted to check something about the diplomatic and marital negotiations between Queen Christina of Sweden and the Prince of Condé, the second ranking nobleman in France. The Clark has little literature on either of these figures, but it does have the 1693 English translation of Pierre Coste's *The Life of Lewis of Bourbon, Late Prince of Conde*. I ordered the volume and quickly ascertained that it contained no mention of the prince's



Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1621-1686), known as the grand Condé. From Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Maison de Condé* (1820).

relations with the queen. But before returning it and heading for UCLA's Research Library, I looked it over, and on page 173 of book 6, in an account of the prince's military ventures in the Netherlands, I found a startling bit of news.

The Prince of Condé had led the French invasion of the Netherlands in 1672 and established his headquarters in Utrecht. In May of 1673 he became sick and had to stay in bed. He invited the most learned men of Utrecht to talk to him. Then, the text relates, "It is reported that he was desirous to see *Spinoza*, and told him smiling, *That if he would follow him into France, he would put him in a way to live conformably to the Principles of his Theology; that Paris neither wanted fine Women, nor Pleasures; although he look'd upon him as a Deist, and a Man who had no Religion, he was charm'd with the Conversation he had with him.*"

Anyone who has taught or been taught about Spinoza knows that Spinoza is invariably portrayed as a man who was not interested in worldly affairs. One story is always used as a case in point: Spinoza was sent for by the Prince of Condé, who wanted to meet him. Spinoza went to Utrecht but found the prince was not there. He waited for a few days and then returned home without having seen him. In the traditional story, the prince's minions told Spinoza he might get a good pension if he dedicated a book to Louis XIV, but Spinoza had no interest. The story is cited in the Spinoza literature over and over again to show Spinoza's special moral character, that he was above worldly temptations.

And here in a volume at the Clark, I read that Spinoza met the prince and find what purports to be a quotation of the prince's words to him.

I looked in the preface to see where Coste got his information for the biography. He said he received the assistance of people who had served with the prince or had access to Condé's archives at his palace at Chantilly. Pierre Coste was a pretty substantial character. He was a leading Huguenot who became John Locke's secretary and translator. So he was not one likely to invent material.

Intrigued by this news, that Spinoza had met the Prince of Condé, I took two steps—one, I wrote to a friend in London asking her to check if the same text appeared in the French original; and two, I looked in UCLA's collection at the seven-volume history of the house of Condé (1885–96) by the duc d'Aumale, the last nobleman to live at the Château de Chantilly. In volume 7 the duke reported the story that the Prince of Condé had been sick in Utrecht, sent for Spinoza, had several talks with him, and wanted to take the philosopher back to France with him but that Spinoza declined to go. The duke indicated that his source for this account, as for most of the other material in his seven volumes, was "les Archives de Condé" at Chantilly, which he had been going through for forty years. But no specific reference was given.

My informant in London wrote that the original French text by Coste said only that Condé wanted to see Spinoza and arranged to have him come from The Hague so that he could talk with him. No quotation from the prince appears. The source given for Coste's information is a work of 1675 by Jean Brun, a Dutch pastor, written in response to an attack on the Dutch by one of Condé's



Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677). Frontispiece to Adnotationes ad Tractatum Theologico-Politicum (1802). Reproduced courtesy of the Special Collections Department, University Research Library, UCLA.

officers, a Colonel Stoupe. Stoupe, to justify the French invasion of Holland, claimed that Holland was a religious madhouse, willing to put up with any heretic, even one Benedict Spinoza. Stoupe then summarized both Spinoza's public and his private views. He criticized the Dutch theologians for not having published any answer to Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* of 1670. Brun, in answer, mentioned that Stoupe was a friend of Spinoza's and that Stoupe was the one who had arranged for Spinoza to come to Utrecht to talk to the Prince of Condé.

