

The Radical Enlightenment

Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans

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The Radical Enlightenment

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Cover image: Bernard Picart (1673-1733) a member of the Knights of
Jubilation and one of the most brilliant engravers of his generation.

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**Dedicated to Wijnand Mijnhardt, Professor of Cultural History,
University of Utrecht**

Preface to the Second Edition

New life has been breathed into the thesis that this book put forward first in 1981. I argued then – and I will argue here again – that beginning in the 1680s northern and western Europe experienced a series of shock waves that in turn produced a new radicalism in thought both in matters political and religious. French bellicosity, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the appearance on the English throne in the same year of a Catholic king threw Protestant Europe into turmoil. The results were far more dangerous to the established order than historians in the past supposed. In 2001 Jonathan Israel in *Radical Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press) confirmed and expanded the thesis but did so from a very different and largely idealist methodology. He sees Descartes and Spinoza as progenitors of the crisis that threatened orthodoxy; I see them as part of the story that must be understood contextually. The time has come to reissue and revise *The Radical Enlightenment*, to take into account the scholarship of the last twenty and more years, to modernize and shorten the text in places and to correct minor errors in transcription that appeared in the 1981 version. It was controversial in the 1980s, but largely unknown to its author the book became the inspiration for new work that has now appeared in many languages.¹ Much of that work has served to correct the generally Anglophone bias of my youthful 1981 contribution. Seminars and conferences are now planned around the topic, and as the original publisher, George Allen and Unwin no longer exists, this book became impossible to find. One of my graduate students presented me with a pirated copy found in a bookstore in Korea. For all these reasons this new edition – in both French and English – now appears. I have removed the now dated bibliographical essay that preceded the first edition and discarded its cumbersome numbering system for some footnotes, but not others. What was new in 1981 in our histories has now become commonplace, and the work of historians like Frances Yates, Christopher Hill and J.G.A. Pocock may now be taken as a given.

Back in 1981, and still now, various libraries, and in particular their excellent librarians, require special acknowledgement. Dr P F J Obbema at the Universiteits-bibliotheek, Leiden, and his staff, in particular C. L. Heesakkers, J. van Groningen and C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, provided vast quantities of xeroxed material promptly and efficiently. Ms Berkvens-Stevelinck and I have deep differences particularly about the supposed piety of Prosper Marchand but she helped me in her role as librarian and I am grateful to her. The late B. Croiset van Uchelen at the Library of the Grand Lodge in The Hague gave invaluable assistance with its records and with the early history of Dutch freemasonry. Some of my most pleasant research

hours were spent in that library. As always the staffs of the University Library, Cambridge, and the British Library, London, gave graciously and helpfully. I wish to thank the Marquis of Cholmondeley for permission to cite material in the Cholmondeley manuscripts in Cambridge. The Widener Library, Harvard University, proved an excellent place to do much of the broad reading for the subjects here explored.

I would like to dedicate this new edition of *The Radical Enlightenment*, in both its French and English forms, to Wijnand Mijnhardt, professor of cultural history at the University of Utrecht. I believe that at first Wijnand was skeptical about the thesis of this book, especially about its implications for Dutch intellectual history. Still, in the 1970s, Spinoza was something of a fringe figure in Dutch historiography. The picture of tolerant, humanistic moderation so common in the twentieth century had come to over-shadow the ferment of ideas that existed in the Dutch Republic from late seventeenth century onward. But Wijnand was supportive and indeed became in time a convert as well as a critic. Most important he has been my good friend and collaborator who made professional life since the late 1970s so much more interesting than it could ever have been without him. Every visit or email fills this household with much cheer and immense intellectual stimulation.

