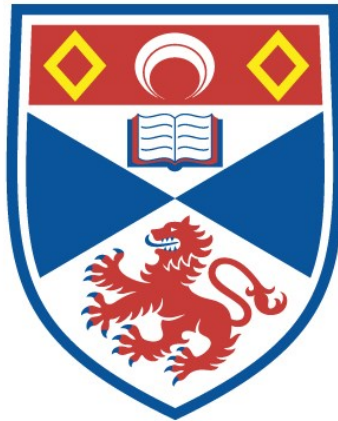


# **The business of ideas: the Franco-Dutch book trade and the Republic of Letters (1700-1720)**

Christopher Edward Davis

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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## Table of Contents

Table of Figures .....	4
General Acknowledgements .....	5
Funding .....	6
Declarations .....	7
Concerning terms used.....	9
Abstract.....	10
<b>Chapter 1 – Introduction: The influences on the <i>Libraire-Imprimeur</i> in the Early Eighteenth-Century .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<i>Dramatis Personae</i> .....	15
Intellectual and Cultural Context .....	28
Focus and organisation of the research .....	37
Existing Literature.....	38
<b>Chapter 2 – Prosper Marchand and the Republic of Letters .....</b>	<b>57</b>
Variants in the Republic of Letters .....	61
Marchand and Republic of Letters in France .....	64
Marchand and the Republic of Letters in Holland .....	74
<i>The Cymbalum Mundi</i> .....	74
Baron Hohendorf.....	89
Prosper Marchand, book hunter for the aristocracy .....	92
The Catalogue of Prince Eugène.....	98
Becoming an editor-for-hire and journalism.....	103
Conclusion.....	113
<b>Chapter 3 – Albert-Henri de Sallengre and the Parisian <i>Savants</i>.....</b>	<b>118</b>
Sallengre’s physical journey and continued printing delays.....	123
Sallengre arrives in Paris.....	126
Promoting the journal and connections between booksellers .....	129
Introducing Sallengre in France .....	131
Ludolf Küster .....	133
The meeting with Tournemine .....	137
The crise de conscience of Albert-Henri de Sallengre.....	145
<i>Unigenitus</i> .....	147
Distrust is the mother of safety .....	152
Conclusion.....	154

<b>Chapter 4 – Gaspar Fritsch and the International World of the <i>Libraire</i>.....</b>	<b>160</b>
Gaspar Fritsch and Jacques Boyd.....	160
Gaspar Fritsch .....	162
Background .....	162
Move to Holland.....	164
The plans to take over Leers’s business and the problem of Michael Böhm.....	171
The de Lorme connection.....	180
Gaspar Fritsch goes missing.....	185
Meeting Marchand, the Gleditsch Brothers, The <i>Chevaliers de la Jubilation</i> and the early years of Fritsch and Böhm .....	189
A German in Paris .....	196
Jacques Boyd.....	208
Boyd’s letter to Le Clerc .....	213
Conclusion.....	217
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>223</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>234</b>
Letters from Prosper Marchand.....	248
Letters from Gaspar Fritsch.....	252
Letter from l’abbé Bignon.....	284
Letters from René-Joseph de Tournemine .....	286
Letters between Albert-Henri de Sallengre and the Société Journal Littéraire .....	288
Letters from Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe .....	295
Letters from Anthony Collins .....	299
Letters from François Foppens.....	303
Letters from Baron Hohendorf.....	305
Letter from Jacques Bernard .....	310
Letter from Prince Eugène to Jacques Basnage .....	311
<i>Chevaliers de la Jubilation</i> Document.....	312
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>314</b>

## Table of Figures

Figure 1. Marchand’s self-compiled ancestry. ....	234
Figure 2. The Marchand-designed, Picart-created frontispiece from <i>Menippée</i> .....	236
Figure 3. The edition of the <i>Cymbalum Mundi</i> used by Marchand,. ....	237
Figure 4. Bernard Picart’s frontispiece to the <i>Journal Littéraire</i> .....	238
Figure 5. The title page of the first book to be published by Fritsch and Böhm. ....	239
Figure 6. Leers’s version of the device from 1702. ....	240
Figure 7. A later incarnation of the device with F & B rather than R & L. ....	240
Figure 8. The book referred to by Boyd in his letter to Le Clerc.....	241
Figure 9. Gaspar Fritsch’s 1706 edition of Cellarius’s <i>Notitiae Orbis Antiqui</i> .....	242
Figure 10. The Fritsch/Gleditsch Family. ....	243
Figure 11. The Boyd Family. ....	244

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## **Declarations**

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I, Christopher Edward Davis, do hereby certify that this thesis, submitted for the degree of PhD, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree. I confirm that any appendices included in my thesis contain only material permitted by the 'Assessment of Postgraduate Research Students' policy.

I was admitted as a research student at the University of St Andrews in September 2019.

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### Concerning terms used

Throughout this work the French term ‘libraire’ or ‘libraire-imprimeur’ has been employed in place of the English ‘bookseller’. While many *libraires* were booksellers the term ‘libraire’ itself during this period is much broader than the English concept and also included work such as editing, proofreading, and publishing; additionally, it often included printing the work itself.

I have also often opted to use the French term *savant* rather than an English equivalent such as ‘learned’, ‘scholar’ or ‘man of letters’ as I believe it is a more fitting term for the figures under discussion. As the meanings of the English ‘savant’ and the French ‘savant’ differ considerably whenever ‘savant’ is used here in the French sense it is italicised.

All transcriptions have been rendered in modern French for ease of reference, except for the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* document which retains both the layout and orthography of the original.

## Abstract

The following research has been undertaken in order to explore *libraire* culture, which surrounded and supported the Republic of Letters, via the personal correspondence of a group who operated out of the Netherlands during the first two decades of the eighteenth-century. In contrast to much of the research previously dedicated to the Republic of Letters and *savant* culture during this period, this work will concentrate on what could be termed ‘secondary figures’ who were connected to the Republic of Letters in the Netherlands. It will demonstrate the importance and influence which these individuals had on the functioning of the Republic of Letters, and the wider *savant* world. The research is presented from three perspectives with each concentrating on a specific figure. The first section, which focuses on Prosper Marchand, shows how it was possible for a young Parisian artisan to transform himself into a mainstay of the Dutch Republic of Letters by carefully managing his relationships and making the most of opportunities which were presented by the increasingly international nature of Europe. The following section focuses on the learned journal and its authors via the correspondence of Albert-Henri de Sallengre of the *Journal Littéraire* and explores the reception of a new francophone Dutch journal within France. The final section explores the life of the *libraire* and the new opportunities which had begun to present themselves for Dutch publishers at the dawn of the eighteenth-century. Based on the correspondence of the Gaspar Fritsch this section describes the development of the eighteenth-century Franco-Dutch book trade and discusses the opportunities and problems which this new market presented. In contrast to preceding research, this thesis utilises the detailed accounts of the period and its culture which are found in the letters of figures who have now been largely forgotten; and by using Prosper Marchand as a bridging figure between the *libraires* and the Republic of Letters it demonstrates the interconnectedness of these two spheres.

## Chapter 1 – Introduction: The influences on the *Libraire-Imprimeur* in the Early Eighteenth-Century

The following research is dedicated to exploring the lives and ideas of a group of *libraire-imprimeurs*, journalists and thinkers who operated out of the Netherlands, primarily during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. The majority of the research is based around a selection of letters held in the Marchand collection at Leiden University Library which have facilitated a first-person exploration of the ideas and motivations of some of those responsible for distributing and promoting (and sometimes contributing) new and occasionally contentious ideas during this period. In contrast to other research which has been devoted to this period and its ideas, this work seeks to understand the period through the actions and thoughts of those who provided the substructure (in the form of journals and other publications) which enabled ideas that had previously only enjoyed limited reach – and were often proscribed in some states – to reach a broader audience across many parts of Europe. It also addresses the problems and practicalities which were faced by those working both in publishing and also in journalism during these years: such as intimidation by the French establishment, the financial realities of running a publishing house, the effects of wider events on trade (such as war), and the necessity of developing strong, and reliable, links across Europe. That the figures under consideration all found themselves working out of the Netherlands is no coincidence. The rise of the Dutch publishing industry coupled with the state's multicultural and commercial character (and its often more liberal stance toward new and often challenging ideas) made the Netherlands one of the most attractive destinations, particularly for disgruntled French publishers and thinkers.

The Huguenots had earlier been attracted, *en masse*, to the Netherlands to escape the persecution of Louis XIV's regime and had established communities across the country since

their initial arrivals following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. But the Huguenots were not the only group who saw the Netherlands as a refuge when their freedom to think and liberty to act was threatened. Quakers and other religious and political dissidents from England, among them John Locke, Shaftesbury, William Penn and George Fox had found asylum in Dutch cities. Additionally, many Sephardi Jews from Portugal had found a home in the Netherlands – among them Baruch Spinoza’s ancestors – following the expulsion of 1497. However, resettlement in the Netherlands was driven not only by persecution but also by commercial opportunity. Foreign publishers such as the Scot Thomas Johnson had made Holland their adopted home and had taken advantage of their position to exploit, and develop, the transnational links being increasingly being formed between the British Isles, the Netherlands, France and wider Europe. Alongside publishers resettling in the Netherlands were merchants, such as Benjamin Furly – a figure who may have initially left England for religious reasons, but who had subsequently developed a very successful business in Rotterdam; and he was not alone, many English merchants also relocated to Rotterdam, which subsequently gained the sobriquet ‘little London’.<sup>1</sup>

The Netherlands was also an attractive location for students – among others, John Toland spent some time at Leiden University during the 1690s – and the phenomenon of large numbers of Scottish students acquiring an education in the Dutch universities has been discussed in detail by Esther Mijers.<sup>2</sup> Prior to the eighteenth century the Netherlands had also been a destination for various foreign brigades – again the Scottish (and sometimes English) presence is notable. The result of this intermingling of Western European peoples in the Netherlands created a multi-cultural, multi-confessional, multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah Hutton, [ed.] *Benjamin Furly 1646-1714: A Quaker Merchant and His Milieu* (Firenze: Olschki, 2007) p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Esther Mijers, *‘News from the Republic of Letters’: Scottish students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650-1750*. (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

lingual society. Additionally, the Netherlands with its strong maritime traditions, established urbanisation, well-developed financial systems and trading links with the rest of the continent (and beyond) possessed the foundations to exploit and develop the cultural and intellectual human resources which it had attracted. It is therefore hardly surprising that each of the three figures discussed in detail in this research had found a home in the Netherlands and had also benefitted from the cross-pollination of ideas and cultures present in the country. However, the figures themselves are not the true subject of this research: rather it is their movements, ideas, connections and publications which make up the underlying theme of this work. It is the study of a particular period in history, in a specific region, which saw manifold changes, via the personal correspondence of those who were there and played a part in the creation and distribution of new (and sometimes old) ideas. Naturally as nearly all the figures in question were connected to a particular trade, and specific social and cultural circles, the events are viewed from this perspective. The particular trade to which the figures were connected – that of the creation, manufacture, printing, publishing and distribution of the book – is one which lends itself to not only transnational journeys and correspondence, but also to discussions concerning the events, ideas and works which were popular at the time. Thankfully, some of their correspondence has been preserved: in this case by Prosper Marchand in the manuscripts, documents and books which he bequeathed to Leiden University. The *libraire-imprimeur's* correspondence is particularly interesting as it contains sizable amounts of specific, period information from what we could call 'ordinary people' – *i.e.* these are not official state documents such as political correspondence, military records, church manuscripts, or aristocratic or royal correspondence (although it is true that some of the Marchand correspondence does sometimes intrude into these areas). The Marchand archives allow us to better understand the events and ideas of the early eighteenth-century from an unofficial, personal perspective.

The Marchand archives themselves are a large collection of manuscripts, correspondence and books held by Leiden University Library. These archives have been employed by many researchers during the previous century and can be considered as one of the most important collections of early-modern manuscripts in Europe.<sup>3</sup> This work relies particularly on two sections from the Marchand archive – the first is the collection of letters to and from the *Société Journal Littéraire* (March. 1) and the second is the personal correspondence of Prosper Marchand and figures connected to him (March. 2). These two collections of correspondence contain around two thousand letters (and around five thousand sheets) dating from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century – the majority of which remain unpublished.<sup>4</sup> However, the work which follows is mainly concerned with around a hundred of these letters which were written between 1700 to around 1720 – a particularly interesting and varied period, replete with change: not only for the lives of the protagonists, but also for wider European history. On a personal level this period saw Marchand and Fritsch settle in the Netherlands, Fritsch partner with Böhm to buy Reinier Leers's publishing company, the visits of Prince Eugène and Baron Hohendorf to Holland, the foundation of the *Journal Littéraire*, Sallengre's first visit to France, Marchand's rise within the Republic of Letters, and the international argument between Marchand and Des Maizeaux concerning Bayle's *Lettres choisies*. From a national and international political perspective Europe saw another war (the War of the Spanish Succession), the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht which ended this war and somewhat reordered Europe politically, the fall of the Whig government in Britain and the rise of the Tories, and the death of Louis XIV and the succeeding d'Orleans regency with its new political and economic ideas, partially inspired by

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<sup>3</sup> For the complete catalogue of the archive see: Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Collection Prosper Marchand* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> An exception is Stephen Larkin's publication of the letters between Marchand and the Marquis d'Argens, see: Stephen Larkin, *Correspondance entre Prosper Marchand et le marquis d'Argens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

thinkers from the British isles. The period concluded with the long-awaited completion of the third edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* by Marchand, the failure of what was now the Böhm publishing company, and Fritsch's departure for Leipzig – to mention only a few of the events which will be discussed.

### Dramatis Personae

As noted above this research is focused around three main figures, but includes discussion of numerous others connected to these three. As (aside from Marchand) many of those who will be discussed have had very little research devoted to them, it is necessary to spend a little time introducing the characters who will make regular appearances throughout this work in order to provide a background which will be useful when considering their relationships and interactions in future chapters.

### *Prosper Marchand*

Prosper Marchand was born in Saint-Germain en Laye in 1678 to a father, Jean, who was a court musician originally from l'Échelle and a mother, Anne Baillon, from Guise – both towns in the north-east of France. Marchand had three brothers, of which the eldest two (Jean-Nöel and Jean-Baptiste) would follow in their father's footsteps and become musicians. Following the death of his mother in 1683 the two younger Marchand brothers (Prosper and Pierre-Nicolas) were taken to Guise – probably to be raised by his mother's family. In 1690 Marchand's father brought the two younger brothers back from Guise to Versailles apparently to further their education. Unfortunately Marchand's father would die in 1691 leaving the thirteen year old Prosper an orphan – probably under the care of his brother Jean-Baptiste

who had subsequently taken his father's place in the company of the king's musicians. Prosper remained at Versailles where he seems to have become accomplished in Latin and Greek and at the age of fifteen opted for an apprenticeship as a *libraire* under Robert Pépie in Paris. During his five-year apprenticeship in Paris (although Marchand himself confusingly states that this was actually seven years) Marchand also worked under Jean Guignard, Edme Couterot and Nicolas Pépie.<sup>5</sup> In 1698 at the age of 20 Marchand was made a member of the booksellers guild in Paris and in 1702 he would be able – surprisingly – to open his own bookshop in Paris on the Rue Saint-Jacques, a notable street for booksellers in the Latin Quarter. Why this causes surprise is that during this period there were increasing restrictions on *libraires* and *imprimeurs* in Paris, and for a young man such as Marchand to be able to open his own shop in a prestigious location at this time suggests that he either had good finances or good connections, or perhaps both. It was also during this period that Marchand first met the engraver Bernard Picart. Picart would design Marchand's 'phoenix' device and become a close confidante for Marchand in Paris and also make the journey to the Netherlands at around the same time as Marchand along with his elderly father, Etienne Picart. Marchand seems to have worked alongside Gabriel Martin from 1702 until 1709 and developed his business into a key destination for Parisian bibliophiles. It was also during this period that Marchand first met Gaspar Fritsch, Michael Böhm and Jean-Louis de Lorme, and also began correspondences with learned journals in both France and Holland. In late 1709 Marchand would leave Paris, first for The Hague, then Amsterdam, before settling in

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<sup>5</sup> The majority of Marchand's early life (both here and in Berkvens-Stevelinck) is understood from a family tree he himself created in 1705, which not only describes his early life but also lists the famous cartographer Gerardus Mercator as one of his ancestors. The overall veracity of this document is questionable. Under his own name Marchand writes, 'He entered life in Saint-Germain in the year 1678 on the 11th of March, at seven o'clock in the evening. In his fifth year he was taken by his father to Guise, whence he was recalled after seven years. Having cultivated himself, one way or another, with more refined literature in Versailles [*litteris humanioribus utcumque Versaliis excultis*], he went to Paris on July 13, 1693, and there for seven years he was trained in the art of the bookseller. Admitted into the Parisian booksellers [guild] on August 1st, 1698, he set up a bookshop for himself. Today, in 1705, at the age of 27, he has compiled the genealogy of his family.' *Stemma Familiae Marchantianae* March. 2. See appendix, Fig. 1. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand La Vie et L'Œuvre (1678-1756)* (Leiden: Brill, 1987).



Rotterdam from around 1712 until 1720. The reason for Marchand's flight from France has been explained by Berkvens-Stevelinck almost solely in terms of his attraction to Protestantism. However, as will be argued later, the reasons for Marchand's resettlement in the Netherlands are far more complex and multifaceted, even if it is valid to state that his dissatisfaction with the state religion was a factor.

### *Albert-Henri de Sallengre*

Albert-Henri de Sallengre was a descendant of Huguenots, born in The Hague in 1694 to Albert-Henri de Sallengre *père* – himself originally descended from a noble Hainaut family which appears to have left for Holland in the late sixteenth century – and a Dutch mother, Gertrude Jacqueline Rotgans, sister of the Dutch poet Lucas Rotgans. The Sallengre family seems to have become well established in the Netherlands and had made important political and social connections during the century or so in which they had been residents. Sallengre himself studied history, philosophy and law at Leiden University graduating in 1711 at the age of 17. From there he returned to his family at The Hague and was made an advocate at the Court of Holland. It seems that the young Sallengre was something of a prodigy. In his elegy, which was published in the *Journal Littéraire* following his early death in 1723, it is noted, when discussing his philosophy thesis which he presented for qualification, that, 'we see in it, with great clearness of ideas, a fine but well-managed reading of the Philosophers, Poets, and other ancient and modern Authors, that few Students of this age know only by name.'<sup>6</sup> The thesis Sallengre presented concerning law dealt with the use of torture (*mettre à la question*) to gain a confession, and the elegy notes, 'he makes us feel its absurdity in his

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas Johnson, *et al.*, *Journal Littéraire*, Tome XII (The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1723) pp. 222. Sallengre's early biography is derived mostly from this article.

theses, in the same taste, and with the same force, that we see shining in the preceding ones'.<sup>7</sup> At the age of nineteen Sallengre was one of the original 1713 members of the *Société Journal Littéraire* which edited the eponymous publication, and it is believed that he stayed with the journal until sometime around 1722, when the journal's first period came to an end.<sup>8</sup> Being an editor of the *Journal Littéraire* did not, however, prevent Sallengre from publishing other journals and books. In 1714, at the age of twenty, he wrote an amusing piece called *L'Eloge de l'Ivresse* (which has had many re-editions over the centuries) – not that Sallengre was a drunkard. He wrote, 'I consent that you can think me as much a drunkard as you can think Erasmus, who wrote the *Eloge de la Folie*, was a madman'.<sup>9</sup> In 1715 he began his own journal named *Mémoires de littérature* which, differing from most contemporary journals, discussed older works, and which would see four well-received editions between 1715 and 1717.<sup>10</sup> His interest in old and rare books seemed to lead him to try to republish works and authors which had been forgotten to time. In 1715 he edited works concerning the history of Pierre de Montmaur and in 1716 helped republished de Méziriac's *Commentaires sur les Epîtres d'Ovide*.<sup>11</sup> Also in 1716 he edited a collection of poems by Bernard de La Monnoye and included his own *éloge* to La Monnoye as a preface which, perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Journal Littéraire* reviewed in glowing terms.<sup>12</sup> A classicist at heart, Sallengre then undertook his grandest project which would take three years to complete and result in the three volume

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> Elisabeth Carayol, 'Sallengre' in Jean Sgard, [ed.] *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/735-albert-henri-de-sallengre>> [accessed: 26/08/2024].

<sup>9</sup> Johnson, *Journal Littéraire*, Tome XII, pp. 226-227; Albert-Henri de Sallengre, *Eloge de l'Ivresse* (The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1714).

<sup>10</sup> Albert-Henri de Sallengre, *Mémoires de Littérature* 4 Volumes (The Hague: Henri du Sauzet, 1715-1717).

<sup>11</sup> Albert-Henri de Sallengre, *Histoire de Pierre de Montmaur* 2 Volumes (The Hague: Van Lom, Gosse, Alberts, 1715); Gaspar Bachet, *Commentaires sur les Epîtres d'Ovide, par messire Gaspar Bachet, Sr. de Meziriac de l'Académie Française, nouvelle édition* 2 Volumes (The Hague: Henri du Sauzet, 1716).

<sup>12</sup> Bernard de La Monnoye, *Poesies de M. de La Monnoye, de l'académie française, avec son éloge, publiées par M. de S\*\*\** (The Hague: Charles Le Vier, 1716).

*Novus thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*.<sup>13</sup> Sallengre was well-regarded in the Republic of Letters ('M. de Sallengre who occupies a considerable rank in the Republic of Letters') but also in the world of politics and diplomacy: 'M. de Sallengre held two offices. In 1716 he was made Counsellor to H.S.H. the Princess of Nassau-Orange; and in 1717 he was given the position of Commissioner of Finances of the States General.'<sup>14</sup> This renown led to Sallengre being made a member of the Royal Society in 1719 during a visit to England, where his sister would marry Baron Whitworth. His early death from smallpox in 1723, at the age of twenty-nine, cut short what was likely to have been a stellar career, in the worlds of literature, diplomacy and politics.

### *Gaspar Fritsch*<sup>15</sup>

Gaspar Fritsch was born in Leipzig in 1677, the son of Johann Friedrich and Catharina Margarethe Fritsch. Johann Friedrich appears to have been born in Geithain, near Leipzig, sometime around the 1630s and married Catharina Margarethe Goetze in the mid-1660s when she was in her early twenties and Fritsch was in his mid-thirties. Catharina Margarethe appears to have been the daughter of a Frankfurt publisher and Johann Friedrich may have even been working with the Goetze family in Frankfurt before their marriage. Sometime before 1666 Fritsch moved back to Leipzig (later becoming a burgher of the city in 1673) establishing his printing business which employed Johan Friedrich Gleditsch.<sup>16</sup> After Johann Friedrich Fritsch died in 1680 Catharina Margarethe remarried to her husband's employee

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<sup>13</sup> Albert-Henri de Sallengre, *Novus thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum* 3 Volumes (The Hague: Henri du Sauzet, 1716-1719).

<sup>14</sup> Johnson, *Journal Littéraire*, Tome XII, p. 230, 225.

<sup>15</sup> Fritsch was named Kaspar or Caspar but chose to employ the French version of his name during the period under consideration, which is followed here.

<sup>16</sup> His eldest son, Thomas, was born in Leipzig in 1666. See: Christian Gründig, *Thomas Fritsch* (2017), *Sächsische Biografie* <[https://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Thomas\\_Fritsch\\_\(1666-1726\)](https://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Thomas_Fritsch_(1666-1726))> [accessed: 27/08/2024]. This also explains the connections between Leipzig and Frankfurt and may account for the amount of time Gaspar Fritsch would spend in Frankfurt.

Johan Friedrich Gleditsch sometime prior to 1682 – when the first of their children, Johan Friedrich Gleditsch *fls*, was born. Eventually the Fritsch/Gleditsch family would comprise, Thomas and Gaspar Fritsch, and their half-siblings Johan Friedrich, Katherina Margaretha and Johan Gottlieb Gleditsch.<sup>17</sup> The Fritsch/Gleditsch family and publishing business seems to have been successful and financially stable, which had allowed them to send eldest son Thomas to the local university to study law before he embarked on a journey across Western Europe. Thomas then seems to have been apprenticed by his step-father at the completion of which, in 1693 when Thomas was 27, it appears that he inherited his father's business – which had, until this point, been under the control of Johan Friedrich Gleditsch. Gleditsch himself then set up his own competing publishing business in Leipzig – apparently taking most of his employees with him. As Gaspar was only three years old when his father died he likely had little memory of Johann Fritsch, and he appears to have been very close to his step-father, Gleditsch, who may have considered him as much his own son as Johan Friedrich and Johan Gottlieb. Little is known about Gaspar's early years, although we can speculate that he would have likely been eventually apprenticed either by his brother or step-father. Gaspar's command of numerous languages and his knowledge of the classics and familiarity with theological issues also suggests that he had had a considerable education and possibly may have attended Leipzig University as his brother had a decade earlier. Sometime around 1706, when he was in his mid-twenties, Gaspar relocated to Amsterdam and began his own publishing company; however he would only produce two works and for the following three years he seems to have spent most of his time travelling around Europe, meeting and growing close to figures such as Marchand, Böhm, de Lorme, La Motte and Des Maizeaux. In 1709 he would partner with Michael Böhm to take over the publishing business of Reinier Leers.

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Fritsch (1666-1726), Gaspar Fritsch (1677-1745), Johan Friedrich Gleditsch (1682-1711), Katharina Margaretha Gleditsch (1684-1732), Johan Gottlieb Gleditsch (1688-1738). There also seem to have been numerous other Fritsch siblings who did not survive infancy.

However, his constant travelling would continue and would see him visit numerous European cities between 1709 and 1715. In 1715 his partnership with Böhm was dissolved and he relocated to The Hague, where he would publish a few works until around 1719 when it appears that he decided to return to Germany where he remained until his death in 1745.

### *The Chevaliers de la Jubilation*

Two prominent groups are featured in the Marchand correspondence between 1710-1720. The first of these is the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*. The *Chevaliers* were a group consisting of Fritsch, Marchand, Bernard Picart, Charles Le Vier, Michael Böhm, Johan Friedrich and Johan Gottlieb Gleditsch, Jean de Bey, the Brussels postmaster Douxfils, and Isaac Vaillant. As will be discussed later in this (and other) chapters, the true nature of the *Chevaliers* group has been subject to much speculation. The group has been portrayed either as a proto-masonic institution by Margaret Jacob, or as a more libertine organisation by Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck. However, the more the correspondence between members of the group is considered, the more apparent it becomes that the group could perhaps better be described as a collection of friends who had met during the first decade of the eighteenth century and who were connected by their participation in the publishing industry. Further it can be argued that the group had developed organically and that the manuscript of their meeting, which has caused so much debate, was merely a comical diversion undertaken during one of their many gatherings.<sup>18</sup> The purpose of the group – if it needed a ‘purpose’ outside of mere friendship – seems to have been to maintain and solidify connections between trusted contacts within the cut-throat world of eighteenth-century publishing.

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<sup>18</sup> The members of the group were not only based in different Dutch towns during 1710 (Fritsch, Böhm – Rotterdam, Marchand, Picart – The Hague, Le Vier – Noordwijk) but also across Europe (The Gleditsches – Leipzig, Douxfils – Brussels, Vaillant – London and the Netherlands).

Fritsch seems to have been the founder and self-appointed ‘Grand Master’ of the *Chevaliers*, where he used the sobriquet *Don Gaspar de Cocodrillos y de la Cueva* (Sir Gaspar of Crocodiles and the Cave).<sup>19</sup> It seems that all of the members of the *Chevaliers* were figures whom Fritsch had met while he had been travelling Europe between 1706 and 1709. In addition to Marchand was his close friend the engraver Bernard Picart, who seems to have left Paris around the same time as Marchand, accompanied by his elderly father: the renowned engraver Étienne Picart. Picart had apparently become disillusioned with French life during the first decade of the eighteenth century and had asked for official permission to leave France for Sweden sometime during 1709 following the death of his wife in 1708, which was eventually granted – even though Picart never got further than the Netherlands. Picart had existing ties with the Netherlands and its publishers (especially Jean-Louis de Lorme for whom Picart had created numerous engravings) and had visited both the States General and also the Spanish Netherlands in his younger years (prior to 1700) where he encountered not only Calvinism but also Jansenism. With the ties that had been keeping him in France (*i.e.* his wife and child, who had died in infancy) now gone, and with Paris currently suffering the devastation of the *Grand Hiver* (which cannot have been beneficial for the health of his elderly father who was in his late seventies) Picart bought two tickets for the coach to Brussels and left France with his father.<sup>20</sup> Although Picart contributed numerous engravings to various works during his first few years in the Netherlands, his most important work would not appear until the mid-1720s: the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* – an exploration of the world’s religions and religious customs in seven

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<sup>19</sup> *Extrait des Registres du Chapitre General des Chevaliers de la Jubilation, 24 November, 1710.* British Library, Add Mss 4295, f. 18. Fritsch’s title is possibly a reference to Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*, as also perhaps is the name of the group.

<sup>20</sup> Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book The Changed Europe* (Massachusetts: Belknap, 2010) pp. 45-70; Bernard Picart, *Impostures Innocentes* (Amsterdam: Veuve Bernard Picart, 1734) pp. 1-12; Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Bourges: Herscher, 1988) pp. 9-27.

volumes which were published between 1723 and 1738 featuring a text by Jean-Frédéric Bernard and intricate engravings by Picart.<sup>21</sup>

Charles Le Vier was also a *libraire-imprimeur*, originally from Senlis in France who seems to have moved to the Netherlands during the early years of the eighteenth century. Very little is known about Le Vier's early years until he appears in Holland. He most likely had been apprenticed in France (he would later undertake publishing ventures in the Netherlands under his own name) and following his relocation to Holland seems to have lived for a period in Noordwijk a few kilometres from Leiden. He worked for the Fritsch and Böhm publishing company (probably as an editor and corrector) from the early 1710s and would eventually partner with Böhm following the departure of Gaspar Fritsch in 1715, when he would settle in Rotterdam and also marry (Susanne Jannot, a *Française* from Saint Quentin).<sup>22</sup> However this partnership only lasted a year until Le Vier left Böhm and departed for The Hague, where he would start his own venture which would be responsible for publishing the important contemporary discussion of English politics, the *Dissertation sur les Whigs et les Torys* by Paul Rapin de Thoyras. Le Vier is also responsible (in part) for the creation and publication of the one of the most infamous works of the eighteenth century. In 1711 it is believed that he copied a manuscript belonging to Benjamin Furly in Furly's extensive library and then, with others, added to this manuscript and eventually published a work which was known under the titles, *La vie et l'esprit de Spinoza* and later the *Traité des trois imposteurs*.<sup>23</sup>

Fritsch's business partner, Michael Böhm, was born in Meissen a few kilometres to the east of Leipzig in Saxony. He likely had had an apprenticeship as a *libraire-imprimeur* in

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<sup>21</sup> Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Amsterdam: Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1723-1738).

<sup>22</sup> Charles Le Vier, BNF Data <[https://data.bnf.fr/12401921/charles\\_le\\_vier/](https://data.bnf.fr/12401921/charles_le_vier/)> [accessed: 28/08/2024]; and *Church records marriages Archieven van de Waalse Hervormde Kerk te Rotterdam* (2022) <<https://www.openarchieven.nl/srt:F17BEF2C-CBDE-4EED-87EE-60B150A729CC>> [accessed: 28/08/2024].

<sup>23</sup> Luisa Simonutti, 'English Guests at "De Lantaarn" Sidney, Penn, Locke, Toland and Shaftesbury', in Hutton, [ed.] *Benjamin Furly*, p. 33.

Germany before heading to France where he worked with the notable French printing group of Anisson, Posuel and Rigaud in Paris during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Sometime after 1706 Böhm and Fritsch seem to have met either in Paris or Holland and developed a relationship which would lead their take-over Leers's Rotterdam publishing business in 1709. As noted above this partnership would last until 1715 when Le Vier would take over from Fritsch before himself leaving after only a year. From 1716 Böhm was the sole head of the company and struggled to manage the company's debts until his business finally managed to publish the Marchand-edited, third edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* in 1720. Böhm would die in 1722 after what appears to have been a sudden illness leaving a wife and a daughter. Fritsch's younger half-brothers, the Gleditsches, were both involved with their father's business in Leipzig and also seem to have regularly made trips west to visit Fritsch while at the same time perhaps promoting their father's interests in France and the Netherlands. Sometime between 1707 and 1709 Fritsch had introduced them in Holland and also Paris, where they had met Marchand, and later they returned to The Hague when they were present at the *Chevaliers* evening in late 1710. Johan Friedrich died young in 1711, but Johan Gottlieb would live until 1738, taking over his father's business in 1716 and significantly expanding it in the decades which followed.<sup>24</sup>

Douxfiles had some sort of position of importance at the Brussels post office and was an important go-between for many of Marchand's friends when they wanted to either send or receive letters from France. Douxfils also seems to have had literary pretensions along with an interest in opera and poetry.<sup>25</sup> It is unknown if he was in some way related to the more well-known Lambert Ignace Douxfils, however the connections between both the Douxfilses

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<sup>24</sup> Adalbert Brewer, *Gleditsch, Johann Gottlieb* (1964), *Deutsche Biographie* <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz21151.html>> [accessed: 28/08/2024].

<sup>25</sup> See *Fritsch to Marchand, 3 April, 1718* and *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letters.



and Marchand, and also their shared Brussels origins are suggestive of some kind of familial connection.<sup>26</sup> Isaac Vaillant, ‘the great scrounger of the order’, was related to the Vaillant family of Huguenot publishers who had settled in England in 1686. Sometime in the early 1710s it seems that Isaac had either left the business he had with his brother, Paul, in London and settled in The Hague, or that he was the business’s representative on the continent, as he is mentioned in numerous letters during this period as being resident in the Netherlands. In either case there were eventually works published in The Hague which appear solely under the name Isaac Vaillant, most notably the first French translation of Adriaan Reland’s *La Religion Des Mahometans*.<sup>27</sup>

#### *The Société Journal Littéraire*

The second group which featured heavily in Marchand’s life during this period was the *Société Journal Littéraire* – the diverse group of journalists, *savants*, scientists and publishers who worked together to edit and publish the *Journal Littéraire* during its first period from 1713. This group comprised Thomas Johnson, Marchand, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, Willem ‘s Gravesande, Justus van Effen, Albert-Henri de Sallengre, and Henri Alexandre. Thomas Johnson was a *libraire-imprimeur* originally from Scotland who had settled in The Hague around 1705. His connection to the British Isles would see him import works and genres from England – for example his attempt to create a *Spectator*-style publication with Justus van Effen, the *Misanthrope*, in 1711. At the same time he was printing and exporting English works back into England, following the Copyright Act of 1710, where he was able to sell them for lower prices to English booksellers, as he did not have to concern himself with the costs of deposit copies. Sometime in 1712-1713 he seems to have decided to add a

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<sup>26</sup> Lambert Ignace Douxfils, 1708-1753.

<sup>27</sup> Adriaan Reland, *La Religion Des Mahometans* (The Hague: Isaac Vaillant, 1721).

literary journal to his collection of publications and possibly began to work on this with collaborator Justus van Effen, who may have suggested following the growing practice of using an editorial team to produce the journal. Johnson seems to have had a genuine desire to spread the new, enlightened ideas into Scotland, often via his Scottish correspondent and Professor of history at Edinburgh University, Charles Mackie. Johnson also had connections to Republic of Letters figures and also local links with influential figures such as Benjamin Furly.<sup>28</sup>

Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe was a former French officer from a Troyenne family which had connections to the d'Orleans clan. Saint-Hyacinthe had been captured during the battle of Blenheim and been held as a prisoner of war in the Netherlands between 1704 and 1706, where he seems to have passed his time socialising and studying. In 1706 he was allowed to return to France after charming the Princess of Nassau, who secured a passport for his departure to Troyes. Between late 1710 and early 1711 (even as the war was still in progress) he returned to the Netherlands. In 1713 he joined the editorial team of the *Journal Littéraire* and in 1714 he published his satirical work *Le chef d'œuvre d'un inconnu* – which seems to have brought him some acclaim. Following the success he attracted from *Le Chef d'œuvre*, and after the death of Louis XIV and the start of the regency government of the Duc d'Orleans, he relocated to Paris where he seems to have had some connections to the Orleans court and where he also first met Voltaire – whom he would later grow to dislike, and with whom he would have several public arguments.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Mijers, 'News from the Republic of Letters'; Emil Rybczak, *A Bibliographical Enquiry into Thomas Johnson's A Collection of the Best English Plays* (PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2020) <[https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/id/eprint/159330/1/WRAP\\_Theses\\_Rybczak\\_2020.pdf](https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/id/eprint/159330/1/WRAP_Theses_Rybczak_2020.pdf)> [accessed 29/08/2024].

<sup>29</sup> Elisabeth Carayol, *Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe 1684-1746* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); *Lettre de M. de Burigny à M. l'abbé Mercier, sur les démêles de M. de Voltaire avec M. de Saint-Hyacinthe*. (Paris: Valade, 1780); Chrisostome Matanasius, [Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe] *Le chef d'œuvre d'un inconnu* (The Hague: Au Depens de la Compagnie, 1714).

Justus van Effen was the son of a Dutch cavalry officer who had studied at Utrecht University where he seems to have had an interest in the classics and French literature. A well-read and curious individual he was familiar with Latin, French and English in addition to his native Dutch – taking advantage, no doubt, of the benefits of Dutch multiculturalism. He also seems to have had a keen interest in English philosophy and science, in particular Locke and Newton, alongside the works of Steele and Addison. It was this latter interest which saw him partner with Thomas Johnson to produce the *Misanthrope* (undoubtedly taking its name from the work of one of his favourite French writers, Molière) in 1711. When Johnson decided to attempt to create a new literary journal van Effen's would have been one of the first names which would have come to mind – not only did he have experience with French language and literature, but his ability in English and his knowledge of that country's literature, philosophy and science would make him a worthy addition. Van Effen visited England in 1715 with a Dutch delegation for the coronation of George I (he was undersecretary to Willem 's Gravesande's secretary) where he was made a member of the Royal Society. In the same year he began a translation of Swift's *The Tale of a Tub* into French, which however would not see publication until 1721. As Pienaar says of van Effen, 'if it is true that "France has been the intermediary between England and mankind" as Macaulay has said, van Effen is one of the most important go-betweens in the process.'<sup>30</sup>

Willem 's Gravesande was, along with van Effen, one of the most important figures responsible for distributing and explaining English ideas on the continent, in particular the ideas of Newton. 's Gravesande was born in 's-Hertogenbosch into a prominent, wealthy Dutch family and studied law at Leiden University until 1707; but he seems to have had a far greater interest (and ability) in science and mathematics – 's Gravesande would eventually be

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<sup>30</sup> W. J. P. Pienaar, *English Influences in Dutch Literature and Justus van Effen as Intermediary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 61.

named professor of mathematics and astronomy at Leiden University in 1717. Being independently wealthy 's Gravesande was able to dedicate himself to study and scientific experiments, with his interest in Newton's ideas directing his own work. With van Effen he visited England and was also made a member of the Royal Society in 1715; during his stay, which lasted around a year, he met with Newton and took part in the weekly meetings of the Royal Society. In 1717 he would publish *Physices elementa mathematica experimentis confirmata, sive introductio ad philosophiam Newtonianam* (Physical elements of mathematics confirmed by experiments, or an introduction to Newtonian philosophy) which was followed in 1723 by *Philosophiae Newtonianae institutiones* (Instructions in Newtonian philosophy) which would help to disseminate and promote the new science of Newton across Europe.<sup>31</sup> Henri Alexandre is the least known of the *Société Journal Littéraire*. Believed to have been born in Sedan to a lawyer father he was made a member of the of the Wallon Church in in Amsterdam in 1703 and naturalised as a Dutch citizen in Amsterdam in 1711. He is believed to have been the secretary for the *Société Journal Littéraire*.<sup>32</sup>

### Intellectual and Cultural Context

The intellectual and cultural worlds of the figures under discussion can best be described as diverse. Agitated by contemporary ideas and events, but also informed by an interest in earlier European thought and tradition, the group blended ancient and modern – underpinned and informed by a belief in reason and tolerance. Marchand and some of his wider circle's backgrounds as *libraires* had not only equipped them in Latin and often also some Greek, but

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<sup>31</sup> Pieter Buijnsters, 'Gravesande' in Sgard, J. [ed.] *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/360-guillaume-s-gravesande>> [accessed: 29/08/2024].

<sup>32</sup> Jean Sgard, Kees van Strien, 'Alexandre' in Sgard, J. [ed.] *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/006a-henri-alexandre>> [accessed: 29/08/2024].

had also provided them with access to a constant stream of new ideas in the form of books and valuable contacts in the learned world – which Marchand, for one, quickly sought to develop while still living and working in Paris.<sup>33</sup> However, Marchand and some of the other members of his circle cannot be seen in the same light as the university-educated Huguenot luminaries Bayle, Le Clerc and the Basnage brothers. They were trained as artisans, not educated as scholars – in much the same way as Spinoza and Furly – and it was innate intellectual curiosity and their usefulness to the Republic of Letters which initially facilitated their participation in the learned world. However their lack of formal higher education may have also led to their unorthodox intellectual explorations: unconstrained and unshaped by the prevailing received opinions of the day among the well-to-do, university educated gentlemen-scholars and priests.

#### *The Scattering of the Huguenots and the growth of the Republic of Letters*

In revoking the Edict of Nantes via the Edict of Fontainebleau on 17 October 1685<sup>34</sup> Louis and his ministers may have felt they were acting to remove a longstanding potential internal opposition.<sup>35</sup> However the consequences of this edict would be more far-reaching and damaging for Louis and France as a whole than may have initially been perceived. Instead of eradicating this perceived threat Louis seems rather to have kicked the hornets' nest. Despite Louis's prohibition on Huguenots leaving France many ways were found to flee to

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<sup>33</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, pp. 1-11.

<sup>34</sup> This Edict (among other things) removed the rights of the Huguenots to assemble as a church and to educate their children in protestant schools, forced protestant ministers to either convert to Catholicism or leave the kingdom within fifteen days, forced children of protestants to be baptised Catholic, while at the same time forbade ordinary protestants from leaving France.

<sup>35</sup> Philippe Joutard, *La révocation de l'édit de Nantes, ou les faiblesses d'un État* (Paris: Gallimard, 2018). Persecution and laws against Huguenots had existed and increased throughout the seventeenth century, the 1685 Edict can be seen as the final move against the Huguenots following decades of increasing oppression, in the hope of establishing in France '*Une Foi, Une Roi, Un Loi*', see: Didier Boisson, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the *Désert*' in Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke, [eds.] *A Companion to the Huguenots* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) pp. 221-245.

neighbouring states, via both land and sea, resulting in France losing economic, military and intellectual capital to its rivals, who were only too keen to welcome those skilled *émigrés* who France could no longer tolerate.<sup>36</sup> Bringing with them manufacturing skills, military leaders and competent soldiers, new ideas, and above all the French language, the Huguenot exodus of the late seventeenth century created a sizeable French-speaking diaspora which spread from Switzerland in the south-east to England and Ireland in the north-west and even farther afield into the American colonies, German States and Russia.<sup>37</sup> Bound by a common culture and language the Huguenot exiles had an advantage in the formation of transnational networks – formerly the preserve of politicians, spies, foreign subscription news-gathers and gentlemanly scholars of the *Respublica Litteraria*. Often concerned with passing news of family and friends across the diaspora these networks could however also function to distribute news concerning current events occurring in their new countries: from political affairs to the latest scientific discoveries and works of erudition, especially if the exile in question had managed to gain a position in their adopted land whereby they would have access to these sought-after sources of information.<sup>38</sup> These networks then had the potential to give the advantage to any French exile who was looking to trade in this news from abroad, either as intermediary or publisher – an advantage which many recent exiles, stripped of much of their property by Louis, used to their benefit to reestablish themselves in their new states.<sup>39</sup> Some exiles also used their ability in French to translate works containing new, foreign ideas into their mother-tongue for export into France (such as Pierre Coste who was responsible for the translation of Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* into

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<sup>36</sup> However the reception from the wider native population could be ambivalent, see: Swindlehurst, 'The reaction of the Spitalfields weaving community to the settlement of Huguenots, 1660-1690' in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton [eds.] *From Stranger to Citizens* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> The impact and size of Huguenot deserters is discussed in: Matthew Glozier, 'Huguenot Soldiers in the Netherlands', *Historisch Tijdschrift Groniek*, 208-209 (2016), pp. 173-187.

<sup>38</sup> Susanne Lachenicht, 'Diasporic Networks and Immigration Policies' in Mentzer and van Ruymbeke [eds.] *A Companion to the Huguenots*, pp. 249-272.

<sup>39</sup> The Huguenots often had their property and estates confiscated and auctioned with the proceeds going to the state if they left France.

French) while at the same time translating French works into English – such as Bayle’s *Dictionnaire*.<sup>40</sup> From the late seventeenth century these networks greatly increased the spread of information across western Europe – not only between politicians and gentleman scholars – but also among a ‘middling sort’ with keen minds and a thirst for knowledge about their world, something which would be further accelerated by the rise of the learned literary journal.

### *Academies, Private Discussion Groups and the Learned Journal*

The private learned society, which was sometimes manifested as a private discussion group, had often been instigated as a physical and localised manifestation of the Republic of Letters, inspired by ancient academies such as that founded by Plato, and had developed throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, taking on different forms and often specialising in certain areas.<sup>41</sup> In France the private group of Valentin Conrart, initially begun in 1629, was eventually coopted by Richelieu and transformed into the state-sponsored *Académie Française* between 1634 and 1637; while the Dupuy brothers had their own ‘Académie Putéane’ (1617) which included among its number celebrated *libertins érudits* of the period such as La Mothe le Vayer, Naudé, Gassendi and Patin – figures who incidentally eventually became part of the French establishment. Italy had its own private academies such as the scientific *Accademia dei Lincei* (1603) – which boasted Galileo as a member – and the freethinking *Accademia degli Incongniti* (1630).<sup>42</sup> Later in the century saw the birth of one of the most important groups for the Marchand circle: Benjamin Furly’s Rotterdam-based

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<sup>40</sup> 1710 English edition was possibly translated by de Mandeville, a later edition was translated by Des Maizeaux.

<sup>41</sup> Marc Fumaroli, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015) pp. 130-138.

<sup>42</sup> William Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550-1640* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002); Antoine Adam, *Les Libertins au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1964); J. A. Bots, *Correspondence de Jacques Dupuy et de Nicolas Heinsius* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971); René Pintard, *Le Libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Slatkine, 2000).

‘Lantern’ group. This informal group met at Furly’s home, which (not coincidentally) was also host to an impressive library.<sup>43</sup> As an expatriate English Quaker merchant with a lively intellectual curiosity based in the intellectual and commercial hub which was Rotterdam, Furly was ideally placed to act as both friend and correspondent to many *savants* across Europe. His home saw numerous visits from English intellectuals sojourning in the Netherlands such as John Locke, Anthony Collins, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and John Toland; English religious exiles such as Penn, Barclay and Fox; Huguenots such as Pierre Bayle and Pierre Des Maizeaux; and international adventurers such as Gaspar Fritsch and Ludolf Küster.<sup>44</sup> Members of Marchand circle became well acquainted with Furly and his library. It is widely believed that in 1711 Charles Le Vier copied the *Trois Imposteurs* manuscript in Furly’s library and later in 1719 Le Vier and Thomas Johnson would publish this manuscript under the name *La Vie et L’Esprit de Spinoza*: which was in reality more a hotchpotch of seventeenth century libertine and heterodox thought than an actual single-authored treatise on Moses, Jesus and Mohammed.<sup>45</sup> On Furly’s death his library was sold, and the catalogue of the auction was organised and printed by members of the Marchand circle: Gaspar Fritsch and Michael Böhm. Marchand seems to have been inspired by Furly’s group and sought to create his own assembly of would-be *savants* which would meet weekly, and where each member would present a dissertation, which would then be critiqued by the other members.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Evidence of which is found in: Benjamin Furly, *Bibliotheca Furliana, Sive Catalogus Liborum Honoratiss. & Doctiss. Viri Benjamin Furly* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1714).

<sup>44</sup> Hutton, [ed.] *Benjamin Furly*.

<sup>45</sup> See: ‘Impostoribus’ in Prosper Marchand, *Dictionnaire Historique ou Mémoires Critiques et Littéraires* (La Haye: De Hondt, 1758); Sylvia Berti, Françoise Charles-Daubert, R. H. Popkin [eds.] *Heterodoxy, Spinozism and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth Century Europe* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1996); Sylvia Berti, ‘The First Edition of the *Traité des trois imposteurs*, and its Debt to Spinoza’s Ethics’ in Michael Hunter and David Wootton [eds.] *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>46</sup> See: Christane Berkvens-Stevelinck, ‘Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation: Maçonnerie ou Libertinage? A propos de quelques publications de Margaret C. Jacob’, *Quaerendo*, XIII, 2 (1983).



A physical manifestation of both the Republic of Letters and the academies was the learned journal. In contrast to the early single-authored/edited publications of Bayle, Le Clerc, Sallo, La Roque, Gallois, *et al.*, learned journals during the early eighteenth century had begun to adopt a more cooperative approach to their publications out of necessity. The ever-increasing amount of new works published across Europe (and indeed the desire to look beyond one's own borders for these works) and the development of new, increasingly-specialist scientific fields meant that a single editor was simply unable to maintain a journal for a prolonged period of time without either burning himself out or seeing the publication greatly diminish in quality or quantity.<sup>47</sup> Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* lasted only three years (1684-87) before being taken over by Le Clerc and Larroque for two years prior to the title being cancelled for ten years until it was resurrected in 1699.<sup>48</sup> The *Journal des Savants* managed to survive any hiatuses for its first thirty-six years of single-editorship mainly due to state support and a group of capable and dedicated editors who each served around a decade before turning the reins over to their replacement.<sup>49</sup> In its first year the Jesuit *Journal de Trévoux* (1701) switched from a single author to an editorial team under Père Tournemine, and the aforementioned *Journal des Savants* was reconstituted in late 1701 under Bignon – who had seen the necessity to employ an editorial team to maintain the journal's standards, scope and regularity.<sup>50</sup> By the early 18th century it was very difficult (although not entirely impossible) for a single-handed journal to succeed for a significant period of time. When the

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<sup>47</sup> While it is true that these editors often sought help from friends and acquaintances for content for their journals, they nonetheless were ultimately responsible for ensuring the timely publication and quality of the journal.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Grandroute 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres' in Sgard, J. [ed.] *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789*. [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/1016-nouvelles-de-la-republique-des-lettres-1>> [accessed: 27/01/2024].

<sup>49</sup> Eugène Hatin, *Histoire Politique et Littéraire de la Presse en France*, Tome 2 (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859) pp. 151-221.

<sup>50</sup> Pascale Ferrand, 'Mémoires de Trévoux' in Sgard, J. [ed.] *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789*. [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0889-memoires-de-trevoux-1>> [accessed: 27/01/2024]; François Fossier, *L'abbé Bignon: Un génie de l'administration, des lettres et des sciences sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2018), p. 78.

*Journal Littéraire* launched in 1713 it also was formed around an editorial team: *La Société Journal Littéraire*, which, in contrast to the more authoritarian examples given above, would hold weekly meetings at a coffee house to discuss articles and letters which would appear in the forthcoming editions of the journal and seemed to have endeavoured to create a much more democratic forum in the spirit of a learned discussion group. The necessity of using a team of editors was noted at the very start of the first edition:

The journal which commences here, is the work of several persons from different countries, who have formed a sort of society, of which the sole aim is usefulness to the public and its education. Each of them will work on the material and the sciences which he has studied the most, and they have chosen a certain number of members from amongst the society to decide how the extracts and other pieces, which must be part of this journal, will be reviewed. In this way the different pieces will be more uniform and better thought out; and we have every hope that the longer this journal continues the better it will become.<sup>51</sup>

### *The Growth of Interest in English Politics and Thought*

The French, and to a degree the continental European, interest in English thought and English politics had grown during the later seventeenth century – often aided by diligent translations by French exiles, which were often subsequently published and distributed by exiled francophone printers using their language and contacts to diffuse these new and often untapped English resources. At the same time these exiles benefitted financially from this growing international interest in the English. New and interesting ideas from ‘natural philosophers’ such as Newton and Boyle, philosophers such as Locke, and publications such

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<sup>51</sup> Thomas Johnson, *et al.*, *Journal Littéraire*, Tome I (La Haye: Johnson, 1713), pp. iii-vi.

as *The Spectator* gradually filtered onto the continent via the efforts of translators, promoters and importers – often French exiles. The English-based Huguenot Pierre Coste was responsible for the translation of Locke’s magnum opus *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* into French as well as his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, and he also worked on the French editions of Newton’s *Opticks* and Shaftesbury’s *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*.<sup>52</sup> Coste’s work on these translations – and especially the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* – made Locke’s ideas accessible to a wider European public by translating them into what had by that point become the *lingua franca* of the European *savant*: French.<sup>53</sup> Although native Netherlanders, Justus van Effen and Willem ‘s Gravesande were strongly linked to the Marchand circle as members of the *Société Journal Littéraire*. While Coste may have been the translator of Newton it was ‘s Gravesande who preached Newton to the Europeans.<sup>54</sup> In the middle of 1711 van Effen (working with *Journal Littéraire* publisher, Thomas Johnson) embarked on, ‘the first moralist periodical on the continent – *Le Misanthrope*’.<sup>55</sup> *Le Misanthrope* was directly inspired by the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele, and came about via Johnson’s contacts with the English book trade and his relationship with van Effen. As Johnson notes in the preface to the first edition, ‘...I have wanted for some time to

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<sup>52</sup> Coste, Pierre, in Cannadine, D., [ed.] *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); John Milton, ‘Pierre Coste, John Locke, and the Third Earl of Shaftesbury’ in: G. A. J. Rogers, Sarah Hutton and Paul Schuurman [eds.] *Studies on Locke: Sources, Contemporaries, and Legacy* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).

<sup>53</sup> Sue Wright, ‘French: The Rise and Fall of a Prestige Lingua Franca.’ in: *Language Policy and Language Planning* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>54</sup> S. Esposito and E. Schettino, ‘Spreading Newtonian Philosophy with Instruments: The Case of Atwood’s Machine’, *Advances in Historical Studies*, 3:1 (2014) pp. 68-81. Interestingly ‘s Gravesande’s *Mathematical elements of natural philosophy confirmed by experiments, or, an introduction to Sir Isaac Newton’s philosophy* was translated into English by another Huguenot resident in England, Jean Théophile Desaguliers.

<sup>55</sup> Pienaar, *English Influences in Dutch Literature*, p. 101; Wiep Van Bunge, ‘Justus van Effen on Reason and Virtue’ in: *From Bayle to the Batavian Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

try what would be possible [in this sphere] and fortunately there is an Author who has the intention, without making himself known, of probing the public's taste in such a work.'<sup>56</sup>

English politics had been equally opaque on the continent as English ideas until publications such as Rapin de Thoyras's *Dissertation sur les Whigs et les Torys* in 1717.<sup>57</sup> The balanced tone employed by Rapin in this study on the origins and rise of the party system in England, coupled with his outsider status, but also his first-hand familiarity with English politics, lent his work a degree of credibility previously absent from European political histories.<sup>58</sup>

Alongside Rapin's dissertation another similar essay on the party system in England was also in the process of publication in 1717. Emmanuel Decize published his *Histoire du whigisme et du torisme* initially in Leipzig and the following year it was republished in Holland.<sup>59</sup>

Interestingly both these authors had contact with Charles Le Vier prior to the publication of their works, although Le Vier seems to have opted to publish Rapin and not Decize, possibly hoping to secure the rights to Rapin's *chef d'œuvre*, the *Histoire d'Angleterre*, a work which he however eventually failed to secure.<sup>60</sup> The separate negotiations concluded between the British and the French during the Treaty of Utrecht, which was working to end the War of the Spanish Succession, had been perceived by the Dutch with a mix of anger and confusion. The duplicitous betrayal of its wartime allies by the then current Tory government under Queen Anne was a source of much ill feeling and confusion on the continent, especially amongst the French *émigrés*. However, Rapin's explanation of the English political system and the events surrounding the later reign of Anne would, to a degree, illuminate the

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<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Pienaar, *English Influences*, p. 102; Justus Van Effen, *Le Misanthrope* (La Haye: Thomas Johnson, 1711).

<sup>57</sup> Paul Rapin de Thoyras, *Dissertation sur les Whigs et les Torys* (La Haye: Charles Le Vier, 1717).

<sup>58</sup> Miriam Franchina, *Paul Rapin Thoyras and the art of eighteenth-century historiography* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021).

<sup>59</sup> Emmanuel Decize, *Histoire du Whigisme et du Torisme* (Leipzig: Andre Zeidler, 1717/La Haye: Adrien Moetjens, 1718). Decize has been written de Cizé and de Cize by different authors, however in his letters to Le Vier he signs his name Decize.

<sup>60</sup> Paul Rapin de Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre* (La Haye: Alexandre de Rogissart, 1724-27).

backstage political dealings and concerns which allowed for these events to take place – which would also justify Rapin’s belief that domestic English party politics could have serious consequences for the rest of Europe, something to which modern Europeans can also attest.

### Focus and organisation of the research

The research has been divided into three distinct sections, each dedicated to a particular individual and his relationship with a specific group. This format has organically suggested itself during the research as it not only allows for a concentration on, and detailed discussion of, the activities of a given figure during the period in question, but also allows for a wider discussion of specific institutions and groups during this period. In the case of Prosper Marchand this is his introduction, establishment and development as a member of the Republic of Letters during the period 1706-1720, which considers the obstacles he negotiated, and the steps which he took, to transform himself from a young Parisian *libraire-imprimeur* into an increasingly influential and valued Dutch-based member of the Republic of Letters. For Albert-Henri de Sallengre the wider context is his introduction to, and conversations with, members of the Parisian *savant* community – focusing on how this very young man found himself thrown into a difficult situation with powerful establishment individuals during his visit to Paris, which additionally allows us to discuss the interests of competing factions within the Republic of Letters who were connected to the physical and public manifestation of the institution during this period – the learned journal. In the case of Gaspar Fritsch his life is discussed against the backdrop of his progress as a *libraire-imprimeur* and the difficulties which maintaining and developing a large publishing business posed during this period. Hindered as this was by such problems as unreliable and bickering

staff, distribution difficulties occasioned by war, the frailty of copyright during the period, and the mismanagement of finances – all of which seem to have been compounded by Fritsch's obligation to continually travel between various European capitals in order to personally oversee the distribution of his publications and to maintain and further develop important contacts with his foreign associates. The attempt to better understand the lives of the subjects under discussion has also been undertaken partially to try to fill the lacunae which have existed in previous biographies of these characters – which often concentrate on their later lives and works without fully considering the source of their beliefs and actions – and partially in an attempt to correct mistakes concerning the lives of these figures which have arisen primarily due to the lack of previously published research dedicated to them during this period.

## Existing Literature

### *Marchand and his inner circle*

The pre-eminent scholar of Marchand is Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck – the former librarian and scholar from Leiden University, was the first to write a monograph concerning him in 1978; this research also yielded *Prosper Marchand, auteur et éditeur*, an academic paper in 1975.<sup>61</sup> This was followed in 1987 by her expanded biography, which is also the most important book dedicated to Marchand to date: *Prosper Marchand, La vie et L'oeuvre*.<sup>62</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck also published works concerning journalism during the early eighteenth century with her efforts often focused around Marchand and the Leiden archives. In 1991 she

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<sup>61</sup> Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand et l'histoire du livre : quelques aspects de l'érudition bibliographique dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle, particulièrement en Hollande* (Bruges: Drukkerij Sinta Catharine N.V., 1978); Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Prosper Marchand, auteur et éditeur' in: *Quaerendo*, 5 (1975), p. 218-234.

<sup>62</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*.

contributed to the collection of essays concerning the Dutch part in the burgeoning early-modern European book trade: *Le magasin de l'univers - The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*; in 1993 she published *Le Métier De Journaliste Au xviiiè Siècle: Correspondance Entre Prosper Marchand, Jean Rousset De Missy Et Lambert Ignace Douxfils* alongside Jeroom Vercruysse; and together with Jean Häselser and Hans Bots she worked on *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des Lettres* in 2005.<sup>63</sup> She also has produced a catalogue of the Leiden Marchand collection in 1988, along with various papers dedicated to countering Margaret Jacob's interpretation of the Marchand group – such as *Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation: Maçonnerie ou libertinage? A propos de quelques publications de Margaret C. Jacob* and *Cénacles libertins ou premières loges ? Les débuts de la franc-maçonnerie hollandaise*.<sup>64</sup> Despite her Dutch background, Berkvens-Stevelinck published her research concerning Marchand and the archives almost exclusively in French, and almost none of her works have been translated into English. This obviously poses a problem to non-French-speaking researchers and consequently her research has not had the audience it deserves in the English-speaking world, nor have her criticisms of Jacob's research received sufficient attention in the 'Anglo-Saxon' academic sphere.

Regarding Margaret Jacob, she too has also dedicated some of her time to Marchand – although from a different perspective than Berkvens-Stevelinck. While Berkvens-Stevelinck has concentrated on Marchand's life, work and position within publishing and the Republic of Letters, Jacob's work has viewed Marchand as a background character in a broader

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<sup>63</sup> Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots, P. Hoftijzer, and Otto Lankhorst, *Le magasin de l'univers - The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jeroom Vercruysse, [eds.] *Le Métier De Journaliste Au Xviiiè Siècle: Correspondance Entre Prosper Marchand, Jean Rousset De Missy Et Lambert Ignace Douxfils* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots, and J. Häselser, *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des Lettres* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).

<sup>64</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation: Maçonnerie ou libertinage?'; Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Cénacles libertins ou premières loges ? Les débuts de la franc-maçonnerie hollandaise' in *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 29 (1997).

exploration of (often) radical ideas and the development of freemasonry – ideas (as we have seen) for which she has been criticised by Berkvens-Stevelinck. Jacob began her research by concentrating on the impact Newtonianism had upon English thought following the 1688 revolution – *The Newtonians and the English Revolution*, and then shifted her focus to heterodox ideas and the rise of freemasonry in *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans*.<sup>65</sup> She has also engaged with Berkvens-Stevelinck's criticisms of her work in the article *The Knights of Jubilation-Masonic and Libertine, A Reply*.<sup>66</sup> Jacob, along with Hunt and Mijnhardt, has also published significant research into Bernard Picart in two books highlighting how Picart's art allowed Europeans to, for the first time, visualise non-European cultures and religions – and therefore be able to compare and contrast them with their own – which in turn subconsciously promoted a culture of toleration. The first, a collection of essays stemming from a 2007 UCLA conference into Picart's *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses*, is *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, which was accompanied in the same year by the book *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World*.<sup>67</sup> In contrast to the approaches taken towards Marchand by Berkvens-Stevelinck and Jacob the following research seeks to comprehend Marchand and his friends on a more intimate level by focusing on their personal correspondence in order to better understand their world (both physical and intellectual) and the factors (social, cultural, business, religious) which drove them during this early period, and which would inform their later behaviour.

In 'News from the Republick of Letters': *Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650-1750* Esther Mijers has discussed Thomas Johnson and his role in the Dutch

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<sup>65</sup> Margaret Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (Sussex: Harvester, 1976); Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* Second Edition (Lafayette: Cornerstone, 2006).

<sup>66</sup> Margaret Jacob, 'The Knights of Jubilation-Masonic and Libertine, A Reply' in *Quaerendo* XIV, 1 (1984).

<sup>67</sup> Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, Wijnand Mijnhardt, [eds.] *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010); Hunt, Jacob, Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe*.



publishing trade and how his position as an English-speaking expatriate to Holland allowed him to introduce English publications and ideas firstly into the Netherlands and then into broader continental Europe, as well as exporting continental works and ideas into Britain.<sup>68</sup> One of the figures which Johnson used in these ventures was Justus van Effen whose life and work have been the subject of a 1929 book by W. J. B. Pienaar – developed from an earlier PhD thesis. In *English Influences in Dutch Literature and Justus van Effen as Intermediary* Pienaar describes the influence English publications such as *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* had upon Dutch and European publishing during the early eighteenth century and how Johnson and van Effen were the catalyst for the development of a new literary genre in the Netherlands.<sup>69</sup> Van Effen's first efforts in this sphere – the *Misanthrope*, the *Bagatelle* and the *Nouveau Spectateur Français* – being French-language publications were not only of interest to the Dutch Huguenots and those with a sufficient grasp of French in the United Provinces, but also to the wider Huguenot community across Europe and obviously readers within the Kingdom of France itself. Many decades later critical editions of van Effen's French-language journals were published by James Schorr – *Le Misanthrope* in 1997 and more recently *La Bagatelle* in 2014 which have renewed interest in his life and career.<sup>70</sup>

The life and work of Thémiseul de Saint Hyacinthe has been the subject of a 1984 monograph by Elisabeth Carayol which details his life prior to, and following, his period living and working in the Netherlands alongside Marchand.<sup>71</sup> This study not only explores the successes he enjoyed from his *Chef d'œuvre d'un inconnu* and its impact across Europe but also his participation with the *Journal Littéraire*, the years he spent in Paris between 1716 and 1719 during the Regency of d'Orleans, and his initial friendship but later dislike of

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<sup>68</sup> Mijers, 'News from the Republic of Letters'.

<sup>69</sup> Pienaar, *English Influences in Dutch Literature*.

<sup>70</sup> Justus Van Effen; James Schorr, [ed.] *Le Misanthrope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Justus Van Effen; James Schorr, [ed.] *La Bagatelle (1718-1719) a critical edition of Justus van Effen's journal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>71</sup> Carayol, *Thémiseul de Saint Hyacinthe*.

Voltaire. Another contributor to the *Journal Littéraire* who unfortunately (and surprisingly) has attracted much less attention is Willem 's Gravesande. 's Gravesande was one of the eighteenth century's leading scientific minds who, in addition to his own research, is known to have aided in the distribution and explanation of Newtonian ideas on the continent. In recent years however 's Gravesande seems to be attracting much more interest in scholarly publications, not only as an evangelist for Newtonianism but also for his own scientific and philosophical research. In the article *The Man Who Erased Himself, Willem Jacob 's Gravesande and the Enlightenment* Ad Maas gives us a brief outline of 's Gravesande's origins and professional life before discussing his work on 'natural philosophy' and his importance to Dutch intellectual culture.<sup>72</sup> Another researcher taking a recent interest in 's Gravesande is Jip van Besouw who has argued in (*inter alia*) *Willem Jacob 's Gravesande's philosophical trajectory: 'between' Leibniz and Newton* that 's Gravesande was no mere Dutch mouthpiece for Newton and had developed his own independent philosophy which did not always correspond to orthodox Newtonianism.<sup>73</sup>

The Rotterdam-based, English Quaker merchant Benjamin Furly has attracted attention in his own right about every fifty years. In 1895 Julius Sachse published *Benjamin Furly, 'an English merchant at Rotterdam*.<sup>74</sup> Which was followed in 1941 by William Hull's *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam*.<sup>75</sup> In 2007 a collection of papers was published under the direction of Sarah Hutton which has further highlighted the importance of Furly to a host of European freethinkers who visited and conversed with him and his friends at his 'Lantern Club', and made use of his extensive library.<sup>76</sup> These studies demonstrate the importance of

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<sup>72</sup> Ad Maas, 'The Man Who Erased Himself, Willem Jacob 's Gravesande and the Enlightenment' in Eric Jorink and Ad Maas, *Newton and the Netherlands: How Isaac Newton was Fashioned in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

<sup>73</sup> Jip Van Besouw, 'Willem Jacob's Gravesande's philosophical trajectory: "between" Leibniz and Newton' in *Intellectual History Review*, 30, 4 (2020).

<sup>74</sup> Julius Sachse, *Benjamin Furly, 'an English merchant at Rotterdam'* (Philadelphia: 1895).

<sup>75</sup> William Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Pennsylvania: Swarthmore College, 1941).

<sup>76</sup> Hutton, [ed.] *Benjamin Furly 1646-1714*.

nodal figures such as Furlly (not only for the discussion of ideas but also the aid he supplied to his Quaker brothers and other non-conformists fleeing persecution) and the importance of private libraries, which could serve as repositories of knowledge for those outside of the traditional academic spheres and breeding grounds for often heterodox ideas.

An individual who appears later in the Marchand correspondence (1735-1743) is the Enlightenment author and philosopher, the Marquis d'Argens. This section of the Marchand collection has been published in a critical edition by Stephan Larkin in 1984.<sup>77</sup> While these letters and this relationship go beyond the scope of this study, they are an important link between the early and later Enlightenments and also a demonstration of Marchand's later importance and influence within the Republic of Letters. Aside from these more familiar characters from early eighteenth-century Europe there are numerous figures within Marchand's close orbit which have often only been referred to in passing in related research – if they have been discussed at all. These individuals, such as Gaspar Fritsch, Michael Böhm, Charles Le Vier, Henri Alexander, Jean de Bey, Ludolf Küster, Jacques Boyd and the Gleditsch brothers, formed close personal and professional connections to Marchand, and their importance to the intellectual and cultural life of this period, not only in the Netherlands but also in a wider European context, has – prior to this work – yet to be properly investigated.

*Figures more distantly connected with the Marchand Circle*

Beyond the close friendships which existed in the Dutch-based circle, the Marchand correspondence contains letters from, or references to, other important figures across both the Huguenot diaspora and the Republic of Letters, which testify to the scale of Marchand's (and

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<sup>77</sup> Larkin, *Correspondance entre Prosper Marchand et le marquis d'Argens*.

his group's) contacts across large swathes of not only Protestant but also Catholic early-modern Europe. The London-based Huguenot journalist, author, biographer and *nouvelliste*, Pierre Des Maizeaux, has been the subject of an increasing amount of attention by modern researchers since Broome's 1949 doctoral dissertation.<sup>78</sup> As is the case with Marchand, Des Maizeaux bequeathed a sizeable collection of manuscripts to the public; manuscripts which have allowed researchers to explore in detail the relationships, ideas and culture of the journalists and the wider early eighteenth-century Republic of Letters. The recent 2021 and 2023 publications of tranches of letters to and from this London-based *nouvelliste* by Hans Bots, *et al.* are an invaluable source of information concerning the affairs of the Republic of Letters and wider business and cultural issues during this period – especially as at the time of writing access to the Des Maizeaux collection held by the British Library is currently unavailable due to a recent cyberattack.<sup>79</sup> Joseph Almagor's 1989 study details Des Maizeaux's importance as a purveyor of news from England to his European, and in particular his Dutch, correspondents.<sup>80</sup> Almagor details how Des Maizeaux was responsible not only for supplying *nouvelles* from England – on which he had an effective monopoly to various Dutch journals of the period – but also for articles devoted to the latest books, events and ideas concerning not only England but also wider Europe. Almagor demonstrates how the continent's view of England had been, to a degree, shaped by Des Maizeaux's work. Developing Almagor's brief investigation of the argument which erupted between Marchand and Des Maizeaux (and their respective apologists) in the period around 1714 regarding the publication of Bayle's *Lettres Choisies*, Ann-Marie Hansen devoted a doctoral dissertation to

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<sup>78</sup> J. H. Broome, *An Agent in Anglo-French Relationships: Pierre Des Maizeaux (1673-1745)*, (Doctoral Thesis, University of London, 1949).

<sup>79</sup> Hans Bots, Sébastien Drouin, Jan Schillings and Ann Thomson, [eds.], *Lettres de La Motte à Pierre Des Maizeaux (1700-1744)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021); Hans Bots, Eugénie Bots-Estourgie, Sébastien Drouin and Jan Schillings, [eds.] *Les libraires de Hollande en correspondance avec Pierre Des Maizeaux de 1698-1744* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2023).

<sup>80</sup> Joseph Almagor, *Pierre Des Maizeaux (1673-1745): Journalist and English correspondent for Franco-Dutch periodicals, 1700-1720* (Amsterdam & Maarssen: APA – Holland University Press, 1989).

the affair in 2015 – *Une polémique au crépuscule de la République des Lettres:*

*l'affrontement Marchand-Des Maizeaux sur l'édition critique d'œuvres de Bayle.*<sup>81</sup> The deist and freethinker Anthony Collins has garnered attention over the past few decades from researchers interested in what has become known as 'the radical Enlightenment' and those exploring the rise of both deism and atheism in early-modern Europe. In 1970 James O'Higgins produced an intellectual biography of Collins and in subsequent years researchers such as Margaret Jacob, Jonathan Israel, Justin Champion, Rachel Hammersley, Pascal Taranto and Jeffery Wigelsworth have all contributed to increasing our understanding of Collins, his ideas and his influence on early Enlightenment Europe.<sup>82</sup>

The abbé Bignon's importance to the Republic of Letters (in addition to his many official state positions during the later reign of Louis XIV) has surprisingly seen little research devoted to him in the last half-century as a figure in his own right. While Bignon is often mentioned in works concerning Louis XIV's state, Parisian publishing, the *Journal des Savants* and the Republic of Letters, there has only been (until recently) significant interest shown in Bignon the man from a single researcher: Françoise Bléchet, who since 1979 has documented his life, activities and work at the *Bibliothèque de Roi*, via the French archives, in a series of articles. In 2018 however, François Fossier more completely explored the life of Bignon, his position in the French establishment and his range of contacts and the reach of his influence.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately a similar lack of interest persists for Bignon's Jesuit rival,

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<sup>81</sup> Ann-Marie Hansen, *Une polémique au crépuscule de la République des Lettres: l'affrontement Marchand-Des Maizeaux sur l'édition critique d'œuvres de Bayle* (Doctoral Thesis, McGill University, 2015).

<sup>82</sup> James O'Higgins, *Anthony Collins: The Man and His Works* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).

<sup>83</sup> Françoise Bléchet, 'L'Abbé Bignon, bibliothécaire du roi et les milieux savants en France au début du 18e siècle' in *Buch und Sammler: private und öffentliche Bibliotheken im 18. Jahrhundert. Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, Universität Münster, Düsseldorf vom 26.-28. September 1977*, (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1979) pp. 53–66; Françoise Bléchet, 'Le rôle de l'abbé Bignon dans l'activité des sociétés savantes au XVIIIe siècle' in *Actes du 100e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, 1975* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1976) pp. 31-41; Françoise Bléchet, 'Jean-Paul Bignon, despote éclairé de la République des Lettres' in C. Jolly, *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530-1789* (Paris, Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1988) pp. 216-221. Fossier, *L'abbé Bignon*.

René-Joseph de Tournemine. Outside of a few articles concerning the *Journal de Trévoux* and a 1976 article on his relationship with Voltaire by Pappas, Tournemine remains a neglected figure in the Republic of Letters and eighteenth century Parisian *savant* society generally.<sup>84</sup>

Robert Challe, the author of *Les Illustres Françaises*, the *Journal d'un voyage fait aux indes orientales*, and the *Difficultés sur la religion proposées au père Malebranche* (later reworked as *Le militaire philosophe* by Naigeon in 1768) had been an almost unknown figure prior to the research undertaken by Frédéric Deloffre in the 1950s to uncover the man behind the popular and influential *Les Illustres Françaises*.<sup>85</sup> Even in his correspondence with the *Société Journal Littéraire* – who had been full of praise for his work and had even tried to help him to secure publishers for his other works – he bristles at the journalists when he believes they are trying to discover his identity. With such a regard for his anonymity it is hardly surprising that Challe remained a relatively unknown figure in French literature and ideas (even though Marchand somehow had discovered and named him as the author of *Les Illustres Françaises* in his *Dictionnaire Historique*) until Deloffre's efforts. Following Deloffre's work the last half-century has revealed more fully the extent of his literary output and the importance of his work not only for literature but also travel writing and religious criticism. In 1972 Lawrence Forno published one of the only books dedicated to Challe in English (*Robert Challe: Intimations of the Enlightenment*) which has been followed by numerous critical editions of his works by Deloffre, Jacques Popin and Jacques Cormier; a exploration founded in literary criticism by Michèle Weil; unpublished manuscripts by

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<sup>84</sup> John Pappas, 'L'influence de René-Joseph de Tournemine sur Voltaire' in *Annales de Bretagne*, 83-84 (1976), pp. 727-735.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Challe, *Les Illustres Françaises* (The Hague: De Hondt, 1713); Robert Challe; Frédéric Deloffre, François Moureau, [eds.] *Difficultés sur la religion proposées au père Malebranche Edition nouvelle, d'après le manuscrit complet et fidèle de la Staatsbibliothek de Munich* (Geneva: Droz, 2002); Robert Challe, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux indes orientales* (Rouen: Jean Baptiste Machuel le Jeune, 1721).

