

# Northbound

*Travels, Encounters,  
and Constructions 1700-1830*

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## The Library at Lövstabruk: A Utopia

Lövstabruk, a city-like ironwork settlement with a comprehensive library may be seen as a monument to Swedish and European Enlightenment culture. This article analyses the historical, topographic and cultural aspects of this industrial settlement in Uppland, Sweden, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and focuses on the spatial order of the location and the illustrious character of the book collection in the private library.

Lövstabruk dates back to the Swedish pre-industrialization period in the early seventeenth century. In the 1720s, the settlement was practically rebuilt after having been demolished by Russian troops in 1719. The community consisted of Calvinist immigrants who came from French-speaking Walloon, a region that is now part of Belgium, in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Charles De Geer\* (1720-78), the fourth patron of the settlement, owned not only the industrial buildings but also the workers' housing as well as the infrastructure of the town.<sup>1</sup> While De Geer's\* utilitarian beliefs are illustrated in the economic success of the ironworks, the manor house, the library and the natural history museum represent his aesthetic and scholarly ambitions. The settlement had several characteristics of a colony: its isolated location in a forest in the countryside, the inhabitants' French language, their Calvinistic religion and their professional training in European ironwork techniques, all contributed to the uniqueness of the community.

Lövstabruk can be seen as a Swedish colony of Walloon, but also as a mercantilistic Utopian ideal of a well-planned society where utilitarianism and beauty make a desirable whole, or a kind of best possible world. The original settlement can be perceived as a homotopy, a concrete place similar to an existing foreign place, according to Foucault's concept of "other places" (Foucault 1967: 34-46). However, Lövstabruk can also be perceived as a heterotopia, an ideal "unreal space" (utopia) according to Foucault's concept because it is "perfecting the society" as a

<sup>1</sup> In this article I will mark the protagonist with an asterix \* because of the complicated De Geer genealogy (Douhan 1996: 45).

kind of partly realized Utopia (ibid. 39). Lövstabruk, the newly started colony, may even have had more obvious religious ideals and economic efficiency than Walloon itself. There were enormous contrasts to the surrounding Swedish majority in Uppland, for example with regard to social care. Because of its function as a heterotopia, the settlement could be seen as representing a Calvinistic Utopia, a diligent life of hard work and obedience in daily life.

If we adhere to this model, the library of Charles de Geer\* appears to be a smaller heterotopia inside a larger heterotopia. The library collected literary and scientific texts, maps and pictures from the public sphere and the outside world, in the inside of a private building. The modest library pavilion was (as well as the natural museum pavilion) placed by the canalized River Risforså. The location of the library and its architecture resembled a cargo ship. Foucault described the ship as the epitome of a heterotopia (ibid. 46). The library could be seen as a floating archive, a part of the circulation of books and journals from the European Enlightenment.

#### History and topography of a colony

Charles De Geer\* (1720-1778) was born in Finspång in Östergötland. He moved to Utrecht at the age of three and spent his formative years in a French-Dutch cultural context. He arrived in Lövstabruk in 1739 and brought with him several colonial ideas: firstly, capital and the famous De Geer-family tradition of business and entrepreneurship; secondly, his French education; and thirdly, the initial book delivery for his private library. His family had connections to the Dutch overseas trade and the commercial exploitation of the colonies. Although these activities took place far away from the ironwork settlement, they still had an impact on it, especially with regard to the transfer of knowledge and skills. Bar iron was exported from Lövstabruk to England and Holland, and books from Leiden and goods from the colonies were delivered from Amsterdam in exchange.

From 1611-1718 when Sweden was a great power (*stormaktstiden*), Uppland's iron industry became profitable by producing canons that were used in the wars of continental Europe. At that time, Louis De Geer de Brialmont (born in Liège in 1587, died in Amsterdam 1652, elevated to the Swedish nobility in 1641) had taken over the ironworks from his father, Louis De Geer de Gaillarmont (1535-1602) and entered into business with Gustav II. Adolf. De Geer de Brialmont had leased and managed two small ironworks in Lövstabruk since 1627. He bought them in 1643, together with Willem de Besche from Amsterdam, and expanded them to become the largest ironworks of Sweden. This partnership can be seen as the beginning of Swedish industrialisation. Pig iron was manufactured at Lövstabruk until 1750 and

bar iron (*vallonjärn*) until 1926. The iron was shipped to Stockholm, for further transport to England and Holland, from the port of Angskär on the Baltic Sea.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Walloons from the area of Liège and Namur were recruited to work in the Swedish ironworks because they were well-trained and experienced charcoal burners, blacksmiths and metalworkers.<sup>2</sup> These guest workers became a well-known minority in Sweden and comprehensive research exists about them (Florén and Ternhag 2002). Approximately 760 Walloon workers came to Lövstabruk. The development of a distinct social infrastructure was intended to keep the workers at the plant on a long-term basis. In this way, the patrons could avoid losing their 'experts' to other companies. The procedure for iron manufacturing was even kept secret. As the Calvinists became assimilated into the local settlement the characteristic of a religious colony became less striking, but the difference between the minority in the small town enclave and the population in the surrounding rural area remained.

