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**ÉTUDES SUR *L'ÉMILE***

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## THE DIFFUSION OF *ÉMILE* IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by Jo-Ann E. McEachern

This paper is a preliminary report on my bibliographical investigations into 18th-century translations of *Émile*.

### Editions in English

The articles of J.H. Warner<sup>1</sup> have amply demonstrated that *Émile* was widely read and discussed in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Certainly more translations of *Émile* appeared in English than in any other language. Within a year of the publication of the first edition in May 1762, an edition in French and two different English translations had been published in London, while another edition in English, based on these rival translations, had appeared in Edinburgh.

The first English translation to appear was translated from the French of the first Paris edition, with cancels, by William Kenrick, who had translated *La Nouvelle Héloïse* the previous year. This would appear to contradict Roddier<sup>2</sup>, who states that Kenrick translated the Amsterdam edition published by Néalulme, while Nugent translated the Paris edition published by Duchesne. I believe, however, that our disagreement is more apparent than real: Roddier appears merely to have identified the editions in French incorrectly, a not uncommon error, since the Paris edition has the imprint "La Haye (or Amsterdam) Néalulme, 1762" while the Amsterdam edition has merely «Selon la Copie de Paris, 1762.» This first English translation was published by Ralph Griffiths, founder and editor of the *Month-*

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1. James H. Warner, "A Bibliography of Eighteenth-Century English Editions of J.-J. Rousseau, with Notes on the Early Diffusion of his Writings," *Philological Quarterly*, 13 (1934), p. 225-43; "Addenda to the Bibliography of Eighteenth-Century English Editions of Rousseau," *Philological Quarterly*, 19 (1940), p. 237-43; "Émile in Eighteenth-Century England," *PMLA*, 59, (1944), p. 773-91.
  2. Henri Roddier, *J.-J. Rousseau en Angleterre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, 1950).

ly Review, in partnership with the publishing firm of Thomas Becket and Peter Abraham de Hondt. The edition was divided into four volumes corresponding to the four volumes of the Paris edition. The first two volumes (A), with the imprint "London: Griffiths, Becket and de Hondt, 1762", were published in September 1762. A note on the verso of the title-page in the first volume promised speedy publication of the remainder of the work, as well as a set of plates, to be issued gratis with the final volumes.

The final two volumes, with the imprint "London: Becket and de Hondt, 1763", were published, together with the plates, in December 1762 (C). Thus, the first full edition in English consists of A plus C, dated 1762-63, with Griffiths's name appearing only in the first two volumes.

It has not been previously recognized that at the time of the first publication of the final two volumes, the first two volumes were re-issued with new titles, which omit the note found in the first edition of vol. 1 and bear the same imprint as C: "London: Becket and de Hondt, 1763" (B). The first edition of the final two volumes is found, therefore, in two possible combinations:

A/C. London: Griffiths, Becket and de Hondt, 1762-63 (=September 1762, December 1762).

B/C. London: Becket and de Hondt, 1763 (=December 1762).

All four volumes were re-issued in 1763 with new titles describing the new issue as "The Second Edition" and bearing the same imprint as B/C, "London: Becket and de Hondt, 1763". Becket and de Hondt published their true second edition, from a new setting of type, in 1767. A third edition of Kenrick's translation was published in 1783, printed by Henry Baldwin, and sold by Becket and Robert Baldwin. This edition included the first English translation of *Émile et Sophie, ou les Solitaires*, which had first been published in French by the Société Typographique de Genève in 1780.

A rival to Kenrick's translation was prepared in 1762 by Thomas Nugent, who appears to have worked from a copy of the first Amsterdam edition, published by Jean Néaulme. Nugent's translation was published by John Nourse and Paul Vaillant in January 1763. Like the Amsterdam edition, it is divided into two volumes, each of which is divided into two parts, the four parts corresponding to the four volumes of the first Paris edition. This is the only edition of *Émile* that Nourse and Vaillant appear to have published.

A third English version of *Émile* appeared in Edinburgh in 1763, printed by the firm of Alexander Donaldson and John Reid, and published by Alexander Donaldson. Alexander Donaldson had become a bookseller in Edinburgh in 1750, and had gone into partnership with John Reid as printers. Donaldson moved to London in 1763, where he entered into a partnership with his brother, John, as publishers and booksellers. The brothers specialized in selling cheap reprints of works which they considered out of copyright, a practice which resulted in a famous copyright action which was brought against them in 1768 by — among others — Becket and de Hondt. While Kenrick's translation is entitled *Emilius and Sophia: or, a New System of Education*, and Nugent's has the title *Emilius; or, an Essay on Education*, Donaldson's edition is called *Emilius; or, A Treatise of Education*. Thus, although making no specific claims, Donaldson invites the assumption that this is a new translation. In fact, the text of the first three books and of the fourth book, up to and including the «Profession de foi», is a close copy of Kenrick's translation, while the remainder of Book Four and all of Book Five closely follow Nugent's text. The Author of this so-called new translation remained anonymous. Possibly this version is based on the two translations, rather than merely copied from one, in order to sustain the illusion that this is a new translation, and to avoid prosecution for infringement of copyright. The work is divided into three volumes, rather than the usual four, with Books One to Three in vol. I, Book Four in vol. 2 and Book Five in vol. 3.