Deloffre, Popin and François Moureau; along with numerous conferences and the formation of the *société des amis de Robert Challe* instituted by Deloffre and Bernard Cartier in 1979.<sup>86</sup>

A close friend of Challe in Paris and correspondent/*nouvelliste* for the *Journal Littéraire* was François Boscheron. Boscheron, a somewhat middling administrator in Louis's state (and would be author) had ties not only to Challe but also to Bignon – who may have also employed him in his personal library: a library where Challe first read the *Journal Littéraire's* review of his novel in 1713, which led to a correspondence with Marchand and the *Journal Littéraire* which lasted some years. Aside from a few passing mentions in works relating to Marchand, Challe and the *Journal Littéraire*, Boscheron has been a figure of generally little interest to researchers of the period. However William Brooks's detailed monograph based on his correspondence with the *Société Journal Littéraire*, published in 2020, has brought to light a figure milling around in the lower echelons of learned Paris, seemingly desperate to leave the drudgery of his everyday life in order to pursue his dreams of literature, correspondence and membership of the Republic of Letters via his biographies of famous poets.<sup>87</sup>

The Huguenot historian of England, Paul Rapin de Thoyras, has recently been the subject of a study by Miriam Franchina which has discussed not only his monumental *Histoire d'Angleterre* and his *Dissertation sur les Whigs et les Torys* but has also ventured to explore how Rapin approached his histories and how his historical methodology subsequently influenced the writing of history in Enlightenment Europe.<sup>88</sup> As with Marchand's close circle, there exist many figures who have as yet seen little interest from researchers, or who have left behind little trace apart from a few letters. These include Sebastian Hoggeur, a

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<sup>86</sup> Lawrence Forno, *Robert Challe: Intimations of the Enlightenment* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1972)

<sup>87</sup> William Brooks, *François Boscheron, ami de Challe, ses œuvres, ses biographies et ses travaux éditoriaux* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2020).

<sup>88</sup> Franchina, *Paul Rapin Thoyras*.

Swiss lawyer who had met Marchand during his stay in Holland; Christofle Balber, a young Zurich minister who seems to have met the circle while he was studying in the Netherlands; and Emile Decize, a Leipzig-based Huguenot who wrote on English politics in a similar manner to Rapin de Thoyras.

*The World of Printers, Booksellers, Journals and Journalism*

The creation of the literary journal during the latter half of the seventeenth century and its subsequent growth in the decades following has attracted numerous researchers. The earliest (and most prolific) of which is Eugène Hatin who published widely on the French press in the middle of the nineteenth century. While Hatin's work is fairly dated, it still remains useful owing to its breadth. His eight volume *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* alongside his *Les Gazettes de Hollande et la presse clandestine aux xviiie et xviiiie siècles* and *Le Journal* are particularly useful for any researcher considering the journals of the early eighteenth century.<sup>89</sup> More modern works focusing on the French early-modern printing industry include the second volume of Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin's four-volume *Histoire de l'édition française*.<sup>90</sup> Joseph Klait's *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV* considers the use of the press to shape public opinion and state attempts to control the press, while Elizabeth Eisenstein has considered the French popular press of the *ancien régime* in *Grub Street abroad: aspects of the French cosmopolitan press from the age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution*.<sup>91</sup> The concept of publication and transferring private ideas into the

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<sup>89</sup> Eugène Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859); Eugène Hatin, *Les Gazettes de Hollande et la presse clandestine aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Rene Pincebourde, 1865); Eugène Hatin, *Le Journal* (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1881).

<sup>90</sup> Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, [eds.] *Histoire de l'édition française, Tome 2 – Le livre triomphant* (Paris: Fayard, 1984).

<sup>91</sup> Joseph Klait, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV – Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Elizabeth Eisenstein, *Grub Street abroad: aspects of the French cosmopolitan press from the age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).



public sphere has been considered in a collection of essays edited by Christian Jouhaud and Alain Viala – *De la Publication*.<sup>92</sup> *Les Gazettes européennes de langue française (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* edited by Henri Duranton, Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat, considers the rise and growth of the francophone gazettes not only in France but also in Belgium and the Netherlands, and also discusses the importation of non-French published gazettes into the kingdom itself.<sup>93</sup> The Jean Sgard directed *Dictionnaires des Journalistes and Journaux* is an invaluable resource for any researcher interested in the journals and the journalists of the period; and as the *dictionnaires* are now online (which has made them infinitely more accessible in numerous ways) they are also able to be updated as new information comes to light concerning their subjects.<sup>94</sup> The birth and rise of the Dutch press has been described in detail by Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen in *The Bookshop of the World, Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*; and Marion Brétéché has highlighted the role of the francophone Dutch *nouvellistes* (in particular Madame du Noyer) in *Les Compagnons de Mercure*.<sup>95</sup> In *Le Magasin de l'univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* edited by Berkvens-Stevelinck, Bots, Hoftijzer and Lankhorst, numerous contributors discuss the importance of the Dutch book trade and its influence on broader European thought.<sup>96</sup> *Le Métier de journaliste au dix-huitième siècle* by Berkvens-Stevelinck and Jerome Vercruysse considers the subject of journalism and journalists in the Netherlands via the study of a series of letters between Marchand, Lambert Ignace Douxfils and Jean Rousset de Missy.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Christian Jouhaud and Alain Viala, [eds.] *De la Publication* (Paris: Fayard, 2002).

<sup>93</sup> Henri Duranton, Claude Labrosse, Pierre Rétat, [eds.] *Les Gazettes européennes de langue française (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles)* (Paris: Garnier, 1992).

<sup>94</sup> Jean Sgard [ed.] *Dictionnaire des Journalistes, Dictionnaire des Journaux* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/>> & <<https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/>> [accessed: 31/08/2024].

<sup>95</sup> Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World, Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019); Marion Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure – Journalisme et Politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2015).

<sup>96</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *et al.*, [eds.] *Le Magasin de l'univers*.

<sup>97</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, Vercruysse, *Le Métier de journaliste*.

*The Huguenot Exodus and Diaspora*

The first comprehensive, non-contemporary history of the Huguenots was written by Charles Weiss in 1853.<sup>98</sup> This two-volume work covers much ground beginning with the initial proclamation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and discussing not only the more popular Huguenot destinations such as England, The Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland, but also North America, Scandinavia and Russia, and is also responsible for coining the term ‘refuge’. A collection of essays entitled *From Strangers to Citizens*, edited by Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, explores the (mainly) Huguenot experience of exile and integration, particularly in relation to the British Isles and North America.<sup>99</sup> Robin Gwynn’s *Huguenot Heritage* also focuses on the Huguenots’ place in Britain and the contributions which the Huguenots made to British society and culture.<sup>100</sup> Philippe Joutard’s *La révocation de l’édit de Nantes* examines the Huguenot experience from a French perspective by focusing on both the Edict of 1598 itself and its revocation in 1685 and the political climate in France between the reigns of Henri IV to Louis XV.<sup>101</sup> Joutard has also discussed the internal Huguenot rebellions against the French state via the use of contemporary sources in *Les Camisards*.<sup>102</sup> *A Companion to the Huguenots* edited by Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke brings together a collection of papers by researchers which dedicates itself to two periods which sit either side of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.<sup>103</sup> The first half of the book examines the situation of the Huguenots in France, their beliefs, politics and culture. The concluding half of the book focuses on the diaspora and the challenges the Huguenots faced after they had escaped France. David van der Linden’s *Experiencing exile* takes a fresh look

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<sup>98</sup> Charles Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés protestants de France depuis la révocation de l’Édit de Nantes jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris: Charpentier, 1853).

<sup>99</sup> Vigne and Littleton, [eds.] *From Stranger to Citizens*.

<sup>100</sup> Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage – The history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

<sup>101</sup> Joutard, *La révocation de l’édit de Nantes*.

<sup>102</sup> Philippe Joutard, *Les Camisards* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).

<sup>103</sup> Mentzer and van Ruymbeke, [eds.] *A Companion to The Huguenots*.

at the Huguenot experience of exile once they had reached the Netherlands, in particular by focusing on the bulk of everyday Huguenots rather than more celebrated individual examples, such as Bayle, and examines the culture and society which the Huguenots crafted for themselves, out of necessity, in the Netherlands.<sup>104</sup> *Le refuge Huguenot: assimilation et culture* by Myriam Yardeni concentrates on the post-exile experiences of the Huguenots, the progress of their assimilation in their adopted countries, and their often-complicated relationship with their mother country.<sup>105</sup>

### *Intellectual life, Radical Ideas and the Republic of Letters*

#### *Earlier Influences*

As with some English *savants* of the early eighteenth century, the works and ideas which arose in the previous century had an important influence on the Marchand circle, and heterodox thought in general. *Le libertinage érudit en France dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* by René Pintard is possibly the most important single study of the culture of the early seventeenth century *esprits forts* such as Gassendi, La Mothe le Vayer and Naudé, and their influence on French thought during the period.<sup>106</sup> The rationalist and pro-toleration concepts espoused by these often close-knit groups lead to obvious comparisons with the Marchand circle (both physically and intellectually) and their contacts in the Netherlands – an influence which is further demonstrated by the republications undertaken by some of these Huguenot exiles. While the unorganised ideas promoted by the *libertins érudits* would require some decades to be ordered in a cohesive philosophy – by thinkers such as Hobbes,

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<sup>104</sup> David Van Der Linden, *Experiencing exile: Huguenot refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>105</sup> Myriam Yardeni, *Le refuge Huguenot: assimilation et culture* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

<sup>106</sup> René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit en France dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Boivin & Cie, 1943).

Spinoza and Bayle – many of the ideas of the latter-half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be found here in embryonic form. In *Les Libertins au XVIIe Siècle* Antoine Adam further explores the ideas of this period by using extracts from contemporary letters, poems and treatises to demonstrate the variety of ideas present during this period, and their antitheses.<sup>107</sup> More recently these ideas and characters have also been pursued by Françoise Charles-Daubert in *Les Libertins érudits en France au XVIIe siècle* as part of her work on the study of radical ideas which emerged in the early eighteenth century.<sup>108</sup> *L'informazione in Francia Nel Seicento* is a collection of essays concentrating on the creation, movement and use of information in France during the seventeenth century and how this growth of information sharing shaped society and culture.<sup>109</sup>

### *Pierre Bayle*

The Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle was a *pierre de touche* for many learned Huguenot exiles of the period. As a figure who had himself encountered the intolerance and brutality of the French state, which had led him to craft a philosophy of tolerance and reason, Bayle became a celebrated figure within the Republic of Letters. Bayle has attracted a great deal of scholarship since the 1960s – spurred on by the 1959 Paul Dibon directed *Pierre Bayle, le philosophe de Rotterdam* which sought to rediscover and reinterpret Bayle.<sup>110</sup> Elisabeth Labrousse's 1964 study of Bayle and his philosophy (*Pierre Bayle – Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*) and Hubert Bost's 2006 biography (*Pierre Bayle*) released on the tricentenary of Bayle's death, are two of the more thorough studies considering Bayle which have been

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<sup>107</sup> Adam, *Les Libertins au XVIIe Siècle*.

<sup>108</sup> Françoise Charles-Daubert, *Les Libertins érudits en France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998).

<sup>109</sup> J. Adhémar, *et al.*, *L'informazione in Francia nel Seicento* (Bari: Adriatica, 1983).

<sup>110</sup> Paul Dibon, [ed.] *Pierre Bayle, le philosophe de Rotterdam* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1959).

published in the last few decades alongside more specialist works by researchers such as Antony McKenna, Philippe de Robert and Gianluca Mori, among many others.<sup>111</sup> As we shall see later Bayle's ideas will resonate with the Marchand circle (and particularly Marchand himself) while his physical work and its continued publication will be of great importance for the many figures connected to Marchand.

### *Republic of Letters*

The Republic of Letters is another subject that often exists on a semi-conscious level in a great deal of the research on the early-modern period, but which as a concept itself is often neglected. However two studies have undertaken to explore and attempt to explain the Republic as an entity in itself. The 1997 work *La République des Lettres* by Bots and Françoise Waquet serves as a brief introduction to the idea of the Republic which has been greatly expanded upon by Marc Fumaroli in his 2015 study, also titled *La République des Lettres*.<sup>112</sup> The internal workings and customs of the Republic of Letters have been explored by Anne Goldgar in *Impolite learning*, and Lawrence Brockliss has explored the later Republic of Letters via a detailed investigation into the correspondence of the Avignon physician Esprit Calvet in *Calvet's Web*.<sup>113</sup> There also exist various other examples of research into networks and connections within the broader Republic of Letters (many referenced above) by Berkvens-Stevelinck, Bots, Mijers, *et al.* However, while the often broad aforementioned resumés of the Republic of Letters do convey the idea of its development and its larger impact on the thought of the period, there has been a noticeable

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<sup>111</sup> Elisabeth Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle – Hétérodoxie et rigorisme* (The Hague: Matus Nijhoff, 1964); Hubert Bost, *Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006).

<sup>112</sup> Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997); Fumaroli, *La République des Lettres*.

<sup>113</sup> Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Lawrence Brockliss, *Calvet's Web, Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

lack of discussion of both the links between the Republic and the learned journal and also a failure to comprehend the Republic from a vertical standpoint, *i.e.* often the focus is on a given level (in Calvet's case the well-to-do gentlemen scholars) within the Republic with little consideration regarding the different strata which were needed for the eighteenth century Republic to properly function.

### *Heterodoxy*

The Marchand circle's connection to figures such as Shaftesbury, Toland, Furlly and Collins, alongside the part they played in the creation and publication of *La Vie et L'Esprit de Spinoza* and their own often unorthodox views on religion links them to the recently christened 'radical' tradition of the 'early Enlightenment'. A collection of essays edited by Silvia Berti, Charles-Daubert, and Richard H. Popkin (*Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and free thought in early-eighteenth-century Europe: studies on the Traité des trois imposteurs*) published in 1996 is an invaluable resource for negotiating the myriad of rumours and myths which surround the infamous and often imaginary tract, *La Traité des Trois Imposteurs*, and understanding how figures connected to the Marchand circle eventually came to publish their own version of this legendary work in 1719.<sup>114</sup> Ira Wade's 1938 classic exploration of the radical and unorthodox ideas of the early eighteenth century (*The clandestine organisation and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*) remains an influential work for students of early modern heterodoxy – although some of the information presented by Wade is now outdated due to discoveries brought to light in more recent scholarship.<sup>115</sup> The brief *Les philosophies clandestines à l'âge Classique* by Gianni Paganini and *La Face cachée des*

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<sup>114</sup> Berti, Charles-Daubert and Popkin, [eds.] *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and free thought in early-eighteenth-century Europe*.

<sup>115</sup> Ira Wade, *The Clandestine Organisation and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938).

*Lumières* by Miguel Benítez continue Wade’s exploration of the influence and importance which the libertine and freethinker-penned pre-Enlightenment manuscripts would have for future generations.<sup>116</sup> Alan Kors’s *Atheism in France* explores the appearance of atheism in early modern France and suggests that while freethinkers and radicals did exist the danger posed to orthodox religion was, paradoxically, caused more by the multitude of works the church dedicated to the subject as it sought to defend itself against *chimérique* enemies.<sup>117</sup> In Jonathan Israel’s expansive study of heterodox thought (*Radical Enlightenment*) the author focuses on the philosophy of Spinoza to explain what he sees as an explosion of deism and anti-clerical thought which began in the latter half of the seventeenth century and went on to inform what he has termed ‘the radical Enlightenment’.<sup>118</sup> A collection of essays edited by Sophie Bisset, Marie-Claude Felton and Charles Wolfe (*Les Lumières de l’ombre: Libres penseurs, hérétiques, espions*) explores the underground world of the early modern period from printing to coffee houses to secret societies, along with the state’s reaction to subversion.<sup>119</sup> Albert Lantoine’s 1927 work – *Un précurseur de la franc-maçonnerie, John Toland 1670-1722* – has undoubtedly been a great influence on the ideas of Margaret Jacob.<sup>120</sup> In this discussion – which places Toland and his *Pantheisticon* centre-stage – Lantoine describes Toland’s criticism of ‘priestcraft’ and his desire to form private, parallel groups (with membership restricted to worthy *savants*) while at the same time noting that many of these *savants* understood that belief, for the masses, was a necessity to maintain the societal equilibrium.

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<sup>116</sup> Gianni Paganini, *Les Philosophies clandestines à l’âge Classique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005); Miguel Benítez, *La Face cachée des Lumières - Recherches sur les manuscrits philosophiques clandestins de l’âge classique* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>117</sup> Alan Kors, *Atheism in France, 1650-1729: Volume 1* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

<sup>118</sup> Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment – Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>119</sup> Sophie Bisset, Marie-Claude Felton and Charles Wolfe, [eds.] *Les Lumières de l’ombre: libres penseurs, hérétiques, espions* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2020).

<sup>120</sup> Albert Lantoine, *Un Précurseur de la Franc-Maçonnerie, John Toland 1670-1722* (Paris: Librairie Critique Emile Nourry, 1927).

### *Broad Context*

Paul Hazard's 1935 all-encompassing, transnational exploration of European thought between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (*La Crise de Conscience Européenne 1680-1715*) has, along with Daniel Mornet's 1933 study of the origins and impact of earlier ideas on the French revolution (*Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution Française*), been hugely influential on scholars of early-modern intellectual history and the history of ideas throughout the twentieth century, particularly in France.<sup>121</sup> The Jens Häsele and Antony McKenna edited study of intellectual life in the Huguenot diaspora (*La vie intellectuelle aux Refuges Protestants*) brings together a variety of research discussing the ideas and networks of the Huguenot refugees over a period from just prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes until the late eighteenth century.<sup>122</sup> In *The Enlightenment a Genealogy* (2010) Dan Edelstein has attempted to trace the roots of what we now understand as 'the Enlightenment' and better explain it as a phenomenon.<sup>123</sup> Using contemporary and modern sources Edelstein highlights the importance of certain intellectual debates, particularly the battle of the Ancients and Moderns, as being crucial to the creation of what is now broadly (mis)understood as the French Enlightenment. Finally, J. C. D. Clark's recent revisionist work on the Enlightenment has raised important issues regarding the (mis)use of the term 'the Enlightenment' by modern historians; a usage which he sees as rendering the concept increasingly useless and anachronistic: firstly due to its over-application and politicisation, and secondly due to modern historians specifically selecting figures for study which correspond to their own interpretations of what 'the Enlightenment' was.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Paul Hazard, *La Crise de Conscience Européenne 1680-1715* (Paris: Fayard, 1961); Daniel Mornet, *Les Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution Française 1715-1787* (Paris: Colin, 1933).

<sup>122</sup> Jens Häsele and Anthony McKenna, *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999).

<sup>123</sup> Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment, A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

<sup>124</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *The Enlightenment, An Idea and Its History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024).



## Chapter 2 – Prosper Marchand and The Republic of Letters

### *Organisation and constitution of the Republic of Letters*

The Republic of Letters is generally viewed by modern historians as an entity which developed during the early Renaissance in Italy and, at that time, was concerned with the search for, and recovery of, the texts of antiquity – with the broader goal of expanding human knowledge and understanding. As such, scholars across Italy remained in correspondence, sharing their discoveries and ideas within their private networks. Over time these networks began to reach areas outside of Italy and eventually a Europe-wide network of scholarship was established organically.<sup>1</sup> In the early modern period, following the advancement of the printing press, the Republic of Letters developed a public face via publications such as the *Journal des Savants* and the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet have written that the conception of the Republic of Letters, ‘is grouped around two semantic poles: on the one hand, some rather vague and general meanings such as the *savants*, the knowledge [*savoir*], the men of letters, the ‘letters’; on the other hand, is a signification more profound and rich, that of a community of *savants*’. Bots and Waquet also note that the term ‘letters’, when used in the expression ‘Republic of Letters’, did not directly refer to literature, ‘...it would even exclude it; it encompasses, in fact, the entirety of knowledge’.<sup>2</sup>

Brockliss’s research has led him to take a very structural and formal view of the Republic of Letters community, which is based on a rigid hierarchy with members having to earn their introduction either via a useful publication or personal recommendation from another

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<sup>1</sup> Using the Renaissance Latin term *Respublica Litteraria* first deployed in 1417. See: Fumaroli, *La République des Lettres*, for a thorough discussion of the origins and development of the Republic.

<sup>2</sup> Bots, Waquet, *La République des Lettres* pp. 14-15.

member. Class directly or indirectly mattered, whatever the ideals of the Republic claimed. Not only was it easier for those in the upper echelons of society to make influential contacts, but also the wealthy gentleman had more free time to dedicate himself to study and correspondence.<sup>3</sup> Brockliss also notes that, ‘Virtually all of the active members of the Republic had studied at university or received at the very least a good classical education; they were thus predominantly male and almost exclusively belonged to the affluent elite.’<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of the Republic raises interesting questions concerning the Marchand’s circle of connections and their status within (or perhaps outwith) the Republic. For the French members neither Marchand, Saint Hyacinthe nor Picart had benefitted from a university education, and this was also likely the case for Le Vier – although Le Vier’s background being less clear than the others it is impossible to say with certainty. Saint Hyacinthe did have the benefit of a more illustrious background, owing to his family’s connections to the Orleans family, but it would be too much to describe him as ‘affluent’, indeed finances were something of a concern for Saint Hyacinthe.<sup>5</sup> As for Henri Alexandre and Jean de Bey it is impossible to describe their upbringing owing to the almost complete lack of information which has remained concerning them – although as Alexandre’s father had been an *avocat* in Sedan it is possible that he followed his father into this career before leaving France around the turn of the century.<sup>6</sup>

For the non-French (but also non-Dutch) members the story is similar. Gaspar Fritsch, Michael Böhm, the Gleditsch brothers and Thomas Johnson were all immigrants, or frequent visitors, to Holland, originating from Saxony or Edinburgh in Johnson’s case.<sup>7</sup> As with

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<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Brockliss, ‘Starting-out, Getting-on and becoming Famous in the Eighteenth-century Republic of Letters’ in, André Holenstein, Hubert Steinke, Martin Stuber and Philippe Roger, [eds.] *Scholars in Action, The Practice of Knowledge and the Figure of the Savant in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, Volume 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> For Saint Hyacinthe’s background and family finances see: Carayol, *Thémiseul de Saint Hyacinthe*, pp. 3-26.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Sgard and Kees van Strien, ‘Alexandre’ in Sgard, J. [ed.] *Dictionnaire des Journalistes* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/006a-henri-alexandre>> [accessed: 28/09/2024].

<sup>7</sup> For Johnson’s background see: Mijers, *News from the Republic of Letters*.

Marchand and Le Vier it is likely that Fritsch and Johnson would have had a vocational *libraire-imprimeur* education, which would have equipped them in Latin, and perhaps some Greek, rather than a university education. Böhm and the Gleditsch brothers also seem to have had a vocational education which, in the case of the Gleditsches, had been supplemented by frequent visits to western Europe.<sup>8</sup> There is, however, a definite contrast when it comes to the native Dutch attached to the Marchand circle. Willem ‘s Gravesande is much more congruous with Brockliss’s description of Republic members. From a relatively wealthy family and educated at Leiden University, ‘s Gravesande fits perfectly the image of the ‘gentleman scholar’ of the period, with lots of free time and money to invest in his scientific explorations. Justus van Effen also had a university education (Utrecht), although his post-university private tutoring suggests he was not independently wealthy.<sup>9</sup> As for Albert-Henri de Sallengre (Half-Huguenot, half-Dutch), he had noble connections via his father’s family (along with his sister’s later marriage to Charles, Baron Whitworth in 1720) and he also had a university education (Leiden), had been made an avocat to the Dutch court following his studies and would later enter the service of the state.<sup>10</sup>

These connections between learned gentlemen and artisans may have been seen as unusual, were it not for the fact that the trade Marchand, *et al.* were involved in was increasingly intimately connected to the functioning of the Republic of Letters – owing to their access to new books (and therefore ideas) along with the rise of the literary journal during the late seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> What this highlights is the importance

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<sup>8</sup> Adalbert Brewer, *Gleditsch, Johann Gottlieb* (1964) *Deutsche Biographie* <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd128713488.html#ndbcontent>> [accessed: 23/09/2024].

<sup>9</sup> Lucette Desvignes, ‘Van Effen’ in Sgard, J. (ed) *Dictionnaire des Journalistes* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/793-justus-van-effen>> [accessed 29/10/2023].

<sup>10</sup> Elisabeth Carayol, ‘Sallengre’ in Sgard, J. (ed) *Dictionnaire des Journalistes* [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/735-albert-henri-de-sallengre>> [accessed: 29/10/2023].

<sup>11</sup> The first successful literary journal was the Parisian *Journal des Savants*, first published in 1665 by Denis de Sallo. In his *Histoire de Louis XIV* Voltaire called the *Journal des Savants* ‘the father of all these types of publication, with which Europe now overflows’. See, Hatın, *Histoire Politique et Littéraire*, vol. 2, pp. 151-221.

and proximity of certain printers and booksellers to Brockliss's vision of the Republic of Letters. Not only did they publish and distribute ideas of learned Republic members, but they also, through necessity, corresponded with the writers and proof-read (and sometimes edited) their works – thus becoming intimately aware of the ebbs and flows of the Republic, perhaps more so than many of its so-called members. Although outside of the Republic of Letters (and perhaps inside it also) they were considered socially inferior, the *libraire-imprimeurs* held a vital role as conduits of information within the Republic, and consequently had a degree of power to provide or deny information to its members, and also to promote or stifle the work of aspiring *savants* – in much the same way as the establishment *savant* gatekeepers such as Leibniz, Oldenberg, Bignon, Tournemine, Bayle, Le Clerc, *et al.*<sup>12</sup> The wealthy may have had the time, money, education and reputation to set the tenor for the Republic, but it was the artisans who increasingly provided the necessary infrastructure to keep it running. Their importance would see a rise in status (both socially and financially) for some '*libraires érudits*' such as Marchand, who transitioned from enthusiastic Parisian printer at the beginning of the century to doyen of the Republic of Letters by the time of his death in the 1750s. The Fritsch family would also see their status rise owing to their successes in Leipzig, with Gaspar's nephew (Thomas von Fritsch) becoming a statesman and being raised to the Saxon nobility in 1730.<sup>13</sup>

An additional development following the rise of the learned journal was that different states began to understand the importance of this manifestation of the Republic of Letters for the communication, importation and promotion (and control) of knowledge for the cultural and intellectual benefit of their own nations. However, the state could also sometimes attempt to

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<sup>12</sup> For the official gatekeepers and their role, see: Mijers, *News from the Republic of Letters*.

<sup>13</sup> Gerhard Schmidt, *Thomas Fritsch* (1961), *Deutsche Biographie*, <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd104298111.html>> [accessed: 01/03/2024]; Marian Bertz, *Thomas Freiherr von Fritsch* (2018), *Sächsische Biografie*, <[https://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Thomas\\_von\\_Fritsch\\_\(1700-1775\)](https://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Thomas_von_Fritsch_(1700-1775))> [accessed: 01/03/2024].

use ‘their’ journals connected to the Republic of Letters as outlets for propaganda. As Joseph Klaitis notes, ‘throughout the War of the Spanish Succession the *Journal des Savants* served as a secret vehicle for royal propaganda. Six or seven propaganda pieces commissioned by Torcy were reviewed in the *Journal*...each received a lengthy and sympathetic summary by the *Journal’s* editors.’<sup>14</sup> The Parisian *Journal des Savants* had enjoyed some degree of state support from its early days (particularly from Colbert) which included a royal *privilège*, effectively making it the only licensed publication in the kingdom which could address various scientific, religious and literary matters.<sup>15</sup> In 1701 the Jesuits (who had long bridled against the *Journal des Savants*) managed to establish their own, less-Gallican, publication in Trévoux (which was officially outside of Louis’s jurisdiction) while in England the establishment of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665 under Oldenberg, in Italy the *Giornale de’ Letterati* (1668) under Nazzari, and in the German states Mencke and Leibniz’s *Acta Eruditorum* (1682) provided each of these regions with their own either fully or partially state-sponsored learned journal.<sup>16</sup>

### *Variants in the Republic of Letters*

Among other areas addressed, it is proposed in this chapter that the Republic of Letters was a far more complex, stratified and nebulous institution than has been previously thought by researchers, especially with the ever-growing importance of the printed word and the rise of

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<sup>14</sup> Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda Under Louis XIV*. pp. 74-75.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Hatim, *Histoire Politique et Littéraire*, vol. 1, p. 179. In 1729 the *de facto* monopoly became a *de jure* monopoly, see: Claude Potts., ‘Journal des Savants: From the Republic of Letters to the Cloud Library.’ *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 43.1 (2011) pp. 68-75.

<sup>16</sup> *Mémoires pour l’histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts recueillis par l’ordre de Son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur prince Souverain de Dombes* (Trévoux: Imprimerie de S.A.S., 1701); *Philosophical Transactions, Giving some Account of the present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious in many considerable parts of the World* (London: Martyn & Allestry, 1665); *Il Giornale de’ Letterati* (Roma: Tinassi, 1668); *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig: Grossium & Gleditschium, 1682).

the literary journal as a platform for newly published works and a public forum for debate within the Republic. Marchand's early biography and progress inside the Republic of Letters is a demonstration that an artisan, without noble family connections or access to a private fortune, could prosper in this shifting model and become a lynchpin within the community. His ability to finesse those skills which he had developed in Paris, and also to exploit the resources which he had accumulated during his early years as a *libraire-imprimeur*, allowed Marchand to fashion a more prominent place for himself inside the Republic when he relocated to a state with fewer restrictions (especially for francophone *libraires*) on what could be printed, and by whom.

To some extent it can be argued (via Marchand's example) that *Republics* of Letters existed, rather than a single Republic, which were often the foundational substructure supporting a superstructure that we refer to today as 'the Republic of Letters'. While a Republic (or Republics) did exist as described by Brockliss (informed largely by his work on Calvet's correspondence) it was not the only form which the Republic took.<sup>17</sup> An example of the diversity of contemporary thinking concerning the Republic of Letters is found in a letter from Sebastien Hoggeur to Marchand dating from April, 1712. In this letter between the two correspondents, who had met and become friends while Hoggeur had been visiting the Netherlands in 1711, Hoggeur states that, 'In *our* Republic of Letters, there is nothing at present but a few Pamphlets of Sermons and similar things, very bland and which cannot disguise their Swiss origin.'<sup>18</sup> Here the term 'Republic of Letters' is used by Hoggeur to describe the publications and ideas which were linked to his local area (St Gallen). Here we see Hoggeur acting as a node of the Republic in north-east Switzerland, keeping abreast of

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<sup>17</sup> Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*.

<sup>18</sup> 'Dans notre république des Lettres, il n'y a rien à présent que quelques Brochures de Sermons et des choses semblables, bien fades et qui ne saurait déguiser leur origine suisse.' *Hoggeur to Marchand, 8 April, 1712*. March. 2. My emphasis.

current publications and news and then transmitting this information to Holland, where Marchand (himself a node within Holland) could use and distribute this information, while at the same time relaying news back to Hoggeur for his use in St. Gallen. It was connections such as these which provided the journals with their information which they in turn presented to a wider *savant* public.

The appearance of the learned journals had transformed the Republic of Letters from smaller, private networks of well-to-do European *savants* benefitting from *otium* (leisure or free time) to pursue their studies and correspondence – often operating independently and not communicating with each other unless a new bridging node was somehow added to their network – into a public, international representation of those ideas for anyone who took the time to acquire and read the journals. This democratisation of ideas obviously played a part in transforming intellectual discourse from a hegemony of acceptable ideas, which often had their roots in establishment institutions, only accessible to the few, into a relatively unrestricted, mass-produced physical item available to the many. It was not the state or intellectual institutions which successfully policed the journals (although they did try) but rather its readers, who were encouraged to reply to, and debate, issues which new works and ideas discussed in the journals occasioned. This is not to say that the average man in the street had been invited into the *savant* world – there still remained the barriers of literacy and a sufficient understanding of often difficult concepts (which often referenced classical ideas, complex mathematics or academic theology) to overcome – however for those with inquiring minds and sufficient motivation, formerly closed-off ideas and discussions were now a great deal more accessible.

*Marchand and Republic of Letters in France*

While the role of many of these *libraire-imprimeurs* within the Republic of Letters remains unclear, the Marchand correspondence can give us a better understanding of his (and some of his correspondents') position within the Republic, which may further help to illuminate the Republic of Letters during this period. The correspondence suggests that Marchand first began to attempt create a place for himself in the Republic while he was still living and working in Paris. His initial serious forays into the Republic (judging from the correspondence) seem to have taken place around 1706-1707 when he was in his late twenties.<sup>19</sup> His unpublished (at the time) anonymous 1706 essay on the *Cymbalum Mundi*, which was likely distributed among the *savants* of Paris, was one of the first steps Marchand took into the world of the Republic of Letters, transforming himself from being a reader and consumer, into a writer and creator, of ideas. The following year Marchand again wrote an anonymous essay intended to preface a new edition of an old work. Again the subject of the work was unorthodox and frowned on by the authorities in France. A 1707 letter from François Foppens – a Brussels-based *libraire-imprimeur* – discusses with Marchand his plans for the publication of a new edition of the *Satyre Menippée*.<sup>20</sup> The *Satyre Menippée* was a work which had been first published at the end of the sixteenth century that satirised the attempts by Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne to be elected to the French throne in place of Henri IV (following the assassination of Henri III in 1589) supported by the Guises, the Catholic League and the Spanish. Foppens writes to Marchand that, 'I have received, via Monsieur Etienne, the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me with the

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<sup>19</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck notes that the Marchand archives contain numerous unpublished manuscripts beginning in 1695 where it seems Marchand was practicing his craft. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 12.

<sup>20</sup> N. Rapin, J. Passerat, & F. Chrestien, *Satyre Menippée* (Ratisbone: Chez les Heritiers de Matthias Kerner, 1709), actually: N. Rapin, J. Passerat, & F. Chrestien *Ménippée* (Brussels: François Foppens, 1709). See also: Marie Viallon and Dominique Varry, 'Matthias Kerner, l'imprimeur qui n'existait pas.' *47<sup>e</sup> Colloque international NASSCFL*, (2017), <<https://hal.science/hal-01627413/document>> [accessed: 29/01/2024].



corrections for the explanation of the frontispiece of the satire *Menippée*, I will take care to follow them'.<sup>21</sup> Despite its brevity this sentence yields quite a lot of information about Marchand and his position during this period. Not only does it show that Marchand was collaborating on cross-border publishing, but it also demonstrates Marchand's strong friendship with (an apparent) descendent of the famous Etienne family of Parisian publishers – to such a degree that he could entrust him to deliver a potentially damaging letter. Further, it demonstrates that Marchand had begun to design his own didactic illustrations for works with which he was involved: something that would become common to his later publications.<sup>22</sup>

A later letter (1713) between Foppens and Marchand states that Bernard Picart had created the anonymous design which Marchand had envisaged, which is not especially surprising considering the relationship which Marchand and Picart enjoyed seems to have been forged in Paris prior to 1700. However, this does demonstrate that Picart as well as Marchand had begun to manifest their views, to some degree, on the religious and political troubles of the period – even if this was done via the reedition of a century-old satire.<sup>23</sup> Foppens continues by asking Marchand to send him a short piece on the history of the Catholic League, which Marchand seems to have agreed to, as following the 'explanation' there is a small essay on the history of the Catholic League – 'I take the liberty to beg of you to make a little history of

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<sup>21</sup> *F. Foppens to Marchand, 19 September, 1707*. LUL, March. 2. See appendix for complete letter and frontispiece, Fig. 2.

<sup>22</sup> The Etienne (sometimes Estienne) family of publishers included Robert Etienne, the publisher of the *Stephanus* edition of the Greek New Testament, which introduced verse divisions to the Bible, between 1546 and 1551, and his son Herni Etienne, publisher of the *Thesaurus graecae linguae* (1572). It is uncertain if Jacques Etienne (1668-1731) was related to the famous Etienne family, however Marchand seems to have believed that he was and compiled an unpublished manuscript history (1700) of the family which he dedicated to Jacques, and Jacques also adopted the Etienne 'olive tree' as his business's sign. Jacques Etienne also was involved in the sale of the *Journal de Trévoux* in Paris. See: 'Jacques Etienne' *BNF Data* <[https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12384439/jacques\\_estienne/](https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12384439/jacques_estienne/)> [accessed: 28/09/2024]. See also: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand* pp. 100-103.

<sup>23</sup> 'J'ai envie de la faire faire par Mon Picart qui a si bien réussi à celui de la satire, et l'explication que vous en avez faite'. *Foppens to Marchand, 26 October, 1713*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. Picart had previously designed etchings for Marchand's manuscript of the history of the Etienne family in 1700 and also Marchand's printers mark while resident in Paris.

the League, of which we believe you capable, if your pursuits allow you, because, to tell you the truth, we do not have any people of ability here.’<sup>24</sup>

From this it seems that Marchand already had a reputation as a man with significant literary skill and learning, at least among his fellow *libraire-imprimeurs* – possibly due to his essay on the *Cymbalum Mundi*. This little ‘History of the League’ (which is very critical of the abuse and manipulation of religion by powerful men in order to further their political agenda) coupled with the explanation of the frontispiece can be considered Marchand’s first original published work, albeit anonymous. While he had been responsible for two catalogues in 1706 and 1707 these are neither works of importance nor originality, as they were (unlike his later catalogue of Faultrier’s library) merely sales catalogues. Indeed these two catalogues did not even carry Marchand’s name.<sup>25</sup> Foppens continues, referring to his 1706 edition of Comynes’s *Memoires* when discussing how he will present the work, ‘Your book will have two volumes, like these of Comynes, I believe that it will be well received because of the new remarks which it will contain.’<sup>26</sup> However, for some reason the book would not see the light of day until 1709 – if this date can be trusted – and by this time the Marchand/Foppens/Picart edition of *Menippée* would have three volumes and not two as Foppens had envisaged. It is difficult to assess the reception of this edition of *Menippée* as it does not seem to have been reviewed in any of the major literary journals of the period. However, Foppens states in a later letter that Marchand’s frontispiece (which was a didactic image portraying what could be called ‘religious enthusiasm’ as a masked demon entrancing

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<sup>24</sup> F. Foppens to Marchand, 19 September, 1707. March. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, seigneur d'Argenton : contenant l'histoire des rois Louys XI & Charles VIII depuis l'an 1464 jusques en 1498 Augmentez de plusieurs traittez, contracts, testaments, actes & observations par feu Mr. Denys Godefroy*. Two Volumes. (Brussels: François Foppens, 1706).

those around him, while in the background the resulting disaster and chaos are described) had been ‘acclaimed by everyone’.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to these early essays is personal correspondence between Marchand and Tournemine (which Berkvens-Stevelinck has dated to the end of 1709 while Marchand was still resident in Paris) and which points to Marchand using his position as a *libraire-imprimeur* to gather news for the editors of learned journals. ‘I do not wish to fail to thank you, Sir, for the news that you are kind enough to write to me every month’, begins Tournemine – politeness and a show of gratitude to one’s correspondent is a feature of the Republic of Letters’ intellectual transactions, especially when concerning a learned journal’s thirst for information.<sup>28</sup> He then tells Marchand that what he is sending is more than enough, before reiterating what he expects from his correspondent – ‘The exact title, details about the author, and the judgment that *savants* have of the book, that is the main thing. However, use this [advice] as you please’. From this it is apparent that Marchand was sending in information concerning new books which had appeared in Paris – suggesting he was busy sourcing new and exciting works which would not only assuage his own intellectual curiosity but also attract Parisian *savants* to his place of business and make him more valuable to the Republic. Tournemine’s advice does however suggest that Marchand may have also been trying to insert some of his own opinions on the books into the reviews which he was sending to Tournemine’s journal. Nevertheless, Tournemine appears to be happy for Marchand to add these opinions to his submissions when he states that letters from men like Marchand ‘cannot be too long’. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck dates this letter to 1709 because of the inclusion of the following sentence which suggests that Marchand had asked Tournemine to mention his recent publication of another catalogue in the *Journal de Trévoux*: ‘Since you

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<sup>27</sup> ‘Vous avez eu la bonté de me donner un dessein pour suivre du frontispice à la satire Menippée qui a été applaudi de tout le monde.’ *Foppens to Marchand, 26 October, 1713*. LUL March. 2. See appendix for images.

<sup>28</sup> *Tournemine to Marchand, undated [1709]*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

wish that I speak of your catalogue of Faultrier's library I will give rise to the opportunity, and soon. I am very happy with it and will speak of it with this tone.' The Faultrier catalogue must have seemed an obvious project for Marchand to offer to the Republic: not only was Faultrier a renowned bibliophile, man of letters and valued member of the Republic, but Marchand's vocation and also his former work on catalogues made an edition of the recently-deceased Faultrier's library the ideal way for him to try to officially introduce himself to the Republic of Letters.<sup>29</sup> In contrast to his work on *Menippée* this was a project which would be acceptable in wider French society and in which he did not have to remain anonymous – allowing him to attach his name to a valued member of the Republic, while also making his own contribution to the Republic. However, it seems that Tournemine did not hold to his word and Faultrier's catalogue received only a brief mention in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* section at the end of the May 1710 edition of the Journal:

Prosper Marchand, bookseller from this city, has made the catalogue of the rich library of the late Monsieur l'abbé Fautrier [*sic*]. He has used a novel arrangement for this catalogue [*il a suivi dans ce catalogue un ordre particulier*]: we shall speak of it next month.<sup>30</sup>

However, there is no further mention made of Marchand's work the following month, or in any other editions of the *Journal de Trévoux*. Perhaps Marchand's exit from Paris was the cause of this omission; however this slight did not end the correspondence between Marchand and Tournemine. A second extant letter from Tournemine (unfortunately again without a full date) to Marchand deals with biographical material which Tournemine has in

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<sup>29</sup> Prosper Marchand, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Joachimi Faultrier* (Paris: Marchand/Quillau, 1709). For Marchand's work on catalogues see: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, pp. 12-26. The abbé Faultrier (1626-1709) was the intendent of Hainaut and became a well-respected man of letters in his later years, see: Jean-Paul Fontaine, *Les Gardiens de Bibliopolis* (Paris: L'Hexaèdre, 2015) pp.264-265.

<sup>30</sup> *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, May 1710 (Trévoux: Ganeau/Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1710) p. 929. For Marchand's development of a new cataloguing system see: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, pp. 12-26.

his possession concerning Pierre Bayle. However, from the envelope – which is addressed to ‘M. Douxfils au bureau des postes pour M. Marchand à la Haye’ – it is apparent that this letter dates to sometime after Marchand had left France, but before he had moved from The Hague to Amsterdam.<sup>31</sup> Douxfils, attached to both the Brussels post office and the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*, seems to have become the Marchand circle’s trusted connection when sending and receiving letters and packages from France.<sup>32</sup> What is interesting about this letter is that Tournemine thanks Marchand for ‘the continuation of your news’ – suggesting that Marchand was still sending in *nouvelles littéraires* to the *Journal de Trévoux* even after he had left Paris and been apparently slighted by the journal due to its lack of interest in his Faultrier catalogue. As this letter dates to after Marchand’s move to Holland (early 1710) and probably before his relocation to Amsterdam (early-to-mid 1711) it suggests that Marchand continued his correspondence with Tournemine for at least a few months after his departure.<sup>33</sup> Further, from this letter it appears that this was not a one-way flow of information – with Tournemine making efforts to have a copy of Bayle’s self-penned chronology transcribed for Marchand: ‘I will have this paper transcribed for you and I will send it to you.’<sup>34</sup> This demonstrates that while Marchand may have left France for whatever religious, political, intellectual or business reasons, he did not leave the Republic of Letters and maintained cordial (and beneficial) relations with his French correspondents, whatever side of the confessional divide they were on.

In November 1709, just prior to his departure from France, Marchand received a letter from Jacques Bernard – between 1699 and 1710 the editor of the Pierre Bayle-established

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<sup>31</sup> *Tournemine to Marchand, 28 June, [1710]*, LUL March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>32</sup> Fritsch refers to Douxfils as ‘notre Vicaire de Bruxelles’ and also ‘coadjutor and vicaire de l’ordre’. See Appendix: *Fritsch to Marchand, 18 November, 1712* and *Fritsch to Marchand, 3 November, 1715*. March. 2.

<sup>33</sup> See below for further information which allows a more precise dating of this letter.

<sup>34</sup> *Tournemine to Marchand, 28 June, [1710]*; Pierre Bayle, (ed. Prosper Marchand), *Lettres Choisies* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1714).

*Nouvelles des République des Lettres*.<sup>35</sup> This letter suggests that Marchand had informed Bernard he would soon be leaving Paris in order to begin a new venture, but it seems that he did not feel confident enough to disclose to Bernard exactly where he had planned to resettle, or perhaps he himself may have been unsure of his eventual destination. ‘So, although your new start apparently makes me lose the advantage of your gossip, I am delighted and I congratulate you’, begins Bernard.<sup>36</sup> He continues, ‘When you can, do me the favour of informing me what it is and where you will be staying, in order that I have the honour from time to time to remind you that you have in Holland a person who is perfectly yours.’ This suggests that Marchand had decided to leave Paris, and possibly the world of printing, at least prior to Autumn 1709 – in contrast to Berkvens-Stevelinck’s assertion that this was a hasty, unprepared exit.<sup>37</sup>

The real significance of this letter, however, concerns Marchand’s connection with the Republic of Letters. It seems that Marchand had been in contact with Bernard for at least a year (quite possibly longer) and had been furnishing him with news from Paris – ‘You will see in my October publication [*nouvelle*] that I made use of your letter and the excellent excerpts [*extraits*] that your friend has kindly shared with you.’ This demonstrates that Marchand was not only sending news himself to one of the most reputable learned publications of the period, but that he was also established (and trusted) enough in the Parisian intellectual world to receive, and pass on, work from other Parisian *savants*. The letter also shows that Marchand seems to have had a keen interest in the religious developments of the day, particularly where these developments concerned the Jesuits – as

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<sup>35</sup> Alain Juillard, ‘Bernard’ in Sgard, J. (ed) *Dictionnaire des Journalistes*. [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/062-jacques-bernard>> [accessed: 27/01/2024].

<sup>36</sup> *Jacques Bernard to Marchand, 27 November, 1709*. March.2. See appendix for complete letter. All following quotations in this paragraph are from this letter unless indicated.

<sup>37</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 3.

the excerpt and letter in question seem to concern the controversy of the Jesuits in China and their acceptance of ‘Chinese Rites’.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, the name of Marchand’s friend remains unknown – and the possible candidates are too numerous to begin to speculate. However, Bernard was keen to add Marchand’s friend to his suppliers of news for his publication, ‘do me the favour of telling me if he would be willing to continue and to where I should direct myself [*où je dois m’adresser*] to have the honour of writing to him and sending him my journals’. The dispatch of the author’s journal to his correspondent as a form of gratitude (and perhaps a polite form of payment) appears to have been common practice during the period, if the Marchand letters can be understood as a reflection of broader *savant* society. Aside from asking for the details of this contact Bernard also wanted to know if Marchand could get him a copy of a catalogue containing the books which Bignon has forbidden the *Journal des Savants* from discussing (‘I was told that Monsieur l’abbé Bignon has published in a catalogue books which may not appear in the journal’) and also a copy of an almanac (‘You had the goodness to send me two diaries [*agenda*] last year...I would ask you for two or three for this one, because we do not have an almanac which is well laid-out in this country’).<sup>39</sup> Bernard states that Marchand had sent him two copies of the almanac the previous year, again indicating that this relationship had existed for at least a year. During this period it seems that Marchand had begun to establish himself as a reliable and trusted Parisian source for Bernard, which Bernard was loathe to lose.

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<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of the ‘Rites Controversy’ see: Nicolas Standaert, ‘Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: The Role of Christian Communities’ in Ines Zupanov, and Pierre Fabre, [eds.] *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 50-67.

<sup>39</sup> Bernard is not entirely clear about the almanac in question, but he perhaps means the *Almanach Royal* which was published from 1683-1792 or even the *Almanach Bibliographique* which contained a list of all the books published in France two years previously – i.e. the 1709 edition contained the books published in 1707.

A final example of Marchand's early attempts to gain recognition in the Republic of Letters is to be found in his correspondence with l'abbé Bignon. Dating from 1712 after Marchand had left France but was yet to properly find his place in Holland, the letter begins with Bignon relating how he has welcomed a friend of Marchand, Samuel Turretin (second cousin of the reform theologian Jean-Alphonse), to Paris and has even given him back some of his books which it seems had been held by the French *douane*.<sup>40</sup>

One cannot love letters without at the same time loving those who cultivate them.

Mr. Turretin is one of them; and with this he is one of your friends: in this capacity I have received him as well as I could; and I even had returned to him some books that had been stopped at the customs.<sup>41</sup>

From the tone of the letter it is apparent that there is an established relationship between Bignon and Marchand along with a great deal of goodwill and warmth, regardless of the *politesse* employed between correspondents within the Republic. This runs contrary to Berkvens-Stevelinck's assertion – in relation to Tournemine's failure to give Marchand's catalogue of Faultrier proper discussion in his journal – that, 'Marchand's sudden exile in the Netherlands and the condemnation by his former acquaintances, such as Abbe Bignon for example, are perhaps not unrelated to this 'forgetfulness' of Tournemine.'<sup>42</sup> If Bignon did grow cold towards Marchand it was not until Marchand published his version of Bayle's *Lettres Choisies* in 1714, and regarding Tournemine, as we have seen above, while Marchand may have not achieved the publicity and subsequent acclaim he expected from Tournemine he nonetheless maintained cordial relations even after his exile in Holland.

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<sup>40</sup> Jean Alphonse Turretin (sometimes Turretini) (1671-1737), Genevan Professor of Theology of Italian extraction. Samuel Turretini (1688-1727) also a reform theologian. This also further demonstrates Bignon's power and willingness to intervene with the state on behalf of his acquaintances: cf. chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Bignon to Marchand, 18 June, 1712*. March 2. See Appendix for complete letter.

<sup>42</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 24. This criticism by Bignon relates to Marchand's edition of the *Lettres Choisies* which caused a great argument between Marchand and Des Maizeaux, *entre autres*, and also led to a division between those supporters of Marchand and those of Des Maizeaux.



As these sets of correspondence demonstrate, Marchand was attempting to finesse his position within the world of European *lettres* to gradually insinuate himself into the Republic of Letters. His first efforts as a bookseller while he was learning his craft were the assembly and publication of catalogues (Bigot and Giraud) while he began to initiate correspondences and develop ideas with other publishers and like-minded individuals (such as Picart) leading to his involvement in the 1709 edition of *Menippée*. Using his position as a *libraire-imprimeur*, and his own interest in reading and reviewing new works, he then began to send (and often also receive) *nouvelles* to some of the most reputed literary journals of the day – the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (Bernard), *Journal des Savants* (Bignon) and the *Journal de Trévoux* (Tournemine), and as the correspondence shows he managed to form cordial relationships, relationships which lasted for some years, even after his departure from Paris. Next, after forging ties with these *savant* gatekeepers based on his regular dispatches of literary news, he attempted to promote his own work (Faultrier’s catalogue) in their publications in order to receive some kind of recognition within the Republic of Letters. When this failed, and Tournemine did not give his work the recognition he may have felt it deserved – and with Marchand possibly irked by the French establishment, the publishing hierarchy in Paris, the influence of the Jesuits on French life, and the terrible conditions occasioned in Paris by the *Grand Hiver* – he may have decided that his ambitions would be better served by leaving the kingdom and moving to the capital of European printing: Holland.<sup>43</sup> There he would have access to a more diverse range of sources than he had enjoyed in Paris, along with a greater freedom to write and print, while at the same time he could elevate his worth among the established French-based journals by supplying them with *nouvelles* from his adopted country. With a war between France and the Netherlands in

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<sup>43</sup> For the *Grand Hiver* and the subsequent issues which this freak bout of cold weather caused for France see: Marcel Lachiver, *Les années de misère* (Paris: Fayard, 1991) pp. 239-384.

progress Marchand would have needed to leave during winter – while the troops were in their winter barracks. Even though this would have made his journey infinitely more difficult at least he would be able to take the most direct route via modern-day Belgium and not have to run the risk of being caught in a skirmish. Nonetheless when he left France for good he had brought with him numerous possessions and books and manuscripts, the most significant of which was a manuscript copy of a rare work which had hardly been seen since the middle of the sixteenth century, and which he may have thought would help him to establish himself in Holland and bring him renown within the Republic of Letters itself: the *Cymbalum Mundi*.

### *Marchand and the Republic of Letters in Holland*

#### *The Cymbalum Mundi*

The *Cymbalum Mundi* is a work which appeared in France during 1537-38 (first in Paris, then Lyon) anonymously: although the general consensus (both during the period and from modern scholars) is that Bonaventure des Périers was responsible for its creation. The *Cymbalum* quickly attracted controversy leading to its prohibition by the *Parlement de Paris* (at the personal request of king François I) in April 1538 and the arrest and imprisonment of its printer, Jean Morin.<sup>44</sup> The work seems to have almost vanished from public view soon after it was published and it became (in a similar way to the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*) a book which everyone discussed, but which no one had actually read – the difference being in this case that a book called the *Cymbalum Mundi* had actually existed prior to the turn of the

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<sup>44</sup> For more detail on the *Cymbalum Mundi* see: Jean-François Vallée, *Cymbalum Mundi* ([n.d.]), *Cymbalum Mundi* <<https://cymbalum-mundi.com/>> [accessed: 08-04-2024]; F. Giacone, [ed.], *Le Cymbalum Mundi: Actes du Colloque de Rome, 3-6 Novembre 2000* (Geneva: Droz, 2003); and Bonaventure des Périers, *Cymbalum Mundi, Edition critique par Max Gauna* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000). Although modern consensus is that the *Cymbalum* was originally written in French, there exists in the *Bibliotheca Hohendoriana* a listing of a manuscript copy in Latin, see: Georg Hohendorf, *Bibliotheca Hohendoriana, ou Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu Monsieur George Guillaume Baron de Hohendorf* (The Hague, De Hondt, 1720) p. 262.

eighteenth century. As Marchand notes in his *avertissement*, not even the great Bayle had read the work – although this did not prevent him from writing an article on its author, based on second-hand sources, much to Marchand’s (respectful) disapproval. As such in the decades following its initial publication the supposed content of the book seems to have gained a life of its own propelled by the imaginations of its critics, with the book regularly being described as ‘atheist’, ‘detestable’ and ‘impious’, and its author labelled a ‘libertine’ and ‘atheist’.<sup>45</sup>

Marchand’s involvement with this work is intriguing and also allows us to describe his intellectual outlook during the period when he was working as a *libraire-imprimeur* in Paris and first getting a taste for the intellectual discussion which took place in the Republic of Letters. According to Marchand’s *avertissement* (which prefaces his 1711 Amsterdam edition of the *Cymbalum*), in 1706 a copy of the book was found among those sold at the auction of Bigot’s library. As this book was bound in a collection under the title ‘Recueil de divers Pièces’ neither Marchand (who had created the catalogue for the Bigot library auction) nor the buyer of the ‘Recueil’ were aware that a copy of the *Cymbalum* was a part of Bigot’s library.<sup>46</sup> The delighted new owner of the book then received many requests for manuscript copies, which he was only too happy to provide. Marchand does not specify if he received a manuscript copy himself. Judging by his consequent actions he probably did not, but this renewed interest in the book among the Parisian *lettrés* may have spurred him to try to find a copy to consult.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Bonaventure Des Périers; Prosper Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi ou Dialogues Satyriques sur differens sujets* (Amsterdam: Prosper Marchand, 1711) pp. 1-53.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem* p. I-II. (The pages of the *avertissement* are not paginated, as such I have used roman numerals to designate which of the six pages are being quoted).

<sup>47</sup> For a discussion concerning the distribution of potentially illicit manuscripts see: Benitez, *La Face cachée des Lumières*; Kors, *Atheism in France*; Alain Mothu, ‘Le manuscrit philosophique clandestin existe-t-il?’ *Les Dossiers du Grihl*, [online] Hors-série n°. 5 (1996/2022) <<http://journals.openedition.org/dossiersgrihl/3497>> [accessed: 28/09/2024]; and Wade, *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France*.

Marchand says he first read the *Cymbalum Mundi* sometime around 1706. The edition he read came from the *Bibliothèque du Roi* and was supplied to him by a friend, for whom Marchand only gives us initials: ‘Mr. C. O. L. à P’.<sup>48</sup> It is this edition which Marchand would copy in manuscript, carry with him on his journey out of France, and eventually publish in Amsterdam in 1711. Marchand states that when he first read the book he was, ‘extremely surprised to see that it did not correspond at all to the reputation that it had of being one of the most detestable and one of the most pernicious writings that anyone had ever published’.<sup>49</sup> Consequently Marchand decided to produce a small essay, which he styled in the form of a letter – redolent of the original letter in the *Cymbalum* from *Thomas du Clevier à son ami Pierre Tryocan* – taking on the detractors and critics of the work, most of whom, he notes, had not even read this most rare of books and were merely regurgitating what they had heard about it: ‘I noticed that the authors who related them [the accusations of atheism and impiety] had almost all slavishly copied each other’.<sup>50</sup>

Marchand’s little essay was written pseudonymously under the name ‘Felix de Commercy’ (an obvious play on ‘Prosper Marchand’) and intriguingly Marchand states in a footnote that, ‘I had at the time various reasons to thus disguise my name’ – the reasons probably being that he was still in Paris earning a living as a *libraire-imprimeur* and did not wish to attract the attention of the authorities.<sup>51</sup> The letter was addressed to a ‘Monsieur B, P; D, & G’, *i.e.*: ‘Bernard Picart; Dessinateur et Graveur’ [illustrator and engraver], who would also create the

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<sup>48</sup> *Des Périers; Marchand, Cymbalum Mundi*, p. I. Possibly *M. Charles Osmont Libraire à Paris*. Osmont (1668-1729) was also based in the Rue Saint Jacques and was later investigated for producing illicit books against religion, see: Tetart, *Mémoire pour Charles Osmont père libraire à Paris* (Paris: Gonichon, 1727), [online] <<https://ia800603.us.archive.org/28/items/memoirepourcharl00teta/memoirepourcharl00teta.pdf>> [accessed: 28/09/2024].

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem* p. III.

<sup>50</sup> Marchand states that he was aware of only two copies of the *Cymbalum* in Paris, ‘one at the Bibliothèque du Roi, and the other found itself among the books of M. Bigot of Rouen, which were sold publicly in Paris in 1706’, *Ibidem*, p. I. The Clevier letter appears on page 57 of the Marchand edition. The names Thomas du Clevier and Pierre Tryocan have been deciphered as Thomas Incrédule and Pierre Croyant (‘doubting’ Thomas non-believer/atheist and ‘rock’ Pierre Believer) by Éloi Johanneau in 1841 which also has biblical undertones, see: Gauna, *Cymbalum Mundi*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. III.

illustrations for the 1711 edition. It is difficult to know if the letter was published in any form before 1711. Calmet's *Bibliothèque Lorraine* believes that it was put into print in 1706, however Calmet also states that 'Felix de Commercy' had translated the *Cymbalum* from Latin in 1688, so it is difficult to trust his statement regarding the publication of the letter.<sup>52</sup> There is a possibility that Marchand sent (or intended to send) the letter to the various learned journals of the time – although none chose to publish it – so he was required to use a sobriquet. There is also a possibility that he could have written the letter to be read at a meeting of a private Parisian discussion group, but in this case he would obviously not need to disguise his identity. However, if Marchand had given Picart his authorisation to further distribute the letter among his friends (which Marchand may have thought would boost his reputation among the local *savants*) he may have thought it necessary to maintain his anonymity – especially as he was aware of what had happened to the last printer (Jean Morin) who associated his real name with the *Cymbalum*.<sup>53</sup> Coupled with this latter point is that Marchand may have been contemplating publishing an edition in Paris but eventually decided against it as it was too risky a venture. Whatever the case, Marchand's 'letter' to Bernard Picart is a fascinating insight into the mind and opinions of the *libraire* during his little-known Parisian years.

Something which strikes the reader of the letter immediately is Marchand's dislike of unquestioning (and uninformed) prejudice. Numerous times throughout the letter he highlights that much of the criticism of the *Cymbalum* has been made by people who had not read the work itself and had merely been repeating what they had been told. For example from the first pages of the letter Marchand is keen to make his point concerning the received prejudice the book has faced: 'it is a small book, more interesting because of the reputation

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<sup>52</sup> Augustin Calmet, *Bibliothèque Lorraine ou Histoire des Hommes Illustres* (Nancy: Leseure, 1751) p. 362.

<sup>53</sup> It appears from Marchand's note in the *avertissement* that the letter was shared to some degree, and many attributed it to La Monnoye, see: Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. III.

which it has been given by the authors who have discussed it'; 'Those who speak of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, almost all call it a detestable book...it is an opinion so generally accepted, that it seems that one cannot reasonably detach oneself from it'; and 'I will only add here that they have given it such bad press, that there is no one who doesn't believe it full of Libertinage and Atheism'.<sup>54</sup> Later in the letter, when Marchand is addressing individual authors who have critiqued the work, he states, 'All those who speak of it as an impious and detestable book, only describe it thus because they have not seen it, as the majority of them admit'.<sup>55</sup> Referring to a 1685 work by Nicolas Catherinot entitled *L'art d'imprimer*, in which Catherinot stated that he had not read the impious book, and that he had no desire to read it, Marchand writes that, 'I do not believe that one can reason more pitifully. In effect, to condemn a book as impious, while at the same time admitting that one has ever seen it'.<sup>56</sup> Concerning Etienne Pasquier's criticism of the *Cymbalum* Marchand writes, 'he is only so angry with it, because on the faith of others, he believed it full of impiety', adding that, 'Pasquier was too judicious to speak thus of this book, if he had known what it contained'.<sup>57</sup> Of the book's other critics Marchand singles out for praise only Antoine du Verdier because, 'one has to say in his favour that he only spoke of it after he had read it; that it is he who spoke of it with the most judgement; and that he is the only one who did it justice'.<sup>58</sup>

Marchand also discusses the author of the work, Bonaventure des Périers, and how attacks on the book are reflected in attacks upon the author and his personality and *vice versa*. He notes that the copy which he has used, which came from the *Bibliothèque de Roi*, has two inscriptions on the title page which he presumes were written by the book's former owner, a certain 'M. de l'Estoille'. M. de l'Estoille, Marchand speculates, could be Claude de

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<sup>54</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 30-31.

l'Estoile – the poet and playwright and one of the original ‘immortals’ of the *Académie Française*; however, he declares that he cannot be sure if this is the same man. He says, ‘this M. de l'Estoille has written his name in red letters on the first page of this book, with this note. BONAVENTURE DES PERRIERS [*sic*], wicked man and atheist, as is evident from this detestable book’.<sup>59</sup> Below is a second note which reads, ‘What a life, what an end, proven by the death of this wretch, unworthy to bear the name of man’.<sup>60</sup> The ‘end’ referred to by de l'Estoile is the apparent suicide of des Périers by running himself through with his own sword, a story which seems to have first appeared in a work by prominent Protestant, Hellenist and printer, Henri Estienne, in 1566.<sup>61</sup> Marchand notes a further addition, again in red, on the page of the first ‘dialogue’: ‘Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus’, a biblical quote indicating the fears which the French establishment *savants* held concerning the decline of morals, the spread of heresy (including Protestantism) and growth of *libertins spirituels* during the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Marchand concurs to a degree that this was a period which saw a decline in manners and behaviour in literature stating that, ‘I admit that there are in the *Cymbalum Mundi*, which was made in a time where one expressed oneself without scruple and without reluctance on all sorts of subjects, some liberties, which would not be acceptable in this century, where one writes with more restraint and more tact

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<sup>59</sup> See appendix Fig. 3 for image. This edition can be viewed online at: *Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15202315.r=cymbalum%20mundi?rk=42918;4>> [accessed: 29/09/2024].

<sup>60</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. 39.

<sup>61</sup> Henri Estienne, *Introduction au Traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou Traité préparatif à l'apologie pour Hérodote* (Geneva, 1566).

<sup>62</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. 40. Alberto Tenenti, ‘Milieu XVIe, début XVIIe: Libertinisme et Hérésie’, *Annales* 18:1 (1963) pp. 1-19. The Latin passage comes from Psalm 53: *The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. Corrupt are they, and have done abominable iniquity: there is none that doeth good. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek God. Every one of them is gone back: they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people as they eat bread: they have not called upon God. There were they in great fear, where no fear was: for God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee: thou hast put them to shame, because God hath despised them. Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! When God bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.* [Authorised Version].

[*délicatesse*]',<sup>63</sup> Concerning Périers's supposed manner of death and how it somehow could be interpreted as further confirming the reputation of the *Cymbalum*, Marchand (who also states that he does not believe the story of des Périers falling on his own *épée*) declares,

that even if he had had such a fate, this infers nothing concerning the impiety of his work. Indeed, does it become more or less bad? It would be a pleasant to think, that the death of a man had an impact on his past actions. But, to continue with this idea, do all atheists die in an unfortunate manner through an inherent necessity? And is it only the ungodly [*impies*] who end their lives in a miserable and tragic manner?<sup>64</sup>

A section of the *avertissement* highlights the degree to which the rationalist ideas and scepticism of Bayle (and possibly Spinoza, among others) had penetrated the minds of young, literate Parisians such as Marchand. When discussing how he came to the decision to print a new copy of the *Cymbalum*, Marchand states that he initially had some difficulty taking this action as he feared the reputation of the book would tarnish his own, as people 'never want to give up opinions once they have accepted them, however unreasonable and however ill-founded they may be'. However he eventually came to the decision to publish because 'condescending thus to the weakness of those who give everything to vulgar prejudice was to make too little a case of good sense and of reason, and to tacitly accuse all men of having renounced their brightest and most brilliant insights.'<sup>65</sup> Marchand's optimism that he could change established opinion concerning the content of the *Cymbalum* was further strengthened by the advice which he says he had received from 'wise and sensible people' who told him that 'it was not fair to deprive a number of reasonable people from reading this work who

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<sup>63</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. 47.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. V.



would undoubtedly see it appear with pleasure'.<sup>66</sup> Thus Marchand came to the conclusion that many of his potential readers were sophisticated and balanced enough to take a reasonable and unprejudiced view of the *Cymbalum*. It seems that Marchand had developed a conviction – influenced by the works of his contemporaries and the advice of his friends – that supposedly ‘wicked’ books and ideas needed to be read and discussed based on their own merits and without prejudice. While ‘vulgar prejudice’ still existed, there also was a growing sense of tolerance and reason developing among the people, and it was for this section of society – which he wished to encourage and develop – that Marchand says he finally decided to publish his manuscript.

The amount of research Marchand undertook for his letter to Picart is also worthy of discussion. Not only had he somehow managed to borrow the work from the *Bibliothèque de Roi* – something which testifies to Marchand’s increasing reputation and connections during his later Parisian period – but he had also discovered and consulted numerous critiques of the *Cymbalum*, Des Périers, ‘Du Clevier’ and atheism, beginning with Renaissance essays contemporary to the *Cymbalum* and concluding with works published during his own period.<sup>67</sup> Additionally Marchand had also consulted the *Bibliothèque des Minimes* in order to clarify what Mersenne had written (Mersenne had belonged to the Order of Minims): ‘after having unnecessarily skimmed through several examples of this work [*Questions sur la*

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> The works used by Marchand are as follows: Henri Estienne, *Introduction au Traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou Traité préparatif à l'apologie pour Hérodote* (1566), although Marchand used a 1607 version of the work. Croix Du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque du sieur de La Croix du Maine* (1584); Antoine Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, seigneur de Vauprivas* (1585); Chassanion *Histoires memorables des grans et merveilleux jugemens et punitions de Dieu* (1586); Etienne Pasquier, *Lettres*, Tome I, (1619); Marin Mersenne, *Questions sur la Genèse* (1623); G. Voetius, *Selectae disputationes theologicae* (1648-1669); T. Spizelius, *Scrutinium Atheismi Historico-aetiologicum* (1663) and *Felix Litteratus* (1676); L. Moreri, *Dictionnaire Historique* (1674); Nicolas Catherinot, *L'art d'imprimer* (1685); G. Morhofius, *Polyhistor* (1688); Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1702); B. Struve, *Introductio ad Notitiam Rei Litterariae* (1706).

*Genèse*] and even that of the Bibliothèque des Minimes in Paris...'<sup>68</sup> The work which Marchand undertook to discover and then compare and contrast all these opinions on the *Cymbalum* was no mean feat, especially when one considers that he managed to discover, locate, read and evaluate all these works (often in various editions, as seen with the Mersenne) and then write his piece in the space of a few months while still working as a *libraire-imprimeur*. For Marchand, however, this seems to have been a labour of love.

Marchand's interpretation of the work is difficult to assess because one cannot be completely sure if what he writes concerning the content of the *Cymbalum* in his letter to Picart is itself genuine. However, the refusal to properly admit any heretical or atheist imagery (at least in regard to Christianity) and the reading of the work as a playful series of dialogues was not unique to Marchand: Voltaire would also share many of Marchand's opinions on the *Cymbalum*. To understand the position Marchand took regarding the content of the work three hypotheses must be considered. One is that Marchand did not understand the work at all and missed a lot of the subtext, allegories, and allusions. The second is that he was aware of the actual meaning of the book but chose to use subterfuge in order to be able to plead innocence if anything ill came of his publication. The third possibility is a mix of the two: not fully understanding the work, but at the same time realising that there were some anti-Christian and anti-theist aspects to the book and seeking to distance himself from this interpretation, at least publicly. The denial, or at least the downplaying, of any atheist content was necessary because although Marchand was now resident in the more tolerant Holland, and published his edition in Amsterdam, the local *kerken* and city officials would still take a dim view of an openly heretical work and its publisher. This must have been something which concerned Marchand as he had just recently acquired membership of the Amsterdam

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<sup>68</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. 35. Marchand's ability as a researcher prior to 1706 has been documented by Berkvens-Stevelinck when discussing his compilation of a work recording all the books published in Paris between 1650 and 1705. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, pp. 92-93.

printing guild in April 1711 (something which was only awarded to printers in good moral standing) and he would seek to join the local Walloon church the following year – an institution which was at the heart of exile life in the Netherlands.<sup>69</sup> If Marchand wished his name to appear on the cover of the book (and as a printer starting anew in a foreign country the renown generated from republishing such a rare work could only benefit him) he could not admit to being aware that the *Cymbalum* could have atheist undertones: to a degree the letter to Picart which he had written in Paris in 1706 still served the same purpose.<sup>70</sup>

The issue surrounding eighteenth century interpretations of the *Cymbalum* was highlighted by Marchand himself: the book was so rare that it had been transformed by hearsay into a philosophical *bête-noire* during the hundred and fifty years or so before Marchand republished it. Everything which had been written about the work had been ‘slavishly copied’ from the opinions of a few sixteenth century writers who may not have even have seen a copy of the book. In this respect Marchand shows himself to be a somewhat brave and independent-minded figure in dissenting from the prevailing opinion and questioning the views of respected *savants* such as Estienne, Pasquier, Mersenne and Bayle. Nonetheless, following the proscription of the *Cymbalum Mundi* there remained few who were privy to its secrets or who could conduct a thorough analysis of the work until Marchand published his copy; and it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the work began to attract serious scholarly attention, starting with Johanneau who was the first to begin to properly uncover its long-lost secrets. In the eighteenth century the work ‘bored’ Goujet and he ‘barely understood it’ while Voltaire ‘spoke of insipidness, of boredom, and of “a dull schoolboy

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<sup>69</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> The excitement generated by the reappearance of the *Cymbalum Mundi* is demonstrated in a letter from de La Motte to Desmaizeaux. This letter notes that a Parisian bookseller ‘who came to embrace the Protestant religion has brought with him...an example of the extremely rare [*rarissime*] book *Cymbalum Mundi* which is spoken of in the *Dictionnaire* of Mr Bayle’. It is telling that Marchand is not mentioned by name in this letter, but the book is. *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 4 March, 1710* in Bots, [eds.], *Lettres de La Motte*, pp. 248-249.

hotchpotch” [*fatras de plat écolier*]’.<sup>71</sup> However, this is not to say there were no attempts to decipher it. In 1732 (republished 1753) a new edition of the Marchand version was published which included notes by La Monnoye, added to by Falconnet and Lancelot, and which was based on the Paris, rather than the Lyon, edition of 1537.<sup>72</sup> In these notes, which appear at the end of the book, there is a concerted effort made to identify the characters behind the anagrams in the *Cymbalum* (such as Luther and Bucer) and to better explain the text to mid-eighteenth century readers.<sup>73</sup> This renewed interest in des Périers, occasioned by the reappearance of the *Cymbalum*, seems to have led to a reedition of his ‘Contes et Nouvelles et Joyeux Devis’ which was also published in 1711. Interestingly, this edition would appear anonymously under the name ‘Jean Gaillard, Cologne’. However, the edition seems, in fact, to have been published by Marchand’s fellow Amsterdam *libraire* Jean Frédéric Bernard (who would later work with Picart on the *Coutumes et Cérémonies*). This edition would also contain some ‘Observations sur le Cymbalum Mundi’ at the end of the second volume. It is these ‘observations’, by La Monnoye, which were reproduced and augmented in the 1732 edition.<sup>74</sup> However, it is safe to say that for a lot of eighteenth century readers the book had proven to be something of a disappointment. Rather than the outrageous atheist tract which had been described by its critics, they found themselves reading a playfully cryptic series of dialogues, the meanings of which had become increasingly obscure since it was first published. Nonetheless, Marchand had taken a risk in publishing the book under his own name – as the anonymous Bernard publication of the same year demonstrates. He had

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<sup>71</sup> Gauna, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. 13. For Voltaire’s complete essay on the book and the similarity of his position to Marchand, see: Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes* Tome 26 (Paris: Garnier, 1883) pp. 495-496.

<sup>72</sup> Despite his name appearing as the printer, Marchand himself had nothing to do with these editions apart from the content which he had published in 1711, namely his letter to Picart and Picart’s engravings.

<sup>73</sup> Bonaventure Des Périers, Camille Falconet, Bernard de la Monnoye, A. Lancelot, and Prosper Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi, ou dialogues satyriques sur différens sujets. Nouv. éd. rev. corr. & augm. de notes & remarques, communiquées par plusieurs savants* (Amsterdam: Prosper Marchand, 1732).

<sup>74</sup> Bonaventure des Périers, *Contes et Nouvelles, et Joyeux Devis de Bonaventure des Périers* (Cologne: Jean Gaillard, 1711).

gambled on his belief that Dutch and wider European society was ready to now consider a previously scorned work on its own merits, and it appears that his gamble had paid off.

