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Mercier's *L'An 2440*: Its Publishing History During the Author's Lifetime

Everett C. Wilkie, Jr.

ALTHOUGH in 1960 Patterson was correct in stating that "not much of real value has been published on Louis-Sébastien Mercier,"¹ since then numerous efforts have been made to assess correctly his place and influence in European literature. Much of this study has concentrated on Mercier as a pre-Romantic figure, as a dramatist, and as an influence on German literature and philosophy. Mercier's utopian novel, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante (L'An 2440)*, has also attracted interest.

Mercier scholarship has, however, taken place in a bibliographical void. The bibliographies of *L'An 2440* (and of Mercier in general) either fail to record editions that exist or err by listing ghosts, i.e., editions or printings that never existed.² Examples of both failings are numerous. As a result, the degree of popularity of *L'An 2440* has not been clear. Bollème, for example, remarked, "Il y eut onze éditions du vivant de l'auteur,"³ when in fact there had been eleven editions by 1776, and many more by Mercier's death in 1814. Clarke committed a similar error when he stated that the book "ran to seventeen editions in French."⁴

¹ Helen Temple Patterson, *Poetic Genesis: Sébastien Mercier into Victor Hugo*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, No. 11 (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1960), p. 48.

² The numerous bibliographies that list *L'An 2440* and other of Mercier's works may be found following my introduction. The most nearly complete bibliography of Mercier's works is T. V. Benn's, which is still in manuscript. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Benn for his patient and scholarly assistance in the preparation of the present work.

³ *Dictionnaire d'un polygraphe* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1978), p. 9.

⁴ I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Future, from the Beginning to the Present Day*, 3rd ed. (London: Library Association, 1978), p. xiv.

Inadequate bibliographical work has also contributed to undervaluing *L'An 2440* in relation to Mercier's other works, especially the *Tableau de Paris*. Considerable critical and historical attention has been focused on the *Tableau* and the influence it had on later French novelists, who found in it details about eighteenth-century Paris which they then incorporated, usually silently, into their own works.⁵ Mauzi summed up the consensus when he said, "Son chef d'œuvre est le *Tableau de Paris* (1781), qui eut un prodigieux succès."⁶ Such a statement gives a wrong impression, for Mercier's "prodigious success" in his lifetime was *L'An 2440*, not the *Tableau*, which, though popular, sold far more slowly. In fact, *L'An 2440* was one of the genuine best sellers of the eighteenth century.

The lack of bibliographical work has also led to the publication of questionable modern editions. Those edited by Trousson and by Pons⁷ were both based on unnamed and unidentified sources, and their editors confessed their confusion about the real first edition of the text. Similarly, Hooper's English translation of 1772 has been twice reprinted in facsimile since 1974 without efforts to determine whether it was based on an adequate text.⁸

⁵ Patterson's study (note 1) remains the most extensive investigation into the French diffusion of Mercier's works. See also Geneviève Bollème, "L'Attitude des réalistes à l'égard de Mercier," in *Louis-Sébastien Mercier, précurseur et sa fortune, avec des documents inédits: Recueil d'études sur l'influence de Mercier*, ed. Hermann Hofer (Munich: Fink, 1977), pp. 251-266; and Samuel Lutz, "Quelques échos," in *Louis-Sébastien Mercier*, pp. 285-300.

⁶ Robert Mauzi, *L'Idée du bonheur dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIIIe siècle*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1967), p. 437, note 8. Not every writer has shared Mauzi's opinion on all aspects of *L'An 2440* and the *Tableau*. G. Peignot, *Dictionnaire critique, littéraire, et bibliographique des principaux livres condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés: précédé d'un discours sur ces sortes d'ouvrages* (Paris: Renouard, 1806), II, 306, says of *L'An 2440*: "Il a beaucoup plus mérité d'être à l'oeil de la police que le *Tableau de Paris*, à cause des opinions hardies qu'il renferme. . . ."

⁷ Raymond Trousson's was published in Paris: Ducros, 1971. Alain Pons's edition, which included sections from the three-volume expanded edition, was published in Paris: Adel, 1977.

⁸ New York & London: Garland, 1974, and Boston: Gregg, 1977. A facsimile of the Philadelphia, 1795, edition was published in 1973 by Kelley of Clifton, New Jersey. Numerous republications of various editions have taken place as part of microfilming projects. Some editions are available, for example, in the microfilm of the Goldsmiths' and Kress libraries; others are on the microcards of the books represented in Evans' American bibliography. The publication in microfilm of Duke's utopia collection has made several more editions available. Hachette has republished a 1786 edition on microfiche, and Slatkine has published a facsimile reprint of one of the An VII variants. The first German translation is also available in a critical edition as part 50 of *Phantastische Bibliothek*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982.



Frontispiece of the Paris, An VII edition of *L'An 2440*.

Even the publication date of the first edition has not been adequately scrutinized by Mercier scholars. Whereas Mercier sometimes stated that the novel was first published in 1770, the only known early editions have imprints reading 1771. The time-honored conclusion for resolving the conflict has been that the novel was pulled off the press so late in 1770 that it was dated 1771, the year it would actually be sold. Martin, Mylne, and Frautschi repeat this conclusion, "Nous croyons donc que l'ouvrage a pu être publié en 1770, probablement vers la fin de l'année, mais qu'il portait déjà la date de 1771."⁹ Pons also subscribed to this interpretation: "Peut-être l'ouvrage a-t-il été imprimé dans les derniers jours de 1770? Quoi qu'il en soit, l'usage constant est de donner à cette première édition la date de 1770."¹⁰ Despite evidence to the contrary, scholarly practice has made the supposed 1770 edition of this novel an enduring bibliographical ghost.

Much of the mystery surrounding the publication of the first edition was occasioned by Mercier himself, who in some places left the impression that it was first published in 1770 but in others that 1771 is the correct date. He stated in *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1789) that he foresaw the French Revolution nineteen years previously; this would make the date 1770. In the "Avis de l'auteur" of the 1786 edition of the novel, he stated outright that the book was first published in 1770, an assertion repeated in his 1792 *Fictions morales* (I, xiii). On the other hand, he remarked in the preface to the An VII edition of the novel that it was first published twenty years before, i.e., in 1771. He restated that date in the list of his works appended to volume three of that edition. Such confusion on the part of an author is somewhat bemusing, especially since the statement in *Fictions morales* also says the work was "imprimé sous mes yeux" (I, xiii). The only consistent piece of information in all this is that Mercier noted the work was first printed in Amsterdam by Van Harrevelt.