So Coste knew Brun's version. But where did the English translator get a quotation of what Condé said to Spinoza, and why have all Spinoza scholars accepted the story that the two never met? Answering these questions has taken me to the Château de Chantilly, to the British Library, and to The Hague, and has opened up a whole new perspective on Spinoza.

I checked and found that the *Life of Conde* was Coste's first publication, considered important enough to be reprinted for fifty years. It was translated by Nahum Tate, who had been appointed poet laureate in late 1692. Right after his elevation to the office, Tate wrote an ode on the New Year and birthday odes to Queen Mary and King William—and translated five hundred pages of Coste's *Life of Conde*! So the work must have been of some import in England at the time, and Tate must have had some source of information that Coste did not.

This realization led me to go over the whole history of the Spinoza-Condé story. Pierre Bayle, an important Huguenot friend of Coste's, wrote in his original article on Spinoza in *The Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697) that he had been told the prince was away when Spinoza arrived. But a bookseller in Utrecht, who translated the article into Dutch and published it as a separate book in 1698, had seen Spinoza and Condé together over several days and stated with certainty that the philosopher and the prince had met. Bayle asked others and, in the final version of his article (1702), said that on further inquiry he learned that the prince had come back to Utrecht before Spinoza left and that they had conferred.

At this point Spinoza's followers apparently found it important to deny the meeting. The prince, after all, had conquered Holland and treated its inhabitants miserably. Spinoza would have been dealing with the enemy. A biography of Spinoza written by Johannes Colerus, the minister of Spinoza's landlord and landlady, appeared in 1706 with the "official" version. Spinoza went to Utrecht, found that the prince was not there. He could not be bothered waiting, so he went home to The Hague. When he got to his lodgings, a mob was ready to lynch him for dealing with the enemy (he had been gone for weeks or months, it seems). Spinoza explained that he had been away on secret and special government business and was prepared, if need be, to tell the angry mob, "*I am a good Republican, and I always aimed at the Glory and Welfare of the State.*"

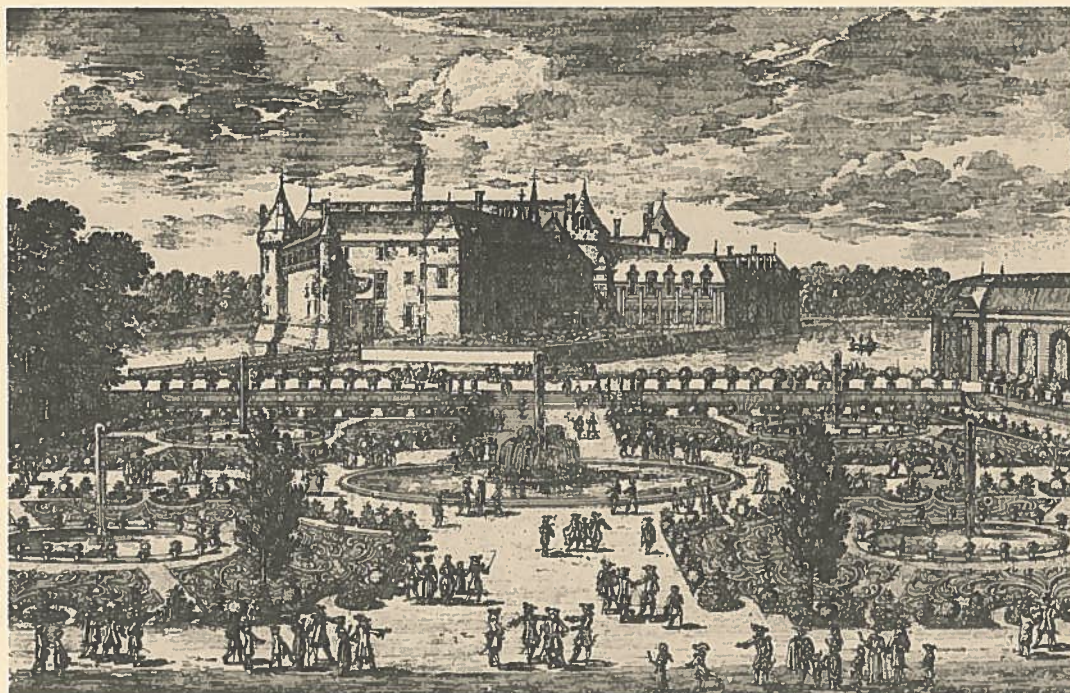
Spinoza, quoted by his landlords, became the official denier of the story. Further denial appeared in the so-called oldest biography of Spinoza, probably written at the end of the seventeenth century but not published until 1719. This account, attributed to one Jean Maximilien Lucas, describes Spinoza as waiting for "some weeks" at the