As we can see in the story of Marchand and the *Cymbalum*, he was already well-enough connected in Paris at the time to secure the loan of a prohibited book from the *Bibliothèque de Roi* and he was also a capable enough writer and researcher to be able to construct an apology for the book quoting numerous critics from the previous century and a half. His argument for rehabilitating the work, based upon the (often wilful) ignorance of its former critics coupled with his dislike of unquestioning prejudice which was handed down from generation to generation, demonstrates Marchand's development as an independent and inquiring thinker, likely inspired by the influence of his fellow Huguenot, Pierre Bayle, and the philosopher Baruch Spinoza. Both Bayle and Spinoza had taken revisionist approaches to natural phenomena and scripture and had begun to try to encourage new critical ways of thinking and intellectual approaches in their works. Marchand was also aware that he was trying to restart his career as a *libraire-imprimeur* in a new country which already had a surfeit of publishers. He could have easily published the *Cymbalum* anonymously in the Netherlands – but how would that benefit him? Marchand understood the necessity of attaching his name to the work while at the same time attempting to try to rehabilitate the *Cymbalum* – both for practical (his standing in Dutch and Huguenot society) and intellectual reasons. Marchand declares in the *avertissement* that he was indeed going to publish the work 'under the mask' of Felix de Commercij in the Netherlands, however he explains that he decided not to follow this path as there was talk in France that his letter to Picart was actually the work of La Monnoye, and he did not wish to make La Monnoye responsible for any faults which he had committed.<sup>75</sup> However this appears to be more a case of false modesty than actual concern for the reputation of M. de la Monnoye, and being mistaken for such a

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<sup>75</sup> Des Périers; Marchand, *Cymbalum Mundi*, p. III.

luminary must have assured Marchand that his work was worthy of elevating his name within the Republic of Letters.

It is quite easy to posit that Marchand would have wanted to publish the work in France – and the apologies he made for the book may have been the initial steps he was taking on this path before he realised what the consequences would be for him if the work was received in the wrong way by the wrong people. His flight to the Netherlands (along with Picart) granted him a greater degree of publishing liberty, but this is not to argue that he could publish with impunity. There still remained a risk that Marchand could have been expelled from the printers' guild if the book was badly received, and he could also have been ostracised by the Walloon church. This was a distinct possibility considering the attacks on Calvinist predestination and the fathers of the Reformation which the *Cymbalum* could be interpreted as wielding. The *avertissement* – written later than the 1706 letter, probably just prior to the publication of the book in Amsterdam – gives a good idea as to Marchand's thinking before he finally decided on publication. He had convinced himself of the lack of heresy in the book (or at least he felt he could defend himself against such accusations) and he had then sought the opinion of 'wise and sensible people' on the subject who had further persuaded him that it was a book worthy of publication. As Marchand himself says, 'determined, I say, by these reflections, I no longer had any difficulty in giving it [*abandonner*] to the public'.<sup>76</sup>

Following the publication of the *Cymbalum* (which probably took place sometime in mid-1711) there was (predictably) no review in either the *Journal des Savants* or the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, however Jean le Clerc, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie* did grant the work some space.

Concerning Marchand and his work le Clerc writes:

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, p. V.

Mr Marchand, bookseller from Paris, installed in this city [Amsterdam], having found an example [of the *Cymbalum*], read it with attention, and thought to give it to the public, in order to disabuse the public of the bad opinion which they had of it. For this, he researched, with care, everything which he could discover concerning the author and his works, and the feelings of the *savants* about the *Cymbalum*. From this he made an exact and judicious dissertation, where he deals with the author and the work, and where, while reporting the bad things which had been said of the latter, he showed that the authors had copied each other, without having read it, or at least without having examined it with enough care.

Le Clerc later adds, ‘I refer readers to the dissertation of Mr Marchand, which is worthy of being read, and which will not bore them’.<sup>77</sup> This was high praise indeed for Marchand’s efforts coming from the influential critic whose opinion could either bring success to, or devastate a new publication, and who had been described by Gaspar Fritsch in the following terms: ‘this man is to booksellers what the devil is to the Indians, and a candle must be burned to him, that he may not do harm’.<sup>78</sup> Marchand, it seems, had finally begun to make a name for himself in the Republic of Letters.

In August 1711 Fritsch would write a letter to Marchand congratulating him on his new publication while at the same time giving him a gentle ribbing – as Fritsch seems to feel that Marchand might now be inclined to put on the haughty airs of an author. Disappointed that Marchand had not already sent him copies of the *Cymbalum* to sell, and perhaps somewhat worse for wear following an evening of wine, he playfully assails Marchand with plays on

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<sup>77</sup> Jean le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie Tome XXIII Seconde Partie* (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1711) pp. 453-461.

<sup>78</sup> *Fritsch To Unknown* [possibly Le Vier], 17 December, 1711, March. 2. See appendix for full letter.

words, ‘when leaving the merchant [*marchand*] life you want to play the villain [*méchant*]. Before adding, *faux-exasperated*, ‘Mr Author, God confound you, I was expecting fifty, both to sell to passers-by as well as to send to the fair, from which you would have derived profit and glory from this fine *Cymbalum Mundi*.’ Continuing in the same vein he adds, ‘if it isn’t too bold send me then quickly fifty of them, of which I will procure the sale, otherwise, Mr *Cymbalum*, I immediately declare war on you [*protinus indico bellum tibi*] without any reserve, and then, getting my muse in good form, I’ll cut you to the quick in verse [*je vous chanterai pouille en vers*], ah ah!’.<sup>79</sup>

Fritsch seemed to not realise at this moment that Marchand had only republished a long-lost work, and not actually written it himself, and it is possible to infer from this that Fritsch and Marchand had had little contact since the evening of the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* in late November 1710. This was likely due to the physical distance between the two (Marchand was based in Amsterdam and Fritsch in Rotterdam), Fritsch’s preoccupations managing the publishing house he had bought (along with Michael Böhm) from Reiner Leers in May 1709, and Fritsch’s absences from Holland during the first half of 1711, when he would fall ill from gout and then seek treatment at Wiesbaden, only returning to Rotterdam in summer 1711 when the *Cymbalum* would have been ready for publication.<sup>80</sup> Consequently, towards the end of the letter he seems to be trying to give Marchand literary advice concerning areas of the book where he believes it is not written as well as it could be – this does not concern either his essay or his *avertissement* but des Périers’s text itself. ‘The Basel bookseller has seen your lousy cymbal, I say to you: think carefully about your dog’s dialogue, and your talking dog, where you talk like a mastiff. Melampus [a Greek soothsayer who could talk to animals] as well as Hylactor [the dog in the fourth dialogue of the *Cymbalum*] must have a fine horn

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<sup>79</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 7 August 1711*, March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>80</sup> For a detailed account of Fritsch and his movements see Chapter 4 and appendix table 1.



which can stun the ears with the content of its wonders'.<sup>81</sup> Fritsch's ignorance remains somewhat puzzling considering that Marchand had written to him sometime around mid-to-late April 1711 while Fritsch was laid-up in Wiesbaden with gout.<sup>82</sup> Had Marchand not, at this time, decided to publish the *Cymbalum*? Possibly, as he was only made a member of the Amsterdam printers' Guild in April 1711. However the supposition that they had been out of contact with each other for some months is supported by Fritsch's return letter to Marchand, in which he states, 'Your letter has come at the right time to give me a little break [from his suffering due to gout] via the pleasure that your renewal of friendship has given me'.<sup>83</sup>

### *Baron Hohendorf*

Fritsch was not Marchand's only acquaintance to be interested in the *Cymbalum*. Baron Georg Wilhelm von Hohendorf (Prince Eugène of Savoy's Adjutant General and would-be bibliophile) seems to have met the Parisian *libraire* soon after Marchand's arrival in Holland; and it seems that Marchand had discussed the *Cymbalum* with Hohendorf prior to its publication judging from a letter which the Baron wrote to Marchand in early 1711. Hohendorf had followed Eugène to the Netherlands to pursue the war of the Spanish Succession, and he would later serve as one of Eugène's men in the North after the prince had been given the governorship of the Austrian Netherlands following the Treaty of Utrecht – Eugène was far too busy fighting the Turks in the South-East of Europe to attend to the task personally, however this did not prevent him from staying up to date with goings-on in Holland.<sup>84</sup> Hohendorf's appreciation of Marchand as a *savant* and knowledgeable bibliophile, and the later commission he gave to Marchand to locate rare books for his library,

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<sup>81</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 7 August 1711.*

<sup>82</sup> Fritsch's return letter to Marchand dated 10 May 1711 makes no mention of the *Cymbalum*.

<sup>83</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 10 May, 1711.* March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>84</sup> See: *Prince Eugen to Jacques Basnage, 26 September 1716.* March. 2. See appendix for full letter.

must have convinced Marchand that he had made the right decision in leaving France for the Netherlands. Writing from Vienna in January 1711, Hohendorf begins, ‘I have waited until now with an inexpressible impatience for your news. You have given me so great an idea of your perfect knowledge of fine literature, that only via yourself can I cultivate the passion that I have to follow in your footsteps.’<sup>85</sup> High praise indeed for a bookseller from Paris – Marchand had obviously made a significant impression on Hohendorf during whatever contact they had had in 1710.<sup>86</sup> It seems Hohendorf was enthusiastically following Prince Eugène into the world of the bibliophile and was seeking to discover which books and ideas he must pursue in order to assemble a library worthy of a learned gentleman.<sup>87</sup>

Although the Baron was wealthy and well-connected, during this period Hohendorf does not seem to have just been a potential cash cow for the Marchand group – in December 1711 Fritsch says of him, ‘M. Hohendorf est poète et savant’, when writing of his debate with Böhm whether to dedicate their 1712 edition of Gacon’s *Anacréon* to Hohendorf or to Eugène.<sup>88</sup> It appears that Hohendorf had asked Marchand for some kind of work to guide him in his acquisitions at this early stage in his collecting career, ‘So I ask you sir to tell me if, since my departure, you have found anything which may serve me as a guide in my good will’. He adds, ‘You promised me a small catalogue of rare and curious books’, before inquiring, ‘has the package [*ballot*] you were waiting for from Paris arrived?’<sup>89</sup> The tone of

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<sup>85</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 28 January, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for full letter.

<sup>86</sup> There is a slight possibility that John Toland may have introduced the pair, or they may have met at Furlly’s library or his ‘Lantern Club’. See C. Davis, *John Toland and Eugène de Savoie: philosophy, politics, and patronage in early Enlightenment Europe* (MA Thesis, Newcastle University, 2017) [online] <<https://earlymodernintellectualhistory.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Dissertation-FINAL.pdf>> [accessed: 27/09/2024].

<sup>87</sup> Hohendorf’s outstanding library commenced during this period would be purchased in-full by Emperor Charles VI on Eugène’s advice in 1720 following Hohendorf’s death for 150,000 Florins and now is part of the Austrian National Library. See: Georg Hohendorf, *Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana Ou Catalogue De La Bibliotheque De feu Monsieur George Guillaume Baron de Hohendorf* (The Hague: De Hondt, 1720).

<sup>88</sup> *Fritsch To Unknown, 17 December, 1711*. François Gacon, *Les Odes d’Anacreon et de Sapho en vers françois par le Poete sans fard* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1712). When the work appeared it was dedicated to neither Hohendorf nor Eugène.

<sup>89</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 28 January, 1711*.

the letter suggests that Hohendorf was desperate for any literary news which Marchand could supply from Holland while he was stuck in Vienna for the winter attending war councils and preparing for the 1711 campaign with Eugène and the Emperor.<sup>90</sup>

The package from Paris Hohendorf refers to was probably some of Marchand's former stock, which he had had to leave with his former business partner Gabriel Martin when he left Paris around late 1709/early 1710, the remainder of which he would eventually be advised to sell to Martin by Fritsch while he was visiting Paris in 1713 – 'I am of the opinion that you should settle this business with him, because cash is more useful to you [*vous convient*] than the books, even if you take something less [than what they are worth].' Fritsch's reasoning in this matter was that reacquiring the books was more trouble and expense than they were worth – 'Expect that the postage which would have to be paid, the accounts which it will be necessary to bless in such a case, and other difficulties, will give you more trouble than the game is worth': especially considering that, 'bound books which have passed through my hands at home [*i.e.* Holland], would sell infinitely better here [Paris], than they would there'.<sup>91</sup> In effect Fritsch was telling Marchand that the market for books was stronger in France than in the Netherlands and that if he chose to try to import the remainder of his Parisian stock he would lose money not only due to the costs accrued from having them sent to him, but also because he would get less money for the books in Holland if he intended to sell them. Marchand may have been an experienced bookseller, but it seems that Fritsch knew the international marketplace, and the problems associated with transporting books internationally, better than he did.

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<sup>90</sup> During this period any serious campaigns generally ceased (on both sides) during the winter months as the conditions were not conducive to waging war.

<sup>91</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713*. March. 2. See appendix for full letter.

*Prosper Marchand, book hunter for the aristocracy*

At the end of Hohendorf's January 1711 letter to Marchand he writes, 'Can you supply me with the books below' and adds a list of around thirty works which he would like Marchand to locate and purchase for him. Hohendorf's list is as follows, with those titles in bold which are found in the catalogue of his library:

Evangile du règne de Jésus Christ, Paris, Chez Jean Guilliard, 1553

**Poésies de Malherbe, avec les notes de Ménage, Paris, 1666**

**L'apologie de Costar**

**Mézeriac, problèmes plaisants et agréable qui se font par le nombre, Lyon  
chez Pierre Rigauld, 1624**

**Idem. Diophanti Alexandrini Libri VI, Paris, 1621**

**Idem. traduction des Epitres d'Ovide**

**Idem. Epistola et Poemata varia**

**Idem. la vie d'Esopé. Bourg en Bresse, 1632 16mo**

**De la Vallée , Le fléaux de la foi bigarrée**

Idem. L'art de ne rien croire.

Silva Nuptialis, par Nevezan, Paris, 1521

**Taxe des parties Casuelles, Lion par Pinet, 1564**

Beza Juvinilia. Parisiis, apud Jodacum Badium

Le Contre un. Satyre d'Etienne de la Boétie

**Les épitres de Bunel, Paris chez Hen: Etienne, 1581**

L'amoureux fransis. poesies en langage de Cahors

**Opus de claris mulieribus, Philippi Bergomensis**

**Valentia apud Laurent: Rubeis, 1497**

Jacobi Mazzoni Conclusiones

**Poésies, item lettres de Pasquier<sup>92</sup>**

**Les opuscules de Loysel, Paris chez Jean Guignard 4to**

Bibliothecae Cordesianae catalogus, Paris Vitré, 1643

**Acta Concilii pisani et Concilii Senensis, Parisiis**

**Apud Melch: Mondari, 1612 4to**

**Instruction pour apprendre à monter à cheval**

**par Pluvinel, Paris Chez Pierre Rocolet, 1627 fol<sup>93</sup>**

**Provinciale seu constitutiones anglie cum notis Guilielmi Lindenuod Paris**

**:apud Jod: Badium, 1501 fol**

**Caroli Bovilli tractaty varii, scilicet de intelliecta de sensu, de nihilo etc. Paris**

par Henri Stephanus 1509

**Le songe de poliphile, Paris chez Jacques Kerver, 1554<sup>94</sup>**

La Popelinière, Histoire des Histoires

**Les œuvres de Mr de Perriers**

**La Commentaire Royal de l'histoire des incas, Paris**

**chez Augustin Courbé, 1633 4to<sup>95</sup>**

**Portraicture, Ou partie du corps humains, de Durer**

**traduit par Louis Maigret, 1557<sup>96</sup>**

**Entretints d'eudoxe et d'euchariste, Paris, 1624<sup>97</sup>**

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<sup>92</sup> The catalogue includes 'les recherches de la France', but no specific poetry or letters.

<sup>93</sup> Appears in the catalogue as 'L'instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval. Par messire Antoine de Pluvinel. Paris 1627'.

<sup>94</sup> Appears as 'Poliphili hypnerotomachia, ubi humana omnia non nisi somnium esse ostendit, atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorate. edit. ancienne sans date, en veau fauve'.

<sup>95</sup> Appears as 'Le commentaire royal, ou L'histoire des Yncas'.

<sup>96</sup> Appears as 'Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion, durch Albrechten Durer. Nurenbergh 1528. mit kuppfren, en veau'.

<sup>97</sup> Appears as 'Entretiens sur l'Arianisme, et les iconoclastes de Maimbourg'.

Alongside works of poetry, art, studies on mathematics, philosophy, law, and a treatise on horse riding, are books which would be considered heretical during the eighteenth-century, such as de la Vallée's *Le fléau de la foi* (the scourge of faith) and his *L'art de ne rien croire* (the art of believing nothing), works which contributed to la Vallée being burned alive, alongside his books, in 1574. Other interesting works sought by Hohendorf are Beza's *Juvenilia* – erotic and lewd poems written by the Protestant theologian before his embrace of Calvinism and Etienne de la Boétie's *Discours de la servitude volontaire* (referred to here by Hohendorf as 'le contre un'[sic]) which would prefigure, to a degree, Locke's ideas concerning liberty as laid down in his 'Second Treatise on Government'.<sup>98</sup> Many of the other works are showpieces either due to their rarity or their extravagant illustrations, or a combination of the two. The *Poliphili Hypernerotomachia* is replete with (rather lewd) intricate woodcut illustrations, and the *Instruction du roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval* by Pluvinel, contains exquisite engravings by Crispijn de Passe the younger. In addition is Albrecht Dürer's *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* in which the great maestro provides technical details concerning human proportions and perspectives. The rarity and quality of these books is attested by their modern day prices, with the former two books commanding values of between ten and thirty thousand euros, and an edition of the latter reaching well over a hundred thousand euros in a recent auction.<sup>99</sup>

As the highlighted list demonstrates, around two-thirds of the books Hohendorf requested from Marchand were eventually found and added to his library, although often not in the edition Hohendorf requested. Whether Marchand was responsible for all the acquisitions is open to debate, however Hohendorf does tell Marchand in his next letter that, 'what you have

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<sup>98</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London: Churchill, 1690); Philippe Desan, 'Le "Discours de la servitude volontaire" et la cause protestante: les paradoxes de la réception de La Boétie', *Studi Francesi*, 182, LXI, II (2017), pp. 211-222.

<sup>99</sup> See: <<https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5662555>> where the same edition which appears in Hohendorf's library was sold for \$129,750 in April 2013. [accessed: 28/09/2024].

found of the books marked on the list I sent you, you have only to keep them for my account'.<sup>100</sup> This suggests that Marchand had found at least some of the books which Hohendorf had asked for. However, it seems that he was either having to purchase them himself, or request that the sellers wait for their money until the baron arrived back in Holland. Regardless of any expense which he was incurring, this was a giant step for Marchand, which would boost his profile not only within the Republic of Letters but also within society more generally, and this progression would only gather pace over the next eighteen months, as we shall see.

Returning to the issue of the *Cymbalum*, Hohendorf concludes this first letter to Marchand by inquiring after the state of Marchand's project (indicating that he must have previously discussed it with Hohendorf while the Baron was resident in the Netherlands) and offering him some advice regarding the content. He writes, 'Will we have the printing of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, it would be good in this case that you attach to it the learned notes of Mr de La Monnoye'.<sup>101</sup> Unfortunately copies of Marchand's letters to Hohendorf do not survive, so this must remain something of a one-sided conversation, however from Hohendorf's replies it is possible to get an idea of what Marchand may have written to him. For example, it appears that the advice concerning La Monnoye must have sparked Marchand's interest and also an inquiry, as Hohendorf's subsequent letter begins: 'The remarks of Mr de La Monnoye on the *Cymbalum Mundi* are found in the manuscript of M. du Fay in Paris.'<sup>102</sup> The M. du Fay to whom Hohendorf refers was Charles-Jérôme de Cisternay du Fay, a former French military officer who despite losing a leg in battle in 1695 continued in the army until 1705 when his disability eventually forced him to retire. He then devoted himself to collecting rare books and manuscripts becoming 'a captain of the guards in business with all the famous

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<sup>100</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 11 March, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for full letter.

<sup>101</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 28 January, 1711*.

<sup>102</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 11 March, 1711*.

booksellers of Europe, friend of the most illustrious *savants*, better stocked than the majority of them with the instruments of their profession, more informed of an infinity of particularities which concern it.’<sup>103</sup> Described by modern historians as one of the first ‘bibliophiles’, du Fay was doubtless an inspiration for Hohendorf and Eugène and would likely have been in some kind of correspondence with them, possibly his library may have even been consulted by the duo. Eugène seems to have been taken by his frequent book-binder, Boyet, whose son he employed on a permanent basis in Vienna.<sup>104</sup> It is likely that Marchand – a Parisian *libraire-imprimeur* – would, at the very least, have been aware of du Fay and may even have had professional dealings with him. Fritsch and Böhm certainly had correspondence with du Fay: they write to Pierre Des Maizeaux on 20 September, 1712, concerning letters for their edition of Bayle’s *Lettres Choiesies*, that, ‘We are still waiting for letters from M. the abbé Bignon, and from M. Leibniz. M. du Fay has sent us his and those of M. Janiçon, which are full of literary news.’<sup>105</sup>

Once again in this March 1711 letter Hohendorf brings up Marchand’s *ballot* – ‘I am delighted with the hope that you give me of your package which you are expecting from France’.<sup>106</sup> This further inquiry from Hohendorf concerning what Marchand was expecting from Paris raises some questions. Did it contain rare books Marchand had promised to Hohendorf? Had Marchand actually left the manuscript of the *Cymbalum Mundi* behind when he left France, had he arranged for it to be forwarded to him by his former associate Gabriel Martin or another contact in Paris? That he had left the *Cymbalum* behind seems unlikely: when writing of his arrival in the Netherlands La Motte states that Marchand, ‘has brought a 10th tome of Brantôme which has not been published, an example of the Journal of

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<sup>103</sup> Bernard de Fontenelle, *Œuvres de Monsieur de Fontenelle, Nouvelle Edition, Tome Sixième* (Paris: Brunet, 1758) pp. 652-654. In another demonstration of the interconnected world of European publishing Marchand’s former business partner, Garbiel Martin, would publish the catalogue of du Fay’s library in 1725.

<sup>104</sup> Fontaine, *Les Gardiens de Bibliopolis*, pp. 246-251.

<sup>105</sup> Fritsch and Böhm to Des Maizeaux, 20 September, 1712, in Bots, et al., *Les libraires de Hollande* p. 122.

<sup>106</sup> Hohendorf to Marchand, 11 March, 1711.



Henri III with some manuscript notes by M. Du Puy and an example of the extremely rare book *Cymbalum Mundi*.<sup>107</sup> So it seems Marchand had deliberately brought with him certain books with which to kickstart his career in Holland. Whatever the package contained it was obviously something which had been discussed between the two of them, and due to the nature of their relationship, and Marchand's profession, it is more than likely that the package contained some type of books or manuscripts which Hohendorf was keen to either buy or at least consult. The *Cymbalum* was not the only rare text which Marchand had collected, nor the only book he had studied and written about while he was working as a Parisian *libraire*. His manuscript *l'Histoire de la Bible de Sixte quint* is dated 1704, although it only appeared in print in 1725. In addition to his aforementioned published catalogues, Marchand also possessed a collection of unpublished catalogues dating from his early years as a *libraire*; he had also assembled a 'general catalogue of all the books printed in Paris from 1650 to 1705' in manuscript which consisted of at least '995 pages, spread over two books'.<sup>108</sup> These databases of books must have been of significant interest to anyone intending on building a library. The fact that these manuscripts are present in the Marchand collection at Leiden University Library demonstrates that he did indeed manage to get them out of France – although whether or not they were part of the parcel he was expecting remains open to debate. Hohendorf ends his letter by wishing Marchand well and stating that he, 'hopes to soon have the pleasure of seeing you again'.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 4 March, 1710, in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 249.

<sup>108</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand* pp. 30-38, 87-94.

<sup>109</sup> Hohendorf to Marchand, 11 March, 1711.

*The Catalogue of Prince Eugène*

Hohendorf (alongside Prince Eugène) returned to the Netherlands sometime between April and May 1711 in order to resume the war of the Spanish Succession, and there is then a large gap of more than a year-and-a-half until Hohendorf writes again to Marchand. This lacuna was likely due to their proximity (which negated the need to write), coupled with the demands which the war, and also discussions concerning the peace, were beginning to have on Eugène and his entourage.<sup>110</sup> During this period, between summer 1711 and winter 1712, it seems that Marchand grew closer to Hohendorf, and perhaps also Eugène. His knowledge of printing and books, his ability to source rare copies of sought-after works, and his skill and experience with creating catalogues appears to have attracted Eugène's interest sometime during 1712, and in December of that year Hohendorf wrote to Marchand to commission from him a catalogue of the library of Prince Eugène de Savoie. From Hohendorf's December 1712 letter it seems that Eugène had not wasted the opportunity, presented to him by regularly being in the Netherlands, to expand his library. Hohendorf begins,

I am sending you here enclosed the catalogues of HRH the Prince of Savoy, [and] the specification of what we have bought in the sale of van der Marck, [which] will only serve you as a guide to search the details of the title of the books in the catalogue itself which I enclose here.<sup>111</sup>

Eugène (via Hohendorf) was commissioning from Marchand a new complete catalogue of his library as it stood, based on his existing catalogues and including the new purchases he had

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<sup>110</sup> As the war of the Spanish Succession slowly came to an end distrust permeated the alliance of The Netherlands, Britain and the Empire and there were constant suspicions (which proved warranted) that someone would try to negotiate a separate peace with the French. Eugène personally visited London in early 1712 to try to secure assurances from the British government concerning the direction of the war and negotiations with France but left empty-handed. See: Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) pp. 136-142.

<sup>111</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 20 December, 1712*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter; H. van der Marck *Bibliotheca Marckiana, Sive Catalogus Librorum* (The Hague: Abraham de Hondt, 1712).

made at the auction of the library of the bibliophile van der Merck, which had taken place on October 31, 1712. For Marchand this was the perfect opportunity to display his skills as a catalogue compiler and to use his wide knowledge of books and the printing press. Aside from requesting that duplicates (except for in certain exceptions) be omitted Hohendorf continues by saying that, ‘I will not tell you anything else knowing your ability, and the pleasure that you will have in serving a prince who will not lack gratitude for you’.<sup>112</sup>

Contemporary accounts suggest that Eugène was more a collector, than a reader of books (although current historians have been more kind to Eugène in this regard) and it is likely that he was trying to attract *savants* to Vienna due to his interest in scientific advancement; something which would later be further manifested by his support for the creation of an academy of science with Leibniz, which his library would obviously benefit.<sup>113</sup> Eugène may have seen the need to create a library as grand as those in France for his project, and it seems that during the later years of the war of the Spanish Succession he had become dedicated to expanding his library at any opportunity which presented itself. His regular visits to Holland and his journey to England afforded him the chance to do this, and his library must have expanded significantly during the years 1709-1713, thus necessitating the need to create a new catalogue in order to assess its current state and to decide what must be added. This new catalogue would need to be on top quality ‘papier royal’ and be presented ‘in grand quarto’ size. Knowing that Eugène was not finished developing his library Hohendorf adds that

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>113</sup> Mary Wortley described his library in 1717 as follows: ‘The library, though not very ample, is well chosen; but as the Prince will admit into it no editions but what are beautiful and pleasing to the eye, and there are nevertheless numbers of excellent books that are but indifferently printed, this finikin and foppish taste makes many disagreeable chasms in this collection.’ in: Wharnclyffe [ed.] *The Letters And Works Of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Vol. 1 (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893) p. 266. Leibniz and Eugène met in Vienna in 1714 when the elderly philosopher attempted to create an academy in the Empire, the enterprise failed due to lack of financial support, see: McKay, *Eugene of Savoy*, pp. 199-200.

Marchand must take care to leave, ‘each section enough blank paper to add there what will be bought in the future, and filling only one side of the pages’.<sup>114</sup>

After enquiring about an edition of Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* in an aside (it seems that he could not help himself asking about books he was also looking for) Hohendorf then closes his letter with a sentence serving to remind Marchand about the importance of his task, and the importance of his employer, ‘I also recommend diligence because his majesty orders me to send him the catalogue to Vienna as soon as it is ready’.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately there is no further correspondence from Hohendorf, either concerning the catalogue or any other matter.

Nonetheless, there currently exist in the Austrian Nation Library two manuscript versions of the catalogue of Eugène’s library, both marked as being the work of an unknown author, both of which seem to fit the description which Hohendorf gives regarding the dimensions and makeup of the catalogue: thus it appears that Marchand did complete his commission for Eugène. It is difficult to say which catalogue Marchand worked on, although one seems to better match Hohendorf’s instructions; however much more research is required to properly attribute either catalogue to Marchand, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>116</sup>

A letter from Fritsch seems to indicate that Marchand had learned of the commission before Hohendorf even sent his letter – suggesting that there may have been some negotiations, or at least discussions, prior to Hohendorf officially writing to Marchand. On 11 December, 1712 he writes, with what appears to be a touch of sarcasm, from Paris, ‘I am all the more encouraged by what you told me about having accepted the eminent dignity of fashioner of

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<sup>114</sup> *Hohendorf to Marchand, 20 December, 1712.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>116</sup> Both catalogues can be viewed online at the website of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek [online] <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD\\_51202&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD_51202&order=1&view=SINGLE)>, and the more likely contender as Marchand’s catalogue: <[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD\\_55614&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD_55614&order=1&view=SINGLE)>. [accessed: 23/09/2024].

the catalogue of HRH Mgr. the Prince Eugène de Savoie'.<sup>117</sup> Fritsch – possibly due to self-interest – is however rather concerned about Marchand taking on too much,

'I am going to tell you what your everyday occupations should be, and I make you judge yourself, whether you will be in a position to carry out the new undertakings, without postponing the others. You have proofs to correct, the Frankfurt catalogue to copy, Bayle's *Commentaire Philosophique* and letters to read, the extracts from Bayle to make, to serve as secretary to Mr. Böhm, and besides that visits to friends, with all this you still burden yourself with the affairs of the third and the fourth [degrees].'<sup>118</sup>

Despite Fritsch's caution, as we have seen, Marchand proceeded to take on Eugène's commission in addition to his other responsibilities. It appears that the promise of earning the 'gratitude' of Eugène was too important for Marchand. Fritsch continues by questioning Marchand's judgement, and seems to suggest that this is not the first time Marchand had over-reached himself, 'If it seems good to you, you'll have to do it and be patient, but I am convinced that one day or another you will regret it, as it has already happened to you.'<sup>119</sup> It also seems that Marchand believed he could use this as an opportunity for him and his friends to become the main purveyors of books to Eugène and Hohendorf, an idea which Fritsch is quick to dispel:

You say that you will see what books the prince lacks in order that we can make the sales, do not flatter yourself with that, Mr. Hohendorf has made up his mind to make his biggest purchases at the sales, or he is being swindled – and I have not

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<sup>117</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712.* March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem.*

lost hope that in a short time these purchases will become a subject of farce to be played on the stage.<sup>120</sup>

Fritsch's criticism of Eugène and Hohendorf's rapacious book buying seems to have been influenced by what he has heard in Paris: 'The commissions of the Prince and some Englishmen make all Paris laugh, and you will never believe what your friend, the little Coustelier, and several *curieux* have told me about it.'<sup>121</sup> Although this criticism of Eugène by the *savants* and *libraires* of Paris could be envious mocking of a neophyte bibliophile who had the resources to purchase any book he liked, it could also be rooted in propaganda aimed at France's enemies in the war, a war which was still to be fully resolved. Regardless of what 'little Coustelier' told Fritsch it seems that he was still happy to take Hohendorf's money: 'Speaking of Coustelier, he has the honour of serving Mr. Hohendorf, which could not have come at a better time. You know the character, so I won't tell you anything more.'<sup>122</sup> How much time Marchand eventually dedicated to the catalogue is unknown. There are some entries that appear to be in Marchand's hand and use the same ink which include works from the 1717s, so it could be the case that he worked on this catalogue for some years after his initial December 1712 commission.<sup>123</sup> That a comprehensively-researched, hand-written, four volume work which included a detailed index would take years to complete is hardly surprising. However, this seems to run counter to Hohendorf's demands that Marchand work with diligence as the prince appears anxious to receive the catalogue. However, considering Marchand's other obligations it is a possibility which cannot be discounted.

Whatever the case, Marchand's connections with Baron Hohendorf and Prince Eugène could only have served him well. In addition to his catalogue and the books he found for the pair,

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem.* Coustelier was a Parisian *libraire-Imprimeur* – see following chapters.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>123</sup> It should be noted however that the later additions to the catalogue attempt to imitate the style of Marchand's handwriting.

Marchand had also been able to extend his circle of connections, which now included royalty. While Gaspar Fritsch may have had his reservations about the relationship, and may have mocked the prince and the baron for their extravagant purchases of overpriced books, Marchand seems to have wanted to make the best of his time working for the pair and seems to have been enthralled by gaining access to such esteemed company – the benefits of which suited both his personality and his ambitions to progress in the Republic of Letters. Marchand may have been a little more in awe of Hohendorf and Eugène than Fritsch but (even though he had a background in Paris) he was also a lot less well-travelled and less urbane than Fritsch and perhaps lacked Fritsch's natural charm with people.

#### *Becoming an Editor-For-Hire and Journalism*

As Fritsch's letter shows, sometime before December 1712 Marchand had begun working for Fritsch and Böhm in Rotterdam as something of an editorial handyman. Not only was he Böhm's secretary but he was also correcting proofs and working on future projects for the publishers while the absentee proprietor, Fritsch, was gallivanting across Europe. In the year prior to Marchand's relocation and employment with Fritsch and Böhm, events seem to have brought Marchand and Fritsch closer, and their correspondence becomes increasingly regular with letters initially being sent by Fritsch on 10 May 1711 from Wiesbaden, 7 and 20 August 1711 from Rotterdam, and on 15 October 1711 from Frankfurt, with replies from Marchand sent on 2 and 9 November 1711 from Amsterdam. The light-hearted and affable tone of these early letters, following their *renouvellement* of friendship in May 1711, would permeate most of Fritsch's letters to Marchand in the years following. This correspondence, which begins with a comic poem the ailing Fritsch, wallowing in his suffering, wrote to Marchand on 10 May, would last until the pair once again grew distant from each other following Fritsch's

return to Leipzig in 1719, only to once again resume in 1736 when Marchand sent an enquiry to Fritsch concerning his ‘history of printing’ project.<sup>124</sup>

Following his 11 August letter concerning the *Cymbalum Mundi*, on 20 August 1711 Fritsch writes to ‘Kyrié’ Marchand once again, initially concerning his efforts to get another box or chest of some description delivered to Marchand, ‘Mons. Böhm left here last Friday for Amsterdam, I asked him to go to Mr Kottler’s house to put in order the sending of your box, but he hasn’t written to me that he has done it, this worries me and make me apprehensive that he could well have forgotten about it’.<sup>125</sup> However, this letter ends with some very cryptic short sentences by Fritsch which raise more questions concerning what Marchand was doing during the period directly following the publication of the *Cymbalum Mundi*:

Attached is your French passport, be ready for the 25<sup>th</sup>. The election is terribly close thus we don’t have time to lose. M. Fleischauer must have told you that it will be necessary to go on the same day to the court of Loo in Utrecht. Has M. Chatellein come to see you to speak of your journey? Is M. Picart working on the title plate for l’Anacreon? Is the little Mercure finished?<sup>126</sup>

This seems to suggest that Marchand was intent on making some sort of journey, involving France, in late August 1711. However, there is no existing record of any journey of this type

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<sup>124</sup> Between 10 May, 1711 and 3 April, 1718 Fritsch would write to Marchand more than 20 times – usually while he was away from the Netherlands. These letters range from short, enquiring missives to lengthy travelogues. See appendix for transcriptions of some of the correspondence from Fritsch between 1711 to 1718, along with the 1736 letter which restarted their communication, which are found in the March. 2 archives. Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de L’Origine et des Premiers Progrès de l’Imprimerie* (The Hague: Veuve Le Vier & Pierre Paupie, 1740).

<sup>125</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 20 August, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. ‘Kyrié’ deriving from the Greek *Kύριε* meaning ‘Lord’ or ‘Sir’.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*. ‘Fleischauer’ was likely Juste Auguste Fleischauer, an Amsterdam and Leipzig *libraire-imprimeur* attached to the Huguetan printing family who were known for their counterfeits, see: Otto Lankhorst, ‘Huguetan family’, in Michael Suarez, H. Woudhuysen, *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). ‘Chatellein’ could be Zacharias Chatelain, another Amsterdam *libraire-imprimeur* and map maker, whose brother, Henri Abraham Chatelain, was a pastor in London during this period. The election referred to is that of Charles VI as Holy Roman Emperor, which took place on October 12, 1711. La Motte also notes that Marchand was away from Amsterdam in September 1711, see: Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 304.



taking place, and it is unlikely Marchand would have risked returning to France so soon after he had left. Nevertheless, it does seem that Marchand did go somewhere, as on 17 October 1711 Fritsch writes to him, ‘Monsieur and dear Cadet, I hope that you will have arrived home happily.’<sup>127</sup> Unfortunately the archives explored so far do not provide an answer to these questions. The most plausible explanation at present seems to be that Fritsch was going to Frankfurt (where he would remain until at least until December 1711 judging from his correspondence) and had asked Marchand along, likely to watch and celebrate the election (which took place on 12 October) and possibly the later crowning of the new emperor (22 December); the journey would also allow a visit the Michaelmas Frankfurt book fair which took place in September in order to find books for Hohendorf. However, Marchand would apparently not stay in Frankfurt long enough to witness the election judging from Fritsch’s correspondence. The need for a Frenchman to have a specific passport may be explained by the fact that France and the Empire were still at war – and his status as a Huguenot may have needed to be verified if he was to venture into Empire lands – which may explain the necessity of a visit to the court at Loo.

Fritsch was anxious to be on the move: ‘The election is terribly close thus we don’t have time to lose.’ Leaving on the 25 August would give them some time to travel the two hundred and fifty or so miles between Holland and Frankfurt. Fritsch was likely not exactly sure as to when the election would take place: the roads had deteriorated due to the war and the journey may have also been impeded by soldiers located around the borders of France, so the sooner they set off the better. It seems that following this month or so, which the two appear to have spent together in Frankfurt, their friendship became much stronger and their correspondence much more regular. The memories of their night drinking and merry-making in November

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<sup>127</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 17 October, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. Fritsch refers to Marchand as *Cher cadet* (i.e. ‘Dear younger brother’ – a reference to the *Chevaliers* group) regularly beginning with this letter until 1718.

1710 with the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* seem to have been reforged, and most of Fritsch's letters to Marchand after their time together in Frankfurt begin with variations of 'Monsieur et cher Cadet' and sometime end with a valediction from 'le maître de l'ordre'. In his letter from the 15 October Fritsch tells Marchand – in his usual sardonic manner – that he had seen the election celebrations:

Monday past the election took place with all the pomp and magnificence imaginable, the whole place gleamed with gold and gems, and there were several people who became blind from this affair, not being able to bear the great sparkle of all these riches.<sup>128</sup>

But the more pertinent section of the letter, in light of our consideration of their relationship, is that in which Fritsch commences railing against the authors he employs in Rotterdam. He begins,

I hope that you will have arrived home happily [on receiving this letter]. I congratulate you on this and I give myself the honour sending you this letter in order to ask you to reserve, as quickly as possible, several rooms [*loges*] in the insane asylum [*petites-maisons*] in Amsterdam to lock up our authors from Rotterdam with all those whose minds they have spoiled.<sup>129</sup>

The authors in question were François Gacon and Charles Le Vier (and possibly Jacques Boyd) judging from the responses.<sup>130</sup> Apparently something had been written which had outraged Fritsch: 'You can see by the attached piece that their extravagance is at its height and that we haven't time to lose to bring order'.<sup>131</sup> Whatever had piqued Fritsch is unknown

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<sup>128</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 17 October, 1711.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>130</sup> See later chapters for Jacques Boyd.

<sup>131</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 17 October, 1711.*

as the attachment has been lost. Fritsch continues by implying the Rotterdam authors are a contagion: ‘try to find them some rooms in the interior courtyard of the asylum, in order that they cannot be approached so easily’.<sup>132</sup> In a letter addressed to the publishing house Fritsch and Böhm on 2 November Marchand replies to the authors (likely addressing Gacon) writing that, ‘it isn’t without reason, I say, that he [Fritsch] has charged me to reserve you rooms in the insane asylum [*petites-maisons*] here.’<sup>133</sup> Adding,

Until now I only saw his request as being very indiscreet, and as revenge that he wanted to take for the piece you performed on both of us. But now I cannot help acknowledging that the request he has made to me is better founded than I thought. In fact, your minds have completely soured [*ourné*], as proven beyond any doubt by the letter that you did me the honour of writing to me, and of which I understand nothing.

Marchand unfortunately did not keep this letter, but his reply contains quotations from it:

What do these ‘misprints’ mean? this ‘trap well enough laid’, but ‘in which you have not been caught’? this ‘book of futility adorned with a new frontispiece’? this ‘fanatic of whom you have as little regard for as his sister’? All these things are to me enigmas as indecipherable as the apocalypse to Monsieur de Meaux.<sup>134</sup>

Marchand continues his letter, rebuffing the accusations against himself and Fritsch throughout, and includes a small poem to highlight his point of view, before concluding with,

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>133</sup> *Marchand to Fritsch and Böhm, 2 November, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. Marchand and Fritsch are likely referring to *L'hospice des Petites-Maisons* – an insane asylum in Paris founded in 1557. The use of the term *loges* also supports this reading.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibidem*. The ‘book of futility adorned with a new frontispiece’ may have been reference to the *Cymbalum Mundi*. Bossuet (bishop of Meaux) had written on the Apocalypse in 1689 – J-B. Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse avec une explication. Par messire Jacques Benigne Bossuet, évêque de Meaux* (Paris: Chez la veuve de Sebastien Marbre-Cramoisy, 1689).

We will therefore, since you push me to the limit, fight with sharp weapons; and if you scratch me in verse, I will disfigure you in prose; no longer in the mood to be called a ‘simpleton’ or a ‘Nicodemus’ [*i.e.* a hypocrite or duplicitous] without retaliating with some equivalent which I am sparing again for this time, while waiting for reason to come back to you. This is the wish that I make for both of you, always being, despite your inconvenience, your good and sincere friend,  
Marchand.<sup>135</sup>

Obviously there was some significant altercation between Marchand, Fritsch and the writers working for Fritsch and Böhm in Rotterdam. However, when Marchand writes again to Fritsch and Böhm on 9 November he makes no mention of the incident and instead his letter is warm and cordial. He also wishes Gacon, Boyd and Le Vier well. So it appears that the conflict had blown over as quickly as it arose, or that Marchand was not a man to bear a grudge.<sup>136</sup> Fritsch also seems to have wanted to peacefully resolve the issue. In a letter (of which only a portion remains) dated 17 December 1711, he is keen to try to calm the war of words. He begins:

I am, sir and very dear friend, the most ashamed of all men because I still owe a reply, after 3 months, to the most generous friend on earth ‘che dio guardi’, and instead of excusing myself because of the open war which is between you, Mr. Marchand and me, I prefer to ask you for a thousand pardons and I ask you to grant me all of them, without deducting any, because in conscience I cannot do otherwise.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*. ‘Nicodemites’ were a branch of the Huguenots who had hidden their attachment to the Reformed Church while in France.

<sup>136</sup> *Marchand to Fritsch and Böhm, 9 November, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>137</sup> *Fritsch to Unknown, 17 December, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

This letter is a reply to two letters which had been sent to Fritsch. The first must have been sent sometime in September and the second on the 9 December 1711 (Fritsch discusses the letter which ‘you wrote to me dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month’). Fritsch either did not have the time, or did not have the inclination, to respond to the first letter sooner but the second seems to have elicited a quick reply, probably because he learned that the conflict had been resolved. Fritsch’s response is likely written to Charles Le Vier, and it is the source of understanding who exactly Marchand and Fritsch were arguing with. The following section casts more light onto this disagreement:

I am infinitely obliged to you, and your letter has delighted me all the more because it is a sure sign of the peace concluded between very high, very powerful, very metaphysical, very comical and very poetic lords and princes Jacques Boyd, Charles Le Vier et François Gacon, on one side, and very low, very.....(I was going to say impotent [*impuissante*], but it wouldn’t have been worth the devil, this word signed by my hand and office of the grand master of the order could have ruined my reputation) I will say therefore very misanthropic brothers Prosper Marchand and Gaspard Fritsch on the other side; of which the preliminaries have been sent to me by my aforementioned Lord Marchand [with my] last order. I congratulate you on this and hope that ‘you will no longer give your own qualities to others’.<sup>138</sup>

This disagreement demonstrates the difficulties in maintaining cordial relations between very idiosyncratic characters working for a large publishing house during the early eighteenth century (especially when one of the proprietors is absent for long periods). It also highlights that Marchand and Fritsch had developed a very strong bond during their time together in

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*.

Frankfurt – to such a degree that they seem to have been targeted as a duo by Gacon, *et al.* while they were absent from Holland, and they both sought to loyally defend the other.

An interesting title page exists in the Leiden University Marchand archives which is connected to this argument. The page seems to have been made for a fictitious book bearing the title, ‘de futilitate poetices et poetarum acpraesertim Francisci Gacon, Caroli Le Vier et N.... Boyd’.<sup>139</sup> This title seems to be borrowed from Tanneguy Le Fèvre’s (*filis*) 1697 *De futilitate poetices* – which Gacon had taken to task in his preface to his *Anacréon*.<sup>140</sup> In Le Fèvre’s work he states that, ‘if we examine the lives of the poets whose works are considered the canons of art, we discover that some of them are drunkards, others debauches, others adulterers, finally others infected with execrable vices which are rightly punishable in our countries by death’.<sup>141</sup> Could this have been what Marchand meant by his threat to ‘disfigure you in prose’, to specifically direct Le Fèvre’s work against Boyd, Gacon and Le Vier?

Following the resolution of this argument and Marchand’s growing closeness to Fritsch it is little surprise that he would soon join Le Vier, Gacon and Boyd working for Fritsch and Böhm. For Fritsch this must have been a golden opportunity to have someone whom he was close to, and had trust in, to help him run his business, as his affairs (coupled with his disposition) forced him to traverse Europe on a regular basis. Berkvens-Stevelinck believes that Marchand began working for Fritsch around August 1712, based on Marchand’s change of address from Amsterdam to Rotterdam that took place around this time which is attested by his correspondence.<sup>142</sup> However, this disagreement could point to Marchand having

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<sup>139</sup> *De futilitate poetices et poetarum acpraesertim Francisci Gacon, Caroli Levier et N.... Boyd, Cosmopoli 1712* (on the futility of poetry and poets especially Francis Gacon, Charles Le Vier and N... Boyd, Cosmopolis 1712). Leiden University Library, March. 44-2.

<sup>140</sup> Tanguy Le Fèvre, *De futilitate poetices* (Amsterdam: Desbordes, 1697); François Gacon, *Les odes d’Anacreon et de Sapho en vers Français* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1712). See also: William Marx, ‘Les quatre haines de la littérature’, *Revue italienne d’études francaises*, 7 (2017), pp. 229-237.

<sup>141</sup> Le Fèvre, *De futilitate poetices*, p. 30.

<sup>142</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 4

started working for Fritsch and Böhm about a year earlier than previously thought, and Fritsch's new appointment could have ruffled some feathers at the company, leading to this dispute. Marchand could well have been working freelance for Fritsch while still resident in Amsterdam and Marchand's relocation to Rotterdam in late 1712 seems to have been undertaken as Fritsch was planning to spend a considerable time in France and he required someone he implicitly trusted to deputise for him in Rotterdam.

Marchand would continue to work for Fritsch and Böhm until 1715 when Fritsch left the business and Le Vier seems to have taken his place and the company was briefly renamed Böhm and Le Vier. Marchand stayed on through this transition, and even continued with Böhm alone when Le Vier too seems to have decided to leave the business. As Berkvens-Stevelinck notes Marchand would relocate to Rotterdam and close his own Amsterdam business sometime around August 1712. From this date Marchand was no longer a *libraire-imprimeur* in the strictest sense and had transitioned into an editor, book buyer, author and correspondent. In the months that followed he would add the title 'journalist' to these.

Between late 1712 and early 1713 the Scottish-born, Hague-based *libraire-imprimeur* Thomas Johnson had decided that he wanted to add a literary journal to his publishing catalogue. He likely initially approached Justus van Effen – who had formerly worked on the *Misanthrope*, a Spectator-inspired publication for Johnson – to begin the enterprise. Other names were added ('s Gravesande, Saint-Hyacinthe, Alexandre, Sallengre) and on 6 August 1713, after the first edition of the *Journal Littéraire* had been published, Saint-Hyacinthe wrote to Marchand to try to convince him to join their team, something which it seems was initially proposed by 's Gravesande – perhaps after discussing Marchand's talents with Picart, who had designed the frontispiece for the *Journal Littéraire*. Saint Hyacinthe writes:

Finding a sure opportunity to have this letter handed to you in person, I give myself the honour of writing to you, Sir, to find out from you whether the engagement proposed to you by Monsieur ‘s Gravesande suits you. All of our little society is [would be] very pleased to see you among its members, and [we] would only lose with sorrow the hope of such a good acquisition. Have the goodness to honour me with a prompt answer, and to give us a reliable address to which we can send letters.<sup>143</sup>

Marchand’s experience gained over the previous decade gathering and forwarding news, writing introductions, articles and essays on contemporary and historical publications, and his knowledge of literature coupled with his rising status in the Republic of Letters and wider society as a whole, made him an excellent choice to become part of the editorial team which would work on the *Journal Littéraire*. Marchand’s addition to the journal’s editorial board brought with it knowledge and abilities which few, if any, of the other editors possessed, and his recruitment was perhaps seen as a necessity by the other members and Thomas Johnson after their initial efforts on the first edition of the journal. Since his arrival in the Netherlands he had made a name for himself as a judicious editor, publisher and bookseller – not only had he recovered and reprinted a long-lost text (*Cymbalum Mundi*) but he had also used his knowledge of the publishing world and rare, old books to locate and purchase works for respected figures such as Baron Hohendorf. In contrast to the other editors (and even Johnson) Marchand had a decade of experience in the French publishing world, he had connections with those running some of the most important journals of the period, he had past experience reviewing and explaining often difficult and obscure texts to laymen readers, and he had begun to forge important connections within the Republic of Letters. The other editors were intelligent and skilled within their own realms, but they all lacked the practical

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<sup>143</sup> *Saint-Hyacinthe to Marchand, 6 August, 1713*. March 2. See appendix for complete letter.



experience which Marchand could offer. For Marchand the offer to work on his own journal must have been something he could not refuse. After having spent years reading and submitting articles and news to other journals, he now had the opportunity to be a central figure in a new publication in which he could express his opinions and indulge (and share) his love of books and ideas; additionally, the position of editor of a literary journal would place Marchand squarely at the centre of a node of knowledge and communication within the Republic of Letters. However, as we shall see in the following chapter, the new circle which Marchand became involved with, which was based on the *Journal Littéraire*, did not initially overlap with the connections he had made with Fritsch. The *Chevaliers* and the *Société Journal Littéraire* were two distinct social circles, with two distinct sets of members.

### *Conclusion*

As can be seen from the history of the early years of Prosper Marchand, diligent *libraire-imprimeurs* were ideally placed to exploit their position within the evolving Republic of Letters. They had access to the latest works (some of which they printed and sold) and the latest literary news, and were often in communication with authors and *savants* from across the Republic of Letters – if initially only in a business sense. Motivated *libraire-imprimeurs* were able to use the advantages which came with their profession to form links within society, often far above their station as artisans. Marchand was not the first, nor the last, to exploit his position as *a libraire-imprimeur*. The Etienne family – in whom Marchand had sufficient interest to prepare a family tree and history – rose to prominence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and branched out from printing into scholarship, having a significant influence on the Renaissance; and the Fritsch family would later see one of their own promoted to the ranks of the nobility. Marchand seemed to be acutely aware of his (and

other printers') potential importance within scholarly circles and was keen throughout his life to raise the reputation of the *libraire-imprimeur*. Beginning with his early chronicle of the Etiennes to his 1740 work on the history of printing Marchand had a deep interest in his chosen profession and became one of the first serious scholars of the printing industry alongside Michael Maittaire, Samuel Palmer and Jean de la Caille.<sup>144</sup>

Marchand's relocation to the Netherlands may have had a religious component – as Berkvens-Stevelinck has strongly argued in her biography of Marchand – but one cannot ignore Marchand's change in fortunes and rise in prominence following his departure from Paris, and it is difficult to argue against the proposition that his actions were influenced as much by career advancement as they were by religious conviction. As we have seen, soon after Marchand reached the Netherlands he was able to openly publish his edition of the *Cymbalum Mundi* – which, even if it did not bring him universal renown, certainly did raise his reputation. Paradoxically, as he was now based in the Netherlands he was able to exploit the restrictive French publishing market by publishing a work, which would likely have faced some sort of censorship within France, in his adopted country for his own benefit, which could then filter back into France – raising his profile not only in the Netherlands but also in the country of his birth. However, the Dutch printing market was competitive and was becoming saturated with francophone publishers (France being such a large and important market for Dutch publishers) and Marchand took the opportunity to capitalise on his knowledge of the French publishing market and his connections within the Republic of Letters to move away from the industry which had educated and formed him. His commission from Hohendorf to help him build his library allowed Marchand to remain close to the business which he held so dear and at the same time further develop his connections

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<sup>144</sup> David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Money, 1600-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) pp. 131-134.

within the Republic of Letters and increase his status in wider society. His later commission to catalogue the library of Prince Eugène demonstrates that Marchand had impressed Hohendorf with his ability and knowledge and that his star was on the rise as a freelance specialist concerning all things related to books and publishing.

Marchand formed his first close friendships in the Netherlands with the immigrant, printing-focused *Chevaliers* group, and some of these connections would last throughout his life. How the group came to find themselves drinking, feasting and joking on that night in November 1710 is undocumented, however we can speculate based on what we do know. We know that Fritsch (who had been resident in Holland since 1706) and his half-brothers, the Gleditsches, had met Marchand while he was still a Parisian *libraire-imprimeur*, and following his relocation to the Netherlands with Picart (initially to the Hague in 1710, then Amsterdam the following year) the acquaintance must have been reforged, with the addition of another *libraire-imprimeur* of French extraction, Charles Le Vier.<sup>145</sup> These early friendships lasted well. Over the next few years the group seems to have remained important for those members regularly living in the Netherlands, and become a source of trust for its members – not in the proto-masonic manner which is described by Margaret Jacob, but as an informal collection of reliable contacts all connected to publishing and all of which were of non-Dutch extraction. It could have been seen by its members as a way to share their experiences of how to negotiate the problems and prosper in the fiercely competitive Dutch publishing business; while at the same time it was a source of support for the new arrivals in a foreign country with different traditions and practices than the French and Germans. Alongside the Walloon church close friendships such as these facilitated the transition from immigrant to citizen – an often difficult and risky journey as has been shown by van der

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<sup>145</sup> For the history of Gaspar Fritsch, see chapter 4.

Linden.<sup>146</sup> The connections forged here were important for Marchand, Picart and Le Vier, with the three all working for Fritsch in some manner over the following years and regular correspondence being shared between them concerning not only the publishing industry but also the events of everyday life in their adopted country. After Marchand had grown even closer to Fritsch following Fritsch's return from Wiesbaden and Marchand's successful publication of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, and with Fritsch seemingly dedicated to promoting his business in the European capitals and socialising with *savants* and the well-to-do, having someone as capable and trusted as Marchand who he could rely on to watch over his affairs while he was absent from Rotterdam seems to have benefitted both parties.

Marchand's essay on the *Cymbalum Mundi* has also provided us with a glimpse into the mind of Marchand – both during his years in Paris and immediately after his relocation to the Netherlands. The Marchand which emerges from these prefaces to the text of the *Cymbalum* is a studious and diligent figure, bolstered by his belief in reason and his dislike of unquestioning prejudice. While his analysis of the text can be seen as naïve when compared to modern literary criticism, it is nonetheless an impressive and even-handed study for its time. Not willing to take past criticisms at face value Marchand scoured libraries and books to trace the history of the animus directed against the *Cymbalum* and its author, and then via a Balye-esque line of reasoning demonstrated that a willingness to accept others' opinions without serious question or reflection allowed for the creation of a myth, which did not conform (in Marchand's mind at least) to the actual reality of the text. This method of viewing the world would remain with Marchand throughout his life and seems to have quickly led him to question religion as much as literature, and would apparently direct him

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<sup>146</sup> Van Der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*.

towards 'natural religion' or deism during the 1710s.<sup>147</sup> This essay, which won the praise of Le Clerc, was a significant step for Marchand in his career and also on his journey further into the Republic of Letters. This demonstration of his 'reasonableness' was also a presentation of his credentials to be considered a *savant*. Despite his lack of gentlemanly education Marchand had proved himself to be a judicious writer and critic – something confirmed when his essay was mistakenly attributed to the highly educated critic and lawyer La Monnoye. Moving into journalism seems almost a natural career path for Marchand during this period and when the opportunity was presented to him to join a newly-founded and well-supported publication like the *Journal Littéraire* it gave Marchand an outlet to share his love of knowledge and literary news, while at the same time allowing him to indulge his passion for consuming new books and ideas.

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<sup>147</sup> For Marchand's religious views see: Margaret Jacob, 'The Nature of Early-Eighteenth-Century Religious Radicalism.', *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*. 1:1 (2009) pp. 1-11

### Chapter 3 – Albert-Henri de Sallengre and the Parisian *Savants*

*Beginnings, as one knows, are always the most difficult, before everything is settled and put into motion.*<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen in the former chapter an increasingly influential Prosper Marchand had initially been invited to join the editorial team of the *Journal Littéraire* by Willem ‘s Gravesande, and this offer had been followed up in writing by Thémiseul Saint-Hyacinthe in early August 1713. By this time the journal had produced its first edition which would have appeared in either July or August 1713 – as the edition covers the period May-June 1713.<sup>2</sup> Marchand would accept the offer and it is believed that he would then work on the journal from 1713 to around 1718 during its first period. His fellow editors, and members of the *Société Journal Littéraire*, were ‘s Gravesande, Saint-Hyacinthe, the satirist Justus van Effen, secretary Henri Alexandre, publisher Thomas Johnson and the young classicist Albert-Henri de Sallengre. Bernard Picart created the frontispiece which preceded the contents of the journal.<sup>3</sup> Of these it is believed that Saint-Hyacinth and Alexandre may have departed the *société* around 1715. Saint-Hyacinthe would leave Holland for Paris following the beginning of the d’Orleans regency and his success with the *Chef d’œuvre d’un inconnu*; Alexandre’s motives for leaving however are currently uncertain.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Avertissement du Libraire’, in Johnson, *et al.* *Journal Littéraire*, May/June 1713 (The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1713). Note: the spelling ‘Littéraire’ rather than ‘Littéraire’ will be used when referring to the journal as this was the form used by the publishers.

<sup>2</sup> The journal generally appeared the following month or two (depending on delays) after the final month stated in the title: e.g. January & February would appear in March or April, as the journal was intended to be a review of the previous months.

<sup>3</sup> See Figure 4, appendix.

<sup>4</sup> The journal’s first period is between 1713-1722, following which it ceased appearing until being resurrected in 1729. See: Hans Bots, ‘Journal Littéraire’ in Sgard, J., [ed] *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789* <<https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0759-journal-litteraire-1>> [accessed: 12/08/2024]. Albert-Henri de Sallengre, *Mémoires de Littérature* (La Haye: Henri du Sauzet, 1715-1717).

A puzzling aspect of Marchand's work with the *Journal Littéraire* is that it appears that he had started work on the journal without informing his employer in Rotterdam, Gaspar Fritsch. In the correspondence between the two following Marchand's addition to the editorial staff of the journal there is no discussion, or even mention, that Marchand was also working for the journal; and apart from Picart it also appears that there was little initial overlap between the two groups to which Marchand now belonged – until some years later when cross-contacts were made, in particular involving Charles Le Vier. The secretive way Marchand seems to have initially worked for the journal may have perhaps been necessary as Fritsch had, only a few months prior, reprimanded Marchand for taking on too much work.<sup>5</sup> Announcing to Fritsch that, in addition to being one of his editors who should have been working feverishly on the new edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* amongst other projects, he had also now decided to become involved with a literary journal which was set to be published six times a year, may have been an argument which Marchand wished to avoid. This is supported by the fact that Saint-Hyacinthe had only written to Marchand concerning the *Journal Littéraire* because he had found someone who could give the letter to him personally and not via the Fritsch and Böhm address. Saint-Hyacinthe also asks for 'a safe address for sending you our letters', which again suggests that he did not wish his correspondence to go via Fritsch and Böhm.<sup>6</sup> However, something which is interesting is that in the period 1713-1722 Fritsch and Böhm had more books reviewed in the *Journal Littéraire* than any other publishing house.<sup>7</sup>

The history of the *Journal Littéraire* has been covered from various perspectives by various researchers, such as Leonie Maass – *Het Journal Littéraire de la Haye (1713-1723) De uitwendige geschiedenis van een geleerdijdschrift* [the external history of a scholarly

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<sup>5</sup> Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712. March. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Saint-Hyacinthe to Marchand, 6 August, 1713. March 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>7</sup> See: C. Davis, *Journal Littéraire Contents 1713-1722* <[https://research-portal.st-andrews.ac.uk/files/269040188/Journal\\_Litteraire\\_Database.xlsx](https://research-portal.st-andrews.ac.uk/files/269040188/Journal_Litteraire_Database.xlsx)> [accessed: 28/09/2024].

journal]; Otto Lankhorst - *De uitgevers van het Journal Littéraire* [the publishers of the Journal Littéraire]; Frans van Otten - *Het tolerantievraagstuk in het Journal Littéraire* [The issue of tolerance in the Journal Littéraire]; and Marlies Schillings - *De 'querelle des anciens et des modernes' in het Journal Littéraire (1713-1716)*.<sup>8</sup> This chapter will explore the journal from a more personal perspective using the correspondence between Sallengre and the *Société Journal Littéraire* during his visit to Paris in 1714, which will investigate the journal's contact with (and reception by) Parisian figures during its foundational period, and explore wider issues raised in these letters such as tolerance, the internal religious quarrels ongoing in France, religious opportunism, censorship, and the differing perceptions of France which the Dutch-born generation of Huguenots may have been developing.

Albert-Henri Sallengre's journey to France in early 1714 was the first time the young Franco-Dutch had visited to his paternal homeland. His father (also Albert-Henri) descended from a noble family from Hainault, a border region of France and modern-day Belgium, who had emigrated to Holland for religious reasons sometime during the latter years of the sixteenth century. His mother was the sister of the Dutch poet Lucas Rotgans. Sallengre had only one surviving sibling, a sister, called Madeleine Jacqueline Sallengre who would marry the English diplomat Charles, Baron Whitworth in 1719.<sup>9</sup> Sallengre was a bright and intellectually curious young man, as can be seen by the reports of his tutors and the testimony of his friends. Writing in the *Journal Littéraire* some years later, after Sallengre had

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<sup>8</sup> Leonie Maass, *Het Journal Littéraire de la Haye (1713-1723) De uitwendige geschiedenis van een geleerdentijdschrift* (PhD Thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 2001); the research by Lankhorst, Otten and Schillings appears in Hans Bots, J. de Vet, [eds.] 'Het Journal Littéraire', *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw Jaargang 1986* Nr. 71/72 [online] <[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/\\_doc003198601\\_01/](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_doc003198601_01/)> [accessed: 27/09/2024].

<sup>9</sup> Carayol, 'Sallengre' in Sgard, [ed.] *Dictionnaire des Journalistes (1600-1789)*, [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/735-albert-henri-de-sallengre>> [accessed : 27/09/2024]; Shirley Matthews, 'Whitworth, Charles, 1st Baron Whitworth', in R. Sedgwick, [ed.], *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, (London: HMSO, 1970) [online] <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/whitworth-charles-1675-1725>> [accessed: 27/09/2024].



succumbed to smallpox in 1723, his old friends note that when he made his first visit to France in 1714, even though he was at an age, ‘where one hardly likes anything except pleasure and debauchery’ that Sallengre, ‘dedicated himself principally to visiting libraries, meeting with *savants* and taking advantage of their knowledge’.<sup>10</sup> It is the correspondence generated from Sallengre’s 1714 visit to France which will form the foundation of this chapter. Even though only four letters remain from Sallengre’s visit (three from Sallengre and one reply from the *Société Journal Littéraire*), these letters are demonstrative of the underlying tensions which existed not only within the Republic of Letters but also wider European society during this period.<sup>11</sup> Sallengre’s letters – particularly his letter dated 16 April, 1714 – allow us a furtive look into the intellectual, cultural and political events which were shaping European ideas during this period. From publication, censorship, and distribution, to Jesuit scheming, religious political manoeuvring and cross-border relationships; Sallengre’s April 16 letter offers insights – via a rather guileless and voluble correspondent – not only into contemporary Republic of Letters debates but also wider European intellectual culture.

Sallengre’s journey began sometime around the end of 1713 and the beginning of 1714 and led him from The Hague to Rotterdam, then into modern-day Belgium and across northern France before arriving in Paris sometime prior to 16 April, the date when he sent his first Parisian dispatch back to the *Journal Littéraire*. The journey seems to have been made with the intention to broaden his education and to make new intellectual contacts, as his obituary states. Nonetheless Sallengre still found time to write and send back at least one article for the journal along with *nouvelles littéraires* from Paris and Brussels, to meet with *Journal*

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<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *et al.*, ‘Mémoire touchant la Mort d’A. H. de Sallengre’ in *Journal Littéraire*, (The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1723).

<sup>11</sup> There are at least two letters which are lost. One – possibly more – from the *Société Journal Littéraire* which pre-dated their final response to Sallengre 10 May 1714 (Sallengre thanks the *Société Journal Littéraire* for the *letters*), and another letter from the *Société Journal Littéraire* to Sallengre dated 22 March 1714.

*Littéraire* correspondents and former contacts from Holland, and to collect and transport back to Holland manuscripts for new publications and other correspondence, in addition to spending some weeks visiting other areas of France. Following this mini Grand Tour of his father's homeland Sallengre eventually returned to Holland sometime around early July 1714. The most significant event of the journey, judging by the amount of space it occupies in his letters, is his meeting with René-Joseph de Tournemine, the director of the rival literary journal the *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux Arts. Recueillis par l'ordre de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Prince souverain de Dombes*, otherwise known as the *Journal* or *Mémoires de Trévoux*. Tournemine, a powerful establishment figure in France, had been somewhat piqued by mentions of him and his publication in the *Journal Littéraire* and when he discovered that one of the authors of the journal was currently in Paris, he arranged for Sallengre to be brought to him so that they could 'make peace'. Sallengre appears to have believed that he had taken the meeting in his stride, however in his account of their conversation he betrays something of his youthful naivety, and it appears that Tournemine had been able to use his well-known eloquence and ability to dominate conversations to convince Sallengre not only to agree to his viewpoint but also to apologise for what the journal had printed.<sup>12</sup> Sallengre then met with some of the Parisian *lettrés* he had been introduced to in order to discuss his meeting with Tournemine. He is told quite frankly that they feel that the *Journal Littéraire* has not been impartial neither has it supported its claims with evidence, and that it is making enemies unnecessarily – however, all may not have been as it seemed to Sallengre. Sallengre would relay these opinions back to the journal, adding that he agreed with some of what he has been told. The journal members would then write back to Sallengre on 10 May instructing him to assure Tournemine of their

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<sup>12</sup> André Lefèvre gives a good impression of Tournemine's character in his preface to *Lettres Persanes*, see: Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (Paris: Picard, 1873) p. V.

friendship but noting that their impartiality means that they may sometimes have to print extracts which are critical of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*. However, they promise to ‘do so with all possible moderation’, a core tenet of their journalism which they had stated in the *Préface* which began the first issue of the journal. In his final letter before setting off back to Holland, Sallengre notes that he has seen Tournemine again and that ‘he seemed pleased’ with the journal’s response to his complaints. The time spent in Paris ‘visiting libraries, meeting with *savants* and taking advantage of their knowledge’ seems to have given Sallengre the confidence to pursue his own interests (and perhaps gave him a desire to avoid early-eighteenth century quarrels) and in 1715 he would begin a journal titled *Mémoires de Littérature* which, in contrast to the *Journal Littéraire*’s reviews of contemporary publications, ‘would deal principally with books printed some time ago, which are to be recommended either due to their merit, their rarity, or by the impact which they have made’.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Sallengre’s Physical Journey and Continued Printing Delays*

The conclusion of the war of the Spanish Succession, marked by the peace conferences held in Utrecht between 1713 and 1715, facilitated easier travel into France via the Southern Netherlands. Although as is noted in other chapters travel across this region was possible during the war, the number of battles, skirmishes and troops which the area saw in the years leading up to 1713 would have made this route dangerous, difficult and unpredictable. With the conclusion of the peace – which heavily favoured Britain and France at the expense of the Netherlands – travelling to France via the Spanish Southern (later to become Austrian) Netherlands became a more feasible proposition. It was this route that Sallengre chose to take for his first journey into his paternal homeland, which also may have afforded him the

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<sup>13</sup> Sallengre, *Mémoires de Littérature*, pp. 3-4.

possibility of visiting relatives or former family homes in the Hainault region which existed on both sides of the Franco-Belgium border. Sallengre's first stop was Rotterdam, where he received and forwarded-on *nouvelles littéraires* from the jurist Heinrich Brenkmann, who had recently been made a corresponding member of the *Société*.<sup>14</sup> On January 4, 1714, Sallengre writes from Rotterdam that he, 'leaves today for Antwerp', and that he 'will inform himself of what is being printed there'. 'From there', he adds,

I will go to Brussels where I shall do the same, and I will give my opinion to the *Société* on all that I will learn there. When I arrive in Paris, I will take particular care to inform myself of the literary news [*nouvelles littéraires*], and I will even try to send a small extract for the forthcoming journal. In a word be sure gentlemen that I will work to ensure that the *Société* knows that I am in Paris.<sup>15</sup>

The idea of members making use of foreign trips to benefit the journal was initially proposed by Sallengre's colleague, Saint-Hyacinthe, in a letter most likely dating from the early days of the *Société*. He wrote to the *Société* just before leaving for Overijssel, offering his services to the members while there and noting that, 'one should make a rule, by which each member of the *Société* who will travel, will be obliged to make in good faith, all his efforts to send back some *mémoires*.'<sup>16</sup> From Sallengre's enthusiastic first letter, sent before he had even left the Netherlands, it is apparent that he was keen to follow Saint-Hyacinthe's advice.<sup>17</sup> He

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<sup>14</sup> Henricus (Henrik) Brenkmann (sometimes Brenemann) (1681-1736). See Letter from *Le Bachellé to Société Journal Littéraire*, 14 December 1713, and *Alexandre to Marchand*, 8 December 1713, Leiden University Library, Marchand 1. Brenkmann also conceived an idea for a centralised organisation which would provide support for savants across Europe and publish a three-monthly bulletin. See: Bots and Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> *Sallengre to Journal Littéraire*, 4 January 1714. March. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Saint-Hyacinthe to Société Journal Littéraire*, 7 May [1713]. March. 1. The belief that this letter dates from 1713 is also shared by Carayol, see: Carayol, *Themiseul de St Hyacinthe*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> The *nouvelles littéraires* section was located at the end of each edition of the *Journal Littéraire* from the first edition of the journal (*May and June 1713*) until around 1715, when its size and reach diminished. The importance of a *nouvelles littéraires* section for the editors of the *Journal Littéraire* was influenced by Jacques Bernard's edition of the *Nouvelles de la République of Letters* (1699-1710) which was the first Dutch francophone periodical to devote considerable space to *nouvelles*. See: Almagor, *Pierre des Maizeaux*, pp. 45-48.

also notes his intention to try to write an article for the next edition of the journal. As the majority of *nouvelles littéraires* and articles which appear in the *Journal Littéraire* are anonymous it is difficult to say exactly what Sallengre sent to The Hague, especially considering that Marchand often did not keep the sections of correspondence containing the articles which were published. Even stating the issues in which these pieces may have appeared is rendered difficult as the editions of the *Journal Littéraire* tended to become increasingly delayed as the publication progressed. In regard to these delays Sallengre even adds at the end of this letter that, ‘I also take the liberty to ask you to hasten the printing of the journal as much as it is possible’ because, he notes, ‘it is a matter of the ultimate consequence for the honour of the *société*’. While this may sound like literary hyperbole by Sallengre, his point is valid. The greater delays the journal experienced in publishing its editions, the less relevant its *nouvelles* and articles reviewing new works became, especially when one considers the unavoidable delay which often came with transporting large quantities of journals into France – the largest and most obvious market for journal. Although after the end of the war of the Spanish Succession it became much easier to send letters between France and the Netherlands (other correspondence between the journal and its Parisian contacts demonstrate a period of between four days to a week for a letter) this was not entirely the case when it came to larger parcels. These parcels were often grouped together, in what was referred to as a *ballot*, before being dispatched to their destination under the control of the *libraires* who used trusted merchants to deliver their items. In addition to books and journals, these *ballots* would often contain letters and manuscripts which the sender wished to keep out of the hands of prying French officials.<sup>18</sup> As the correspondence between Saint-Hyacinthe and Le Vier shows, certain merchants were

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<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the official French postal system and its near-complete lack of privacy, see: Eugène Vaillé, *Le Cabinet Noir* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950) pp. 92-98.

preferred by those attached to the *Société Journal Littéraire*; among these are Lagisse, a Rouennais shipping merchant, who seems to have acquired a good reputation among Dutch *libraires*.<sup>19</sup> Smaller packets could be sent overland via Douxfils, the intimate of Marchand and member of the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*, who had some kind of responsibility at the Brussels *poste*.<sup>20</sup> The delayed journal which Sallengre is referring to is the 1713 November and December issue of the journal, which should have been published (or at least have been in the process of being prepared to go under the press) in early January 1714, just as he was leaving. The fact he feels the need to make this point demonstrates that he was aware of problems which had the potential to delay this edition. A letter from Henri Alexandre (the secretary of the *Société* according to Berkvens-Stevelinck) to Marchand, dated 8 December 1713, suggests that during this time the volume of work needed to publish a five-hundred-page journal containing numerous articles on new publications every two months was beginning to overwhelm the journal's current staff.<sup>21</sup> Alexandre's letter begins, 'As we badly need Members to help us work...'.<sup>22</sup>

### *Sallengre arrives in Paris*

Sallengre's next correspondence is a long and detailed letter sent from Paris dated 16 April 1714. It appears that this letter was written and added to over the course of some days or even weeks. It begins:

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<sup>19</sup> Isabella van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725. Volume 1. Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn copieboek* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema N.V., 1963) p. 98; *Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, 3 December* [1716], March. 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, 3 December* [1716], March. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation: Maçonnerie ou Libertinage?', *Quaerendo*, 13,2 (1983), p. 138. <<https://doi.org/10.1163/157006983X00038>> [accessed: 21/07/2023].

<sup>22</sup> *Alexandre to Marchand, 8 December 1713*. March. 1. These new members seem to have been contributing members who supplied articles, rather than additions to the core *Société*. Brenkmann was one of the names suggested by Alexandre to help the journal and Sallengre's letter demonstrates that the *Société* had approved his nomination.