Donaldson printed and published a second edition in 1768, by which time he had dissolved his partnership with Reid and established a second shop in London. This edition in three volumes reproduces the text of his 1763 edition and was printed in two formats, not one, as was previously supposed.

The third edition of this text, printed in 1773, is found in a variety of states. The Edinburgh firm of James Dickson and Charles Elliot published it separately with the imprint "Edinburgh; Dickson and Elliot, 1773" and as vols 4 to 6 of their edition of the *Works of J. J. Rousseau* in ten volumes, with the same imprint. The same edition, with cancelled titles, was published by Alexander Donaldson, and is found separately with the imprint "Edinburgh; Alexander Donaldson, 1773" and as vols. 4 to 6 of Rousseau's *Works*, with the imprint "Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1774". The edition is also

found published separately by Alexander's brother John Donaldson with the imprint "Edinburgh: John Donaldson, 1774" and as vols. 4 to 6 of the *Works*, with the same imprint. I surmise, therefore, that Alexander and John acquired copies of this edition while they were still in partnership, and that the brothers divided their stock when the partnership was dissolved in June 1773.

Finally, two editions of *Émile* were published in Ireland by the firm of Dillon Chamberlaine and James Potts. An undated edition in two volumes, modelled on the 1763 edition of Nourse and Vaillant, gives the text of Nugent's translation, while the edition dated 1779 gives Kenrick's text in four volumes.

Although *Émile* appears to have enjoyed a wide circulation in North America, the editions available were imported from France and Great Britain. No editions were printed in North America until the nineteenth century, although a short passage from the «Profession de foi», found in an undated four-page pamphlet with the imprint "New York: John Furman", may have been printed just before the turn of the century.

### Editions in German

A French edition of *Émile* was circulating in Germany within one month of the publication of the first Paris edition. This edition in four volumes was printed in Lyon by Jean-Marie Bruyset from the sheets of the Paris edition, provided by Duchesne in the course of the printing. As a result of this concurrent printing, Bruyset's edition was ready for publication a very short time after Duchesne's. The edition is found in two variant states with different titles: one variant, with the imprint "Amsterdam, Néaulme, 1762" and containing a copy of Néaulme's *privilège* in Dutch, was distributed in France, while the other, bearing the imprint "Leipsick: Chez les Héritiers de M.G. Weidmann & Reich, 1762", but without the *privilège*, was distributed in Germany through the agency of the Weidmannsche Buchhandlung of Leipzig, which was managed by Philipp Erasmus Reich.

The first edition in German was translated for Weidmann and Reich by Johann Joachim Schwabe from a French text without cancels. When his printing was nearing its completion in April 1762, Duchesne printed four cancels to be placed in the first two volumes which had been completed and sent to Bruyset

by the end of February. He sent copies of the cancels to Bruyset, who reprinted them for his own edition. Thus, like the Paris edition, the completed copies of Bruyset's edition, which were eventually delivered to Reich for distribution, have four cancellantia in the first two volumes. In the course of the printing, however, just as Duchesne had passed on the sheets of his edition to Bruyset, the latter was releasing copies of his sheets to Reich for translation into German. The fact that this German translation gives the text of the cancellanda, rather than that of the cancellantia, strongly suggests that Schwabe translated from Bruyset's sheets as they arrived, rather than from a finished copy of Bruyset's edition, which would have contained the cancels. This suggests further that Schwabe's translation was already well advanced by the end of May 1762 when the first edition appeared in French; it is even possible that Reich had printed the first two volumes of Schwabe's translation by this date.

The first edition in German is in four volumes (often bound in two), corresponding to the four volumes of the Paris and Lyon editions, and has the imprint "Berlin, Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1762".

The second edition of this translation is almost indistinguishable from the first: the text has been faithfully copied line-by-line and the first four volumes have the same imprint and date (1762) as the first German edition; but this edition has a fifth part containing the first German translation of *Émile et Sophie, ou Les Solitaires*. This posthumous fragment, which first appeared in French in 1780, is bound into vol. 4 of all copies I have seen, and it has a special title with the imprint "Leipzig: bey M. G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1780". I conclude, therefore, that the date 1762 found on the title-page of the first four volumes is false, simply copied from the earlier edition, and that the true date of this edition is 1780 or later. Thus, nearly twenty years separate the first and second editions of *Émile* in German.