Abbreviations

AQC	<i>Ars Quatuor Coronatorum</i>
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Chol. MSS	Cholmondeley Manuscripts, University Library, Cambridge
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
MSS ADD.	Additional Manuscripts, British Library, London
ON	Oesterreiche Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
PRO	Public Record Office, London
ULC	University Library, Cambridge

Introduction

In this study of eighteenth-century culture, the student with a basic knowledge of the intellectual contours of the period and of the lives and ideals of the major *philosophes*, as well as the scholar interested in new sources and interpretations for the early decades of the Enlightenment, will meet a cast of interesting, if so-called minor, characters. Most of them were literary journalists or political propagandists, many of them, freemasons; a significant number were also intellectual and political radicals. Immediately that anachronistic term 'radical' applied to the Enlightenment raises queries. If these were the radicals, who were the moderates? The radicals were intellectual dissenters, men, and possibly a very few women, often with a Protestant refugee background, who could not share the willingness of the major *philosophes* like Voltaire and d'Alembert, or liberal churchmen like the Newtonians in England, to put their faith in enlightened monarchy. They sought, therefore, through a variety of methods, propaganda as well as intrigue, to establish a republican ideal, if not always a republican reality, worthy of European-wide imitation. Predictably they, like the moderates, were the intellectual heirs of the mid-century English Revolution, only unlike the moderates they sided more with the radical sectaries, that is, with the losers rather than the winners of that first major European revolution. In Continental Europe many intellectual legacies were at work in the later seventeenth century – Cartesian, Spinozist, Grotian to be sure – but the great revolution across the Channel must also be acknowledged for the inspiration that the discontent and the angry drew from it.²

Thus the radicals of the Enlightenment defy one of the stereotypes put forward by a now tired Marxist historiography, that 'the man of the Enlightenment remains incapable of reaching beyond reason and intellect to the essence of life, historic action'.³ On the contrary the radicals were political activists, who, unlike the major *philosophes*, attached themselves to political patrons in England and courts on the Continent not as philosophers but as polemicists, spies and official historians. And the French Huguenot refugee, Jean Rousset de Missy, one of the central characters in this book, in turn became a revolutionary. These radicals circulated within an international republic of letters, but after the 1720s they are found most strikingly in the Dutch Republic. Their social nexus had been established almost precisely at the turn of the century when the radical Whigs with republican sentiments disillusioned with the outcome of the Revolution at home, and possessed by the desire to strengthen the alliance against France abroad, ventured across the Channel. In the Dutch Republic they found followers and allies. They found them predictably in the clusters of angry French Protestant refugees recently forced into exile by Louis XIV's repressive policies. This new evidence for the early infiltration of English political culture in-

cludes a story about early freemasonry. A fuller account of the process of transformation from guild to lodge than what is given here can be found in chapter one of my *Living the Enlightenment* (1991). In the case of freemasonry, we find English social institutions were transmitted into the Low Countries, both north and south. This adds further weight to the contention that the beginning of the European Enlightenment can in many instances be traced to post-revolutionary England and the Dutch Republic. The unique characteristic of that post-revolutionary culture was its scientific maturity, and perhaps inevitably that new scientific culture proved a distinct force in shaping the reforming philosophy and program advocated by Enlightenment radicals. In the Dutch Republic one figure loomed as critically important in teasing out the implications of the new science, and Spinoza and his thought were powerful forces with which to reckon.

The Dutch Republic from the 1670s onward faced great danger from the French colossus to the south; by comparison the world of Locke and Newton across the Channel must have seemed relatively secure. But the culture of the political theorist of revolution, John Locke and the founder of mechanical science, Isaac Newton existed within a political context transformed by the first of the modern revolutions. We have learned a great deal more about the English Revolution and we have come to understand more clearly its exact relation to the origins of modern science. The English Revolution – understood as a matrix of social and political upheaval beginning in 1640 and culminating at the Revolution of 1688–89 – and its role in the social origins of modern scientific culture offers important revisions for our understanding of the Enlightenment. It is no longer possible, given what we now know about the social relations of English science, to divorce eighteenth-century culture from its seventeenth-century origins. The opening chapters of this book aim to correct that older way of divorcing the origins of the Enlightenment from its seventeenth century moorings. In this second edition those chapters also serve as a corrective to scholars who want to remove England from the story altogether. In addition the tendency in Enlightenment historiography of treating science and natural philosophy, in particular theories about the nature of matter, as simply progressive forces and a-historical ideas, devoid of social content and meaning, requires revision.