I received with great pleasure the honour of yours [letter] of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, which has served me as proof that you have not entirely forgotten me. For my part I intend to contribute as much as I can to the advancement and the good of our Society. I will even tell you that for this reason, besides the small vanity which title of Journalist inspires, I have not made any difficulty to discovering me as one of the Authors of the Journal.<sup>23</sup>

Sallengre notes that he has received the letter which the *Journal Littéraire* had sent him on the 22 March (this letter is unfortunately lost) which ‘has served me as proof that you have not entirely forgotten me’; a remark which suggests that this was the first letter he had received from them since his departure. The lack of correspondence for two and a half months can be partially explained by the fact that Sallengre had been travelling, which meant it was unlikely that he had been able to provide an address where he could reliably receive their letters, and partially by the fact that the other members were obviously under pressure to get the journals out on time. However, now that Sallengre had reached Paris it would be much easier to be able to communicate with him. However, two and a half months is a long time for a journey between Rotterdam and Paris, even in winter, which indicates that Sallengre had, as he had indicated in his 4 January letter, spent some time in Antwerp and Brussels (and likely elsewhere also) exploring libraries and looking for *nouvelles* and new books. The November and December 1713 edition of the *Journal Littéraire* includes news from Brussels and Cambrai which discusses subjects close to Sallengre’s heart, notably histories. If Sallengre was the source of these *nouvelles* it highlights the delays which the journal was experiencing, and if one takes into account that Sallengre did not make directly for Brussels or Cambrai from Rotterdam, as his letter states he did not, then these *nouvelles* must have been sent mid-to-late January 1714, and yet they still managed to make the November and December 1713

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<sup>23</sup> Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714. March. 1.

edition. In a letter to François Boscheron, dated 22 February 1714, the journal tells Boscheron that they will be inserting the precis of a piece which he had sent them on 31 January 1714 into the January and February 1714 edition – indicating that the November and December 1713 edition had at least been finalised, if not printed, between the last days of January and the 22 February.<sup>24</sup> Sallengre next states that,

‘...I intend to contribute as much as I can to the advancement and the good of our Society. I will even tell you that for this reason, besides the small vanity which title of Journalist inspires, I have not made any difficulty to discovering me as one of the Authors of the Journal.’

Sallengre’s zeal to promote the journal and better help the *Société* meant that he was not making efforts to preserve his anonymity: an example of youthful bravado which may have been unwise and could be potentially hazardous to his liberty if the French authorities decided to take issue with the content of the journal, and something which must have caused concern for the other members of the *Société Journal Littéraire* when they read this passage. Sharply contrasting with Sallengre’s apparently blasé attitude toward remaining undiscovered the older, French-born, Parisian-bred journalists will note in their reply to Sallengre that their anonymity and that of their correspondents is of the highest consequence to the journal,

Continue, sir, to be on your guard when you see him [Tournemine]. Do not let slip anything that may make us known, but above all take care not to say anything that may give him the slightest well-founded suspicion on the subject of our correspondents.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Société Journal Littéraire* to Boscheron, 22 February 1714. March. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Société Journal Littéraire* to Sallengre 10 May 1714. March. 1. See appendix for complete letter.



Sallengre does add that being recognised for his work on the journal is flattering, so this is not entirely a work of charity and self-sacrifice for him, even though it may have been risky. However, as we will see, Sallengre quickly had to face the consequences of this decision when Tournemine decided to summon him to discuss issues which he had with what the journal had printed. Nonetheless, having his name connected to the journal may well have served to further the connections Sallengre made in Paris, and even his meeting with Tournemine provided Sallengre with letters of introduction to other *savants* outside of Paris.<sup>26</sup>

*Promoting the Journal and Connections between booksellers*

In addition to collecting news Sallengre, it seems, took it upon himself to publicise the journal, something which he is keen to point out he had carried out extremely competently. ‘I can also say’, he writes excitedly from Paris,

that I make it [the journal] known to many persons of great merit, who had never seen it, and who had hardly heard of it, so that the bookseller Ganeau, who is the only bookseller who receives it, told me that he has recently received a dozen of the first journals, that he has sold them all in eight days, and that so many people ask him for it daily that he has sent to Holland for around 50 of the journals.<sup>27</sup>

The exact nature of the relationship between the *Journal Littéraire* and Etienne Ganeau is uncertain, although as Ganeau was ‘the only bookseller who receives it’ and Sallengre appears to know him well enough to discuss business matters, at first glance it appears that it

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<sup>26</sup> ‘He also promised me in the most decent way in the world to give me letters of recommendation for Orleans, Blois, Tours, Saumur, Angers, Nantes, &c.’ *Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714*. March. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Sallengre to Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714*.

may have been based on an exchange agreement between Thomas Johnson and Ganeau whereby Johnson provided Ganeau with copies of the journal in exchange for works which Johnson wanted.<sup>28</sup> These relationships between *libraire-imprimeurs* during this period, especially across borders, were important to both parties and also their wider circle of connections. Not only could a bookseller use their contacts to obtain new and interesting foreign stock, which could add to the reputation of their business, but also they were able to save costs, via economies of scale, by printing more editions of their own works which they could then exchange in kind with a colleague.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the regular shipments between the two booksellers also served as an alternative means of sending letters and information across borders without resorting to the *poste* or entrusting a letter to a vague acquaintance known to be travelling to, or through a given place. However, the fact Sallengre notes that Ganeau has only recently received ‘a dozen of the first journals’ (*i.e.* the initial 1713 May/June edition which would have been available from sometime in August 1713 in Holland at the latest) suggests that Ganeau may have taken it upon himself to order copies of the journal after either learning about it due to his connections to Tournemine and other Republic of Letters *savants*, or perhaps due to being asked for it by members of the public. However the latter proposition seems less likely as Sallengre states that he made it known to people who had not previously been aware of it, which he believes then caused a run on Ganeau’s stock. Another piece of evidence which suggests that Johnson and Ganeau had no relationship prior to this is that later in this letter Sallengre states that he could facilitate contact between Johnson, Tournemine and Ganeau: ‘if Mr Johnson wishes it, I will arrange correspondence between him and Père Tournemine, and with Ganeau who sells the *Journal*

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<sup>28</sup> Etienne Ganeau (1667-1734). Ganeau was a Parisian *libraire-imprimeur* who was also responsible for the printing of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*.

<sup>29</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, ‘Une Croissance Séculaire’, in Chartier and Martin, *Histoire de l’Edition Française, Le livre triomphant 1660-1830*, pp. 125-127.

*de Trévoux*.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, due to no contract or details of the arrangements between the two *libraires* surviving, it is impossible to know exactly what arrangement later existed between Johnson and Ganeau when Ganeau decided to send for additional copies: whether Ganeau paid directly, in kind, or had the journal on commission. However, any agreement between the two *libraires* does not seem to have been especially formal or long-term, as a few months later a new French distributor called Coustelier would take over from Ganeau, a change which may have happened directly as a result of Sallengre's trip to Paris.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the case concerning Johnson and Ganeau's relationship, there were copies of the *Journal Littéraire* in Paris long before Ganeau took the decision to stock it, and some of these appear to have been sent out directly by the *Société* to their high-profile contacts in Paris, such as Bignon, who wrote to the journal in August 1713 to thank them for the copy they had sent him: '...I am very obliged to you for having sent it to me...'<sup>32</sup>

### *Introducing Sallengre in France*

Sallengre's reference to making the journal known to 'persons of great merit' demonstrates that he had managed to meet with some of the learned and influential of Parisian society. Although how exactly he was introduced to these people is unclear there are three possibilities. Firstly, as previously stated, the Marchand archives contains letters from the abbé Bignon to the journal dating from 1713, and existing research shows that Bignon was a close Parisian contact for the journal in its earliest days, and also a former correspondent of

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<sup>30</sup> Sallengre to *Société Journal Littéraire*, 16 April, 1714.

<sup>31</sup> This change of distributor is highlighted by the references to Coustelier in the correspondence between the *Journal Littéraire* and Francois Boscheron, Robert Challe, and Balthasar Gibert. The earliest mention of Coustelier in the correspondence dates from September 1714. See: *Boscheron to Société Journal Littéraire*, 8 September, 1714, March. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Bignon to Société Journal Littéraire*, 20 August 1713. March. 1.

Marchand.<sup>33</sup> If this is the case then it is possible that Bignon, with his great influence and reputation in the Republic of Letters, may have introduced Sallengre to various men of letters known to him in Paris – however Sallengre does not mention meeting Bignon or even refer to him in his correspondence which may discount this possibility.<sup>34</sup> Secondly, there is the possibility that Ganeau had been asked by the *Société Journal Littéraire*, via Johnson (the authors themselves would have been too cautious to give their names to the Jesuit-connected Ganeau – as is demonstrated above), to introduce Sallengre: a possibility which appears likely at first glance when one notes that some of the figures named by Sallengre are directly linked to Ganeau via the *Mémoires de Trévoux*. However, there appear to be too many unknowns to give full support to this possibility, particularly Johnson’s apparent lack of a relationship with Ganeau prior to Sallengre’s journey. The third, and most likely, option is that Ludolf Küster – a figure familiar to many of the Dutch-based journalists and printers prior to his departure for Paris in 1713 – may have introduced Sallengre to his Parisian *savant* friends, and Küster being mentioned frequently in Sallengre’s correspondence tends to support this hypothesis. Unfortunately, Sallengre does not name all the ‘persons of great merit’ he encountered in Paris. However those mentioned do give an indication about what kind of people Sallengre was being introduced to. Aside from Küster, Sallengre mentions Tournemine, Pierre-Daniel Huet (the learned Bishop of Avranches), the philologist and *Mémoires de Trévoux* journalist Jean Hardouin and the Jesuit journalist Barthélémy Germon, along with *Journal Littéraire* correspondent François Boscheron. There is also a possibility that he may have met Robert Challe, the author of *Les Illustres Françaises*, who was a close

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<sup>33</sup> Maass, *Het Journal Littéraire de La Haye*, p.134.

<sup>34</sup> Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743). Some of the positions which Bignon held during this period were : *Directeur de la librairie* 1699-1714, *Président du bureau pour les affaires de librairie du Conseil Privé* 1708-1714, Director of the *Journal des Savants* 1701-1714. Alongside his network of correspondents across western Europe, these positions gave Bignon almost unparalleled access to information concerning new publications and *nouvelles littéraires*. Fossier, *L’abbé Bignon*; Henri-Jean Martin, ‘La direction des lettres’, and Daniel Roche, ‘La Censure’, both in Chartier and Martin, *Histoire de l’Edition Française, Le livre triomphant 1660-1830*.

friend of Boscheron – however Challe and Boscheron would have been careful not to reveal Challe’s identity as the author of *Les Illustres Françaises*.<sup>35</sup>

### *Ludolf Küster*

Sallengre notes that it was Küster who first brought his participation in the *Journal Littéraire* to the attention of Tournemine: ‘Mr Küster having said to P. Tournemine that I worked on the journal’.<sup>36</sup> On learning this Tournemine asked Küster to bring Sallengre to his [Tournemine’s] house ‘in order to make peace’.<sup>37</sup> Küster’s background and the history of how he eventually ended up in France are deserving of a little elaboration before further exploring Sallengre’s meeting as they illustrate the power and influence of patronage, alongside the often financially precarious life some *lettrés* lived during this period. Küster himself was a Westphalian classicist and philologist who had travelled between Germany, England, the Netherlands and France during his life trying to establish himself, without much success.<sup>38</sup> He had been involved with a Latin-language literary journal called the *Bibliotheca librorum novorum* (1697-1699), which, it is said, he had been encouraged to undertake by the classicist Graevius, and which he published in connection with the German scholar Henry Sike.<sup>39</sup> Küster made many influential contacts within the Republic of Letters throughout this

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<sup>35</sup> Sallengre to *Société Journal Littéraire*, 16 April 1714. Challe was keen to maintain his anonymity as his correspondence with the *Journal Littéraire* makes clear. See: *Société Journal Littéraire to Challe*, 11 October, 1718, March. 1.

<sup>36</sup> René-Joseph de Tournemine (1661-1739). He had been appointed director of the *Journal de Trévoux* some months after its initial foundation and held this position until 1719 when he became the librarian of the Jesuit *Masion professe* in Paris in order to give him more time to concentrate on his own interests. Tournemine maintained an ‘active correspondence with the most distinguished *savants* in France and overseas’ and had an influence on the young Voltaire. Anne-Marie Chouillet and John Pappas, ‘Tournemine’, in Sgard, J., [ed.], *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/775-rene-de-tournemine>> [accessed: 21/07/2022].

<sup>37</sup> Sallengre to *Société Journal Littéraire*, 16 April 1714.

<sup>38</sup> Ludolf (or Ludolph) Küster (or Kuster or Custer) (1671-1716) also published under the name ‘Neocorus’.

<sup>39</sup> Johann Georg Graevius (1632-1703), Henry Sike (Heinrich Siecke) (1668-1712).

For a biography of Küster see: *Histoire de l’Académie Royale des inscriptions et Belles Lettres Tome II* (Paris: Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, 1740) pp. 67-94.

period such as Bignon in France, Charles Pacius de La Motte in the Netherlands, and Richard Bentley in England.<sup>40</sup> After becoming destitute in the Netherlands it appears that Bignon invited him to France and in 1713 he accepted the offer, travelled to Paris and converted to Catholicism, ‘in order to advance himself more easily’, the Dutch-Huguenot-published *Nouvelles Littéraires* waspishly notes in its memorial to the recently deceased Küster.<sup>41</sup> With Bignon’s support Küster was introduced to Louis XIV, made an associate member of the *Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres* and given a pension of 2,000 *livres*.

The issue of Küster’s conversion was a topic of interest within the circle of correspondence centred around the Netherlands. Anthony Collins, writing to Le Vier 11 September 1713, relays that he has been to Antwerp where he had met with the Jesuit Père Jean-Baptiste Du Sollier.<sup>42</sup> Collins tells Sollier that he has heard that he was responsible for Küster’s conversion – perhaps also implying the Jesuits more broadly. Sollier denies this and replies that Küster’s conversion was due to ‘his own insight and that he had resolved to become Catholic before he [Sollier] had the honour to see him in Antwerp’. That is to say that the Jesuits did not unduly influence Küster in his decision via financial promises or the offer of some kind of position, and that his conversion was organic and a result of Küster’s own insights. Sollier also states that much is being made of Küster in Paris – it appears to have been something of a coup for them to have attracted a learned Protestant to their confession.<sup>43</sup> However from his next letter, written just a few weeks later, it seems that Collins has had suspicions about Küster. Discussing the annotated edition of Bayle’s *Lettres Choisies*, of which it seems he had been given an early copy, Collins states that he likes the notes as they

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<sup>40</sup> Charles de La Motte to Pierre Desmaizeaux, 5 February 1709, in Bots, et al., [eds.], *Lettres de La Motte*, pp. 214-215.

<sup>41</sup> *Nouvelles Littéraires Tome IV Seconde Partie* (The Hague: Henri du Sauzet, 1716). In contrast the *Eloge de Mr. Kuster* which appears in the *Histoire de l’Académie Royale des inscriptions* states that his conversion was genuine and sincere.

<sup>42</sup> Jean-Baptiste Du Sollier (1669–1740), French Jesuit Bollandist.

<sup>43</sup> *Collins to Le Vier, 11 September [1713]*. March. 2.

make the work more intelligible to everyone and they ‘prevent the Küsters from finding in it, with their critical sagacity, other sentiments than those of the author’.<sup>44</sup> This small comment gives us a little glimpse into how Küster’s fellow *savants* may have come to see him following his conversion – a devious *lettré* who reinterpreted works according to his own prejudices, something which the Jesuits may have wished for him to continue under their protection. A letter from Gaspard Fritsch to Marchand dated 4 November, 1713 appears to offer the greatest insight into Küster’s motives and how his conversion has been received in Holland and Paris. It begins,

I informed Mr. Leers of Dr. Kuster's conversion a few days after he [Küster] had taken communion in the Jesuit novitiate, Fritsch then states that, as I have been in his confidence since his arrival in Paris [Fritsch had also been in Paris at this time, as will be discussed in the following chapter], I can better instruct you in it than anyone, but this will [have to] be face-to-face. It is the poverty which this man was going to suffer, that made him take this side, thus I cannot blame him for it.<sup>45</sup>

In their obituary the *Nouvelles Littéraires* also note Küster’s precarious financial position but state that efforts were being made by his friends in Holland to find a position for him prior to his departure – something which is also confirmed in a letter which Fritsch sent to Marchand in December 1712.<sup>46</sup> So Küster’s conversion seems to have been one of convenience to secure his financial future rather than one of genuine belief – from the Protestant Dutch perspective at least; and Fritsch adds, ‘it is a disgrace for the government of our cities not to

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<sup>44</sup> *Collins to Le Vier 1 October 1713*. March. 2. The commentary and notes in this edition are Marchand’s, see: *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November 1713*, March. 2. Pierre Bayle, *Lettres Choisies* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1714).

<sup>45</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November 1713*. March. 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Nouvelles Littéraires*, pp. 492-496. *Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712*, March. 2.

have wanted to take charge of a man who did honour to the *belles lettres* in Holland'.<sup>47</sup>

Regarding how this was seen in France, Fritsch writes (supporting Sollier's words above) that 'it was rejoiced in Paris'. Fritsch concludes by saying that he believes that 'as long as Küster does not surrender himself headlong to the Jesuits he will not fail to be sought after and esteemed in Paris'.<sup>48</sup>

The fact Küster took communion at a Jesuit institution and Fritsch's linking him with the Jesuits suggests this was a Jesuit-engineered relocation and conversion, and may explain Collins's suspicions noted above. Interestingly Küster's conversion seems to have proceeded at quite a rapid pace, as normally a period of instruction would be expected before the taking of communion was allowed. In this case it appears he made his *rétractation* and was soon taking communion as a full Catholic, which may suggest both parties (Küster and the Jesuits) recognised this to be more of a conversion of convenience than of faith. Even though it appears that the Oratorian Bignon had been the architect of Küster's move to Paris this could have simply been because Bignon – with his official responsibilities – was in a position whereby he was able to associate Küster with one of his organisations in order to allow him a pension, in this case the *Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. While any pre-1713 links between Küster and the Jesuits remain open to question, as Sallengre's letter demonstrates there was certainly some kind of relationship between Küster and Tournemine by 1714, whether this was a purely personal relationship or whether Küster was working for Tournemine and/or the *Mémoires de Trévoux* remains unknown. Küster also plays another part in the story of the *Journal Littéraire*. When Küster relocated to Paris he lived in the apartments of a *libraire-imprimeur* called Coustelier, the same Coustelier who from the middle of 1714 would serve as some kind of distributor and Parisian contact for the journal.

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<sup>47</sup> Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713. March. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.



Coustelier would also become a trusted acquaintance of Saint-Hyacinthe when he settled in Paris between 1716-20 and, in addition to providing him with advice regarding publishing, his shop would serve as one of the receiving depots for books which Saint-Hyacinthe had ordered from Holland.<sup>49</sup> Sallengre's own description of Küster from this period is rather brief, considering the amount of time he seems to have spent with him, and portrays Küster in the following terms – 'He is a ponderous mind [*esprit pesant*], but of profound erudition'.<sup>50</sup>

### *The meeting with Tournemine*

Being summoned to the house of the director of the *Journal de Trévoux* (who was also a prominent Jesuit and had connections to the French ruling elite) in order to explain himself and his journal must have caused some anxiety for the young journalist. Sallengre makes a point later in this letter of describing Tournemine to his colleagues, which conveys the impression that the domineering Jesuit had left upon him. He writes, 'I will tell you, gentlemen, that he is a man of great quality, who has a great deal of knowledge [*savoir*] and has the main role at the *Journal de Trévoux*'. It is interesting that Sallengre feels the need to note that Tournemine was so influential at the *Journal de Trévoux*, which may suggest that this was not widely known at the time, or perhaps more likely, this is an indication of Sallengre's lack of knowledge concerning French publications and may be an indication that Sallengre was not initially fully aware with whom he was meeting. Sallengre continues by describing Tournemine's appearance, 'He has a rather sinister face but it is frankness itself, and he is very obliging and very welcoming'.<sup>51</sup> The meeting itself began with the usual

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<sup>49</sup> '...only have the goodness to send them to the address of M. Mariette at the Pillars of Hercules or to M. Coustelier to have them reach me.' *Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, 3 December [1716]*. March. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714*.

<sup>51</sup> *Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714*. Tournemine was described as being 'the ugliest man of his century', see : G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Du collège de Clermont au lycée Louis-le-Grand*, (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1921); Chouillet and Pappas, 'Tournemine', in Sgard, *Dictionnaire des journalistes*.

*politesse* of the period before Tournemine directed the conversation towards the real reason he had summoned Sallengre: ‘following the initial compliments he said to me that he had been very surprised that we had attacked both the journal [*de Trévoux*] and his person without him ever giving the slightest motive’. Tournemine then skilfully portrays himself as an innocent stating, ‘that he had always been friends with the Protestants, that he had been a close friend to M. Bayle, that he was still [a close friend] to M. Basnage, and that he helped all the Dutch who came here [*i.e.*, to Paris].’<sup>52</sup>

Tournemine’s words here are suspect, however it is impossible to say whether this is due to Sallengre’s misreporting or Tournemine’s misrepresentation. The extant evidence to support Tournemine’s claim to have been a ‘close friend’ of Bayle’s is extremely sparse, consisting of a single letter Tournemine references in an article he wrote for the *Mémoires de Trévoux* in 1735. The extract of this letter, of which Tournemine provides only a sentence, is also not demonstrative of a close friendship. Tournemine writes, ‘Bayle, dangerous Bayle, wrote to me that he was ‘Jupiter gathering the clouds, that his talent was to create doubts, but that they were for him only doubts’.<sup>53</sup> This letter (which has been dated to post-1701 by Bayle biographers Bost and Labrousse) seems to have been sent to Tournemine, in his capacity as director of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, in response to an article and not as part of some ongoing personal correspondence.<sup>54</sup> The *Mémoires de Trévoux* also published ‘hundreds’ of pages refuting Bayle’s ideas, and while *politesse* was observed the *Mémoires de Trévoux* obviously had little sympathy for Bayle or his positions.<sup>55</sup> Tournemine’s other assertion, that he was a friend to the Protestants and also helped out ‘all the Dutch who came here’, is

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<sup>52</sup> Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714. Presumably Tournemine is referring to the pastor and writer Jacques Basnage de Beauval, rather than his brother, the author of the *Histoire des ouvrages des savants*, Henri Basnage de Beauval who had died in 1710.

<sup>53</sup> Lettre du P. Tournemine de la Compagnie de Jésus à M. de \*\*\* sur l’immatérialité de l’âme, & les sources de l’incrédulité. Article XCIX, *Journal de Trévoux*, Octobre 1735 (Paris: Chaubert, 1735) pp. 1914- 1935.

<sup>54</sup> Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, p. 515; Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, p. 257.

<sup>55</sup> Alfred Desautels, *Les Mémoires de Trévoux et Le Mouvement des Idées au XVIIIe Siècle, 1701-1734* (Roma: Institutum Historicum, 1956), pp. 192-199.

difficult to either confirm or deny. However, the behaviour of Tournemine's fellow Jesuits towards the Protestants and the Dutch can be demonstrated to be neither friendly nor helpful. An example of this, which also involved the Bignon, occurred in April 1709. Charles Pacius de La Motte wrote to London-based Huguenot *journaliste* Pierre Desmaizeaux to inform him that one of his contacts, the Amsterdam-based publisher-bookseller Jean-Louis de Lorme, had been imprisoned in the Bastille: 'the Jesuits have taken revenge on this bookseller', La Motte writes; he also adds that 'M. abbé Bignon is working to get him released'.<sup>56</sup> Exactly how, and for what reason, de Lorme ended up being arrested in Paris is unknown but it may have been that his unlicensed Amsterdam edition of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, which he published between 1701-1705, had irked the Jesuits, especially as de Lorme had augmented the publication with 'comments and several new articles'.<sup>57</sup> Bignon's attempts to have de Lorme released were apparently successful, La Motte writes: 'This bookseller has regained his liberty due to the credit of this illustrious abbé.'<sup>58</sup>

Sallengre's account of the meeting continues. He tells the *Société* that he replied to Tournemine's claims by apologising for any offence caused, and then trying to convince him that the journal was only reprinting a letter which had been sent to them – effectively saying the journal exercised no editorial control over the pieces which they received, regardless of their potential to offend. When the journal decided to reprint the *nouvelles* as they received them, without alteration or addition aside from spelling or grammatical errors, it may have seemed a wise decision, and served to bolster their much-vaunted impartiality. However, the potential of these decisions (taken in the safety of a coffee house in Holland) to directly

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<sup>56</sup> Charles de La Motte to Pierre Desmaizeaux, [Avril] 1709, in Bots, [eds.], *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 221.

<sup>57</sup> Pascal Ferrand, 'Mémoires de Trévoux', in Sgard, [ed.], *Dictionnaire des journaux*, [online] <<https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0889-memoires-de-trevoux-1>> [accessed: 15/08/2022]. De Lorme also had connections to Jean Aymon (see below) and published some works by Père Hardouin.

<sup>58</sup> Charles de La Motte to Pierre Desmaizeaux, 30 avril 1709. Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 222. De Lorme was imprisoned in the Bastille between 5 and 23 April 1709.

impact one of their members was now being felt and Sallengre was also coming face-to-face with the consequences of his own decision to sacrifice his anonymity:

I responded to him that I had no trouble confessing that we were wrong to attack firstly the *Journal de Trévoux*, that there was no reason in the article about Gravina to mention them; regarding what had been said in the *nouvelles littéraires* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> journal concerning his person, I was angry about it, but that we have no other part than to insert the *nouvelles littéraires* precisely such as they have been sent to us, and that I thought there would be a change of method regarding this.<sup>59</sup>

The two ‘attacks’ in question are as follows. In the piece concerning Gravina the article’s author had said that the *Mémoires de Trévoux*’s overuse of ‘eloquence’ had made their articles extremely obscure and difficult to understand. The attack on Tournemine himself was in part a defence of Malebranche – who Tournemine had attacked in the preface to a new work for making dubious and weak points. The writer of the *nouvelles* had stated that Tournemine had no place to attack Malebranche when Tournemine himself made dubious and weak points.<sup>60</sup> While this may seem trivial to modern-day readers, for Tournemine it must have stung somewhat that a neophyte journal had dared to speak of him and his prestigious publication so flippantly, especially in the very first issue, and when he saw the teenage Sallengre appear before him he must have wondered who exactly he was dealing with. Nonetheless, Tournemine seems to have believed Sallengre – ‘He replied to me with great gentleness that he was convinced that we had not made use of the diversion of inserting our own sentiments into these *nouvelles littéraires*’.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714.

<sup>60</sup> *Journal Littéraire*, May-June 1713, pp. 94 and 478.

<sup>61</sup> Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714.

This episode with Tournemine potentially highlights some of the cultural differences which existed between the French-born and subsequent generations of Huguenot immigrants – along with Sallengre’s naivety. Sallengre, born and raised in the theoretically more liberal Holland and having little physical experience of France and its written and unwritten laws, acted injudiciously by revealing his connection to the journal. One can only imagine the horror with which the *Société* read this letter: Sallengre had not only given up his anonymity but had then been summoned by Tournemine to explain the journal’s editorial policy – what else was he going to reveal to this cunning Jesuit? Fortunately for them, it seems that Sallengre had quickly learned his lesson. He notes that Tournemine had incorrectly named who he thought were the journal’s correspondents (the Benedictine Père Montfaucon and Père Courayer, the librarian of the *Bibliothèque de Saint Geneviève*) and that he had taken care not to correct Tournemine’s misidentification.<sup>62</sup> Tournemine continued this tactic of indirectly goading Sallengre into accidentally revealing details about the journal, through finessing what little he did know, by stating that he has already used his international contacts to discover the name of one of the authors of the journal and a little concerning the makeup of the rest of the *Société*:

He also told me, regarding the journal’s authors, that he had written to Holland in order to learn their names and that he had been told for starters that a certain Mr Themisseules was involved; that next Mr de Castagnieres, nephew of the French ambassador at The Hague, had given him a reply, in his opinion quite likely, which was that the journal was made by some young men of wit and merit, but who have not yet made themselves known to the public through other works.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Sallengre to *Société Journal Littéraire*, 16 April 1714.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*.

Tournemine's belief that the journal was written by 'young men of wit and merit' perhaps betrays that he was not as informed about the journal as he wished Sallengre to believe, and that was instead basing his ideas more on Sallengre himself, than on any information that he had received from Holland. Besides Sallengre and 's Gravesande none of the other members of the *Société* were under thirty years of age when this conversation took place and even though Tournemine was around fifty-three years he was still from the same pre-*Édit de Fontainebleau* generation as the majority of *Journal Littéraire*'s authors.<sup>64</sup> Also to further contradict Tournemine's information Marchand, van Effen, Picart, Saint-Hyacinthe and 's Gravesande had all been published under their own names or had contributed to journals prior to their involvement with the *Journal Littéraire*.<sup>65</sup> Saint-Hyacinthe, in contrast to Sallengre, seems to be well aware of the benefits of remaining somewhat unknown as an author. Although it appears that Tournemine has been given his name by his [Tournemine's] contacts in Holland, the name Tournemine has (Thémiseul) is that which Saint-Hyacinthe had chosen to use as his *nom-de-plume*.

Tournemine's approach towards Sallengre throughout the meeting seems to be a mixture of flattering the young man's sensibilities in order to use Sallengre's *naïveté de jeunesse* against him, and at the same time maintaining a sinister undercurrent by hinting at his willingness to use his establishment power and connections across Europe to discover and hinder his enemies. As stated above, for the *Journal Littéraire* to be successful it would have to easily available in France, and especially Paris. What Tournemine tells Sallengre next is another ominous hint that those who choose to go against him, the Jesuits, and more broadly the

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<sup>64</sup> In 1714 Marchand was 36, Picart 41, Johnson 37, van Effen 30, Saint-Hyacinthe 30. Only Sallengre 19/20 and 's Gravesande 26 could truly be considered 'young men'.

<sup>65</sup> See bibliography.

French establishment, will not be forgotten, or forgiven; and it seems Sallengre understood very clearly what Tournemine was alluding to.

He next told me that if Moetjens had Aymon write the *République des Lettres* he would have it banned on the spot in France, this shows again that it is advantageous for the journal to have peace with him and with the Jesuits, because being in great credit it would only take him two words to have the journal prohibited in France.<sup>66</sup>

This passage requires a little explanation and deconstruction in order to understand exactly what Sallengre was communicating to the *Société*. Jean Aymon was a former prelate in the Gallican Catholic church who had renounced Catholicism for Calvinism and fled France, eventually ending up in The Hague. In 1706, supposedly after having reconsidered his conversion to Calvinism, he returned to Paris and eventually received permission to use the *Bibliothèque de Roi*. However, his reconversion was a ruse, and he stole or mutilated several of the royal library's manuscripts before again fleeing for The Hague.<sup>67</sup> Adriaen Moetjens was an established *libraire-imprimeur* based in The Hague with connections to the *Société*, who had published numerous French language books, journals and gazettes beginning in the 1680s.<sup>68</sup> The letter suggests that Moetjens was either preparing a new journal which was to be written by Aymon or was looking to transfer one of his current journals to the care of Aymon. As none of Moetjens's publications included '*République des Lettres*' in the title this could be a new publication which Moetjens and Aymon had devised. However it could also be the case that Sallengre is using the term '*République des Lettres*' as a catch-all term

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<sup>66</sup> Sallengre to *Société Journal Littéraire*, 16 April 1714

<sup>67</sup> A manuscript listing the items which Aymon 'removed' can also be found in the Marchand archives: *Mémoire des Manuscrits enlevés par J Aymon dans la Bibliothèque du Roy*. March. 2. See appendix for document. See also: Alan Harrison, 'John Toland and the Discovery of an Irish Manuscript', *Irish University Review*, 22,1 (1992), pp. 33-39; and Justin Champion, *Republican Learning* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) pp. 170-172.

<sup>68</sup> See *Maittaire to Marchand 17 January, 1719*. March. 2.

for literary journals. Regardless, Tournemine's threats toward Moetjens seems to have been sufficient to kill any potential collaboration and there appears to be no surviving evidence of the pair working together during this period – openly at least.

The fact Tournemine choose to refer to an incident which happened nearly a decade earlier to demonstrate his influence also made the *Société* aware that he possessed a long memory when it came to anyone attacking French institutions and by extension Louis XIV.

Tournemine's insistence that he has the ability to have publications banned is also worthy of some consideration. Bignon had been give the role as *Directeur de la librairie* in 1699 by his uncle, the Chancellor Pontchartrain, with the remit that 'everything printed in France was now subject to its censorship and foreign works of a seditious nature were banned from entry.'<sup>69</sup> In 1708 Bignon also became *Président du bureau pour les affaires de librairie du Conseil Privé* – a promotion which meant he now also ruled in legal disputes generally concerning the bookselling business, and perhaps explains how he had managed to free de Lorme from the Bastille. So it is likely that anyone wishing to have a work banned would have to lobby Bignon and the *bureau* in order to use their processes and bureaucracy. The relationship between Bignon and Tournemine is uncertain, but we do know that they were from rival religious orders and each was at the helm of a literary journal.<sup>70</sup> Bignon however seems to have had enjoyed more respect within the Republic of Letters, if one judges from what was written privately during this period concerning Tournemine, and Bignon also seems to have been of a more intellectually liberal character, although he remained orthodox in his

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<sup>69</sup> Fossier, *L'Abbé Bignon*. p. 78. Pontchartrain was the Chancellor of France between 1699 and 1714 and Bignon's career initially depended on his position and influence. During this period Bignon was not only responsible for *librairie* and *the Journal des Savants*, but also the *Académie royale des inscriptions et médailles* while at the same time he was regularly serving as the president of the *Académie des sciences*. See : J-P Vittu, 'La formation d'une institution scientifique: le Journal des Savants de 1665 à 1714', *Journal des Savants*, No. 1, (2002), pp. 179-203.

<sup>70</sup> Bignon, as mentioned earlier, was an Oratorian and between 1701 and 1714 directed the *Journal des Savants*.



Catholicism.<sup>71</sup> Would Bignon and his *bureau* have willingly accommodated Tournemine's requests? Or would Tournemine have had to use his political connections to try to force Bignon to do as he asked? In the case of Aymon it is beyond doubt that Bignon would have intervened due to the infamy of the event and the disgrace it brought upon the then royal librarian Louvois and his *sous-bibliothécaire* Nicolas Clément and the institution of the King's Library. However, would Bignon throw all the bureau's resources behind prohibiting a journal which had criticised the Jesuits, especially when one considers that Bignon was in correspondence with the writers of the journal and may even have supplied them with *nouvelles*? Unfortunately, as the *Société Journal Littéraire* seems to have appeased Tournemine we will never know his capacity to influence the *bureau de la librairie*, at least using the resources which form the basis of this study.

*The crise de conscience of Albert-Henri de Sallengre*

After having decanted the events of the meeting and having discussed the issue with some of the people he has met in Paris (Sallengre does not supply any names, however later in the letter he states that he has met with Huet, Germon, Hardouin and once again Küster), Sallengre feels that he should inform the *Société* what he has been told, and his own opinion on the matter. It seems that Sallengre's Parisian friends feel that ultimately the journal is always going to bear responsibility for what it chooses to publish, regardless of any defence the journal uses along the lines of having 'no other part than to insert the *nouvelles littéraires* precisely such as they have been sent to us', and any appeals to tolerance and impartiality:

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<sup>71</sup> For example, 'Father Germon has probity, discernment and knowledge; it is not the same with Father Tournemine who has only a very arrogant vanity, no sense and a faulty and superficial erudition.' *Pierre Rémond de Monmort to Leibniz, 15 March 1716*, in C. Berhardt, [ed.] *Die philosophischen schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*, Volume 3. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887) p. 671. For Bignon's character see: Fossier, *L'abbé Bignon*, pp. 25-28.

I will also have the honour to tell you that several judicious and disinterested people have told me that one must not fill the *nouvelles littéraires* with criticisms which are not only very strong but also often excessive - or appear to be; that these criticisms will be credited to the journalists [and not the correspondent], who must make a choice in the *nouvelles littéraires* between the good and bad which are sent to them...<sup>72</sup>

Interestingly, as previously stated, Tournemine (also the editor of a literary journal) does not seem to believe that the journal is using the *nouvelles* to push its own opinions, ‘...he was persuaded that we had not used the diversion of inserting our own feelings into these *nouvelles littéraires*’; and that he had, ‘put all the fault on our correspondents’. Nevertheless, it seems that the people with whom Sallengre has discussed this are not simply advocating that the journal moderate its views; their position appears to be more nuanced and is based more on avoiding speculative gossip and unfounded propaganda which could cause the journal problems, in favour of using the subject of the attack’s own words against them:

...that moreover all the reviews that one makes in the *nouvelles littéraires* are just simple words and nothing else, and consequently prove nothing, but that when one wants to criticise someone one can do it while making [an] extract of their book and while verifying through examples the criticism that one makes. I believe, Gentlemen, it would be to underestimate your perception to expand further on this article, I have pushed it a little because it seemed to me that you have not given it all the attention necessary, and do not imagine that I gave my reasoning [*raisonnements*] to these people.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April 1714.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*.

To simplify this rather long and complicated paragraph which seems to have gushed out of Sallengre; it appears that he is trying to say that he believes that the people he has discussed this with have a valid point: that much which is printed under the *nouvelles littéraires* section was gossip which lacked evidence, and therefore had little value. This is quite puzzling from a modern perspective when news is replete with opinion and often lacking in substance, and it also highlights an editorial tradition within Republic of Letters journals which theoretically divides them from the *gazettes* and *mercures* of the day, which often contained nothing but speculation and opinion concerning current events. On the other hand it could well be the machinations of a group of cynical Jesuits trying to convince Sallengre (and the other ‘young men of wit and merit’ who they believe run the journal with him) to moderate his tone by impressing upon him that ‘this is how things are done’.

### *Unigenitus*

Further criticisms made to Sallengre concern the discussion surrounding the promulgation of a recent papal bull, concerning which the journal had printed a long *nouvelle* from Paris in the September-October issue of 1713 containing the full text of constitution in the original Latin, which was preceded by a short, but very critical introduction – see below. Since the second edition (July-August 1713) the journal had started to use a disclaimer preceding the *nouvelles littéraires* section of the journal, in this edition it was printed directly before the introduction, ‘The reader is asked to remember that we always insert the *Nouvelles Littéraires* such as our correspondents send them to us.’<sup>74</sup> It is this critical introduction which seems to have been the contentious issue for the Parisian group:

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<sup>74</sup> *Journal Littéraire*, September-October 1713, p. 209.

And regarding what we said in the journal on the constitution [*i.e.* *Unigenitus*], they say, it seems to me rightly, that we have needlessly attracted lots of enemies because of what we said about it, that it would have been much better to keep quiet altogether, that it was a theological problem which did not concern the Republic of Letters at all, and that after all that was said about it are [only] words, mere judgements lacking in proofs and nothing more, that if we wanted to condemn it, it would be necessary to refute it. Note that these who said this to me condemn the constitution themselves.<sup>75</sup>

This is another section of the letter which requires further explanation. The constitution in question is the papal bull *Unigenitus*. In 1713, following pressure from the French state (Louis XIV had called the Jansenists ‘a republican party in Church and State’) and the Jesuits, Clement XI (a weak pope with Jesuits whispering in his ear) promulgated *Unigenitus*, which was based around a response to, and denunciation of, Pasquier Quesnel’s the *Nouveau Testament en français, avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset*, generally known as the *Refléxions morales*.<sup>76</sup> The fact that Sallengre and his Parisian friends believe the *Unigenitus* issue to be only ‘a theological problem which did not concern the Republic of Letters at all’, is either a demonstration of their lack of insight into the problem or a demonstration that they are arguing in bad faith.

It would have been extremely beneficial if Sallengre had named those who he had discussed this with – as if this discussion was held with people Sallengre mentions as having visited at the end of his letter (Küster, Germon, Huet and Hardouin – two of which were Jesuits and Küster and Huet were close to the Jesuits) it would explain their desire to try to keep this a

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<sup>75</sup> Sallengre to *Journal Littéraire*, 16 April 1714.

<sup>76</sup> Pasquier Quesnel, *Nouveau Testament en français, avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset*. (Paris: Pralard, 1692); John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France Volume 2: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) p. 364.

theological issue and not allow discussion of it to branch out into political and cultural issue.<sup>77</sup> The reason for this is that (as McManners shows when discussing a letter by Père Guillaume Daubenton, the French Jesuit agent to the Papal Court) for the Jesuits *Unigenitus* was an opportunity to push for greater control of French institutions. One objective was ‘to obtain for his Order the monopoly of writing books of devotion’, and ‘another objective was to rout the Jansenists, “the Quesnellist faction” and their allies, the Sorbonne and the parlements, and, above all, to bring down Noailles [the archbishop of Paris].’<sup>78</sup> The full preface to the text of *Unigenitus* written by their Parisian correspondent is as follows:

The big news which stirs all of Paris is the arrival of the constitution against the New Testament of the P.[ère] Quesnel. Without speaking too strongly, there has never appeared a piece more unworthy from the Apostolic See. Truth is attacked as error; neither the sanctity of morality nor the purity of discipline has been spared in it: it is a work of passion and party. The examination of it was done without equity, and the censorship of it without justice. All things considered, the book is worth more than the constitution which condemns it, and if one of them is not without error, the other is at least as distant from the truth. However the thing becomes serious. M. the Cardinal [Noailles] who had formerly honoured this work with his approbation, has just revoked it as a consequence of the censorship of Rome; and after having condemned the work, he prohibits the reading of it and the keeping of it. His order is from the 28 September. We will see the consequences of all this business; it cannot fail to have some – and possibly some

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<sup>77</sup> Küster as we have seen had connections to the Jesuits, Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630-1721) was schooled by Jesuits and would bequeath his extensive library to them in 1721, the Jesuit Bartholomeus Germon (1663-1718) was a professor of philosophy at the *collège Louis-le-Grand* and had been a member of the editorial board of the *Journal de Trévoux* since its inception in 1701, and Jean Hardouin (1646-1729) was a Jesuit scholar with an interest in the classics and numismatics, who had been librarian at the *collège Louis-le-Grand* since 1683 – an institution connected to the *Mémoires de Trévoux* and anti-Jansenist propaganda. See: Pascal Ferrand, ‘Mémoires de Trévoux’, in Sgard, [ed], *Dictionnaire des journaux*.

<sup>78</sup> McManners, *Church and Society*, pp. 358-359.

very distressing ones for the church. You will judge it for yourself by this constitution, which I send you such as it came from Rome.<sup>79</sup>

This introduction contains the barely-veiled attack against the Jesuits – ‘a work of passion and party’ – and notes that it is a biased and unfair condemnation of a work which was not only popular with Jansenists but had become increasingly read across France – partly due to Noailles’s approbation in 1696. The name of the correspondent sadly remains something of a mystery, there are however some possibilities. Once again the abbé Bignon is a possibility as he was in correspondence with the journal and some of its authors during this period. If one considers the lament for the church near the end and Bignon’s dislike of religious disorder this may further support the idea that Bignon may have been the source. However would Bignon’s distaste for religious confusion lead him to attack a papal bull which itself may lead to further confusion and division? Another possibility is Fritsch, who seems to have been constantly moving between France, Germany and Holland during this period, and who was in France around this time judging from his letter taking about Küster’s conversion (‘as I have been in his confidence since his arrival in Paris’). However the same letter also suggests that he may have been Geneva at the time and Fritsch – as discussed in the introduction to this chapter – may not have had any connections to the *Journal Littéraire*, especially if Marchand had not informed him of his work there.<sup>80</sup> Other Parisian correspondents with the *Société Journal Littéraire* from this period are André-François Boureau-Deslandes and l’abbé de Saint-Pierre. Another possibility is the poet François Gacon, who seems to have been close to Marchand, Le Vier and Fritsch – but again there is no evidence connecting him with the journal during this period, and he may have been in Rotterdam rather than Paris during this time. Regardless of the writer, this introduction is a clear reminder that some Parisian

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<sup>79</sup> *Journal Littéraire*, September-October 1713, p. 209.

<sup>80</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 4 November 1713. March. 2

members of the Republic of Letters believed that this whole divisive event had been manipulated by the Jesuits – using Louis’s mistrust of the Jansenists and his long-running arguments with Noailles – in order to increase their own power within the state and at the same time to attack their political and theological opponents.<sup>81</sup> They were under no illusions that the bull was political in nature and had used a very biased reading of Quesnel’s work to justify its ends. The promulgation of this papal bull, and the political machinations which produced it, must have been seen by the Huguenot exiles (and opponents of Louis’s autocratic France) as a further demonstration of the French state’s intolerance and willingness to persecute minority or non-conforming creeds by an authoritarian King increasingly under the influence of the Jesuits.<sup>82</sup> Sallengre continues his letter by trying to explain that he only has the good of the *Société* in mind when making his criticisms of editorial decisions and that he hopes the *Société* will moderate its stance and only accept critical *nouvelles* which are supported with evidence. He then concludes his letter by saying that he has once again visited Tournemine and given him the third issue of the journal (the one which includes the attack on *Unigenitus*) and that he will soon be spending some time travelling in the west of France and Brittany (perhaps using the letters of recommendation Tournemine has promised him) but that he hopes that this will not stop them from writing to him.

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<sup>81</sup> ‘Yet, even under the autocracy of Louis XIV, a great aristocrat in an episcopal see was almost invulnerable. Barring some crisis, Louis and his archbishop of Paris might have carried on in an equilibrium of ill will for the king’s few remaining years.’ McManners, *Church and Society*, p. 365.

<sup>82</sup> For a wider discussion of Jansenism see: Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in seventeenth-century France: voices from the wilderness*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977).

*Distrust is the mother of safety*

The sole surviving reply from the *Société Journal Littéraire*, dated 10 May 1714, is completely dedicated to the issues concerning Tournemine and the *Mémoires de Trévoux* which Sallengre has raised in his letter.<sup>83</sup> It is important to note that the letter which exists is a draft of the letter which was sent and is not ordered in the way it will have been once it was copied. The journalists inform Sallengre that they are well aware of Tournemine (Marchand should have been, as we have seen he had corresponded with him while he was a printer in Paris and even after his move to The Hague) and, rather ambiguously, note that they have ‘all the esteem for him that he merits’.<sup>84</sup> The next passage demonstrates the journalists’ stoic conviction concerning their work and in what high degree they claim to hold their concept of impartiality. In this passage – which may have been written for Sallengre’s benefit as much as for Tournemine’s – they state,

You can therefore, Sir, assure Père Tournemine that we will endeavour in the future to ensure that these gentlemen have no reason to complain of us; but they must not find it bad that we give extracts of books which may be printed against their society, provided that we do it with all the moderation possible, as we intend. On the other hand as we want to be always impartial, we will act the same way concerning books which these gentlemen may publish against their adversaries. And it will be a real pleasure for us to give to their merit all the justice which is due to it, as often as the occasion will present itself.<sup>85</sup>

The difficulty of the situation in which Sallengre had put them meant that the *Société* had to give Tournemine something to ensure he did not try to ban the journal in France and also to

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<sup>83</sup> Sallengre’s response indicates that he received at least two letters from the journal, perhaps more.

<sup>84</sup> See *Tournemine to Marchand* (2 Letters) March. 2, and Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>85</sup> *Société Journal Littéraire to Sallengre, 10 May 1714.* March. 1.



protect Sallengre while he was still under French jurisdiction. However, in spite of these difficult circumstances, the *Société* still maintained its doctrine of impartiality and was not willing to make any great concessions, neither to Tournemine nor the *Société de Trévoux* (pointedly there is no discussion of the Jesuits themselves). Rather than an extensive apology, a simple promise to try not to offend them in the future and a reiteration of their maxim must suffice.

After this they reminded Sallengre that Tournemine is cunning, and he is to be on his guard when meeting with him – in particular concerning the anonymity of the journalists and their correspondents: ‘Moreover we are not sorry that P. Tournemine suspects P. Montfaucon and the *Bibliothécaire* of St Geneviève of being our correspondents; but we would be truly mortified if he were more accurate, thus be on your guard.’<sup>86</sup> The *Société* says Tournemine may read the letter for himself – but the journalists insist that he is not to retain it, perhaps fearful of the handwriting being identified – ‘you can, Sir, communicate our letter to P. Tournemine, when you are back in Paris, but do not leave it with him’.<sup>87</sup> They also attached an addition (possibly as a separate sheet) to the letter which they say Tournemine is not to see, ‘neither him, nor anyone else’, in which they allude to the *Fable du Cochet, le Chat et le Souriceau* by Jean de la Fontaine.<sup>88</sup> This short poem describes a meeting between a naïve young mouse, a cat and a cockerel. The young mouse is initially frightened by the strange-looking bird, but is much more comfortable with the cat as it shares his fur, ears and tail – ‘The one sweet, benign and gracious, and the other turbulent and full of worry’.<sup>89</sup> The *Société* wanted to make sure Sallengre knew that in this situation he was the naïve mouse and Tournemine the sly cat, and despite their superficial similarities Tournemine was not to be

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>89</sup> ‘L'un doux, bénin et gracieux, Et l'autre turbulent et plein d'inquiétude’.

trusted – ‘My son, said the mouse [‘s mother], this sweetie is a cat, who beneath his hypocritical face, is driven by a malicious will, against all your kind.’<sup>90</sup> The letter concludes with another quote from de la Fontaine, ‘don’t forget that distrust is the mother of safety’.<sup>91</sup>

Sallengre’s response (and his final letter from his first period in France) is a very short letter which dates from the end of May or start of June 1714 (according to Brooks) in which he apologises for not sending *nouvelles* for the March-April journal, stating that he has been away from Paris – presumably the trip to the west and Brittany that he discussed at the end of the April letter.<sup>92</sup> Sallengre says he has various books and manuscripts which have been supplied to him for the journal to review and that he hopes to be back in The Hague by 3 July. He concludes by noting that he has once again met with Tournemine who, he believes, is pleased with the letter from the *Société* which Sallengre communicated to him.

### *Conclusion*

Albert-Henri Sallengre’s journey to France, his meeting with Tournemine and the related correspondence raises interesting questions which have the potential to further our understanding of the not only cross border and cross denomination relationships during this period, but also the differences in opinions which may have been beginning to grow between French-born and later generation Huguenot exiles in the Netherlands. The correspondence also demonstrates the benefits of having physical representation within France for the *Journal Littéraire* and how this was used to promote the journal and also to rebuild old relationships

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<sup>90</sup> ‘Mon fils, dit la Souris, ce doucet est un Chat, Qui sous son minois hypocrite Contre toute ta parenté D’un malin vouloir est porté’. From: *Fable du Cochet, le Chat et le Souriceau*; Jean De la Fontaine, *Fables Choisies*, Livre VI, fable 5 (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1668)

<sup>91</sup> ‘n’oubliez pas que la méfiance est la mère de sureté’. From: *Le Chat et un vieux rat*; De la Fontaine, *Fables Choisies*, Livre III, fable 18.

<sup>92</sup> Brooks, *François Boscheron*, p. 87.

and form new ones. The advice given to Sallengre while he was in France – from what very possibly may have been an almost entirely Jesuit or Jesuit-allied perspective – highlights how terms such as ‘impartiality’ were understood; being interpreted in different ways depending on a broader background perspective. Finally the story of Ludolf Küster demonstrates that temporal security could trump eternal salvation.

Sallengre’s behaviour in France and his encounter with Tournemine suggest essential differences existed between Sallengre and his French-born, Huguenot fellow journalists of the *Société Journal Littéraire* in regard to perceptions of France and the French establishment powers. While Sallengre was imbued with French intellectual culture, his social culture seems to have been distinctly Dutch. Sallengre’s willingness to allow himself to be discovered as a journalist for the publication is in marked contrast to Saint-Hyacinthe’s constant concerns for his anonymity. Saint-Hyacinthe – who was neither a Huguenot nor an exile in the truest sense of the word – wrote to Le Vier during his own stay in Paris discussing his desire to remain known only by his *nom-de-plume*, Thémiseul. Discussing the reception of his *Mémoires Littéraires* he states:

The few people who have spoken to me of it, without knowing that I was its author, greatly supported the idea of it and appeared to me quite content with the execution of it. It is believed that they are from someone named Thémiseul, and as Saint-Hyacinthe is unknown as an author, I beg you, if you have someone to name, that this is only ever Thémiseul.<sup>93</sup>

While Carayol makes the argument that Saint-Hyacinthe disliked using his full name to write under as he perceived this to be ungentlemanly, this does not fully explain his desire for anonymity.<sup>94</sup> In another letter to Le Vier regarding the possibility of having an edition of his

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<sup>93</sup> *Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, 3 December [1716]*, March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>94</sup> Carayol, *Thémiseul Saint-Hyacinthe*, p. 22.

*Mémoires Littéraires* also published in Paris he writes, ‘because of the freedom that I want to reign in these *mémoires*, it is necessary that they are printed in Holland’.<sup>95</sup> Surely the corollary to this sentence is that he could not safely use his own name either if he wanted to fully express himself. Saint-Hyacinthe’s *Mémoires Littéraires* were similar in content to the *Journal Littéraire* and yet he still wished to remain anonymous in France because he knew the French system and culture and was aware of the penalties and possible coercion which could be in store for him if he was to be discovered. When we contrast Saint-Hyacinthe with Sallengre – who went into France with no intention to disguise his participation in the journal – what can we infer from these two different examples? One thing which we must consider is Sallengre’s age. However, while Sallengre was only nineteen, when he left Holland he was also well-educated, having studied history, philosophy and law at the *Académie de Leyde* (now Leiden University); he had also been in the company of his fellow journalists for at least eight months and would have taken part in their meetings discussing the content of the journal. However, knowledge can be very different from wisdom. The interesting possibility which this contrast does suggest however is the growth of different attitudes to France between the French-born and later generations of Huguenot exiles. While more research needs to be done to fully examine this hypothesis, Sallengre’s attitude and behaviour could suggest that outside of France, and away from the direct threat of persecution, the Huguenot laity were in the process of developing an attitude towards France which was distinct from the earlier generation. The fact the *Société’s* reply to Sallengre repeatedly tells him not to trust Tournemine’s subtility indicates that the Huguenot journalists had not been aware of either Sallengre’s naivety nor the degree of his cultural separation from France, and one can imagine that they sincerely wished that they would have discussed how he was to proceed in Paris at length before he left Holland.

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<sup>95</sup> *Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, Dernier Avril [1717], March. 2.*

Sallengre's visit to France also allowed the *Journal Littéraire* to forge new connections in the capital, while possibly remaking older ones. After Salengre's time in Paris the name Coustelier becomes common in the correspondence of the small circle connected to the journal and the journalists. Saint-Hyacinthe would use Coustelier as Parisian office for his imported books and correspondence, and also seems to have become close to him during his 1716-1720 stay in the capital – close enough to discuss how *libraires* operated and also close enough to trust him with his name in connection to his *Mémoires Littéraires*. In addition to receiving books and letters Coustelier would also be trusted to send manuscripts securely to Holland for Boscheron, Balthasar Gibert and Robert Challe.<sup>96</sup> The creation of this trusted partnership would serve not only the *Journal Littéraire* but also those connected to the publication, for some years following. Salengre's initial contact with Coustelier was most likely facilitated by Küster who lived in Coustelier's apartments and was an acquaintance of some of the Dutch-based journalists prior to his relocation to Paris. Küster would also introduce journal correspondent François Boscheron to Salengre during his time in Paris (both Salengre and Boscheron testify to this) and, as discussed above, was likely Salengre's initial contact when he first arrived in the capital. While the connection between the *Journal Littéraire* and Coustelier would have been important for the distribution of the journal in Paris, the importance of having a secure contact in Paris for receiving and sending sensitive letters, manuscripts and books should not be underestimated.

Salengre's report of (and the *Société's* reply to) the discussion with the Parisian *savants* concerning Tournemine, the *Mémoires de Trévoux* and *Unigenitus* also serves to demonstrate the gulf between what either side considered to be impartiality. The *Journal Littéraire's* refusal to self-censor by removing any negative discussion of Tournemine or the *Mémoires*

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<sup>96</sup> See: *Boscheron to Société Journal Littéraire* 29 January 1715; *Gibert to Société Journal Littéraire*, 21 June 1715; and *Challe to Société Journal Littéraire*, 6 July 1718. March. 1.

*de Trévoux*, and merely assuring Tournemine that these issues would be treated with ‘moderation’, demonstrates the freedoms which the francophone press in Holland enjoyed compared to their counterparts in France. Sallengre’s agreement with the Parisians that the journal had no place to discuss *Unigenitus* also demonstrates his distance from French-born journalists. While the *Journal Littéraire* was not an outright political publication, it was obviously coloured by the experiences of the journalists, experiences Sallengre did not have – first-hand at least. When the journal printed ‘anti-Jesuit’ or ‘anti-French’ articles and news it was not done from a perspective of using black propaganda to damage the French authorities and establishment, it was merely elaborating on – from what it believed was an objective perspective – the situation in France. Whereas the Parisians may have believed that *Unigenitus* was only a theological issue – and from their subjective perspective they may well have sincerely believed this – for the exiled journalists it was another example of the French state repressing sections of its own populace for ideological reasons based on largely unfounded fears. While there may have been efforts made by those connected to the group to distribute anonymous propaganda against the French state (for example, Fritsch writes to Marchand to tell him he is uncomfortable publishing books which annoy the French state and the *honnêtes gens* even though Marchand appears to favour them – something which will be elaborated on in the next chapter) the *Journal Littéraire* itself posed its arguments using reason and tolerance, seeking to initiate debates rather than to attack the French establishment outright.<sup>97</sup>

Taking a broader view, the episode concerning Küster’s conversion is interesting for a number of reasons. It highlights a shift in attitudes regarding confessional division. This is demonstrated by the fact that while there is some frustration with Küster’s decision, this does

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<sup>97</sup> Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November 1713, March. 2.

not seem to be directed at Küster but rather at the Dutch state for not providing him with enough incentive to remain on their side of the confessional divide. Küster's actions are not seen as a betrayal, but rather a common-sense course of action when faced with difficult circumstances. Contrasted with the sincere conviction displayed by the first generation of Huguenot exiles who had fled France in 1685 in order to remain Protestant (many of whom, without this sincere conviction, could have quite easily returned to Catholicism and often would have been rewarded by the state to do so) Küster's actions – and Fritsch's response – demonstrate how quickly this fierce conviction was dissipating in certain spheres, perhaps occasioned by a growth in tolerance on both sides. This however also demonstrates a possible difference in attitudes between French and non-French protestants, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter 4 – Gaspar Fritsch and the International World of the *Libraire*

### *Gaspar Fritsch and Jacques Boyd*

The Fritsch name will be familiar to many book historians and historians of printing and the Republic of Letters during the early eighteenth century. Whether this is via Thomas Fritsch, the Leipzig publisher who was partly responsible for publishing the *Acta Eruditorum*, or his younger brother Gaspar Fritsch of the Rotterdam publishing house Fritsch and Böhm: the Fritsch name is found regularly on European title pages throughout this period. However, neither Gaspar nor Thomas have elicited any significant interest themselves – beyond their connections to the notable publications which they worked on during their careers. This is unfortunate, particular in the case of Gaspar, as his correspondence contained within the Marchand archives is not only highly informative of the period and culture of the Republic of Letters (and the busy life of a European bookseller) but also shows Fritsch as a highly connected purveyor of information and a very jovial character with endless amusing stories concerning the escapades which befell him during his frequent European travels. Jacques Boyd is also an overlooked figure – however, in his case it is much more understandable, as he left a far smaller catalogue of work and correspondence and has only attracted attention in this study due to the numerous mentions made of him in the early Marchand correspondence. Fritsch and Boyd were both *émigrés* to Holland in the early eighteenth century, however their lives were very contrasting before their arrival. Fritsch descended from a line of influential Leipzig publishers which included his father Johann Friedrich, his brother Thomas, and his stepfather Johann Friedrich Gleditsch. After the death of Johann Friedrich Fritsch in 1680 (at the Frankfurt book fair) Gaspar's mother remarried to Gleditsch, who then assumed control of Fritsch's business until 1693 when it was handed over to Thomas, and Gleditsch founded



his own enterprise. Gaspar's early years in Leipzig are largely a mystery, however his elder brother (by eleven years) Thomas seems to have had a university education in law at Leipzig University and had visited England, Italy and Holland before finally taking the reins of the family business.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not Gaspar had a similar education is open to speculation – the death of his father while Gaspar was only three years old may have restricted his educational opportunities at university level, however Gaspar's later letters demonstrate his competency in French, Italian, Dutch and Latin in addition to his native German.

Boyd was a descendant of successful merchant Scots from Kilmarnock who had been attracted to France in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century during the reign of Henri IV. In France they seem to have traded in sugar and wine from their base in Bourdeaux where they married into French Huguenot families and amassed a considerable fortune before fleeing France (apparently without their fortune) for the New World in the wake of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The Boyds settled in Carolina alongside other Huguenot *émigrés* and attempted to start a wine growing venture (which appears to have been unsuccessful) with grapes which they had brought with them from France, before some of the clan left the American colonies for Ireland. Jacques Boyd was born in Carolina to Jean Boyd and Jeanne Berchaud sometime between 1686 and 1696 (more likely closer to the earlier date) and despite the Boyds by this time being more French (both culturally and genetically) than Scottish they still seem to have felt an affinity for the British Isles. This affinity led Jacques's father, Jean, to leave Carolina with his family for Ireland in 1699. Jacques appears to have been married in Ireland and had at least one child (a daughter) who was baptised in Dublin in 1708. From Dublin it is possible that Jacques and his young family may have

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<sup>1</sup> Christian Gründig, 'Thomas Fritsch' in *Sächsische Biografie*.

initially moved to London – where he had relatives – before finally embarking for Holland sometime around 1710.<sup>2</sup>

### *Gaspar Fritsch*

#### *Background*

As noted above, Fritsch as a historical figure has hitherto been overlooked by historians of the period who have only given him serious mention in connection to the Fritsch and Böhm publishing company, which bought out Reiner Leers in 1709, without addressing either his broader life or his interactions with wider European culture and the Republic of Letters. However, his correspondence with Marchand, *et al.*, consisting of nearly forty letters contained in the Leiden archives, reveals a complex and well-connected figure whose acquaintances across Europe and frequent voyages outside of Holland mark him out as an interesting individual who demands further study. Fritsch's position in the Republic of Letters and the world of books during this period is worthy of discussion as Fritsch's connections to the Republic and the printing business were both broad and deep. Gaspar and his elder brother Thomas were born to publisher Johann Friedrich Fritsch and his wife Katharina Margarethe Goetze. Following Johann Fredrich's death in 1680 (when Thomas was fourteen and Gaspar was just three years old) Katharina remarried, as was often the case during this period, to another Leipzig publisher, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, and gave Gaspar and Thomas two half-brothers and a half-sister. Gleditsch, along with Gaspar's elder brother, Thomas, were both involved in the production of the Leipzig-based *Acta Eruditorum* and their connections to this publication would be further strengthened when Gaspar's half-sister

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<sup>2</sup> Dianne Ressinger, Harriet Leland, and Vivien Costello, 'The Boyd Family: Global Huguenot Merchants', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, XXIX, 2 (2009), pp. 168-179.

married the son of Acta editor Otto Mencke (and from 1707 editor of the Acta himself), Johann Burkhardt Mencke.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that Fritsch must have left Leipzig for Holland sometime around 1706, when he was in his late twenties. In September 1706 he was made a burgher of Amsterdam and in November of the same year a member of the printers' guild. Fritsch must have had an apprenticeship in publishing with his older brother or stepfather – this is demonstrated by his acceptance into the printers' guild and further supported by how much his initial publications in Holland were praised for their quality.<sup>4</sup> Why he left Leipzig is not entirely clear: however, his elder brother, Thomas, had married and had had a child in 1700, which may have led Gaspar to believe that he had little chance of ever taking over the (Fritsch) family business, while Johann Friedrich Gleditsch also had two sons of his own to consider.<sup>5</sup> Faced with the prospect of working as an employee for either the Fritsch or Gleditsch publishing houses, or trying to establish a new publishing business for himself in Leipzig (where these two publishers had a firm hold on the market) he may have decided to leave the city for the opportunities which he thought may have been open to him in Holland in order to make his own way in the world. After producing two titles under his own name from 1706 onwards while he was living in Amsterdam in 1709 he would move to Rotterdam following his purchase of the Leers business with Michael Böhm and would live there nominally until the partnership dissolved in 1715 when he would relocate to The Hague until around 1719 when it seems he decided to return to Leipzig for good and reestablish himself in the city of his birth.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See appendix Fig. 10 for the Fritsch/Gleditsch family tree.

<sup>4</sup> See appendix Fig. 9 for the title page of his edition of Cellarius.

<sup>5</sup> Both Thomas Fritsch's son and Gleditsch's son would both eventually succeed their fathers.

<sup>6</sup> Otto Lankhorst, 'Caspar Fritsch & Michael Böhm en de erfenis van Reinier Leers' in Hans Bots, Otto Lankhorst, C. Zevenbergen, [eds.] *Rotterdam Bibliopolis* (Rotterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1997) pp.365-412; Isabella van Eeghen, I., *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725* [Volume 1 & 2] (Amsterdam:

### *Move to Holland*

If we use the example of his elder brother, Thomas, to try to explain Gaspar's early years and eventual move to Holland we can assume that Gaspar may have had some kind of formal education prior to an apprenticeship under his brother and stepfather. Thomas did not fully take over his father's business from Gleditsch until he was twenty-seven (which allows for his university education and then an apprenticeship), and it appears it was around a similar age that Gaspar left Leipzig for Amsterdam. Thus we can conjecture that following some kind of formal education (with perhaps even some time spent at the university) and a long apprenticeship of maybe five to eight years learning the business of printing under either his brother or stepfather (or both) Gaspar had reached a level where he had attained formal guild recognition as a *libraire-imprimeur* and was in a position to establish his own business.<sup>7</sup> As noted above Thomas had assumed the leadership of his late father's business and had been running it for over a decade – developing it into one of the most successful Leipzig printing companies by the time Gaspar would have completed his apprenticeship – and he may not have wanted to share his success with his younger brother, especially as he also now had his own son to consider who had been born in 1700. This hypothesis of some fraternal enmity may be supported by Gaspar's complete lack of reference to Thomas in any of his pre-1718 letters to Marchand – even when discussing the death of his stepfather with Marchand he makes no reference to Thomas; he does however mention his half-brothers, the Gleditsches. On the surface it appears that Fritsch moved to Amsterdam specifically to start his own publishing business, especially when one considers his quickly acquired membership of the

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Scheltema & Holkema, 1960-1963). Unfortunately the 'copybook' of de Lorme which Van Eeghen uses for the first volume of this work only seems to begin around 1707.

<sup>7</sup> Marchand's apprenticeship seems to have been either five and seven years – see chapter 2. For details of apprenticeship practices during the *ancien régime* see: Clare Crowston and Claire Lemercier, 'Surviving the End of the Guilds. Apprenticeship in eighteenth and nineteenth-century France.' in Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 282-308.

Amsterdam printers' guild. His early publications while he was based in Amsterdam are an edition of Christoph Cellarius's *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui* dating from 1706 and an edition of Madame Dacier's *Les Comédies de Terence* also from 1706.<sup>8</sup> However, even during these first years in Holland Fritsch continued to travel and visit foreign-based booksellers and writers. One of his earliest voyages is noted in correspondence between Charles de La Motte and Pierre Des Maizeaux. On the 25 March 1706 La Motte wrote to Des Maizeaux to inform him that he had entrusted a book to Fritsch for delivery to Pierre Coste as he [Fritsch] was travelling to London. La Motte describes Fritsch as 'a bookseller...Mr Gaspar Fritsch from Leipzig who has been living here for some time'. He adds that Fritsch is 'a very respectable [*fort honnête*] man who will be very glad to know you, and whom you will not be sorry to have known.' La Motte also attempted to introduce Fritsch to Anthony Collins by addressing the book to be left with Collins for Coste to collect, 'because he will be able to get acquainted with him, if he [Collins] is available.'<sup>9</sup> From this letter it seems that Fritsch's warm personality and familial connections had allowed him to quickly ingratiate himself with the literati of Holland. However his relationship with La Motte does not seem to have flourished and later Fritsch would refer to him as a 'maquereau' – a term which at the time could either mean a fool, a pimp or (most likely in this case) someone involved in intrigues.<sup>10</sup>

Fritsch's travels continued – in March 1707 La Motte writes that Fritsch is 'in Leipzig'; then in May 1708 La Motte declares Fritsch has been 'absent for almost a year', suggesting he may have remained in Leipzig or more likely that he continued his travels across Europe –

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<sup>8</sup> Cellarius, *Notitia Orbis Antiqui, sive Geographia Plenior, Ab ortu Rerumpublicarum ad Constantinorum tempera Orbis terrarum faciem declarans . et novis tabulis geographicis* (Cambridge: John Owen & Amsterdam: Caspar Fritsch, 1703-1706); Anne Dacier, [trans.] *Comédies de Terence* (Amsterdam, Caspar Fritsch, 1706).

<sup>9</sup> *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 25 March, 1706*, in: Bots, et al. [eds.], *Lettres de La Motte*, pp. 177-179.

<sup>10</sup> *Fritsch to anon [Le Vier], 17 December, 1711*, March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. Antoine Furetière *Dictionnaire Universel, Seconde Edition revue et corrigée, augmentée par Monsieur Basnage de Beauval* (Le Haye: Reinier Leers, 1701).

which probably included some time in Paris, where he became better acquainted with Marchand and Böhm during this period.<sup>11</sup> However, by January 1709 Fritsch was back in Holland and embarking on what appears to have been another serious attempt to enter the Dutch publishing world by trying to purchase (alongside Michael Böhm) Reinier Leers's renowned publishing business. In early 1709, believing that Fritsch had secured Leers's business, La Motte suggests Fritsch as a potential publisher for a planned work by Des Maizeaux:

I have finally found a bookseller for your Collection, it's Mr G. Fritsch who has bought the business [*fonds*] of Mr Leers of Rotterdam with a [man] named Böhm, former assistant [*garçon*] of Misters Anisson and Posuel. He will soon take possession of this business, after which he will start your Collection and will produce a *Dictionnaire* of Bayle.<sup>12</sup>

The 'collection' in question remains unnamed, however there is a possibility that it was Des Maizeaux's lives of Boileau-Despreaux and St. Evremond, or perhaps a collection of biographies of English *savants*, judging from a later letter sent by La Motte.<sup>13</sup> By March 1709 however, Fritsch had deferred his interest in publishing Des Maizeaux's 'collection': 'he has returned and he told me that he can no longer print your Collection, because his business [with Leers] isn't quite completed, that when he will be in a position to do it, he will respond promptly to your letter.' By this time Fritsch was also freely giving out literary advice, telling La Motte that he should modify an article he intended to submit to the *Journal*

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<sup>11</sup> *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 29 March, 1707*, p.190; *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 8 May, 1708*, p. 200, in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*.

<sup>12</sup> *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 14 January, 1709*, in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, pp. 209-213. Interestingly Anisson and Posuel were printers based in France (Paris and Lyon) rather than the Netherlands. No edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* would appear until 1720, and by this time Fritsch was no longer in business with Böhm.

<sup>13</sup> 'He [Fritsch] has the intention to print with your Collection your 'life of Mr Bayle', because almost all of the Collection concerns lives [biographies].' *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 23 August, 1709*, p. 232; Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 67.

*des Savants* regarding Des Maizeaux's *Life of Bayle*, and exactly how he thought La Motte should do this.<sup>14</sup> In the succeeding letter La Motte informs Des Maizeaux that he has partially followed Fritsch's advice regarding the article – testifying to the growing weight of Fritsch's opinion. Also in this letter dating from April 1709 La Motte notes that Fritsch is keen to publish a French-language version of Des Maizeaux's *Life of Bayle* and that 'Mr Fritsch has intentions to send the French translation of the 'Life of Mr Bayle' in manuscript to Paris, to several people with whom he has a great deal of business, in order to ask them to add what they know which isn't found in the manuscript.' This could very well have been a reference to Marchand (among others) who was still resident in Paris in April 1709 and would later solicit information on Bayle from Tournemine following his move to Holland in 1710.

The delay in Fritsch and Böhm acquiring Leer's business did not dampen their plans to put out various works by Bayle – indeed one of the reasons the Leers business would have appealed to them was Leers's connection to Bayle and the associated privileges and copyrights which he held in regard to Bayle. In particular their interest would have focused on Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. Bayle had been working on a new edition of the famous work for Leers at the time of his death and the deal between Fritsch and Böhm and Leers included the drafts, additions and notes which Bayle was preparing for this new edition.<sup>15</sup> By the time Fritsch and Böhm were in a position to begin work on reissuing the various editions of Bayle's catalogue Marchand had left France and settled in the Netherlands. As we have seen in an earlier chapter Marchand would begin working for the pair between 1711 and 1712 and eventually relocate to Rotterdam to act as an editor for the company. The previously discussed letter from Tournemine to Marchand (dated 18 June) was addressed to 'Monsieur

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<sup>14</sup> Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 5 March, 1709, in: Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 216; Pierre Des Maizeaux, *The Life of Mr Bayle in a Letter to a Peer of Great Britain* (London: Unknown Publisher, 1707).

<sup>15</sup> Lankhorst, *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*, p. 377.

Doux fils au bureau des postes. p[ou]r M Marchand à la Haye. A Bruxelles'.<sup>16</sup> This address strongly suggest that the letter was sent to Marchand in 1710 which also coincides with Fritsch's early interest in a French version of Des Maizeaux's *Life of Bayle*.<sup>17</sup> The letter itself deals with biographical information concerning Bayle during the exact period when Fritsch was looking for exactly this kind of information to augment Des Maizeaux's English text. La Motte's description of Fritsch's Parisian contacts being 'several people with whom he has a great deal of business' further supports the idea that Marchand and Fritsch had already developed a firm relationship prior to Marchand's arrival in Holland. If this was the case it adds weight to the hypothesis that Marchand's voyage from France was not a hastily arranged flight of desperation, but rather a more planned and considered journey, which had possibly been aided by Fritsch. As shown in chapter 2, when discussing Fritsch and Marchand's journey to Frankfurt, Fritsch seemed to be competent and experienced when arranging international travel. Additionally, Marchand's links to Fritsch provided him with an ally who could advise him how to negotiate Dutch social and commercial life.

Returning to the subject of Fritsch's purchase of the Leers business, in a letter dated 16 April, La Motte seems to grow uncertain about Fritsch's position, as he thinks Fritsch may have jumped the gun on announcing his purchase of Leers's business as, 'Leers writes to all our booksellers like a man who isn't thinking at all about leaving the business.'<sup>18</sup> Had Leers changed his mind concerning the sale, or was he merely trying to pressure Fritsch and Böhm during their negotiations? Whatever Leers's intentions Fritsch and Böhm did eventually secure the takeover of his business in May 1709 for 120,000 guilders. The takeover of Leers's business, with its history of publishing not only Bayle's *Dictionnaire* but also its

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<sup>16</sup> *Tournemine to Marchand, 18, June, March. 2.* See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>17</sup> Marchand would relocate to Amsterdam in 1711, then in 1712 move to Rotterdam only returning to The Hague *after 1720* after he had finished his work on Bayle's *œuvre* for (Fritsch and) Böhm.

<sup>18</sup> *Charles de La Motte to Pierre Des Maizeaux, 16 April, 1709*, in: Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 219.



connections to numerous Republic of Letters *savants*, must have seemed a prime opportunity for Fritsch to finally fully establish himself as a *libraire-imprimeur* in his own right by taking over a publishing company which not only had copyrights and privileges for numerous important works but importantly also possessed its own presses: Fritsch would no longer have to pay third-parties to print his books. Additionally, he was not only purchasing an established business with international links, he was buying the reputation which Leers had developed since his official takeover of the business from his widowed mother in 1680 at the age of twenty six.