Mercier's own confusing statements aside, other facts suggest first publication in 1771 rather than in 1770. First, literary observers of the time do not report seeing any copies of the work until well into 1771. The earliest known mention in print is by Louis Petit de Bachaumont in his *Mémoires secrets*. Under the date 16 August 1771, he says:

⁹ Angus Martin, Vivienne G. Mylne, and Richard Frautschi, *Bibliographie du genre romanesque français, 1751-1800* (London: Mansell; Paris: France Expansion, 1977), p. 164.

¹⁰ "Note de l'éditeur," *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante* (Paris: Adel, 1977), p. i.

Il paroît un nouveau Livre sous le titre baroque de *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante, Rêve s'il en fût jamais*, avec cette épigraphe: *Le tems présent est gros de l'avenir*. LEIBNITZ. La Préface est écrite d'un ton fier & sublime. Le reste est une espèce d'Apocalypse, qui demande beaucoup de discussion.

Madame * * *, writing on 1 December 1771 in the Grimm/Diderot *Correspondance littéraire* notes: "Il paraît un ouvrage in-8° de quatre cent seize pages imprimé à Londres, intitulé *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante*. Il est très rigoureusement défendu, et par conséquent très vivement recherché sans doute par cela même qu'on ne peut se le procurer facilement." Thus, unless one is willing to admit that both Bachaumont and Madame * * * saw an edition with the date 1770, an edition that has not survived, the contemporary evidence suggests 1771 as the date of first publication.

Evidence about the time sequence in which Mercier wrote the novel also points to 1771 as the actual publication date of the first edition. Several allusions in the work itself confirm that Mercier was still at work on the novel quite late in 1770, and their progression through the chapters is significant in that they provide a chronology of the book's composition. In chapter 37, he decries the disastrous accident at a display of fireworks on 30 May 1770 during Marie Antoinette's wedding festivities. In a note to chapter 40, he mentions the shortage of bread during the severe winter of 1770. Thus, Mercier was apparently still working on the last chapters of the novel late in 1770.

More importantly, in chapter 42 Mercier alludes to Voltaire's poem, "Épître au Roi de la Chine, sur le Recueil de vers qu'il a fait imprimer." The earliest known mention of the poem is about 10 November 1770, in a letter (now lost) from Voltaire to Frederick II. It seems unlikely that Mercier gained knowledge of the poem there, for he echoes its first line, "Reçois mes complimens, charmant roi de la Chine." Two possibilities can account for Mercier's detailed knowledge of the poem. First, Mercier could have read the whole poem in *Almanach des muses* (Paris: Delalain, 1771), on pages 145-149; this publication would have appeared very late in 1770 or very early in 1771. If Mercier followed his usual custom, he would indeed have been reading this work sometime in January: "On s'occupe de ce recueil les quinze premiers jours du mois de janvier; puis, semblables à certains insectes éphémères, il pâlit et disparoît."¹¹ If this is in fact

¹¹ *Tableau de Paris* (Amsterdam, 1782-1783), VI, 134-135.

where Mercier read the poem, he assuredly did not publish his novel until 1771. On the other hand, Mercier could have encountered the poem in one of the numerous manuscript versions that reached Paris before the middle of November. The Grimm/Diderot *Correspondance* on 15 November 1771 notes that the poem "a déjà été copiée mille fois peut-être depuis qu'elle est arrivée à Paris." Given Mercier's literary connections, it is not unlikely that he knew of the poem in November 1770.

Even if he did read the poem in mid-November, the mention of it is early in a long chapter. After that, he still had two others left to write. He then had to send the text to Amsterdam, perhaps even find a publisher, a process that could have been complicated by the manifestly illegal nature of the book. Then, the book had to be printed, and the title page and preliminary leaves would have been printed last. It is true that if Mercier had been sending chapters to the printer as they were completed, if the printer had been printing them as they arrived, and if Mercier had finished the last chapters quickly, the book could have appeared in 1770.¹² However, to make such a scenario plausible, confirmation that Mercier was working on the novel at a frenetic pace in its last stages is required. The evidence is otherwise. Mercier states in a note to chapter two that work on the novel was begun in 1768. This piece of information is corroborated by a letter to his friend the poet Antoine-Léonard Thomas on 22 June 1768 in which he states: "Je travaille au long rêve de l'An deux mille quatre cent quarante. J'ai déjà mis à profit plusieurs de vos idées et je ne manquerai pas de vous remettre l'ouvrage pour en recevoir d'autres qui m'enflamment d'un feu nouveau."¹³ Mercier does not appear ever to have been in great haste to write his novel; if he indeed sent it for Thomas to peruse, it would seem quite unlikely that it was published in 1770.

Also of interest in establishing the publication date of the first edition of *L'An 2440* is its influence on Wieland's *Der goldene Spiegel*. Pusey remarks that Wieland's acquaintance with *L'An 2440* dates from 6 January 1771 and further notes that *Der goldene Spiegel* "was

¹² Common sense argues against this procedure, because a publisher would probably have been hesitant to commit himself to a work of indeterminate length.

¹³ Quoted in Léon Béclard, *Sébastien Mercier: sa vie, son oeuvre, son temps, d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Champion, 1903), p. 76.

written partly before and partly after the summer of 1771."¹⁴ Pusey cannot explain why "only the latter half"¹⁵ of the novel shows the influence of a work supposedly published in 1770. The fact is that Wieland's first mention of Mercier's novel is in a letter of 6 January 1772, not 1771: "L'année 2440 est un livre excellent qui merite des statues, et qui meritera à son auteur une place à Bicetre, s'il est découvert."¹⁶ (Sophie van La Roche was, in accordance with Wieland's request of 8 January 1770, sending French material as it appeared in France.)¹⁷ This further suggests that *L'An 2440* actually came out in the summer of 1771.

Just as there is confusion about the date of the first edition, so are there complications for the scholar who wishes to know which changes in editions are attributable to the author. In 1786, Mercier brought out the new edition, now expanded to three volumes. Here, in "Avis de l'auteur," he strongly denounced all intervening editions:

J'ai publié la première édition de cet Ouvrage en 1770; Je le fis imprimer à Amsterdam chez feu Van-Harrevelt, je n'y ai pas retouché depuis. Je le réimprime, cette présente année 1786, en trois volumes, avec de nouveaux chapitres & notes. Je désavoue pleinement & entièrement les éditions, ou plutôt les contrefaçons qui ont paru depuis 1770 jusqu'à ce jour. On y a joint des additions fautive qui ne sont pas de moi.