Compared with other ironwork settlements where terms such as 'Walloon iron,' 'German smith' or 'French blast furnace' were used to name equipment and procedures, the term 'Walloon' in Lövstabruk had a special ethnic connotation. (The French spelling 'Leufsta(d)' is still used parallel to the recent Swedish spelling.) The inhabitants were isolated from the majority of the population in terms of language, ethnicity and religion. The architectural historian, Fredric Bedoire, even sees a causal connection between the status of members of the Protestant Reformed Church in Belgium, France and Sweden, and the concept of Lövstabruk as an ideal city. According to Bedoire, foreign businessmen who had emigrated to Sweden, such as the De Geer family, did not follow the local aristocratic tradition with regard to architecture. They had their own architectural style that originated from the Protestant Reformed Church buildings (Bedoire 1995: 161). Bedoire assumes that the eighteenth century design of *bruk* (ironworks) was influenced by Huguenot architecture and that the two Swedish architects, Carl Hårleman (1700-1753) and Jean Eric Rehn (1717-1793), who were involved in numerous projects, were familiar with Huguenot ideas via their study trips and contacts with international colleagues. Bedoire mentions the union of religion and work ethic, and the architectural concept of a utilitarian view of life as characteristic of Huguenot town planning.

The closed and compact impression of the settlement, in other words its unity and density, can be explained by the fact that Lövstabruk was completely rebuilt

<sup>2</sup> For the different professions and qualifications see Haggrén 2001: 98-137.

after 1719.<sup>3</sup> It was either the architect, Johan Hårleman, who was responsible for the master plan when he was put in charge by the third owner of Lövestabruk, *landshövding* (county governor) Charles De Geer (1660-1730), or Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) (Selling 1980: 56-58). Most probably, Tessin carried out the basic plan whereas Hårleman was responsible for the detailed planning (Sandström-Hanngren/Edling 1981:19-20).

Apart from the fact that the street with the archive building at the end is not directly opposite the main street, the plan for the baroque garden was carried out consistently and still exists today. The houses and workshops were finished in 1723. The manor house, originally constructed in timber, was rebuilt in stone in 1744.<sup>4</sup>

To visit Lövestabruk is to take a journey back in time or to walk into a historical painting because entering Lövestabruk means experiencing a notion of harmony and efficiency. The temporal and spatial experience is to some degree predetermined because the views of the park routes have been planned. The tour round the lake is an easy walk, including some rest places where visitors may enjoy the view. The balanced shaping of the landscape with respect to the arrangement of the buildings, the garden of the manor house and the park does not entail a distancing from nature. Rather, it provides a feeling of distance from the overall plan of the settlement. This impression is increased when visitors appreciate that the site was chosen on the basis of technological considerations and after the marshland had been reclaimed. The lake shore and the river banks are integrated elements in the scenic arrangement.<sup>5</sup>

The settlement has several urban characteristics, for example the grid pattern, the main street, building materials of stone, and facades in Belgian yellow. Within the area of the *bruk*, the distance of each building to the manor house is a system representing social status. The church, the house of the manager and the *brukskontor* (with the function of a bank and a depot) are nearest to the manor-house site, whereas the poor house is far away from it. The church (with a well-known baroque organ from 1727) and the manager's house have the same roof height and exterior proportions reflecting how both religious and mercantile values are equally important.

The pavilion-like, archive building is located opposite the manor house. Contracts, promissory notes and accounts of the workers' wages were found in the

3 The earliest geometrical masterplan of Lövestabruk from around 1640 corresponds with the chequered pattern of the town Gävle (about 50 km away from Lövestabruk), designed by Nicodemus Tessin the elder in 1646.

4 Either was J.G. Destain (or Destin) the architect of the manor-house, because he designed a similar plant in Södermanland (Björksundsherrgård) (Unnerbäck 2000: 9) or it was Göran Josua Adelcrantz, assistant of Nicodemus Tessin the younger (Sandström-Hanngren/Edling 1981: 23-24).

5 For theories of the picturesque see Stephanie Buus, 2002.

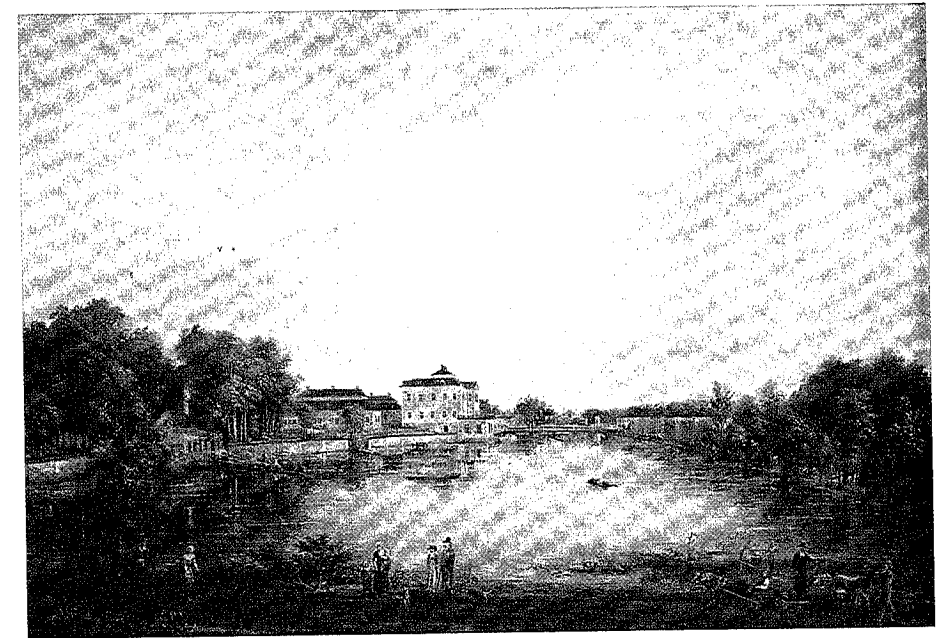


FIG. 13:  
Lövestabruk. Utsikt från Norra Hammaren mot Herrgården. Elias Martin, 1790.

archives and in the *brukskontor*. The workers usually received their wages as paper accounts detailing the money spent on grain, clothes or school books etc. From the workers' perspective, the archives and the *brukskontor* represented a powerful bureaucracy, regulating their everyday life e.g. which families could claim a portion of free grain because of the birth of a child, whose debt repayment would be adjourned because of a husband's or father's sickness. Lövestabruk had its own jurisdiction, with the patron and the manager acting as the Court of Appeal.