Because the social meaning of scientific ideas and programs has not been assessed in relation to the interests of their proponents we have obliterated a fundamental tension or dialectic now apparent in the earliest manifestations of enlightened culture. The version of Enlightenment culture supported by the Newtonian synthesis, as it was articulated by Newton and his closest followers, asked that educated people acknowledge a providentially guided polity where diversity of Christian creeds was to be tolerated, where learning about nature and society was encouraged, but where both were to

serve the interests of court-centered and ministerial government. In other words, in Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century Anglican hegemony and 'court' government, as opposed to legal equality for all religious creeds and the rule of parliamentary or 'country' interests, received vital support from the Newtonian assumption *th-* if we may call it that -at the deity instilled hierarchy, order and place, that spiritual forces controlled nature just as kings and oligarchs managed their states.

In early modern and pre-industrial Europe the assumption was uniformly held that ideas about nature, in particular its physical manifestations and metaphysical properties, bore relation to the way people, educated and uneducated, understood the social and moral order. However, there was a vast difference between the social assumptions held by pantheistic heretics who believed that God or spirit dwelt in nature, that in effect nature contained within it sufficient explanations of its various phenomena, and the assumptions held by essentially orthodox Newtonians, among them even Voltaire, who argued that God controlled nature from outside, as it were by laws and spiritual agencies. The first approach, which I have chosen to call pantheistic because that is the word used by some of its most aggressive eighteenth-century proponents, tended inevitably in a socially leveling direction because it undermined the theoretical (perhaps better said, metaphysical) foundations for established churches and their priestly caste. Thus it is not accidental that Spinoza was both a republican and a pantheist.

The radicals of the Enlightenment, from their first stirrings within Whig circles after the Revolution of 1688-89, tended to subscribe to this pantheistic conception of the universe, to a metaphysic that conflated spirit and matter and tended to proclaim nature, and not God, as the sole object of worship and study. More than anyone else, John Toland (1670 - 1722) was their spokesman. Indeed it was Toland who invented the word, 'pantheist' (1705), and it was quickly taken up by his associates writing in French but living in the Netherlands. In contrast to the providentialism and in some cases the deism of the moderate, Newtonian Enlightenment, the radicals postulated pantheism - or another commonplace term, materialism - and it horrified the liberal exponents of the new science who invariably brought their influence to bear against them. Eighteenth-century materialism had many origins and faces. One version, heavily indebted to a heretical reading of Descartes, emphasized the mechanical and self-moved properties of matter; another, that is here called pantheism, emphasized the vitalistic, spirit-in-matter qualities of nature and tended inevitably to deify the material order. The name to be most obviously associated with the deification of nature is of course, Baruch de Spinoza, resident until his death in 1677 in Amsterdam.⁴ With debts to both Toland and Spinoza, the latter philosophy belonged to the radical coterie whose history we are tracing, but it should be emphasized that they were also comfortable in praising the writings of

La Mettrie, a mid-century exponent of a mechanistic version of materialism. All these philosophies of nature, whether the property of materialists or deists or providentialists, drew heavily upon their reading of the methodology and metaphysics of the new science. However, in the case of the radicals they also found support for their pantheism in the naturalistic writings of the late Renaissance. In Chapter 1 I explore their probable use of Bruno, Vanini and Des Périers, and suggest ways in which these naturalistic and vitalistic philosophies, often of ancient lineage, could be made compatible with a scientific culture whose major rep had in large measure attempted to refute them.

