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Jeffrey Freedman, *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. viii + 382 pp. Maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, and acknowledgments. Online supplements at www.yu.edu/freedman/supplement. \$58.39 U.S. (cl). ISBN 0-812-24389-7.

Review by Jeremy L. Caradonna, University of Alberta.

Jeffrey Freedman's *Books Without Borders* is a welcome addition to the growing corpus of literature that sheds light on the intricacies of the eighteenth-century book trade. Freedman's first book, *A Poisoned Chalice*, dealt with a case of poisoned communion wine in Zurich, and although the author shifts his focus in this work to print culture and the international book market, his archival base remains in Switzerland.[1] Freedman follows Robert Darnton, his Ph.D. adviser at Princeton, into the bountiful archives of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN), the now-famous Swiss publishing house whose immaculately well-preserved records are today found in Neuchâtel's Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire. Indeed, the STN has been the basis of two major publishing campaigns, the first from 1769 to 1794, when the firm published around 400,000 copies of nearly 4,000 books, mostly in the French language, and the second, the barrage of books, articles, databases, and sources that have spun out of the STN since Darnton popularized this rare cache of documents in the 1970s.[2] It is no exaggeration to say that the STN's business archives have completely revolutionized our understanding of the many facets of the book trade: printing and bookmaking, publishing, translating, editing, crediting, legal issues, material culture, trade networks, and much more.

The book focuses primarily on the STN's trade in "cheap pirated editions" (p. 6) of French-language books that were sold in the Germanic lands of the Holy Roman Empire (which Freedman calls "the Reich," borrowing a term from the period). The author draws extensively on secondary works in Francophone book history to help historicize and contextualize the growth of "French cosmopolitanism" in Enlightenment Europe, including those of Darnton, Mark Curran and Simon Burrows, and others.[3]

But Freedman owns Germany. Indeed, it seems that relatively little has been written on the French book trade in Germany, although there is a fair amount on the German-language book trade in the Reich. One of the important themes that emerges in the opening pages of the book is the cultural transmissions that occurred in Enlightenment Europe. Freedman is studying a Franco-Swiss publishing house in lands owned by Prussia, which published French books in the Reich (and in France and elsewhere), but which also printed and sold French translations of popular German works to consumers in Francophone Europe. One gets the impression that the STN was an important broker of cross-cultural communication and exchange. As a popularizer and promoter of Enlightenment works, the STN was easily as important as Marc-Michel Rey's firm in Amsterdam, the Cramer Brothers in Geneva, the printing society in Bern, and Panckoucke's sprawling business in France (and elsewhere). Moreover, Neuchâtel sat at the crossroads between the Francophone and Germanophone spheres of Europe, and its management team was able to maintain an extensive correspondence with contacts throughout France, Suisse romande, Germanic Switzerland, and the Reich. Although Freedman tells us relatively little about the contents of the books that the STN published, he provides an immensely important cultural

and material understanding of how the Enlightenment was published, read, circulated, and negotiated through the medium of print.

The STN, along with other French-language publishers, sold French-language books in the Reich in two different ways. First, they sent works to the hugely important Leipzig Book Fair, held every Easter in Saxony, which began in this period to outshine the older, more venerable Frankfurt Book Fair. This was primarily a wholesale event to which regional book dealers would travel, buy stock for their respective shops, and exchange information about market demands. The other way in which the STN sold books was via bulk sales to book dealers around the Reich. (They rarely sold books directly to individual readers.) Who were these book dealers and who were the buyers? Freedman shows that the majority of French-language book dealers were either Frenchmen, often Huguenots, who had set up shop in the Germanic world, or else middlebrow Germans with an interest in the French Enlightenment (or at least an interest in selling it). He also shows that the main markets for French-language works were the countless aristocratic mini-Versailles that dotted the Reich, whose Francophile courtiers read anything and everything French. But a broader market existed, too, in the form of men of letters, from Herder and Goethe to Kant and Nicolai.

French, of course, was the lingua franca of Europe at the height of the Enlightenment, and thus, in order to read the Enlightenment, one had to read French. Freedman makes the case that most every educated German read French in this period. This helps explain why there was such a large market for French books in the Reich, but there is a second explanation for the booming market in French-language books in Germany, and that was the dominance of French culture in this period. Although Freedman's book is ostensibly about the book trade, it can also be read as a history of Francophilia in Enlightenment Europe. Names such as Mercier, Voltaire, and Rousseau (who was actually from Francophone Geneva) were synonymous with wit, learning, style, and civilized taste, and thus German speakers often consumed the works of French *philosophes* simply because it was considered sophisticated and *à la mode*.

