

Nicholas
Marlowe
Rare Books

List 3: The *Candide* conspiracy



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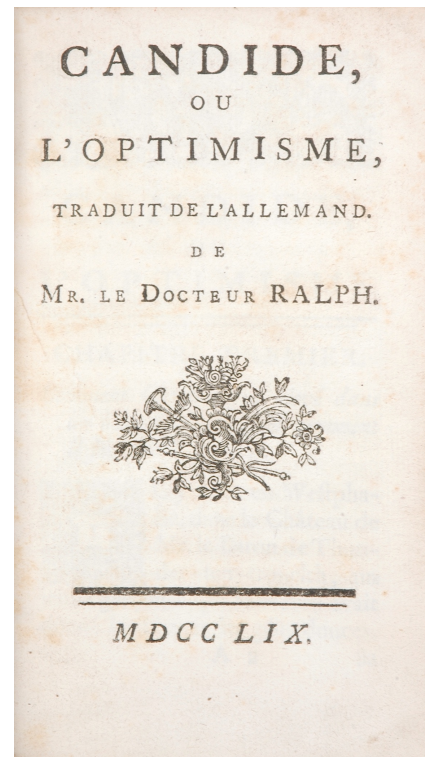
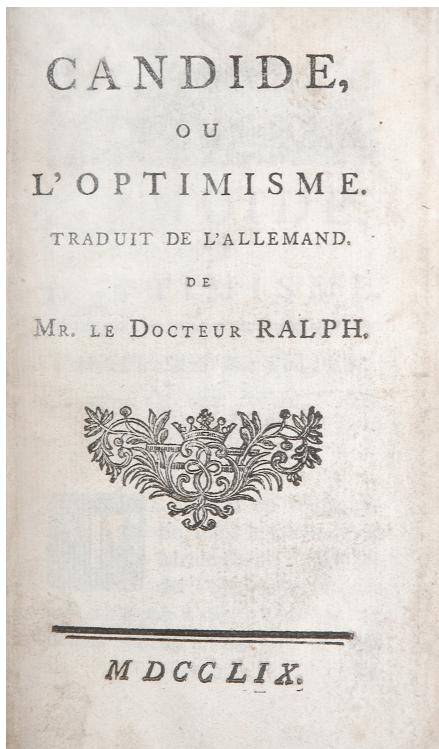
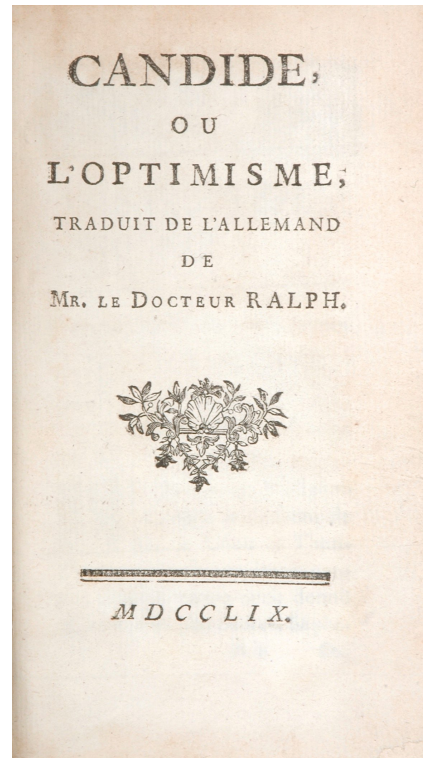
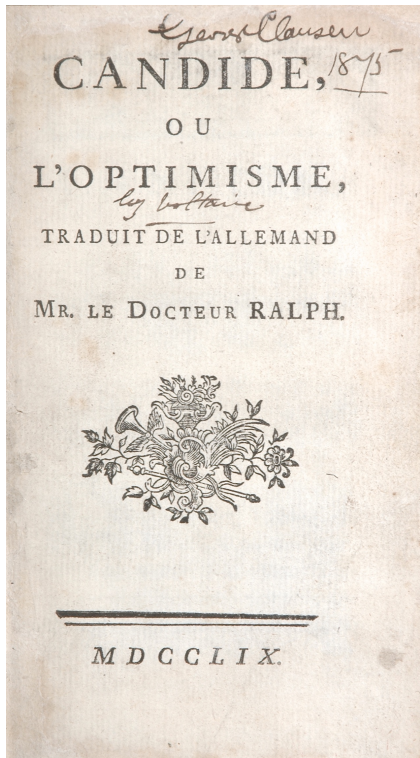
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Cover illustration: detail of the fleuron on the title page of the first edition.



The title pages of the first edition and its three clandestine replicas.

INTRODUCTION

At the end of February 1759 copies of Voltaire's novel *Candide* began to appear for the first time in cities across Europe. It was to prove one of the most sensational and mysterious literary events of the century. *Candide* materialised as if out of thin air: superficially identical, all copies bore simply a title and date, an obviously spurious author 'Le Doctor Ralph', and no trace of any publisher or place of publication. A literary equivalent of a hall of mirrors, these anonymous copies thoroughly confused attempts to trace the book back to its origins. It was a strategy masterminded by Voltaire himself, a pan-European conspiracy designed to defend both himself and his incendiary book.

Each of these first copies of *Candide* had the same number of pages: 299. Line-by-line, they appeared to be the same printing. But close inspection reveals that concealed within these copies are in fact four entirely separate editions. One of these editions was the first. The others were decoys: clandestine replicas of considerable sophistication, copying with great skill even the woodcut ornaments.

But which edition was which? In one sense at least, Voltaire succeeded entirely in his plans. The true identity of the first edition, where it was printed, and who by, remained an enigma for more than two centuries, resisting the efforts of the greatest bibliographers. It was finally unmasked only in 1980.

THE CATALOGUE

This short catalogue assembles all four of these first editions of *Candide*, each with 299 pages, and all nearly identical page-by-page, line-by-line copies of each other. One of these is a very rare example of the true first edition complete with the 'avis au relieur' or binder's instructions leaf: missing in the majority copies, this is a key piece of the evidence that led to the eventual identification of the true first. The three other editions have all in turn been considered by bibliographers over the years as potential candidates for the first edition; we now know that they are in fact clandestine replicas.