In the interval, Jean Formey played an important role in bringing French editions of *Émile* to the attention of a wide audience. His reputation as a scholar and his position as *secrétaire perpétuel* of the Académie de Berlin and as editor of several journals made Formey's name familiar to the reading public, and thus his *Anti-Émile* (1763), a refutation of *Émile*, and his *Emile chrétien* (1764), an abridged, revised and an-

notated version of Rousseau's work, were widely read. Similar treatments of Rousseau's work were published in German also.

A second German translation of the full text of *Émile* appeared between 1789 and 1791 as vols. 12 to 15 of a collection of pedagogical works, edited by Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*. The translation, by Carl Friedrich Cramer, is considerably augmented by notes containing commentary on and criticism of Rousseau's theories, provided by the members of the "Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher". The inclusion of *Émile* in this series seems to reveal an awakening of interest in Rousseau's pedagogic theories, a conclusion which is supported by the fact that the volumes containing *Émile* were re-issued as a separate publication in 1792. The years 1789 to 1791 also saw the appearance of *Émile*, in Cramer's translation, as vols. 7 to 10 of an edition of Rousseau's collected works, published in Berlin by Rellstab.

Three further editions appeared in the 1790's. A new edition of Cramer's translation was begun in 1793, under the imprint "Brünn, J. S. Siedler". This edition, which was published by subscription, never progressed beyond the first volume, which contains the first two books of *Émile*. A new translation of the «Profession de foi» was published with the imprint "Neustrelitz, Michaelis, 1796", and, finally, a new translation of *Émile*, abridged into one volume by Christian August Struve, was published with the imprint "Glogau, B.G. Günther der Jüngere, 1798".

### Edition in Dutch

A number of editions of *Émile* in French were printed in Holland, primarily for distribution elsewhere. The first of these was printed by Jean Néaulme from the sheets of the original Paris edition. However, Duchesne's Paris edition, with Néaulme's imprint and a copy of his *privilège*, was published before Néaulme had completed printing, and his *privilège* was withdrawn before his edition could be published. Later editions of *Émile*, both as a separate work and as part of Rousseau's collected works were published, with Rousseau's approval, by Marc-Michel Rey, and a number of piracies, with the false imprint "Amsterdam, J. Néaulme", are apparently of Dutch origin. However, despite the printer's activity, *Émile* was initially



not widely read in Holland: W. Gobbers<sup>3</sup> has shown that the diffusion of *Émile* within Holland began slowly and that, indeed, between 1762 and 1789, truncated versions, such as Formey's *Émile chrétien*, were better known than Rousseau's original work. During this period only 24 copies of Rousseau's *Émile* were to be found in Dutch libraries, as compared with 63 copies of "anti-Émiles" by various authors. In fact, none of Rousseau's major works was translated into Dutch before 1789, when interest in his work began to awaken.

The first volume of the translation of *Émile* into Dutch was published by J.A. de Chalmot in Campen in 1790, the second in 1793. Of the three copies of this edition that I have located, none has more than these two volumes, whose total contents correspond only to the first volume of the Paris edition. The Dutch edition includes a translation of the notes and comments of the various contributors to the German edition translated by Cramer and edited by Campe for the Schulbuchhandlung, and it appears probable that the text itself was translated, not directly from the French, but from Cramer's German.

### Edition in Danish

The first edition of *Émile* in Danish was published in Copenhagen by Sebastian Popp between 1796 and 1799. The edition is divided into six parts corresponding to the five books of *Émile*, plus the fragment *Émile et Sophie*, and is usually bound in three volumes. Not only each volume, but also each part is provided with a title-page, and the first signed gathering of each part (exclusive of signed preliminaries) is signed "A". The titles are dated as follows: *vol. 1*: 1797, containing parts 1 and 2, dated 1796 and 1797 respectively; *vol. 2*: 1798, containing parts 3 and 4, both dated 1797; *vol. 3*: 1799, containing parts 5 and 6, dated 1798 and 1799 respectively. The edition was published by subscription, and the discrepancies of the dates given on the titles and the fact that each part has a self-contained sequence of signatures suggest that each part was issued to the subscribers separately and that the three volume-titles (which are bound at the beginning of parts 1, 3 and 5) were issued with parts 2, 4 and 6.

Like the Dutch translation, this edition is augmented by the

3. Walter Gobbers, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Holland*, (Gent, 1963).

notes provided by the "Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher" for the German edition of 1789-91.