The first occasion in early modern history when philosophies of nature and their prescriptions for the social order took on revolutionary significance occurred in England between 1640 and 1660. For the intellectual history of that period and its relevance to the new science, as discussed in Chapter 2, I have relied heavily on the writings of Christopher Hill, J. R. Jacob, and Charles Webster to set the stage for the emergence of early Enlightenment culture, in both its moderate and radical phases. In the late 1640s the revolutionary implications of pantheism were made all too clear in the preaching and political program of the radical sectaries – the Levelers and Diggers in particular – and in a very attenuated sense, they became the ancestors of the various eighteenth-century republicans who form the subject of this book. Likewise the scientific culture first articulated by Robert Boyle and his followers in the Royal Society (1662) was intended in part to combat the philosophical and political radicalism of the late 1640s. It also went on to provide a basis for later polemical assaults aimed against the freethinkers and republicans of the early eighteenth century. The mechanical philosophy of Boyle and his associates directly contributed to the triumph of Newton's science and to the articulation of the liberal Anglicanism to which it was so neatly grafted.

Yet even after we distinguish the Radical Enlightenment from that of the Newtonians, as I have tried to do before plunging into its social network and heretical ideas, we have still not fully grasped its uniqueness. A definition of the *philosophe* of the Enlightenment, whether liberally Christian (although within the mainstream of the French Enlightenment there were few enough of those), deist or atheist, which sees him as a combative thinker who “refused to abide by Christian doctrines and dogma... [who] searched for the truth in the light of reason and experience and who entertained a strong interest in the new science and its applications”⁵ – although still valid for most Enlightenment thinkers – does not adequately encompass what the new evidence about the eighteenth-century radical coterie now tells us. Not only did they refuse to accept Christian doctrine, and indeed reject the most basic assumptions of Christian metaphysics, in a few cases they also formulated an entirely new religion of nature and gave it ritualistic expres-

sion within an early form of what a few years later would be recognized as freemasonry. That startling conclusion, documented in Chapters 5 and 6, forces a reappraisal of the traditional histories of European freemasonry, not to mention a reworking of its traditional chronology. Generally it has been assumed, largely on the basis of an almost official masonic historiography, that speculative freemasonry begins in London in 1717 with the establishment there of the Grand Lodge. In an official and general sense that is still true, only the picture, as we shall see, is infinitely more complex than that. For one thing we now know that as early as 1710 the great architect, Christopher Wren, acted as Grand Master in London.⁶ Throughout the early eighteenth century a deeply suspicious generally Tory and High Church Anglican criticism accused the republicans and radical Whigs of meeting in clubs where members had new names and indoned new rituals – all intended to mock Church and Creator.⁷ Much of this talk rested on fantasy, but in the case of Toland and his friends good evidence suggests that they did have new names and new rituals. Critics have argued that they could not have been involved in freemasonry without even suggesting what it was they were doing.

The early history of freemasonry in both England and especially the Continent has long been a quagmire. Toland has been suspected of writing a masonic ritual (*Pantheisticon*, 1720) intended to praise nature and not God, and one as a result never officially adopted. Aside from that published text, ostensibly written for his ‘Socratic Brotherhood’, Toland’s role in the establishment of European freemasonry, that vastly popular and uniquely eighteenth-century phenomenon, has never until now been adequately demonstrated. The present volume began to take shape with the discovery in the 1970s of a manuscript in Toland’s unpublished papers, here printed for the first time in the appendix (pp234-35), which was the record of one meeting in 1710 of a secret society at work in The Hague.⁸ It had brothers, a Grand Master, and most important “constitutions” meaning rules or statutes of governance. Written in French but clearly with a debt to the English usage of “constitutions” the document uses the term “constitution” in ways unknown to that language in this period, and in ways intended to mean rules of governance, statutes, etc.⁹

Surprisingly the meeting record contained not only a date but crucially important, names. It was written by Prosper Marchand (1678 – 1756), a journalist and minor *philosophe*, who, as a young French Protestant refugee, became an admirer of Pierre Bayle (d. 1706) and the editor of the 1720 edition of his immensely popular *Dictionnaire historique*. The meeting record in Toland’s manuscripts led to Marchand’s vast collection of unpublished manuscripts at the University Library, Leiden, where a larger social world, long hidden, was suddenly revealed. The Marchand manuscripts attest to the masonic character, although not in every instance to the masonic mem-

bership, of a vast network of publishers and journalists, English Commonwealthmen and French refugees, and probably one prominent Dutch scientist, Willem Jacob s'Gravesande.