THE SEARCH FOR THE FIRST EDITION

Voltaire's *Candide* remained one of the great bibliographical puzzles for more than two hundred years. In 1959, writing in the bicentenary of its publication, Ira Wade declared *Candide* to be "very likely the most clandestine work of the [18th] century" (Wade 1959 p. 63). In 1963, the entry on *Candide* in the catalogue of "Printing and the Mind of Man", the definitive printed book exhibition of the 20th century, could only conclude: "which of the editions of 1759 is the first is still open to doubt" (*Printing and the Mind of Man* p. 122). And as late as 1973, Theodore Besterman, the great Voltaire collector and bibliophile, after years of study, remained defeated: "Although a solution of the problem seems to be in the offing, it is at the moment still uncertain which edition of *Candide* is the first" (Besterman, p. 22).

It was Giles Barber who made the final breakthrough when he discovered that the two most contested of these first four editions of *Candide* were in fact printed in London, by John Nourse. Assisted by the emergence of the only surviving manuscript of *Candide* (the La Vallière manuscript) and the account books of Voltaire's main printers, les frères Cramer of Geneva, Barber convincingly identified the true first, and established a rough chronology of its three replicas. Barber's findings were published in the 1980 critical edition of *Candide* edited by Rene Pomeau - but this essential bibliography seems to be little circulated, and editions of *Candide* are still often misidentified, or correctly identified for the wrong reasons.

THE PRINTING OF *CANDIDE*

The year 1759 was a moment of crisis and crystallisation for Voltaire. He was waging a war against an increasingly belligerent establishment, and one weapon he used to counteract the forces of reaction assembled against him was his satirical novel *Candide*: ridicule, derision and delightful laughter in defiance of the establishment.

"The year 1759 was one of increasing hostility against the Philosophes. Helvetius's *De L'esprit*, which had lost its privilege on 10 August 1758, was

condemned by the Pope, Clement XIII, on 31 January, and by the parlement on 6 February; the book ‘rempli de propositions impies, scandaleuses et heretiques’ was publicly burned on 10 February. The *Encyclopedie* was condemned by the parlement on 6 February, and its privilege withdrawn on 8 March. Voltaire would see in such events a repetition of history, the age old confrontation of truth and authority. Writing on 7 February to Thiriot, he was reminded of the fate of Galileo; the philosophes, like the astronomer, were under attack, but they had right on their side” (Nablow, p. xix).

Voltaire clearly understood that it was not sufficient to simply write his novel: he needed to organise and control both its publishing and distribution to achieve maximum impact. He therefore went about the publication of *Candide* as if it were a military campaign, designed to confuse and deceive the inevitable censorship, and to ensure that the work’s distribution was wide enough to make life impossible for the censors.

We now know Voltaire first had *Candide* printed by the brothers Cramer in Geneva in January 1759 (item 1 in this catalogue). The Cramers noted in their register on the 15 of January that “Robin de Paris” owed them “750 livres” for 1000 copies of *Candide*, establishing that the first edition had been printed by that date.

This first printing in Geneva was followed by three very close clandestine replicas, all also 299 pages long: two printed in London (items 2 and 3 in this catalogue), and one printed in France, most likely in Paris or Lyon (item 4 in this catalogue). It seems certain that the first London edition did not appear until May 1759, as no mention of any London printing was made by the press in London before then. The date of the appearance of the first French edition, which gives the impression of having been produced in great haste, has yet to be firmly established.

Following Barber’s notation, the true identity of the first four editions of *Candide* can now be listed as follows:

1. 299G - First edition: Geneva (before 15 January 1759).
2. 299L - First London edition (not before May 1759).
3. 299La - Second London edition.
4. 299P - First French (Paris or Lyon) edition.

To further complicate the plot, the two London editions print an earlier state of the text than occurs in the first edition printed in Geneva. The only credible explanation advanced for this to date is that Voltaire sent an early state of the printed text from Geneva to London, from which the London editions were made. Thus the London editions did not include changes that Voltaire made to later states of the first edition printed in Geneva.

Once printing of the first edition had been completed in Geneva, all copies were immediately despatched, probably in sheets, to cities around Europe. On the 15th of January 1000 copies were sent to Paris, on the 16th of January 200 copies were sent to Amsterdam, and on the 18th of January a large packet was sent to Voltaire's printer in London, John Nourse, probably again containing copies of the first Geneva printing.

The transportation of these sheets of the first edition took time: Besterman estimated that it must have taken nearly three weeks to transport the sheets from Geneva to Paris, and then at least another week to smuggle them into the city. This delay allowed work on the replica editions to proceed, so when the true first appeared in European capitals, it circulated alongside the replicas.

The confusion surrounding the first edition was therefore entirely deliberate, caused by the great lengths Voltaire went to to propagate his novel as widely as possible whilst disguising the source of its publication in Geneva. The city council in Geneva immediately banned the work, but when the police searched the shops of Cramer, his associates, and other booksellers in the city, they found not a single copy of *Candide*. Cramer admitted to having seen two copies, (for personal reference, he stated) which he had obtained from Lyon. Voltaire himself deliberately did not mention the work until editions from elsewhere were being distributed in Geneva.

Remarkably, there was however one contemporary official who - it has now been proved - correctly divined the solution to mystery at the time: but as he never revealed his sources, evidence, or reasoning, his conclusions have never been of direct use in establishing the identity of the first edition. This was Joseph d'Hemery, the 'Inspecteur des Libraires' of Paris, charged with the prevention of clandestine literature. D'Hemery wrote in his diary on the 22 February 1759: "*Candide, ou l'optimisme*, ... brochure in 12 imprimée a Genève et distribuée a Paris sans permission. C'est une mauvaise plaisanterie sur tous les pays et tous les usages qui est indigne de l'auteur a qui on l'attribue - M. de Voltaire. M. le Duc de la Vallière et M. d'Argental le dist[ribuent] vendent ici et Jean Marie Bruisses de Lyon en a fait aussi une édition." Since D'Hemery knew who the distributors of the book in Paris were, and given that the bulk of the first edition - 1000 copies in all - went to Paris, it is hardly surprising that the first edition of *Candide* is a rare book.