Les contrefacteurs de Neuchâtel en Suisse se sont avisés tout récemment d'un brigandage nouveau. Ce n'est pas seulement une contre-façon défectueuse, informe; c'est une falsification faite avec la plus grande impudence, car ce n'est qu'un pillage indécent de plusieurs chapitres de mes autres ouvrages; ils ont eu la hardiesse de donner cette rapsodie sous le faux titre de nouvelle édition de l'an 2440. Je désavoue cette falsification, délit tout neuf de ces libraires-pirates.

This diatribe is signed "L'Auteur de l'An 2440 / Paris, le 8 Juin 1786." Yet, Mercier's assertion that he did not revise his novel in the intervening years is open to question.

The 1774 edition includes revisions that seem to have been made by Mercier himself. Although basically the same text as the first edition, chapter 37, "La Bibliothèque du roi," has rewritten passages, including one on Voltaire, whom Mercier greatly admired. In the revised chapter, the keeper of the King's Library wonders aloud if

¹⁴ W. W. Pusey, *Louis-Sebastien Mercier in Germany: His Vogue and Influence in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁶ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Wielands Briefwechsel: Briefe der erfünfter Dozentenjahre (25. Mai 1769 – 17. September 1772)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979), IV, 81.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 445.

just one man could have written so much, but Mercier assures him that it is so. The suppressed passages are even printed at the end of the book, the same procedure followed in a 1776 edition, the only other one in which the revised chapter appeared. Moreover, other parts of the novel have also been modified. Since the revised passages conform in every respect to Mercier's style, they present good reason to believe that he did write them.

Why Mercier revised the chapter is unclear, because the first version was adequate and was the one retained in most subsequent editions. Stylistically, neither is clearly preferable. The revised passages are somewhat cleverer in matters of plot and interest but not so much so as to be clearly superior. The purpose of the revisions seems to have been to express greater respect for Voltaire, an attitude consistent with his basic admiration for the man. Why he would retract the revisions is as problematic as why he included them in the first place. Their presence implies, however, that Mercier did revise his first edition, his own statements to the contrary notwithstanding. (See note to 1774 in the bibliography proper.)

Another edition which must be considered is that published with the imprint "Amsterdam, 1785." It contains portions from *Mon bonnet de nuit* and bears the statement "Nouvelle édition exactment corrigée et augmentée d'un volume"; however, neither was the addition authorized nor the novel corrected, for this edition is the "brigandage nouveau" referred to in the "Avis" to the 1786 edition.¹⁸ While Mercier was in Neuchâtel, the Société typographique, located there, published his *Tableau de Paris*. Mercier had previously encountered difficulties with the original publisher, Fauche, who had published the first edition in 1781 with the assistance of Virchaux of Hamburg, with whom he had long had business connections. Mercier busily expanded the *Tableau*, and the Société typographique brought out several editions of it in just a few years.

Mercier was also expanding *L'An 2440*, and the Société expected to publish the new edition of this novel, as well. For example, appended to the end of volume four (1782), page 327, of the new edition of the *Tableau*, published from 1782 to 1783 by the Société, are two notices, the second of which reads: "*L'An deux mille quatre*

¹⁸ Pierre Versins, *Encyclopédie de l'utopie, des voyages extraordinaires, et de la science fiction* (Lausanne: Editions de l'Age d'homme, 1972), p. 582, erroneously states that it is the 1774 edition rather than this one that Mercier denounced in 1786.

cent quarante, nouvelle édition, corrigée, augmentée, avec des notes; deux volumes, même format & même caractère. Fin de décembre 1782." Thus, there can be little doubt that a two-volume edition was planned by the Société, which was bringing out the *Tableau* over the false imprint "Amsterdam." There is another such notice appended to volume eight (1783), page 356, of this same edition of the ever-expanding *Tableau*, which reads: "L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante, (rêve s'il en fût jamais), nouvelle édition, corrigée & augmentée, 3 vol." Another printing of this edition of the *Tableau*, which may be distinguished by the urn on the title page of volume eight, also has the same notice on page 324 of that volume. Even as late as 1784, the Société hoped to publish a uniform edition of Mercier's works, the plan for which was announced in the four-volume edition of *Mon bonnet de nuit* it was co-publishing with Poinçot of Versailles and Heubach of Lausanne. Specifically announced is "*L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante*, nouvelle édition, très-augmentée & en trois volumes, sera imprimé grand in-8°" (I, [iv]). The Société even went on to proclaim: "Si le public ne veut pas être trompé de toute manière par tant de contrefacteurs ineptes, il doit s'adresser aux Sociétés typographiques de Neuchâtel en Suisse, dont les éditions sont les seules avouées par l'auteur" (I, [iv]). In its 1784 edition of Mercier's *L'Homme sauvage*, the Société made a similar announcement for "la suite de ses oeuvres" (p. [ii]) and a uniform series of Mercier's plays, the subscription for which could be entered with the Société, with Poinçot at Versailles, or with Chirol at Geneva. The subscription ended on 30 October 1784, and publication of the plays was anticipated in early 1785.

Unfortunately for the plans of the Société, Mercier tired of Neuchâtel and departed, although he still treated with it for publication of the revised edition of *L'An 2440*.¹⁹ Relations between him and the Société had degenerated somewhat, however, because of a dispute, the nature of which is unclear. Mercier had written to the Société, apparently in late spring of 1784, about publication of the new edition of *L'An 2440*, which the published notices made clear the Société expected to bring out. On 28 June, the Société had written requesting more time to consider, which implies that Mercier had made some

¹⁹ Mercier's stay in Neuchâtel is discussed by Charly Guyot, *De Rousseau à Mirabeau: Pèlerins de Môtiers et prophètes de 89* (Neuchâtel & Paris: Attinger, 1936), pp. 81-126.

new, unexpected demand on it. All that remains is Mercier's response, here quoted in its entirety:

Par votre lettre du 28 Juin vous me demandez de ne point conclure de traité pour l'impression de *l'an 2440*, d'ici à six semaines. Je suis entré en pour-parlers avec plusieurs Libraires, mais je veux bien attendre et vous donner la préférence. Le placement est sûr, et vous devez reconnoître enfin la différence qu'il y a entre un livre et un autre: prenez vos arrangements: faites moi vos propositions, et croyez que plus les procédés des Typographes sont honnêtes, plus ils travaillent à leur fortune: c'est l'ignorance de ces principes qui leur a nui dans tous les tems. Je vous donne six semaines pour prendre vos mesures. Comme je suis accoutumé à enrichir des Libraires, je ne trouverai pas mauvais que vous songiez à vos intérêts, que le tableau soit clair et net, et si vous êtes justes, je serais généreux.²⁰