French court at Utrecht, then departing without seeing the prince.

The official version was not supported by the duc d'Aumale's research in the Condé archives at Chantilly in the nineteenth century. In this century, however, a letter was found at Chantilly from Colonel Stoupe's brother to Condé, written after the prince had left Utrecht. It mentions something Spinoza said and identifies him as the person "my brother brought from The Hague." This has been taken by leading Spinoza scholars (Gustave Cohen and Paul Vernière) as ending the story. Spinoza arrived after Condé left. However, the letter does not say that Spinoza had *just* arrived. It only reports some news Spinoza told Stoupe about what was going on in The Hague.

A new aspect of the story emerges in the notes written by another Huguenot, Pierre Desmaizeaux, for his 1729 edition of Bayle's letters. Desmaizeaux went to England in 1699, with a letter of introduction from Bayle to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and soon took his place in English intellectual circles. He became a member of the Royal Society and numbered among his friends most of the English deists, the leading Huguenot refugees, and, later, young David Hume. Desmaizeaux also became a friend, and later the editor, of the French refugee poet Charles Saint-Évremond.

Saint-Évremond had been one of a brave band of gentlemen soldiers in Condé's army. He was forced into exile in the early 1660s, first in Holland and then in England. He returned to Holland in the mid-1660s and remained for several years. During this time he got to know Spinoza personally (though no trace of their relationship appears in the literary and epistolary remains of Spinoza). In fact, it seems most likely that Saint-Évremond got the libertines in Condé's entourage, including Colonel Stoupe, in touch



Château de Chantilly during the seventeenth century. Now a national museum, it still houses the Condé family archives and art collections. From Louise M. Richter, Chantilly in History and Art (1913).

with Spinoza. Some have claimed that Saint-Évremond, who eventually resettled in England, was the most influential in disseminating Spinoza's views there as well as in France.

Several Huguenot refugees from Condé's entourage ended up in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. One of them, Condé's doctor, told Desmaizeaux that he had seen Spinoza go into the prince's chamber day after day. Another physician then living in England, one Dr. Henri Morelli, a friend of Saint-Évremond's, had also been a close friend of Spinoza's at the time of the meeting and was able to supply details about it. Desmaizeaux put into the notes to a fake letter of Bayle's* the testimony of these people. Desmaizeaux had gotten Dr. Morelli to write out exactly what the Prince of Condé offered Spinoza. (Morelli said Spinoza told him the details of his visit to the prince over and over again.) The prince would make Spinoza part of his court, would protect him, house and feed him, and give him a pension of one thousand écus. Morelli said Spinoza turned this down because he was afraid that not even the great Prince of Condé could protect him from the bigots in Paris. (Condé was the protector of quite a few people of dubious religious views; including Molière and Isaac de La Peyrère.)