Such was the demand for *Candide*, however, that despite the destruction of sheets and the raiding of printers and booksellers, new editions proliferated. Voltaire's meticulously organised plan had worked to perfection, and *Candide* was a European publishing sensation: "Un petit livre à trente sous. Une bombe" (Glucksmann p. 18). It is speculated that seventeen editions were printed in 1759 alone. Inevitably, it was banned and placed on the index everywhere it appeared, except in England.

The first edition of *Candide* has traditionally been regarded as a mythically rare book, with figures between 5 and 20 copies often quoted for the total number of surviving examples. Such figures are now difficult to justify, as, since the first edition is now more easily identifiable, more copies have emerged. It is still nonetheless a rare book, and copies complete with the important 'avis' leaf are undoubtedly considerably rarer.

THE FATE OF *CANDIDE*

Any discussion of the importance and continued validity of *Candide* as a novel seems almost superfluous, especially in the light of recent horrors. Its biting irony, caustic humour, its attack on the religious institutions and dogma so powerfully ranged against it and the orthodoxy of the philosophy

of the “best of all possible worlds”, remain universally appreciated.

“Voltaire compose là une traité contestataire, de loin plus redoutable que celui qu’il publie sur la ‘Tolérance’, incomparablement plus philosophique que celui qu’il nomme ‘métaphysique’. Un siècle plus tard, on dirait qu’il lance un ‘manifest’, sauf que ni Saint-Simon, ni Karl Marx, ni André Breton n’en ont produit d’aussi efficace et d’aussi palpitant” (Glucksmann p. 19).

Its influence on French literature, and literature generally, has been immense. Flaubert’s response to it was typical: “J’ai lu *Candide* vingt fois. Je l’ai traduit en anglais, et je l’ai encore relu de temps à l’autre”, he wrote in a letter of 1844 (Flaubert p. 250), and ten years later concluded: “La fin de *Candide* est pour moi la preuve criante d’un génie de premier ordre. La griffe du lion est marquée dans cette conclusion tranquille, bête comme la vie” (Flaubert p. 78). What is perhaps so surprising about *Candide*, a work “responsible for the invention of the word Pessimism” (Wootton, p. x.), is that it is so full of life and laughter. It was instantly widely quoted, and quoting from it now seems as relevant as in 1759. Lines such as: “It was decided by the university of Coimbre that the sight of several persons being slowly burned in great ceremony is an infallible secret for preventing earthquakes” remain poignant. “Irony without exaggeration, a perfect restraint in its admirable humour, a gift for the ‘throwaway line’ (‘pour encourager les autres’ is a classic example); all these show Voltaire’s style and originality at their incomparable best” (*Printing and the Mind of Man* p. 122).

But quite apart from the significance of the novel itself, the nature of the publication of *Candide* is of great interest for what it reveals about Voltaire: not only a great writer and thinker, he was also a skilled political campaigner and publisher. The remarkable extent of the pan-European network of clandestine printers he was able to call upon demonstrates the hugely ambitious nature of Voltaire’s publishing strategies, and the extraordinary subversive power of printing at the time.

George Clausen
CANDIDE, *1875*

O U

L'OPTIMISME,
by Voltaire

TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND

D E

MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.



M D C C L I X.

Title of first edition 299G

The first edition of *Candide* - one of the very rare copies complete with the 'avis au relieur' leaf.

Bound with the highly important *Ode* and essay in defence of 'Les Philosophes', written and published concurrently with *Candide*

1] 299G

[Voltaire, Francois-Marie Arouet]. *Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande de Mr. le Docteur Ralph.*

[Geneva: Cramer], 1759.

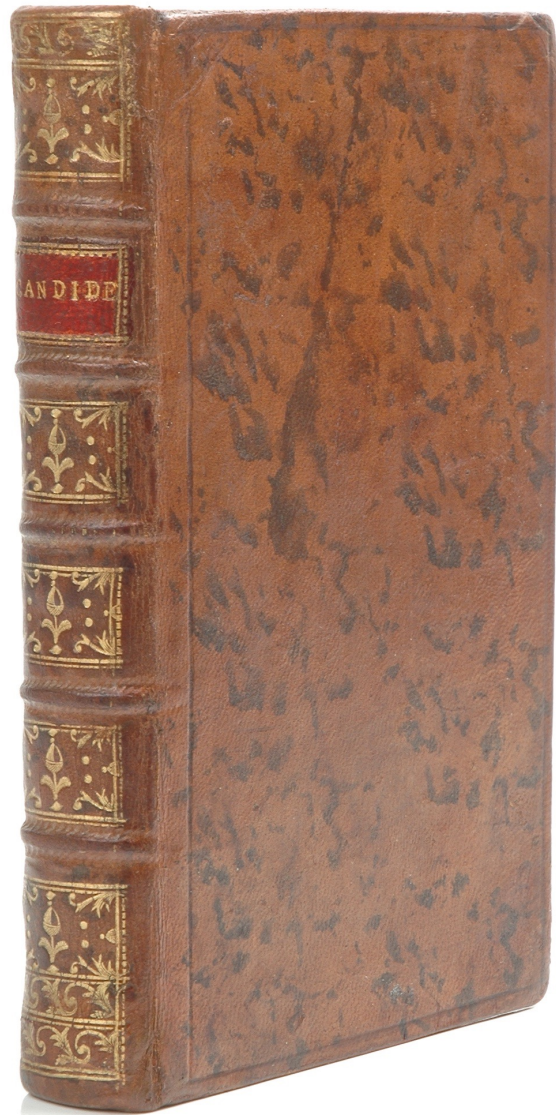
Two works in one vol. 12mo. (165 x 94 mm.), pp. 299, [5] (including a blank leaf and the 'Avis au relieur' leaf). A-M¹², N⁸. Roman letter. Woodcut fleuron on title with trumpet, woodcut headpiece, several woodcut tailpieces, one woodcut initial. All woodcut ornaments correspond to Barber 299G. A good copy, with good margins, (somer lower margins uncut), very expertly recased in contemporary mottled calf, spine with raised bands, gilt in compartments with central gilt fleurons and corner-pieces, edges sprinkled red.