The school is located between the church and the archives pavilion, and the hospital is between the manager's house and the archives. The manager, priest, teacher, physician, organist and the higher craftsmen belonged to the rising middle class of the town who profited from the social system. One organist's son received a scholarship from the patron to study medicine at Uppsala where he gained his doctorate under the supervision of Linné. Later on, this professional training enabled him to be employed as the physician of Lövestabruk. Such investments were not always successful because some of the specialists moved to Gävle, the largest town nearby, or to Stockholm or even to St. Petersburg.

The smiths' houses are situated on the 800 m long main street, on the opposite side and separated from the manor house. The western part of Lövestabruk,

with the most important settlement buildings, is enclosed between the two largest side streets. The church, school and both warehouses are situated in a square section, from which other small lanes branch off. The 'workers' half' of the settlement, geometrically and symmetrically sectioned, constitutes a counterpart to the geometrical garden and the symmetrical arrangement of the site of the manor house. The earliest map from 1687 emphasizes the basic feudal orientation of the manor house, because the main entrance and the yard do not face the garden and the 'center of the town' but face a French style avenue leading to an open landscape (Thörnvall 1985: 68). The contact between the patron and the workers was always dealt with by the manager (*bruksdirector*) or his staff.

The partitioning of the area into zones can be seen very clearly on the map 'Grund=Ritning öfwer Leufsta bruk' (ground plan of Lövstabruk) by Olof Gerdes (1735). The separation of the patron's side and the subordinates' side, including the main production zone, attracts attention because the water line is drawn in a striking way. Only the smithy including the lower hammer with the coal house and the *labby* (a little hall where the workers could take their four-hour rest between shifts) are located quite near to the library by the canal because of the need for water during the manufacturing process. Thus one might speculate whether the library's location by the canal really was planned in order to emphasize the architectural ship analogy. The library must after all have been a noisy place on working days.

The lattice fences and the stone wall can be recognized on Gerdes' map as well as the exact partitioning of all the smiths' properties. The map depicts exactly the rows of trees on the three major streets and on the three large park avenues, and thereby stresses the calculated internal and social boundaries within the settlement.

#### The presentation of Lövstabruk in documents from the eighteenth century

How the visitors to Lövstabruk, many of them artists and writers, express their opinion about the settlement depends mainly on their attitude towards both the artificial notion (*skilfulness*) and the subjugation of nature (*monumental rule*). Of course the authors and painters who appreciate Lövstabruk have another focus than those making critical or distanced comments but nearly all of them notice that the architecture expresses social order.

The topographic painting of an ironwork settlement (*bruksbild*) constitutes a subgenre of its own in eighteenth century Swedish painting. In an anonymous painting from 1710, the viewer is provided with a panoramic view where the buildings dominate and the landscape, as well as the garden, are almost missing (Ahlund 1996: 82-83). Olof von Dalin's ink sketch *View over the Lake towards Lövsta-*

*bruk's Manor House* (1745) partly follows the topographic tradition, although from a perspective closer to ground level and not when viewed from above. Thus, the reflecting water surface occupies a big part of the painting. On the right hand, a part of the main street can be seen, but only the central crossing of the town is comprehensible. The sketch pays homage to a festive and contemplative Lövstabruk; only the tops of two chimneys emitting smoke in neat ornamental forms are a reminder of industrial activity.

Concurrently with Dalin's sketch, the painting of Elias Martin from 1790 (Fig. 13) focuses on the characteristics of the park by describing the park landscape and the manor house in detail. The form of the trees, spreading their branches and the reflection of the summer clouds on the lake's surface are more important than the main street and other buildings which are nearly covered by trees. The painter's interest in the partly wild and partly tamed landscape is obvious and can be explained by Martin's interest in the architecture of English parks. The focus of the composition and the preferred use of pastel colours are typical traits of the 'Gustavian' style of painting (Ahlund 1996: 97-98). This picture is not intended to give a topographic overview. The decorative human figures seem at first glance to be tourists going for a walk, but their nice clothes are deceiving. The figures represent the different social groups and professions of Lövstabruk inhabitants, as one can see from their clothing, attributes and wagons. They are characterized positively and picturesquely and their every day life seems to be free of labour and social conflicts. Elias Martin's picture hints at some characteristics of the social ideal, *brukssamhälle*, as a model society and he presents a romantic ideal of a noble rural town with a distinguished culture.

Christer Berch, who also wrote a thesis about metal making, describes both the landscape and makes detailed observations about Lövstabruk in 1753 (Thörnvall 1985: 167-172). A young herdsman's payment is the first piece of information about Lövstabruk. "Starting from the forest there is a straight path to the plant, where a boy, who works as a gatekeeper and prevents pigs from leaving the area, opens the gates; for this job he gets 12 öre a day from the chamberlain" (ibid. 167). The economic and hierarchical interaction between the patron and the workers is important. Berch notices the wrought-iron lattice fences as well, but interprets them as elements, which have been imported from the Netherlands and confirm the splendour and the urban appearance of the ironwork settlement. He concludes that, "this place should have the status of a city" (ibid. 168). In Berch's opinion the city-like character of the settlement derived from the size of some architectural elements (i.e. the streets and the fences) and from the owner's ancestry, and these made the European connection in Lövstabruk noticeable. According to Berch, the variety of the workshops could compete with other Swedish cities (ibid. 179). It

is quite remarkable that Berch proposes that people living in Stockholm should use similar trolleys for shopping as those used by the workers' wives in the settlement, as this would reduce the need for physical strength and the need for horses. When describing 'street life' in the settlement, Berch uses a typical metaphor for big cities, the ant hill: "[the workers' wives] were crawling like ants, forward and back again, the streets were filled with their trolleys" (ibid. 171). By emphasizing the economic and transport structures, this 'urban' image in literature differs quite a lot from the pastoral paintings.