After Mercier wrote this letter, he apparently came to an agreement with another publisher to bring out the three-volume edition, and press work began in 1785. At this point, the Société typographique got wind of what was afoot, probably from one of its agents in Paris, and stole a march on Mercier. Since it did not have any new manuscript, it arranged to print what it did have in hand — the first-edition text of *L'An 2440* and chapters from *Mon bonnet de nuit*, which it had published in 1784. This printing was arranged so that *L'An 2440* proper was the first volume and selections from *Mon bonnet de nuit* made up the second. The title pages, stating that the publication was a "Nouvelle édition exactement corrigée et augmentée d'un volume," were blatant falsehoods. Fauche appears to have been the actual printer of this false edition, for the records of the Société indicate that it acquired its copies from him, and he advertised it for sale in his own catalogues. His 1787 catalogue, for example, has: "An (l) deux mille quatre cent quarante, rêve s'il en fut jamais, nouvelle édition, exactement corrigée & augmentée d'un volume, 8. 2 vol. Londres sous Neuchâtel, 1785." The Société's *Rencontres de magasin* for 1785–87 list a few dozen copies supplied to it by Fauche.

Mercier's suspicions fell initially only on Fauche, and he seems at first not to have realized that the Société typographique was also involved. From Paris he wrote the Neuchâtel publisher Vitel on 3 March 1786, raging:

Vous avouez qu'une contrefaçon aussi impudente, et une falsification aussi téméraire, ne pouvait pas rester impunie dans un pays où il y a quelque justice. M^r Fauche se permet tout, mais la guerre ne lui réussit pas toujours. Il est impossible dans le moment, que j'aie contre ma plainte, parceque j'aurois l'air d'un extrava-

²⁰ Bibliothèque publique de la ville, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, MS 1180, 239r.

gant, et que d'ailleurs je ferais tort au libraire qui va publier la nouvelle édition en trois volumes.²¹

He then went on to describe a Machiavellian plot to damage Fauche financially. Finally, he dismissed the obvious: "Il [Fauche] m'a écrit que vous étiez intéressé dans cette affaire. Je ne saurais le croire; car vous auriez manqué à une promesse à qui vous devez quelque reconnaissance, et qui vous aurait livré le manuscrit original, si vous l'eussiez voulu."²² (There is no record of Vitel's reactions to this attack on his father-in-law.)

Mercier's invectives did turn to the Société, however, after it began to advertise the false edition. In addition to the general condemnation present in the preface to the 1786 edition is the repudiation in *Notions claires sur les gouvernemens* (Amsterdam, 1787), volume two, page 421. In that book are several notices for other works "du même Auteur." Among these is the following section concerning *L'An 2440*:

On prie le Public d'être en garde contre les Contrefacteurs de Neufchâtel en Suisse, qui ont mutilé & défiguré les Ouvrages de l'Auteur, notamment l'an 2440: c'est une fourbe & misérable édition, que celle qu'annonce dans son Catalogue *la Société Typographique de Neufchâtel en Suisse*. L'Auteur déclare qu'il ne fera jamais rien imprimer dans les Imprimeries susdites.

Relations with the Société seem to have been strained before 1785, and its association with the unauthorized edition of *L'An 2440* no doubt led to the virulent denunciation published by Mercier. Mercier's fulminations against all these "libraires-pirates" are no doubt sincere; it appears, however, just as likely that they were merely protecting themselves against Mercier's own bad faith and attendant machinations.

Not until the 1791 edition did Mercier again speak about his novel. In this edition, he finally signed the preface, which is the same as that of 1786, thereby taking public credit for the work for the first time. In the An VII edition, he rewrote the Preface and in it expounded at length on the French Revolution and the accuracy of the predictions he had made about its course in previous editions of the novel. In the first paragraph of this "Nouveau Discours Préliminaire," he states that this publication is the "troisième fois"

²¹ Bibliothèque publique de la ville, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Fonds Godet, MS 3053.38. To the many unflattering remarks made about Mercier in the eighteenth century, one may add the following notes written on the address leaf of this letter: "Un intentif, Vouté ou peut être courbé par l'âge, Peu débrouillard, Ambitieux, Colérique d'hérédité."

²² *Ibid.*

that he has published the novel, meaning apparently that the 1771 and 1786 editions were the only two previously authorized ones and that the present edition was published from the 1786 one "sans en retrancher un seul mot, sans y ajouter un seul mot, sans déranger une virgule." Thus, the editions of 1771, 1774, 1786, and An VII are textually significant.

Whatever twists, turns, and intrigues surrounded editions of this novel, it was enormously popular. If one assumes, for example, press runs of 1,500 copies each, there were 18,000 copies in print in three languages by the end of 1772 and 30,000 copies by the end of 1782, at which point it had spread thoroughly over Europe. Most of these printings were from entirely new settings of type, each of which required a considerable investment by the publisher. If one includes every known or reported edition, 63,000 copies had been printed by Mercier's death.²³

Because almost all the editions in French before the French Revolution have spurious imprints and because the novel was strictly banned in France, one may suppose that the copies read there were smuggled in. There is some evidence that directly connects *L'An 2440* with this widely practiced illicit commerce in banned books. The Archives of the Bastille contain the small history of the widow Stockdorff from Strasbourg, who had a list of Parisian clients to whom she regularly supplied forbidden books through various contacts in the capital itself. When she was arrested in 1771 at Paris and committed to the Bastille for two years, one of the banned books specifically mentioned as supplied by her was *L'An 2440*. Because she was arrested so soon after the publication of the book, she must have been importing them from Holland, for only Van Harrevelt's 1771 edition had appeared by then.

As the ban continued, so did the illicit traffic in the book. The French marine authorities seem to have seized two copies of the 1786

²³ These figures might have been even higher. In his letter to Vitel (note 21), Mercier remarks that Fauche had printed off 3,000 copies of the false 1785 edition. The standard figure for number of copies printed is that given by Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 161, "By the beginning of the sixteenth century books were normally printed in editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies, a figure which did not change much for the generality of books until the later eighteenth century." Gaskell further remarks, however, about publishing patterns in the late eighteenth century, "Towards the end of the eighteenth century large edition quantities became rather more common, generally financed by publishers' syndicates" (p. 162).

edition, notices of which were entered on their registers. One was deposited in the depot at Brest, the other in the depot at Paris (see note to 1786). Only after the Revolution was well under way could one legitimately acquire a copy from a Parisian bookseller; before that time, such copies as were available were imported and distributed clandestinely.