Title page with expert repairs in blank upper margin and at gutter well away from text, A² with minor repairs at inner lower and upper blank corners, some light spotting and occasional browning, the odd thumb mark.

FIRST EDITION OF *CANDIDE*, a very rare copy complete with 'avis au relieur leaf' and the last blank, missing in the majority copies: two leaves of signal importance in establishing this as the first edition.



Voltaire made a number of changes to the text of *Candide* during its printing in Geneva. He made further corrections after the printing was finished,



requiring the replacement of four leaves of text with corrected versions. These cancel leaves were included in the first edition in the final gathering of twelve leaves (effectively N⁹⁻¹²), together with a printed “avis au relieur” leaf, i.e. instructions to the binder as to where to place the four corrected leaves in the text. The corrected leaves were inserted at pages 31/32, 41/42, 83/84, 85/86, in each case as conjoint leaves, so no stubs were required, making the changes undetectable. The “avis au relieur” leaf was almost always then discarded by the binder, as having served its purpose, and remains in only a handful of copies as witness to the cancel leaves, and thus witness to the creation of the first edition.

The presence of cancel leaves would normally have definitively and in itself have established this Geneva printing to be the first edition if all the other contemporary editions followed the text of the cancel leaves. However, there are two editions that do not. Further complicating the story, the two London printings (items 2 and 3 of this catalogue) follow an earlier, uncorrected version of the text. As already noted, these two London editions have now been shown to have been printed after the Geneva first edition - for a fuller discussion of this complex story see item 2 below. Apart from these two London editions however, all other contemporary editions follow the text of the cancel leaves in the Geneva first edition.

Conclusive proof that the first edition must have been printed in Geneva by Cramer comes from a note in the Cramers’ account book: “Le 15 Janvier 1759, les frères Cramer notent sur leur Grand Livre: ‘Robin de Paris doit 750 livres audits [Cramer] pour 1000 Candides 12o a lui envoyés a 15 sols [l'exemplaire]’. Et le 16 Janvier: ‘Marc Michel Rey doit 150 livres auxdits [Cramer] pour 200 Candides a lui envoyés a 15 sols [l'exemplaire]’. Ce document tranche la question de l'édition originale: elle ne peut être autre que celle qui sort des presses des Cramer a Genève, au milieu de Janvier 1759, sous le titre Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande de Mr. le Docteur Ralph, un volume in-12 de 299 pages (édition désignée par le sigle 299G)” (Pomeau p. 53).



It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of early editions of *Candide*, given the fact that copies are so frequently incorrectly identified. It seems certain however that the true first edition of *Candide* is a rare book in any state, and that only a small fraction of copies are complete with the ‘avis au relieur’ leaf as here.

Barber 299G. Besterman 237B. Morize 59a. Wade 1. Bengesco 1434. *Printing and the Mind of Man* 204 (not specifying the first edition).

[bound with]:

The highly important 1759 *Ode* and essay in defence of ‘Les Philosophes’, written and published concurrently with *Candide*.

A newly-discovered ESTC item: not in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, The Institut Voltaire in Geneva, and all French and American libraries.

Voltaire, Francois-Marie Arouet. *Ode Sur la mort de son Altesse Royale Madame la Markgrave de Bareith. Avec une lettre a quelques Gens de Lettres. Par Mr. De Voltaire.*

Paris: les Frères Cramer, 1759. [i.e. London: John Nourse, 1759]

[Bound after the preceding work]. 12mo. (165 x 94 mm.), pp. 67, [1]. A-E⁶, F⁴. Roman letter. Small woodcut ornament on title, one large woodcut headpiece and woodcut tailpiece.

FIRST EDITION. Exceptionally rare and important edition of Voltaire’s *Ode*, written in response to the death of Madame la Markgrave de Bareith, together with Voltaire’s famous epilogue. A previously unidentified ESTC item: our research reveals for the first time that this is not, as currently believed, a Geneva printing, but a clandestine London printing.

O D E
SUR LA MORT
DE
SON ALTESSE ROYALE
MADAME LA MARKGRAVE
DE
B A R E I T H.

Avec une Lettre à quelques Gens
de Lettres.

Par Mr. DE VOLTAIRE.



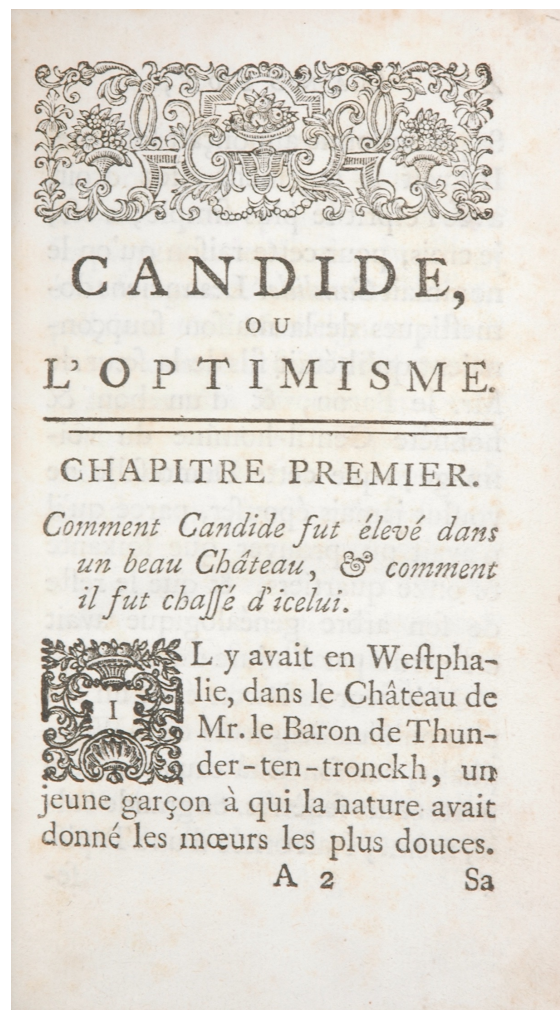
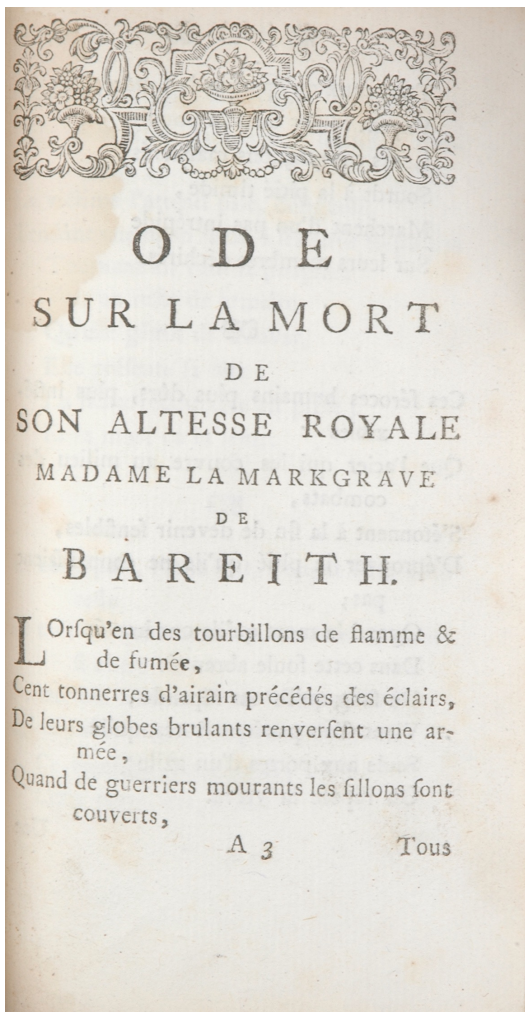
A GENEVE,
Chez les Frères CRAMER, 1759.