Leers had, often via Bayle, managed to establish connections with many of the European *savants* and had seized the opportunity presented by the large number of Huguenot refugees which were beginning to settle in the Netherlands to expand his stable of writers. Not only did Leers have Bayle but soon added Abbadie, Allix, Ancillion, the Basnage brothers, Dubosc, Jurieu, de Larrey, the Larroque brothers, Lenfant and Papin. In addition, Leers had taken advantage of the location of the Netherlands to import books from England onto the continent and had benefitted from the more permissive Dutch publishing regulations to attract works which were essentially unprintable in France at the time. Leers had also somehow managed to obtain an effective monopoly to legally import books into France from the Netherlands following a visit to Paris in 1694 – which however began to weaken in the first decade of the eighteenth century as more and more Dutch publishers (Jean Louis de Lorme in particular) began to forge links with the French establishment and secure deals to import their own works.<sup>19</sup> What exactly Fritsch and Böhm bought from Leers, and on what terms, has been discussed by Bots:

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<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the history and output of Renier Leers see: Hans Bots, 'Reinier Leers, een europese libraire te Rotterdam (1676-1709)' in Isabella van Eeghen, [ed.] *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw. Jaargang 1982*. (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA - Holland Universiteits Pers, 1982) pp. 21-40; and H. van Lieshout, 'Verkoopstrategieën in de internationale boekhandel van Reinier Leers.' in *De Zeventiende Eeuw*.

From this contract, which has been preserved in the Rotterdam archives, it is possible to form a clear picture of the size of the company in these years. The printing house consisted of one press for printing copper engravings and five printing presses. The company also had storage spaces and warehouses in and near the printing house and shop, and had three attics for rent in various places in the city. This inventory, together with the entire stock of books, both the work printed by Leers himself and by others, was sold for 120,000 guilders, payable in 6 yearly instalments. Naturally, the buyers were offered a separate lease for the buildings, which were not sold. Reinier Leers appears to have run a medium-sized company with an impressive stock of books, which was expensively acquired by the buyers. This was the opinion of H. Basnage de Beauval, who reported to Bignon in Paris on November 1, 1709, a few months after the transfer, that the two Germans had purchased Leers's company at such a high price that one could safely doubt whether the buyers would be able to withstand these heavy burdens. Indeed, in 1720 - Fritsch had already left the company some years earlier - Böhm would be forced to sell the stock in order to meet the obligations towards the heirs of R. Leers set out in the deed of sale of 1709.<sup>20</sup>

From this extract it appears that Fritsch and Böhm had been forced to pay over the odds for Leers's business and had not even acquired the buildings out of which they were to operate. Henri Basnage de Beauval had worked with Leers producing the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans* from 1687 and was therefore in a position to understand the business which Leers had developed and to give his opinion concerning the value of the business. Leers's aforementioned prevarications and his apparent reconsideration of the sale may have been

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*Jaargang 6*. (Oerdijk: Sub Rosa, 1990) pp. 122-128; and Otto Lankhorst, *Reinier Leers, uitgever en boekverkoper te Rotterdam (1654-1714)* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA - Holland Universiteits Pers, 1983).  
<sup>20</sup> Bots, 'Reinier Leers', p. 34.

methods to elevate the price of his business. It seems that Fritsch and Böhm had devoted time and effort to close the deal, and had made it known that they would take over Leers's business in the near future – and Fritsch himself was already soliciting publications, as shown above. However, the eventual price they would pay for the business and the unfavourable terms to which they agreed suggest that Leers's was not only a leading publisher, but also a tough negotiator – and a negotiator who had used his business acumen (and Fritsch and Böhm's ambition and apparently weak negotiation position) to get the most favourable terms he could.

*The Plans to Take Over Leers's Business and the Problem of Michael Böhm*

At this point it is necessary to discuss Fritsch's business partner, Michael Böhm. Böhm is a very shadowy figure. Aside from his relationship with Fritsch and his publishing ventures in Rotterdam he appears to have left almost no correspondence or other written work.

Surprisingly even the Marchand correspondence archives (Marchand 1 & 2) contain only one letter to Böhm – despite Marchand working for him for the better part of a decade.<sup>21</sup>

However, as partner to Fritsch for six years, and employer of Marchand for at least eight, it is important to dedicate a little time to understanding Böhm and his life.

We have few details of Böhm's life before he appears in Holland. Michael Böhm appears to have been born in Meissen in Saxony, his date of birth is unknown, although it is worth noting that Meissen is only fifty miles to the east of Leipzig – which may have given him an early connection to the Fritsches and the Gleditsches. No details of any apprenticeship or life in Germany can be found for him at this time, however his later life suggests that he must

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<sup>21</sup> The letter in question is a short one from Jacques Basnage to Böhm dated 11 February (with no year added) and concerns printing matters.

have had some experience working in printing and publishing. Böhm next appears in France working for the printers Jean Anisson, Jean Posuel and Claude Rigaud in Paris. The surprising arrival of a German printer in France during the later seventeenth century can be explained by the actions of the established *libraire-imprimeurs*, who during this period were attempting to erect barriers to potential future competition. As Henri-Jean Martin notes in his essay on Parisian booksellers, after the Fronde (during which many printworkers had died in the fighting) ‘When business resumed, the masters chose subjects without special qualifications for the vacant places and, it seems, avoided giving them formal apprenticeship contracts so as not to create future competitors.’<sup>22</sup> This led to a legal dispute between the workers and the masters in the later 1650s which it seems had little impact on the masters’ behaviour and twenty years later the same issue again arose, and this time some of the masters resorted to importing German typographers ‘in order to smash the resistance’ of the employees to their practices. While this desire to safeguard their futures was obviously due to self-interest it was also in part caused by the French state and the measures which it took to reduce the number of presses active in Paris during the latter half of the seventeenth century coupled with its paranoid overregulation and surveillance of the industry as a whole.<sup>23</sup> In these uncertain times it was understandable that a Malthusian mentality would be embraced by the established companies, who would try to maintain their standing at the expense of aspiring would-be printers. It was also the case that individual printers often banded together to consolidate their position. An example of this is Böhm’s employers – Anisson, Posuel and Rigaud – who all originated from Lyon and eventually joined together to work as an ‘association’ in 1675. By around 1680 they were also all related by marriage after Posuel married an Anisson sister and Jean Anisson married Rigaud’s sister. In 1691 Jean Anisson

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<sup>22</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, ‘La Prééminence de la Librairie Parisienne’ in: Chartier and Martin, [eds.] *Histoire de la Edition Française Tome 2*, pp. 339-340.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the state’s repression of printers see: Roche, ‘La Censure’ and ‘La Police du Livre’ in: Chartier, and Martin, [eds.] *Histoire de la Edition Française Tome 2*, pp. 88-109.

was appointed the director of the *Imprimerie Royale* in Paris and relocated to the capital along with his youngest brother, Jacques, and his brother-in-law Claude Rigaud, who would succeed Anisson at the *Imprimerie Royale* 1707.<sup>24</sup> It appears that the company then operated out of both Lyon and Paris, with Posuel remaining in Lyon while the Anissons and Rigaud relocated to Paris.<sup>25</sup>

This tradition of bringing in Germans as ‘strike-breaking’ print workers seems to have begun around 1680, but we cannot be sure exactly when Böhm arrived in France, however by 1707 he was working for Rigaud – presumably at the *Imprimerie Royale* – in Paris.<sup>26</sup> This broad period of twenty seven years between 1680 and 1707, coupled with Böhm’s death in 1722 makes speculating on Böhm’s age extremely difficult – was he elderly at the time of his death and had he spent many years in France working as a printer, or did he succumb to an illness at a relatively young age and therefore may have only spent a few years in Paris before moving to Holland? The importance of determining Böhm’s age, of course, is that it could shed some light on the relationship which existed between himself and Fritsch. Was he an older printer with years of experience gained from working with Anisson, *et al.* in France, or was he closer in age to Gaspar Fritsch, who like Fritsch had been forced to seek his fortune outside of Germany? There are a few clues which could suggest an approximate date of birth, even if finding a definitive date has, for the moment, proven impossible. The first is Böhm’s marriage to the *Huguenote* Marie-Jeanne de La Mejanelle which took place on 7 April, 1715 at the Walloon Church in Rotterdam.<sup>27</sup> The parents of Marie-Jeanne were Leon

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<sup>24</sup> The *Imprimerie Royale* would remain in the hands of the Anisson family for nearly a century until 1788.

<sup>25</sup> A 1702 catalogue published by the company of their stock states that it is ‘a catalogue of the books which are on sale in the houses of the associates Anisson, Posuel & Rigaud, both in Paris and in Lyon’. *Bibliographia Anissoniana, seu catalogus librorum qui prostant in aedibus sociorum Anisson, Posuel & Rigaud, tam Parisiis quàm Lugduni, ad annum 1702* (Lyon: Anisson, Posuel & Rigaud, 1702).

<sup>26</sup> ‘Michael Böhm’ *BnF Data*, [Online] <[https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12233603/michael\\_bohm/](https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12233603/michael_bohm/)> [accessed: 03/07/2024].

<sup>27</sup> Lankhorst, *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*, p. 384. Stadsarchief Rotterdam, *Archieven van de Waalse Hervormde Kerk te Rotterdam, Rotterdam*, archive 143, inventory number 112, 7-4-1715, Trouw Waals, folio 47b. Interestingly

de La Mejanelle and Judith Lieurad (or Lievard). Leon was born in 1651 and Judith in 1667. In addition to Marie-Jeanne they also had another two daughters – Judith and Suzanne. Judith was born between 1690 and 1695 (probably 1693) and Suzanne around 1702, while Judith Lieurad appears to have died around 1704.<sup>28</sup> This suggests that Marie-Jeanne was born between 1690 and 1700 and would have been between fifteen and twenty five when she married Böhm.<sup>29</sup> While large age-gap marriages (of greater than twenty years) were not unknown during this period neither were they particularly common. Marie-Jeanne's sister Judith married a man twelve years older than her when she was around sixteen, and Suzanne a man six years her senior when she was around eighteen.<sup>30</sup> Assuming that these gaps are similar for Marie-Jeanne we could assume that Böhm was between perhaps twenty one and forty when the pair married, giving Böhm a birthdate between 1675 and 1694. However if Böhm had undertaken an apprenticeship of some kind this would suggest he was at least thirty in 1715 further narrowing his potential date of birth to between 1675 and 1684. In early 1716 Michael and Marie-Jeanne had a daughter called Judith Esther – the witnesses at the ceremony were Jean Charron, Marie-Jeanne's sister Judith de la Mejanelle (now Benezet) and Esther le Cène.<sup>31</sup> The second piece of information which can help us estimate Böhm's age are the events surrounding his death. On 9 October, 1722 Michael Böhm made a will, on

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the record book shows that the next marriage performed was that of Charles Le Vier to Susanne Jannot three days later on 10 April.

<sup>28</sup> See: [https://www.wikitree.com/photo.php/9/90/De\\_la\\_Mejenelle-1-1.jpg](https://www.wikitree.com/photo.php/9/90/De_la_Mejenelle-1-1.jpg) for the younger Judith's tombstone. [accessed: 14/07/2024].

<sup>29</sup> Marie Jeanne's sister Judith would marry Jean Etienne Benezet, have a son called Anthony and leave Europe for America. Both Jean Etienne (John Stephen) and Anthony would later be correspondents of Marchand's, sending numerous letters from Philadelphia between 1732 and 1751. The archives also show that Judith and Jean Etienne Benezet were resident in Rotterdam during the middle of the 1710s and thus probably knew Marchand before leaving for Philadelphia, see: Rotterdam City Archives, *Church records baptisms Doop Waals, Rotterdam, archive 9999\_40, 01-03-1715, Doop Waals* <<https://www.openarchieven.nl/srt:568A6C39-3D3A-42E2-B5D8-5064F5F456D1>> [accessed: 14/07/2024].

<sup>30</sup> Their young ages at the time of their marriages may indicate that both their parents were by the early 1700s deceased.

<sup>31</sup> This child was baptised 'Judith Esther' on 7 February, 1716 see: Rotterdam City Archives, *Church records baptisms, Doop Waals, Rotterdam, archive 9999\_40, 07-02-1716, Doop Waals*, <<https://www.openarchieven.nl/srt:F6F388A1-80C4-4A78-90ED-26CC76B115E8>> [accessed: 14/07/2024].

22 October, 1722 he was buried.<sup>32</sup> While this may have been a coincidence it does seem more likely that Böhm had become aware that he was mortally ill, had little time left and wished to secure his young wife's, and young child's, inheritance. If Böhm was aged it would be surprising that he would leave it so late to make a will. So, from what we have been able to discover it appears that he was indeed closer in age to Fritsch, and could well have even been his junior. The only slight inference to his age in any of the correspondence is a comment made by La Motte in the January 1709 letter where he refers to Böhm as Anisson and Posuel's 'garçon', something which may not only refer to his age, but also to his status.

The timing of Fritsch's journeys and the date of the acquisition of Leers's business suggest that Fritsch must have met with Böhm in Paris, during the visits where he also first met Marchand, and also during the visits which Böhm made to Holland around 1707. Their shared Saxon heritage and their shared occupation would have been factors which would have drawn them together – possibly via shared acquaintances. The earliest known mentions of Böhm are found in the correspondence of the Amsterdam *libraire-imprimeur* Jean Louis de Lorme beginning around 1707. In a letter dated 26 July, 1707 de Lorme – who had just returned to Amsterdam following a visit to Paris – writes to Gaspar Fritsch and informs him that, 'When I left Paris, Messieurs your half-brother-in-law and Böhm had only just arrived. We were very surprised by his long stay in Holland. However, people seem happy enough with him. Brought good money and the copies don't do you a disservice.'<sup>33</sup> The 'half-brother-in-law' in question must have been Johann Burkhardt Menke (son of the *Acta Eruditorum* editor Otto Menke) who had married Fritsch's half-sister Katharina Margaretha

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<sup>32</sup> The archive record of the burial of 'Miggiel' Bohm is available at: Rotterdam City Archives, *Church records burials, Begraven 1720-1729, Rotterdam, archive 9999\_16, 27-10-1722*, <<https://hdl.handle.net/21.12133/A13A4C82D03F48AC9F563311C350CC97>> [accessed: 14/07/2024].

<sup>33</sup> *Jean Louis de Lorme to Gaspar Fritsch, 27 July, 1707*, in Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, Volume 1, p. 152.

Gleditsch in 1702.<sup>34</sup> This letter shows that by mid-1707 at the latest Fritsch and Michael Böhm knew each other, and also that Böhm was somehow connected to the Leipziger Johann Menke – which may point to some printing activity in Leipzig prior to his relocation to Paris or perhaps a correspondence based on news of the latest Parisian publications for his journal. During his ‘long stay in Holland’ it seems that Böhm may have visited Fritsch and bought copies of the two books which he had had printed in 1706 – namely the Cellarius and the Comedies of Terrance. This then would explain the cryptic sentence ‘Brought good money and the copies don’t do you a disservice’ – *i.e.* Böhm had sold Fritsch’s books (and possibly other books which he acquired on this trip) for a good price and also that people had praise for the quality of Fritsch’s work. A letter from de Lorme to the printer Jacques Etienne dated 7 November, 1707 also shows that Böhm is willing to act as an intermediary for the importation of Dutch-published books which had not yet been approved in France.<sup>35</sup> A later letter dated 24 December, 1708 from Nicolas Clément – the then *sous-bibliothécaire* at the *Bibliothèque du Roi* – to Leers indicated that Böhm would soon be leaving for Rotterdam. ‘Mr. Böhm is preparing to go and see you, I would like him to be able to take charge of what we have to send you, if I received your packet soon enough.’<sup>36</sup> This suggests that by late 1708 Böhm may have already been thinking about relocating to Rotterdam to partner with Fritsch in an attempt to buy Leers’s business – which is supported by the letter La Motte wrote to Des Maizeaux three weeks later on 14 January, 1709 where he mentions that Böhm had moved to Holland to take over Leers’s business with Fritsch.

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<sup>34</sup> Johann Burkhardt Menke was from 1698 professor of history at Leipzig University, later director of the *Acta Eruditorum* and editor of *Nouvelles gazettes du monde savant* and the *Dictionnaire biographique des savants*.

<sup>35</sup> See: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, Volume 1, p. 85. For Jacques Etienne see earlier chapters.

<sup>36</sup> *Clément to Leers, 24 December, 1708*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. This passage also highlights Leers’s connections with Parisian *libraires* and the status which he had won in the 1690s allowing him to import books to France legally; further, it demonstrates the *libraires*’ willingness to seize any opportunity to have their packages hand delivered by someone who was familiar to them rather than entrusting this job to outsiders.



Nearly all mentions of Böhm – whether in the La Motte-Des Maizeaux correspondence, or in the Marchand correspondence – are only concerned with printing and business, with no discussion of his thoughts or intellectual life. This lack of discussion of Böhm as an individual in his own right, the almost complete lack of any correspondence to or from Böhm, and the complete omission of any kind of elegy following his death in the literary journals tends to suggest that Böhm possessed a very different character to Marchand, Fritsch, *et al.* in regard to the Republic of Letters. Even though it seems that Fritsch had tried to introduce Böhm to interesting people – his participation at the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* meeting is an example of this – it seems that Böhm was more content as a simple printer. Indeed, in the *Chevaliers* document Böhm is titled rather uninterestingly (and subserviently) as ‘cupbearer’ [*échanson*] of the order in contrast to some of the other titles such as ‘Harlequin and Buffoon’ (Le Vier), and ‘Dauber and Illuminator’ (Picart). Had Fritsch found in Böhm a competent – if rather dull – man, to whom he could entrust the majority of the manual work of the business: a sedate yin to Fritsch’s energetic yang – was Böhm more water carrier than cupbearer? Marchand would later give a damning verdict on Böhm in his posthumously-published *Dictionnaire Historique*. When discussing the history of the book the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs* – which many of Marchand’s associates had a hand in editing and publishing during the 1710s – he writes the following:

Indeed, one of them [early copies of the book] having in Rotterdam fallen into the hands of a Knight of Industry, named Ferber, German by nationality, supposedly a doctor by profession, an extremely suspect and discredited man, in concert with a bookseller of this city, named Michel [*sic*] Böhm, a man as unruly [*peu réglé*] as he, but very stupid and consequently very easily seduced by a clever and cunning

rogue, they had it printed under the following title: DE TRIBUS  
IMPOSTORIBUS.<sup>37</sup>

Despite (or perhaps because of) all the years which he had worked with Böhm it appears that the elderly Marchand had little time, or respect, for his late colleague.

From what little has been left to us concerning Böhm it has been possible to sketch out, in very broad strokes, a rough outline of his career and personality. It appears that Böhm had become something of a journeyman printer following a likely apprenticeship in Germany (possibly in Leipzig due to both its proximity and its local importance as a printing centre).<sup>38</sup> He does not appear to have descended from a line of *libraire-imprimeurs* – a fact which would have hampered his career prospects – especially in a smaller market such as Germany. He then probably moved to France sometime around 1700 attracted by the Parisian demand for print workers who would not expect to rise to the rank of master. The evidence tends to suggest that Böhm was more concerned with the manual and technical aspects of the printing business and Fritsch, Gacon, Le Vier, Boyd and then Marchand, were responsible for the editorial decisions and preparation of texts. His lack of correspondence and lack of profile in the Republic of Letters would suggest that Böhm had little interest in the works of the *savants* he published – aside from whether or not they would sell. We have speculated that Böhm would have been of a similar age to Fritsch and thus both would have been in their early thirties when they decided to form a partnership to buy the Leers business. Böhm's motivations for leaving Paris for the Netherlands and attempting to buy out Leers are never discussed, however it seems possible that Fritsch had convinced him (bearing in mind

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<sup>37</sup> Prosper Marchand, *Dictionnaire historique, ou Mémoires critiques et littéraires concernant la vie et les ouvrages de divers personnages distingués, particulièrement de la République des lettres*. Tome I (The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1758) p. 324.

<sup>38</sup> A letter between de Lorme and Girin dated 3 October, 1707 refers to Böhm as being Rigaud's 'knecht' – a word which normally means servant, but in this context could also mean journeyman. See: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, Volume 1, p. 91.

Marchand's words quoted above concerning Böhm's malleability) to partner with him and to abandon his life in Paris for the chance to work for himself in Rotterdam.

Taking over the Leers business with a partner would spread the risk for Fritsch, and it would also allow Fritsch to continue to travel around Europe promoting his business, searching out books and authors (and socialising) while Böhm was left in Rotterdam taking care of the business with Marchand's help as an editor and proofreader. As is noted above the pair seem to have paid over the odds for Leers's business – possibly due to Böhm jumping the gun and moving to Rotterdam before anything was officially decided – which then left him now jobless in a new country and therefore vulnerable to whatever demands Leers made. The poor terms they agreed to likely contributed to Fritsch departing the business in 1715 following Böhm's marriage and the subsequent birth of his daughter. Fritsch was also preparing to wed during this period and the business therefore no longer only had to support the two owners and their employees, but also their families.<sup>39</sup> Böhm would then partner with an employee of Fritsch and Böhm, Charles Le Vier, who would also bring additional capital into the business. However Lankhorst believes that Le Vier was unaware as to how indebted the business was and consequently this partnership would only last a few months before Le Vier also left Böhm.<sup>40</sup> Following this Böhm would be forced to regularly auction off his stock and printing privileges in order to fulfil his contractual obligations to the Leers family.<sup>41</sup> The business only seems to have begun to stabilise financially following the long-awaited publication of the third edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (prepared by Marchand) in 1720.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Fritsch would also marry sometime during the first half of 1716, see: *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 July, 1716*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>40</sup> Lankhorst, *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*, p. 387.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 388.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 389-390.

*The de Lorme connection*

The *libraire* Jean Louis de Lorme is a fascinating character in his own right and his importance as a connection between the Netherlands and France (and also Marchand, Picart, Böhm and Fritsch) requires some discussion. Apparently born in Corinth in Greece sometime during the 1660s, and believed to have been a ‘Turk’, de Lorme joined the French army (or at least was involved in some kind of conflict during the Nine Years War) before settling in the Netherlands sometime around 1690 and becoming involved in the book business. He married the elder sister of bookseller Claude Jordan’s wife (Marie le Bret) in 1691 and appears to have become a member of the Walloon Church in Amsterdam, then in 1693 de Lorme took over Jordan’s business (and his remaining children) after Jordan decided to return to Paris following the death of two of his children and his wife. In 1695 he partnered with Etienne Roger in a new publishing venture, however this partnership only seems to have lasted a year.<sup>43</sup> De Lorme spent twenty years working as a *libraire* in Amsterdam during which time he made frequent business trips to Paris and established connections with numerous influential Parisian figures such as Nicolas Clément and Claude Rigaud (from the *Bibliothèque de Roi* and the *Imprimerie de Roi* respectively) the abbé Bignon and the Duc de Maine, as well as with the *libraires* Prosper Marchand, Jacques Etienne, Jean Boudot and the Ballard family, to name but a few.<sup>44</sup> It seems that de Lorme, like Leers, had realised that there were healthy profits to be made by focusing their business on trading with France. Consequently these and similar printers were French publishers and booksellers in all but

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<sup>43</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène* (2024), *Utrecht University* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/>> [accessed: 17/07/2024].

<sup>44</sup> For de Lorme’s connections in Paris see: van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*. Volume 1.

location. This is a view which Leers partially supports when he writes, ‘You will agree with me, without doubt, that the principle sales of this *Dictionnaire* are made in France’.<sup>45</sup>

While Leers was the first Dutch publisher to properly explore this Franco-Dutch business model with the assistance of his Huguenot writers (a very large part of Leers’s own output – aside from his work for the Dutch Admiralty – was written by French authors, and published in French for the French market) his success soon attracted other *libraires* based in the Netherlands – especially those with direct connections to France, such as de Lorme.

However, running what was essentially a French publishing house in the Netherlands demanded frequent visits to Paris to arrange deliveries and orders, to build and maintain relationships with Parisian *libraires*, and also to assure the authorities as to one’s intentions – even if what was shown to the authorities was only half of what they were actually importing.

It seems that it was easy to overstep the opaque legal and cultural boundaries and on one of his visits to Paris in 1709 de Lorme was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille, only being released some weeks later following the intervention of one of his regular correspondents: the abbé Bignon.<sup>46</sup> It appears that due to the necessity of spending large parts of the year in Paris de Lorme had started living something of a double life, and in 1711 he abandoned his wife and permanently left Amsterdam for Paris (with most of his important possessions) after becoming intimately involved with the widow of printer (François-André) Pralard. He then appears to have abandoned publishing and rejoined the French army only appearing again in the records when the question of an inheritance arose.<sup>47</sup> De Lorme (who had managed to arrange some kind of deal to import books into France from the Netherlands from around

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<sup>45</sup> *Leers to Des Maizeaux, 7 June, 1707*, in Bots, *et al.*, *Les libraires de Hollande*, pp. 111-113. Around a quarter of Leers’s entire stock was French in origin and often rose well above this number prior to the War of the Spanish Succession which made trade with France difficult. See: H. H. M. van Lieshout and O. S. Lankhorst [eds.] *Eleven Catalogues by Reinier Leers (1692-1709)* pp. 14-19.

<sup>46</sup> See chapter 3 for this incident.

<sup>47</sup> Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*. Volume 1, pp. 14-23.

1701) was in regular contact with Böhm from at least 1707 and Böhm seems to have acted as intermediary between his employers (Annison, *et al.*) and de Lorme in arranging the import and export of books which either party wanted.<sup>48</sup>

The letters exchanged between de Lorme and his French counterparts are physical evidence connecting Böhm to Dutch-based *libraires* such as Fritsch and collectors such as van der Marck; additionally Böhm was also in contact with French *libraire-imprimeurs* such as Antoine Dezallier, Jacques Etienne and Jean Girin, and *Mémoires de Trévoux* editor Tournemine.<sup>49</sup> Undoubtedly de Lorme's business dealings with France and his establishment of a successful publishing company which almost exclusively dealt in French language publications would have had an influence on both Fritsch and Böhm, and may have convinced them to enter into partnership in an attempt to exploit the French book market from the relative safety of the Netherlands – especially as both of the Germans had business connections in both countries. When Leers began looking for potential buyers for his business it must have seemed like a perfect opportunity for the pair to take over an established company which had strong trading links to France, which they would hope to further develop.

Like Leers, de Lorme seems to have accepted both exchanges of stock (whether direct or on account) and also cash for the works he imported into France – however this seems to have often been an unequal relationship with de Lorme often struggling to find books from the Parisians which he could sell in the Netherlands.<sup>50</sup> However he does seem to have been better able to use his Parisian contacts when he began his Dutch counterfeit version of the *Mémoires de Trévoux* which existed between 1701-1705. While van Eeghen seems to be

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64-65; Bots, *Reinier Leers, een europese libraire te Rotterdam*, p.32.

<sup>49</sup> For these early Böhm connections see: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*. Volume 1.

<sup>50</sup> Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*. Volume 1, p. 85: '...et vous n'avez pas assez de livres pour me payer'.

convinced that de Lorme was in some way officially aided by the Duc de Maine, Tournemine and Hardouin in regard to his endeavours with the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, this seems very unlikely considering the Jesuit-critical content which was added in the Dutch reprints.<sup>51</sup> A more likely explanation is that Parisian figures to which he had close connections, such as Jacques Etienne, were surreptitiously supplying de Lorme with the original material which he then augmented for his French-speaking, Huguenot audience in the Netherlands and beyond.

Letters from de Lorme to both Gaspar and Thomas Fritsch exist which date from 1707.

These demonstrate that de Lorme was working with the Leipzig publisher (with the assistance of his brother) to import books from Germany into France and the Netherlands, and French and Dutch works into Germany. What letters remain from de Lorme only begin in July 1707 but they show that he was well connected to Thomas Fritsch by this date – he states in his letters that during the twelve to fourteen years in which he has been a bookseller he has always gotten along well with Thomas.<sup>52</sup> In August 1707 de Lorme proposed trialling an exchange in which Fritsch would send him everything published in Germany during the previous three months and in return de Lorme would supply Fritsch with books from Holland and France.<sup>53</sup> However an argument arose between the two, concerning unpaid debts and a quantity of books which de Lorme had sent to Thomas, which would eventually end their relationship. The books (six copies of a new 1706 Antwerp edition of the medieval French theologian Gerson's five-volume collected works in folio) were sent to Thomas in Leipzig – and it appears that Gaspar was involved in this transaction in some way. De Lorme writes to Gaspar on 27 July 1707, 'Following your instructions I have put the 6 Gersons I sent to monsieur your brother on your account'.<sup>54</sup> It appears however that these books were

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>54</sup> *De Lorme to Gaspar Fritsch, 26 July, 1707*, in: *Ibidem*, p. 152; J. Gerson, *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, Sumptibus Societatis, 1706).

eventually intended for Adam Sellius, a bookseller in Halle: ‘I am writing to monsieur Adam Sellius as you told me to and, when you see him, you can hold him to account [*i.e.* get him to pay for] for the Gersons.’<sup>55</sup> However, in the meantime a transaction had gone wrong and Thomas Fritsch had been left out of pocket by 153 guilders, something he laid squarely at de Lorme’s door, and consequently Thomas had decided to keep the Gersons until the issue had been resolved. De Lorme notes this in his next letter to Gaspar (19 August, 1707), and also makes an interesting comment about the brothers’ relationship, he writes, ‘Your brother did not want to deliver the Gersons to Mr Sellius and as I believe that I have noticed you have some friction between you [*dentelés ensemble*], into which I must not enter, I indicated to him today in reply to one [a letter] of his, that it is to me to whom he owes the said Gersons and I asked him to keep them until further notice.’<sup>56</sup> After some months of recriminations and talk of legal action by Thomas Fritsch the argument seems to have been settled when in November 1707 de Lorme arranged for Sellius to pay Thomas 85 guilders for five of the remaining Gersons (Fritsch had already sold one for 36 guilders).<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless a lack of trust had been created between the two and Fritsch seems to have stopped sending books to de Lorme. The bonds of goodwill and trust which were necessary to maintaining these international transactions had been destroyed – demonstrating why it was so necessary for the *libraires* to maintain their statuses as *honnêtes hommes*. This must have been a setback for de Lorme who had, by September 1707, begun to supply the abbé Bignon with new and rare theological works from Germany and also the Duc du Maine with issues of the *Acta Eruditorum*.<sup>58</sup> On 3 January, 1708 de Lorme makes this clear to Gaspar, ‘I have entirely

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153. The phrase ‘vous avez quelques dentelés ensemble’ is difficult to translate, especially as the meaning of the word has evolved since the eighteenth century and, possibly due to his foreign origins, de Lorme seems to have his own unique style of French. However, the manner in which de Lorme uses this noun does not seem to correspond to any definition from modern or eighteenth century dictionaries which suggests he is using it in the sense of there being ‘jaggedness’ (the adjective *dentelé* meaning ‘serrated’ or ‘jagged’) or discord between the two brothers.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90, 85.



broken from your brother, who treats me in a cavalier fashion concerning the 153 guilders in question'.<sup>59</sup>

### *Gaspar Fritsch goes missing*

The period during which La Motte writes that Gaspar Fritsch was 'in Leipzig' and later that he had been 'absent for almost a year' from Amsterdam coincides with these letters between Thomas and Gaspar Fritsch and de Lorme, which suggests that Gaspar Fritsch was spending a lot of his time in Germany where he was working for his brother, and possibly de Lorme, aiding them in both importing and exporting works. De Lorme further confirms this when he writes to Thomas concerning the Gerson editions, telling him that, 'I have sent to you 6 Gersons opera fol. 5 vol, in one of your brother's packages.'<sup>60</sup> De Lorme also wrote to Thomas that he wanted to speak to Gaspar about the aforementioned debt he owed to Thomas before repaying it.<sup>61</sup> However during the middle of 1707 Gaspar seems to have almost vanished, which appears to have caused no end of speculation in Amsterdam as to what had happened to him. In a letter dating from 19 August de Lorme notes Gaspar Fritsch's absence during this period,

Truly, you really neglect your friends. Since the 26 of July when I honoured myself by writing to you, I have heard no more of you than of the Grand Mogul. I receive letters from all quarters, by which I am informed that nobody knows where you are. You apparently have your reasons for not writing to your friends, into which I will not delve.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *De Lorme to Gaspar Fritsch, 3 January, 1708, ibidem*, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*. The last letter de Lorme had received from Gaspar was on 13 July, 1707, see: *Ibidem*, p. 153.

Eventually on 25 August it seems that Fritsch had received de Lorme's letters and replied – however the replies from Fritsch seem to have experienced some delay and did not make it to de Lorme until the middle of September, suggesting that they may have been posted from some far-flung town in Germany.<sup>63</sup> The reason for De Lorme's desperation to find the younger Fritsch at this time seems to have been connected to de Lorme's requests for new books from Germany. From the letters which still remain that he wrote to Gaspar Fritsch it appears that de Lorme was using Fritsch to locate books for his clients in Amsterdam and Paris. 26 July – 'I beg you to let me know if you can obtain for me the books that will be published in the places [which I have] indicated below.' 19 August – 'as I have not received any news from you and as I am in a great hurry to have news from all sides, I have directed myself to others'. 16 September – 'I waited for the answer until the 19th of the following month [August], but as the person for whom the books I asked you for was pressing me greatly...this is what caused me to direct myself someone else.' In this same letter he also writes that, 'It was not your brother who wrote to me that they did not know where you were; it was the chatter in the city' adding that, 'I know that you are not absent for no reason.' By January 1708 Gaspar was still absent from Amsterdam, something which seemed to have frustrated de Lorme even though he had managed to make contact with him, 'I assure you that I find much to complain about your absence. I don't see anyone anymore and I'm locked up at home all week. If you want me to come out of solitude, hasten your return.' He adds that there is still much speculation as to what Fritsch is doing, 'Your absence has certainly caused a lot of gossip' and notes that Gaspar is missing out on business opportunities while he is away as people wish to purchase his books but cannot find copies of them.<sup>64</sup> From this letter it seems that Fritsch was in Augsburg, a printing hub in the south of Germany, when he

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<sup>63</sup> *De Lorme to Gaspar Fritsch, 16 September, 1707, Ibidem*, p. 153, 'I only received yesterday your two letters [one ] from the 25 of the prior [month] and one from the 1 of this month.'

<sup>64</sup> *De Lorme to Gaspar Fritsch, 3 January, 1708, Ibidem*, p. 154.

wrote to de Lorme – ‘If you are still in Augsburg for 15 days or 3 weeks, I could have 20 or 30 copies [of a new edition of the *Nummi antiquae*] sent to you by Mr. Bouch, postmaster, who will deliver them to you for free.’<sup>65</sup> The tone of these letters certainly seems to suggest that de Lorme and Fritsch were close friends during this period and may have even known each other prior to Fritsch’s departure from Leipzig in 1706, which may have been a factor in Fritsch deciding on Amsterdam as his place of business.

While it is impossible to say exactly what Gaspar Fritsch was doing during this period, we can speculate based on what remains to us in the letters to and from (and concerning) Gaspar. From these letters it appears that Fritsch still had strong business connections with his brother at this time and that his move to Amsterdam may have been organised with his brother (and possibly step-father) in order to allow Thomas easier access to French and Dutch titles and also to serve as an outpost for the Leipzig businesses of Fritsch and Gleditsch, as much as it was an opportunity for Gaspar to start his own business. Following his initial two publications in 1706 (Gaspar’s first publication – the *Cellarius* – was a new edition which had been originally published in Leipzig by his step-father between 1701-1706) Gaspar then seems to have concentrated his efforts more on the distribution of books into, and out of, Germany – possibly at the behest of his brother and his step-father. The fact that the aforementioned *Notitia Orbis Antiqui* by Cellarius was having a second edition printed in Cambridge and Amsterdam while the first was still being printed in Leipzig may indicate that the Leipzig branch of the family felt themselves to be too distant from profitable western markets and therefore sought to create a western edition rather than be forced to try to send these large and expensive books across Europe.<sup>66</sup> Therefore having Gaspar in Amsterdam

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<sup>65</sup> For Augsburg’s importance to printing during this period see: Hans-Jörg Künast, (trans. Christine Johnson) ‘Book Production and Trade’, in B. Tlustý and Mark Häberlein, [eds.] *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Augsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 2020) pp. 415-439.

<sup>66</sup> The Cambridge edition was printed by John Owen, a stationer who worked for both Oxford and Cambridge universities. Owen seems to have a short-lived printing career often plagued by lack of funds suggesting he did not pay Gleditsch for the rights to the *Cellarius* and was probably subcontracted to print the work. See: H.

would benefit them enormously if they were attempting to expand their reach outside of Germany – not only could he reprint their works in Holland but he could also act as a go-between for their interests in western Europe. That Gaspar was chosen to publish one of these new editions of Cellarius also indicates that he still had significant connections to his step-father and this closeness is reflected when he told Marchand of his death – ‘the Lord has taken into his glory the illustrious Mr Jean Frederic Gleditsch’.<sup>67</sup> Gaspar’s work as an intermediary between his family in Germany and western Europe would have occasioned his frequent trips to Leipzig, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Augsburg in order to make connections with German publishers and distributors, and to locate works which would be popular in the wider European market. Fritsch’s letter to Marchand – in which he notes that Marchand met his half-brothers in Paris – is also a good indication that his travels took him to France during this period, again likely making connections and looking for books which he could export to Thomas and Gleditsch in Leipzig, while at the same time promoting their publications outside of Germany.<sup>68</sup> However, it appears that a rupture occurred between Gaspar and Thomas during this period. This may have been due to a combination of Gaspar growing tired of travelling around Germany and France for his brother’s benefit, and perhaps a refusal by Thomas to make Gaspar a titled member of the Fritsch business in Leipzig. As Gaspar had acquired numerous contacts across Europe, both inside and outside of the industry, and was now both a burgher of Amsterdam and also a member of its publishers’ guild, he was by this time in a position to start a business of his own properly. In 1707 Gaspar had turned thirty and was likely thinking of his future; meeting Böhm – who also may have begun to harbour desires to work for himself – during this period eventually would lead to a partnership

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Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922) pp. 226-227.

<sup>67</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 29 April, 1716*, March. 2. No mention of Thomas is made in this letter. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*.

between the two who would then seize the opportunity to take over the Leers business in 1709.

*Meeting Marchand, the Gleditsch Brothers, The Chevaliers de la Jubilation and the Early Years of Fritsch and Böhm*

From the correspondence it appears that Fritsch first met Marchand while he [Marchand] was still working as a *libraire* in Paris and then grew closer to him after Marchand had relocated to Holland. Writing to Marchand from Frankfurt in 1716, Fritsch informs him of the death of his stepfather and, in passing, notes that Marchand had met the Gleditsch brothers (and Fritsch himself) in Paris: ‘I announce to you that the Lord has taken into his glory the illustrious Mr Jean Frederic Gleditsch, formerly my mother's husband and father of two offspring whom you saw in Paris and Holland.’<sup>69</sup> Fritsch’s half-siblings were generally closer in generation to Gaspar who was born in 1677 (Johann Friedrich was born in 1682, Katharina Margaretha in 1684 and Johann Gottlieb in 1688) than Thomas who was born in 1666. When Gaspar was still an infant Thomas would have been attending university and beginning his life as a *libraire-imprimeur* with his stepfather, whereas one can imagine a young Gaspar helping out his mother with his new siblings before later venturing into the family business himself. It is possible that Fritsch – during his visits to Leipzig in 1707 – had invited his half-brothers to accompany him back to Holland (perhaps with Johann Menke), to become acquainted with the book trade and traders in this important publishing region, and that he had also made the effort to take them to Paris to introduce them to significant figures in the French book trade as part of some kind of vocational journey at the request of his stepfather. While introducing the young Gleditsch brothers to the intellectual and cultural life of

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*. The Parisian meeting had to have taken place prior to late 1709/early 1710 – the date of Marchand’s move to the Netherlands – as following this Marchand would not return to Paris.

Europe – with which Gaspar seems to have been fascinated – he must have presented his younger half-brothers to Marchand in Paris while showing them around the French capital sometime between 1707 and 1709. Marchand’s boutique was, by this time, known as an important hub for Parisian *savants*, and Marchand – with his love of books and learning, and with a growing reputation in Paris – was exactly the kind of person to whom Fritsch would have been attracted.<sup>70</sup>

The earliest mention of Marchand and Fritsch together in Holland appears in the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* document which dates from November 1710 – around eight months after Marchand was admitted into the printers’ guild of The Hague.<sup>71</sup> The interpretation of this document has led to disagreement between Margaret Jacob and Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck concerning whether or not it is evidence for the establishment of a proto-masonic lodge in Holland.<sup>72</sup> While either possibility would not have great consequence for this research, after consideration of the Fritsch correspondence as a whole one would tend to be more drawn to Berkvens-Stevelinck’s interpretation of the document – i.e. *libertinage* rather than freemasonry. The ‘Chevaliers’ themselves seem to have been a close-knit group of friends, led by Fritsch, from across Europe who were involved in printing and bookselling, with an interest in the *savant* world and, to a greater or lesser degree, an interest in proscribed and esoteric literature. The original Chevaliers consisted of Fritsch (as ‘grand master’ under the pseudonym of ‘Don Gaspar de Cocodrillos y de la cueva’), his business partner Michael Böhm, his half-brothers Gottlieb and Johann Gleditsch, Charles Le Vier, Bernard Picart, Jean De Bey and, finally, Marchand; however the ‘order’ also included Brussels postmaster Douxfils and Hague publisher Isaac Vaillant, who do not seem to have been present at the

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<sup>70</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*, BL Add Mss, 4295, f. 18; Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup> See: Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*; Berkvens-Stevelinck, ‘Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation: Maçonnerie ou Libertinage?’. For a transcription of the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* manuscript see appendix.

1710 meeting and who were possibly invited or added by Fritsch at a later date – something which Fritsch suggests later in letters to Marchand concerning other people he has encountered during his travels whom he feels would be suitable members.<sup>73</sup> The document then somehow found its way into the possession of the Irish deist and intellectual troublemaker John Toland. From what has been discovered so far it is most likely that Fritsch or one of the group had for some reason sent it to Des Maizeaux or Pierre Coste, or given it to Collins when he visited Holland, who then passed it onto Toland.<sup>74</sup> To turn Jacob's ideas on their head, could it have been possible that it was this document of merry-making which gave Toland some of the inspiration to write his *Pantheisticon*, in which he transformed the foolishness into ritual?

Aside from this manuscript Toland himself does not seem to have had any direct connections to the *Chevaliers*. There is no mention in any of Toland's letters of any of the figures in the *Chevaliers* circle, nor is there any mention of Toland in the correspondence of the *Chevaliers* circle. Further, while Toland was in the Netherlands during this period (between 1708 to sometime around 1710/1711 Toland was resident in various cities in the Netherlands) it appears that he had quickly acquired a very poor reputation due to his general behaviour and his habit of borrowing money and not repaying it. La Motte writes to Des Maizeaux on 2 August, 1707,

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<sup>73</sup> The fictional positions held by the group are as follows, Grand Master (Fritsch), Cupbearer (Böhm), Treasurer (G. Gleditsch), Harlequin and Buffoon of the Order (Le Vier), Dauber and Illuminator of the Order (Picart), Engraver of the Seals of the Order (de Bey), Secretary of the Order (Marchand), Coadjutor and Vicar of the Order (Doux fils), and the Great Scrounger [*écornifleur*] of the Order (Vaillant). Interestingly Johann Friedrich does not seem to have been given a title for this meeting, and his early death in 1711 would exclude any being bestowed on him. For potential additional members see: *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713*, March. 2. See appendix for this letter.

<sup>74</sup> Des Maizeaux and Toland were close, and Des Maizeaux penned the first biography of Toland following his death in 1722 and had access to Toland's collection of manuscripts – his editorial pencil marks are still present on some of the manuscripts which were used in his biography. Pierre Des Maizeaux, *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland, Now First Publish'd from His Original Manuscripts: with Some Memoirs of His Life and Writings* (London: J. Peele, 1726). The Toland manuscripts themselves are found in the British Library, Add Mss 4465 and Add Mss 4295.

I am cross that you have given some money to Toland. I fear for your two coins.

I met him here once, but he behaved so badly that I did not want to see him on the subsequent trips he has made here. He owes money to several people that I know and he has never thought to pay them back.

La Motte also adds that, ‘You also know that he lies like a tooth puller.’<sup>75</sup> Nearly two years later, on 9 July, 1709 La Motte writes that, ‘Toland has been here [Amsterdam] and is possibly still here...he is indebted up to his ears in The Hague’, which suggests that Toland was avoiding The Hague – the city where the *Chevaliers* evening took place in late 1710.<sup>76</sup>

When one considers the value which is accorded to the concept of *honnêteté* in the correspondence of Fritsch and Marchand, and Fritsch himself being described as a *fort honnête homme* by La Motte, Toland does not seem like an obvious friend for the *Chevaliers*.

While researchers such as Jacob and Champion may want to associate Toland with the *Chevaliers* to support their own ideas there is simply no evidence that the two were connected, notwithstanding the *Chevaliers* document being found in Toland’s manuscripts.

Indeed, Berkvens-Stevelinck has demonstrated that Toland was not held in high regard *chez* Marchand. Quoting a passage from his *Histoire et Premiers Progrès de l'imprimerie* she notes that Marchand had written that Toland was, ‘too well known in lots of the less fine places within the Republic of Letters’.<sup>77</sup>

The *Chevaliers* manuscript itself is a humorous record, written with the tone of a mock legal document, of what seems to have been an evening of revelry. The main topic addressed in the manuscript is the future marriage of Johann Friedrich Gleditsch: for which the *Chevaliers*

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<sup>75</sup> *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 2 August, 1707* in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 197. Toland made approximately four trips to the Netherlands: between 1690-1692 he was at Leiden University, in 1699 he appears to have enjoyed a short visit, in 1703 he visited Utrecht, and finally in 1707 he landed in Holland prior to a year-long trek across Europe which finished with him spending around three years in Holland from 1708 finally returning to England in late 1710/early 1711, see: Davis, *John Toland and Eugène de Savoie*.

<sup>76</sup> *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 9 July, 1709, Ibidem*, p. 228.

<sup>77</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 45.



are putting him on trial for the crime of ‘lèse-jubilations’. The relationships between the *Chevaliers* were, even at this early date, established. As we have seen Fritsch and the Gleditsches were half-brothers, while Marchand and Böhm knew Fritsch from around (and possibly before) 1707. Picart and Marchand had been close friends for a number of years in Paris before they left for Holland. The only unknowns are De Bey and Le Vier. To briefly recapitulate what we know of Le Vier: he was another *libraire-imprimeur* of French extraction who had settled in the Netherlands and is believed to have originated in Senlis in Northern France.<sup>78</sup> His earliest appearance in the Marchand correspondence consulted is the reply from Fritsch to Le Vier which comes from Wiesbaden and is dated May 1711 – however there were obviously strong ties between the two before this, as his presence at the *Chevaliers* meeting demonstrates. Le Vier also seemed to have connections to the English freethinker Anthony Collins – the Marchand archive contains three letters from Collins to Le Vier which seem to have begun in 1713 after Collins visited the Netherlands and was well-received by Le Vier and his friends, and where he may have been given the *Chevaliers* document. In September, 1713 Collins writes to Le Vier from Antwerp,

While I have always been ashamed and have regret to speak of myself and my affairs, nonetheless because you demanded me to write to you as soon as I had arrived in Antwerp, I do not think myself at liberty not to write to you, and I do so with a pleasure proportionate to the decencies [*honnêtetés*] with which you overwhelmed me.<sup>79</sup>

Collins’s reception in Rotterdam, and the conversations which he enjoyed there, obviously made an impression on him as he adds later in the letter, ‘You, whom I esteem the best company in the world’. In a letter dating from early 1714 Collins also asks Le Vier to, ‘give

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<sup>78</sup> ‘Charles Le Vier’ *BnF Data* <[https://data.bnf.fr/12401921/charles\\_le\\_vier/](https://data.bnf.fr/12401921/charles_le_vier/)>

<sup>79</sup> Anthony Collins to Charles Le Vier, 11 September, [1713], March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

my compliments to Messieurs Böhm and Marchand and tell the latter that his Catalogue of Quaker writers is complete' and that he has also sent a copy of this work to Marchand.<sup>80</sup> The correspondence with the author of *Preistcraft in Perfection* and *A Discourse of Free-thinking* is fitting with Le Vier's character – being that he was often regarded as one of the most radical of Marchand's friends and also being that he was the individual responsible for beginning the controversy concerning *Les Traités des Trois Imposteurs*.<sup>81</sup>

Le Vier seems to have lived on and off in the coastal town of Noordwijk, near Leiden, corresponding and regularly visiting Rotterdam as part of his work with Fritsch and Böhm, until sometime in 1715 when he properly moved to Rotterdam (where he was received as a burgher in March 1715) after he took over Fritsch's place in the partnership with Böhm.<sup>82</sup> However, it does seem that he had been employed – perhaps since the foundation of their business – by Fritsch and Böhm in some capacity, most likely as an editor, for the publishing house along with Gacon, Boyd and later Marchand. There is also a possibility that he may have left Fritsch and Böhm for around two years in 1713 before returning to the company in a brief partnership with Böhm in 1715.<sup>83</sup> Le Vier then moved to The Hague in 1716 where he lived until his death in 1734. How Fritsch and Le Vier came to know one another is, at the moment, a mystery. Le Vier could well have been apprenticed in Paris and after training and after working there for some years decided to leave for the Netherlands around the same time as Marchand, Böhm and Picart. However, Le Vier, unlike Marchand, does not seem to have been working for himself in Paris, as there are no publications which carry his name until he

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<sup>80</sup> Anthony Collins to Charles Le Vier, 5 January, 1713 [16 January, 1714 N.S.], March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>81</sup> Le Vier is said by Fritsch to have copied a manuscript from Furly's library which would eventually form a large part of the work which would later become known as the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*. See: Simonutti, 'English Guests at "De Lantaarn"' in Hutton, [ed.] *Benjamin Furly*, p. 33.

<sup>82</sup> Fritsch addresses a letter to Le Vier in Noordwijk in August 1714 in which he also states that he has spent six days staying with Le Vier in Noordwijk. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>83</sup> Fritsch writes in 1713 that, 'I am surprised that Mr. Le Vier is leaving the game', *Fritsch to Marchand 14 April, 1713*. March. 2.

settles in the Netherlands – so it remains a possibility that Le Vier was part of the class of Parisian print workers who had been denied the prospect of becoming a master due to the machinations of the later seventeenth century printing industry. De Bey is an even greater mystery than Le Vier. Apparently neither a printer nor a writer it is difficult to understand how De Bey fell into the orbit of Marchand and Fritsch – it appears from a manuscript in the Marchand archives that he was a would-be *savant* who had received advice from Marchand concerning how to write and present intellectual arguments.<sup>84</sup> De Bey however does seem well-regarded by Marchand's friends who frequently ask Marchand to forward their compliments to him.

As we have seen the partnership formed between Fritsch and Böhm eventually allowed them to acquire Leers's business in May 1709, although at a somewhat inflated price – leaving them in considerable debt. However the pair now owned their own presses, a large collection of previously printed stock, copyrights and privileges for a considerable amount of sought-after literature (especially the Bayle works which Leers had published), the notes and additions by Bayle for a new edition of his *Dictionnaire*, and in addition part of the contract stated that Leers was, 'to advance and promote the trade of the said Srs. Fritsch and Böhm as far as possible, by recommending them, by mouth or by letter, to all the correspondents he has, and to those with whom he may contract some business'.<sup>85</sup> Their first joint publication was Jacques Abbadie's *Traité de la divinité de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* – a reedition of a Leers work which continued to bear Leers's title page device – the only change being instead of 'Reinier Leers, Rotterdam' the page now stated 'Fritsch and Böhm, Rotterdam'.<sup>86</sup> Later versions of this device would remove the 'R' and the 'L' from the lower part of the device

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<sup>84</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand*, p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Lankhorst, *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*, p.374.

<sup>86</sup> Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1709). See appendix for image and comparison to the Leers device.

image and show instead an ‘F’ and a ‘B’.<sup>87</sup> This repurposing of Leers’s device not only saved Fritsch and Böhm from having to have their own device created but also stressed the continuity between the two businesses. As an indication that their output would remain resolutely directed at the French market and the broader francophone world, and as a demonstration of the need to become more connected to this culture, Fritsch and Böhm would also switch their confession of faith, from their German Lutheranism to the Calvinism of the Huguenots. On 13 April, 1710 Böhm joined the Walloon Church in Rotterdam followed by Fritsch a few days later on the 19 April, 1710.<sup>88</sup> The German pair may have been based in the Netherlands but the culture they had become part of was distinctly French.

### *A German in Paris*

Although now partnered with Böhm in a business which needed to make money quickly, Fritsch continued to regularly leave Holland for the European capitals throughout their partnership, and it seems he employed an array of editors and proofreaders in his place, such as Le Vier, Boyd, Gacon, and later, Marchand.<sup>89</sup> It is easy to see how La Motte could write that, ‘there is something about this *libraire*’s behaviour which we don’t understand’.<sup>90</sup> In the five years that he was a part of Fritsch and Böhm he spent some time in Leipzig in 1709 (just days after taking over Leers’s business), some months in Wiesbaden in the middle of 1711 (as a treatment for gout) before returning to Rotterdam in late summer. He then spent four months in Frankfurt in Autumn-Winter 1711 (some of which he spent with Marchand). From early 1712 until October 1712 (excepting a visit to Germany during summer) Fritsch was

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<sup>87</sup> See appendix Fig. 5, 6 and 7.

<sup>88</sup> Van Eeghen, Volume 1, p. 65 & 89.

<sup>89</sup> The letters between Marchand, Fritsch, Le Vier, Boyd and Gacon relating to the argument between the group in chapter 2 indicate that Le Vier, Gacon and Boyd were working for Fritsch.

<sup>90</sup> *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 25 May, 1709* in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 226.

probably in Rotterdam – demonstrated by the lack of correspondence with Marchand, who may have been regularly visiting Rotterdam (*à la Le Vier*) during this period.<sup>91</sup> Fritsch seems to have then been absent from Holland for more than a year. From October 1712 (by which time Marchand had fully moved to Rotterdam as a full-time Fritsch and Böhm employee) until late spring 1713 Fritsch spent seven months in France, during the later months of 1713 he appears to have been to Geneva, and at the end of 1713 he is in Frankfurt once again before returning to Holland sometime before the summer of 1714. Following the dissolution of Fritsch and Böhm he then appears in The Hague in July 1715. It is in the letters written by Fritsch to Marchand, during the period in which he was travelling to, and residing in, Paris, where we get a good understanding of Fritsch's personality, along with his opinions concerning Parisian social life and the difficulties of travel during this period.

Fritsch and his French travelling companions (a M. David and his son – one of which appears to have been an author, and Parisian *libraire-imprimeur* Jacques-Henri Pralard) began their journey in Rotterdam from where they travelled to Moerdijk before crossing the Hollands Diep and hiring a coach to Antwerp.<sup>92</sup> On their arrival at Antwerp,

The first thing which we did there, was to kneel very devoutly at the foot of the altars, these gentlemen, in order to say the Credo, some Aves, some Paters and what not, and I, to admire the beautiful paintings by Reubens, Vaenius, and other great masters', Fritsch then adding jokingly, 'which ignoramuses like you don't know.'<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> 'Ces MM. (ou plutôt M. Böhm, car M. Fritsch est en Allemagne)...'. *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 22 July, 1712* in *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 334. Marchand was certainly undertaking some work for Fritsch during this period – 'The day before yesterday I wanted to start copying the mss. notes for the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus which our dear friend Mr. Fritsch has asked me to add to his copy'. *Marchand to Fritsch and Böhm, 9 November, 1711*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>92</sup> Later in this letter Fritsch writes that he will send Marchand a book by M. David called 'Les Parodies Pratiques'. Moerdijk seems to have been on the opposite side of the Hollands Diep at this time, or Fritsch has misnamed the village where he stayed.

<sup>93</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 25 October, 1712*. March. 2.

Fritsch was obviously unimpressed by the Catholic devotions, but it was not beyond him to appreciate the decoration of the church. From there they went to see the Antwerp booksellers Verdussen who seem to have bored Fritsch, ‘the conversation lasted for an hour and was very dry. I was even more bored there than M. Pralard, who was very bored, and from what I understand, this was the Antwerp way of receiving strangers, as if they were good-for-nothings.’ They then went to Vilvorde and on to Brussels, but after leaving Vilvorde, ‘we found no more pavement, but a devils’ path, broken by the withdrawal of the troops who were marching in great numbers to their winter quarters’. Fritsch’s timing of this journey was therefore no coincidence. Consequently it took them some time and effort to reach Brussels, and when they did reach the outskirts (wet-through and covered in mud) they had difficulty getting into a guesthouse due to their appearance. Much more to Fritsch’s annoyance was that they could not get any food, ‘Now imagine the state of three Frenchmen and a German who, having proposed to have a good supper, do not find even a crumb of bread’. The group passed a sombre evening at the guesthouse before quickly making for the heart of Brussels, and it seems that Fritsch was more impressed with their welcome there, ‘So we arrived yesterday morning at three-quarters past nine here in Brussels where we were perfectly well received by everyone, what a difference in welcome!’ He adds,

At the time I write this to you I have already swallowed three bottles worth of champagne not to mention a very pleasant supper with which my host regaled me, what a felicity! We drank generously and copiously to the health of all the *chevaliers* and friends.<sup>94</sup>

His next letter comes from Paris and is intended to bring Marchand up to speed with his journey. ‘I will pass over in silence my amusements in Brussels, but I am obliged in

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<sup>94</sup> All extracts from *Fritsch to Marchand, 25 October, 1712*. March. 2.

conscience not to let the knights of the order ignore the honest welcome of Mr. Douxfils, coadjutor and vicar of the order.’ On leaving Brussels it seems Fritsch had met up with the Parisian *libraires* Nyon, Clousier, Gosselin and Ganeau, who were returning from the Netherlands, and they made their way toward France together.<sup>95</sup> One the way to the border Fritsch notes the terrible conditions of the countryside owing to the war: ‘We no longer saw any trees or ploughed land, what presented itself to our view were only the carcasses of houses, the remains of camps, razed lines, and other sad remnants of the fury of Mars and Bellona.’ Upon crossing the border Fritsch tells Marchand that,

I wish, for a good thing, that you had seen the ecstasy into which Messrs. David and company entered at the sight of the borders of the Kingdom. Never was the name of the King more taken in vain than on that occasion, and they made the neighbourhood ring with imprecations against the country which they had just left, and against the booksellers who did not want to make exchanges with them; in good faith I believed them to be possessed and this put me in a very bad mood.<sup>96</sup>

From this it appears that Fritsch was not impressed with the chauvinism of his colleagues (something he may not have previously witnessed) and their anger at his fellow Dutch *libraires*. Fritsch’s adventures in Paris are described in his next letter dating from December 1712, and it seems that he is quickly growing tired of the city and its *mores*,

You didn't get off to a bad start after I left, if it continues you will spend the winter more pleasantly than I, because for the last fifteen days I have been reduced to the theatre or the café in the evenings, I have given up on the Opera and the cabarets [taverns], in the first the Achilles and the Venetian festivals make

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<sup>95</sup> Jean-Luc Nyon, perhaps Michel Clousier, Nicolas Gosselin, and Etienne Ganeau.

<sup>96</sup> All extracts from Fritsch to Marchand, 18 November, 1712. March. 2.

me suffer and in the other they poison; if you are with women, you must play, sing, or answer five or six at a time, know their lives and that of their friends in order to support the reprimands they give each other about their conduct, and be a wit.<sup>97</sup>

Fritsch had also managed to visit Versailles to see the public figure that was Louis XIV, informing Marchand that, ‘I have been to Versailles in recent days, I have seen the king on several occasions, he eats, well, more than I do and walks very firmly, you will see that this prince is going live a long time yet.’<sup>98</sup> He also heard the Jesuit Charles de la Rue preach at Versailles, and Fritsch was impressed – ‘I have heard Père de la Rue preach, he is a very clever man, who I certainly like better than all the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers similar to Frescarode. He preached against libertines and against atheists, *it is just like here* [*i.e.* the Netherlands].’<sup>99</sup> Later he was again impressed by a mass he witnessed at Versailles – ‘I went to the King’s mass, oh the beautiful music! My goodness, the Opera of this country is no equal, and I would rather go a thousand times to this mass than to the Paris Opera. In short, Versailles is the only thing in the world that I have found to exceed what I have been told about it.’<sup>100</sup>

In his following letter, from April 1713, it appears that Fritsch had also been invited to the Chateau de Seaux by Marchand’s brother – who was a royal musician. ‘Since the receipt of your first letter, your brother has invited us to see the theatre in Seaux. Mons Cottin, Mr. Boudot, and a Mr. Chavilliers took me there and I can only thank you for the good reception

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<sup>97</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>98</sup> Concerning public and private figures during this period see: Jürgen Habermas, [trans. Thomas Burger] *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992) pp. 1-26.

<sup>99</sup> Jeremie Frescarode was a Huguenot, professor and preacher from Rotterdam. Fritsch’s emphasis.

<sup>100</sup> All extracts from *Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712*, March. 2.



that your brother has given us on your account.’<sup>101</sup> It was here that Fritsch seems to have been forced to watch an amateurish performance of Racine’s *Iphigénie* starring the Duchesse du Maine – ‘yet everyone wanted me to believe that it was beautiful, even Mademoiselle Denelle, a famous actress of Paris, who was at my feet. I believe nothing of it, and never shall believe it.’ However the poor play was made up for by the festivities which followed,

Leaving the theatre, your brother pushed us up to the table between several lively people, lords of ut-re-mi-fa, there was no melancholy, there was a lot of singing and the flute playing was even better. I was even quite prepared to feel it the next day and several days later, but the wine was so good that I was free of fear, we returned safe and sound to Paris.<sup>102</sup>

Fritsch seems so happy with the company of the musicians that he is ready add some of them to the *Chevaliers* in order to serenade a woman in Rotterdam, with whom he seems to be infatuated –

I congratulate you with all my heart on the pleasure you have of being so often in festivities with her divinity Miss Esther, not without envying you ... I would have the Tuileries Theatre transported to Rotterdam with the whole Opera to regale her ... and in addition I will appoint Mr. Boudot master of the Chapel of the Order and secretary of music ... we add Sr. Boisclerc to our order as \_\_\_ (you have only to find him a title) for the great and important services [which will be] rendered to us at the celebration of the ordination of Miss Esther.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Seaux was well-known for its entertainments, often with the Duchesse du Maine in a starring role. See: Martial Debriffe, *La Duchesse du Maine ou la conspiration de Cellamare* (Paris: L’Encre, 1995). Cottin, Boudot and Chavilliers appear to have been *imprimeur-libraires* or connected to the printing industry.

<sup>102</sup> ‘ut-re-mi-fa’ is the Latin for ‘do-re-mi-fa’, *i.e.* the people Fritsch refers to were obviously musicians.

<sup>103</sup> The Esther mentioned may have been Esther le Cène, a relative of the libraire Michel-Charles le Cène, who was also present at Böhm’s daughter’s christening and is mentioned in many of Fritsch’s letters, there is a possibility that Fritsch may have eventually married her sometime around 1715.

Fritsch had also been visiting the *Foire Saint Germain*, which took place in every February just to the south of the capital. He seems to have particularly enjoyed the ridicule which was directed at the prestigious arts by the *bouffons*, ‘the most beautiful scenes were those where these people ridiculed the opera and the theatre’. Fritsch seems to become Plato’s Leontius as he writes, ‘I have been there six times in all, always in spite of myself, for I do not like such nonsense.’ He then tells Marchand that a group of puppeteers were ridiculing the Duc de Villars, much to the amusement of the crowd. Unfortunately for them the Villars found out about it and visited the fair to see a performance, ‘after begging them not to spare him and to do their best, he laughed out loud, and rewarded them well as he was leaving.’ Villars it seems knew how to manage his public image, as Fritsch notes, ‘If M. de Villars had not taken this course, God knows how many farces would take place against him.’<sup>104</sup> This is not to say that Fritsch only spent his time in Paris eating, drinking, making merry and visiting various attractions. The Parisian letters (as we have seen in a former chapter) are replete with messages to Marchand concerning his work for Fritsch and Böhm and with literary news from Paris; whether this is Fritsch encouraging Marchand to concentrate on his work with Fritsch and Böhm rather than his commissions for Eugène and Hohendorf, or Fritsch telling Marchand about the intricacies of a large book auction taking place in Paris in April.

There is a gap of seven months between Fritsch’s final Paris letter and his next letter to Marchand which is written from Frankfurt. It is not possible to say if Fritsch returned to Rotterdam during this period, he seems to be ready to leave France in his letter of 14 April, 1713, ‘If I can be of any use to you in this, I am at your service and answer me soon, for I will hardly be here except to await your reply to this one [letter] and one that I will write next to Mr. Böhm’<sup>105</sup> However a letter to Des Maizeaux from Fritsch and Böhm dated 30 May,

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<sup>104</sup> All extracts from *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713*. March. 2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*.

1713 states that Fritsch was still in Paris at this time, ‘I have sent to my associate M. Fritsch, who is still in Paris, the letter that you have had the goodness to write to the person who is master of the manuscripts of M. Bayle’.<sup>106</sup> In his letter from Frankfurt dated 4 November, 1713 Fritsch writes that,

This accursed trip to Geneva is the reason that your wishes for my return were not granted last July, this delay does not give me pleasure at all, and all the less so as it has made me lose sight of the business in Paris and given me other humiliations, which we will discuss.<sup>107</sup>

The trip to Geneva was occasioned by a potential new Genevan edition of Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* – a work to which Fritsch and Böhm owned the copyright, and which they were also hoping would be an important financial success for the business. In a letter from Jacques Basnage to Jean-Alphonse Turretini dated 9 June, 1713, Basnage asked his Genevan correspondent to see if he could help prevent this edition being created as Fritsch and Böhm were already in the process of assembling a new edition of the *Dictionnaire*. The States General would also write to the *Syndics* of Geneva on behalf of Fritsch and Böhm in order to try to maintain their copyright.<sup>108</sup> In this letter to Marchand, Fritsch also allows us to understand what exactly Marchand’s position was at Fritsch and Böhm,

I have an infinity of obligations to you, dear *cadet*, for the care which you have taken to publish our editions very beautifully and very accurately corrected, I

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<sup>106</sup> *Fritsch and Böhm to Des Maizeaux, 30 May, 1713*, in Bots, *et al.*, *Les libraires de Hollande*, p. 126. The ‘master of the manuscripts’ was Marchand.

<sup>107</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713*. March. 2.

<sup>108</sup> *Jacques Basnage to J-A Turretini, 9 June, 1713* [online] available at: [https://humanities.unige.ch/turretini/application/files/4916/1413/5292/0419\\_2383-1-2\\_ug70061\\_turretini\\_file.jpg/](https://humanities.unige.ch/turretini/application/files/4916/1413/5292/0419_2383-1-2_ug70061_turretini_file.jpg/) [https://humanities.unige.ch/turretini/application/files/5616/1413/5302/0420\\_2383-3\\_ug70062\\_turretini\\_file.jpg](https://humanities.unige.ch/turretini/application/files/5616/1413/5302/0420_2383-3_ug70062_turretini_file.jpg/) [accessed: 28/09/2024].

have no difficulty in admitting that I could never have put them in such order and I will be the first to transmit to posterity the praises which are due to you.

From this it appears that Marchand was directly involved in much of the editorial work undertaken to bring a new work to market. While Fritsch was full of praise for Marchand's endeavours he did harbour some concerns about some of the works which it appears Marchand was keen to publish, works which may have damaged his relationship with France. He writes, 'I am writing to Mr. Böhm on the subject of Gramont's memoirs and the controversial books; with regard to these I would like to sell as few of them as possible.' This is because,

The government of France does not want to hear mockery on these matters, and the decent people of this country look at them with indignation, although deep down they disapprove of the conduct of the Court against the Reformed [*i.e.* the Huguenots]. Truthfully you like these writings, and I have nothing for or against, but as they have the decency in France to overwhelm foreign Protestants with civilities and not to bother them in any way, it seems to me that equity and decorum require that in return for recognition, we Germans [*i.e.* Fritsch and Böhm] should not get involved in printing these disputes, this will not advance our business with France and it is better to leave these printings to the refugees themselves, it is their own quarrel, let them settle it.<sup>109</sup>

For such a French-focused business as Fritsch and Böhm obviously it was financially dangerous for the publishers to be seen openly printing anti-French works. Not only could their works be banned in France but also it could disrupt the business's connections with

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<sup>109</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713.* March. 2. The *Memoires de la vie du Comte de Grammont* would appear with false publishers details: Anthony Hamilton, *Memoires de la vie du Comte de Grammont* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1713).

influential figures and correspondents which Fritsch had developed over the years; additionally, Fritsch could find himself in difficulties when visiting France – in the same way as de Lorme, when the latter found himself summarily thrown into the Bastille. While Fritsch obviously had sympathy with the refugees he also had a business to consider and was keen to remain as neutral as possible – despite the fact he was by now a member of the Walloon church in Rotterdam. While an edition of the *Mémoires de Grammont* did appear from under the Fritsch and Böhm presses in 1713 it was not under the Fritsch and Böhm banner, but rather a ‘Pierre Marteau’: and it may have been printed without Fritsch’s knowledge.<sup>110</sup>

Fritsch soon returns to praising Marchand’s work on the Bayle letters and states that,

...the commentary that you add to M. Bayle's letters and the choice you have made of them, will make us appraise the edition quite differently than if it had been given as M. Desmaizeaux had given it to us, I myself have a much better opinion of it now than at the beginning.<sup>111</sup>

Regarding the business with the Genevans it appears that Fritsch had tried to write to Marchand concerning this, but that the Genevan postmaster had lost his letter – something Fritsch is furious about as he suspects sabotage or incompetence, ‘I wish him that after his [the postmaster’s] death his soul will pass into the body of a post-horse.’ It appears that Fritsch was also feeling the pressure to press on with the new edition of the *Dictionnaire* with the interest from Geneva looming,

I had pointed out, among other things, in this letter [which had been lost], that we must soon work to make an outline sheet [*feuille de projet*] for this new edition.

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<sup>110</sup> ‘Pierre Marteau, Cologne’ was a notorious false name attached to potentially troublesome works which also frequently featured a Hermeticism-inspired global device.

<sup>111</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

It can only fall on you, you will please give an account of the advantage it has over the previous ones, after which you will give a taste of the new articles, for example that of Pope Jeanne, which according to what Mr. Le Vier told me, is completely finished.<sup>112</sup>

The urgency seems to have additionally been driven by the actions of Jean Le Clerc,

If you lack books for extracts from the notes, don't let that hold you back, it is only to show the public that we really have additions, for Mr. Le Clerc has sent [a letter] to M. his brother in Geneva, [stating] that we have nothing but useless paperwork.

As we can see from Fritsch's detailed descriptions of his international trips, while enjoying foreign cities and dining with new and interesting people was high on his agenda, the underlying reason for all his activities was that he was working for the benefit of his business. His socialising in Paris introduced him to new contacts and strengthened old bonds. That he spent six months, and journeyed many kilometres, to attempt to address the issue of the new edition of the *Dictionnaire*, and in particular his rights to the work, was a sign of the importance of this work for the success of his business; and while his friend Marchand may have been keen to flood the French market with anti-establishment books Fritsch was more circumspect and realised the damage which this could do to his business and reputation. Aside from his visit to France his earlier frequent journeys to Germany were likely business trips to acquire new works. This would have been an obvious area for Fritsch to exploit and he may have been able to supply western Europe with many books from Germany which formerly had been difficult to obtain. The fact that Fritsch and Böhm printed a catalogue

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<sup>112</sup> All quotes from *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713*. March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

which specified that it included books from Germany would tend to support this hypothesis. This Fritsch and Böhm catalogue from 1712 contains works from Leipzig, Frankfurt, Cologne, Tübingen and Mainz along with works from Brussels, Lyon, Geneva, Pfeffingen and many works from Paris.<sup>113</sup> It also seems likely that Fritsch was still on good terms with his step-father and half-brothers and may have maintained some kind of trade connection between the Gleditsch and Fritsch and Böhm businesses.<sup>114</sup> His itinerant lifestyle between 1706 and 1715 may indicate that while on his journeys he was also working (probably unconsciously) as a literary intermediary or *passeur* – gathering information, making contacts, locating books and distributing correspondence, which is where it seems his talents lay, at least until he married around 1715, following which he also separated from Böhm and relocated to The Hague. Sometime around 1719 he seems to have returned to Leipzig after selling his stock in Holland: records indicate that he left a Leipzig publishing business to his widow in 1745 which was continued by his family.<sup>115</sup> As described above, it appears that the Fritsch and Böhm business was in financial difficulties throughout its existence. Some of this can be attributed to terms of the contract and the difficulties trading books with France which had been occasioned by the war; however, some of the difficulties also seems to be due to a

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<sup>113</sup> Fritsch and Böhm, *Catalogue De Livres De France, D'Allemagne, Et De Hollande, Qui Se Trouvent Chez Fritsch Et Böhm, A Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1712).

<sup>114</sup> The elder half-brother Johan Friedrich Gleditsch *fiils* would die in 1711 at the age of 29 while Johan Gottlieb Gleditsch would live until 1738 and further expand the Gleditsch business after he took it over in 1716. Johan Gottlieb would marry three times (his first two wives dying at a young age in 1718 and 1721) and have two children, one of which – another Johan Friedrich – would take over the business in 1738. For more on Johan Gottlieb see: Brewer, *Gleditsch, Johann Gottlieb* (1964) *Deutsche Biographie* <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz21151.html>> [accessed: 28/09/2024].

<sup>115</sup> P. Carmignani, [ed.] *Figures du Passeur* (Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 2002); R. Mankin, [ed.], *The Internationalization of Intellectual Exchange in a Globalizing Europe, 1636-1780* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2018); 'Kaspar Fritsch', *BnF Data*. [Online] <[https://data.bnf.fr/en/14423626/kaspar\\_fritsch/](https://data.bnf.fr/en/14423626/kaspar_fritsch/)> [accessed: 01/03/2024]. Numerous titles appear until the 1770s bearing the name of 'Verlag Kaspar Fritsch Leipzig' which may suggest that his family continued his publishing business and he had a son named Kasper, or possibly that books were pirated by others but retained the Fritsch name to show which text they had copied – a common practice at the time. In regard to the sale of his stock see: Amsterdam City Archives, *Notarial records, archive 5075, inventory number 8294, March 17, 1719, Notariële archieven, record number 314997*, [online] <<https://www.openarchieven.nl/saa:a3cb51cc-aea9-50ee-e053-b784100a6caf>> [accessed: 28/09/2024].

failure of the company to effectively, and promptly, bring their projects to market – possibly due to Marchand taking on too much work and spreading himself too thinly.

La Motte grew increasingly critical of Fritsch and Böhm as the months passed – based around their failure to publish the French edition of Des Maizeaux’s ‘Life of Bayle’ along with some of his own projects. In May 1710 he wrote to Des Maizeaux that ‘These gentlemen have grand goals which they don’t always see through, and which prevents them from carrying out the small [goals].’ He then tells Des Maizeaux that he is not rushing too much to finish editing his own projects for publication with Fritsch and Böhm as ‘I know very well that they are in no rush either.’<sup>116</sup> One of these ‘grand goals’ was certainly the new edition of Bayle’s *dictionnaire*, which would not appear until 1720 despite Fritsch’s obsession with getting it printed even in 1713, and the others also seem to have been connected to Bayle, including Des Maizeaux’s ‘Life of Bayle’ (which would never actually be published by Fritsch and Böhm) and a collection of Bayle’s letters which, as we have seen, would cause a significant argument between Marchand and Des Maizeaux which lasted several years and was discussed in various journals of the period.