One of the most famous statements about Lövstabruk comes from Crown Prince Gustav III who, after a visit to Lövstabruk in 1768, wrote to his mother Lovisa Ulrika, "However, I must say my dear mother you have not seen anything of Sweden, if have not seen Leufstad" (Anfält 1991: 197). This quotation expresses the idea that Lövstabruk could be seen as a metonymy representing the ideal of a prospering and orderly state – even in a politically unstable period.

Jonas Carl Linnerhielm (1758-1829) provides his readers with a detailed description in his travel letters from 1797 in which his own aesthetic experience is given priority. His first impression on arrival on a summer's evening is that of a medieval atmosphere, with the grazing horses having been left behind by knights. This atmosphere suggests a poetic mood, "filled with imaginations from the old bards' world" (Linnerhielm 1985: 10). He is very surprised about the size and the spatial-visual proportions of the ironwork settlement, which is increased by the use of the adjective "frapperad" (striking). He observes that the visitor's gaze is directed at the architecture and interprets this gesture as proof of the patron's power and the way nature has been tamed.

You arrive at this place passing a beautiful pine wood, which is followed by a lush elder tree grove and, in the end, by a long tree-lined walk, all in one line. The river can be seen constantly and the buildings are reflected in the water. Although a straight line is unpleasant for the person who is hiking for pleasure or for the lover of nature, one has to admit that this line makes a great impression. This is a very natural consequence. The thought is telling you immediately that there must be a mighty owner of this place who is able to overcome all obstacles within this settlement. However, is great and beautiful really the same? And which of these results in discomfort? (Ibid. 10-11)

Linnerhielm dislikes the geometrical organization of the settlement in that nature is being tamed and restrained. He critically wonders whether the main intention really is aesthetic, hinting that the pragmatic and representative intentions might be more important. A critical tone is also obvious when Linnerhielm describes the numerous wrought-iron fences which are extremely expensive. At the same time

he snubs the French garden where "nothing seems to be attractive to me" (ibid. 11). The manor house is mentioned because of its distinguished wings and inner courts but "the building could also be an expression of force" (ibid. 11). Thereby, he characterizes the architectural style as rationalistic and disciplining. Obviously, Linnerhielm did not visit the library but reports that it contained 7,500 volumes. His report closes with some mercantile details: the output of the ironworks, the number of employees (1,900) and the removal of the blast furnace. The last impression, in contrast with the mild atmosphere in the beginning, is the industrial noise from the working machinery. "A sanding machine to grind big anvils and the mill with its six millstones increase the motion and also the noise on the river, which apart from that is flowing gently" (Ibid. 12).

Four years later, Johan Erik Forsström also critically describes Lövstabruk in his travel diary (Thörnvall 1985: 188-189). Visiting the settlement from 27-28 June 1801, he remarks that it is characterized by a lack of art and craftsmanship, and notices that some buildings have been neglected. Similar to Linnerhielm, he comments on the excessive state of the wrought-iron fences and criticizes the treatment of the natural landscape. "The place is more boring than Forsmark [bruk], where craftsmanship is also used to parcel up nature" (ibid. 188). The contrast between the careful design of the fences, which mark or protect the most valuable buildings, and the dilapidated areas, makes Forsström indignant. He notices the social demarcation of areas and emphasizes the excluding effects of the boundaries (Ibid. 188).

None of the travel texts I have read describes an encounter between the production sphere and the patron's sphere. However, Forsström indicates that the education and the customs of the occupants of the manor house were not very distinguished. After having given a respectful description of the private library he comments on the informal or maybe rustic behaviour of the De Geer family. "After we had returned from the library we were surprised to meet the baron's wife, who was in the company of a few other women and was sitting in a beautiful negligé in order to eat sausages for breakfast." (Ibid. 188-189)

### The library and its owner

The library pavilion was designed by Jean Eric Rehn in 1756 and comprises a hall with five windows and two small rooms (which can be heated). The interior is in Rococo style with doors, shelves and several low closets painted in bluish pearl grey and decorated with gilt edges. The numerous windows and the white ceiling give the room an atmosphere of ease and openness although the shelves are packed with books. On the hall's parquet floor, a work table and a wood file for

maps and posters are placed. Numerous maps and additional bookshelves can be found in the rooms, and De Geer's carefully written library catalogues emphasize how the book collection is systematically classified.

Looking from the bridge, which crosses the canal and connects the manor house with the garden, the visitor will probably get the impression of the library building as a ship ready to embark. The canal's waterfront right behind the pavilion is not visible and the library seems to stand on water rather than on the ground (Fig. 14). In the middle of the eighteenth century the pavilion was completely surrounded by water and only accessible by a tiny bridge (Ahlund 1996: 92). The library was probably meant to look like a ship.

The reflection of the library, the museum pavilion and the manor house in the water is intended to enlarge the buildings optically, a method which was adopted from continental architecture. Many paintings and engravings picture this reflection of the interaction between water and sunlight. If a visitor today spends some time in the library, he/she will see an idyllic situation when looking out of the windows. During the light seasons, the sun reflects on the water and may be mirrored on to the white ceiling, whirring and shimmering. The golden spines of the books reflect the sunlight floating in through the windows. Nowadays, the silence in the library makes the visitor forget the noise of the blacksmiths' hammers that once could be heard.