That is not to say, however, that German readers wanted only high intellectual works. The Germans shared with the rest of Enlightenment Europe a taste for *livres philosophiques*, which brought together radical philosophical tracts, utopian novels, erotic and scandalous works, and books that poked fun and religion, politics, and cultural mores. According to the records of the STN, the bestselling French-language authors in the Reich were Mercier, Rousseau, Voltaire, Mirabeau (the author of many erotic, subversive, and rabble-rousing works), Mme de Genlis, Beaumarchais, and Millot (p. 128). The racey *Anecdotes sur Mme du Barry*, the intrigue-laden *Liasions dangereuses*, and Linguet's anonymously published attack on monasticism (*Essai philosophique sur le monachisme*) all seemed to sell quite well in Germany, although anti-clerical works, as one might imagine, were more appreciated in Protestant than in Catholic regions. D'Holbach's shockingly offensive and materialist *Système de la nature* was also in demand, and the STN sold around 400 copies of its own pirated edition to German booksellers, even after the original edition had "creamed off part of the demand" (p. 267). Thus Freedman has told us something important about the demand for the radical Enlightenment in the Reich, even if, as Goethe reminds us, most readers in Germanic lands found d'Holbach's ideas highly objectionable.[4]

In terms of the content of Freedman's beautifully composed book, this short review can only scratch the surface. The author also tells us quite a bit about the hardships of the book trade in the eighteenth century—the slow pace of shipping, the high customs costs, the risks that printers and book dealers took on, the bankruptcy that befell unlucky or overly indebted book dealers, the fear of censorship and persecution that sellers faced, and the complex systems of credit that allowed the whole industry to keep running—in addition to many other fascinating topics. For instance, Freedman's book includes a chapter on "translating the *Aufklärung*" that reveals a great deal about the politics and practice of translation in this period. Not only did the authors of translated books have virtually no rights, receiving no compensation for books that were rendered in different languages, but translators such as the ones employed by the STN took immense liberties in translating, revising, and even bowdlerizing

original works. The heavy-handedness was applied most frequently to German-language works that were rendered in French and geared toward the demanding and patriotic French reading public (chapter six). More generally, Freedman reveals the extent to which the Enlightenment relied on massive translation efforts, and scholars of historical translation will find much of use in this work.

My only modest criticism of Freedman's monograph is that it is perhaps a bit too monographic. The author is almost apologetic when he situates the French-language book trade within the broader trade of books in the Reich, but I would have liked to learn more about how this smaller market fit within the larger trade in German-language books. To a certain extent, the French book trade functioned similarly to the German one—for instance, through the crucially important book fairs. Yet, it would be nice to know more about what it all added up to. Perhaps the author's next book can be a comprehensive look at the book trade in the Reich?

In the end, Freedman's book is an immensely useful resource for students of the Enlightenment, historians of French cosmopolitanism, scholars of translation, and lovers of book history. If used in conjunction with the works of Darnton, Chartier, Martin, Schlup, and others, as well as Curran and Burrows' STN database, it can yield important knowledge about print culture and the spread of the Enlightenment *outré-Rhin*.

NOTES

[1] Jeffrey Freedman, *A Poisoned Chalice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[2] See the database "The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe, 1769-1794: Mapping the Trade of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel," located at <http://chop.leeds.ac.uk/stn/>.

[3] Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); idem, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); idem, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, 2 vols., (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1995); Mark Curran and Simon Burrows are the principal editors of the FBTEE database, cited above; Thierry Rigogne, *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007); James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007); Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Prerevolutionary Paris, 1789-1810* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); *L'édition neuchâteloise au siècle des Lumières: La Société Typographique de Neuchâtel*, Michel Schlup, ed., (Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel, 2002); Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism and Readership, 1585-1715*, trans., Paul and Nadine Saenger, (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); *Le livre triomphant, 1660-1830*, vol. 2 of *Histoire de l'édition française*, Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., (Paris: Fayard, 1990).

[4] See, for instance, Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Jeremy L. Caradonna
University of Alberta
caradonn@ualberta.ca

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