Dr. Morelli could well be the source of Tate's version. Information about him may open up new perspectives on Spinoza. Morelli was close to Saint-Évremond, who wrote poems about him and gave us his biography. He was a Spanish Jew, Henriquez Morales, from Cairo, who studied medicine in Italy and Holland. He became Saint-Évremond's doctor; then the doctor of Saint-Évremond's girlfriend, the eminent French courtesan Ninon de l'Enclos; and then of the Countess of Sandwich, daughter of the notorious Earl of Rochester. Saint-Évremond tells us that Morelli was a great libertine who wrote poetry in at least eight languages. In one of his own poems, Saint-Évremond has Morelli singing the praises of Spinoza's views. Morelli lived in England from the late seventeenth century until his death in 1712. As the doctor of an important aristocratic English family, as the friend of the famous libertine poet Saint-Évremond, and as a

poet himself, he would presumably have been acquainted with England's poet laureate.

Morelli is also of interest in that he is unknown in the Spinoza literature and would, if Desmaizeaux's information is accurate, be one of only two or three Jews who were friendly with Spinoza after his excommunication. Morelli was the only person who knew the identity of the French translator of Spinoza's *Tractatus*, and it is this translation that made Spinoza renowned posthumously as an atheist (Tom Paine, for example, read Spinoza in the French a century later).

So from the passage in Tate's translation of the *Life of Conde*, I was led through the whole history of the Condé-Spinoza story. By now I am convinced that Spinoza covered up the meeting for political reasons; his followers, to save his honor. Those who knew of the meeting, the French Protestant libertines around Condé (including Colonel Stoupe), plus Dr. Morelli, are part of a milieu we previously knew nothing of in Spinoza's life story. And it is these people who spread Spinoza's views through the French translation of them.

For me the affair is still going on. I have found Dr. Morelli's footsteps, a letter from Morelli to Hans Sloane showing that Morelli was an important contact between Dutch and English medical doctors. I have found that Desmaizeaux tried to publish an "Éloge" of Spinoza after getting Morelli's data but that the Huguenot printer in Holland refused to print it because he detested Spinoza's views. (He had refused to print the French translation of the *Tractatus* earlier.) The printer's letters are supposed to be in Paris and need to be examined. Pierre Coste, with whom the story began, carried Desmaizeaux's "Éloge" from England to Holland and gave it to the printer. If the "Éloge" can be found it may finally reveal the whole story and show the importance of the Spinoza-Condé meeting, namely, that the meeting put Spinoza into a group of French Protestant libertines in Condé's entourage, who, along with Dr. Morelli, made him the hero of the Enlightenment. Without the opening clue from the Clark's copy of Coste's *Life of Conde*, I would never have looked into the story. Now that I have gotten this far, I can see that the hagiography that constitutes Spinoza's biography has to be reexamined and that we have to explore whole new intellectual environments where Spinoza and his ideas flourished to understand the man and his influence.

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*This is another tale whose unraveling is part of the spin-off from the quest for the source of the news about Condé and Spinoza. The letter, plus its notes, does not appear in the first collection of Bayle's letters edited by Desmaizeaux in 1714. Desmaizeaux and the publisher, Prosper Marchand, disagreed about many things in the letters, and each wrote his own notes, which are printed with separate identifications. Part of the disagreement was over the merits of Bayle's and Spinoza's attacks on religion and religious practices. The British Library has the copy in which Desmaizeaux wrote additional manuscript notes. Nothing relating to the Spinoza-Condé affair appears in them. In the next edition by Desmaizeaux, published in 1729, there is a "letter" from 1706 (the year of Bayle's death), surrounded by notes about what Dr. Morelli and Condé's physician said about Spinoza's meetings with the Prince of Condé. The supposed letter is actually a couple of pages from a Jesuit journal's review of Colerus's life of Spinoza, where the Spinoza-Condé meeting was denied. Desmaizeaux apparently introduced the material as a pretext for adding in all of the data he had gathered showing that Spinoza and Condé had met. The printer who had refused to print Desmaizeaux's "Éloge" (see below) printed this and only questioned the date given for the letter. No one until now has noticed that it is not a letter of Bayle's but just a portion of the review of Colerus in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*.

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Moreton Bay fig (Ficus macrophylla) on the north lawn of the Library grounds. Photograph by Raquel S. Escobar.