Sophia, the sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia, died in October 1758. She was a close friend of Voltaire's: he referred to himself in his many letters to her as "Frère Voltaire". Voltaire wrote the *Ode* in her honour at the end of 1758, revising it four times. He received instructions from Frederick to have the *Ode* printed, and at the same time was given permission to print a prose 'epilogue' to the work. Voltaire duly added an epilogue, or set of notes, which he openly entitled in this first edition: *Une lettre a quelques Gens de Lettres Par Mr. De Voltaire*. In later editions the epilogue appeared pseudonymously, under the title by which it is now generally known: *Notes de Monsieur de Morza*.

The *Ode* was generally well received, as Chateaubriand noted: "La seule ode ou Voltaire ait montre quelque talent lyrique". The prose epilogue to the *Ode*, however, was much the most important part of the work, and was hugely controversial. It was a reaction to the prohibition of 23 January 1759 of the publication of the *Encyclopedie* by Diderot, and the general attack on the 'Philosophes'. In it Voltaire launches a stinging attack on the enemies of the *Encyclopedie*, in particular against the Jesuit Guillaume Francois Berthier, who was the editor in chief of the *Journal de Trevoux*, immortalised in *Candide*.

Voltaire wrote to Gabriel Cramer, his printer, on 3rd April: "L'épilogue de l'ode fera beau bruit. Ne manquez pas d'envoyer un exprès avec l'épreuve. Il faudra peut-etre émieller quelques endroits. J'ai peur d'avoir trop vinaigré la salade" (Nablow p. 8).

"The epilogue is indeed a caustic piece. A compendium of Voltairian themes, it shows him attacking his enemies (in particular the Jesuits), inveighing against hacks, negative critics and slanderers, condemning persecution, deploring metaphysical wrangling and sectarian dissensions, preaching natural law as the basis of all religion, stressing the value of friendship, and praising freedom of enquiry and the many advantages ensuing from it ... And in its defence of the 'Philosophes', the text penetrates to the essence of Voltaire's ideas on the subject. 'Le fanatique allume la discorde et le philosophe l'éteint'. Raymond Naves saw, in this defence of the 'Philosophe' the probable source of Diderot's *Encyclopedie* article 'Philosophe'" (Nablow p. 8).



Comparison of the fleurons in the *Ode* and the first London printing of *Candide*.

The first three editions contain a postscript (which follows the epilogue) cut out in all later editions. This postscript is a vitriolic attack on Jean Caveirac, who was an ultramontane and opponent of the ‘Philosophes’ who in his *Apologie de Louis XIV*, published in 1758, defended the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of Protestants in Paris and the repeal of the edict of Nantes.

The epilogue caused a sensation, as Diderot noted in a letter to Friedrich Grimm: “son papier fera une peine incroyable a nos ennemis; moins par ce qu’il dit, que par l’aveu qu’il en fait...sachez seulement qu’il y fait ici grande fortune. On trouve que c’est une des choses les plus vigoureuses qu’il ait ecrite” (Nablow p. 10).



The present edition of the *Ode* has recently been identified as the first edition by Ralph Nablow (Nablow 59G1): it has 67 pages, and both Voltaire’s and the Cramers’ names on the title page. It was followed by two editions printed in Geneva (Nablow 59G2 and 59G3), both very different in pagination (35 pages, rather than 67), and attribution (they are anonymous, with no details of author, place of publication, or printer, and no title page at all).

We have discovered however that the present edition, contrary to Nablow’s description, must have been printed in London by John Nourse, and not at Geneva by the Cramers as stated on the title-page. The large woodcut head-piece that appears in this first edition of the *Ode* is identical to the one found in the first London printing of *Candide* (see illustration above); and the woodcut on the colophon is the same woodcut that appears on the title page of the first London printing of *Candide*.

The fact that this edition was printed in London begs questions about its origin. Did John Nourse receive a manuscript copy of this work to publish? Or did he receive an early state of the printed text from Cramer? Nourse clearly set the work up in an entirely different fashion from the following two Geneva printings that genuinely were printed by Cramer, (Nablow 59G2 and 59G3), openly using both the Cramers’ and Voltaire’s names, whereas 59G2 and 59G3 were both entirely anonymous. Perhaps Voltaire’s concern that he had “put to much vinegar in the salad” led him to change his mind

about publishing the text openly in Geneva, and to ask his printers in Geneva to print the work anonymously.



This present first edition is exceptionally rare: we have been unable to find any copy in any library in Continental Europe or America. OCLC locates four copies only (British Library, Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh). As it has hitherto not been identified as a London printing it is not in ESTC.