If we adhere to Foucault and see the ship as a heterotopia, with a proverbial "imagination arsenal" (1967: 46), possibly referring to several 'other spaces', i.e. well-known countries or harbours and unknown imagined places, which sometimes can only be reached and discovered with the special equipment on board – such as and including the books. The ship-like pavilion is characterised by a spatial, metaphorical, 'textual' and material dimension. It is a 'heterotopian' reservoir of both temporal and spatial units (places), which might be accessible for the users of the library by reading certain texts. However, it is material proof of mercantile circulation and trade as well.

Taking into consideration De Geer's\* individual interests, his library may be regarded as an ideal library for a scholar of the Enlightenment period:

Typical characteristics: [...] apart from a general openness towards the contemporary philosophical developments, and the history of science and literature, the following tendencies can be noted: 1. The main publications and main authors of the epoch are present. 2. The Latin Language loses its dominant position. On the continent, French, to a large extent, takes over the former role of Latin. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the influence of English greatly increases. 3. The decrease of theological papers must be noticed as a constant. 4. The predominance of the history section is very obvious. (Adam 1995: 66-67)

The only deviation from Wolfgang Adam's criteria is the dominance of scientific works, which can be explained by De Geer's\* personal research. Theological writings are obviously superseded by scientific and literary books and magazines.

The *landshövding*, Charles De Geer, had already established a solid and well sourced library at Lövestabruk (Katalog 1907: 259-262). Before the young baron, Charles De Geer\* arrived in 1739, the manager, Erik Danielsson Touscher, had bought an impressive selection of books for the new owner, although the pavilion was not completed until 1758. It was the manager's opinion that the baron should be educated in a patriarchal 'gothicist' spirit (*göticism*), which is why he bought relevant works i.e. *Atlantica* of Olof Rudbeck the Elder, and works of Johannes Messenius, Georg Stiernhelm, Johannes Schefferus, Olof Verelius and Johan Fredrik Peringskiöld (Anfält 1987: 2).

From his home in Utrecht, the young De Geer\* brought the following books: *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Historical and Critical Dictionary 1702) by Pierre Bayle, Louis Moréri's *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (Big Historical Dictionary 1724), and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (News about the Variety of the World 1701, Anfält 1993: 253). The children's room at the De Geer's manor house 'Rijnhuizen' in Utrecht had a library containing the scientific magazines, *Acta eruditorum* (Erudite Records) from Leipzig (Anfält 1995a: 332). In 1739, De Geer\* acquired Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (Philosophical Letters 1729, Anfält 1995b: 272). From Lövestabruk, he ordered one of the most famous publications of the Enlightenment, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné* (Encyclopaedia and Dictionary 1752) by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. This marks his ambition to have a library representative of the time and meeting the latest scientific standards.

Lövestabruk library's nominal catalogue from 1907 and the catalogues about engravings and art reproductions, as well as De Geer's\* musical collection, reflect his curiosity, educational interests and scientific ambition as a scholar. According to Tomas Anfält's research, it is possible to deduce De Geer's\* reading habits<sup>6</sup> and to speculate about the characteristics of the "interpretive community" (Chartier 1992: 34) of the De Geer-family. As the library was owned by an active research scientist, a quarter of the book collection consists of scientific publications, with a focus on entomology and biology: for example René Antoine Réaumur's, Carl von Linné's and Olof Rudbeck's (the Younger and the Elder) publications and refer-

6 To maintain an overview about the large amount of texts, De Geer\* put on reference registers and lists. Anfält reconstructs even individual order procedures by the correspondence: For example received De Geer\* Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *La nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) in February 1762, after having read a review in August 1761 (Anfält 1991: 208).



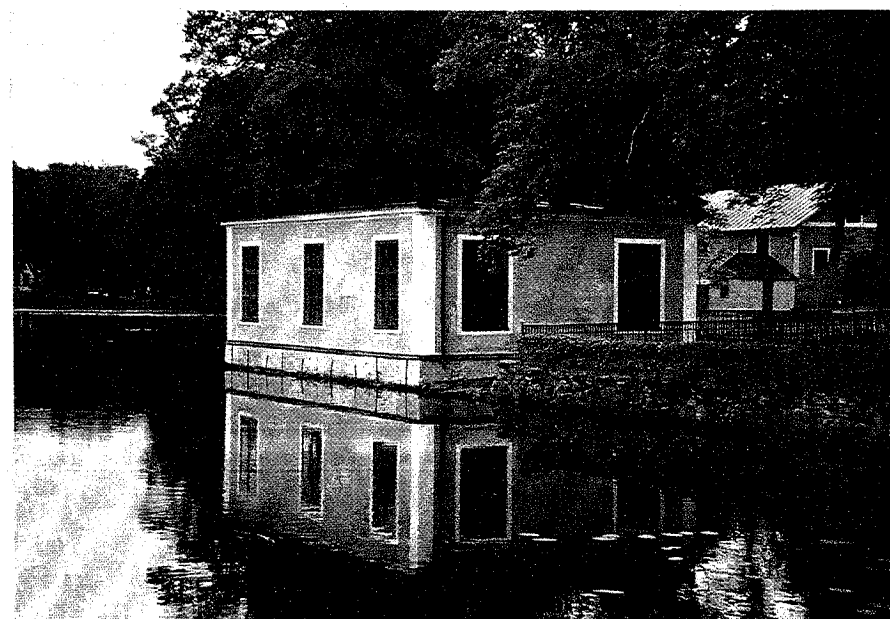


FIG. 14:  
Above: The library pavilion seen from northwest direction (on the right-hand side of the Manor House); Below: The library pavilion seen from southwest direction from the channel bridge. Photographs by AW.