Despite the novel's notoriety, its contribution to the growth of Mercier's reputation was slight in the years immediately following 1771. The novel's title, with no mention of Mercier, is found in various printed contexts in the years immediately following the first edition. In 1772, for example, one Semivol published a pamphlet, *L'Année Deux mille quatre cens quarante, ou tout à sa place: Consolation aux quarante*, a verse piece on local affairs in Lyons.²⁴ The novel's contents were also considered worth being excerpted in the Abbé de Fontenay's *Esprit des livres défendus*, although Fontenay does not seem to have known the author's name.²⁵

Not until 1774 was there a definite reference to Mercier as author of the book. On 22 September of that year, Bachaumont's *Mémoires* noted, "A cette occasion on le reconnoît pour l'Auteur de *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*." By the mid 1770s, Mercier was so confident his name would be associated with the book that he printed on the title pages of *Eloges et discours philosophiques* (1776), *Histoire d'un jeune Luthérienne* (1776), and *Les Comédiens, ou Le Foyer* (1777) that they were by "l'auteur de L'An 2440." By the end of the century, Mercier was in France the honored prophet of the French Revolution, and his novel was warmly received in its expanded version. Although noting that the book was greeted with ridicule by some upon its publication, V. B. remarked that the success of the predictions had been astonishing, "Mais il est arrivé que, vingt ans après, la révolution a fait presque un prophète de l'écrivain qui se donnait lui-même comme un rêveur."²⁶ The writer concluded, "Il est juste aussi que la Philosophie, la Politique, et la Morale paient à ses principes philanthropiques et à l'emploi utile et agréable de son talent, souvent original dans plus d'un genre, un tribut durable d'éloges, d'estime et de reconnais-

²⁴ Reported in *L'Année littéraire* for 1772, pp. 166-168.

²⁵ *Esprit des livres défendus, ou Antologies philosophiques* (Amsterdam & Paris: Nyon & Laporte, 1778). See, for example, I, 474-481, and II, 496-501.

²⁶ "Littérature-Morale," *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 19, 1^{er} trimestre (An VII), 274.

sance."²⁷ Thus, in the end, the novel helped secure Mercier's reputation, particularly in France.

Outside France, *L'An 2440* appears to have been somewhat less well known but influential nonetheless, and one may find evidence that the novel was being both reprinted and read in the rest of Europe and elsewhere. The novel was well known in Holland, the country where it was first published. It was there that it first appeared with both a city of publication and a publisher's name on the title page, an occurrence that would not be repeated in continental Europe for nearly two decades. Van Harrevelt's presses were kept busy in 1771 and 1772 producing new printings of the book. It is, however, impossible to say how many copies were sold locally, because many of them were surely exported to France and other countries. Nevertheless, interest in the expanded, three-volume edition was so great that it was translated into Dutch and published in its entirety in 1792-93. The novel also had influence on Dutch literature; Elisabeth Wolff, for instance, drew on it for her own *La Hollande en l'an MMCCCCXL*.²⁸

The novel enjoyed considerable vogue in eighteenth-century Germany, an aspect of the book's diffusion that has been thoroughly covered by Pusey. Christian Felix Weisse produced a reliable German translation in 1772, the same year an edition in French was also published in Germany. Demand for the novel appears to have remained fairly constant, for several more editions in French were brought out over the years, and Weisse's translation, with corrections, was reprinted in 1782. E. L. Posselt projected a translation of the new, three-volume edition in 1795 (see 1795.2), but it apparently was never published. The announced intention to do so does indicate continuing interest in the novel, fueled in this case partly by Posselt's own personal interest in the French Revolution itself.

Switzerland's acquaintance with the novel was a long one, although much of it was as printer and purveyor of various editions. These roles declined rapidly after 1786, when Mercier had lost much of his enthusiasm for the country and its printers, with whom he had quarrelled. Mercier's need for Swiss printers also declined after the French Revolution began and the book could be purchased legitimately in Paris itself. Nevertheless, numerous editions in French did

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²⁸ See Hermine Vieu, "La Hollande en l'An deux mille quatre cent quarante," in *Louis-Sébastien Mercier* (note 5), pp. 37-46.

come off Swiss presses between 1772 and 1785. Although some of these copies were for export, others remained in Swiss hands. One copy of the 1774 edition, for example, is known to have been given by Mercier to the Swiss minister Vernet (see 1774). Among the reactions of the German-speaking Swiss, who seem to have acquired their copies from Germany, one may cite the attack on *L'An 2440* by Johann Tobler, published in 1772 in Zurich, as evidence that the book was thought-provoking in at least one quarter.²⁹

That the novel was known in Spain is clear, for it was officially condemned by the Inquisition and was supposedly burned by the king himself. After having been condemned by the Inquisition in Rome in 1773, the book was condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in 1778 and by the Council of Castille. The edition banned by the Inquisition was described as follows:

un libro en octavo mayor, escrita en lengua Francesa, intitulado: *Año dos mil quatrocientos y quaranta*, con la data de su impresion en Londres año de mil setecientos y seis, sin nombre de Autor, ni de Impresor. Que la idea de este impio escritor es fingir un sueño, y que dispierta de él en Paris el año de dos mil quatrocientos y quaranta; y con esta invencion refiere el estado en que se figura hallarse en aquel tiempo la Corte de Paris, la Monarquía de Francia, la Europa, y la América, afectando deseganos, y suporniendo alteraciones en todo el gobierno Eclesiastico, civil, y politico.

There does not appear, however, to have been a French edition published in Spain or a translation into Spanish. The editions that came into Spain probably were introduced by foreign merchants and booksellers who lived in colonies spread throughout the country and imported books printed in Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and France. Given the sometimes lax enforcement of the Inquisition and the devious methods known to all book smugglers, it is not surprising that *L'An 2440* found its way into Spain.³⁰

²⁹ *Omyramynt fürs Christentbum bey dem Traume von 2440* (Zurich: Drell, 1772). The contrasts between Mercier's and Tobler's views of religion were reviewed in *Anhang zu dem dreyzehnten bis vier und zwanzigsten Bände der allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek (Zweyte Abtheilung)* (1772), 992-993.