Nablow: 59G1. Besterman 164 “Bengesco (B. 550) records two undated editions of this Ode neither of which is the first. Here it is [citing this edition]”.

An intriguing conjunction of two works.

These two works, one in the form of a novel, one in the form of an essay, are perhaps Voltaire’s greatest contributions in defence of the enlightenment and the Philosophes. The essay, written shortly after *Candide*, complements the novel perfectly, sharing many of the same political and philosophical concerns as the novel. Intriguingly the volume begins and ends with two fleurons that look nearly identical; one is Cramer’s original, the other is Nourse’s near exact copy of the same fleuron. Two very rare and important works.

Provenance: Sir George Clausen, 1852-1944 (ownership signature on title page). George Clausen, a founder member of the New English Art Club, became Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy in 1906. His publications include *Six Lectures on Painting* (1904) and *Aims and Ideals in Art* (1906).

£29,000

CANDIDE,
OU
L'OPTIMISME,
TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND.
DE
MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.



MDCC LIX.

Title of first London edition 299L

First London edition

“bien une édition ‘originale’, voulue par Voltaire”

2] 299L.

[Voltaire, Francois-Marie Arouet]. *Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande. de Mr. le Docteur Ralph.*

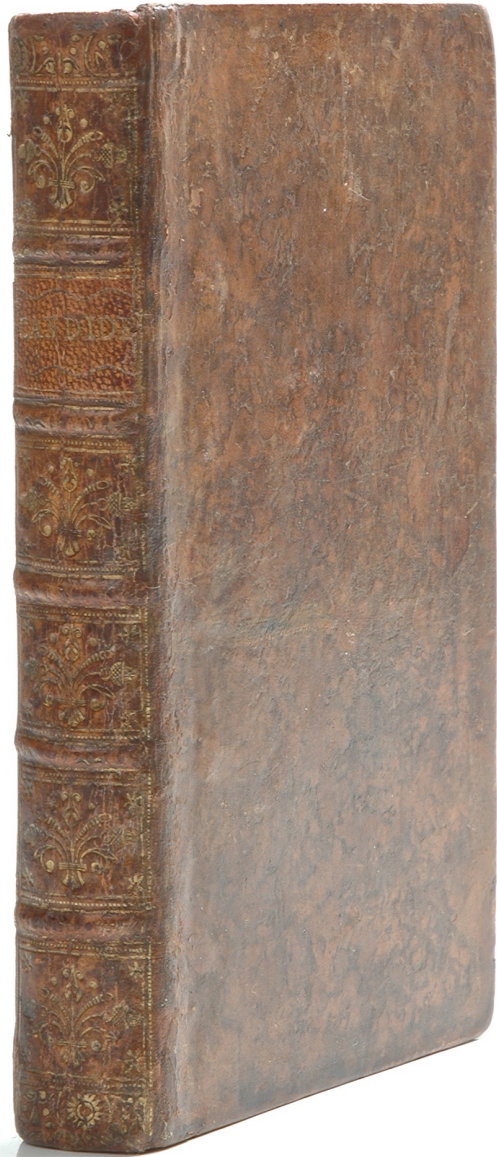
[London: John Nourse], 1759.

12mo. (165 x 96 mm.), pp. 299, [1]. A-M¹², N⁶. Roman letter. Woodcut fleuron on title with trumpet, woodcut headpiece, several woodcut tailpieces, one woodcut initial. A very good copy in contemporary English calf, spine gilt in compartments, edges sprinkles red.

Light age toning, upper joint expertly restored, a little rubbed.

FIRST LONDON EDITION. This edition, published in London by John Nourse, has perhaps caused more confusion and debate than any other, as it contains an earlier version of the text than appears in the first edition printed in Geneva, though it was in fact printed later.

Since the discovery of the La Vallière manuscript we now know the text in this first London edition forms an intermediate stage between the La Vallière manuscript and the uncanceled Geneva edition (an entirely uncanceled copy of the Geneva edition is held at the Institut Voltaire in Geneva); in other words an earlier state of the text than the first Geneva printing. “Cette édition est importante car elle est presque la seul de ce millésime a donner, a la page 242, le célèbre paragraphe ‘Candide était affligé’” (Pomeaux p. 88). This paragraph was corrected by Voltaire in the Geneva printing, and constitutes one of several unamended parts of the text that appear in the London edition.



André Morize concluded that the present edition was a counterfeit of the first Geneva edition without the cancel leaves - but this fails to explain the presence of other passages not in the cancelled leaves that include earlier states of the text than the Geneva edition. Ira Wade, in his exceptional 1973 article *Spacing in the early editions of Candide*, was convinced, after an exhaustive examination of the spacing in the first three editions, that this was the first edition. He was correct about it being the earliest version of the text, but came to the incorrect conclusion that it was a pre-edition published in Amsterdam.

It was only after a close examination of the fleurons and type in this edition by Giles Barber that it was definitively proved to have been published at London by John Nourse. It now seems certain that the London printing was printed after the Geneva edition, as no mention of this London printing was made by the press in London before May 1759, as proved by Andre Rousseau (see Pomeau p. 54), and we know that the Geneva printing came off the press in mid-January.

The origins of the first London edition are still very obscure. Pomeau eventually leans towards a hypothesis advanced by Rousseau, coming to the conclusion that Voltaire must have sent a manuscript to Nourse in London before he revised the text with the Cramers. He concludes that this London edition “est bien une édition ‘originale’, voulue par Voltaire, bien qu’elle ait été imprimée postérieurement à 299G. Ainsi 299G, l’édition Cramer de Genève, se trouve être la première édition originale selon la chronologie, bien qu’elle donne un état du texte moins anciens que celui de 299L” (Pomeau p.58).

There is still a glaring inconsistency with this theory however, as the London edition cannot simply have been set up from a manuscript. The London and Geneva editions are both, line-by-line, nearly identical to each other, set with 20 lines per page (where this varies at 19 lines, both editions follow each other), and with almost indistinguishable title-pages (including their woodcut ornaments). Even the spacing between the words is identical in most places.