### *Jacques Boyd*

A figure who has been mentioned frequently throughout this research and also in the letters contained within the Marchand archives is Jacques Boyd. Jacques Boyd has seen no serious research dedicated to him and the only published material concerning him at present are a short article in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* and a partially incorrect mention of

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<sup>116</sup> *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 9 May, 1710, in Bots, Lettres de La Motte, p. 254.* La Motte seems to have been working on two Bayle publications for Fritsch and Böhm – *The Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ* and *Ce que c’est que la France toute Catholique*.



him by Mario Sina and Maria Grazia in their collection of the letters of Jean Le Clerc.<sup>117</sup>

While the history of Boyd and his family (and indeed the phenomenon of Scots relocating to France) still requires much research, there is an opportunity here to discuss some of his history and his connections to Fritsch and Marchand and their Dutch coterie. Boyd descended from a family of Scottish merchants who originated in Kilmarnock, and who seem to have been in France from at least from the early seventeenth century.<sup>118</sup> What attracted the Boyds to France remains unclear, however as Smout, *et al.* have noted, ‘Small but distinctive Scottish mercantile communities were settled before the Reformation in Danzig, Copenhagen, Elsinore, and Malmö; there was a long-established one at Bruges, and others in the Low Countries at Middleburg, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Campveere; in France they were at Dieppe, Rouen, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux.’<sup>119</sup> These early international traders, who were tasked with finding important imports for Scotland, seem to have flourished and the Boyd family in Bordeaux appear to have grown wealthy from their trading and sugar refining businesses until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

The father of Jacques Boyd was Jean Boyd who was born in Bordeaux around 1660, Jean was the son of another Jean Boyd (who was also born in Bordeaux in 1621) who had owned a sugar refinery in Bordeaux and grown very wealthy.<sup>120</sup> As Jean Boyd *fils* (and his younger brother Jacques) were Huguenots who refused to abjure their faith they left France for America soon after 1685, presumably being forced to leave behind the majority of their

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<sup>117</sup> Ressinger, *et al.* ‘The Boyd Family: Global Huguenot Merchants’. Mario Sina states concerning Boyd that, ‘Due to Marchand's interest he published the Essays in Holland “sur la Providence et sur la Possibilité Physique de la Resurrection”’ but that, ‘there is no trace of Boyd's closer relationship with Marchand’. See: Mario Sina and Maria Grazia, [eds.] *Jean Le Clerc, Epistolario*, Volume IV (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997) pp. 15-16 & 445-446.

<sup>118</sup> Ressinger, *et al.*, p. 168.

<sup>119</sup> T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, ‘Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ in Nicholas Canny, [ed.] *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) pp. 76-112.

<sup>120</sup> See appendix Fig. 11 for Boyd family tree.

possessions.<sup>121</sup> After a difficult Atlantic crossing they arrived in Charleston on 28 March, 1686. Jean married Jeanne Berchaud (a native of the former Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle) in Carolina around 1686, and between 1686 and 1696 the pair had three children, the eldest of whom was Jacques Boyd.<sup>122</sup> Jacques was probably born in the mid-1680s when his father and his uncle were attempting to start a vineyard in Carolina using grapes which he had brought with him from France. His father Jean and his uncle Jacques seem to have been well-educated gentlemen scholars who made many sketches of the local wildlife along with written descriptions of the new animals they found in America, including skunks (described as ‘a black and white cat which pisses on people who pursue it’) and also fireflies.<sup>123</sup>

Unfortunately the vineyard was not a success and Jean decided to return to Europe in 1699 settling in Ireland.<sup>124</sup> Despite the Boyds being culturally and genetically almost completely French by this time there must have remained some attachment to the British Isles which informed their choice of destination. Jacques Boyd married a woman called Marguerite Moules and had a daughter (Jeanne) who was baptised in Dublin in 1708, which would coincide well with a mid-1680s birthdate for Jacques.<sup>125</sup> Sometime soon after this Jacques must have then moved to the Netherlands. Sina and Grazia believe that he was a student in Holland who then stayed for business settling in Rotterdam, which again would coincide with him being in his early-to-mid-twenties around 1708-1710.<sup>126</sup> What he was studying is unknown although it appears that he may have acquired a doctorate at some point as he would later style himself ‘Dr Boyd’.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ressinger, *et al.*, p. 168.

<sup>122</sup> There would be another child born after 1696 named Paul.

<sup>123</sup> Ressinger, *et al.*, p. 172.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 174.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177.

<sup>126</sup> Sina and Grazia, *Jean Le Clerc, Epistolario* p. 445.

<sup>127</sup> Boyd, J., *Essais sur la Providence et sur la Possibilité Physique de la Résurrection. Traduit de l'Anglois du Dr: B\*\*\** (The Hague: Vaillant, 1719). See appendix, Fig. 8 for title page.

Boyd is first mentioned in the Marchand letters in May 1711 when Fritsch, writing to Le Vier during his treatment for gout in Wiesbaden asks, ‘Shall I charge you with my courtesies and respects for messieurs Boyd, Charron, and their very pleasant families? or sir, dare I, knowing that you will give them better than anyone else.’<sup>128</sup> This letter not only provides an early link between Fritsch, *et al.* and Boyd, but also demonstrates that Boyd had a family – something which concurs with his marriage and the birth of his daughter in Dublin. It is currently unknown how Jacques Boyd found himself in contact with Fritsch and Böhm but it does appear that he may have been one of the first editorial employees of the company alongside François Gacon and Charles Le Vier.<sup>129</sup> In the previously discussed letters written by Fritsch and Marchand (concerning the argument which arose at the Fritsch and Böhm business in late 1711) Boyd is named alongside Gacon and Le Vier as one of the writers responsible for the disagreement. After the resolution of the conflict Fritsch writes, ‘I am infinitely obliged to you and your letter has delighted me all the more because it is a sure mark of the peace concluded between – Very high, very powerful, very metaphysical, very comic and very poetic lords and Princes Jacques Boyd, Charles Le Vier and François Gacon, on the one hand...’<sup>130</sup> Exactly when his work with Fritsch and Böhm commenced, and exactly what he was employed to do is uncertain, but by the middle of 1711 at the latest he does appear to be connected to the business in some way. There are numerous mentions of him in subsequent letters. In December, 1712 it appears that Boyd had become ill, or had fallen into some kind of depression. Fritsch writes,

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<sup>128</sup> *Fritsch to Le Vier; 27 May, 1711.* March. 2.

<sup>129</sup> That Gacon was working as an editor for Fritsch and Böhm is demonstrated by a letter between Fritsch and Böhm and Pierre Des Maizeaux, in which they write (regarding Des Maizeaux’s ‘Life of Bayle’) ‘We will put it under the press straight away, but we cannot employ the character of *l’Anacréon* [Gacon] on it: he is busy with the *Histoire des sept Sages* of M. de Larrey’. *Fritsch and Böhm to Des Maizeaux, 20 September, 1712*, in Bots, *et al.*, *Les libraires*, p. 122; Gacon, *Les Odes D’Anacreon et de Sapho*. Fritsch writes to Le Vier in late 1711 asking to be informed, ‘of the state of the works which we have under the press’ and also makes other requests concerning the business – something which only a person close to the business would be able to answer, see: *Fritsch to Le Vier; 17 December, 1711.* March. 2.

<sup>130</sup> *Fritsch to Le Vier; 17 December, 1711.* March 2.

The illness of our friend Mr. Boyd causes me great sorrow and I fear that the melancholy in which I have seen him for some time will take him away from us before we think, God preserve him for us for many years. It appears from your letter that you hardly see him, this isn't right, do me the pleasure of going to see him, at least on my behalf, and assuring him of my respects, him and his family. I wish him the years of Nestor.<sup>131</sup>

It also appears that Boyd also was part of some kind of learned society. Writing on 7 August, 1714, Fritsch tells Le Vier that, 'The society of Mr Boyd will possibly be increased by two members, who gave their proofs eight days ago on Monday, in order to see if they are worthy to enter into this learned body [*si digni sunt intrare in questo docto corpore*].<sup>132</sup> In this letter Fritsch also notes that Boyd had been away – 'M. et Mlle Boyd have, since their return, begun to see again the family of M. Ferrand'. This absence coincides with the marriage of Boyd's younger sister (Jeanne-Elizabeth) in Dublin in early 1714.<sup>133</sup> Boyd also must have had good ability in English, either maintained as a family tradition or learned during his time in Ireland, as on 25 July, 1715 (some months after the breakup of Fritsch and Böhm) Fritsch writes to Marchand from Amsterdam asking him to inquire if Boyd would be willing to translate a piece for him from English. 'Could you not, or rather would you not, inform yourself by way of conversation at M. Boyd's, if he has the time to start a little translation of an English book of thirty sheets, large characters?'<sup>134</sup> A year later Fritsch writes to Marchand from Leipzig indicating that Boyd is planning to leave the Netherlands, probably in order to return to Carolina, 'It seems to me that Mr. Boyd is letting a lot of time pass on his passport

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<sup>131</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712.* March. 2.

<sup>132</sup> *Fritsch to Le Vier, 7 August, 1714.* March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

<sup>133</sup> Ressinger, *et al.*, p. 174.

<sup>134</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 25 July, 1715.* March. 2. See appendix for complete letter. Fritsch and Böhm was officially dissolved on 31 December, 1714.

without using it. I beg you to give him my compliments and to his family and to wish them a very happy journey.’<sup>135</sup>

*Boyd's letter to Le Clerc*

The only letter from Boyd himself which remains is one written to Jean Le Clerc from Bordeaux in 1719. This letter confirms that Boyd had travelled to Carolina before then returning to France. As this is the only letter we have written by Boyd, and it contains important details concerning his life and his work, it will be quoted in full.

Sir,

I consider myself very unfortunate to have profited so little from the advantage of being your school companion during the time I was in Holland. The occupations of my business in Rotterdam did not allow me to go often to Amsterdam, and yours prevented me from abusing, by my letters, the time which you employ so usefully for all the learned world; I would, however, have need of your insight for the composition of various works to which the great leisure I had in Carolina has allowed me to dedicate myself. I have, however, written nothing in that country; content to find certain truths for my own satisfaction, I should have remained silent, if some friends had not urged me to give them to the public. As I saw myself on the point of returning to France, I worked a little hastily on two small Essays; one on Providence, the other on the Physical Possibility of the Resurrection. I left these two manuscripts with Monsieur Marchand to have them printed. After many delays, he sent to tell me that this little work is ready to be published. I ask him to send you a copy, and by this [letter], I request that you to

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<sup>135</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 7 October, 1716.* March. 2. See appendix for complete letter.

accept it as a testimony of the special esteem and sincere friendship that I have for you.

That is not all. I ask you for your opinion, but sincerely and unvarnished on this little essay. It is not from an affected modesty that I ask you, I have a few treatises, which I can give, if the public is satisfied with these first two. And as there are some connections between them, as you will see, especially on the article about Freedom, your advice would be of great help to me, I must add to it a little dissertation on the Foresight of God, by which I hope to curtail many controversies, I have some other dissertations which are indicated in these Essays, like that on Natural Religion, and on the life to come. I hope, Sir, that you will be kind enough to give me some of your moments to answer me, I will be eternally grateful to you.

I am most sincerely with all imaginable esteem, Sir.

Your very humble and very obedient servant

J. Boyd.

My address is Mr Jacques Boyd at the palud of Bordeaux.<sup>136</sup>

At B.x [Bordeaux] This 9 July 1719.

To Monsieur,

Monsieur le Clerc Prof.r en Theologie.

At Amsterdam.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> The 'Palu' of Bordeaux was a region of marsh land which had been drained at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was at the time a much sought-after area.

<sup>137</sup> *Boyd to Le Clerc, 9 July, 1719*, in Sina and Grazia, pp. 15-16.

The work which Boyd is talking about, which he gave to Marchand to have printed (and probably edited), was published in 1719 by Isaac Vaillant (another member of the *Chevaliers*) under the title *Essais sur la Providence et sur la Possibilité Physique de la Résurrection*. *Traduit de l'Anglois du Dr. B\*\*\**.<sup>138</sup> While there have been attempts to attribute this work to Gilbert Burnet and Jean Bion the letter above makes it clear that Boyd was the ‘Dr B\*\*\*’ responsible for the book.<sup>139</sup> Le Clerc did publish a review of the work in his *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* in 1720 in which he writes that, ‘Providence and Resurrection are two points of Theology...that our Author does not undertake here to deal with as a Theologian, but rather as a Philosopher’, later adding that, ‘the book is small and in French; it merits being read, everyone can easily refer to it [*y recourir*]’.<sup>140</sup> However, despite Le Clerc’s interest, it seems that this was the first and last book that Jacques Boyd wrote and following this letter there remains nothing more of him.

What little has been left to us by Boyd demonstrates that he was a well-educated and intellectually curious individual who had crossed the Atlantic several times and lived in America, Ireland, France and the Netherlands by the time he was thirty. After arriving in Holland he seems to have quickly made friends with the Fritsch and Marchand circle and may have carried out editorial work of some kind during the early period of the Fritsch and Böhm company. His intellectual curiosity seems to have led him to form some kind of club, which may have been modelled on Furly’s ‘Lantern Club’, and from Fritsch’s remarks it appears that Boyd’s society had high expectations of its potential members.<sup>141</sup> His ability in

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<sup>138</sup> Boyd, *Essais sur la Providence et sur la Possibilité Physique de la Résurrection*.

<sup>139</sup> J-M. Quérard, *La France littéraire ou Dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres de la France*, Tome Premier (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1827) p,340.

<sup>140</sup> Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, Tome XIII, 1720 (Amsterdam: Chez les Frères Wetstein, 1720) pp. 227-236.

<sup>141</sup> For the Lantern Club see: Simonutti, ‘English Guests at “De Lantaarn”’ in Hutton [ed.] *Benjamin Furly*. Furly (1646-1714) was also a Rotterdam resident and Boyd, being a *curieux*, was likely connected to him. Fritsch and Böhm had some connection to him as they published a catalogue of his library following his death: Furly, B., *Bibliotheca Furliana* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1714).

English would have been an asset he could have used to his advantage because, as we noted earlier, more and more books were imported into Holland from England as the *libraires* scoured Europe for the latest ideas with which they could fill their shelves, and English thinkers, such as Locke, became popular on the continent. As English was so little known in Europe during this period a person such as Boyd was in a position to advise on imports and also translate important English authors and ideas into the lingua franca of the period: French. The 1710 edition of Locke's *Œuvres Diverses* published by Fritsch and Böhm may have partly been translated by Boyd – as we have seen Fritsch was keen to use Boyd as a translator in 1715 and must have been aware of his ability prior to this.<sup>142</sup> His reasons for leaving Rotterdam and returning to what was by then South Carolina are unclear. While his father and uncle (Jean and Jacques Boyd) may have left France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it appears that his grandfather did not, as his will was read in Bordeaux following his death in 1695.<sup>143</sup> It is therefore likely that the grandfather had abjured his Huguenot faith in 1685 in order to keep the fortune which he had amassed. Boyd's younger brother Augustus also would have a very prosperous career as a trader based on plantations he acquired in St. Kitts.<sup>144</sup> This suggests that some of the Boyds may have remained wealthy despite two of their number fleeing France after 1685 and Jacques may have been tempted to return to Carolina and then (a more tolerant) France to work in the family business, which could also perhaps explain his disappearance from the learned world post-1719.

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<sup>142</sup> John Locke, *Oeuvres diverse de monsieur Jean Locke* (Rotterdam: Fritsch and Böhm, 1710). Most of the pieces translated in this collection have been attributed to Le Clerc but one long piece – *Of the conduct of understanding* – has not. See: John Attig, *John Locke Bibliography* (2023), *John Locke Resources* <<https://openpublishing.psu.edu/locke/bib/ch0m.html#01825>> [accessed: 27/09/2024].

<sup>143</sup> Ressinger, *et al.*, p. 179.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177.



### *Conclusion*

As the above research demonstrates Gaspar Fritsch was a complicated and fascinating character in the world of early eighteenth-century publishing. A German who had relocated to Holland only to then spend much of his time travelling throughout Europe in order to establish contacts, source books and promote his business. There seems little doubt that Fritsch enjoyed his journeys, but this peripatetic existence must have taken a toll on his health, especially considering his underlying gout and his love of wine. His early career in Amsterdam had likely been sponsored and supported in some way by his relatives in Leipzig, however the amount of work which it seems he was required to carry out for them as an agent across large parts of Western Europe may have been a deciding factor in his decision to break with his brother and partner with Böhm in order to buy out Reinier Leers. However, the fact that Fritsch continued to lead the same nomadic lifestyle he had between 1706 and 1709 suggests that he considered this activity as important to the success of Fritsch and Böhm. As the example of de Lorme has demonstrated, frequent trips to France were vital to his publishing business, not only to manage and account for the receipt and distribution of the books which he sent from the Netherlands, but also to personally source works which he would then be able to sell in Amsterdam. In doing so de Lorme had had to ingratiate himself not only with the *libraires* but also with the establishment of France in order to assure the safe passage of his packages into and out of the kingdom. The benefits of making friends within the French establishment were demonstrated when he found himself confined to the Bastille and his correspondent Bignon arranged his release. The myriad of connections which Fritsch made in the publishing trade (and also with *savants* and the Republic of Letters) from 1706 included La Motte, Des Maizeaux, Furly, Ludolf Küster, Pierre Coste, Anthony Collins, the Basnage brothers, and Jean Le Clerc – alongside which we can add his closest friends (many of who became colleagues) from the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*.

In the late seventeenth century Reinier Leers had been responsible for cultivating a new market in France for Dutch printers. Capitalising on his relationship with Bayle and working with the Huguenot writers who had fled to the Netherlands, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Leers laid the foundations of a new business model for some Dutch printers. The majority of the works which he published were written by the French, in French, and for a mainly French audience. Such was his renown in France that when Furetière's dictionary was prevented from being printed in Paris by the *Académie Française* Leers was the obvious publisher for the work – which unsurprisingly contained a preface by Bayle who was close to both Furetière and Leers. The success of Leers's model obviously attracted imitators. Despite Leers having managed to negotiate some sort of exclusivity deal with the French authorities in 1694, this did not prevent de Lorme, and others, from attempting to enter the French market a few years later, apparently with considerable success. Initially both Leers and de Lorme supplied institutions such as the *Bibliothèque de Roi* with important works which would otherwise be difficult for them to obtain and which the Parisian *savants* were demanding, and then were allowed to build relationships with commercial distributors in Paris.<sup>145</sup>

Fritsch must have been paying careful attention to the growth of Dutch-published works which were making their way into the French market and may have realised that with his connections he too would be in a prime position to exploit this market if he was able to assemble a skilled team of printers and editors around him. The chance to buy out Leers in 1709 must have seemed at the time a golden opportunity – especially given Leers's reputation and existing connections in France. However, due to his years working for his brother and

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<sup>145</sup> 'The book trade suffers greatly from the rigorous prohibitions that have been made for the traffic of books from the Spanish Netherlands and Holland. It is right to prevent the sale of books that injure religion and the State or charity; but it seems that we should allow the rest, both for the love of the booksellers, whom these difficulties ruin, and for the business of men of letters, who lack, due to this drawback, many necessary books.', *Bossuet to Pontchartrain, Spring 1694*, quoted in: Bots, *Reinier Leers, een europese libraire te Rotterdam*, p. 31.

relatives in Leipzig Fritsch seems to have become more specialised as a commercial manager and distributor than a *libraire* in the strictest sense. Partnering with the dependable Michael Böhm would allow him to operate as the business's presence across Europe, while Böhm – assisted by a team of editors – would be responsible for producing the works which Fritsch was busy promoting and securing the rights. The large price the pair paid for the business is an indication of their belief that they could recoup this investment through new editions of Bayle and the sale of Leers's remaining stock to France along with difficult to obtain books from Germany which Fritsch was in an ideal position to import.

Although, unlike Marchand, Fritsch does not seem to have been an active member of the Republic of Letters he was certainly abreast of events which occurred within the Republic and sought to provide its members with the materials which they desired. His company's editions of Bayle, Locke, Basnage, and de Larrey provided the Republic of Letters with previously unpublished correspondence, new editions or translations of works by thinkers whose influence was being increasingly felt in the early eighteenth-century. Additionally, using his German contacts and his knowledge of the German publishing market to his advantage he was able (in a manner similar to how Johnson had used works originating from Britain) to expand his stock and raise his profile with new works and ideas from Germany which would previously not have been as easily accessible. In addition to being able to provide the Parisian *savants* and institutions with access to Dutch-published works – something which had allowed Leers to become one of the preeminent Dutch publishers – Fritsch could now additionally offer them easier access to learned works from the German states. Fritsch (along with other *libraires*) contributed, probably unintentionally, and largely in the pursuit of profit, to the process of drawing Europe a little more closer together by facilitating an exchange of ideas over an increasingly expansive area.

Fritsch's well documented period in France, Geneva and Frankfurt allows us a glimpse into the personal life of the *libraire*. Making his way along the destroyed roads and seeing the effects of the war on the Spanish Netherlands not only caused problems for Fritsch personally, but also for his business – which was dependent on transporting its publications (and much of the stock which they had bought from Leers) into France. Instead of crossing the Spanish Netherlands some Dutch publishers were eventually forced to send packages via Rotterdam to ports in Northern France – which again required reliable contacts and a significant amount of organisation and trust. While Fritsch's period in France seems to be replete with stories of merrymaking and spectating the arts it must be remembered that Fritsch was also there for business – indeed he complained later to Marchand that issues in Geneva had forced him to 'lose sight of business in Paris'. While Fritsch is not clear as to what business he was doing in Paris exactly, his letters are full of instructions for Marchand concerning what Fritsch thinks he should be working on and questions about the progress of the works which they currently had under the press. Fritsch also seemed to have spent most of his time in the capital with other *libraires*: writing about his dining during Lent he states, 'I have cut down on going to supper at the cabaret, [I am dining with] sometimes these, sometimes others, but always with booksellers, they are the best people in the world, they love me very much and do me all the honesty imaginable.'<sup>146</sup>

Unfortunately too many events conspired to prevent the Fritsch and Böhm business becoming viable. The loans which they were forced to take out to buy, and later fund, the business became overwhelming. The war and its devastating effects on trade with the business's core market of France meant that Fritsch and Böhm were left sitting on large stocks of material which they were effectively unable to properly begin selling until after the peace of 1713. The inability to quickly produce a new edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* due to Marchand over-

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<sup>146</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713. March. 2.*

burdening himself with other projects to the detriment of this work. Böhm's marriage – which was soon followed by the birth of his daughter, and then Fritsch himself marrying – only increased the pressure on the company to begin making a profit which seems to have led to them taking out more loans. All these issues were coupled with Fritsch's prolonged business trips which paradoxically may have harmed, more than benefitted, the company: as it appears Fritsch's continued absences left the Rotterdam business rudderless, despite Marchand assistance and his attempts to organise affairs via his correspondence. When Fritsch eventually left the business he would be forced to move to The Hague, as part of the dissolution agreement stipulated that he could no longer publish in Rotterdam. Here he would publish a few works before, it seems, he decided to sell his stock (some of which he had received as part of the dissolution of Fritsch and Böhm) and move back to Germany around 1719, not to correspond with Marchand again until 1736 when his old *frère* wrote to him for some advice concerning his *Histoire et progrès de l'imprimerie*.

Jacques Boyd is an equally fascinating character as Fritsch. Although much less well documented his story further demonstrates the growing internationalisation of life during this period. Born in Carolina to Huguenot refugees of Scottish descent, he passed his adolescence to early manhood in Ireland where he married (a Huguenot, naturally) and had a child, then relocated to Holland for some years where he studied, worked and formed an intellectual society, before once again crossing the Atlantic until he finally returned to the Boyd family's adopted home city of Bordeaux before disappearing from history. Although Boyd was well educated, moved in what seem to have been 'enlightened' circles, and could consider himself a citizen of the world, he appears to have been cursed with the character of a dilettante, perhaps as a consequence of his peripatetic life and the possible wealth of his family, and never seems to have pursued scholarship as a serious career path – even though his one publication shows he possessed a keen mind. In contrast to figures such as Anthony Collins

or the third Earl of Shaftesbury it seems that Boyd was happiest keeping his ideas within the private societies which he attended and never fully considered dedicating his life to thinking and writing publicly.

## Conclusion

This research has examined both the culture of publishing and the culture of ideas in the Netherlands and France during the early eighteenth-century from a new perspective. This examination has consequently highlighted several areas which can offer new conceptions regarding the existing models of this period. The history of Gaspar Fritsch's early years and Marchand's early efforts to gain access to the Republic of Letters while he was still working in Paris – and the ways in which Marchand achieved this – demonstrates that during this period the Republic of Letters had become an institution which was increasingly reliant on *libraires* (and especially what we could call *libraires-érudits*) to source its books, facilitate its exchanges and promote its ideas. While connections between *savants* and the book industry were longstanding, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries the *libraire* gained increasing importance, began to forge ever-closer links, and were given ever more responsibility, by those whom they served. A skilful and dependable *libraire* saw his status grow in Europe amongst men of letters. The main reason for the increasing status of *libraires* during this period is that owing to the restrictions which were increasingly imposed on the printers and publishers of Paris during the later seventeenth-century, coupled with heavy-handed censorship and the monopoly system, the learned men of Paris became ever more reliant on knowledgeable and trustworthy *libraires* to source their books.<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen men like Leers and de Lorme were the first Dutch publishers during this period to begin to orient their businesses towards Paris to take advantage of the demand for new works which Parisian publishers had often been forbidden from publishing or were written by Huguenot exiles and published in the Netherlands. As a bookseller based in the

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<sup>1</sup> Bots, *Reinier Leers, een europese libraire te Rotterdam*, p. 31.

popular rue Saint-Jacques Marchand would have been amongst those Parisian *libraires* who sought to cultivate connections with figures such as Leers and de Lorme to provide their clientele with much sought after books (which would also to increase the *libraire's* reputation within Paris). The start of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702 however, greatly increased the difficulties for those involved in importing books into Paris; and a study of Reinier Leers's catalogues demonstrates a decline in his stock of French works beginning during this period – suggesting that not only getting books into France became more difficult, but also getting the works that he traded for his stock out of France faced increasing difficulties.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless de Lorme seems to have continued to pursue his business with France, but the difficult circumstances seem to have required that he spent as much time in Paris as he did in Amsterdam. His documented contacts with Marchand during this period inform us that Marchand was one of the Parisian *libraires* who was working with de Lorme to bring his stock into the capital – and not everything de Lorme was importing had been permitted by the French state.<sup>3</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck's research has shown that Marchand's boutique was at this time, 'the rendezvous of the capital's bibliophiles', suggesting that Marchand was managing to source stock which was attractive to the Parisian *savants* – and what the Parisian *savants* wanted were those hard to find works which often had to be printed outside of the Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> It may have been due to his ability to source rare and new works that Marchand earned his initial recognition among the correspondents of the Republic of Letters. The *libraire* was no longer just an artisan providing a service or goods, successful *libraires* – via their international contacts and knowledge of international book markets – were quickly becoming essential associates for those concerned with the Republic of Letters and learned matters, particularly in Paris.

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<sup>2</sup> Lieshout and Lankhorst, *Eleven catalogues*, p.18

<sup>3</sup> Van Eeghen, *Amsterdamse Boekhandel*, Vol. 1, p. 86, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Berkvens-Stevelinck, Prosper Marchand, p. 3.



The career of a skilled and successful *libraire* meant that they required knowledge of Latin and sometimes also Greek, and it also required that the *libraire* was highly literate in order to proof and often edit the text given to them in order to turn it into a book. For certain *libraires* like Marchand it appears that the books which passed through their hands were not just objects, and these *libraires* were as interested in the content of the book as much as its sale value. Therefore, we can see the best early eighteenth-century Parisian *libraires* as a special kind of artisan: intelligent, highly (often self-) educated, highly literate and multi-lingual. They possessed the keys to open doors into the *savant* world. They may not have had the free time or money of the gentleman *savant*, but they would often have had better access to rare, printed materials, and a better knowledge of the new ideas which were appearing – if they had the inclination to read the books which they were making and selling. It is via this access to new and interesting books that Marchand made his way further into the Republic of Letters. Coupled with his literary ability and his contacts in the international book market, Marchand was ideally positioned to correspond with the editors of the learned journals, supplying them – and their readers – with precise information on the new works which were appearing across Europe; and in the case of Jacques Bernard, often supplying him with the books themselves. From the appreciative letters he received from his journal connections we know that Marchand did this well.

A question this begs, when considering the wider culture of early eighteenth-century book publishing, is, ‘how representative was Marchand as a *libraire*’? There were certainly other *libraires* – Gaspar Fritsch for one – who, as we have seen, were equally erudite as Marchand. However, there were also many *libraires* who appear more concerned with the work than the material – Michael Böhm for example. This shows that *libraires* of this period were not all cut from the same cloth, with some being far more capable than others. These *libraires-érudits* such as Marchand and Fritsch seem to have quickly ascended in their trade owing to

their familiarity with *savant* culture and their ability to cater to their chosen market; while many others remained journeymen or focused on regular, but essentially mundane, publications: skilled and able but making and selling books rather than engaging with them.<sup>5</sup> It also appears that these *libraires-érudits* attracted each other (as the *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* document and many of the Marchand letters show) regularly corresponding concerning the latest works and thoughts of the *savants*. Effectively they had their own ‘*libraire*’ node within the Dutch Republic of Letters. It is therefore important to consider whether the Marchand correspondences may be somewhat distorted by this clique of publishers and may be giving a false impression of *libraire* culture as a whole – and if this is the case one must consider whether this type of *libraire* made up a class of their own within the publishing world. If this is so, when speaking of those *libraires* who helped facilitate what would later be described as the Enlightenment, in future it may be necessary to distinguish them in a separate category from many of their peers. Indeed, Marchand himself may be something of an aberration in this world: there appear to have been very few *libraires* who graduated from publishing books to writing them – or at least very few *libraires* who have left us with enough detail of their life to determine this.

Marchand’s rapid rise in status following his move from Paris to the Netherlands demonstrates that the Netherlands was a country with more opportunity for advancement than staid, establishment France, where familial and political connections seemed to matter more than individual ability. With a growing community of native French creating for themselves in Holland what they could not have in France, it is hardly surprising that Marchand decided to leave France when he did. He had works which he could not publish, ideas that he could not openly share, and despite all his efforts seemed to be restricted in his dealings with the

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<sup>5</sup> See: Chartier and Martin, *Histoire de l’édition Française*, pp. 57-58. It is also important to note that *libraires* dealing primarily in learned material were not necessarily immune to financial problems, as Fritsch and Böhm demonstrate.

*savant* world to the odd article or *nouvelle*. Following his frequent and often successful brushes with *savant* society in Paris, and comparing his own abilities and insights with those of the *savants*, Marchand may have come to see himself as an intellectual – or at least a very able thinker, who in Paris had not been, and would not be, properly recognised owing to his relatively lowly birth, lack of familial wealth and lack of establishment connections (a frustration which Marchand’s semi-fictitious 1705 family tree may have been made to address). That he managed to quickly advance professionally and socially and become closely connected not only to figures with roots in the Dutch establishment such as ‘s Gravesande and Sallengre but also foreign aristocracy and princes such as Hohendorf and Eugène shows that during this period the Netherlands (particularly following the influx of French refugees and the cultural, societal and economic changes which this caused) was a more meritocratic society and presented more opportunities to individuals based on their personal efforts and abilities, rather than any familial or political connections which an individual might possess. Additionally, these newcomers to the Netherlands – and especially those who were intellectual and cosmopolitan – may have had access to the higher social ranks due to the curiosity of their hosts and the prestige which may have been attached to them as former residents of Europe’s cultural capital.

This could go some way to explaining the differences which are found in modern conceptions of what exactly the Republic of Letters was and who could be considered a member of its ranks. While France has (explicitly or implicitly) been the focus of many studies concerning the Republic of Letters – due to its size and intellectual importance during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries – the situation there most likely differed significantly from the Netherlands. It may be that the francophone Dutch Republic of Letters – which consisted largely of Huguenot exiles – should be perceived as a parallel institution alongside its larger French version; and this emanation of the wider Republic of Letters – influenced by the

societies (both Dutch and Huguenot) in which it developed – was a more egalitarian version of the wider Franco-centric Republic of Letters. It may be the case that the much-vaunted equality among *savants* which was said to reign in the Republic of Letters actually did, but more so in the Netherlands than in France. The growing importance of the francophone Dutch publishing industry (and its plethora of new learned journals) created new opportunities which allowed for the growth and development of a new French-speaking intellectual class in the Netherlands. While the establishment journals in France were generally edited and written by figures with strong ties to the state or to a Catholic religious order, the new journals emerging in the Netherlands were often written by figures who had been increasingly identified and castigated as outsiders within France during the latter half of the seventeenth-century.

Albert-Henri de Sallengre's visit to Paris in 1714 during the first year of the *Journal Littéraire* presents us with a good contrast between Parisian and Dutch *savant* society, and the boundaries within which either society operated. In the Netherlands the *Journal Littéraire* had been effectively free to publish its thoughts on any subject which the journalists desired. The Dutch state seemed to be relatively unconcerned with francophone publications expressing themselves – if they remained within the boundaries of good taste and were not explicitly impious or atheistic.<sup>6</sup> However, as soon as Sallengre appeared in France (and made himself known as one of the journalists working on the *Journal Littéraire*) he was summoned to account for the journal's content before Tournemine – who was not reticent in making it clear to Sallengre that he could have publications banned in France if they offended the sentiments of establishment figures (in this case Tournemine himself). What great crime had the *Journal Littéraire* committed that warranted a personal interrogation from Tournemine? It

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<sup>6</sup> However, this was not the case with the Walloon church – see: Sebastien Drouin, *Journalisme et Hétérodoxie au Refuge hollandaise* (Paris: Honore Champion, 2023).

had lightly insinuated that Tournemine was perhaps not the scholar he professed to be, and that his journal indulged too much in ‘literary eloquence’ at the expense of clarity. The French establishment *savant* appears to have been at best thin skinned, and at worst peremptory.

Tournemine’s actions also allow us a glimpse into how establishment power and contacts could be used against one’s opponents. His attempts to use his contacts in the French embassy at The Hague demonstrate that Tournemine was willing to use the state’s apparatus in addition to his contacts within the Republic of Letters to achieve his goals. While his state contacts in the Netherlands seem to have been able to provide him with some information, as we have seen, this information was largely incorrect and extremely vague – much to the delight of the *Société Journal Littéraire*. The establishment political networks seem not to have been able to penetrate the Dutch Republic of Letters and uncover the secrets of the Dutch publishing market as easily as one might have thought. The desire for anonymity – and their ability to largely maintain their anonymity – also shows that while many expatriate French writers and editors were happy to exploit the large and profitable French market they were hesitant in revealing their true identities to the French authorities. Anonymity not only allowed for greater liberty of thought, but also there was always the possibility that the French state would pursue any relatives or friends of the exiles who had remained in France – something which the imprisonment of Jacob Bayle in 1685 had demonstrated.

Bearing in mind Tournemine’s interest in uncovering the authors of the journal, the Dutch-born and raised Sallengre had demonstrated considerable naivety by announcing in Paris that he was one of the journalists who were behind the *Journal Littéraire*. Although Sallengre had Huguenot ancestry, his family had been separate from the Kingdom for over a century and had established themselves successfully in the Netherlands, and it appears that he had little direct knowledge concerning the political culture of early eighteenth-century France. The

fact that the *Société Journal Littéraire* had to give Sallengre advice – by using well-known fables to make their point – not to trust Tournemine demonstrates that a more tolerant Dutch culture had shaped and informed his outlook and that he was largely unprepared for danger that awaited him in Paris (where even a non-Huguenot with connections to the later d’Orleans regime, Saint-Hyacinthe, was careful to conceal his identity). How far other exiles’ views of France would change owing to their increasing immersion in Dutch culture is beyond the scope of this research; although Sallengre does provide an example which suggests, that despite retaining the language and some of the culture of his ancestors, his perceptions of France differed vastly from recent arrivals. For Sallengre France seemed to be more a land of *savants*, not the place which had seen the violent persecution of his ancestors.

The episode concerning Sallengre, Tournemine and the savants whom Sallengre met in Paris also illustrates the competing ideologies which were trying to shape ideas via the physical manifestation of the Republic of Letters: the learned journal. The consensus among the Parisians, that there were certain issues which were not matters for the Republic of Letters – such as *Unigenitus* for example, which they believed had no business being discussed in learned journals – demonstrates that in France there were growing concerns within (Jesuit) establishment *savant* circles that (owing to the rise of a competing class of privately produced, imported foreign learned journals) the official narrative within France, which was largely supported by state-sponsored publications, was in danger of being challenged by forces which were largely outside the control of the state.

The examination of the life of Gaspar Fritsch during the period which he was operating out of the Netherlands has allowed us a glimpse into the world of the eighteenth-century Dutch-based *libraire* which differs considerably from that which Marchand’s life as a Parisian *libraire* offered us. Contrasted with Marchand’s apparently sedentary life sourcing books, study, editing, writing and maintaining correspondence in Paris, Fritsch’s activities

demonstrate that being a *libraire* during this period could also be peregrinating, legally contentious and financially precarious. Following the example of de Lorme – and building on the experience he had gained when working with his brother importing and exporting books across Europe – Fritsch spent much of the time he was a partner with Michael Böhm visiting various Europe cities for the benefit of his business. His frequent trips to Frankfurt and Leipzig would have largely been undertaken to visit the book fairs and to arrange exchanges of books with fellow *libraires* – including the Gleditsch company. The dispute which arose concerning the new edition of Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* in 1713 is a good demonstration of the precarious nature of copyright during this period, especially when it involved a foreign publishing house. Fortunately for Fritsch and Böhm – due to a personal legal intervention by Fritsch and official intervention by the mercantile Dutch authorities (who would have been aware of the profits which a new edition was likely to garner) – it appears that Fritsch managed to ward off this illegal edition. However, as his letter to Marchand implies, Fritsch and Böhm needed to be seen to be actually intending to produce something and not just sitting on their copyright. It appears from this that regardless of any copyright, if it was felt that if a work was in demand and the owner was not meeting this demand, then it was acceptable for a new publisher to step in.

The cross-border successes pioneered by figures such as de Lorme and Leers seem to have begun to influence some Parisian *libraires* during this period and, with the war now over, they decided to venture into Dutch territory, en masse, possibly in order to attempt to bypass figures such as Fritsch and find new and interesting works for themselves. However, when Fritsch met up with Nyon, Clousier, Gosselin and Ganeau on their return from the Netherlands he noted their, ‘imprecations against the country which they had just left, and against the booksellers who did not want to make exchanges with them’. This suggests that their journey had not gone to plan and demonstrates that the Dutch *libraires* were in a much

stronger negotiating position at this time than the French when it came to exchanges of material – something to which de Lorme’s letters from five years previous also allude. Once again we can see how the stifling of the Parisian print industry in an effort to suppress dissent and maintain the hegemony of the French establishment led to a situation whereby French *libraires* found themselves at a distinct disadvantage when dealing with their Dutch parallels. That the French had little to offer the Dutch may also owe something to the Dutch *libraires*’ seemingly unrestricted ability to make counterfeits of French titles – something which it appears was only prevented from becoming widespread due to good cross-border relationships being maintained between *libraires*. This was also something the French were not able to respond to in kind: as while they could counterfeit the Dutch titles, this came with legal risks – not due to their counterfeit status, but rather due to the fact some of these works would have been frowned upon by the French authorities.

This study of three figures attached to both the printing and intellectual worlds of the early eighteenth-century, coupled with the transnational trade and correspondence in which they partook, has shown that by the end of the seventeenth-century a rigid and over-regulated France was facing challenges not only to its position as a leading publisher of printed materials, but also to its intellectual dominance, from a much smaller – but much more dynamic – neighbouring state. A state which had built on its position as a refuge and place of business for numerous figures from across Europe, its location at a crossroads of European trade and its embrace of a greater degree of intellectual toleration in order to further boost its status as a leading intellectual power in Europe. That Fritsch, Sallengre and Marchand would find a home amongst the francophone Dutch *savants* owed much to this prevailing culture within the Netherlands. However, as we have seen, these three now Dutch-based figures also played their part in further developing the European marketplace of ideas during this period



via their contacts, publications and efforts in order to spread new (and sometimes old) ideas across Europe, and particularly into France.

# Appendix

Figure 1. Marchand's self-compiled ancestry. UBL, March. 2. (Courtesy, LUL)

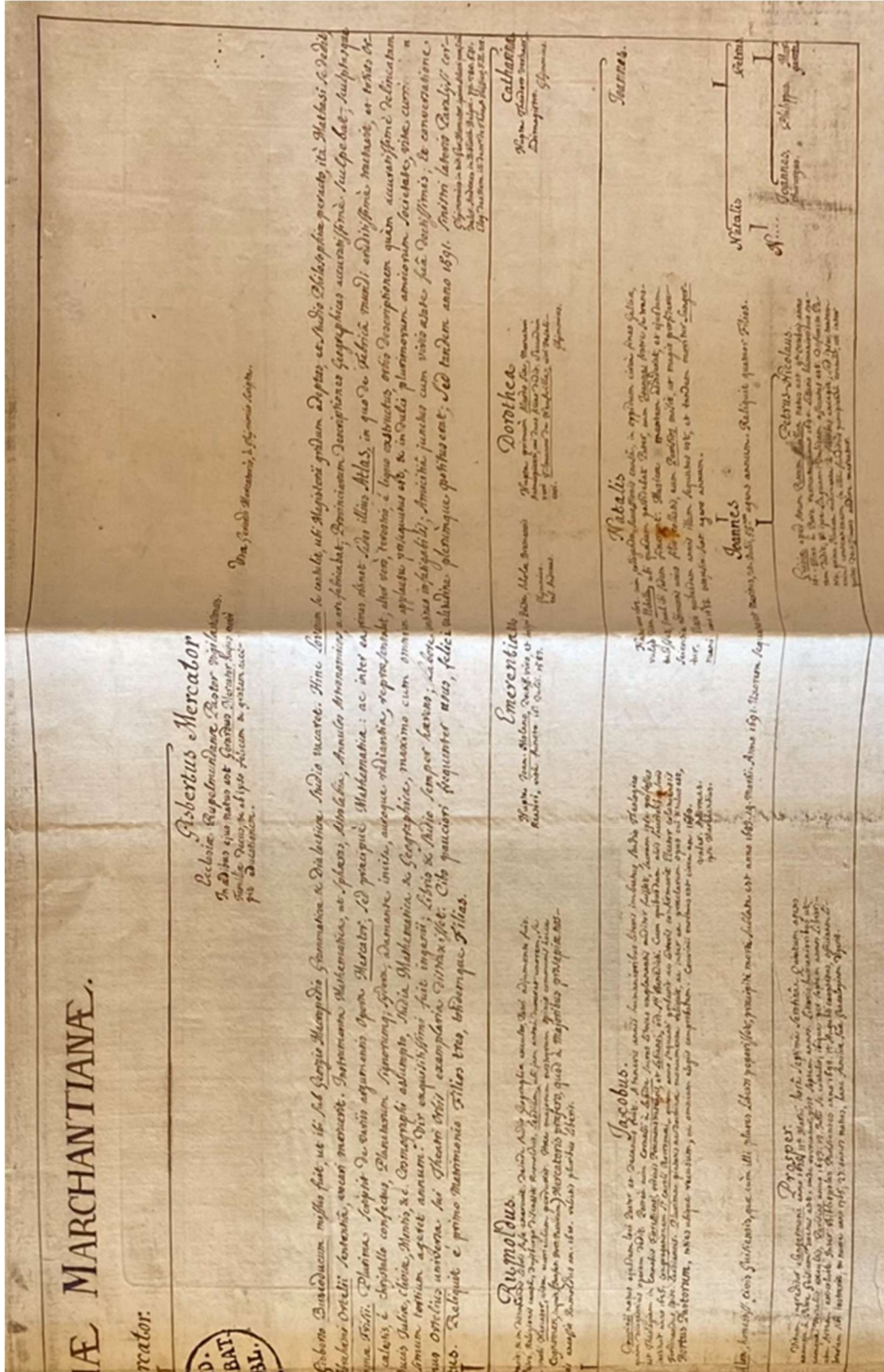




Figure 2. The Marchand-designed, Picart-created frontispiece from *Menippée* (1709) bearing the text *discrepat a prima facies haec altera vatun* (the other face of the prophet differs from its initial one), which Marchand attributes to Cornelius Severus. (Source, BnF)



Figure 3. The edition of the *Cymbalum Mundi* used by Marchand, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Source, BnF).

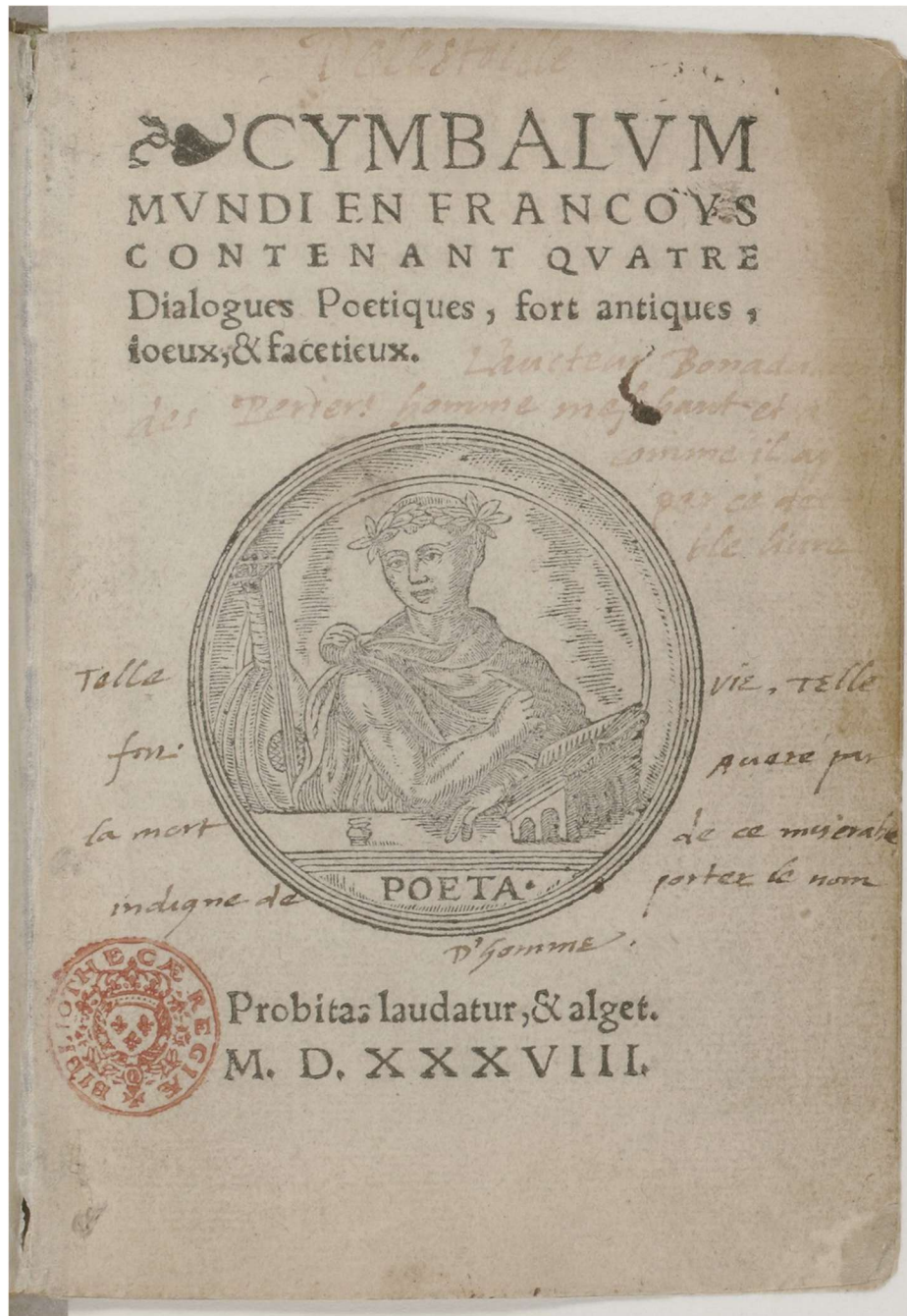


Figure 4. Bernard Picart's frontispiece to the *Journal Littéraire*. (Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums)



Figure 5. The title page of the first book to be published by Fritsch and Böhm. (Source, Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon)

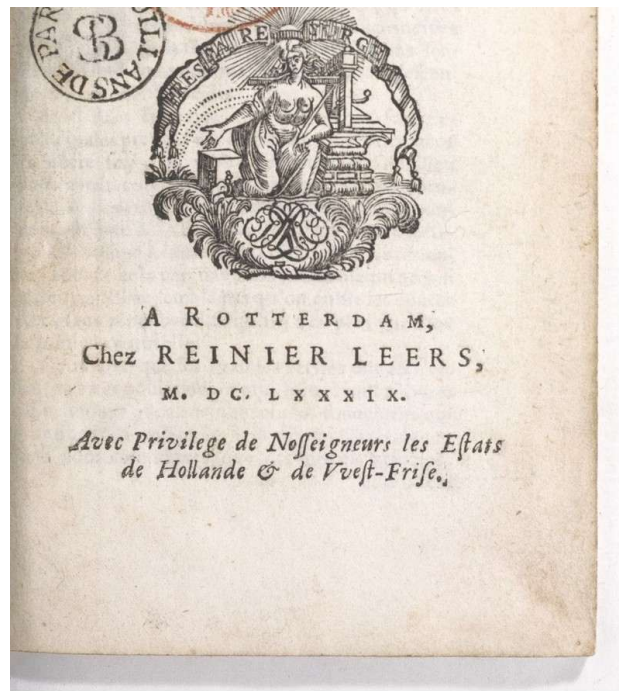
T R A I T É  
 de la  
 D I V I N I T É  
 de Nôtre Seigneur  
 JESUS-CHRIST.



A R O T T E R D A M,  
 Chez CASPAR FRITSCH,  
 & MICHEL BÖHM, MDCCIX.

*Avec Privilege de Nosseigneurs les Etats de Hollande  
 & de West-Frise.*

Figure 6. Leers's version of the device from 1689. (Source, BnF)



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 7. A later incarnation of the device with 'F & B' rather than 'R & L'. (Source, BnF)



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Figure 8. The book referred to by Boyd in his letter to Le Clerc. With device by Bernard Picart. (Source, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

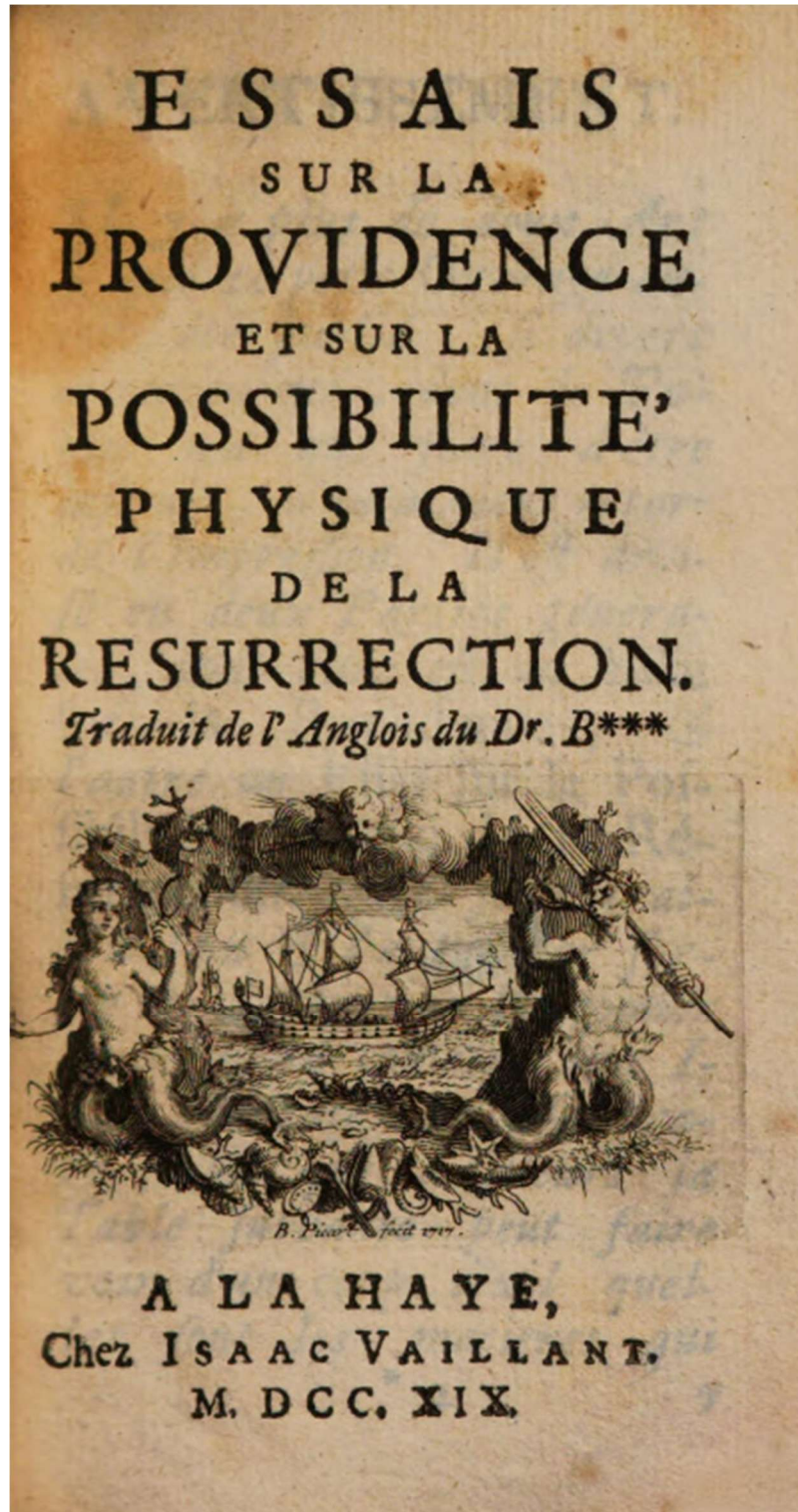


Figure 9. Gaspar Fritsch's 1706 edition of Cellarius's *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui*. (Source, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

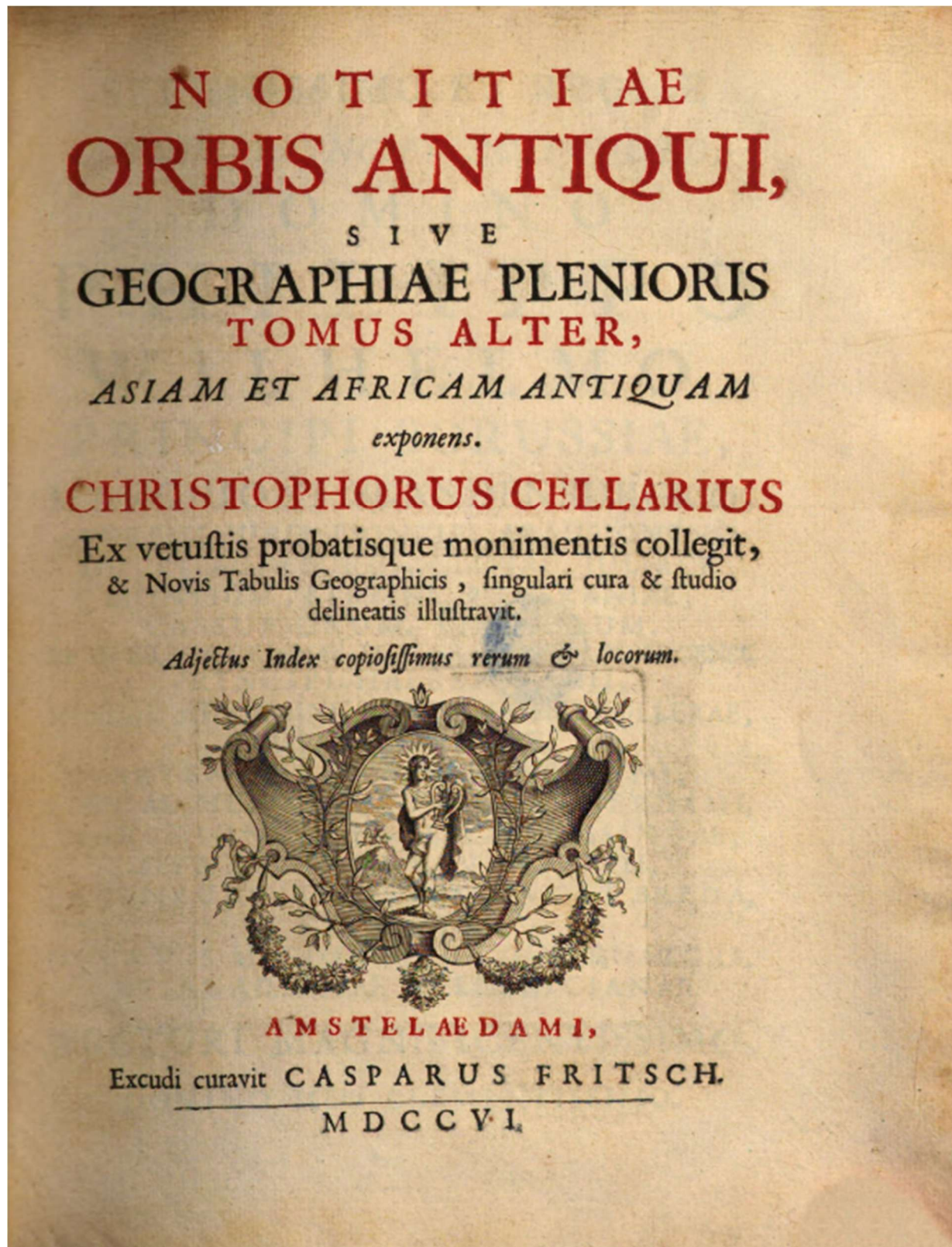


Figure 10. The Fritsch/Gleditsch Family.

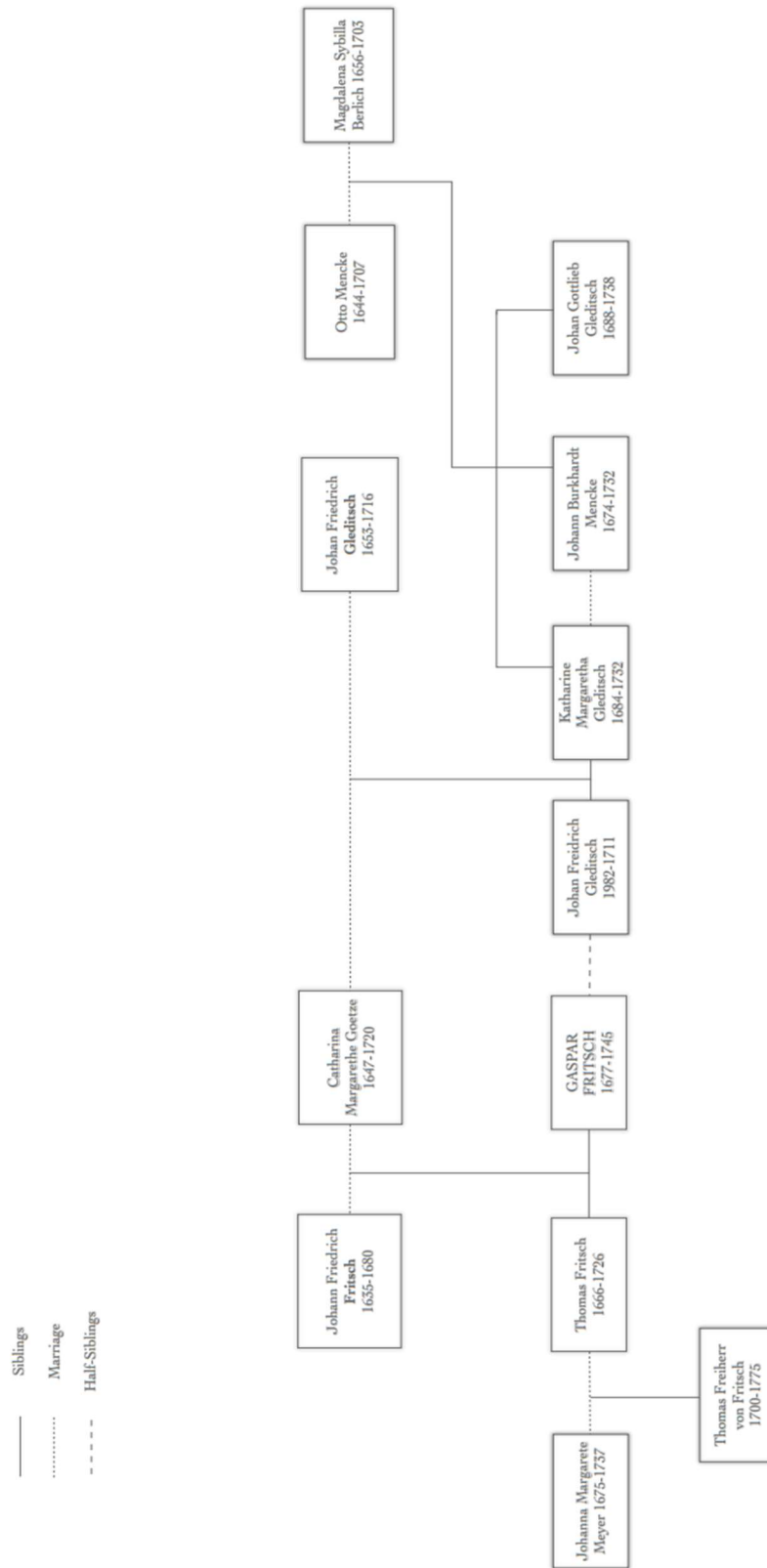
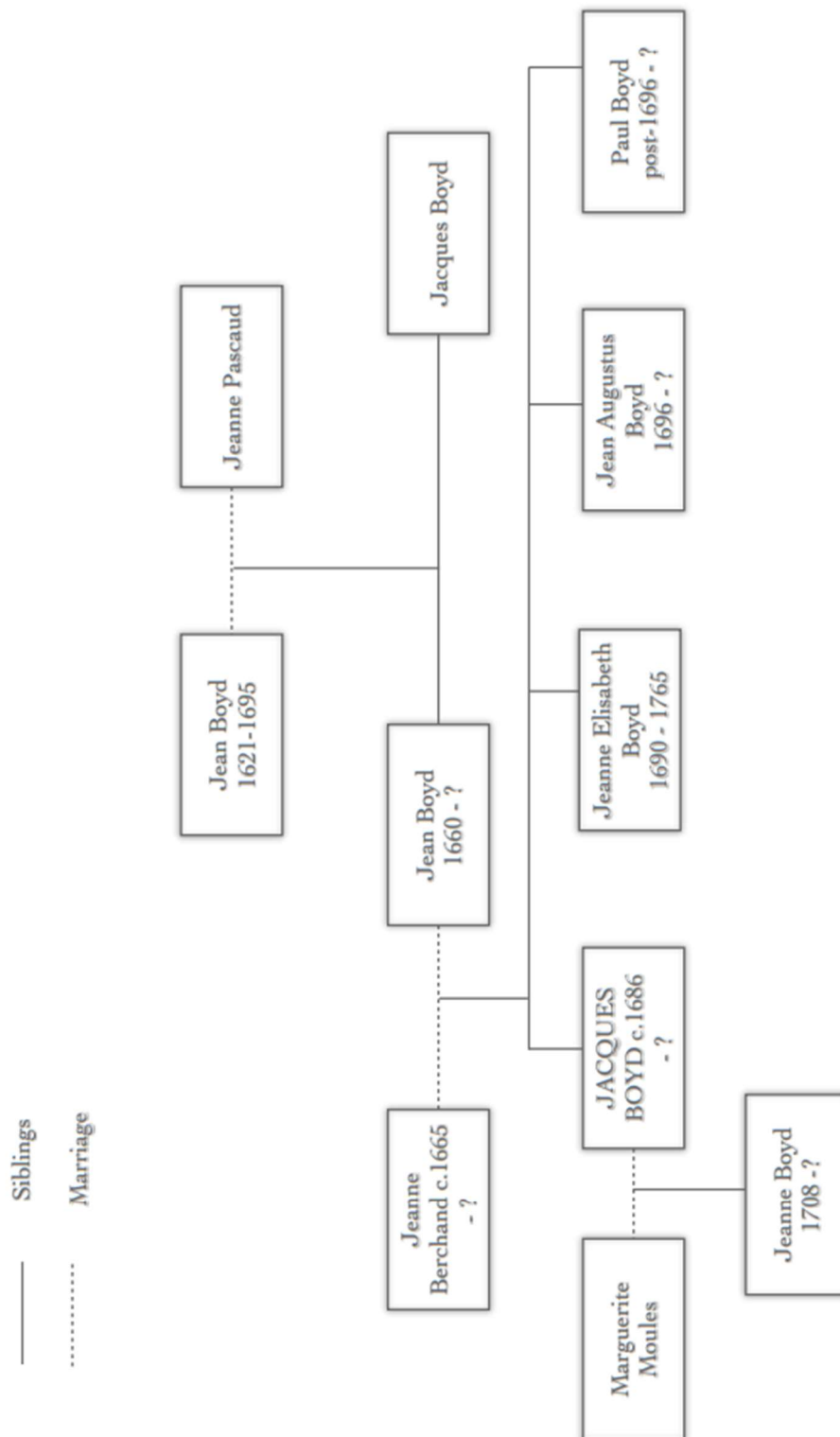


Figure 11. The Boyd Family.



**Table 1 - Gaspar Fritsch movements 1706-1720**

- Pre-1706: Leipzig.
- 1706: Amsterdam, London, possibly Paris.<sup>1</sup>
- 1707-1708: Leipzig, Augsburg, Paris.<sup>2</sup>
- 1709: Rotterdam.<sup>3</sup>
  - May: Leipzig.<sup>4</sup>
- 1710:
  - November, The Hague.<sup>5</sup>
- 1711:
  - Spring: Wiesbaden.<sup>6</sup>
  - July: Amsterdam.<sup>7</sup>
  - August: Rotterdam.<sup>8</sup>
  - October-December: Frankfurt.<sup>9</sup>
- 1712:
  - January-October: Amsterdam, Rotterdam.<sup>10</sup>
  - October: Brussels.<sup>11</sup>
  - November: Paris.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190, 200; *De Lorme to Fritsch*, 3 January, 1708 in Van Eeghan, I., *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725, Deel 1. Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn copieboek* (Amsterdam: Scheltema and Holkema, 1960) p. 154-155; *Fritsch to Marchand*, 29 April, 1716, March. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> *Chevaliers de la Jubilation*, BL Add Mss 4295 f. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 10 May, 1711; *Fritsch to Le Vier* 27 May, 1711, March. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *De La Motte to Des Maizeaux*, 28 July, 1711, in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 7 August, 1711, March. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 15 October, 1711; *Frisch to [Le Vier]*, 17 December, 1711, March. 2. Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 304.

<sup>10</sup> Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 322.

<sup>11</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 25 October, 1712, March. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand*, 18 November, 1712; *Fritsch to Marchand*, 14 April, 1713, March. 2.

- 1713:
  - May: Paris.<sup>13</sup>
  - Geneva.<sup>14</sup>
  - November: Frankfurt.<sup>15</sup>
- 1714:
  - May: Rotterdam.<sup>16</sup>
- 1715:
  - July: Amsterdam.<sup>17</sup>
  - October: The Hague.<sup>18</sup>
- 1716:
  - April: Frankfurt.<sup>19</sup>
  - June-August: The Hague.<sup>20</sup>
  - September: Frankfurt.<sup>21</sup>
  - October: Leipzig.<sup>22</sup>
- 1718:
  - April: The Hague.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Fritsch & Böhm to Des Maizeaux, 30 May, 1713* in Bots, et al. *Les Libraires de Hollande* p. 126.

<sup>14</sup> “This accursed journey to Geneva is the reason why your wishes for my return have not been granted”, *Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713*, March. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Fritsch to [Gacon], 29 May, 1714; Fritsch to Marchand, 18 June, 1714; Fritsch to Le Vier, 7 August, 1714*, March. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 21 July, 1715; Fritsch to Marchand, 25 July, 1715*, March. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 3 October, 1715*, March. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 29 April, 1716*, March. 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 14 June, 1716, Fritsch to Unknown, 24 August, 1716*, March. 2.

<sup>21</sup> “I am leaving, my dear friend, for Frankfurt next Monday”, *Fritsch to Unknown, 22 August, 1716*, March. 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Fritsch to Unknown, 7 October, 1716*, March. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Fritsch to Marchand, 3 April, 1718*, March. 2.

- 1719: The Hague.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Amsterdam City Archives, Notarial records, Part: 8294, Period: 1718-1719, Amsterdam, archive 5075, inventory number 8294, *March 17, 1719, Notariële archieven, record number 314997* [online] available at: <https://www.openarchieven.nl/saa:a3cb51cc-aea9-50ee-c053-b784100a6caf>.

**Marchand to Unknown [Gacon?], 2 November, 1711**

A ce que je vois, Messieurs, & Chers amis, ce n'est point sans raison que Monsieur Fritsch, mon cher aîné, que je riverisque, le croyant présentement à Rotterdam, selon ce qu'il m'a mandé ; ce n'est pas sans raison, dis-je, qu'il m'ait chargé de vous retenir des loges aux petites maisons<sup>1</sup> d'ici. Je n'avais regardé jusqu'à présent sa demande que comme une demande fort indiscreète, et comme une vengeance qu'il voulait tirer de la pièce que vous nous aviez joué à tous deux : mais maintenant je ne puis me dispenser de reconnaître que la prière qu'il m'a faite est mieux fondée que je ne le pensais. En effet, la cervelle vous a entièrement tourné, comme la prouve sans aucun retour la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire et à laquelle je ne comprends rien. Que veulent dire ces coquilles ? ce piège assez bien tendu, mais où vous n'avez point été pris ? Ce livre de futilité orné d'un nouveau frontispice ? ce Fanatique dont vous faites aussi peu de cas que de sa sœur ? Toutes ces choses sont pour moi des énigmes aussi indéchiffrables que l'apocalypse pour monsieur de Meaux ; et je pouvais vous dire avec justice ce que Cyrano de Bergerac faisait dire par son pédant Granger à son paysan Gareau. Ma foi, beau sire, depuis que cupidon s'agrègea la lumière du Chaos, il ne s'est point vu sous le soleil de démêlé semblable au votre. Dédale et son labyrinthe en ont bien dans le dos. Je fais ouvrir à ma conception plus d'yeux que n'en eut jamais le Berger gardien de la vache Io, et je ne vois goutte en votre affaire<sup>2</sup>. Que fait ici Mr Boyd et son retour de la Haye ? En quoi mon honneur est-il intéressé qu'il donne dans je ne sais quel Panneau ? Quel livre connaît-il aussi bien que son Auteur ? Et qu'est-ce que tout cela me fait, à moi ? A moi, dis-je, qui n'ait rien à démêler avec monsieur Boyd ? Ma foi, messieurs vos démêles poétiques avec Monsr. Fritsch vous ont brouillé la cervelle, et vous en avez tellement la tête pleine, que cela vous fait extravaguer. En effet, ne faut-il pas extravaguer pour me venir reprocher d'avoir mis notre ami Le Vier au nombre des poètes ? C'est tout ce que je pouvais faire à présent, que je vois que vous lui avez fait perdre la sens-commun ; car je ne doute point qu'il n'ait part à la dernière lettre que j'ai reçu de vous, comme il avait part à la première. Où donc l'ai-je accusé d'être poète ? Il ne m'en souvient aucunement ; et bien loin d'avoir de lui un tel soupçon, je ne le croirais pas même digne d'écurer les canaux d'Hippocrène, non plus que de Scourber l'auge ou nettoyer l'écurie de Pégase. Qu'il rengaine donc son commentaire sur les belles paroles de Guy Patin, qu'après les Jésuites, les Apothicaires et les Chimistes il n'y a point de gens plus fourbes que les libraires. En sa conscience, il sait bien que cela ne que convient point ; et quand il n'en savait que persuadé, la justice que je lui ai rendu dans ma dernière, et celle que je lui rends dans celle-ci, suffisent pour le convaincre qu'un homme qui dit aussi bien la vérité que moi n'a jamais mérité le nom de Fourber. Quant à vos autorités poétiques ; je les récuse à pur et à plain. Je vous l'ai déjà dit, et je vous le re-dit encore, je ne veux point me brouiller avec vous, il y irait trop du notre. Vos pareils, croyez-moi, sont gens que je révère et j'ai toujours été nourri par feu mon père dans la crainte de dieu, monsieur, et des poètes. Malgré cela vous n'avez point laissé de me tourne-virer dans un Rondeau à face blême dont je ne suis

<sup>1</sup> *L'hospice des Petites-Maisons* – an insane asylum in Paris founded in 1557.

<sup>2</sup> Bergerac, *Le Pédant joué*, 1654



nullement content. Cela n'est ni beau ni honnête, surtout à l'égard de gens qui vous criaient merci.

C'est pure fanfaronnerie  
de vouloir profiter de la poltronnerie  
de ceux qu'attaque notre bras.  
Battre un homme à jeu sûr n'est pas d'une belle âme,  
et le cœur [est?] digne de blâme  
comme les gens qui n'en ont pas.

Ce qui me console, c'est que vous m'avez mis en bonne compagnie dans ce Rondeau, et que tant que j'aurai un aussi bon second que celui qui vous me donnez, nous nous battons toujours à armes égales. C'est le parti que je vais prendre dorénavant, puis que mes prières? n'ont pu arrêter les traits immodérés de vos Rondeaux satyriques, dont ma douceur, ma bénignité, et même ma poltronnerie, franchissons le mot, devaient certainement me mettre à couvert. Nous allons donc, puisque vous ne poussez à bout, vous bates à fer émoulu ; et si vous m'égratignez en vers, je vous dévisagerai en prose ; n'étant plus d'humeur à me voir traiter de Nigaud ni de Nicomède sans riposter de quelque équivalent que je ménage encore pour cette fois, en attendant que la raison vous revienne. C'est le souhait que je fait pour l'un et pour l'autre de vous, étant toujours, malgré votre dérangement, votre bon et sincère ami  
Marchand  
Amsterdam ce 2<sup>e</sup> nov. 1711

Je salue Mr Fritsch, Pourquoi n'a-t-il point passé ici ? Mr Renaudin à qui je l'avais dit, selon les ordres, est fâche contre lui. Je salue M Bohm pareillement et M Jacobson. Notre ami Le Vier devait bien me mander s'il est courent de la révision des 4 lettres. On a eu bonnes nouvelles de M<sup>e</sup>? Oursel.<sup>3</sup>

Envelope –

Messieurs

Messieurs Fritsch & Bohm,

Libraires, à l'ens. d'Erasme

A Rotterdam

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<sup>3</sup> Possibly Catherine Machuel (widow of Jean I Oursel) active between 1692 à 1725.

### Marchand to Fritsch and Böhm, 9 November, 1711

Voici mon très cher ami, un petit billet qui m'a été remis hier par Mr de grand maison, qui nous est venu voir de son village. Il m'a chargé de vous le faire tenir incessamment, et je m'en acquitte avec d'autant plus de plaisir que cela me procure l'occasion de vous donner par le même moyen de nouvelles assurances de mon amitié. Mr Hougguer<sup>4</sup>, notre ami, vous est bien obligé de votre bon souvenir ; il m'a chargé de vous en remercier, et je m'en acquitte. Il vient me voir quelque fois, et quelque fois je vais aussi le voir, et tous deux ensemble nous allons chez Mr de la Motte<sup>5</sup>. Je n'ai point encore pu lui rendre les deux volumes que vous avez emporté de chez lui, parce que Mr Schelte<sup>6</sup> ne les veut pas encore donner. Je vous acquitterai de cette dette sitôt que je le pourrai faire.