A second translation into Danish, abridged into one volume, was published in Copenhagen in 1801, taken from the German abridgement of 1798 by C. A. Struve.

### Edition in Italian

Editions of *Émile* in French gained a wide diffusion in eighteenth-century Italy, and the work was much discussed. Various refutations of *Émile* appeared in Italian, yet *Émile* itself remained the only one of Rousseau's major works not translated into Italian *in its entirety* by the end of the eighteenth century. This is a slight revision of S nelier's statement, «On remarquera que seule des grandes  uvres de Rousseau, l'* mile* ne para t pas avoir  t  traduit en italien au dix-huiti me si cle.»<sup>4</sup> However, I have discovered an abridged translation of the first four books which appeared in the second volume of a series of extracts from the works of "famous modern authors", *Biblioteca dell'uomo repubblicano, ovvero Corso di Politica, di Economica Civile, di Morale e di Educazione*, with the imprint "Venezia, Dalla Tipografia di Antonio Curti, Presso Giustino Pasquali Qu. Mario, 1797". It has been suggested to me that this "Qu" may be an abbreviation for "QUONDAM" meaning "successor to" or "son of".

### Editions in Russian

Some parts of * mile* appeared in Russian before the end of the eighteenth century, but I have seen no copies of the Russian editions and am therefore unable to ascertain the extent of the extracts. Both Beck<sup>5</sup> and Sopikov<sup>6</sup> list a translation of the «Profession de foi», with the date 1770, but query the date. None of the Russian libraries which responded to my request for information referred to this edition. Another translation, listed in the nuc as belonging to the Library of Congress, is dated "Moscow,

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4. Jean S nelier, *Bibliographie g n rale des  uvres de J.-J. Rousseau*, (Paris, 1950), p. 126.

5. L onard W. Beck, "Rousseau in Russian: additions to S nelier," *Modern Language Notes*, 67 (1952), p. 247-49.

6. Vasilii S. Sopikov, *An Essay in Russian Bibliography*, p. 1904-08; (rpt. London, 1962).

1779". This is surely an abridgement of some sort, as it consists of only one 116-page volume. Finally, a translation of Book Five and of the fragment *Émile et Sophie* appeared in one 304-page volume in 1800. A copy of this edition also is to be found in the Library of Congress.

### Other languages

I have been unable to locate any further translations of substance from the eighteenth century, although some small extracts were published in other languages. For example, B. Lesnodorski<sup>7</sup> has found that *Émile* was widely read in Poland, and that the «Profession de foi» provoked heated attacks from conservative Catholics. Presumably the work was read in French or German, as no Polish translation was available. However, as early as 1765, a Polish periodical, the *Monitor*, devoted a complete issue to *Émile*, including a translation of three extracts from the work and an article in which the author explains that he has refused to translate *Émile* in its entirety «de peur d'être obligé de suivre l'exemple de ce montagnard qui cessa d'extraire de l'or lorsqu'il s'aperçut que des exhalaisons d'arsenic sortaient de ce métal précieux».

Similarly, some extracts were published in Hungarian in 1790: «Ladislas SZABO de Szentjob (1767-1795) s'enthousiasme sans restriction pour les théories de Rousseau... Dans les *Fragments* (1790) il a traduit quatre passages de l'*Émile* (des III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> livres).»<sup>8</sup> This translation is presumably the same as Sénelier 952, «J.J. Rousseau. Toredékek. Trad. Ladislas Szabo de Szentjob. Impr. ds: *Kassai Magyar Museum*, 1790, n° 4. *Fragments des livres III et V.*»

The first translations into Swedish were published in 1805 and 1808.

Finally, I have found no evidence of any Spanish translation prior to the edition of 1817 described by G.R. Spell.<sup>9</sup>

To summarize, *Émile* was translated quickly into English, and editions appeared with some regularity between 1762 and 1783, but not afterwards. Similarly, the work was translated rapidly

7. Boguslav Lesnodorski, «La Pensée politique de Rousseau en Pologne,» *J.-J. Rousseau (1712-1778)*; (Paris: Société des Études robespierristes, 1963), p. 137-54.

8. Louis Rácz, «J.-J. Rousseau et la Hongrie,» *Revue des études hongroises et finno-ougriennes*, 2 (1924), 31-56.

9. J.R. Spell, *Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833*, (Austin, 1938).

into German, but a hiatus of nearly twenty years separates the first and second German editions. Two further editions, heavily annotated, appeared in 1789-91, and some abridged translations appeared in the 1790's. Three Russian editions, all incomplete, appeared between 1770 (possibly) and 1800. Finally, the 1790's saw the first translations into Dutch, Danish and Italian.

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