Investigating this remarkable similarity, Ira Wade convincingly demonstrated (see Wade 1973) that the layout of the Geneva printing of *Candide* is in fact a corrected form of the layout of the London Nourse printing. From this discovery, he reached what we now know to be an incorrect conclusion however: that the Geneva printing was directly copied from the London.

The only plausible scenario, given that the Geneva edition was printed at least a month before the London edition, is that Cramer sent Nourse an early state of the printed text, which Nourse copied very faithfully in his edition. Voltaire then made corrections during printing in Geneva and then amended the text again post-printing, which involved the use of cancel leaves. This means that the London edition is a ghostly record of an early state of the Geneva printing. Giles Barber was working on a major study of John Nourse which he left unfinished when he died in 2012. He did however publish an article in the *British Library Journal* which leads to this conclusion:

“The story of the two French text editions [of *Candide*] published anonymously in England has yet to be fully sorted out but two important facts can be noted: firstly, at least one of them clearly reprints an early state of the text probably altered in Voltaire's final editing of his Genevan edition, and yet secondly, the English editions copy the layout of the Genevan text so closely in all other respects that one feels they must have been made from printed and not from manuscript copy. The conclusion that Nourse received an early state of the Genevan printed text suggests itself but is remarkable in that virtually no other European bookseller seems to have been treated to this” (Barber p. 106).



This first London edition, as well as being most interesting and important, is in itself rare, especially in a contemporary binding.

ESTC has only one entry for a 1759 London edition of *Candide* with 299 pages, T140380. Presumably copies of both this edition and the second London edition (item 3 below) are all listed under this single entry. On the

basis that this first London edition should be assigned T140380, the second London edition is currently not listed in ESTC.

It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of the two London printings of *Candide*, given the fact that they are so frequently incorrectly identified, and that the two editions are conflated in ESTC. One very rough measure is given by the total number of copies listed in ESTC for both editions: 18. How this figure breaks down in terms of the two editions it is not at the moment possible to say.

£5500

Barber 299L. ESTC T140380? Wade 2. Morize 59x.

CANDIDE,
OU
L'OPTIMISME.
TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND.
DE
MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.



MDCCLIX.

Title of second London edition 299La

Second London edition

Bengesco's copy

Bound with the extremely rare first edition of the spurious second part

3] 299La.

[Voltaire Francois-Marie Arouet]. *Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande. de Mr. le Docteur Ralph.*

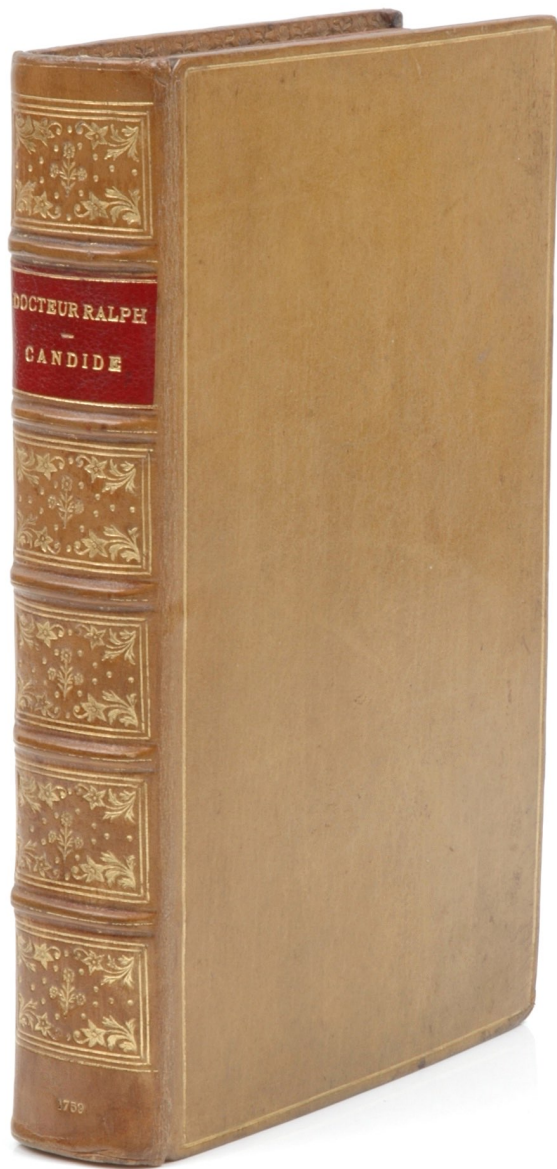
[London: John Nourse], 1759.

Two works in one vol. 12mo. (163 x 98 mm.), pp. 299, [1]. A-M¹², N⁶. Roman letter. Woodcut fleuron on title with crown, woodcut headpiece, several woodcut tailpieces, one woodcut initial. Tan calf c. 1890, covers bordered with a single gilt rule, spine with gilt ruled raised bands, richly gilt in double gilt ruled compartments, inner dentelles gilt, edges stained red.

Light age yellowing, minor marks on first title, small stain at gutter, title fractionally dusty, the odd marginal spot or mark. Very good, clean copies.

SECOND LONDON EDITION. This second London edition (299L), is printed on the same paper as the first, slightly corrected, and with different fleurons. This edition also, remarkably, contains an earlier version of the text than appears in the first edition printed in Geneva. As such it was also for a long period considered by many to be the first edition.

ESTC has only one entry for a 1759 London edition of *Candide* with 299 pages, T140380. Presumably copies of both this second London edition and the first London edition (item 2 above) are all listed under this single entry. On the basis that the first London edition should be assigned T140380, this second London edition is currently not listed in ESTC.



It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of the two London printings of *Candide*, given the fact that they are so frequently incorrectly identified at auction, and that the two editions are conflated in ESTC. One very rough measure is given by the total number of copies listed in ESTC for both editions: 18. How this figure breaks down in terms of the two editions it is not at the moment possible to say.

Barber 299La. Wade 3. Morize 59b. Not in ESTC?

[Bound with]:

The extremely rare first edition of the spurious second part of
Candide

[Pseudo Voltaire. Henri-Joseph Du laurens.] *Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande. de Mr. le Docteur Ralph. Second Partie.*

[London?]: 1761.