A ce que je vois par le Billet ci-joint, mademoiselle Suson ne tardera pas à se rendre en ce pays-ci. De la manière dont elle vous parle, vous l'avez déjà instruite qu'on trouve à Rotterdam des gens toujours prêts à bien recevoir le monde. Quand elle y arrivera ne la retenez point trop, de peur que cela ne fasse ombrage ici. Vous savez ce que c'est que de femmes, et combien il est à craindre de manquer à quelque chose de ce qu'elles pensent qu'on leur doit. M<sup>le</sup>. Sa Mareine paraît toujours dans de très bonnes intentions pour elle, et je tacherai autant que je pourrai de l'y maintenir.

J'ai eu le plaisir d'embrasser ce matin notre bon et véritable ami Monsr Torein, qui n'a resté qu'un moment parce qu'il était pressé. Il m'a assuré que toute sa famille se porte bien. Témoigner leur à tous la part que j'y prends, et embrasser les pour moi ; en attendant que j'aye le plaisir de la faire moi-même. Ce sera peut-être au première jour conjointement avec Mr Hogger avec lequel je dois aller à la Haye, jusqu'où nous n'irons point sans passer jusques à Rotterdam. Nous nous en ferions l'un et l'autre en crime irrémissible.

J'ai voulu commencer avant-hier à copier les notes mss. Du Tractatus Theologico-Politicus<sup>7</sup> que notre cher ami Mr Fritsch m'a chargé de lui remettre sur son exemplaire ; mais je vous avoue que j'ai été rebuté par des caractères Hébreux et Syriaques auxquels je ne comprends guère. Dites-lui cependant que pour l'amour de lui, je vaincrai ma répugnance, et que je ne désespère point d'en venir à bout. Pourquoi ne m'a-t-il point envoyé de l'Homère, j'aurais pu en vendre, qu'on m'a demandé. Celui dont il m'a (Mr Böhm) fait présent n'a pas de figures et cela est cause qu'on ne me l'a pas pris. Il y a quelque temps que Mr Fritsch m'emporta d'ici une Conformité des Cérémonies et de Mussart<sup>8</sup>, dont j'aurais fort à faire à présent. Je le prie de vouloir me la prêter pour un temps, après quoi je la lui rendrai. Je l'embrasse de tous mon cœur, ainsi que Mr Bohm, & Mr. Gacon ; & ainsi que vous mon très cher ami, dont je suis et sera toujours sans aucune réserve le bon et sincère ami. Marchand

Amsterdam ce 9 Novemb. 1711

<sup>4</sup> Sebastian Hoggeur, a friend of Marchand's who was resident in the Netherlands in the early 1710s.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Pacius de La Motte.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Schelte, Amsterdam publisher.

<sup>7</sup> Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Hamburg: Henricum Kunraht, 1670). It appears that La Motte had been also asked to work on this book but refused due to Spinoza's reputation. *La Motte to Des Maizeaux, 19 April, 1712*, in Bots, *Lettres de La Motte*, p. 326.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Mussard (1627-1686) a French Protestant theologian, was born at Geneva in 1627, where he also studied theology.

Je salue Mr Boyd et le frère Jacobson.

Env.

Messieurs

Messieurs Fritsch et Bohm, Libraires à l'enseigne d'Ersame, dans le Hooghstraet. A  
Rotterdam

*Letters from Gaspar Fritsch*

**Unsigned [Fritsch] to Marchand, 10 May, 1711**

Ce 10e May 1711<sup>1</sup>

En vrai paresseux alité  
La tête encore tout endormie  
Et le pied droit emmailloté<sup>2</sup>  
Ni plus ni moins qu'une momie.

Gité dis-je sur mon grabat  
Mouchoir me servant de rabat  
Et mon oreiller de pupitre  
Marchand, je t'écris cette épître.

Qui diable eut cru, sans l'avoir mérité  
Qu'à peine ayant atteint six lustres<sup>3</sup>  
La sainte confraternité  
Des débauchés les plus illustres  
Pour confrère m'eut adopté ?

Je n'ose en dire davantage  
Tant je suis confus et honteux,  
De voir qu'un homme de mon âge  
Soit mis au nombre goutteux.

Je soutiens que c'est médisance  
(Moyen sûr pour me consoler)  
La goutte avec moi s'accoupler ?  
Bon la goutte, quelle apparence !

Jamais des plaisirs de Venus  
Je n'ai goûté qu'avec sagesse  
Et jamais le jus de Bacchus  
Ne m'a tenté jusqu'à l'ivresse.

Ce n'est point par droit d'héritage,  
Jamais aucun de nos aïeux  
N'a reçu, dit-on, pour partage

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written during Fritsch's stay at the Wiesbaden spa for treatment for gout.

<sup>2</sup> Fritsch states in the following letter that he is particularly concerned about his right foot.

<sup>3</sup> 'A term of reckoning among the Romans: it is a span of five years. It is a reckoning that is more commonly made in Poetry.' (Furetière). Fritsch was around 33 or 34 when he wrote this, so he was being generous about his age here, which suits the mocking self-pity evident in the poem.

Cette sainte fille des cieux.

Des cieux ? ce n'est que pour la rime  
 Disons plutôt, fille d'Enfer  
 Je ne crois pas que Lucifer  
 Souffre d'autre mal pour son crime.

Serait-ce de l'inaction  
 De ces gens nés dans l'abondance ?  
 Encore moins ; mon indigence  
 Me servira de caution.  
 Concluons donc : c'est médisance.

Il était ma foi temps de conclure. Cette goutte ou non goutte, vient de me faire faire une grimace de Scaramouche qui m'oblige à mettre fin à ma mauvaise rimaille.

Votre lettre est venue à propos me faire une petite trêve par le plaisir que me donne votre renouvellement d'amitié. Vous pouvez toujours compter sur la mienne, si tant est qu'elle puisse vous être utile.

Translation of the poem:

Like a true bedridden indolent  
 Head still sleepy  
 Right foot swaddled  
 No more nor less than a mummy.

Perching, I say, on my bed  
 My handkerchief serving me as a rabat  
 Any my pillow as a pulpit  
 Marchand, I write this epistle to you.

Who the hell would have believed, without having merited it  
 That hardly having reached six *lustres* [thirty years of age]  
 The holy brotherhood  
 Of the most illustrious debauches  
 Would have adopted me as a colleague?

I dare not speak of it any further  
 So confused and ashamed am I  
 To see a man of my age  
 Be put with those suffering gout.

I maintain that it is slander

(a sure way to console myself)  
Gout has attached itself to me?  
Well, gout! – not likely!

I have only ever tasted the pleasures of  
Venus with prudence  
And the juice of Baccus has never  
Tempted me to drunkenness.

It is not by right of inheritance,  
Never have any of our forefathers  
Received, it is said, for a fate  
This holy maid of the heavens.

Of the heavens? It is only for the rhyme  
Let's say rather, maid of Hell  
I do not believe that Lucifer  
Suffers any other pain for his crime.

Could it be from inactivity  
Like those people born into abundance?  
Even less; my poverty  
Will serve me as a guarantee.  
Let's conclude therefore: it's slander.

### Fritsch to Le Vier, 27 May, 1711

Des Eaux de Wisbade ou du Purgatoire ce 27e Mai 1711

Dominus Vobiscum XX et cum Spirito tuo

J'ai reçu mon cher Monsieur la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 13e de ce mois. Elle m'a trouvée dans la solitude occupée à expirer mes péchés du temps jadis et à refaire mon piédestal démonté. Permettez-moi SVP que je vous fasse un petit détail de la pénitence que nous faisons céans mes camarades messieurs les invalides de tout sexe et de tout âge et moi. Primo nous sommes prisonniers de guerre dans un assez mauvais trou, logés dans un grand hôpital dans des chambres garnies de deux châlits, deux bancs de bois, une table estropiée, sans miroirs, rideaux, canapés, tabourets, fauteuils, tapisseries etc. couchés sur des lits un peu plus mollets que ceux des Capucins et dont certainement les amours n'ont jamais remué les paillasses, ceux qui veulent être mieux, se font apporter des lits de plumes de Frankfort, mais je n'ai pas eu cette précaution-là. On se lève a 3 ou 4 heures du matin et on baigner dans un étang ou piscinière pas tout à fait si grande que celle de Betsaida, mais peu s'en faut, les uns s'y plongent en foncent jusques au menton, les autres moins, chacun selon ses besoins, après y avoir resté une heure, on se remet au lit pour se reposer un couple d'heures, cela fait, on se lève derechef et on descend dans une grande salle basse, là , d'un tuyau pratiqué dans un antre, il sort une eau chaude fort abominable et d'un gout très exécrable, de cette eau-là, il faut boire jusqu'à deux bouteilles et jusqu'à ce qu'elle demande à sortir par derrière, en la buvant on promène et on s'entretient, mais à peine a-on commencé à entrer en matière qu'il faut se quitter brusquement pour aller chier (vous-savez ce que c'est) ce qu'on fait tout attendant la sale, ou il y a jusqu'à 20 petits cabinets élevés sur les égouts des bains, en sorte que quand on est assis dessus, les exhalaisons de ces eaux soufrées vous chaussent tellement le derrière, qu'à mesure qu'on respire par en bas, on perd la respiration par en haut – a ces occupations on passe la matinée et jusqu'à l'heure du diner : ceux qui sont ici avec famille, se régalent dans leurs cellules, les autres, comme plusieurs officiers estropiés et moi, allons manger au cabaret où on est aussi bien traité que couché. Après diner ceux qui peuvent se promènent, jusqu'à vers les 3 heures, alors on se remet au bain, de là au lit et puis on va souper, a neuf heures de soir tout le monde est couché – ne voilà-il pas une belle fichu vie ? En vérité quand vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me faire souvenir de la foire de la Haye et des moments agréables que vous y avez passés avec Mr et Mlle Vaillant et Mlle la Sale j'ai pensé me fâcher contre moi-même.

Cependant j'espère que j'aurai sujet de me louer de ces eaux, car depuis 15 jours de bain je me retrouve avec toute la force qui m'a manquée dans mon pied droit et c'était ce qui m'a inquiété. Le plus, outre cela toute ma peau ressemble à du chagrin, l'eau a fait sortir tout le scorbut et je vais être purifié et nettoyé à merveille. J'ai commencé hier à ne baigner qu'une fois par jour et à prendre les eaux de Swalbach pour re rafraichir et pour me mettre en état de partir la semaine qui vient, car je compte d'être chez vous dans 15 jours absolument et sans faute.

Au reste mon cher je vous ai mille obligations de la peine que vous avez prise de me mander la bonne nouvelle du bon succès des affaires de Mr Durand au Synode, je vous conjure de l'assurer aussi bien que tous nos amis que je prends beaucoup de part à la satisfaction qu'il a

sans doute d'être sorti avec honneur de cette querelle, je brûle d'envie d'être chez vous tant pour reprendre le soin de nos affaires que pour avoir le plaisir de savoir de vos tout le détail de ce qui s'est passé au synode. Mr La Grange a eu la bonté de m'écrire une grande lettre là-dessus, elle m'a fort réjouie et je l'en remercie très humblement. Je vous prie de l'assurer de mes respects aussi bien que toute la famille Duchemin que j'honore infiniment. Ils ont la bonté de se souvenir de moi, je leurs en sois très obligé. Quoi que les sermons de Mr D... ne produisent rien tant qu'ils seront sous la presse, je ne laisse pas d'approuver le retardement puisque cela lui a fait du bien.

Je vous félicite sur le voyage que vous avez fait à la Haye, en puissiez-vous faire des semblables chaque semaine tout le reste de votre vie ? Si j'avais été à Rotterdam ce Pèlerinage serait tombé sur moi, car il y a six mois qu'il a été concerté, mais telle chose m'arrive presque toujours et je n'ai qu'à projeter des parties de plaisir pour n'en pas être. Si je connaissais des personnes aussi agréables que vos Pèlerines dans ces quartiers, je me ferais rendre tous les baisers que j'ai perdu en manquant le voyage de la Haye, mais il faudra prendre patience jusqu'au retour à Rotterdam et j'espère qu'on me rendra un bien qui m'est dû si légitimement, en attendant ne vous avisez pas de baiser sur mon compte, mais faites leurs mille et un compliments de ma part SVP aussi bien qu'au chef de la famille.

Voici la dernière lettre que vous aurez de moi de ce voyage et je n'attends point de réponse ni de vous ni de Mr Böhm. Serai-je vous charger de mes civilités et respects pour messieurs Boyd, Charron, et leurs très agréables familles ? ou monsieur j'ose, sachant que vous les ferez mieux que qui que ce soit.

Je ne vous écris point de nouvelles de ces quartiers parce qu'il n'y en a point et que d'ailleurs je suis très mauvais nouvelliste, l'entretien banal de ces environs roule sur l'élection et couronnement de l'empereur, nous en parlerons après mon retour.

Je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur et suis du fond de mon âme

Mon cher Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

C Fritsch

A Monsieur

Monsieur Charles Le Vier



**Fritsch to Marchand, 7 August, 1711**

A Rotterdam ce 7 d'aout 1711

Monsieur,

Le libraire et l'auteur vous le prenez avec hauteur, mais Monsieur l'auteur et libraire on vous en verra faire faire, quand quittant le train de marchand vous voudrez faire le méchant, de votre cymbale du monde, Monsieur l'auteur, que Dieu confonde, j'en attendais un demi cent tant pour débiter au passant que pour en envoyer en foire dont eussiez tiré gain et gloire de ce beau *Cymbalum Mundi*. Si ce n'est être trop hardi envoyez m'en donc tôt cinquante dont je procurerai la vente, sinon monsieur du *Cymbalum protinus indico bellum tibi*<sup>4</sup> sans aucune réserve et lors mettant ma muse en verve je vous chanterai pouille en vers, ah ah ! Vous vous donnez des airs Mons. Le Libraire de Bâle a vu votre fichu cymbale, je vous le dis pensez-y bien votre dialogue de chien et votre chien de dialogue où vous faites parler en dogue. Melampus<sup>5</sup> ainsi qu'Hilactor<sup>6</sup> a besoin d'avoir un bon cor qui puisse étourdir les oreilles du contenu de ses merveilles. Sinon ce beau discours de chien vous restera pensez-y bien – et après y avoir bien pensé faites ce qu'on vous dit

Adieu

Fritsch

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<sup>4</sup> 'I immediately declare war on you'.

<sup>5</sup> Melampus was a legendary soothsayer and healer who could understand the language of animals.

<sup>6</sup> Name of one of Actaeon's dogs used in the fourth dialogue of the *Cymbalum Mundi*.

### Fritsch to Marchand, 20 August, 1711

A Rotterdam ce 20 d'aout 1711

Kyrie Marchand,

Mons. Böhm partit d'ici vendredi passé pour Amsterdam, je l'ai prié d'aller chez Mr. Kottler pour mettre ordre à l'expédition de votre caisse, mais il ne m'a pas écrit qu'il l'avait fait, ce qui m'inquiète et me fait appréhender qu'il pourrait bien l'avoir oublié. Pour ne pas manquer les derniers rouliers, j'écris la ci-jointe au Sieur Kottler pour l'instruire sur la spedition de votre caisse et vous la lui rendrez S.V.P. sans délai, à moins que Mr Böhm n'y ait été lui-même et en ce cas vous n'avez qu'à déchirer la lettre.

Ci-joint votre passeport de France, tenez-vous prêt au 25<sup>e</sup>. L'élection<sup>7</sup> presse terriblement ainsi nous n'avons pas du temps à perdre. Mr Fleischhauer<sup>8</sup> vous doit avoir dit qu'il faudra se rendre au même jour à la cour de Loo à Utrecht. Mr Chatellein vous est-il venu parler sur votre voyage ? Mr Picart travaille il à la titre planche de l'Anacreon ? ^ La petit Mercure est-il achevé ? un mot de réponse là-dessus. Je suis tout à vous

Fritsch

^le catalogue chez l'agioteur avance-il ?

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<sup>7</sup> In 1711 there was an imperial election held to select the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. It took place on October 12.

<sup>8</sup> Amsterdam *libraire*. *Catalogue des livres Francois, qui se trouvent aux Foires de Leipzig et Francfort chez Juste Auguste Fleischauer, libraire d'Amsterdam*. (Amsterdam: Justus Augustus Fleischauer, 1711). <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online/catalogue-des-livres-francois-qui-se-trouvent-aux-foires-de-leipzig-et-francfort-chez-juste-auguste-fleischauer-libraire-damsterdam-amsterdam-justus-augustus-fleischauer-1711;bscodummy0639>

**Fritsch to Marchand, 15 October, 1711**

A frfort ce 15 8bre 1711

Monsieur et cher Cadet,

J'espère que vous serez heureusement arrivé chez vous. Je vous en félicite et me donne l'honneur de vous faire la présente pour vous prier de retenir au plus vite plusieurs loges aux petites maisons à Amsterdam pour y enfermer nos auteurs de Rotterdam avec tous ceux à qui ils ont gâté l'esprit. Vous voyez par la pièce ci-joint que leur extravagance est au comble, et que nous n'avons pas du temps à perdre à y mettre ordre, tâchez de leur trouver des cabinets dans la cour intérieure de la maison, afin qu'on ne les approche pas si aisément.

Lundi passé l'élection s'est faite avec toute la pompe et magnificence imaginable, toute la place reluisait d'or et de pierreries, et il y a eu plusieurs personnes qui sont devenus aveugles de cette affaire-là, n'ayant pas pu supporter le grand éclat de toutes ces richesses. Vendredi dernier il y eut un grand incendie qui a consumé 11 maisons et demie, et depuis on a arrêté un espion, officier des troupes de M la Croix, qui selon toutes les apparences sera bientôt pendu.

Dans 4 jours je me de Renaudiserai<sup>9</sup> et vous viendrai trouver au plus vite, mes compliments à Messieurs Picard, adieu tout à vous,

Fritsch

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<sup>9</sup> Marchand refers to a M. Renaudin in a later reply to which this word may be some kind of allusion.

**Fritsch to Unknown [Le Vier?], 17 December, 1711**

A ffort ce 17<sup>e</sup> xbre 1711

Je suis, monsieur et très cher ami, le plus confus de tous les hommes de ce que je dois encore réponse depuis 3 mois à l'ami le plus généreux de toute la terre che dio guardi et au lieu de m'en excuser par la guerre ouverte qui est entre vous autres, M. Marchand et moi, j'aime mieux vous en demander mille pardons et je vous prie de me les accorder tous, sans en rien rabattre car en conscience je ne le puis faire autrement.

Vous avez eu, mon cher, la bonté de faire dans la lettre que vous m'avez écrite du 9<sup>e</sup> Cout. [courant] ce que j'ai eu envie de vous demander il y a déjà du temps, mais que je n'osais hasarder lite pendente<sup>10</sup>, savoir de m'informer de l'état des ouvrages qui sont sous la presse chez nous etc. Je vous en suis infiniment obligé et votre lettre m'a d'autant plus réjouie qu'elle est une marque certaine de la paix conclue entre----- Très hautes, très puissants, très métaphysiques, très comiques et très poétiques seigneurs et Princes Jacques Boyd, Charles Le Vier et François Gacon, d'une part, et très bas, très .....(J'allais dire impuissante, mais cela n'aurait pas valu le diable, ce mot signé de ma main et la grande Maîtrise de l'ordre<sup>11</sup> aurait pu me ruiner de réputation) je dirai donc très misanthropique frères Prosper Marchand et Gaspard Fritsch d'autre part ; dont les préliminaires m'ont été envoyé par mon dit Sieur Marchand l'ordre dernier. Je vous en félicite Messieurs et souhaite que vous ne donniez plus vos propres qualités aux autres.

Je vous rends milles grâces du détail que vous avez pris la peine de me faire de vos occupations, comme ils nous regardent M. Böhm et moi, nous vous en sommes très redevables ; je suis charmé de la préface de M. Gacon, il a raison de laver la tête à Mons. Le Fèvre<sup>12</sup>, pourquoi cet animal a-t-il fait un livre de futilitate poetices<sup>13</sup> ? C'est un enragé et un insolent d'avoir dit que les poètes sont des fous, qu'ils ont les mœurs fort corrompues, qu'ils ne croient point de dieu, que ce sont des magiciens qui invoquent le diable etc. il ne faut pas souffrir cela. Mais M. Gacon qu'a-t-il à démêler avec M. le Clerc, notre ami nous fera un plaisir très sensible d'en agir modestement avec lui, car cet homme est parmi les libraires ce que le diable est chez les Indiens, et il faut lui bruler une chandelle, afin qu'il ne fasse pas du mal. A l'égard de Mad<sup>e</sup> Dacier<sup>14</sup> je suis bien aisé que M. Gacon ait gagné sur lui de la vouloir traiter honnêtement, on doit absolument du respect au sexe et quand bien on n'en soit pas épris, il faut néanmoins être toujours honnête avec eux. Avant de quitter l'Anacreon<sup>15</sup> je vous prie, mon cher, de m'en envoyer le titre avant que de le faire tirer, pour voir s'il y a quelque chose à refaire, il faut que Mons Picard<sup>16</sup> fournisse une petite vignette ou cul de lampe qu'il a gravé il y a quelque temps, c'est un mercure pendant l'air, que nous mettrons sur le titre. La titre planche est parfaitement belle et il faut que ces planches soient tirées à Amsterdam, on les gâterait à Rotterdam comme ceux de l'Homère.

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<sup>10</sup> "Pending the Litigation"

<sup>11</sup> cf. *Chevaliers de la Jubilation* document.

<sup>12</sup> Tanneguy Le Fevre (1658-1717), brother of Mme Dacier.

<sup>13</sup> Tanneguy Le Fevre, *The Futility of Poetics* (Amsterdam: Henri Desbordes, 1697)

<sup>14</sup> Mme Dacier published her own version of the Anacreon in 1681.

<sup>15</sup> Published by Fritsch & Bohm in 1712.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Picart.

M. Böhm est d'avis qu'on dédie ce livre au Prince Eugene, et moi je crois qu'il faut le dédier à M. Le Baron de Hoogendorf, j'ai été pour faire la révérence à ce seigneur, mais je n'ai pas pu le trouver, car il n'a fait que passer ici ; Le Prince Eugene est trop au-dessus de ces bagatelles, un livre de raisonnement lui convient mieux, mais M. Hohendorf est poète et savant, il le prendra certainement en bonne part, et vous le trouverez arrivé en Hollande avant la réception de la présente.

Ce que vous me dites du Rousseau<sup>17</sup> me ravit, dieu veuille qu'il soit de même des autres volumes, je prie monsieur Böhm de ne pas s'embarrasser de Schelte<sup>18</sup> au sujet des Opera qui doivent entrer dans les Rousseau et vous les y ferez mettre sans façon S.V.P. Je réponds du mal qui en arrivera. Si Mr. Leers et Mr. Böhm trouvent bon de tirer 3000 de Rousseau et si Mr. Gacon est sûr qu'on les débitera, à la bonheur, j'y souscris, il est certain que si on pouvait vendre ce livre avec certains contes gras on en vendrait 20000 dans trois ans.

Le peu de débit des sermons de Mr. Durand à Rotterdam m'étonne, est ce que le dit sieur n'y a plus qu'une douzaine et demie d'amis ? J'aurais cru que tout le quartier français en aurait consumé l'édition toute seule après s'être montré si zélé pour Mr. Durand, quantum mutatus ab illo.<sup>19</sup> Je suis de l'avis de Mr. Vaillant en ce qui regarde le mariage de Mr. Durand avec Mlle la Salle, l'établissement est encore trop nouveau et notre ami n'a encore rien gagné, je me réjouis avec vous de ce que cette aimable fille se porte bien. Je prie Mons. Vaillant de lui bien faire mes compliments et je le salue lui et Mlle son Épouse de tout mon cœur.

Mr. L'Enfant<sup>20</sup> et Mr. Larrey<sup>21</sup> sont des fort braves gens de nous avoir laissé leur Msp pour 400 L et 12 exemples. Il me semble qu'il le vaut. Il faut que ce petit diable de la Motte<sup>22</sup> se fourre par tout, M. Marchand m'avait déjà averti il y a du temps que le Sr. Humbert<sup>23</sup> était notre rival et M. la Motte le maquereau<sup>24</sup>.

Aussi chère que nous devrait être la paix, comme bien savez, néanmoins je voudrais que le diable eût emporté ces Canailles qui forcent les honnêtes gens à en faire une qui ne vaudra certainement rien.

Je voudrais qu'il m'en coutât 10 L et que Mr. Van F [van Effen?] fut l'auteur du misanthrope<sup>25</sup>, il y a longtemps que sa figure, son esprit et cette babiole me déplaisent, quoi que Mr. Marchand en soit charmé. De gustibus non est disputandum<sup>26</sup>. S'il est véritablement l'auteur de cette fadaise, Mr. Gacon fera un œuvre méritoire en le bernant le plus impitoyablement du monde et tous les gens du bon sens lui en tiendront compte, il n'y aura

<sup>17</sup> *L'anti-Rousseau*, by Gacon.

<sup>18</sup> Amsterdam publisher also responsible for le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choisie*.

<sup>19</sup> 'how much it had changed from that'.

<sup>20</sup> Jacques l'Enfant, 1661-1728. Pastor and writer based in Germany. Founder of the *Bibliothèque Germanique* (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1720).

<sup>21</sup> Isaac de Larrey, 1639-1719. Protestant French historian, based first in Netherlands then Berlin. *Histoire des Sept sages de la Grèce* (Rotterdam: Fritsch & Böhm, 1714).

<sup>22</sup> Charles Pacius de La Motte (c.1667-1751)

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Humbert, *libraire*, published *Histoire du concile de Constance*, tirée principalement d'auteurs qui ont assisté au concile, enrichie de portraits, by L'Enfant.

<sup>24</sup> Maquereau – 'a bawd' – Cotgrave, 'Qui tient un lieu de prostitution, Qui fait les intrigues' - Furetière.

<sup>25</sup> Justus Van Effen, *Le Misanthrope*, 19 May 1711

<sup>26</sup> 'There is no need to argue about taste'.

que Mr. Marchand qui trouvera à redire, car il veut que ce Fat ait du sens commun, ce que je lui contesterai toute ma vie.

Samedi dernier un moment après avoir reçu votre lettre j'ai porté moi-même celle de Mr. Duchemin au maître de poste Darmibad?, où elle doit être arrivée le soir même, je souhaite

*Remainder of letter missing.*

### Fritsch to Marchand, 25 October, 1712

A Bruxelles ce 25 8bre 1712

Très cher et très féal notre cadet et secrétaire de l'ordre.

Après vous avoir quitté, nous avons continué notre voyage ce jour-là jusques en delà du Moerdyk, où nous couchâmes, ayant été surpris par la nuit. Le lendemain à six heures du matin, nous nous embarquâmes avec une intrépidité qui étonna le soleil levant, de voir quatre poltrons dans une nacelle, qui ne s'effrayaient pas pourtant de passer par-dessus les abymes, qui ont englouties le Prince de Frise il y a un an et demi, même.

Les poissons ébahis, nous regardaient passer. Ceci est à la lettre, et nous étions pour le moins aussi ébahis que les poissons même de les voir aux fenêtres, d'ailleurs c'étaient des honnêtes Poissons que nous ne connaissions pas. M David dit que c'étaient des dauphins, M son fils veut que ce soient des chiens marins. M Pralard<sup>27</sup> soutient que ce sont de Baleines, et moi de peur de me tromper, je dis que ce sont des poissons. Nous éclaircirons ceci un jour ou autre quand nous repasserons. Nous voici donc en deçà du Moerdyk. Nous y prîmes un chariot, qui nous mena coucher à demie lieux d'Anvers, il ne se passa rien ce jour la digne d'attention, car le chariot alla son train et ne nous fit pas seulement rire. Le lendemain nous arrivâmes à Anvers, la première chose que nous y fîmes, fut d'aller nous agenouiller fort dévotement aux pieds des Autels, ces Messieurs, pour dire de Credo, des Ave, des Pater, et que sais-je, et moi pour admirer les beaux tableaux de Rubens, Vaenius<sup>28</sup> et autres grands maitres, que des Ignorants comme vous ne connaissent pas. M David se mit en frais de nous régaler d'une messe privée et il lui en couta huit sols de cette affaire-là. Il ne tenait pourtant qu'à lui de l'avoir gratis et d'avoir encore de l'argent par-dessus le marché, comme arlequin quand il va à la comédie, car M David en présentant une pièce de vingt huit sols au prêtre rendit de la monnaie sur le pied d'un ducaton. Apres cette partie de dévotion et autres Pèlerinages aux différentes églises de cette ville, nous nous transportâmes à la maison d'un des Messieurs Verdussen<sup>29</sup>, après l'avoir demandé, il nous apparut une figure ou forme /tout comme vous voudrez/ fort assortissant avec Mme Bouvillon de Frankfort, qui nous fit entrer dans un ? kamer meublée de cahiers de lapide in Evangelia en guise de chaises, tabourets, canapés, sofas etc sans nous parler, ni de nous asseoir ni de boire ni de manger, la conversation dura une heure et fut fort sèche par les raisons susdites. Je m'y ennuyais encore plus que M Pralard, qui s'ennuya beaucoup et comme j'appréhendais que ce fut la manière d'Anvers de recevoir les étrangers comme des jean-foutres. Je priaï M David au sortir de chez Messieurs Verdussen, de secouer la poussière de nos pieds<sup>30</sup> et de quitter cette ville au plus vite. Il y consentir et maturaverimus fugam<sup>31</sup> à midi précis après avoir dévoré un gigot de mouton, qui nous fit grand bien, car depuis Rotterdam, nos diners et soupers ont été fort superficiels. Nous roulâmes dans une bonne Berline sur ce beau pavé depuis Anvers jusqu'à Vilvorden<sup>32</sup>, l'esprit fort occupé du bon souper et gîte que nous nous flattions de trouver le

<sup>27</sup> Jacques-Henri Pralard (16..-1749).

<sup>28</sup> Otto van Vaenius.

<sup>29</sup> Printers from Antwerp.

<sup>30</sup> Biblical reference. Mt 10:14.

<sup>31</sup> 'We made haste to escape'.

<sup>32</sup> Vilvoorde, town just North of Brussels.

même soir à Bruxelles, mais hélas ! La providence en avait disposé tout autrement. Au sortir de Vilvoerden nous ne trouvâmes plus de pavé, mais un chemin de tous les diables, rompu par le retrait des troupes qui défilaient en grand nombre vers leurs quartiers d'hiver, illec notre Berline s'embourba si bien, que pour la faire sortir de là, nous étions obligés d'en sortir nous-mêmes au beau milieu des boues. Il est vrai que notre cocher nous servit de St Christophle et nous porta au travers du chemin au sentier sur le bord du canal, et cela se servit passé assez à notre satisfaction, si cet animal de St Christophle par un faux pas qu'il fit, n'eut pas jeté M David le fils tout de son long au pied du carrosse, on jura beaucoup de cette affaire-là, mais le pauvre garçon, n'en était pas moins crotté pour cela et pour suçrait d'affliction ce badin de Pralard ne pouvait pas achever de rire de cet accident, enfin après bien des haltes, faux pas, bronchements, etc. nous arrivâmes à huit heures du soir, tout en eau et crottés comme des barbets à la porte d'une hôtellerie, nommée Marly par excellence. C'était un maison toute neuve qui avait la plus belle apparence du monde mais où l'on faisait beaucoup de difficulté de nous laisser entrer d'abord, et sans les compliments persuasions de M David le fils, qui traita par le trou d'une Lucarne, l'hôtesse, de madame gros comme le bras, nous promut de nous donner tout ce que nous pourrions demander hormis du pain, elle nous fit attendre pour souper jusqu'à neuf heures et demi, nous faisant espérer qu'il lui en viendrait de Bruxelles par la barque, mais la Carogne qu'elle est en avait menti, il n'en vint point et nous fumes obligés de passer par-là. Or imaginez-vous l'état de trois français et d'un allemand qui s'étant proposés de bien souper, et qui ne trouvent pas seulement une miette de pain, cela fait fendre les pierres, et permettez-moi que je sorte au plus vite de cette diable de maison ou nous fumes encore très mal couchés un peu mieux que les chiens, et a laquelle nous ne pouvons penser sans que les larmes nous viennent aux yeux. Nous arrivâmes donc hier au matin a neuf heures et trois quarts ici à Bruxelles ou nous avons été parfaitement bien reçus de tout le monde, quelle différence d'accueil ! A l'heure que je vous écris ceci j'ai déjà avalé la valeur de trois bouteilles de vin de champagne sans faire mention d'un souper très agréable dont mon hôte m'a régalié, quelle félicité ! Nous avons bus largement et copieusement à la santé de tous les chevaliers, amis et amies, certaine santé n'y a pas été oubliée ni ne le sera de tout ce voyage. Je ne vous en dis pas d'avantage, il faut garder le reste de notre réception pour servir de canevas à une autre lettre. Je vous prie monsieur de vous transporter chez mes conducteurs, de leur faire bien mes compliments, de les assurer de mes respects, et de ce que je suis très pénétré de l'amitié et de toutes les honnêtetés qu'ils m'ont témoignées. Je prie M Böhm d'en faire autant chez M Duchemin et Ms Charrons, adieu je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur et suis tout à vous

Le grand maitre



### Fritsch to Marchand, 18 November, 1712

A Paris ce 18e 9bre 1712

Je vous ai, Monsieur, et très cher ami, laissé manquer de mes nouvelles depuis mon arrivée à Bruxelles, j'en ai de la confusion, mais je suis tout prêt à réparer cette faute et je m'en vais vous rendre compte de mon voyage jusqu'ici, vous verrez par-là, que si je ne vous ai pas écrit plutôt, ce n'a pas été par manque de bonne volonté.

Je passerai sous silence mes amusements à Bruxelles, mais je suis obligé en conscience de ne pas laisser ignorer aux chevaliers de l'ordre l'accueil honnête de Mr Douxfils coadjuteur et vicaire de l'ordre. C'est la meilleure trempe d'âme que j'aie jamais rencontré et qui mérite tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter de bien à un homme d'honneur et à un galant homme comme lui. Il a un ami avec lui qui est assurément le plus joli et le plus brave garçon du monde, sans faire tort à personne, je souhaiterais qu'il fût connu de vous et vous conviendriez que je n'en ai pas trop dit.

Nous nous sommes enfin embarqués un mercredi 2<sup>e</sup> novembre à 6 heures du matin. Les nous étaient Mr David père et fils, Mr Pralard, deux demoiselles, officiers subalternes, deux grigoux que je ne connais pas, et moi. Après dans une chaise de poste à 4 - Messieurs Nyon, Cloutier, Gosselin et Ganeau – à deux lieux de Bruxelles nous mîmes pied à terre pour faire la révérence à notre Dame de Hall, laquelle est le St Julien de ce Pays-là, effectivement nos prières furent exaucées. Nous dinâmes assez bien, pour passer le temps dans le carrosse, nous baissâmes, chiffonnâmes, tiraillâmes et faisons enrager les pauvres demoiselles nos camarades jusques aux portes de Mons et nous y arrivâmes sans aucune mauvaise rencontre. Nous y fûmes reçus assez discourtoisement par un brutal d'officier qui voulut nous faire descendre du carrosse pour aller au commandant pour y montrer nos passeports, il n'en fut pourtant rien, je pris la peine de lui dire en propres termes qu'il était un cheval de carrosse, qui j'avais passé plusieurs fois par la place sans qu'on eût traité si brutalement les passants et que le mettrais dans le tort chez le commandant. Ces paroles bien fortement prononcées avec tous les efforts que ma poitrine pouvait faire, firent retirer l'animal dans son taudis, après avoir dit tout bas au cocher, passez passez, nous trouvâmes un bon gîte dans la ville à l'armet de Mambrin<sup>33</sup> vulgo au Heaume, je voulus vous écrire de ce pays-là, mais le cabaret était si plein de monde et les domestiques si occupés que je ne pus jamais avoir ni papier ni encre, ergo etc. Le lendemain en attendant que le cocher eut chargé ses bagages, nous nous rendîmes, nous nous rendîmes à certaine église pour avoir la bénédiction des chanoinesse de Mons, qui sont toutes des Princesses et qui ont la Reine d'Espagne à leur tête. Mais les dames avaient fait une partie de lavement ce jour-là pour mettre leur teint en garde contre les approches de l'hiver, nous n'eûmes dont point de bénédiction et nous nous en sommes passés une petite messe à fait le même effet. Nous sortîmes de Mons, mais quel changement de Théâtre ! Nous ne vîmes plus ni arbres ni terres labourées, ce qui se présenta à notre vue n'était que des carcasses de maisons, des restes de campements, lignes rasées. Et d'autres tristes reliquats des fureurs de Mars et Bellone. Sur les trois heures nous passâmes le Rubicon à Quevrain, pour entrer sur les terres de France. Je voudrais pour une bonne chose,

<sup>33</sup> 'Armet' – 'Helmet, Headpiece' – Cotgrave. Mambrin – Moorish king, famous in chivalric novels. His enchanted helmet made him invulnerable.

que vous eussiez vue l'extase où entrèrent Messieurs David et compagnie à la vue des frontières du Royaume. Jamais le nom du Roi n'a été plus pris en vain qu'à cette occasion là et ils firent retentir tous les environs des imprécations contre le pays qu'ils venaient de quitter et contre les libraires qui n'ont pas voulu faire des changes avec eux ; de bonne foi je les croyais possédés et cela me mit de fort mauvaise humeur, à quelques pas de là à une petite cense<sup>34</sup> on nous fit descendre du carrosse et nos coffres en même temps, pour les visiter de par le Roi, l'exécution s'en fit au milieu des boues du grand chemin. À cinq heures du soir nous arrivâmes à Valenciennes, j'aurais gagé tout ce que vous auriez voulu que je vous écrirais ce soir-là, mais étant allé saluer Mr Lamoral<sup>35</sup> et après les lieux communs ordinaires, il m'ordonna de coucher chez lui, je répliquai, il répondit, et enfin par un grand le diable m'emporte, vous coucherez ici ou vous direz pourquoi, il me rendit plus muet que la femme de Loth après sa transsubstantiation ; en conséquence de cet ordre, il envoya chercher ma toilette à l'auberge, et me mena chez Mr Henry libraire qui nous fit boire du plus excellent vin de Champagne du monde, de là il nous ramena, Mr Henry et moi, chez lui, où nous soupâmes en compagnie de Mme son épouse et de Mlle sa fille, qui est une très aimable personne, c'est dommage de ce qu'elle jolie comme elle est, veut renoncer à la curiosité de savoir ce que c'est que l'homme et se mettre en religion, mais tant pas pour elle, ce sont ses affaires. Après avoir bien soupés, Mr L'amoral renvoya tout le monde, les uns pour s'en retourner et les autres pour se coucher. Il fit apporter 3 bouteilles de Bourgogne, refaire du feu, et rincer des verres. Cette affaire alla jusqu'à extinction de caquet, et nous nous retirâmes l'un et l'autre fort enrhumé. Le lendemain il me mena chez les Lieutenant du Roi, puis au Carrosse, où nous trouvâmes nouvelle compagnie et après nous remimes à la voile, mais nota bene sans avoir été entendre la messe et mal nous en a pris.

Env – à Monsieur

Monsieur Marchand chez messrs Fritsch et Böhm à Rotterdam

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<sup>34</sup> 'A public valuation of private men's goods' – Cotgrave.

<sup>35</sup> Lamoral seems to have been a noble line in the region.

### Fritsch to Marchand, 11 December, 1712

A Paris ce 11e xbre 1712

J'ai reçu, notre très cher et bien aimé Cadet, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 29<sup>e</sup> 9bre. Je vous suis fort obligé de la part que vous prenez aux plaisirs que Mr Gacon m'a procurés et je souhaite que vous n'en manquiez pas là où vous êtes. Vous n'avez pas mal commencé après mon départ, si cela continue vous allez passer l'hiver plus agréablement que moi, car depuis quinze jours je suis réduit les soirs à la comédie ou au café, j'ai renoncé à l'Opera et aux cabarets, dans le premier l'Achille et les fêtes Vénitiennes me font souffrir et dans l'autre on empoisonne ; si vous êtes avec des femmes, il faut jouer, chanter, ou répondre à cinq ou six à la fois, savoir leur petite vie et celle de leurs amies pour appuyer sur les avertissements qu'ils se donnent sur leur conduite et être bel esprit. Vous savez que je ne suis pas propre à tout cela, ainsi etc. Je vous remercie de la relation véritable et remarquable de la bataille arrivée entre Mr Ganeau et Clousier à Amsterdam, quoi qu'ils ne m'en aient rien dit en chemin, je ne doute pas un moment de la vérité du fait, car Mr Clousier est un petit emporté, témoin ce qui lui est arrivé à Cambrai où il prît querelle avec un petit apprentis officier sur un sujet assez léger, et après avoir vu lever une assiette à Clousier pour la jeter à la tête du soudart<sup>36</sup>, et tirer l'épée à celui-ci pour percer Clousier, j'aurais juré de voir verser du sang, mais il n'en fut rien, il n'y eut que beaucoup de [word cut out beginning with either Y or G] de rependu, qu'on prit la peine de faire sécher auprès du feu un moment après.

Vous m'avez fait beaucoup de plaisir de m'avoir donné des nouvelles de la bibliothèque Pantagrueline et je suis ravi de vous voir dans la disposition de vouloir reprendre le poste où je vous avais laissé en partant. J'ai été fort scandalisé de votre inconstance et je vous assure qu'elle m'a fait beaucoup de peine : je ne doute nullement que ce ne soit elle qui vous a fait encourir l'indignation de sa Majesté la Reine Esther<sup>37</sup> et de la Reine mère, plutôt que le vol de la tabatière Royale, que par distraction j'aurai enfermé quelque part, dieu sait où. Je vous envoie ci-joint de quoi faire restitution, accompagné de vers du Poète des plus mauvais qu'il a jamais faits. J'ai pourtant mieux aimé de les hasarder que de ma prose, que cette aimable enfant n'aurait peut-être pas voulu recevoir. Je vous conjure d'employer toute votre éloquence pour faire agréer cette petite restitution à la belle reine, et à faire votre paix et la mienne avec toute la famille royale. Je serais au désespoir et Paris, tout Paris qu'il est, me deviendrait insupportable, si leur courroux ne fut pas apaisé. Mais gardez-vous bien de faire confidence de tout ceci à notre ami le Marquis de la Visitation<sup>38</sup>, il ne manquerait pas d'attiser le feu et de brouiller les cartes plus que jamais. Au reste assurez les bien de mes respects et soumissions. A l'égard de la B.F. vous savez mes intentions là-dessus et cela suffit. Envoyez-moi un catalogue Pantagruélique en réponse.

Vous avez donc été à la noce de Mlle Cavelier à la Haye sub titulo, d'aller chercher des livres qui vous manquent pour le supplément du Dictionnaire de Bayle ; auquel vous n'avez peut-être pas songé de longtemps, qu'à l'occasion de ce prétexte dont vous aviez besoin ? J'y suis

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<sup>36</sup> Probably - *Soldat*

<sup>37</sup> Possibly Esther le Cène.

<sup>38</sup> Possibly a reference to the Temple du Marais.

d'autant plus confirmé par ce que vous m'avez dit d'avoir accepté l'éminente dignité de dresseur de Catalogue de S.A.S Mgr le Prince Eugene de Savoie et de P[word cut out]. Je m'en vais vous dire quelles devraient être vos occupations ordinaires, et je vous fais juge vous-même, si vous serez en état de fournir aux nouvelles entreprises, sans postposer les autres. Vous avez des épreuves à corriger, le catalogue de Frankfort à copier le commentaire philosophique et les lettres de Bayle à lire, les extraits du Bayle à faire, à servir de Secrétaire à Mr Böhm et outre cela des visites à faire aux amis, avec tout ceci vous vous embarrassez encore des affaires du tiers et du quart. Si vous le trouvez bon, il faudra passer par là et prendre patience, mais je suis persuadé qu'un jour ou autre vous en aurez du regret, comme il vous est déjà arrivé. Vous dites que vous verrez quelles livres qui manquent au prince pour nous les faire vendre, ne vous flattez pas de cela, Mr Hohendorf a pris son parti de faire ses plus grandes emplettes dans les ventes, ou on le friponne et je ne désespère pas que dans quelque temps, ces achats ne deviennent un sujet de farce pour être joué sur le théâtre. Les commissions du Prince et de quelques anglais font rire tout Paris et vous ne croirez jamais ce que votre ami, le petit Coutelier et plusieurs curieux m'en ont dit. À propos de Coutelier, il a l'honneur de servir Mr Hohendorf, qui ne pouvait pas mieux tomber. Vous connaissez le personnage ainsi je ne vous en dit plus rien. Je soupai hier chez lui avec Mr Vaillant où il nous a pas mal étourdi. Il ne laissera pas de faire quelque chose car il connaît les vieux livres mieux qu'aucun autre du Quay et il est fort adroit à déterrer des livres rares, pour les revendre bien cher. Il vient d'achever à imprimer la méthode d'étudier l'histoire par l'abbé l'anglet en deux volumes, 12o.<sup>39</sup>

L'aventure du Prince avec Mr Basnage est tout à fait galante, les personnes d'esprit comme Mr Basnage se tirent toujours bien d'affaire.

Ce que vous me dites de Frescarode<sup>40</sup> ne me réjouit pas, car s'il reste, cela nuira par contre coup aux affaires du Dr Küster, mais je crois que l'autre voudra plutôt aller à Amsterdam, où il aura 2000L et un sac d'escalins<sup>41</sup> pour étrennes, outre qu'il trouvera plutôt un gros parti pour se marier. Comment se porte le Docteur Küster ? Vous ne m'en dites rien, faites-lui bien mes compliments SVP.

La maladie de notre ami Mr Boyd me fait beaucoup de chagrin et j'appréhende que la mélancolie où je l'ai vu depuis quelque temps, ne nous l'enlève avant que nous y pensions, Dieu nous le conserve pour longues années.

Il paraît par votre lettre que vous ne le voyez guère, vous avez tort, faites-moi le plaisir de l'aller voir au moins de ma part et de l'assurer de mes respects, lui et sa famille. Je lui souhaite les années de Nestor.

Je me réjouis de la convalescence de Mlle Crommelin, Monsieur Le Vier ne lui peut-il pas faire avouer qu'elle s'applique trop au négoce ? Qu'elle ne goûte presque pas la félicité pour laquelle le beau sexe est né et qu'elle avancera en âge sans avoir joui de sa jeunesse ? Elle a tort assurément. Je la félicite de tout mon cœur sur le rétablissement de sa santé et je la prie au nom de toute la ville de Rotterdam de ménager dorénavant un peu plus cette santé, qui

<sup>39</sup> Lenglet, N., *Méthode pour Etudier l'histoire* (Brussels: Aux Depends de la Compagnie, 1714).

<sup>40</sup> Jeremie Frescarode (1683-1749) Huguenot, professor and preacher from Rotterdam.

<sup>41</sup> A currency

nous est si chère. Je la salue fort respectueusement aussi bien que notre cher Docteur et toute la famille.

Je serai un galant homme et je vous enverrai des Ciseaux faits chez ... au croissant, rue St Honoré où j'ai été les acheter moi-même, ils seront accompagnés des Parodies Pratiques de Mr David, s'il me les donne, le tout partira la semaine qui vient dans un paquet pour le Coadjuteur et Vicaire, par le carrosse de Bruxelles.

Votre épitaphe de Leonard tiré de Patin n'est pas juste, avec votre permission, Patin l'a fait pour le Card[dinal] : Mazarin qui était un Hypocrite au lieu que Leonard était un impie déclaré, faites ou cherchez lui en donne un autre SVP. Eh bien ! Monsieur Böhm n'a-t-il pas fait accroire aux gens que cet homme avait 10000 d de rente ? il se trouve pourtant à Mlle sa fille on croit que son mari sera obligé de restituer cette somme à la masse pour en payer les créanciers et cetera.

Si vous voulez faire valoir l'examen de l'eucharistie par les lettres de Labadie<sup>42</sup> il faudra nécessairement se servir du nom de celui-ci, et même mettre le nom d'eucharistie s'il se peut, cette matière est si rebattue et avec tout cela les boulangers d'ici continuent toujours à travailler pour le bon Dieu, ce qui me surprend c'est que je n'en ai pas encore rencontré dans la rue de leur façon.

J'ai été à Versailles ces jours passés, j'ai vu le roi à différentes reprises, il mange ma foi plus que moi et marche bien ferme, vous verrez que ce prince-là va vivre encore longtemps. J'ai entendu prêcher le Père de la Rue, c'est un fort habile homme, qui j'aime certainement mieux que tous les ministres luthériens et calvinistes ressemblants à Frescarode. Il prêchait contre les libertins et contre les athées, c'est tout comme ici. J'ai été à la messe du Roi, ah la belle musique ! Ma foi l'Opera de ce pays-ci ne vaut pas cela et j'aimerais mille fois mieux aller à cette messe qu'à l'Opera de Paris. Bref Versailles est bien la seule chose dans le monde que j'ai trouvé au-dessus de ce qu'on m'en a dit.

Je ne vous dis rien de Paris parce que vous le connaissez mieux que moi, après l'avoir un peu parcouru j'ai trouvé qu'on est aussi bien à Londres qu'ici, Mr Vaillant me servira de témoin, cela doit rabattre un peu votre fierté. Quand je serai plus familier avec la rue St Jacques, je vous en entre, tiendrai jusqu'à présent je n'ai fait qu'étudier mon Quay.

On a enterré hier Mr Thierry, Mr Vaillant a été lui jeter de l'eau bénite. Il devient Polisson à vue d'œil. Si vous voyez Mlle Vaillant faites-lui bien mes compliments et mandez-moi comment elle se porte.

D'où vient que depuis 3 semaines Mr Böhm ne m'a pas écrit. Vous ne croiriez pas que certaines gens d'ici se moquent de moi à cause de cela, cela est pourtant vrai.

Bien des amitiés à tous les amis que je peux avoir oublié de nommer dans cette lettre. Portez-vous bien et aimez-moi toujours adieu tout à vous.

Des nouvelles de la tabatière et de la famille royale au plus tôt.

Fritsch

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<sup>42</sup> Jean de Labadie (1610 – 1674) 17th-century French Pietist. Rejected the notion of the true presence in the Eucharist.

### Fritsch to Marchand, 14 April, 1713

A paris ce 14<sup>e</sup> avril 1713

J'ai, mon très honoré et très cher Cadet, l'honneur de répondre à trois de vos lettres de mois de janvier, février, et mars – desquelles je vous suis fort obligé. Vous avez raison de me gronder sur mon silence, et je vous pardonne le transport où vous étiez en m'écrivant votre dernier, je vous prie pourtant de ne vous plus laisser emporter par la colère, car vous ne dites plus si bien les choses, comme vous faites quand les passions ne dominant point, lisez Sénèque là-dessus S.V.P. or ad. vem –

Je vous suis très redevable de la présentation de la tabatière et de la relation que vous m'en avez faite. L'une et l'autre m'ont fait infiniment du plaisir. On ne saurait manquer de réussir, quand on met ses intérêts entre les mains des personnes d'esprit et mérite comme vous. Je remercie très humblement l'aimable Madlle Esther<sup>43</sup> de ce qu'elle a bien voulu laisser substituer cette babiole à la place du bijou que vous avez eu l'honneur de lui voler, et de ce qu'elle a fait assez de cas des pauvres vers, que de les lire. Je vous proteste que jusqu'à présent je n'ai encore vu personne ici qui la surpasse en agrément, en délicatesse de gout et d'esprit et de belles manières, oui, Elle possède tout cela comme si Elle avait été élevée toute sa vie à la cour. Jugez de la joie que j'ai de savoir que nous possédons un tel trésor dans Rotterdam et de ce que nous pouvons l'approcher de temps en temps, quoi que jamais aussi souvent que nous voudrions bien. Depuis que je suis en ce pays je n'ai trouvé aucun plaisir égal au temps que nous avons eu le bonheur de passer avec cette charmante fille. Je m'en veux beaucoup de bien, car cela m'empêche de me plonger dans ce qui fait ordinairement les délices des étrangers dans cette ville. Je souhaiterais de tout mon cœur, lui pouvoir procurer le moyen de voir les divertissements de Paris pour la récompenser en quelque manière de ceux qu'Elle a bien voulu nous permettre de prendre en sa compagnie. Ne manquez pas S.V.P. de l'assurer de mes tresh. respects, aussi bien que Mr et Mad<sup>e</sup> Ferrand et toute la famille, je ne pense jamais à Rotterdam, sans me bien souvenir de toutes les bontés qu'ils ont pour moi.

Depuis la réception de votre première lettre, Mr votre frère nous a invité de voir la comédie à Seaux. Mons Cottin, Mr Boudot, et un Mr Chavilliers m'y ont mené et je ne saurais que vous remercier de la bonne réception que Mr votre frère nous a fait sur votre compte. Nous y avons vu jouer et monotoniser Mme la Duchesse du Maine avec plusieurs de ses demi Castoresses<sup>44</sup> d'honneur, mais sans Mr Baron et certaine grosse vieille comédienne la Bauval. Le reste des acteurs n'auraient guère fait d'honneur à Iphigénie<sup>45</sup>, qu'on représenta ; cependant tout le monde me voulut faire accroire que cela était beau, jusqu'à Mlle Denelle fameuse comédienne de Paris, laquelle était à mes pieds, je n'en crois pourtant rien et ne le croirai jamais, cette Carogne la mentait, témoin elle-même, car huit jours après elle représenta Iphigénie à Paris infiniment mieux que Mme la Princesse de Besdom.<sup>46</sup> Au sortir de la comédie, M. votre frère nous plaqua contra la table entre plusieurs vivants, seigneurs d'ut-re-mi-fa, on n'y engendra pas mélancolie, on y chante beaucoup et on y fluta encore

<sup>43</sup> Possibly Esther le Cène – a witness at Bohm's daughter's baptism.

<sup>44</sup> Those on the fringes of polite society, not noble. Demi-mondaine or courtesan.

<sup>45</sup> *Iphigénie* is a dramatic tragedy in five acts written in alexandrine verse by Jean Racine.

<sup>46</sup> La Duchesse de Maine.

mieux. J'étais même tout préparé de m'en sentir le lendemain et plusieurs jours suivants, mais le vin était si bon que j'en ai été quitte pour la peur, nous sommes revenus sains et saufs à Paris et ce petit extraordinaire n'a incommodé personne.

Ma voici à la fameuse époque de l'arrivé de Mons Vaillant, grand écornifleur de l'ordre, à Rotterdam ; comment est-il possible que des gens d'esprit comme vous, allaités et nourris par les muses et élevés à Paris, aient tant de faiblesse, que d'être sensible à une petite irrégularité d'une personne pleine de transports de joie, prête à se coucher et d'empoigner le petit bout mignon ? Depuis quand les gens bien appris se brouillent-ils avec les dames ? Allez, vous ne sauriez faire une assez grande réparation d'honneur à la bienséance de vous être oublié jusqu'à ce point. Si je n'avais pas l'âme si bonne, je ne vous le pardonnerais jamais, je vous conseille de vous raccommodez au plutôt et qu'il n'en soit plus parlé à mon arrivé. Suivez l'exemple de Mr Boyd, duquel [vous] ne me dites rien dans votre dernier, non plus que de Mme son épouse, j'espère qu'ils se portent tous bien, je vous prie de les assurer de mes respects.

Je vous félicite de tout mon cœur du plaisir que vous avez d'être si souvent en fêtes avec sa divinité Mlle Esther<sup>47</sup>, non sans vous l'envier des, vous ne sauriez trop lui fournir de divertissements, que je ne vous en ait une infinité d'obligations, que ne suis-je grand seigneur ! Je ferais transporter le théâtre des Tuileries à Rotterdam avec tout l'Opera pour l'en régaler. Vous y joueriez et chanteriez les premiers rôles ; en attendant, la musique vocale ne vous manquera pas, vous savez que Mr votre frère nous est tout acquis, avec cela nous avons Mons Balard à nous, et en outre j'établirai Mr Boudot maître de la Chapelle de l'ordre et secrétaire de musique. Je vous laisse le soin de la musique instrumentale, et de notre pleine puissance et autorité, nous agréons le Sr Boisclerc à notre ordre en qualité de ...../vous n'avez qu'à lui trouver un titre/pour les grands et importants services à nous rendus dans la fête de l'ordonnance de Mlle Esther. Je suis très ravi que vous ayez été témoin oculaire de la différence qu'il y a du mérite de cette aimable fille, à celui de je ne sais combien d'autres personnes – et j'espère que vous ne trouverez plus mauvais, de me voir fréquenter cette maison-là plutôt que d'autres. Je souhaite que toutes les fois que vous irez chez elle, les canaux se trouvassent débordés pour vous y revenir jusqu'à quatre heures du matin.

On est parfaitement bien averti à la cour de Seaux de ce que fait Mr Gasparini.<sup>48</sup> Cet animal n'a qu'à prendre garde à lui, je suis fort trompé si on le lui pardonne ; après la paix, il ne sent en sûreté nulle part. Mais ce sont ses affaires. Je voudrais que quand le livre viendra à paraître, Mr Böhm s'en chargeait le moins qu'il peut et qu'il ne le fesse pas mettre dans notre catalogue.

Monsr Vaillant profite donc à ce que je vois des leçons de Polisson, ne riez qu'on lui a donné ici ? tant mieux, il fera oublier certaines gens qui se mêlaient de polissonner ci-devant dans les familles et avec lesquels on ne pouvait pas vivre. Je voudrais en savoir faire autant, j'ai pris pour cet effet un maître ici dans la rue St J. mais je n'ai fait que de l'eau toute claire, et je

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<sup>47</sup> Probably Esther le Cène.

<sup>48</sup> Lambert Gasparini - a former secretary to the first president of the parlement of Dombes, expelled from Dombes by the Duc du Maine for embezzlement – see: Kam, M., *“I am believed to be initiated into the secrets of the greats”: secrecy, intelligence, and self-fashioning in the writings of mesdames de Blau and du Noyer*. (MA Thesis, Hawaii, 2021).

n’y réussirai jamais. Je m’étonne de ce que Mr Le Vier quitte la partie, ne sait-il pas qu’à la foire Mr Maurice ne laisse pas de se soutenir, quoique le Baron et plusieurs autres, sont venus s’établir après elle. Puisque me voici si proche de la foire, je m’en vais vous dire que cette année elle a été assez belle, messieurs les bouffons ont traité avec l’Opera, lequel moyennant 12000, leur a permis de chanter ; dans le commencement cela allait fort mal, les vaudevilles ne valaient rien du tout, mais dans la suite on a mieux fait, ce mieux pourtant n’a pas été grand-chose. Les plus beaux endroits en étaient ceux, ou ces gens tournaient l’Opera et la comédie en ridicule. J’y ai été six fois en tout, toujours malgré moi, car je n’aime pas ces fadaïses. Elles étaient infames cependant tout Paris y courait comme au feu, la comédie en est restée déserte et ces messieurs pour n’être pas obligé de fermer leur hôtel ont été contraints de donner des répétitions fréquentes du Bourgeois Gentilhomme, de Mr Jobin, et autres impertinences. Mr Le Rat n’a pas fait grand-chose, quoiqu’on lui a conseillé d’accompagner sa voix de quelque mouvement des mains, comme on fit à Mr Durand après qu’il eut rendu une couple de sermons chez nous. Les marionnettes ont mieux fait, Polichinelle assiégeait Douay, Bouchain, et Landrecy, et tournait Mr de Villars en ridicule. Cela a parfaitement bien diverti Messieurs les Badauds, et Monsgr le Duc d’Orleans les a fait venir au Palais Royal pour en régaler Messieurs les Princes. Mr de Villars voyant que cela prenait ce train-là s’est transporté chez eux à la foire avec toute sa famille, et après les avoir prié de ne pas le ménager et de faire de leur mieux, il en a ri à gorge déployée, et les a bien récompensé en sortant. Il a fait par la plus de tort à ces gens qu’ils ne pensaient, car les rieurs voyant que cette sottise ne portait pas coup, l’ont laissés tomber à terre et ont cherché d’autres divertissements. Si Mr de Villars n’avait pas pris ce parti, Dieu sait combien de vaudevilles courraient contre lui. Le reste de la foire n’a pas valu mon attention. Messieurs de l’académie Royale de musique, ou l’Opera en langue vulgaire, nous ont régaler, de Calirhoe, nouvelle pièce de Mr Roy – conseiller au châtelet - et a valu 80000 – tous fraix fait depuis le mois de janvier qu’on l’a représenté pour la première fois – en voici une analyse très juste.

En peu de mots, voici l’histoire de l’Opera de Coresus – retiens la bien dans ta mémoire et n’y porte point tes Ecus. Une reine qui craint un prêtre un héros sans force e sans nom, fille qui ne voudrait plus l’être qui ne dit ni oui ni non. Un prêtre cruel qui se venge de Calydon qui le chérit une confusion étrange d’un peuple qui pleure et qui rit. Des vers de Roy<sup>49</sup>, poète louche et le plus dur des beaux esprits des airs bizarres de Des Touches<sup>50</sup> voilà les plaisirs de Paris.

J’ai envoyé cet opéra à Mr Douxfils, qui la doit avoir lu à l’heure qu’il est, vous n’avez qu’à la lui demander. Ce sont les petites fêtes et la musique des musettes qui font tout le mérite de cette pièce, avec cela les acteurs et actrices ont fait de leur mieux et ont fort bien réussi, il y a plusieurs petits airs, qui sont fort jolies, entre autres un qui court tout Paris. Dans nos champs l’amour de flore que vous apprendrez à Mlle Esther quand vous l’aurez. On a fait sur cet air une critique contre Roy. Vous voudrez apparemment la savoir, la voici.

Roy sifflé  
S’expose encore  
Fait éclore

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<sup>49</sup> Pierre-Charles Roy

<sup>50</sup> André Cardinal Destouches



Sa calirhoé  
 Et des Touches  
 Met sur ces vers  
 Une couche  
 D'assez mauvais airs  
 Sa musique  
 Froide éthique  
 Flatte et pique  
 Le gout des badauds  
 Heureux travaux  
 L'ignorance  
 Récompense  
 Leurs défauts, - d'autres chantent deux nigauds.

Il y a quantité d'autres satyres contre ce pauvre Opera. J'en ai oublié la plus grande partie, voici pourtant encore une qui se présente à mon esprit, elle fut faite sur ce qu'après la première représentation on retrancha la dernière scène de Bacchus qui descendit d'en haut pour faire Agénor, son grand Prêtre à la place de Coresus qui s'était tué soi-même.

Pourquoi retranche-on Bacchus

De l'opera de Coresus

Ce Dieu qui préside à l'ivresse

N'y était pas hors de saison

Il pouvait bien finir une pièce

Où il n'y a ni rime ni raison

Elle est de Gacon qui a le plus braillé et rimé, mais personne n'a fait cas de sa poésie, elle est morte en naissant. Insensiblement je m'embourbe dans ces vilains vers, et sans y prendre garde, je vous fournis matière de me critiquer moi-même, en vous donnant de la critique contre les autres, brisons donc là et passons au déluge.

Je souhaiterais vous pouvoir donner une relation du Carnaval passé, mais en vérité je ne vous en saurais rien dire. Je n'ai couru aucun bal ; comme j'ai eu à faire, je n'ai pas trouvé à propos de courir la nuit pour dormir le jour, d'ailleurs je n'ai pas trouvé un seul homme raisonnable, qui ait voulu y aller, et je n'aime pas assez les petits maîtres pour me faufiler avec eux. Il y a eu grand bal a Seaux. Les badauds et les étrangers y ont été en foule, nous autres y avons envoyé Mr Boudot pour nous dire ce qui s'y est passé. Ce qui ne diffère de rien de ce que j'ai vu autre fois à la Cour de Saxe, où on a toujours été fort magnifique. Le dernier jour gras j'ai soupai tranquillement chez Mr Osmond avec Mr Martin et Cottin et nous nous retirâmes à 11 heures. Le carême encore s'est passé fort uniment. Messieurs Osmond, Martin, et Simar se sont fait abonner à la foire, ou ils ne manquèrent pas un soir. Comme dans les familles on ne fait que collation le soir dans ce temps-ci, j'ai réduit d'aller souper au cabaret, tantôt avec les uns tantôt avec les autres, mais toujours avec des libraires, ce sont les meilleures gens du monde, ils m'aiment beaucoup et me font tous les honnêtetés imaginables. J'ai toujours fait maigre à 6 ou huit fois près, cette conformité m'a si bien mis

dans leur esprit, qu'ils me font l'honneur de m'inviter aux offices des morts, m'envoient des billets d'enterrement, et si j'avais cru se pouvoir faire en conscience, ils m'auraient fait rendre l'autre jour le pain bénit. A propos de cérémonies, Mme la Grande Mère de Mr Martin mourut il y quinze jours ou trois semaines. J'ai assisté à l'enterrement et je lui ai jeté de l'eau bénite. J'étais hier à Versailles pour voir la Cène, j'y entendis un beau sermon que l'abbé Hardouin prononça devant le Roi. Il remercia le Seigneur de ce qu'il a eu l'honneur de la France tant à cœur, que de tourner les affaires en sorte, que le Roi n'a pas eu le démenti dans ce traité de paix. Après le sermon je vis le Roi, messieurs les Princes et Mr le Cardinal de Polignac, servir 12 petits polissons comme s'ils eussent été les premières princes du monde.

Il y a 15 jours qu'on vendit le fonds de librairie de Mr Leonard pour 210000 payables en 4 et six ans entre différents libraires. Mr Desessars l'était accommodé avant la vente avec les héritiers du fonds de l'ordre de ciseaux et des usages de Paris pour 110000 et de l'imprimerie mais n'ayant pas pu s'empêcher de babiller, les libraires ayant qu'on ne présenta pas ces deux sortes pour être vendues, firent grand bruit, allèrent chercher un commissaire, qui obligea les héritiers de les exposer en vente, la jalousie s'y mit et ce qui avait été vendu 80000 valut 180000 – et Mr Desessars n'eut rien. Cette affaire a fait grand bruit et huit jours après on n'a parlé que de cela entre les libraires.

Je plains la pauvre Mlle van der Wolf de s'être attiré l'indignation de nos zélés réformés pour une affaire où selon les apparences il y avait de l'amour sur jeu. Si cela est, elle se consolera aisément, surtout si son époux a soin de ne pas manquer aux devoirs matrimoniaux. Pourquoi a-t-on attendu si longtemps à la pourvoir ?

J'ai parlé à Mr Martin touchant vos livres, je vois qu'il a envie de les garder pour lui et de vous les payer, je suis de l'avis que vous faisiez cette affaire avec lui, car de l'argent contant, vous convient mieux que des livres, quand même vous prendriez quelque chose de moins. Comptez que les ports qui seraient à payer, les comptes qu'il faudrait bénir en semblable cas, et autres embarras, vous feront plus de peine que le jeu ne vaut. Je vois même à vue de pays, que les livres reliés qui m'ont passés par les mains chez nous, auraient été infiniment mieux vendus ici, qu'ils le seront là-bas. Si vous les aviez laissés vous en auriez présentement votre argent et plus d'embarras. Croyez-moi vendez le reste de ce qui est ici et faites tout ce que vous voudrez des deniers. Quand vous aurez besoin de livres pour vous-même, vous avez toujours du revenant bon, chez nous, pour en avoir tant que vous voudrez, cependant il en sera ce qui vous plaira. Si je vous puis être de quelque utilité là-dedans, vous pouvez disposer de moi et me répondre incessamment, car je ne serai guère ici que pour attendre votre réponse à la présente et d'une que j'écrirai encore à Mr Böhm. Continuez S.V.P. à me marquer les nouvelles de la ville et comment se portent nos amis. Mille amitiés à Monsr Lévié, apparemment il a appréhendé de s'attirer une lettre aussi ample que celle-ci, puisqu'il ne m'a pas écrit. Mes respects à la famille de Mr Duchemin, j'ai appris que nous serons fort proches voisins, cela me fait beaucoup de plaisir, nous nous verrons plus souvent dorénavant. Tous vos amis d'ici vous saluent, j'en fais autant et suis avec toute l'amitié, considération, estime et zèle imaginable tout à vous

Fritsch

### Fritsch to Marchand, 4 November, 1713

A ffort ce 4<sup>e</sup> 9br 1713

Je vous rends grâces très humbles monsieur et très cher Cadet de la belle et grande lettre que vous avez eu la bonté de me faire et que je reçus hier avec des nouvelles de Mr. Böhm et de Mr. Jacobson. Je lu tout avec bien de plaisir et suis ravi de ce que vous vous portez tous bien, ego valeo<sup>51</sup> dieu merci, fort à vos très humbles services. Ce maudit voyage de Genève est cause de ce que vos vœux pour mon retour n'ont pas été exaucés au mois de Juillet passé, ce retardement ne me fait pas plaisir du tout et d'autant moins que cela m'a fait perdre les affaires de Paris de vue et donné d'autres mortifications dont nous nous entretiendrons.

Je vous ai cher cadet une infinité d'obligations du soin que vous vous êtes donné de faire paraître nos éditions bien belles et bien exactement corrigées, je ne fais point de difficulté d'avouer que je n'aurais jamais pu si bien y mettre ordre et je serai le premier de transmettre à la postérité les louanges qui vous en reviennent. J'ai vu presque tout ce qu'on a imprimé depuis mon départ et tout le monde en est satisfait, j'écris à monsieur Böhm au sujet des mémoires de Gramont<sup>52</sup> et des livres de controverse, à l'égard de ceux-ci je souhaiterais qu'on s'en vendit le moins qu'il fut possible. Le gouvernement de France ne veut pas entendre raillerie sur ces matières, et les honnêtes gens de ce pays les regardent avec indignation quoique dans le fonds ils désapprouvent la conduite de la Cour contre les Reformés, ces écrits vous font plaisir à la vérité et je n'ai rien ni pour ni contre, mais comme on a l'honnêteté en France de combler de civilités les protestants étrangers et de ne les pas gêner en quoi que soit, il me semble que l'équité et le décorum veulent que pour retour de reconnaissance, nous autres allemands ne devrions pas nous mêler d'imprimer ces contestations, cela n'avancera pas nos affaires du côté de la France et il vaut mieux laisser ces impressions aux réfugiés même, c'est leur propre querelle, qu'ils la vident : Puisque vous êtes raccommode avec la famille Vaillant, Mr. Vaillant vous pourra faire le récit d'une scène, laquelle se passa un dimanche matin chez Mons de Torcy<sup>53</sup>, Mr Robustel<sup>54</sup> et moi présents, elle m'a fait douter de ce qui est arrivé depuis peu, et il n'en fera jamais autrement au moins du vivant du Roi. Il n'y a rien qui presse avec l'histoire des juifs. Vous savez que nous devons penser à un plus grand ouvrage qui suspendra bien des petites impressions. Monsieur Basnage n'aura pas mis son nom à la préface qu'il vient de faire contre la dernière déclaration du Roi ; je vous assure qu'il ferait mal sa cœur à des personnes du premier rang de sa connaissance qui le regardent comme un parfaitement galant homme et ministre des intéressés et qui a sacrifié son ressentiment à l'estime général que la nation a encor pour lui et pour ses écrits. Je n'ai jamais doute un moment que vous ne faisiez plus habile homme que Mons. Desmaizeaux qui a perdu la réputation depuis qu'il s'est mêlé de faire la vie de Boileau, ainsi le commentaire que vous ajoutez aux lettres de Mr. Bayle et le choix que vous venez de faire de ceux-ci, en fera estimer l'édition tout autrement que si on l'avait donnée telle que Mr. Desmaizeaux nous la fit remettre, moi-même j'en ai bien meilleure opinion présentement que

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<sup>51</sup> 'I am healthy'

<sup>52</sup> Hamilton, Anthony, *Mémoires de la vie du comte de Grammont*. (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1713) [Rotterdam: Fritsch & Böhm, 1713].

<sup>53</sup> Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquess of Torcy (14 September 1665 – 2 September 1746)

<sup>54</sup> Claude Robustel, Parisian *imprimeur*.

du commencement. A l'égard du supplément de Bayle, je suis très terriblement mortifié de l'égarement de ma lettre de Genève, que ce soit le maitre du poste ou qui voudra, qui l'ait retenue, je lui souhaite, qu'après sa mort son âme passe dans le corps d'un cheval de poste. J'avais marqué entre autres dans cette lettre, qu'il faut travailler incessamment à faire une feuille de projet de cette nouvelle édition. Cela ne peut tomber que sur vous, vous y rendrez compte S.V.P. de l'avantage qu'elle a sur les précédents, après quoi vous mettrez un morceau des nouveaux articles, p.e. de celui de la Papesse Jeanne, qui à ce que Mr. Le Vier m'a dit, est entièrement achevé. S'il vous manquent des livres pour les extraits des notes, que cela ne vous retienne pas, c'est seulement pour faire voir au publique que nous avons véritablement des additions, car Mr. Le Clerc a mandé à Mons Son frère à Genève que nous n'avions rien que des paperasse inutiles. J'ai promis à nos amis de Paris et de Genève que nous cela paraîtrait avant la fin de l'année, ainsi mettez y la main sans perte de temps S.V.P. c'est le meilleur moyen de perdre la contrefaçon de Genève de crédit, il n'en faut pourtant pas faire mention dans le projet, nous achèverons de la décrier ailleurs.

J'ai mandé la conversion du Dr. Küster à Mr. Leers quelques jours après qu'il eut communiqué du noviciat des Jésuites et j'ai cru qu'elle parviendrait incessamment jusqu'à vous. Comme j'ai été dans sa confiance depuis son arrivée à Paris, je vous en pourrai instruire mieux que personne, mais ce sera de bouche S.P.V. C'est la misère que cet homme allait souffrir, qui l'a fait prendre ce parti-là, ainsi je ne puis pas l'en blâmer, au contraire c'est une honte pour le gouvernement de nos villes de n'avoir pas voulu se charger d'un homme qui faisait honneur aux belles lettres en Hollande. On en a triomphé à Paris, et pourvu que Mr. Küster ne se livre pas à corps perdu aux Jésuites, il ne manquera pas d'être estimé et recherché à Paris. p.e. à peine était-il arrivé et Mr. le Marechal d'Estrées l'ayant appris qu'il vint exprès chez Coustelier<sup>55</sup> et l'envoya chercher, il l'entretint deux heures avec toute la politesse imaginable. Je le menai aussi à S. Cloud chez Mr. Raymond, qui nous retint toute la journée et fit jouer tous les eaux pour nous faire honneur et pour se promener plus agréablement avec nous dans celle belle solitude. D'autres personnes encore lui ont témoigné beaucoup de civilité.

Quand vous écrirez à Mr. Martin<sup>56</sup>, je vous prie de lui bien faire mes compliments et de l'assurer que c'est mon Procès à Genève et l'embarras du voyage qui m'a fait manquer de lui écrire. Les affaires qui sont entre nous, ne sont pourtant pas si fortes ni si embarrassées, qu'elle lui doivent faire de la peine, je lui écrirai incessamment après mon retour.

Je demanderai les estampes de Mr. Picart à Mr. d'Orville, mais pour expédier le tout de ce voyage-ci, cela ne se pourra pas, car j'ai d'autres affaires, p.e. un Mr. nommé de Chanxe<sup>57</sup> de Mayance<sup>58</sup>, doit venir après demain dénicher tout un assortiment de cabinet des livres français ce qui m'occupera et je compte de partir dans huit jours.

Je suis ravi des bonnes nouvelles que vous me donnez des familles chéries. Je vous donne plein pouvoir de leur dire de ma part tout ce que votre politesse ordinaire vous suggèrera et de les assurer de mon parfait attachement. Vous verrez que les amitiés tendres nous empêcheront de passer notre temps aussi agréablement cet hiver comme nous fîmes il y a un

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<sup>55</sup> Coustelier was a Parisian printer, with whom Küster lodged, and would later sell the *Journal Littéraire* in Paris.