³⁰ See Oskar Zollinger, "Eine Utopie des 18. Jahrhunderts vor der spanischen Inquisition," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 19 (1897), 305-308; *Real cedula de S. M. y señores del consejo, por la qual se prohibe la introducción de un libro intitulado Año 2440* (Madrid: Marín, 1778); and the inquisitor Felipe Beltrán's prohibition of the book the same year. The *Indice último de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar para todos los reynos y señorios del Católico rey de las Españas, el Señor Don Carlos IV.* . . . (Madrid: Sancha, 1790), p. 9, also notes the continued ban on the book. Information on the smuggling of French books into Spain may

As revolutionary, republican fervor swept Italy late in the eighteenth century, Mercier's novel was finally translated into Italian. Supposedly using the An VII French edition as his base, the anonymous translator rendered a fairly complete, if somewhat inaccurate, Italian version, even including the passages in which Italy and Catholicism are viciously excoriated. Many of Mercier's ideas did not sit well with certain parts of the populace, however, and Mercier was in his turn attacked in *Realtà del progetto filosofica anarchia e deismo pubblicata da Monsieur Mercier nel sogno profetica intitolato Anno 2440*. This novel, in the form of dialogues (some of which include Mercier himself as a participant), republished substantial portions of the Italian translation in its attempts to refute Mercier's ideas.

Hooper's translation in 1772 marked the beginning of England's general acquaintance with the novel. No French editions are known to have been published in England, but some people there knew the original French version. No one, however, seems to have had any inkling of the author's identity. Hooper openly admitted his ignorance of the author's name in the introduction to his translation.³¹ Freeman, who published her translation in 1797, did not know the author's name even then, although she did note (p. iv) that the dedicatee, Sir John Coxe Hippisley, had a copy of the original in his library. Not until 1802 did a translation appear in England that mentioned the author's name. The flattering introduction in that edition indicates that Mercier was by that time a man of some reputation in England, though that introduction might better be viewed as just so much sales hype.

The Hooper translation was reviewed in most major British journals, although the reception was mixed. The *Monthly Review* was somewhat uncharitable in its comments, noting, "in the Utopian theory he [Mercier] has depicted, there is no circumstance so striking as his total ignorance of the principles of human conduct."³² Hooper's rendition of the text was also scored by this magazine:

The translator of the work has not, in our opinion, done entire justice to it. He seldom rises to the spirit of his original; he has not sufficiently consulted the idioms

he found in Marcelin Defourneaux, *L'Inquisition espagnole et les livres français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 83-104.

³¹ Hooper states, "Who the author of the work is, we will not pretend to determine" (I, iii).

³² For this and the following excerpts, see notes to entry 1772.7.

of his own language; and he has too frequently ventured to adopt some particular, and, we think, *awkward* modes of expression.

On the other hand, the *London Magazine* reviewed the work favorably and praised Hooper's rendition: "Dr. Hooper has executed the translation of this work with fidelity; it breathes the spirit of the original, and his language is elegant, and, except in a few instances, correct." The *Universal Magazine*, before publishing a review, even published excerpts from Hooper's translation without stating their source.

In Ireland and Scotland, evidence of the work's popularity and diffusion is somewhat sketchier. The *Scots Magazine* (Edinburgh) published a short review notice of the London edition, which it picked up from a review in a London periodical. The Dublin publisher Wilson quickly got out his own edition in 1772. Each of his volumes was considerably shorter than the English original, thereby ensuring that he could sell his own more cheaply than the imported London edition. Such pirated editions were common in Ireland in the eighteenth century and tended to be less elegant and expensive than the original editions. One copy of this Dublin edition of Mercier's novel has bound into it four pages of Wilson's advertisements; almost all of the books listed are this same type of publication.

Hooper's translation was still being read in Scotland and Ireland into the early nineteenth century, kept alive by various reprintings in which Irish and Scots publishers participated. The 1802 edition was published jointly by several publishers, including one in Glasgow and two in Edinburgh. Sales must not have gone as expected, however, because the same sheets were being sold by the same publishers in 1808.

One clear influence of *L'An 2440* in Irish literature is James McHenry's *It Would Be So: A Vision*, published in Dublin in 1811. This short book about religious affairs in Ireland was inspired by "an ingenious French visionary, Mercier" (p. 3) and his novel "The Year 2500." The premise is that the author awakes from a dream just as he is about to be burned at the stake by the Roman Catholics, who have succeeded in taking over all of Ireland. McHenry took his title, however, from the title-page motto "O utinam," which appeared only on editions in French after 1785. Thus, he must have been familiar with both Hooper's translation and the expanded French edition that first appeared in 1786.

In the United States, the work was demonstrably known in the

original, for the Library of Congress's copy of a Londres, 1771, printing (in French) is from Thomas Jefferson's library. Also, Morcau de Saint-Méry, a Philadelphia publisher and bookseller, advertised a French-language edition of the novel in his 1795 catalogue. The novel does not appear to have been a commercial success, however. An edition of Hooper's translation was published in Philadelphia in 1795, but the sales were so weak that those sheets with a new title page were being sold in 1799 by Pritchard in Richmond, Virginia. The 1795 edition is, nevertheless, the first utopian novel published in North America, and some copies of it may be traced to American hands: a copy (now at MBAt) was in George Washington's library; the distinguished Philadelphia physician John Redman Coxe also had a copy (now at Cu-Riv) in his celebrated library; and Robert P. Dunlap, who was at one time governor of Maine, owned a copy (now at CSdS).

No complete Russian translation was published until 1977, but the book was known there in the eighteenth century in its original French. The novel was available in the first edition for several years from the Saint Petersburg bookdealer J. J. Weitbrecht. His 1776 *Catalogue des livres françois qui se trouvent chez J. J. Weitbrecht* lists on page 2: "l'An deux mille quatre cent quarant, rêve s'il en fût jamais, ouvrage attribué à Mr. de Mercier, gr. 8. Lond. 771. 1 Rbl. 50 Cop." Several excerpts from the novel were translated into Russian and published in Russian periodicals. One of these excerpts identifies Mercier as the original author.³³

It is ironic that a novel so well known would have an author whose name was not widely connected with it. In fact, the novel was often attributed to others, a circumstance Mercier noted in 1786, though he reiterated that his reputation for the work was secure in Paris, at least:

Enfin, quelques imposteurs, soit en Angleterre, soit en Allemagne, soit en Russie, &c. se sont donnés pour auteurs de cet ouvrage; ils ont eu cette effronterie, loin de la capitale, il est vrai; or, on sait aujourd'hui, à n'en plus douter, à quel homme de lettres il appartient.³⁴

Despite this assertion, Mercier still did not sign the statement, thereby leaving the field open to all sorts of conjectures. Rousseau,

³³ For further information on Mercier's influence in Russia, see *Louis-Sébastien Mercier* (note 5), p. 361.