All of these disparate figures were 'brothers', intent upon preserving their 'secret', and loyal to their various grand masters. Most prominent among Marchand's associates and his close friend, was Jean Rousset de Missy (1686 - 1762), another French Protestant who became one of the leaders of organized Dutch freemasonry in the period after its official establishment in 1735. From Leiden it was a short journey, both geographically and intellectually, to the library of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands in The Hague, one of the finest masonic libraries in Europe, that was also proudly in the 1970s (unlike its London equivalent at that time when this work was undertaken) open to all scholars regardless of masonic membership or gender. Rousset's role in organized Dutch freemasonry could then be documented and the historian could inspect a previously clandestine world that stretched at least from 1710 and Toland's private record, into the 1750s, by which time many of these radicals have been seasoned and aged by experience, and in some cases, by disappointment. This secret world, although not some of the pantheistic tracts that can be traced to it, turned out to be far tamer than we might have been led to suspect by the various paranoid accounts of European freemasonry perpetrated by early nineteenth-century conservative and anti-masonic historians and propagandists.

Eighteenth-century freemasonry, although resolutely Newtonian in its official posture, could and did house a variety of radical thinkers. Their dedication to masonry, perhaps more than any other single characteristic, distinguished them from the purely intellectual concerns, as previously defined, of the major *philosophes*. Most of the latter never ventured into this daring attempt to found an international movement that had within it the potential of creating a new European religion, resolutely civil to be sure, but no less compelling than its alternatives. In politics, the radicals were republicans and 'politicians', to use their word; in philosophy they were drawn to materialism, or pantheism as they preferred to call it; in religion they came dangerously close, through the agency of freemasonry, to challenging the established churches, not simply doctrinally or philosophically, but more fundamentally on the level of social existence and ritualistic expression. Most important, the Radical Enlightenment was not simply spawned, as it were, by liberal parents. It existed simultaneously and in harsh dialogue with the more dominant and moderate version of enlightened belief and practice, a dialectic that owes much to its English and revolutionary origins. Before there was a High Enlightenment in Paris, during that violently anti-Christian post-1750 climate that briefly dominated the great salons and that is best represented in the writings of the Baron d'Holbach and his atheistic friends, there was a Radical Enlightenment. If it had a capital, it was The

Hague and there, of course, it was directly in touch with the nerve center of Enlightenment propaganda, the Dutch publishing houses as well as with the thought of Spinoza and Descartes, both of whose works were readily available in the Dutch Republic. The progenitors of that enlightenment were more ordinary than great, more working than leisured, but highly literate and with access to print.

We have undergone a major reassessment of the role of the printing press in early modern European culture. Rather than being seen as a mere vehicle for the dissemination of new ideas, its practitioners and technology are now recognized as distinct forces for cultural change in themselves. Here that thesis receives re-enforcement and extension into the first decades of the eighteenth century. In this account of radical coterie in the Netherlands, with access to the presses and their own publishing firms, the distinction between *philosophe* and publisher, between the enlightened man and the printed word, is inevitably blurred if not obliterated. Not by any means were all publishers and journalists like the radical ones we shall encounter in these pages; most were businessmen, pure and simple. But various books and manuscripts that played crucial roles in shifting the eighteenth-century debate about God's role and existence in the direction of materialism and into a frontal assault on the very foundations of Christianity, in particular the infamous *Traité des trois imposteurs*, can now be traced to this major coterie whose existence first emerged from that important 1710 manuscript in Toland's possession. Calling themselves, and what I shall argue was their private, and by no means official masonic lodge, the Knights of Jubilation, Marchand, Levier and their friend, Rousset, put into writing an old accusation, and one that would still be offensive in some quarters today, namely, that Moses, Jesus and Mohammed were mere impostors. Fritsch, the Grand Master of the Knights, among others, circulated manuscript copies of the *Traité*, while various other members produced now very rare published editions. A rare copy of the 1719 edition exists at UCLA's Young Research Library, and subsequent research by Silvia Berti pinned "the blame" for this text on Rousset's friend, one Jan Vroese. Just as probably the manuscript was the work of various hands, among them Vroese, to be sure, and probably Rousset de Missy.