<sup>56</sup> Gabriel Martin, former colleague of Marchand and Parisian *libraire*.

<sup>57</sup> Ludwig de Chanxe, a librarian and statesman from Mainz.

<sup>58</sup> Mainz.

an, il faudra s'en consoler et tirer le meilleur parti qu'on pourra des peu de fois qu'on pourra se voir. Aussi bien j'ai envie de travailler cet hiver comme quatre.

Pour nouvelles d'ici je vous dirai que le frère de Mr. Schouler a fait la sottise de contracter une promesse de mariage et de faire publier les annonces, avec la cadette de mes pupilles, cependant il est allé à Leipzig et n'en revient pas ce qui me parait de mauvais augure, j'en ris comme un fou et j'ai raison ; pour ne rien gâter, j'ai changé le logement et ai pris de lui le Chatelain. Je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur et suis monsieur notre très cher cadet votre très humble et très obeiss. Servit.

Mes compliments à Mr. Le Vier  
et à Mons. Jacobson

Fritsch

### Fritsch to Marchand, 18 June, 1714

A Rotterdam ce 18<sup>e</sup> juin 1714

Let en cul myn heer voor de eere van Vwen aengenaemen brief van de 10 de ser. Je suis ravi de ce qu'on vous a remis le paquet que je vous ai envoyé. Je n'aurais pas manqué de remettre aujourd'hui votre montre au batelier, mais je n'en ai pas été le maitre. Mr Vaillant s'est chargé de la faire raccommoder, et il s'est avise d'aller à Amsterdam depuis hier pour assister à la vente de Schelte, sans me laisser la montre.

Vous avez monsieur parmi vos livres un recueil de papiers des œuvres de Mr de la Fontaine que j'ai envoyé de Paris. On m'a dit ici que cela ne vaut rien. J'ai trouvé d'ailleurs que presque tout ce qui est un peu supportable, a été imprimé, ainsi je suis d'avis de renvoyer ce recueil d'où il est venu plutôt que d'en payer ce qu'on en demande. Il faudra donc que vous me fassiez l'amitié de me dire où il est, afin que je le puisse mettre dans le premier ballot qui partira.

Pour nouvelles je vous dirai que Mlles Ursel sont arrivées de France, Mr de Teissoniere et Mr D'agrolles ont été ici pour les amener à la Haye.<sup>59</sup> Nous avons donné à diner aux deux dernières. Dimanche il y eut huit jours, nous chassâmes les diables de la maison du Docteur, Les Demoiselles Ferrand, Mlle Mally Charron, Mlle Cossard, et Madlle Suson que je devais avoir nommée la première pour raisons et parce qu'elle était la reine du Bal. Mr La Grange arriva la même soir pour nous tenir compagnie.

Vendredi dernier nous fumes en pourparler de vous aller voir, mais nos résolutions s'en allèrent en eau de boudin à cause des affaires qui survinrent à l'un et à l'autre et je désespère que je vous voie autrement à Noordwyk qu'accompagné de moi tout seul.

Après avoir fini cette lettre jusques ici, le batelier m'apporte la votre du 16<sup>e</sup> de ce mois. Pour satisfaire à vos désirs j'ai envoyé emprunter un Terence de Dacier chez Mr de Haes – puissiez-vous faire nous reciter des lambeaux de quelque sermon flamand, de la beauté de celui de Mr Duranque de Nimwegue.

Tous les frères vous saluent grandement d'un saint baiser, la salutation de ma main

Fritsch

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<sup>59</sup> Marie Oursel and the widow of David Teissonière both lent a considerable amount of money to Fritsch and Böhm in 1711.

**Fritsch to Marchand, 21 July, 1715**

A Amsterdam ce 21<sup>e</sup> juillet 1715

Moult illustre cadet

Je commence ma lettre par à vous donner des bonnes paroles pour prévenir les effets funestes de votre colère, semblables à celle du Grand Achille, et pour empêcher que vous ne fassiez un tapage tel qu'en fait Diomède dans le premier volume de l'Illiade d'Homère : assurément j'ai tout de n'avoir pas deviné que vous amèneriez l'illustre Monsr de Benezet (que je reverisque d'honore) à la Haye pour me procurer l'honneur de lui rendre hommages, devoir, respects et tout ce qui s'en suit. Je suis d'autant plus inconsolable de ne m'y être pas trouvé que vous m'annoncez son départ pour Londres et que je ne dois pas le voir du tout. Témoignez-lui S.V.P. le chagrin que j'en ai et assurez-le de mes respects. Afin que vous ne fassiez pas dorénavant des voyages inutiles, il sera nécessaire d'établir une correspondance hebdomadaire et de nous donner l'un à l'autre de nos nouvelles, il est vrai que vous perdrez au change, je n'ai pas tant d'érudition à mon service comme vous, mais on ne peut pas toujours gagner. Ne retournez pas à la Haye que je ne vous aie mandé mon retour, car je ne veux pas que vous preniez gîte ailleurs que chez moi pour avoir le plaisir de vous entretenir sans interruption.

J'ai une grande pancarte de notre amé et loyal vicair et cousin Douxfils à vous communiquer sur un dessin comique qu'il a de nous donner un Homère en vers burlesque, mais je n'ai pas le temps de vous en faire un extrait, on m'enlève pour aller passer la soirée chez Mr Wetstein, adieu aimez moi toujours, tout à vous

Fritsch

**Fritsch to Marchand, 25 July, 1715**

A Amsterdam ce 25<sup>e</sup> juillet 1715<sup>60</sup>

Je vous écrivis Illustre Cadet dimanche dernier, j'espère que vous aurez reçu ma lettre. Je vous envoie ci-joint par ordre de Notre Vicaire son projet sur Homère. Savez-vous lire lisez ; et dites-lui vos sentiments là-dessus, mais vous me rendrez S.V.P. lesdites pièces quand vous viendrez à la Haye.

Ne pourriez-vous pas, ou plutôt ne voudriez-vous pas vous informer par manière de conversation chez Mr Boyd s'il a le temps d'entreprendre une petite traduction d'un livre Anglais de trente feuilles gros caractère. Il m'est venue certaine idée et avant de passer outre, je veux m'assurer d'un traducteur, ce sont des affaires d'état qui feront plaisir à notre ami, et je serais bien aisé de lui faire gagner cet argent : mandez-moi votre réponse ici où je suis logé aux armes d'Emden.

Je fais commencer le Terence, quand j'en aurai une épreuve je vous la ferai voir, en attendant tout à vous

Fritsch

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<sup>60</sup> This letter is post-Fritsch & Böhm, which had dissolved on 31 December, 1714.



### Fritsch to Marchand, 29 April, 1716

A ffort 29 avril 1716

Miséricorde et paix et dilection vous soient multipliés. Mon bien aimé. Comme je m'étudie entièrement à vous écrire du salut qui nous est commun, il m'a été nécessaire de vous écrire pour vous exhorter à soutenir le combat, et j'approuve entièrement que vous régalez le publique de ce qui s'est passé entre Mr Masson<sup>61</sup> ministre indigne du St. Evangile à Dort et moi, au sujet de l'histoire de la République des Lettres ; afin que vous ne disiez que la vérité, je trouve à propos de vous rafraichir la mémoire du fait tel qu'il s'est passé.

Ce fut dans l'année 1710 immédiatement après la mort de M de Beauval que M Masson me vint trouver et qu'il me parla de l'Histoire des ouvrages des savants ; après nous en être entretenu quelque temps et après qu'il eut tourné autour du pot, il me disait qu'il connaissait une personne très capable à la continuer et que je ne pourrais pas mieux faire que de l'employer. Je m'informai du nom de la dit personne et M Masson, modeste comme nous le connaissons, eut quelque peine à me dire que c'était lui et quelques amis qui avaient résolu de combattre plusieurs Romina grobis qui faisaient les fendants dans la république de lettres, un de ces géants à occire était M le Clerc, les noms des autres ne se présentent plus à ma mémoire. Je lui répondis que son dessein ne me convenait pas, que M le Clerc ne m'ayant fait ni du bien ni du mal, je ne trouvais pas à-propos d'imprimer contre lui des controverses qui pourrait aller trop loin et tourner en invectives dans la suite. Que d'ailleurs étant nouvellement établi, je ne cherchais pas à me brouiller avec âme qui vive. Il voulut alors adoucir ce qu'il venait de me dire, mais je trouvai à propos de briser là-dessus et de le refuser tout à trac. Il revient quelque temps après à la charge auprès de M Böhm, apparemment, que pour réparer la faute qu'il avait fait en me proposant son dessein, il avait donné un autre tour a son projet et produit quelque bonne pièce pour commencer – car je trouvai M Böhm fort ébranlé et disposé de convenir de les faits avec M Masson. Mais à ma prière, l'affaire n'eut pas lieu et ledit S<sup>r</sup> fut refusé une seconde fois, du depuis Jacques Debordes s'en est chargé et vous savez le reste.

Vous pouvez faire usage de ce que je vous viens de dire et si vous avez besoin de mémoires contre ce misérable de Londres<sup>62</sup> je vous en fournirai, qui le couvriront de confusion beaucoup plus que tous les mensonges infames dont il a taché de vous noircir dans le monde, je n'y saurais penser sans me mettre bien sérieusement en colère.

Vous ne me dites rien des amis de Rotterdam, ni de l'aimable Infante Le Cène. Je suppose que celle-ci n'y est plus et que vous ne sortez guère pour voir les autres. Si vous en rencontrez, je vous prie de leur bien faire mes compliments.

Je ne vous dis rien de la foire parce qu'elle n'en vaut pas la peine jusqu'à présent, elle ne valait rien du tout dans le commencement, elle est devenue médiocre vers le milieu, si elle allait devenir bonne vers la fin, j'en serais bien agréablement surpris.

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<sup>61</sup> Samuel Masson minister at Dordrecht, collaborator of Des Maizeaux, publisher of *the Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres* (1712-1718), brother of Jean Masson and Philippe Masson. See: Sebastien Drouin, *Journalisme et Hétérodoxie au Refuge hollandaise* (Paris: Honore Champion, 2023).

<sup>62</sup> Masson.

Au reste je vous annonce que le Seigneur a retiré dans sa gloire l'illustre M Jean Frederic Gleditsch<sup>63</sup> ci devant mari de ma mère et père de deux rejetons que vous avez vue à Paris et en Hollande. Il sera suivi dans peu de mon cousin M Merian<sup>64</sup> qui est à l'agonie. Voilà de quoi s'affliger pour qui en a envie. Dieu vous maintienne en santé et en prospérité, vous et votre famille, amen. Allez en paix et au nom de Dieu, souvenez-vous du pauvre

Fritsch

Un mot de réponse de votre belle main blanche si vous avez un moment de loisir, je ne pourrai pas quitter ici de trois semaines.

[Env – to Marchand at Rotterdam]

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<sup>63</sup> Died 26 March 1716.

<sup>64</sup> Johann Matthäus von Merian (1659-1716).

**Fritsch to Marchand, 18 March, 1736**

De Leipzig ce 18<sup>e</sup> mars 1736

Monsieur

J'embrasse avec plaisir l'occasion que Mr Neaulme m'a fourni de vous être de quelque utilité et je suis fâché que l'affaire n'a pas été de plus grande importance. Je me donne l'honneur de vous faire ce mot de lettre pour vous prier de m'employer dorénavant a tout ce que vous jugerez à propos et aussi souvent que vos besoins le requerront. Je vous offre tous nos trésors de minuties, are malheureusement nous ne possédons rien de ces beaux apparats dignes de vous et des savants du premier rang de delà. La distance des lieux qui nous sépare depuis 16 ans ne m'a pas fait oublier les obligations que je vous ai ; je n'y pense jamais sans une satisfaction toute particulier et souhaiterais pouvoir vous en assurer de bouche.

Je vous envoie de ce que Me Neaulme m'a demandé pour vous.

1 Struvy introductio in notitiam rei literariae <sup>65</sup>

1 Tenzels discours von erfindung der druckerey 12o<sup>66</sup>

1 Mullers nachricht von der druckerey 4<sup>67</sup>

1 Werthers nachricht von der druckerey 4<sup>68</sup>

Puissiez-vous y trouver ce que vous cherchez. J'ai joint le Werther aux autres parce que parmi bien du fatras et des bisbilles typographiques il ne laisse pas de fournir quelques particularités intéressantes. Vous avez sans doute un bon Dragouman Allemand pour vous mettre au fait de tout cela ? Je vous fournirai de notre foire prochaine Sauberti historia bibliotheca norimbergensis 8o.<sup>69</sup> Nous ne nous souvenons pas qu'il ait écrit quelque chose des imprimeries de cette ville en particulier. Je suis avec toute la sincérité possible et une estime très parfaite

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Gaspar Fritsch

[Env - Monsieur Prosper Marchand à la Haye].

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<sup>65</sup> 'An introduction to the knowledge of literature'.

<sup>66</sup> 'Discourse of the invention of the printing press'.

<sup>67</sup> 'Information from the printing house'.

<sup>68</sup> 'Information from the printing house'.

<sup>69</sup> 'The History of the Nuremberg library/books collection'.

*Letter from l'abbé Bignon*

**Bignon to Marchand, 18 June, 1712**

De Paris ce 18 juin 1712

Monsieur

On ne saurait aimer les lettres sans aimer en même temps ceux qui les cultivent. M. Turretin<sup>1</sup> est de ce nombre ; et avec cela il est de vos amis : en cette qualité je l'ai donc reçu le mieux qu'il m'a été possible ; et même, je lui ai fait rendre des livres qu'on lui avait arrêté à la douane. Il est vrai que notre conversation n'a pas été fort longue parce que j'étais alors accablé de monde. Je vous dirai néanmoins, que si elle n'a pas duré assez longtemps pour raisonner avec lui sur des matières de sciences, du moins elle a suffi pour me donner une idée avantageuse de sa modestie, et de sa politesse. Il ne tiendra qu'à lui de me voir plus souvent, je l'y ai invité, et j'en userai toujours de même avec les personnes qui me viendront de votre part. Mais j'appréhende bien que cette première visite ne me soit guère favorable. J'en serai quitte à bon marché, si je ne perds qu'une partie de la trop grande opinion que vous donnez de moi. Bien des choses dans l'éloignement ont un certain éclat qui éblouit d'abord, mais qui ne se soutient qu'autant qu'on ne les regarde pas de plus près.

Vous avez raison de croire que l'Anacréon de M Gacon<sup>2</sup> fait quelque bruit dans ce pais-ci puisque ceux qu'il y attaque sont gens la plupart dont la réputation est établie. Outre cela il y en a quelqu'uns qui sont membres de l'Académie françaises : mais sois persuadé que s'il avait ménagé ces derniers ce n'aurait été que pour en critique d'autres. Il y a des gens qui ne sauraient écrire que quand il s'agit de censurer quelqu'un. Nous en avons un exemple bien marqué dans M. Arnaud<sup>3</sup>. Pour peu qu'on ait lu avec attention ses différents ouvrages on ne saurait nier que ceux où il s'en propose d'attaquer des opinions peu conformées aux siennes, ne soient ceux où il avait uni toute sa complaisance, et toute sa force. Il est dans la nature de l'homme de ne réussir en quelque genre que ce puisse être, qu'à proportion qu'on suit son inclination, et la grande sagesse est de ne s'y pas livrer, lorsqu'on n'est pas maître de demeurer dans les bornes de la vérité et de la modération.

Le dictionnaire de Morery<sup>4</sup> auquel M. Dupin<sup>5</sup> sera achevé d'imprimer avant la fin de l'année et il y a bien de l'apparence, que cette édition l'emportera sur les précédentes. Je ne voudrais pas cependant répondre qu'il n'y eut rien à redire du côté de l'exactitude. Quelque habile que soit M. Dupin, de la manière dont il travaille, il est bien malaisé, qu'il ne se glisse quelques

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Turretini – close relation to J.A. Turretini, Genevan Reformed theologian. See Turretini letters - <https://humanities.unige.ch/turretini/>

<sup>2</sup> François Gacon (1667-1725) Poet.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Arnaud (1612-1694) Theologian/Jansenist?

<sup>4</sup> Louis Moreri - *Le grand dictionnaire historique du Moréri*.

<sup>5</sup> Dupin worked for the *Journal des Savants* under Bignon.

fautes dans ses ouvrages. Il ne peut se résoudre à revoir ce qu'il a une fois jeté sur le papier, semblable en cela à un assez grand nombre d'écrivains célèbres d'ailleurs, et entre autres à M. Godeau Évêque, une personne digne de foi, et qui le connaissait particulièrement m'a rapporté, que ce Prélat poussait la chose si loin qu'il ne voulait pas même se donner la peine de relire les feuilles qui sortaient de chez l'imprimeur.

Je vous envoie nos nouvelles littéraires et je vous prie de vouloir bien les regarder comme une marque de l'estime toute particulière avec laquelle je suis

Monsieur

votre très humble, et très  
obéissant serviteur  
l'abbé Bignon

*Letters from René-Joseph de Tournemine*

**Tournemine to Marchand, [1709]**

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Je ne veux pas manquer monsieur à vous remercier des nouvelles que vous voulez bien m'écrire tous les mois.

Il ne sera pas nécessaire que vous vous y tendriez davantage que dans celles que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer. Le titre exact faire bien connaître l'auteur et le jugement que les savants pensent du livre voilà l'essentiel. Cependant vous en userez comme il vous plaira. Les lettres d'un homme qui a autant d'esprit que vous ne sauraient être trop longues.

Si je puis ici quelque chose pour vous employez-moi sans xxxxx et comptez que je vous servirai de mon mieux

Puisque vous souhaitez que je parle de votre catalogue de la bibliothèque de Mr Fautrier j'en ferai naître l'occasion et bientôt. J'en suis très content et j'en parlerai sur ce ton.

Mr Ganneau<sup>1</sup> n'a pu me remasser tous les livres que je souhaitais je vous prie de me rassembler ceux dont je vous envoie le mémoire quand vous les aurez. C'est ici à mr Ganneau je trouverai une voie pour les faire venir et je vous rembourserai exactement tous les frais. Je suis avec beaucoup d'estime et de considération et de reconnaissance

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obs.

Tournemine

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<sup>1</sup> Etienne Ganeau – publisher of the *Mémoires des Trevoux* and later distributor of the *Journal Littéraire*.

**Tournemine to Marchand, 28 June, [1710]**

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Le dix-huitième de juin

Je n'ai point négligé monsieur ce que vous souhaitez de moi. Il est vrai que monsieur Bruguière neveu de monsieur Bayle et son héritier me montra et me laissa pendant quelques jours un papier où M Bayle a fait une espèce de chronologie de sa vie. J'en tirai les plus importantes dates que je puis dans l'éloge de Bayle inséré dans nos mémoires, je rendis ensuite le papier à monsieur Bruguière.

Il sera bientôt de retour à Paris avec monsieur le marquis de Bénac<sup>2</sup> qui revient de l'ambassade d'Espagne sitôt qu'il sera arrivé. Je vous ferai transcrire ce papier et je vous l'enverrai. je vous rend grâces de la continuation de vos nouvelles. Nous sommes plus curieuses des livres savants ~~que des~~<sup>3</sup> et des livres de religion que des livres de politique. Je chercherai toutes les occasions de vous marquer notre reconnaissance. Je suis avec beaucoup de respect et d'attachement

Monsieur

Votre très humble

Et très obéissant

Serviteur

Tournemine

Jésuite

Env – Monsieur Douxfils au bureau des postes. p[ou]r M Marchand à la haye. A Bruxelles

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<sup>2</sup> Originally a protestant family his (grand)father returned to Catholicism under Richelieu. This is probably Philippe IV de Montaut-Bénac de Navailles.

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out in the manuscript.

*Letters between Albert-Henri de Sallengre and the Société Journal Littéraire*

**Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 4 January, 1714**

Messieurs,

Je prends la liberté de vous envoyer les nouvelles littéraires que M. Breneman m'a envoyées. Je pars aujourd'hui pour Anvers, je m'informerai de ce qu'on y imprime, de là j'irai à Bruxelles, où j'en ferai autant, et je donnerai avis à la Société de tout ce que j'aurai appris. Dès que je serai arrivé à Paris, j'aurai un soin tout particulier de m'informer des nouvelles littéraires, et je tâcherai même d'envoyer un petit extrait pour le journal qu'on va imprimer. En un mot soyez sur messieurs que je tâcherai de faire en sorte que la Société s'aperçoive que je suis à Paris. Je prends aussi la liberté de vous prier de presser l'impression du journal autant qu'il sera possible, c'est une chose de la dernière conséquence pour l'honneur de la Société. Je suis avec respect

Messieurs

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

A H de Sallengre

Rotterdam ce

4 Janvier

1714



**Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, 16 April, 1714**

Messieurs,

J'ai reçu avec bien de plaisir l'honneur de la vôtre du 22<sup>e</sup> de Mars, laquelle m'a servi de preuve que vous me n'avez pas entièrement oublié, de mon côté je songe à contribuer de tout mon possible à l'avancement et au bien de notre Société. Je vous dirai même que par cette raison, outre la petite vanité que le titre de Journaliste inspire, je n'ai fait aucune difficulté de me découvrir comme un des Auteurs du Journal. Je puis dire aussi que je le fais connaître à bien des personnes de grand mérite, qui ne l'avaient jamais vu, et à peine en avaient entendu parler, de manière que la libraire Ganeau, qui est le seul qui en reçoit, me dit qu'il en avait reçu depuis peu une douzaine des deux premiers journaux, qu'il les avait tous vendus en huit jours, et qu'on lui en demandait tous les jours en quantité, de manière qu'il avait mandé par provision de Hollande une 50<sup>e</sup> de journaux.

M. Kuster ayant dit au P. Tournemine que je travaillais au Journal, il le pria de me mener chez lui pour faire la paix de manière qu'il m'y mena vendredi passé. Après les premiers compliments il me dit qu'il avait été fort surpris de ce qu'on avait attaqué le journal et sa personne, sans qu'il y eût jamais donné la moindre occasion, qu'il avait toujours été ami avec les protestants, qu'il avait été intime ami de M. Bayle, qu'il l'était encore de M. Basnage, et qu'il rendait service à tous les Hollandais qui venaient ici. Je lui répondis que je ne me faisais aucune peine de lui avouer que nous avions en tort d'attaqué les premiers le Journal de Trévoux, et sans qu'il fût question dans l'extrait de Gravina de parler d'eux, que pour ce qu'on avait dit dans les nouvelles littéraires du 2<sup>e</sup> journal touchant sa personne, j'en étais fâché mais que nous n'avions d'autre part que d'avoir inséré les nouvelles littéraires précisément telles qu'on nous les avait envoyées, et que je croyais qu'on changerait de méthode à cet égard. Il me répondit avec beaucoup de douceur qu'il était persuadé que nous ne nous étions pas servis du détour d'insérer dans ces nouvelles littéraires nos propres sentiments, mais qu'il en rejetait toute la faute sur nos correspondants, comme il l'avait déjà dit dans l'extrait qu'il avait donné de notre journal, et que ces correspondants étaient le P. Montfaucon et le Bibliothécaire de St Geneviève : chose que je n'eus garde d'avouer comme étant contraire à la vérité. Il ajouta que si l'on voulait se donner de garde de ces correspondants en effet trop critiques et trop malicieuse, le journal serait excellent, que les extraits étaient bien travaillés et exact, que la style était encore plus d'avantage que le premier, qu'en particulier les extraits de M. de Cambrai, de Ditton et de Clarke étaient excellents. Enfin il conclut que si notre société voulait ne pas attaquer ni leur journal ni leurs corps, il rendrait au journal et à la société tous les services imaginables, et qu'il ferait connaître le journal avec éloge par toute la France.

J'ai lui dis que j'acceptais la proposition en mon particulier et que j'en écrirais à la société, et que je ne doutais pas qu'elle ne soit fit un plaisir d'avoir sa connaissance et son amitié. Il me dit aussi que pour les auteurs du journal, il avait écrit en Hollande pour en savoir les noms qu'on lui avait mandé d'abord qu'un certain Mr. Themisseules s'en mêlait, qu'ensuite M. de Castagnieres neveu de l'ambassadeur de France à la Haye lui avait fait une réponse à son avis assez probable, qui était que le journal était fait par des jeunes gens d'esprit et de mérite, mais qui ne se soient pas fait connaître encore au public par d'autres ouvrages. Il me demanda encore si l'union, chose assez rare dans une société, régnait parmi nous, et que sans cela le

journal ne savait pas de longue durée. Je lui répondis là-dessus comme je devais. Il me promit aussi le plus honnêtement du monde de me donner des lettres de recommandation pour Orleans, Blois, Tours, Saumur, Angers, Nantes, c.

Il me dit encore que si Moetjens faisait faire le République des Lettres à Aymon, il la ferait défendre sur le champ en France, ceci fait voir encore qu'il est avantageux au journal d'avoir la paix avec lui et les jésuites, car étant en grand crédit il ne lui coûterait que deux mots pour faire défendre le journal en France, et si M. Johnson le souhaite je lui ferai lier correspondance avec le P. Tournemine et avec Ganeau qui vend le Journal de Trévoux. Pour en revenir au P. Tournemine, je vous dirai Messieurs que c'est un homme de grande qualité, qui a beaucoup de savoir et la principale part au Journal de Trévoux. Il a la physionomie un peu sinistre mais c'est la franchise même, et il est fort serviable et fort accueillant. Et pour ce qui regarde des conjectures sur l'union du corps et de l'âme il me dit qu'on n'avait qu'à lire ce qu'on avait dit M. Leybenits, juge compétent sur ces matières, dans la préface des essais de Théodicée.

J'aurai encore l'honneur de vous dire que plusieurs personnes judicieuses et désintéressées m'ont dit qu'on ne devait pas remplir les nouvelles littéraires de critiques non seulement très fortes, mais aussi souvent outrées ou semblés, que ces critiques tombent sur le compte des journalistes qui doivent faire un choix dans les nouvelles littéraires et bonnes et méchantes qu'on leur envoie, que d'ailleurs toutes les critiques qu'on fait dans les nouvelles littéraires sont des simples paroles et praetera nihil, et par conséquent ne prouvent rien, mais que quand on veut critiquer quelqu'un on peut le faire en faisant extrait de son livre et en vérifiant par des exemples la critique qu'on en fait. Je croirais Messieurs faire tort à votre pénétration que de m'étendre davantage sur cet article, j'y ai un peu insisté parce qu'il m'a paru que vous n'y aviez pas fait toute l'attention nécessaire, et ne vous imaginez pas que j'ai prêté mes raisonnements à ces personnes.

Je pourrais, en cas de besoin, nommer tous ceux qui m'ont dit ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire. Et à l'égard de ce qu'on a dit dans le journal sur la constitution, ils disent, ce me semble avec raison, qu'on s'est attiré sans nécessité beaucoup d'ennemies parce qu'on en a dit, qu'il aurait bien mieux valu s'en taire absolument, que c'était un démêlé théologique qui n'intéresse nullement la République des Lettres, et qu'après tout ce qu'on en a dit sont des paroles, des simples décisions dénuées de preuves, et rien d'avantage, que si on avait voulu la condamner il fallait la réfuter. Notez que ceux qui m'ont dit, condamnent eux la constitution, mais en voilà assez sur ce sujet. Je n'en ai parlé si au long qu'afin de n'y plus revenir.

Je n'y ai d'ailleurs en vue que le bien de la Société. Et j'ose me flatter que la Société modèrera un peu son penchant si je l'ose dire à la critique du moins qu'elle ne critiquera que les preuves en main, et qu'ainsi à l'avertir si les nouvelles littéraires ne sont pas tout à fait dénuées de critiques, du moins on en usera avec beaucoup de réserve. Je vous prie de conter sur l'extrait de M. de Montmort pour qu'il entre dans le journal de mars et avril.<sup>4</sup> Je vous l'enverrai dans une quinzaine de jours. Je partirai s'il plaît à Dieu de demain en huit pour Orleans et les autres places sur la Loire pour revenir par la Bretagne, mais que cela ne vous empêche pas de me faire l'honneur de m'écrire. J'allai hier chez le P. Tournemine pour lui porter le 3<sup>e</sup> journal qu'il n'avait pas encore vu, mais je ne pas lui parler qu'un petit moment.

<sup>4</sup> This did not make the journal of March/April as Sallengre went away from Paris. See his next letter.

J'ai vu aussi hier M. Huet Evêque d'Avranches, le P. Hardouin, et le P. German. M. Küster<sup>5</sup> m'a donné son livre contre M. Perizonius et sur les Mediorum pour le donner à la société.<sup>6</sup> Il approuve fort le journal et promet de le faire connaître par tout. C'est un esprit pesant, mais d'une profonde érudition. Il est fait depuis quelque temps membre de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions, et il a outre cela une pension de 2000 livres. Il m'a dit qu'on avait parlé à la cour de l'éloge qu'on a fait du Roi dans le 1 Journal et que cela lui avait attiré un compliment de la part du Roi.

P.S. M. Küster m'a fait l'honneur de souper ce soir chez moi avec 2 ou 3 autres savants et il m'a amené M. Boscheron qui m'a fait voir les lettres qu'il avait reçues de la Société, je dois aller au premier chez lui et je tâcherai de le connaître un peu plus afin d'en pouvoir vous faire son cataracter. Nous avons bu à la santé des journalistes avec d'excellent vin d'Hermitage. Il souhaiterait que M. Johnson voulût imprimer ces poésies de M. Pavillon. Il m'en apportera le MSS. cette semaine et je l'enverrai en Hollande par un Mr. Hollandais qui part la semaine prochaine. M. Boscheron en écrira aussi à M. Johnson. Adieu Messieurs je me recommande à l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces et je vous prie d'excuser le style d'un homme qui n'a presque pas un moment à lui. J'espère que vous voudrez bien m'honorer d'un mot de réponse, et je vous demande pardon de l'ennui que cette longue lettre vous aura peut-être cause.

Paris ce dimanche

16<sup>e</sup> d'Avril

1714

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<sup>5</sup> Ludolf Küster (1670-1715). German, travelled frequently between Germany, Netherlands, England and France. Eventually became Catholic apparently for business reasons and settled in Paris. Classicist. Lived in the house of the libraire Coustelier which was probably the initial connection between Coustelier and the JL and the change in French distributors from Ganeau to Coustelier during the early years. Died early of a "liver abscess". *Nouvelles Littéraires*, IV, p. 498.

<sup>6</sup> L. Küster, *Epistola ad Virum illustrissimu, in qua Praefatio Viri Cl. Jacobi Parizonii refellitur*; (Rotterdam, 1713); *De vero usu verborum mediorum apud graecos, eorumque differentia a verbis activis & passivis*, (Paris, 1714).

**Société Journal Littéraire to Sallengre, 10 May, 1714**

Du 10 May 1714

Réponse à la lettre de M. de Sallengre, du 16 avril 1714

Monsieur,

Si vous avez reçu la dernière lettre que nous avons eu l'honneur de vous écrire, vous savez déjà que nous avons reçu la vôtre du 16 avril. En voici la réponse. Nous vous félicitons de la connaissance que vous avez faite avec le P. Tournemine, que nous connaissons tous pour un homme d'un mérite distingué ; et pour qui nous avons toute l'estime qu'il mérite. Vous pouvez juger qu'ayant ces sentiments, nous n'avons gardé de refuser la proposition qu'il vous a faite, de faire la paix entre M.M. les Journalistes de Trévoux et nous. Notre inclination nous porte à vivre en bonne intelligence avec tout le monde, aussi n'ignorez-vous pas que notre intention n'a jamais été de faire de la peine à M.M. de Trévoux. Vous pouvez donc, Monsieur, assurer le P. Tournemine, que nous tacherons à l'avenir de faire en sorte que ces Messieurs n'aient pas sujet de se plaindre de nous ; mais ils ne doivent pas trouver mauvais que nous donnions des extraits des livres qui pourraient s'imprimer contre leur société, pourvu que nous le fassions avec toute la modération possible, ainsi que nous en avons le dessein. D'un autre côté comme nous voulons toujours être impartiaux nous agissons de même à l'égard des livres que ces Messieurs pourront publier contre leurs adversaires. Et nous nous ferons un vrai plaisir de rendre à leur mérite, toute la justice qui lui est due, aussi souvent que l'occasion s'en présentera.

Si un peu de modération, dans nos nouvelles littéraires, doit rendre notre journal excellent, nous ferons tous nos efforts pour lui procurer cet avantage. Vous savez Mons. que nous nous étions faits une loi de donner ces nouvelles, telles que nos correspondants avaient la bonté de nous les envoyer ; nous n'avions pas cru que personne dût nous en savoir mauvais gré, vu que nous n'y avions aucune part, que celle de les faire imprimer. Mais puisque le contraire est arrivé, et que le public s'en prend à nous des traits un peu vifs, qu'on trouve quelques fois dans les nouvelles, nous adoucirons ces traits, afin de ne choquer personne. Au reste nous ne sommes pas fâchés que le P. Tournemine soupçonne le P. Montfaucon et le Bibliothécaire de St Geneviève d'être nos correspondantes ; mais nous serions très mortifiés qu'il eut mieux rencontré, ainsi soyez sur vos gardes. Nous laissons à M. Johnson le soin de vous répondre sur la proposition que vous lui faites de lui procurer la correspondance de P. Tournemine et du Libraire M. Ganeau. Nous sommes, &c.

Vous pouvez, Monsieur, communiquer notre lettre au P. Tournemine, lorsque vous serez de retour à Paris, mais sans la lui laisser entre les mains. Voici une Apostille qu'il n'est pas autrement nécessaire qu'il ne voie, ni lui, ni qui que ce soit. Nous voyons par le détail que vous nous faites de votre conversation avec le P. Tournemine, qu'il n'a pas tenu à lui qu'il ne vous ait tiré les vers du nez ; mais nous ne doutons pas que vous ne lui ayez montré, par vos réponses que les Hollandais ne sont pas des bêtes. Continuez, Monsieur, d'être sur vos gardes, lorsque vous le verrez. Ne laissez rien échapper qui puisse nous faire connaître, mais surtout prenez garde de ne rien dire qui puisse lui donner le moindre soupçon bien fondé, sur

le sujet de nos correspondants. Vous avez trop de jugement pour ne pas sentir de quelle conséquence nous est ce secret. Souvenez toujours de la Fable du Souriceau, du Chat et du Coq, et n'oubliez pas que la méfiance est la mère de sureté. Adieu, nous sommes tout à vous.

**Sallengre to Société Journal Littéraire, [May/June, 1714]<sup>7</sup>**

Messieurs,

J'ai reçu avec une joie tout à fait grande les lettres dont il vous a plu de m'honorer, par lesquelles j'ai appris que vous étiez tous encore en bonne santé. Mon absence hors de Paris a été la raison que je n'ai pu vous envoyer des nouvelles littéraires pour le journal de mars et avril. Je réparerai cela pour le journal suivant, et comme je compte d'être à la Haye le 3<sup>e</sup> de juillet prochaine, je vous prie de m'écrire s'il est nécessaire que je vous envoie les nouvelles littéraires par la poste.

J'ai entre mes mains l'extrait des essais d'Analyse de M. Rémond<sup>8</sup>, et je l'apporterai avec moi en Hollande, aussi bien que les papiers de M. Boscheron, que je n'ai pas encore vu depuis mon retour à Paris. J'ai vu cet après-dîner le P. Tournemine qui m'a paru content de la lettre que je lui ai communiquée. Je donne de bon cœur ma voix pour l'élection des associés quoi que je ne voie pas trop bien qu'elle sera leur fonction.

Au reste Messieurs je languis fort de vous revoir, et en attendant impatiemment cet avantage je me dis avec toute la sincérité imaginable

Messieurs

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

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<sup>7</sup> Brooks dates this letter to June 1714, see: Brooks, François Boscheron, p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre-Rémond de Montmort, *Essay d'analyse sur les jeux de hazard*. (Paris, 1713).

*Letters from Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe*

**Saint-Hyacinthe to Société Journal Littéraire, 7 May, [1713]**

Messieurs,

Comme je pars nécessairement demain pour L'overijssel<sup>1</sup> j'ai cru qu'il était de mon devoir d'offrir mes très humbles services à la société en général et à chaqu'un de vous en particulier mon adresse pour recevoir vos ordres est simplement à la porte à Steenwick.<sup>2</sup>

Je donne ma voix à Monsieur de Sallengre et conseils à tout ce qu'il consentira lui-même, pour les résolutions que vous prendre touchant les affaires de la société. Je souhaiterais si vous le trouvez bon Messieurs, qu'on fit un règlement par lequel chaque membre de la société qui voyagera, sera obligé de faire en bonne foi, tous ses efforts pour envoyer quelques mémoires. Je tacherai d'en donner le premier exemple.

Pour ce qui regarde la distribution des livres dont les extraits doivent entrer dans le journal littéraire, je souscris à ceux qu'il vous plaise de me marquer et promets absolument mes extraits le 20 de juin au plus tard. Je suis avec un attachement respectueux, Messieurs, sic et sempre votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Themiseul

Ce dimanche 7 may

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<sup>1</sup> Overijssel – east Netherlands

<sup>2</sup> Steenwijk – City in Overijssel

**Saint-Hyacinthe to Marchand, 6 August, 1713**

Trouvant une occasion sûre pour vous faire tendre cette lettre en main propre je me donne l'honneur de vous écrire, Monsieur, pour savoir de vous si l'engagement que vous a proposé Monsieur 's Gravesande<sup>3</sup>, vous convient, toute notre petite société se félicite fort de vous voir des siens, et ne perdrait qu'avec chagrin l'espérance d'une si bonne acquisition. ayez la bonté de m'honorer d'une prompte réponse, et de nous donner une adresse sûre pour vous faire rendre nos lettres. Tous nos Messieurs vous font leurs compliments en mon particulier agréés je vous prie les protestations que je vous fais d'être avec un dévouement absolu

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur Thémiseul

Ce 6 aout 1713

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<sup>3</sup> Gravesande must have been the first to ask Marchand to join the society.



**Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, December 3 [1716/1717]**

Il y a plus d'un mois Monsieur que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire en vous envoyant la préface pour le recueil des pièces fugitives. J'adresse la lettre à M. Douxfils, avec une autre que j'avais l'honneur de lui écrire pour savoir s'il trouverait bon que je puisse lui envoyer toutes les semaines un petit paquet. C'était pour vous envoyer le second tome des mémoires, auquel j'ai travaillé avec une extrême application, quoique j'ai été extrêmement déjaugé, non seulement par ma maladie mais encore par la mort d'une de mes amies. Ce qui a exigé de moi des soins et des dissipations considérables. Mais tout est fini, dieu merci, et j'espère que rien ne m'interrompra désormais. Faites-moi donc une prompte réponse Monsieur, sur le temps où vous serez prêt de commencer le second tome des mémoires littéraires. Et je serai exact à y répondre. Les journalistes de Paris n'en n'ont pas encore parlé et je ne me donnerai aucun soin pour qu'ils en parlent parce qu'il faut leur en laisser dire librement leur sentiment. Au reste on parle peu du livre à Paris. M de Montalant paraît n'en pas faire cas, et Coutelier dit que c'est apparemment parce qu'il l'a en commission. Il a ajouté que c'est la méthode entre libraires, de ne se pas donner grand mouvement pour les livres qu'ils ont ainsi en commission. C'est à vous Monsieur à savoir comment vous les lui avez envoyés. Je puis vous assurer que je m'y intéresse plus pour vous que pour moi à qui la chose est plus indifférente que vous ne le croirez, certainement. Le peu de gens qui m'en ont parlé sans connaître que j'en fusse l'auteur en ont extrêmement approuvé le plan et m'ont assez paru contents de l'exécution. On croit qu'ils sont d'un nommé Thémiseul, et comme Saint Hyacinthe est inconnu pour auteur, je vous prie, si vous avez quelqu'un à nommer que ce ne soit jamais que Thémiseul.

Faites-moi la grâce de me dire ce que vous avez xxx [reçu]<sup>4</sup> de M Catuffe s'il vous a envoyé les dexxxx qu'il avait à moi. S'il ne le pas fait, avez la bonté d'écrire à son père à Amsterdam pour savoir à quel adresse je pouvais écrire à M son fils, que je crois maintenant à Londres. Quel est le sort? des pièces fugitives, je vous ai fort prié de ne les point mettre sous le titre de Polissoniana il me semble que la préface disculpait assez ce recueil.

Faites-moi aussi la grâce de me dire ce qui empêche que mes livres ne partent, quelques livres défendus qu'il y ait, je les recevrai comme s'il n'y en avait point, ayez seulement la bonté de me les envoyer à l'adresse de M Mariette au colonnes d'hercules ou à M Coustelier pour me les faire tenir. Mon nom de Saint Hyacinthe tout de long, ou simplement de les adressera M Lagisse pour me les faire tenir. Mes civilités à madame Le Vier je suis plus que personne votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur Saint Hyacinthe le 3 décembre.

[to levier at the Hague]

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<sup>4</sup> This section is torn by the seal.

**Saint-Hyacinthe to Le Vier, ‘Ce Dernier Avril’ [1717/1718]**

Monsieur que cela se fasse en diligence, j’attends ma caisse avec une impatience extrême. On a du vous porter des sermons et une bible pour y joindre, et M de Sauzet doit vous donner des exemplaires des poésies de Villiez.<sup>5</sup> Ne négligez pas un moment Monsieur à faire cet envoi. Envoyez la caisse à un commissionnaire de Rotterdam afin qu’au premier vaisseau qui partira elle vienne.

Je vous donne parole d’honneur de vous envoyer le commencement de 2 T dès que j’aurai reçu votre lettre. Vous pouvez y conter si surement que vous n’avez qu’à préparer le papier. J’ai des morceaux très curieux je me flatte que vous en serez content. Adieu Monsieur réponde incessamment, mille civilités à Madame Le Vier. Plus à vous qu’a votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur Saint Hyacinthe

Ce dernier avril.

[to levier at the Hague]

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<sup>5</sup> Pierre de Villiers (1648-1728) was a preacher and a poet whose most famous project *L'art de prêcher* was published in 1682.

*Letters from Anthony Collins*

**Collins to Le Vier, 11 September, 1713**

Mon cher monsieur,

Quoi que j'ai toujours eu honte et regret de parler de mon même et de mes affaires, cependant parce que vous avez exigé de moi de vous écrire au plutôt après que j'étais arrivé à Anvers, je ne me crois pas en liberté de ne vous écrire pas et je le fais avec un plaisir proportionné aux honnêtetés dont vous m'avez comblé. Je n'ai arrivé ici qu'aujourd'hui à dix heures au matin après une voyage non seulement fatigant a cause de son longueur mais plus par la mauvaise compagnie parmi lesquels je me trouvais. Ils furent tous catholiques Français voyageant à Paris, et si zèles qu'ils ne tenaient rien tant à cœur que leur absence de la messe au dimanche ; mais enfin je les consolais en disant que dieu accepterait la volonté pour le fait ; et j'étais plus heureux en cette remarque, que quand ils demandaient des cartes pour jouer dont le batelier n'en avaient point dans sa barque je disais que la volonté a l'égard de jeu ne les serviraient pas pour le fait. Tout le plaisir que j'avais dans la barque était en lisant le petit livre que vous m'avez prêté en partant de Rotterdam. Vous, que j'estime la meilleure compagnie du monde, avez trouvé le secret de plaire aussi dans votre absence ; mais le plaisir était très court et n'ait qu'augmenté le désir de vous revoir au plutôt. J'étais après midi chez les jésuites et je trouvais le père du Sollier<sup>1</sup> avec une femme dans le coin de leur grande salle. Il me recevait très obligeamment et me donnait un rendez-vous chez lui pour demain. Nous parlâmes un peu de Mr Kuster, et je lui disais que j'avais entendu que c'était à lui que Mr Kuster devait sa conversion. Le père répondait que Mr Kuster devait sa conversion à ses propres lumières et qu'il avait résolu de devenir catholique avant qu'il avait l'honneur de le voir à Anvers. Il me disait aussi que Mr Kuster a fait sa rétractation a Paris, et qu'on y fait beaucoup de cas de lui. Je vous prie de faire mes compliments à vos messieurs et de remercier Mr Böhm pour la lettre qu'il m'a donné au Révérend père, et d'être assuré que je suis avec une sincérité parfait

Anvers sept 11 [1713] au soir

Mon cher monsieur  
votre très humble  
et très obéissant  
serviteur  
Ant. Collins

J'espère que vous pensez sur une voyage en Angleterre, et que vos pensées auront l'effet par le temps que je reviens que je souhaite. Pardonnez et brulez cette lettre barbare, et n'oubliez pas le postscript.

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<sup>1</sup> Père Jean-Baptiste Du Sollier (1669–1740)

### Collins to Le Vier, 1 October, 1713

Mon Cher Monsieur Le Vier,

Londres Oct. 1. 1713.

Après une voyage fort longue et ennuyante, causée par la faute des matelots qui étant tous ivres avant que de partir de Rotterdam jetaient notre vaisseau sur la sable entre Rotterdam et la Brille on nous avons resté si longtemps que nous rencontrâmes le vent contraire sur les côtes d'Angleterre, j'arrivais à Londres a mardi dernier mais si tard au soir que je n'avais pas le temps de vous écrire pour vous remercier pour toutes vos honnêtetés par l'ordinaire de ce jour-là ; et que je fais à présent. Et parce que je suis persuadé que vous prenez part en tout de ce que me regarde je vous dis aussi que je me trouve en très bonne santé et toutes mes affaires particuliers en bonne ordre par le soin d'un valet a qui je les avais laissé ; de sorte que je ne souhaite rien autre chose pour me faire heureux que votre compagnie que je regrette le plus à cause que vous m'avez donné quelque espérance de cette bonheur. Mais je me console en espérant que vous me ferez l'honneur et plaisir en peu de temps de m'écrire que vous avez pris une résolution de partir pour Angleterre afin que je me puis me trouver a Londres pour attendre votre arrivé.

J'ai lu pendant ma voyage presque toutes les lettres de Mr Bayle<sup>2</sup>. Elles m'ont bien diverti, et je crois qu'elles pourraient passer pour les meilleur recueil des lettres dans leur espèce. Dans celles d'Erasmus, Scaligers, Grotius, Vossius, Salmasius, Launey, Casaubons, et d'autres, il y a un si grand fatras qu'a peine peut-on trouver une lettre en lisant quatre heures ensemble qui n'est pas dégoûtante ; au lieu que celles-ci presque toutes regardent la littérature et sont écrites dans une manière si agréable que les gens de politesse seront contents. Mon plaisir était fort augmenté par les notes qui j'étais bien aisé de trouver partout et qui éclairent beaucoup des passages qui seraient autrement obscures, et qui donnent bien de la connaissance des Auteurs et des livres. J'approuve le dessein de publier des celles notes. Si une livre est bonne et intéressante, on doit toujours l'éclaircir comme ça au plutôt, afin de la rendre intelligible a tous et pour empêcher les Küsters d'y trouver par leur sagacité critique d'autres sentiments que ceux de l'auteur.

Il n'est pas possible qu'on ne se trouve quelques méprises dans une ouvrage ou il y a beaucoup de faits qui regardent des auteurs et des livres, et j'en ai trouvé comme il me semble, quelques-unes de peu d'importance dans les lettres et dans les notes à l'égard de l'Angleterre. Par exemple dans page 251 on corrige mal à propos Mr Bayle. Mr B avait raison de faire usage du terme abolir, non seulement à cause que l'Empereur avait parlé comme ça, mais à cause que le Prince d'Orange allait en Angleterre pour abolir les lois pénales. Mais j'avoue qu'il y a quelque vraisemblance pour le mot rétablir. Je tacherai en peu des mots d'éclaircir le fait, et par cela de montrer l'origine de la méprise de l'auteur de note. Il faut savoir qu'on faisait une grande objection au Roi Jacques, qu'il avait suspendu par sa seule autorité les lois pénales ; parce que par là il rendait en conséquence tous les lois nulles quand il lui plaisait. Voila la faute de Roi Jacques ; et à cause de cela, je crois, l'auteur de note a cru que le prince allait en Angleterre pour rétablir les lois pénales que le Roi Jacques avait suspendu (ou s'il vous plait aboli) par son seul autorité ; mais le Prince allait en Angleterre pour corriger cette faute après une autre manière, viz, pour avoir les lois pénales suspendu ou aboli par le pouvoir législatif

<sup>2</sup> The Marchand edition of 1714 was titled *Lettres Choisies, avec des remarques* – (Rotterdam: Fritsch & Böhm, 1714).

qui a le seul droit de suspendre un loi, et qui les a effectivement suspendu par une acte de parlement appelée l'Acte de Tolérance dans la premier séance du Parlement du Roi Guillaume.

Page 415. L'auteur des notes appelle Thomas Burnet, medic. Doct. Edimbergensis ; mail il n'est pas d'Édimbourg. Il y a un autre du même nom qui est médecin d'Edimbourg, et qui est Auteur de quelques livres. Mr Burnet, dont il s'agit est anglais Dr en médecine de Cambridge ; mais étant Théologien il ne s'appelle jamais Dr en médecine dans aucun de ces livres, mais seulement T. Burnetius. Page. 465. Une note donne la traduction des œuvres de Rabelais à Monsr Motteux<sup>3</sup> ; au lieu que les trois premières livres étaient traduites il y a longtemps par le Chevalier Urchard<sup>4</sup> Ecossais, et le reste de ses œuvres seulement par Mr Motteux. Les remarques explanatoires qui se trouvent, la clef, et la vie sont aussi toutes de Mr Motteux.

J'ai donné aujourd'hui un paquet, à Mr Le Cène pour faire tenir à Mr Marchand des toutes les choses dont je lui ai parlé comme il me semble, excepté d'un Projet de Souscription pour des livres, que je ne manquerai pas de lui envoyer après mon retour à Londres de la Compagne, et quelques-unes dont je ne lui a pas parlé. Si j'ai oublié quelque chose, il me sera plaisir d'y marquer. Je m'en vais demain chez mes Paisans pour un mois, ou entre autres choses j'ai dessein d'avoir une catalogue des mes livres transcrites sous mes yeux en ordre Alphabétique, et si je remarque quelque chose qui regarde l'histoire des Auteurs et de l'Imprimerie que, selon moi, pourrait l'échapper, je le marquerai dans une lettre à vous. Je parlerai aussi à l'homme qui a une livre in folio prêt à imprimer sur l'imprimerie. Je vous prie de faire mes compliments à Mr.s Böhm et Marchand et a tous ceux qui j'avais l'honneur de connaitre à Rotterdam<sup>5</sup> et qui demander des nouvelles de moi, et d'être assuré que je suis avec une sincérité parfaite

mon cher monsr  
votre très humble  
et très obeissant  
serviteur  
Anth. Collins.

Si vous me faites l'honneur de m'écrire, je vous prie de m'adresser comme ça, For Anthony Collins Esq. In Searles Court in Lincolns Inn, London.

Envelope – j'enverrai la suite de Memoir of Literature à Mr Marchand à la fin de année.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Peter Anthony Motteux (born Pierre Antoine Motteux, (25 February 1663 – 18 February 1718) was a French-born English author, playwright, and translator.

<sup>4</sup> Urquhart

<sup>5</sup> Rotterdam is where Furly was based.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly: Michel de La Roche, *Memoires of Literature* (London: J. Roberts, 1713).

## Collins to Le Vier, 5 January, 1713 [1714]

Lincoln's Inn. Jan 5 1713<sup>7</sup>

Monsieur,

Je prends enfin l'occasion du voyage de Mr Le Cène<sup>8</sup> de vous remercier pour votre lettre très obligeante, que j'ai différé trop long temps de reconnaître et que j'aurais plutôt fait si je n'étais pas toujours confondu, en la relisant, avec l'estime et la civilité excessive que vous montrez envers moi là-dedans. Je souffre avec plus d'indifférence des Satyres que je ne mérite pas que des louanges que je ne mérite pas. Mais je tire une consolation de vos louanges. Je crois qu'ils viennent de votre cœur et qu'ils font des expressions de vos bonnes inclinations envers moi dont je suis très content, les exprimez-vous comme il vous plait. Je ne prétends pas de contester avec vous en expressions. Je vous dit seulement que j'ai le même cœur avec vous et que je serai ravi de vous rendre plaisir et particulièrement de vous embrasser en Angleterre, et j'espère que quand vous avez dessein de faire cette voyage vous me donnerez avis de votre intention par avance afin que de vous conduit chez moi.

A l'égard de Mr Pitcairne<sup>9</sup>, je crois que Mr Johnson de la Haye qui a une correspondance à Limberg? vous aidera en procurant pour Mr Böhm les ouvrages posthumes, s'il en a laissé quelques-unes.

Je vous prie de faire mes compliments à Messieurs Böhm et Marchand et de dire au dernier, que son Catalogue des Ecrivains Quakers est complète. J'ai été chez l'Auteur<sup>10</sup>, qui est un de mes amis, et qui m'avait fait présent du livre que j'ai envoyé à Mr Marchand. Il m'a montré toutes les exemplaires qui lui restent sans les pages 157.158. disant que ces deux pages étaient imprimés doubles, et pour cette raison on les avait coupé, et que la page 159 suive, à l'égard du sens, naturellement la page 156, comme Mr Marchand peut voir par l'Alphabet sans entendre le style Quaker.

Je suis avec une sincérité parfaite

Mon Cher monsieur  
votre très humble et très  
obligeant serviteur  
Anthony Collins

<sup>7</sup> This date is most likely using the English old style which would actually be Jan 16, 1714 new style (as the year did not change until 25 March) which would explain why he refers to Pitcairne's works as posthumous.

<sup>8</sup> Michel-Charles Le Cène (1683?-1743) *Libraire-imprimeur* from Amsterdam. Son of Charles Le Cène.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly Archibald Pitcairne (25 December 1652 – 20 October 1713) – Scottish satirist.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly John Whiting (1656-1722); Whiting, J., *Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London: J Sowle, 1708).

*Letters from François Foppens*

**Foppens to Marchand, 17 September, 1707**

Brusselle 19 7bre 1707

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu par Monsieur Etienne<sup>1</sup> la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire avec les corrections de l'explication du frontispice de la satire Menippée, j'aurai soin de les suivre.

Nous avons trouvé le dessein du frontispice si bien ordonné et la description si bien faite que nous avons jugé que vous entendrez parfaitement bien votre catholicon, et dans cette vue j'ai pris la liberté de vous prier de vouloir faire une petite histoire de la Ligue, pour laquelle nous vous croyons capable, si vos occupations le permettent, parce qu'à vous dire la vérité nous n'avons pas de gens de capacité ici. Votre livre aura deux vol : comme ceux de Comines<sup>2</sup>, je crois qu'il sera bien reçu du public à cause de nouvelles remarques qu'il y aura. Je vous offre mes très humbles et suis attendant l'honneur de votre réponse.

Monsieur

Votre très obéissant serviteur

F Foppens<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Etienne, Parisian printer (1668-1731). Marchand compiled in an unpublished manuscript the history of the Etienne family.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, seigneur d'Argenton : contenant l'histoire des rois Louys XI & Charles VIII depuis l'an 1464 jusques en 1498 / Augmentez de plusieurs traittez, contracts, testaments, actes & observations par feu Mr. Denys Godefroy.* 2 Vols, (Brussels: Foppens, 1706).

<sup>3</sup> François Foppens, Brussels *libraire-imprimeur*, from a printing family (1663-1729).

**Foppens to Marchand, 26 October, 1713**

Brusselle 26 8bre 1713

Monsieur,

Je prends la liberté de vous écrire pour vous demander une grâce. Vous avez eu la bonté de me donner un dessein pour suivre du frontispice à la satire Menippée qui a été applaudi de tout le monde. Comme j'imprime à présent le Journal de Henri III 3 Vol : 8o avec fig : je vous demande une grâce de m'en vouloir suggérer un pareillement pour mettre devant ce dit livre et je vous aurai beaucoup d'obligation. J'ai envie de la faire faire par Mon Picart qui a si bien réussi à celui de la satire, et l'explication que vous en avez faite, a fait grand plaisir au public et a fort contribué à l'embellissement de ce livre. Si vous aviez aussi quelques additions pour augmenter ledit journal, vous me feriez plaisir m'en faire part, et quand l'édition sera achevée, j'aurai l'honneur de vous en présenter quelques exemplaires. Je vous offre tout ce qui dépend de moi et suis de tout mon cœur

Monsieur

Votre très humble serviteur

F Foppens



*Letters from Baron Hohendorf*

**Hohendorf to Marchand, 28 January, 1711**

Monsieur,

J'ai attendu jusqu'à présent avec une impatience inexprimable de vos nouvelles. Vous m'avez donné une idée si grande de votre parfaite connaissance dans la belle littérature, que je ne peux que par vous-même cultivés la passion que j'ai de suivre vos pas. Ainsi je vous prie Monsieur de me dire si depuis mon départ vous avez trouvé quelque chose qui me puisse servir de guide en ma bonne volonté. Vous m'avez promis un petit catalogue des livres rares et curieuse, votre ballot que vous attendiez de Paris est-il arrivé ? Aurons-nous l'impression du Cimbalum Mundi, il serait bon qu'en ce cas vous y joigniez les doctes notes de Mr de la Monnoye. Je suis très sincèrement

Monsieur,

Vienne de 28  
Janvier 1711

Votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur

Le baron Hohendorf

Pouvez-vous me fournir des livres en dessous

Evangile du règne de Jésus Christ Paris Chez Jean Guillard 1553

Poésies de Malherbe avec les notes de Ménage Paris 1666<sup>1</sup>

L'apologie de Costar<sup>2</sup>

Mézeriac<sup>3</sup> problèmes plaisants et agréable qui se font par le nombre. Lion chez Pierre Rigauld 1624

Idem Diophanti Alexandrini Libri VI Paris : 1621

Idem traduction des Epitres d'Ovide

Idem Epistola et Poematai varia

Idem la vie d'Esope. Bourg en Bresse 1632 16mo

De la Vallée<sup>4</sup>, Le fléaux de la foi bigarrée

Idem L'art de ne rien croire.

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<sup>1</sup> François de Malherbe & Gilles Menage.

<sup>2</sup> Apologie de Mr. Costar à Monsieur Menage.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Gaspar Bachet Sieur de Méziriac (9 October 1581 – 26 February 1638) French mathematician and poet.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffroy Vallée, sieur de la Planchette, French deist, born in Orleans around 1535 and died in 1574. He was sentenced to be hanged then burned.

- Silva Nuptialis par Nevezan Paris 1521<sup>5</sup>
- Taxe des parties Casuelles, Lion par Pinet<sup>6</sup> 1564
- Beza Juvinilia. Parisiis apud Jodocum Badium
- Le Contre un. Satyre d'Etienne de la Boétie<sup>7</sup>
- Les épîtres de Bunel<sup>8</sup> Paris chez Henri Etienne<sup>9</sup> 1581
- L'amoureux fransis poesies en langage de Cahors
- Opus de claris mulieribus, Philippi Bergomensis  
Valentia apud Laurent: Rubeis, 1497<sup>10</sup>
- Jacobi Mazoni<sup>11</sup> Conclusiones
- Poésies, item lettres de Pasques
- Les opuscules de Loysel<sup>12</sup> Paris chez Jean Guignard 4o
- Bibliotheca Cordesiana Catalogus Paris Vitre 1643<sup>13</sup>
- Acta Concilii pisani et Concilii Genesis Parisiis  
Apud Melch :Monvarc 1624 4to
- Instruction pour apprendre à monter à cheval  
par Pluuniel Paris Chez Pierre Rocolet 1627 fol
- Provinciales seu constitutiones anglia cum notis Guillielmi Lindenuuod Paris :apud Jod :  
Badium 1505 ? fol
- Caroli Bovilli<sup>14</sup> tractaty varii, scilicet de intelliecta de sensu, de nihilo etc. Paris par Henri  
Stephanus 1509
- Le songe de poliphile Paris chez Jacques Kerver 1554

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<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Nevizzano, Joannes Nevizanus (c. 1490 – 1540) was an Italian jurist.

<sup>6</sup> Antoine du Pinet

<sup>7</sup> Étienne or Estienne de La Boétie Occitan: Esteve de La Boetiá; 1 November 1530 – 18 August 1563) was a French magistrate, classicist, writer, poet and political theorist.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Bunel

<sup>9</sup> Henri II Estienne, Estienne also spelled Étienne, Latin Stephanus, (born 1528, Paris, France—died 1598, Lyon)

<sup>10</sup> De Mulieribus Claris or De Claris Mulieribus (Latin for "Concerning Famous Women") is a collection of biographies of historical and mythological women by the Florentine author Giovanni Boccaccio, composed in Latin prose in 1361–1362.

<sup>11</sup> Jacopo Mazzone (Latinized as Jacobus Mazzonius) (27 November 1548 – 10 April 1598) was an Italian philosopher, a professor in Pisa, and friend of Galileo Galilei.

<sup>12</sup> Antoine Loisel - *Divers opuscules tirez des mémoires de M. Antoine Loisel, advocat au Parlement.*

<sup>13</sup> Johann Cordesii elogium, en tête du catalogue de la Bibliotheca Cordesiana. 1643, in-4°.

<sup>14</sup> Charles de Bovelles (Latin: Carolus Bovillus; born c. 1475 at Saint-Quentin, died at Ham, Somme after 1566) was a French mathematician and philosopher, and canon of Noyon. His *Géométrie en françoys* (1511) was the first scientific work to be printed in French. Bovelles authored a number of philological, theological and mystical treatises, and has been reckoned to be "perhaps the most remarkable French thinker of the 16th century." *Quae in hoc volumine continentur: Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensibus. Liber de generatione. Libellus de nihilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris. Philosophicae epistulae. Liber de perfectis numeris. Libellus de mathematicis rosis. Liber de mathematicis corporibus. Libellus de mathematicis supplementis*, 1510

La Popeliniere Histoire des Histoires<sup>15</sup>

Les œuvres de Mr de Perriers<sup>16</sup>

La Commentaire Royal de l'histoire des incas, Paris  
chez Augustin courbé 1633 4to<sup>17</sup>

Portraicture, ou partie du corps humains de Durer  
traduit par Louis Maigret 1557

Entretints d'edoxe et d'eucharistie Paris 1624

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<sup>15</sup> Lancelot du Voisin (ou Voësin), sieur de La Popelinière, born c. 1541 at Sainte-Gemme-la-Plaine in Bas-Poitou died 8 January 1608 at Paris, French soldier, historian and writer.

<sup>16</sup> Bonaventure de Periers – author of the *Cymbalum Mundi*.

<sup>17</sup> Le Commentaire Royal, ou l'Histoire des Yncas, Roys du Peru ; contenant leur origine depuis le premier Ynca Manco Capac, leur Etablissement, leur Gouvernement en paix & en guerre, leurs Conquestes, les merveilles du Temple du Soleil... Trad. par J. Baudoin, (Paris: A. Courbé, 1633).

**Hohendorf to Marchand, 11 March, 1711**

Monsieur,

Les remarques de Mr de la Monnoye sur le Cimbalum Mundi se trouve dans le manuscrit de Mr Du Fay<sup>18</sup> à Paris. Je suis bien aise, de la bonne espérance que vous me donnez de vos Ballots que vous attendez de France, ce que vous avez trouvé des livres marquées sur la liste que je vous ai envoyé, vous n'avez qu'à le[s] garder pour mon compte.

J'espère d'avoir bientôt le plaisir de vous revoir, souhaitant que ce soit selon mes souhaits à votre Egard, c'est à vivre dans une parfaite prospérité.

Je suis très sincèrement

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Le Baron Hohendorff

Vienne le 11 Mars 1711

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<sup>18</sup> Charles-Jérôme de Cisternay du Fay (1662-1723) officer of the guards and ardent bibliophile.

**Hohendorf to Marchand, 20 December, 1712**

Monsieur,

Je vous envoie ici joint les Catalogues de S A Le Prince de Savoy, la spécification de ce que nous avons acheté dans la vente de van der Marck<sup>19</sup>, ne vous servira que de notice pour chercher les détails du titre des livres dans le Catalogue même que je vous joints ici. Il faut éviter tous les doubles en moins que le temps ou quelque autre endroit remarquable distingue les éditions. Je ne vous dit autre chose connaissant votre habilité, et le plaisir que vous aurez de servir un Prince qui ne manquera pas de reconnaissance pour vous. Il faut prendre de papier Royal à ce que je crois et mettre le nouveau catalogue en grand 4to, laissant à chaque Classe assez de papiers blancs pour y joindre ce qu'on achètera à l'avenir, et remplissant qu'un coté des pages. Je vous prie de vous informer si on ne trouverait pas un Bayle grand papier de la seconde édition en Rotterdam. Je vous recommande aussi la diligence car S A m'ordonne de lui envoyer le catalogue à Vienne d'abord qu'il sera prêt. Je suis parfaitement

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur le baron Hohendorff

A la Haye ce 20 décembre 1712

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<sup>19</sup> Henrikus Adrianus van der Marck, *Bibliotheca Marckiana ... quorum omnium publica siet auctio*. (The Hague: Abraham de Hondt, 1712). Picart made the engravings for this catalogue.

*Letter from Jacques Bernard*

**Bernard to Marchand, 27 November, 1709**

Monsieur

Nous devons toujours préférer l'intérêt de nos amis à notre propre satisfaction. Ainsi, quoique votre nouvel établissement me fasse perdu apparemment l'avantage de votre comméra ; je m'en réjouir et je vous en félicite. Lorsque vous le pourrez, faits-moi la grâce de m'apprendre ce que c'est, et où vous ferez votre séjour ; afin que j'aye l'honneur de temps en temps de vous faire souvenir, que vous avez en Hollande une personne, qui vous est parfaitement acquise. Vous verrez dans ma nouvelle d'octobre, que j'ai mis à profit de votre lettre, et les excellents extraits que votre ami a bien voulu vous communiquer. Faites-moi la grâce de m'apprendre s'il voudra bien continuer et où je dois m'adresser, pour avoir l'honneur de lui écrire et de lui envoyer mes journaux. J'ai vu par les extraits, qu'il se donne beaucoup trop de peine. Quoique je profite infiniment en cela, je serai fâché que mon comméra lui coutât si cher. A moins qu'il ne le fasse pour se divertir, il suffira qu'il m'envoie les titres des livres qui s'impriment de nouveaux, et d'y ajouter quelques particularités, quand cela ne lui donnera aucune peine ; comme aussi les disputes qu'il peut y avoir entre les savants, les nouvelles découvertes etc. On m'a dit que Mr l'Abbé Bignon faisait publier en catalogue des livres, qui ne pouvaient entrer dans le journal.<sup>1</sup> Si je le pouvais avoir, cela me serait fort utile, et s'il cout de l'argent, je le payerai agréablement. Vous eûtes la bonté de m'envoyer deux agenda l'année dernière, si vous vouliez en recevoir le payement, je vous en demanderais deux ou trois pour celle-ci ; car nous n'avons pas un Almanach, qui soit bien disposé en ce pays. Mais, il n'est pas juste, qu'on a la peine que je vous donne il vous en coute encore. Je puis mettre facilement l'argent dans le paquet. Je vous souhaite toutes sortes des bénédictions, et suis de tout mon cœur

Monsieur  
Leide le 27 9bre 1709

votre très humble  
& très obéissant  
serviteur  
Bernard

Envelope – A monsieur  
Monsieur Marchand  
A Paris

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<sup>1</sup> Bignon was the director of the *Journal des Savants* between 1701 and 1714.

*Letter from Prince Eugène to Jacques Basnage*

**Prince Eugène to Jacques Basnage, 26 September, 1716**

Monsieur,

Je reçois avec plaisir les obligeants souhaits qu'il vous a plu me faire au sujet de la victoire remportée des infidèles, et vous rend une infinité des remercîments, pour la part, que vous y prenez en ce qui me regard. Si on est occupé en France sur la matière de la constitution unigenitus, cela n'est assurément pas sans raison, car ces sortes des différents dans les affaires de la Religion sont des très dangereuses conséquences tant à l'église, que l'état, particulièrement dans un temps de division entre les princes du sang, et légitimés, joint à la minorité du Roi, qui ne saurait agir par lui-même autant que je connais Mons.<sup>1</sup> le Clerc. Je le crois assez hardi d'avancer des propositions extraordinaires qui donneront de la matière aux antagonistes d'exercer leur esprit, et le sein. Au reste Monsr. je vous remercie de la part que vous me donnez de la nouvelle édition de votre *Histoire des Juifs*<sup>1</sup>, quoique j'ai lu la première, je ne manquerai cependant pas de relire l'autre, et de vous convaincre et toute occasion l'estime très parfaite avec laquelle je suis

Monsieur

Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur Eugene de Savoye

Au Siege de Temeswar<sup>2</sup>

Le 26<sup>e</sup> Sept 1716

A Mr Basnage à la Haye.

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<sup>1</sup> Basnage de Beauval, *Histoire des Juifs* (La Haye: Scheurleer, 1716) – First edition 1706.

<sup>2</sup> Timișoara – Romania. Siege of Temeșvar - 31 August to 12 Oct. Eugene takes the city and expels the Turks.

*Chevaliers de la Jubilation Document*

Extrait des Regitres du Chapitre General des Chevaliers de la Jubilation, tenu à Gaillardin, Maison de L'ordre, Le 24 . 9<sup>bre</sup> . 1710.

Nous, Les Chevaliers de la Jubilation, à Tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verrons, Salut, joyé, santé, Pigeons, Poulets, Poulardes, chapons, perdrix; Faisons, Becasses, Langues fourées, jambons; Bonum vinum, atque semper Bonum appetitium , &c.

Savoir Faisons, que La requête du Chevalier Böhm, Echanson de L'ordre, Nous nous serions joyeusement assembler en Chapitre General au tour d'une table, garnie d'un gros aloyau, cum fricaceis et saladibus; Et qu'ayant mangé cum summo judicio et bu admodum egregie, Nous accordons ici écouté, avec toute L'attention que le Bruit de nos aeos? pourrait l'aurait permettre, Les Griefs du dit echanson contre le Chevalier fr. Jean Frederic Gleditsch, Chevalier du dit L'ordre, qu'il nous a denoncé comme infracteur xxxxx de nos tres gaillardes & joyeuse, constitution, et comme la 1<sup>er</sup> parmibareur? dela bienheureuses Tranquilité donc

a toujours joui l'ordre jusques à present, depuis son premiere institution, disant. xxxxxxxx, Que Le dit chevalier Jean Frederic Gleditsch, s'etant engagé par un voeu solemnel à observer perpetuellement les Statuts & les Reglemens de notre ordre, qui sont d'etre toujours gaillard, joyeux, content, pret à vive, à boire, a chanter, a danser, à jouer, à badiner, à folatrer, à batifoler, &c. et a vivre sans amour clandestin, ni matrimonial, le'Amour etant l'Antipode dela joye, & le Mariage le Tombeau des Ris & des Jeux, et n'ayant été vecu parmi nous qu'apres avoir abjuré l'Amour, comme la Peste et le vin de Roechliz<sup>1</sup>; il

auvoir cepedant, au mepris de ses voeur, et au grand scandale de tous l'ordre xxxx violé La foi et ses engagements, et commis xxxxxxxxxx un crime de Lese-Jubliations, et une Apostasie horrendo-detestando-deplorabilissime, en laissant entrer dans, son coeur le poison funeste de l'Amour, ce qui est une Heresie excommuniabile et excommuniées?<sup>2</sup> ipso facto, et à belles petites chadell

eteintes, par tous les chapitres & constitutions de l'ordre; Et pourtant qu'il avoir encourir Excommunication Major, minor, minima, minimula, minimelissimo, et tout les issima du monde, que le frere Böhm nous auroit Benignement et charitablement requis de lancer impitoiablement contre lui, comme contre un Rebelle aux? Xxxx Certifico-gaillardissimes statuts de l'ordre.

Xxxxx Que nous, toujours sensibles, aux foiblesses de nos freres, autant que ce peut permettre la joye perpetuelle dont nous faisons profession, avons ressenti d'une maniere triste-guaÿe cette etonnante nouvelle; mais que de l'avis de honorable, scientifique et divers? personne, Messire Gaspard Fritsch, Notre joyeux et delectable Grand-Maitre, nous avons cru en

devoir remettre le jugement jusqu'a nouvel ordre; notre coutume n'etant de condamner Personne sans l'entendre, et sans avoir au prealable pris methodiquement les avis de, Pintes et des pots.

<sup>1</sup> An area of Saxony, 'Rochlitz'.

<sup>2</sup> 'excommuniabile et excommuniées' is inserted above the crossing out before 'ipso facto'.



Que là dessus, le fr. Gotlieb Gleditsch, aussi chevalier de l'ordre, et frere Cadet de l'accusé, se seroit genereusement présenté pour defendre sa cause, xxxxxxxx ce qu'il auroit fort donnement executé en xxxxxx cette sorte<sup>3</sup> apres avoir neantmoins largement et<sup>4</sup> copieuse-ment salué<sup>5</sup> la santé du grand Maitre 1°. il a nie que le chev. J. Fred. Gleditsch eut fait voeu. 2. Il nous à fort elegament et fort disertement representé, que quand bien même ce //

present du voeu ne saroit point aussi chimerique que la Donation de constantin, ou le Testament de charles II, on ne devrois pas neans-moins xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx traiter L'accusé sans aucune indulgences, ni le condamner à la rigueur, puisque personne n'est à l'epreuve des graces & des attrants d'un beau visage; & que s'il y a quelque crime pardonnable au monde, c'est sans doute celui là; ce qu'il nous prouva victorieusement par l'autorité irrecusable d'un ancien, ou D'un moderne<sup>6</sup>, en repetant fort harmonisusement à la maniere du Bourgeois Gentilhomme Amor omnia vincit, omnia vincit amor, vincit Amor omnia. Appuié de cette maxime,

Toucher dela son zele affectueuse pour la deffense de son freres et xxxxxx, en consideration de son attachement inviolables à la joye, à la gaieté, et à la jouissance voulant le traiter favorablement; mais voulant en meme temps faire une Exemple memorable ad perpetuum rei memoriam, et afin Retenir les chevaliers, dans leurs devoirs, nous xxxx ~~parron preferons ordonnant et ordonnons~~, de notre pleine puissance, science certaine, & autorité jubilacionale, avons par ces presents dit et ordonné, disons et ordonnons que le dit J. Frederic Gleditsch sera exempt dela excommication par lui encourü, à condition neant moins, qu'il xxxxx retournera et remboursera en mains de notre Thresorier, G. Gleditsch, la somme de 200<sup>7</sup>: à laquelle nous xxxxx nous sommes modestement restraier sur les? judicieuses renonssances de notre tres delectable grand maitre, dont la moderation est toujours des plus eclatantes. Fait à Gaillardin, l'an dixhuit mille troisieme de notre fondation, et de notre Grande Maistre ? sa A<sup>e</sup>-.  
Don Gaspar de Cocodrillos

y de la Cueva

~~G. Fritsch, Grand Maitre~~  
M. Bohm, Eschason dl'ordre  
G. Gleditsch, Thresorier dl'ordre  
Ch. Le Vier Arlequin & Boufon dl'ordre  
Bernard Picart, [Barbouilleur et]<sup>8</sup> Enlumineur dl'ordre  
M. De Bey, Graveur Des seaux dl'ordre  
P. Marchand, Secretaire de l'ordre

Et plus ? par mes seig[ne]urs sans soucy

<sup>3</sup> Inserted above crossing out.

<sup>4</sup> 'largement et' is inserted above 'copieuse-'.

<sup>5</sup> Inserted between 'ment' and 'la'.

<sup>6</sup> Inserted.

<sup>7</sup> Inserted above. Currency unclear.

<sup>8</sup> 'Barbouilleur et' is inserted above 'Enlumineur'.

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