FIG. 15:  
Book examples from the library on the windowsill. Left: The natural history by August Johann Rösel von Rosenhof: *Historia naturalis ranarum nostratium*. Nürnberg 1758. Right above: Olof Rudbeck the elder: *Atlantica*. Right below: Denis Diderot's and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751-72).

ence books on 'natural history' as this interdisciplinary subject was called at the time.<sup>7</sup> Examples of scientific reference literature are Mark Catesby's *The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahamas* (1731-43), and Georg Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (Natural History 1749-75, Anfält 1993: 256). Even two publications of the famous Dutch entomologist Maria Sibilla Merian are available: *De generatione et metamorphosibus insectorum Surinamensium* (About the Metamorphosis of Insects from Surinam 1726), and *Histoire des insectes de l'Europe* (Natural History of European Insects 1730).

<sup>7</sup> Also philosophy, meant to be a very broad discourse, often associated with political criticism or polemic.



During his studies in Uppsala 1738/39, De Geer bought parts of the famous library of Olof Rudbeck the Younger. The value of those volumes increased in 1702 after a fire in Uppsala destroyed Rudbeck's library including the wooden printing plates for the famous botanical work, *Campus elysii* (Elysian Fields). De Geer\* also bought several manuscripts by Carl von Linné i.e. *Catalogus plantarum rariorum* (Catalogue of Rare Plants), and *Dissertatio de nuptiis et sexu plantarum* (Thesis about the Reproduction and the Sex of Plants), *Hortus uplandicus* (The Garden of Uppland). For most visitors, the main book attraction today is *Fågelboken* (Book of Birds 1739) with drawings by Olof Rudbeck the Younger and Anders Holtzbohm because of its detailed life-sized illustrations of birds. This naturalistic method of illustrating animals was an innovation. Before the empirical turn in natural history, drawings were drawn using written descriptions from different sources of natural history. In contrast, the illustrations in *Fågelboken* demonstrate a kind of 'visual autopsy'. For example, the illustration of the wood grouse not only shows the pattern of the plumage in exact detail but also the tiny insects near the dead bird's body which have been attracted by the odour of the carcass.

De Geer\* did not use his library primarily for show but as a scholar's working room. He carried out his entomological research here and this resulted in a publication consisting of eight volumes which he illustrated himself: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes* (Thesis about the Usefulness of Insects 1752-78). This work leans strongly on Charles Bonnet and Réaumur's work with the same title and it proves that even insects are useful beings within God's creation. De Geer\* was not only interested in insects' form and anatomy, but also in their behaviour. Despite his friendship with Carl von Linné, whom he had become acquainted with during his studies in Uppsala from 1738 to 39, De Geer\* did not use Linné's scientifically innovative topical terminology in the first volumes, but respectfully followed Réaumur's system, which underlines De Geer's\* French orientation at that time.

The publications of *Kungliga Svenska Vitterhetsakademien* (Royal Swedish Academy of Science) of 1755, to which De Geer\* himself contributed, are also still in the library as is his correspondence with contemporary scientists i.e. Linné and Réaumur, his mentor in entomology.

The book collection gives examples of the specialization as well as the popularization of scientific discourse, a contradictory dynamic relation involving broad 'natural history,' divided into several sections and special discourses, on the one hand, and entertainment and educational intentions i.e. Francesco Algarotti: *Le Newtonianisme pour les dames* (Newton's Research, for Female Readers 1739), and August Johann Rösel von Rosenhof: *Insectenbelustigungen* (Insects for Your Pleasure 1761), on the other hand. An encyclopaedia of the reformed pastor, François

Valentijn, demonstrates how discourses could overlap and interact. *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and New East India 1726), published in Amsterdam, deals with politics, everyday life, culture and religion in this group of islands. From a Dutch point of view the readers could imagine 'other places' as possible worlds or cultures to participate in. This also contributed to their 'colonial consciousness,' making them aware of the living conditions of the inhabitants of the colonies.

Furthermore, technical literature and literature about the iron industry was of interest to De Geer\*. These books were typical contributions to the discourse of technical progress, remarkably often imported from German which was a source of important engineering innovations at the time. Some illustrative examples are: *Propempticon inaugurale de ortu venarum metalliferarum* (Thesis about the Origin of Metal Seams 1700) by Georg Ernst Stahl, *Acta et tentamina chymica* (Chemical Documentation and Experiments 1712) by Urban Hiärne, *Allgemeines Handlungs- Kunst- Berg- und Handwerckslexicon* (General Encyclopaedia about Business, Manufacturing, Mining and Trading 1722) by Adran Beier, *Kort beskrivning om eld- och luftmaskin vid Dannemora Gruvor* (Short description of the fire and ventilation engine at Dannemora mine 1734) by Märten Triewald, *Gründlicher Unterricht von Hütte-Werken* (Thorough Instructions about Ironworks 1738) by Christoph Andreas, *Erzstufen und Bergarten* (Ore Levels and Rock Sorts 1753) by Casimir Christoph Schmiedel.<sup>8</sup>

The travel literature in the library, mainly written in French, has hardly been investigated, which should encourage future research projects on this subject. One group of books deals with the topic in the Nordic region: Cornelis Gijsbertsz Zorgdrager: *Bloeyende Opkomst der aloude en heedendaagsche Groenlandsche visschery* (Development of Early and current Fishing in Greenland 1720), Arvid Ehrenmalm: *Resa igenom Wäster-Norrland* (Travel through West-North Sweden 1743), Carl Hårleman: *Dag-bok öfwer en ifrån Stockholm igenom åtskillige rikets landskaper gjord resa* (Diary about a Journey from Stockholm to Different Areas of Sweden 1749), Uno von Troil: *Bref rörande en resa til Island* (Letter about a Journey to Iceland 1777) and a travel diary manuscript about a journey through Sweden by Emanuel De Geer and Adolf Fredrik Barnekow from 1768. Also the collected papers, *Recueil de voyages au Nord* (Collected Papers about Journeys in the North 1731-38) by Jean-Frédéric Bernard in ten volumes should be mentioned. And the 27 volumes describing various journeys and memoirs (1728-42) by the Dominican missionary and early ethnographer, Jean-Baptiste Labat, indicate that these texts were popular reading. Although De Geer\* did not do any travelling himself, sev-

8 The catalogue's (*Leufsta bruks gamla Fideikommissbibliotek* 1907, according to De Geer's\* manuscript catalogues) spelling of titles and authors was corrected by the online catalogues copac.ac.uk and www.gbv.de (available 2 january 2005).

eral travel guides about European countries and cities were ordered. He preferred to travel in his mind and tried to learn about 'other places' by cultural orientation as well as imagination. The library made this kind of travel possible.