Inevitably the historian must admit her sympathy for such a cast of fascinating characters. These lesser-known figures are being put forward for inspection partly because their story needed to be written (new evidence entails the writing of new history), and also because perhaps it is time that we shift our vision, if only momentarily, away from the major *philosophes* not because they have been rendered less important, but solely because we do, or should, know a great deal about them already. Yet shifts of vision are sometimes controversial. The links asserted here between Whig culture in England, the spread of freemasonry and the Dutch Revolution of 1747, may

cause some unease. That seemingly 'irrational' activities might play a role in the social lives of the lofty guardians of the Whig constitution, from Walpole through to the Bentincks, and in the cultural life of their Austrian allies, not to mention in the creed of their radical critics and agents, may at first blur our image of 'the age of reason'. But that shibboleth, to use a favorite and secret masonic 'word', may need some de-mystifying even if it has to come somewhat ironically from the world of secrecy and ritual.

It must not be forgotten that here we are looking at freemasonry in its golden age. That eighteenth-century phenomenon bears little or no relation to some of its twentieth-century varieties. The curiously anachronistic and even sinister role of freemasonry in the contemporary religious conflicts (not unrelated to the events of 1689) that still plague the last bastion of seventeenth-century religious culture to be found in the British Isles, namely Northern Ireland, should not be associated with the story here related. In a complex way the Orange Order grew out of the masonic lodges, and the secrecy employed by the Irish radicals of the 1790s like William Drennan was modeled on freemasonry. All that remains now in Northern Ireland in the linkage between some masonic lodges and the Orange order seems to be secrecy and an exaggerated cult of a Protestant past. Now too it would seem that the radical republicans, like their Orangist counterparts in Ulster have also moved away from secrecy and violence. By contrast, the masonic lodges of the eighteenth century on both sides of the Channel offered men, and most surprisingly some women, of all religions an opportunity to create what must have been an extraordinarily fascinating and tolerant social world, where, if only briefly and of course secretly, 'brothers' from a variety of backgrounds could meet, as the masonic phrase asserted, 'upon the level'.

The primary purpose of the chapters that follow is to give the student a new understanding of the radical side of Enlightenment culture, and initially to relate its earliest manifestations to the major revolutions of the seventeenth century, to both the English and Scientific Revolutions. To do so we must enter into a culture that was by the early eighteenth century international, yet at moments, purposely clandestine. Its existence, but not its personnel, have been known for some decades. Once again we see the singular importance of clandestine literature in creating the intellectual ferment so central to the early decades of the European Enlightenment. In the period prior to 1750, those clandestine manuscripts, passed from hand to hand, fed the flames of what became after mid-century a massive conflagration intended to destroy the Christian churches and their doctrines, as well as to invalidate the claims made to authority by established elites and absolutist institutions of government. Surveys of clandestine manuscripts have seldom, if ever, been able to locate their actual purveyors. The book trade network engaged in the circulation of these manuscripts still remains largely obscure. Here some new evidence is presented for one such network oper-

ating in this crucially important early period, and we now have a sense of how at least this publishing coterie, dedicated to the clandestine, might have trafficked in its forbidden wares (see Chapter 6).