³⁴ As quoted in entry 1786.1a, I, vi.

much to his chagrin, for example, was sometimes mentioned as the author. Bachaumont's *Mémoires* on 12 September 1780 recall that Rousseau complained in 1772 that "on l'accusoit de se louer à outrance dans l'An deux mille quatre cens quarante, ouvrage avoué aujourd'hui par M. Mercier." The copy of the 1785 edition in the library of the Universitaire Saint-Louis at Brussels, Belgium, has a contemporary manuscript notation attributing the novel to Rousseau. In Germany, where Mercier was so popular, all sorts of erroneous attributions were made. There, as late as 1784, Voltaire was still believed to be the author.³⁵ One eighteenth-century librarian attributed the novel to Léon Félicité de Brancas, comte de Lauraguais.³⁶ These attributions are especially ironic, since one reviewer of Wieland's *Der goldene Spiegel* immediately spotted the fact that Wieland had drawn upon *L'An 2440*.³⁷ Finally, one former owner of the University of Michigan copy attributed the work to Helvétius. Whether others actually stepped forward to take credit for the work, as Mercier claimed, is uncertain.

Works of an inflammatory nature, such as *L'An 2440*, might well have been bought merely as curiosities. However, in perusing copies of this novel, one cannot help but be impressed by the many manuscript notations, reliable evidence that the books were actually read. These inscriptions range all the way from eighteenth-century hands to those of the twentieth century. Some of them are nothing more than underlined or otherwise highlighted passages; others are genuine marginalia in which the reader has indicated strong response to the novel's contents. One eighteenth-century reader laboriously compared the first-edition text with the three-volume edition and noted the passages that had been suppressed or rewritten. That reader even noted the exact places in the revised edition at which the original chapters had been incorporated. One nineteenth-century reader carefully listed on the endpapers of his copy all of Mercier's predictions, such as invention of the telegraph, that had come true. Numerous interesting summations, often only a word or two, are found on the title pages and flyleaves. One reader wrote on the title page of his 1786 edition (at CSmH), "Fou et impie"; another reader wrote on the

³⁵ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 58, part 1 (1764), 124.

³⁶ This manuscript card, since corrected, is still in the catalogue of the Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg. The copy of my entry 1772.5 at the Universitätsbibliothek, Bonn, has a similar inscription with the same attribution in a contemporary hand on the title page.

³⁷ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 18, part 2 (1773), 358.

flyleaf of his 1772 edition (at DLC) that the work was an "enigme." This reader was followed by another who noted, "Il n'est pas un modèle de style." Despite the reaction of that reader, another reader of another copy (now at NjP) was struck by Mercier's aphoristic style and underlined many of Mercier's bons mots. The most fitting notation, however, was added in the nineteenth century to a copy of the 1786 edition by an owner who pasted a small slip of paper into the copy; on it, after taking due note of Mercier's accomplishments and failings, the owner concluded: "En resumé ce fut un très bon homme et un écrivain de l'humanité."³⁸ Mercier would have been pleased.

In the following bibliography, I have attempted to describe both every edition in French and every translation of Mercier's novel that appeared in his lifetime. This chronological framework was chosen to encompass all the editions in which Mercier could have had a hand and to document the work's contemporary diffusion. Excerpts from the novel were not widely printed in periodicals, except in conjunction with reviews, and only significant periodical appearances have been included.

Particular attention has been paid to the translations of the novel, especially to discover which edition formed the basis of a given translation and to determine the faithfulness of the translation.

Each entry is composed of the following elements:

1) Transcription of the title page(s). Line endings are not shown, and rules and ornaments are silently omitted as well.

2) A statement of page numbering for each volume. In some instances, the number of pages will fall short of what the signatures indicate should be there, for I have not shown blank pages at the ends of sequences.

3) A collation by signatures.

4) A list of copies available. This list shows only confirmed copies. Those used for the descriptions are signaled with an asterisk.

5) Bibliographical citations. The enormous number and type of bibliographies in which one finds Mercier's novel listed are in themselves indicators of the wide interest in the book. In some cases, it is impossible to say with certainty that the bibliography is actually referring to the edition I have listed. In these instances, the entry is followed with a question mark. Also, the judgments of other bibli-

³⁸ Pasted into volume I of the OCU copy.

ographies on place of printing and format are noted. Because of the importance of the OCLC and RLIN data bases as a means of locating copies, they have been listed as well.

6) Notes, such as names of translators, reviews, and other relevant information.

With some reluctance, I have made a few entries for editions I have not actually seen. These entries represent editions that may have existed but that I have been unable to locate. These are shown in brackets, and the source of the entry is recorded. Not every entry in every bibliography is represented, however; those listings which appear to be ghosts have been passed over.

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LIBRARY SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in the bibliography.

As	Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria
AsGU	Universitätsbibliothek, Graz, Austria
AsSU	Universitätsbibliothek, Salzburg, Austria
AsV	Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Vienna, Austria
Be	Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1 ^{er} , Brussels, Belgium
BeAS	Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp, Belgium
BeBSL	Bibliothèque des Facultés, Universitaire Saint-Louis, Brussels, Belgium
BeGR	Rijksuniversiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek, Ghent, Belgium
BeLU	Université de Liège, Liège, Belgium
BeLoU	Université de Louvain, Louvain, Belgium
CaBVaU	University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada
CaOHM	McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
CaOTUTF	Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
CaQQUS	University Seminary, Université de Québec à Québec, Québec, Canada
CLSU	University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA
CIU-S/C	University of California, Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA
COMC	Mills College, Oakland, CA
CSdS	San Diego State University, San Diego, CA
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
CSt	Stanford University, Stanford, CA
CUIT-W	Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, CT
CU-BANC	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA
CU-Riv	University of California, Riverside, CA
CU-S	University of California, San Diego, CA
DeU	University of Delaware, Newark, DE
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
FAIU	University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL
FrAb	Bibliothèque municipale, Abbeville, France