There was a curiosity about foreign countries and colonies in the far away country of Sweden. Through texts, a colonial perspective was transferred from the Dutch centre of global trade to the Swedish periphery. These texts contributed to the discourse of progress, by discovering, naming and mapping the world.<sup>9</sup> Willem Bosman: *Voyage de Guinée* (Travel to Guinea 1705), Abraham Bogaert: *Historische reizen door d'oostersche deelen van Asia* (Historic Travels through Eastern Parts of Asia 1731), l'Abbé Boulet: *Histoire de l'Empire Chérifs en Afrique* (History of the Empire of Morocco 1733), Frederik Ludvig Norden: *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie* (Travels to Egypt and Nubia 1755), Pehr Osbeck: *Dagbok öfver en ostindisk resa* (Diary about a Journey to East India 1757), Thibault de Chanvalon: *Voyage à La Martinique* (Travels to Martinique 1763), Carsten Niebuhr: *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Description of Arabia 1772), Anders Sparman: *Resa till Goda-Hopp-sudden* (Journey to the Cape of Good Hope 1783). Cultural geography and historical trade routes are interdependent and are part of the same mapping process that visualizes the hierarchy between the 'colonising' and the 'colonised'. The history of consumption and the history of the distribution of knowledge belong intimately together.

De Geer\* subscribed to about 100 periodicals and magazines informing him about European and worldwide culture from a French Enlightenment perspective. He ordered books and other publications translated into French from the Dutch bookseller, Luchtman, in the university city of Leiden. The first package of books was sent from Leiden to Löfstabruk in 1746, and contained the Dutch magazine, *Bibliothèque raisonnée* (Profound Collection 1728-53). In spite of the fact that the contributors to this magazine were Huguenots (Anfält 1995a: 333), it contained scientific and literary articles without taking political or religious borders into consideration. In 1751, De Geer\* ordered 150 volumes of *Journal des Savants* (Scholarly Journal) from Holland, in a large wooden case. *Journal des Savants*, also advertised travel literature, and *Philosophical Transactions* were early scientific magazines with a broad scope and covering different special discourses in order to present different fields of research typical of the time. From 1748, De Geer\* also subscribed to another magazine, *Mercure historique et politique* (Historical and Political Mercure), which was about the European political situation but was also entertain-

9 The Dutch commercial properties or colonies were for example located in East India (i.e. Sumatra, Java) (map in Schmitt 1988: 91), that was called Dutch-India; further in South America (i.e. Dutch Guayana = Surinam) and on the Caribbean Islands (West India; i.e. Martinique, Jamaica) and in North-America (called New Netherlands).

ing with unusual reports. The magazines, *Amusements the dames* (Amusement for Ladies) and *Bibliothèque choisie et amusante* (Selected Papers and Entertainment), were at the time not only reading for entertainment value but for cultural orientation as well.

Tomas Anfält found several publications, which were forbidden in France, but could be exported to Sweden by misleading the censors, for example by using false covers and false addresses for the publishers. Provocative political and literary texts, satirical papers mocking monarchs and priests, and 'immoral' literature, which was often published in the Swiss town of Neuchâtel, belonged to this group of publications. These provocative texts were officially called "livres philosophiques" (Anfält 1995b: 274). An example of popular literature is the novel: *Der durch die Printzeßin von Ursinis Besessen gewesene [...] Philippus V* (Philipp V, Formerly Obsessed with the Princess of Urbini 1771), the original in German by David Fassmann from 1719. Probably not all the literary publications were bound as separate books, but disintegrated after they had been read by many people. This notion comes partly from the following publication which combines two very different texts in one volume: firstly the alchemist publication *Des Englischen Grafens von S\*\*\* experimentirte Kunst-Stücke* about producing gold (The Elaborate Experiments of the English Count of S\*\*\* 1731) and secondly I.I. Rembold's tract about grasshoppers (probably from 1748). This is once again an example of how several (at that time) undifferentiated discourses were combined even on the material level.

Anfält uses Robert Darnton's research about forbidden bestsellers in pre-revolutionary France as a starting point for his examination of the book collection. He concludes that the De Geer-family bought 108 out of a total 700 books listed as provoking titles by Darnton (1995b: 173). He gives some examples of 'immoral' titles, which were published anonymously including *Thérèse Philosophe*, *Anecdotes sur Mme la comtesse du Barry*, and *Vie privée de Louis XV* (Philosophic Thérèse, Anecdotes about the Countess of Barry, The Private Life of Louis XV, Anfält 1995b: 273).<sup>10</sup> The report about Louis XV describes the prodigality and the love affairs of the King. It is a kind of sensational literature that possibly contributed to increase scepticism towards the monarchy (Anfält 1995b: 275). The title of *La Chronique Scandaleuse, ou Paris ridicule* (Chronicle of Scandals or Ridiculous Paris 1668) by Claude le Petit indicates a devaluation of the urban customs and

10 See also Darnton 1995: 249-299 about *Thérèse Philosophe* (probably 1748 by Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens) and Darnton 1995: 337-390 about *Anecdotes sur Mme la comtesse du Barry* (probably 1775 by Mathieu François Pidansat de Mairobert). Also the famous libertine novel *Les liaisons dangereuses* 1782, [*Dangerous Connections*, 1784] by Choderlos de Laclos is a part of the Löfstabruk book collection.

a decline in urban life. Another publication of a libertine author that could circumvent the French censors was the thesis, *L'anti-Babylon* (Anti-Babylon 1759), by Louis Charles Fougeret de Monbron using a pen name, criticizing decadent city life and apparently (!) published in Bagdad (Anfält 1993: 257). The second part of the publication, *La Capitale de Gaules ou La nouvelle Babilonne* (The Capital of Gallia or the New Babylon 1760), by the same author is part of the Lövstabruk collection.