The ideas and beliefs we can now associate with the Radical Enlightenment, of course, made their greatest impact in select Parisian salons operating during the second half of the eighteenth century. In summation we must look briefly at those decades, in particular at two projects, Diderot's multi-volumed *Encyclopédie* (1751) and d'Holbach's philosophical treatise, *Système de la Nature* (1770), for the relation they bear to this earlier culture. In the first case, the old question of the relationship of freemasonry to Diderot's project must be reframed, not to assert the masonic character of that project (for it was in no sense a masonic 'plot'), but rather to analyze its relation to this earlier masonic network centered in the publishing world of the Netherlands. Likewise the pantheism of d'Holbach, now acknowledged to be deeply indebted to Toland, merits some final attention. So, too, do the social contacts of that great publisher of the High Enlightenment, Marc-Michel Rey, who profited so handsomely from the publication of earlier clandestine manuscripts, as well as from the services he rendered to Rousseau and d'Holbach, among others. We are at the source of a long tradition, with a very large cast of characters. Only a few of them have survived the passage of time, at last now in a second edition to reveal themselves and their private world into which, for our own enlightenment, we are obliged to enter.

Notes

1. Writing in English and Italian, Sylvia Berti in particular has done important work as has Anthony McKenna, the editor of *La Lettre Clandestine*. See Berti, "The First Edition of the *Traité des trios imposteurs* and its Debt to Spinoza's *Ethics*" in Michael Hunter and David Wooton, eds. *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 182-220; see also Martin Mulrow, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund. Radikale Früaufklärung in Deutschland 1680-1720*, Hamburg, Felix Meiner, 2002. All the essays are important in Silvia Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and Richard H. Popkin, eds. *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Dordrecht, 1996. See also the writings of Wiep van Bunge on Spinoza and spinozism.

2. Lucien Goldmann, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. The Christian Burgess and the Enlightenment*, trans. H. Maas (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973)

3. For a good summary of what is now known about Spinoza, Toland and others, see Richard H. Popkin, ed., *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999.

4. Lester Crocker, *An Age of Crisis* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959), p. xiv.

5. Letter of the masonic historian, de Vignoles, to a lodge in Berlin, 1774, in the Library of the Grand Lodge, The Hague, Kloss MSS, 190.E.47, "Le Chev. Chr: Wren fameux architecte, intendant des Bâtimens du Roi, member de Parlement, ayant été élu en 1710 pour la second fois G.M. des la Société tient la chaire jusqu'en 1716...." Wren is also claimed as a member in Edward Oakley, *A Speech Deliver'd to the Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted masons at a Lodge...30th of December, 1718*, pp. 28-29. Masonic histories of the founding period said that Clayton "procured an occasional lodge of masters to meet at St. Thomas' hospital...near which a stated lodge continued long afterwards." A new biography of Wren (2003) by Lisa Jardine accepts his masonic affiliation.

6. Roger D. Lund, "The Atheist Cabal and the Rise of the Public Sphere in Augustan England," *Albion*, vol. 34, 2002, pp. 391-420.

7. For general information on Toland see my "John Toland and the Newtonian Enlightenment", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 32 (1969), esp. pp. 329-31; cf. J. G. A. Pocock, 'Post-Puritan England and the Problem of the Enlightenment', William Andrews Clark Library Lecture, 24 October, 1975. For example of early masonic membership see John Lane, *Masonic Records, 1717-1784: Being Lists of All (the Lodges at Home and Abroad* (London, 1895); H. Harry Rylands, *Records of the Lodge Original, No. 1. Now the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2 of the Free and Accepted masons of England* (London, privately printed, 1928), 2 vols; Wilfred G. Fisher, 'A Cavalcade of freemasons', *AQC*, vols. 76-7 (1963-4), pp. 44-58. For the Toland manuscript see BL, MSS ADD. 4295, ff. 18-19.

8 See this electronic source for thousands of French texts from the period:

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http://colet.lib.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/  
search2t?author=&title=&genre=&date=1690-  
1720&word=constitution&CONJUNCT=PHRASE  
&DISTANCE=3&PROXY=or+fewer&OUTPUT=conc  
&SYSTEM_DIR=%2Fprojects%2Fartflb%2  
Fdatabases%2Fartfl%2FTLF%2FIMAGE%2F
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It can be searched for any word.