[Bound after the preceding work]. 12mo., (163 x 98 mm.), pp. 132. A-E¹² F⁶. Woodcut fleuron on title, one woodcut headpiece and one initial.

FIRST EDITION of the spurious second part of *Candide*, also, and most intriguingly, printed at London. ESTC states: "Attributed by Bengesco to Charles-Claude-Florent Thorel de Campigneulles, and more recently to Henri-Joseph Du Laurens ... London printing on evidence of ornaments, signature style and press figures."

This first edition of the second part imitates the title of the first part exactly, the only difference being the addition of "Seconde Partie". The work is now definitively attributed to Du Laurens who worked with the printer Marc Michel Rey on many antic-clerical and licentious works. He was imprisoned in 1767 at Marienbaum by the Ecclesiastical court of Mayence, where he remained to his death in 1797. The work is both an imitation and a continuation of *Candide* and picks up many of the original's themes, though it cannot begin to compare with Voltaire's masterpiece. It is nonetheless an amusing and instructive imitation.

CANDIDE,

OU

L'OPTIMISME,

TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND

DE

MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.

SECONDE PARTIE.



M. DCC. LXI.

Title of spurious second part

This first edition of part two also appears to be particularly rare, with only four locations given by ESTC, two in the UK (British Library, William Salt Library), and two in the US (University of Texas, Yale).



Provenance: George Bengesco, 1848-1922 (ex-libris), the pre-eminent Voltaire bibliographer of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, who donated the majority of his remarkable collection of Voltaire books to the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1893 and 1895. Another part of his library was sold in Brussels in 1898. His monumental *Voltaire Bibliographie des Oeuvres* is the first great bibliography of the works of Voltaire.

£3,800

ESTC T140379.

CANDIDE,
OU
L'OPTIMISME;
TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND
DE
MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.



MDCCLIX.

Title of the Paris? edition 299P.

The first edition of *Candide* published in France?

4] 299p.

[Voltaire, Francois-Marie Arouet]. *Candide, ou l'Optimisme, Traduit de l'Allemande de Mr. le Docteur Ralph.*

[Paris or Lyon?]: 1759

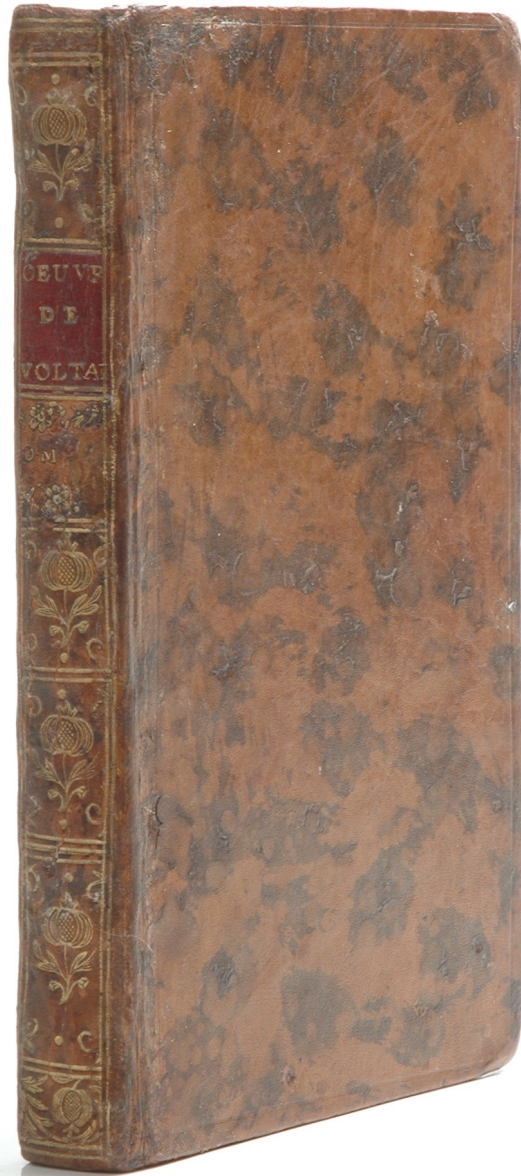
12mo. (164 x 95 mm.), pp. 299, [1]. A-M¹², N⁶. Roman letter. Woodcut fleuron on title with shell, woodcut headpiece, several woodcut tailpieces, one woodcut initial. All woodcut ornaments correspond to Barber 299p. In contemporary cats-paw calf, covers bordered with single blind rule, spine double gilt ruled in compartments with pomegranate fleuron gilt at centre, red morocco label gilt lettered with 'Oeuvres de Voltaire', 'tome 1' in compartment beneath, edges stained red.

Light age toning, tiny tear in lower blank outer corner of title. Upper joint and extremities expertly restored, a little rubbed. A very good copy, crisp and clean.

FIRST FRENCH EDITION? This is probably the first edition of *Candide* printed in France, either at Paris or possibly Lyon.

Signs of the haste in the printing of this volume, inevitable in the circumstances, can be seen in quires F and G. These are printed in a larger type than the rest of the book, suggesting that the necessity for speed required the use of three type-setters, employed simultaneously, to set up the book. The second of these type-setters was less able than the others, as he had to adjust the set-up of the text to arrive at the correct number of pages.

The paper used is from the same stock throughout the volume, suggesting a single origin, and not multiple printers, as has been suggested by some. Some of the woodcut ornaments used are signed N.C. and were probably made by Nicolas Caron, a Parisian engraver, suggesting to Morize a Parisian printing. However the use of catchwords, and numbers (rather than Roman numerals) in the numbering of the signatures, neither of which was



common usage in Paris at the time, all point to a provincial printing. It could possibly be the edition mentioned by Joseph d'Hemery (see p. 8 above) as available for sale in Paris on 22 February 1759 printed by "Jean Marie Bruisses de Lyon" which was distributed in Paris simultaneously with the first Geneva edition. If this is the case, this suggests a rough dating for the printing of this edition: before 22 February 1759.



It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of early editions of *Candide*, given the fact that copies are so frequently incorrectly identified. This edition, most probably the first printed in France, appears to be particularly rare however, perhaps due to the immediate crackdown on *Candide* in Paris.

£3,400.

Barber 299P. Morize 59d. Wade 10.

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