The French language dominated, in both correspondence and conversation, although De Geer\* did not cultivate any direct contacts with France. The central role of the French culture is confirmed by the fact that De Geer\* first ordered the magazine, *The Spectator*, in English, but acquired it later in French too. After De Geer's\* marriage in 1743 to Catharina Charlotta Ribbing, his Swedish assimilation was confirmed, and the French orientation gradually weakened.

From the age of twenty, De Geer\* had been a member of *Kungliga Vetenskapssakademien* in Stockholm, which was founded in 1739 in order to promote mathematics and natural sciences. In 1749 he became a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris. However, he did not enjoy his visits at *Riddarhuset* (House of Knights) or *Stockholms Slott* (Stockholm Palace) and carried out his official and social duties in the capital with a touch of aversion. In spite of this, he was appointed a royal marshal and was later elevated to the rank of baron. Although De Geer's\* family had friendly relationships with the circles around Gustav III, De Geer\* maintained a sceptical attitude towards the big city of Stockholm which in his eyes was characterized by a decline in moral standards. His activities for education and edification, which even influenced the daily life of his increasing family of ten, seemed to be his main and most meaningful task. De Geer's\* research and the book collection became another task of life, which his son Charles De Geer the Younger (1747-1805) continued after 1778, even if less ambitiously. He was especially interested in travel literature and, unlike his father, made many journeys himself, but he did not share his father's passionate interest in magazines and he ended nearly all subscriptions. In 1805, the library contained about 8,500 books, and both the interior and the stock of books was hardly changed until 1907.

The unchanged condition of the library is one of the reasons why the settlement, as a whole, appears to be a monument to the Enlightenment. Its completeness proves, once again, that the colony as a heterotopia, refers not only to the best world possible, but also to the encyclopaedia of the Enlightenment. The settlement combines both the production and consumption of goods with the development of culture and knowledge in a well thought out way. The life of the colony's inhabitants was rather privileged compared with general conditions in Sweden at the time, and visitors considered it to have urban characteristics. From different cul-

tural perspectives i.e. architectural, infrastructural, social, linguistic and religious, its island status is confirmed. The mutual influences between the economic sphere and cultural-scientific sphere were intense, mostly for the De Geer family but to a lesser degree for the workers. The guiding principle both for the ironworks and the cultural consumption was 'prodesse et delectare' combining an edifying life as an entrepreneur with an edifying occupation.

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### Original Quotes

Linnerhielm: "Uppfylld af föreställningar om Skaldernas verldar".

Man ditkommer genom en skön Tall-skog, som succederas af frodiga Al-lundar och slutligen af en lång planterad Allée, alt i en linea. Ständigt synes den vackra åen, i hvilken byggnaderne nu speglade sig. Så obehagligt en rätt linea är för Lustvandranden eller för älskaren af den fria Naturen, måste man dock medge att den hyser någon ting stort. Detta är en helt naturlig följd: Tanken säger genast, att det måste vara en mäktig ägare för att öfvervinna alla hinder vid anläggningen. – Men är det stora och det sköna ett och det samma? Och hvilket åtföljes snarast af ledsnaden?

dit ingen ting låckade mig:

kanske dock alltid åtföljdt af tvånget.

En Slipinrättning till stora Ståds slipande och Mjölqvarnen med sex par stenar öka rörelsen och tillika bullret i den annars sakta flytande åen.

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Forsström: "Stället tycktes vara mera trist än Forsmark, också var mycket konst använd härstädes för att embellera naturen."

Efter återkomsten från biblioteket öfverraskades oförmodligt uti informatorns kammare barons mamsell, som i sällskap med några andra fruntimmer uti allsköns negligé därstädes nedsatt sig att dejunera korf.

Berch: "uti denna Skog var en rätt väg gjord ända fram till bruket, der en gässe, som är grindsvaktare och afhåller svinen att komma in i Bruket, upplåter grindarna, för hvilken syssla han får af Cammarherrn 12 % [öre] om dagen"

och vi tyckte oss önska, at denna ort måtte få Stadsfrihet [...].

[qvinnsfolken] krälade som myror, fram och tillbaka, och gatorna voro uppfylte med kärror

Christendomsvärk, som hos de fläste är sällsynt

Wolfgang Adam: "Bibliothek": "Als typische Merkmale [...] lassen sich neben der generellen Offenheit für zeitgenössische Entwicklungen in der Philosophie, der Wissenschaftslehre und der Literatur folgende Tendenzen festhalten: 1. Die Leitwerke und die Leitautoren der Epoche sind präsent. 2. Die lateinische Sprache verliert ihre beherrschende Stellung, auf dem Kontinent übernimmt weitgehend das Französische diese Rolle, ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts wird der eng-

lische Einfluß immer stärker. 3. Der Rückgang des theologischen Schrifttums ist als Konstante zu bezeichnen. 4. Der dominierende Rang der historischen Abteilung ist unübersehbar.