FrAi	Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, France
FrAj	Bibliothèque municipale, Ajaccio, France
FrBA	Archives et Bibliothèque, Centre de documentation et de recherche, Préfecture maritime, Brest, France
FrBe	Bibliothèque municipale, Besançon, France
FrBo	Bibliothèque municipale, Bordeaux, France
FrBou	Bibliothèque municipale, Bourges, France
FrCa	Bibliothèque municipale, Caen, France
FrCh	Bibliothèque Jacques Prévert, Cherbourg, France
FrCo	Bibliothèque de la ville, Colmar, France
FrCom	Bibliothèque municipale, Compiègne, France
FrDr	Bibliothèque municipale, Draguignan, France
FrEp	Bibliothèque municipale, Epernay, France
FrD	Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon, France
FrLeM	Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans, France
FrLi	Bibliothèque municipale, Lille, France
FrLy	Bibliothèque de la ville, Lyon, France
FrMe	Bibliothèque-Médiathèque, Metz, France
FrMo	Bibliothèque municipale, Montpellier, France
FrMon	Bibliothèque municipale, Montbéliard, France
FrMont	Bibliothèque municipale, Montauban, France
FrN	Bibliothèque municipale, Nantes, France
FrNan	Bibliothèque municipale, Nancy, France
FrNi	Bibliothèque municipale, Nice, France
FrNim	Bibliothèque municipale, Nîmes, France
FrNio	Bibliothèque publique, Niort, France
FrO	Bibliothèque classée de la ville, Orléans, France
FrPBA	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, France
FrPBH	Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Paris, France
FrPBN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France
FrPBS	Bibliothèque interuniversitaire Saint-Geneviève, Paris, France
FrPe	Bibliothèque municipale, Périgueux, France
FrPI	Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France
FrPU	Universités de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Paris, France
FrR	Bibliothèque municipale, Reims, France
FrS	Bibliothèque humaniste et archives de la ville, Selstat, France

FrSt	Bibliothèque municipale, Strasbourg, France
FrT	Bibliothèque de la ville, Toulouse, France
FrTo	Bibliothèque municipale, Tours, France
FrTou	Bibliothèque municipale, Toulon, France
FrTy	Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes, France
FrV	Bibliothèque municipale, Versailles, France
FrVe	Bibliothèque municipale, Vendôme, France
FTaSU	Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL
FU	University of Florida, Gainesville, FL
GU	University of Georgia, Athens, GA
GyA	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Germany
GyBAW	Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Germany
GyBTU	Technische Universität Bibliothek, Berlin, Germany
GyBoU	Universitätsbibliothek, Bonn, Germany
GyC	Landesbibliothek, Coburg, Germany
GyD	Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Germany
GyEU	Universitätsbibliothek, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen, Germany
GyFM	Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt/Main, Germany
GyGo	Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Germany
GyGr	Universitätsbibliothek, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität, Greifswald, Germany
GyHa	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, Germany
GyHal	Universitätsbibliothek, Martin-Luther Universität, Halle, Germany
GyJeU	Universitätsbibliothek, Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Jena, Germany
GyK	Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek-Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, Kassel, Germany
GyLU	Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig, Germany
GyM	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany
GyR	Fürst Thurn und Taxis, Zentralarchiv- Hofbibliothek, Regensburg, Germany
GyS	Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany
GyWeN	Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur, Weimar, Germany

GyWH	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, IL
InNd	Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN
InU	Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
InU-Li	Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
IreDT	Trinity College, University of Dublin, Dublin, Ireland
It	Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venice, Italy
ItBo	Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Italy
ItCr	Biblioteca statale di Cremona, Cremona, Italy
ItFU-F	Biblioteca della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi di Firenze, Florence, Italy
ItGU	Biblioteca universitaria, Genoa, Italy
ItMU-F	Università degli studi di Milano, Biblioteca della facoltà di giurisprudenza e di lettere e filosofia, Milan, Italy
ItRBA	Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, Italy
ItV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican
IU-R	University of Illinois, Rare Book Room, Urbana, IL
KyLoU	University of Louisville, Louisville, KY
KyU	University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY
KU-S	Spencer Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS
MeB	Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME
MBAc	Boston Athenæum
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
MH-BA	Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston, MA
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA
MidW	Wayne State University, Detroit, MI
MiU	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
MnU	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA
NBu	Buffalo & Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, NY
NbU	University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE
NcD	Duke University, Durham, NC
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC
NeAl	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, Netherlands
NeAU	Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Amsterdam, Netherlands

NeAV	Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Netherlands
NeHKB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Netherlands
NeLeP	Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland, Leeuwarden, Netherlands
NeUR	Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, Netherlands
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
NN	New York Public Library, New York, NY
NNC	Columbia University, New York, NY
NNUT	Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY
NS&SU	State University of New York, Stony Brook, NY
NSyU	Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY
OCU	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH
P	Copy in private hands
PoKBJ	Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Krakow, Poland
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, PA
PPL	Library Company, Philadelphia, PA
PSt	Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
RPB	Brown University, Providence, RI
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI
Ru	Lenin State Library, Moscow, USSR
Sw	Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, Sweden
Sz	Swiss National Library, Bern, Switzerland
SzA	Kantons Bibliothek, Aargau, Switzerland
SzBaU	Universitätsbibliothek, Basel, Switzerland
SzCh	Bibliothèque de la ville, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland
SzG	Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Geneva, Switzerland
SzLa	Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Lausanne, Switzerland
SzLaBP	Bibliothèque des pasteurs, Lausanne, Switzerland
SzLu-B	Zentralbibliothek (Bürgerbibliothek), Luzern, Switzerland
SzLu-K	Zentralbibliothek (Kantonsbibliothek), Luzern, Switzerland
SzN	Bibliothèque publique de la ville, Neuchâtel, Switzerland
SzS	Stadtbibliothek, Schaffhausen, Switzerland
SzSo	Zentralbibliothek, Solothurn, Switzerland
SzStGH	Hochschule St. Gallen für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, St. Gall, Switzerland

SzYM	Maison d'Ailleurs, Yverdon, Switzerland
SzZ	Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland
TxU	University of Texas, Austin, TX
Uk	British Library, London, England
UKL	London Library, London, England
UKLU	University of London, London, England
UKMU	University of Manchester, Manchester, England
UKOU-B	Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Oxford, England
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA

(The bibliography follows in later issues.)

small sector of the publishing industry, furthering the interests of the library community and performing a service to the general public in a sophisticated and professional manner. The time is now ripe for the great research libraries of the world to enhance the results of their years of collection and preservation with a commitment to the complementary process of publishing.

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