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Denmark and the Mormons
The Jørgen W. Schmidt Collection

BY WILLIAM MULDER

The Princeton University Library’s recent acquisition of the Jørgen W. Schmidt collection of some seven hundred titles in Danish concerning the Mormons opens a wide window not only on Mormon activity in Denmark since 1850 but also on the whole history of emigration from Denmark to the United States, especially in the nineteenth century, and on the continuing interest of Danish commentators and travelers in America in our own time. Thanks to Jørgen Schmidt’s determination to acquire or document every Danish publication (books, newspapers, periodicals) that mentions the Mormons in whatever connection (historical, theological, political, sociological, literary), we get a wider picture of the Danish image of the United States rather than isolated impressions of Mormonism alone.

The _En dansk Mormon Bibliografi 1837 – 1984_, Schmidt’s double-columned typescript bibliography which accompanies the collection and to which he continued to make additions up to his death in 1988, runs to 2,769 entries. A daughter remembers a wall in the hallway or living room of every house the family lived in, both in Denmark and the United States, lined with her father’s harvest of books, periodicals, offprints, and newspaper clippings, the loose materials in file folders sticking out from the shelves where they were inserted vertically among the books in chronological sequence. The bibliography preserves that sequence, organized into major divisions by year, each

1 Interview with Inger Schmidt (Mrs. Richard C.) Russell, Salt Lake City, 6 March 1990. In a recent (undated) letter to Alfred Bush of the Library, Mrs. Russell reminisces further: “As a child I can remember his books. We were taught a respect for them at a very early age. Moving across the Atlantic twice required everyone in the family to sacrifice personal effects as the cost prohibited us in bringing everything. However — the books were always the first thing packed, and very carefully at that. Visitors were always welcome in our home to browse through our many books. Hours of discussion usually followed.”
subdivided into two sections, one for books, one for articles. The entries were prepared with meticulous care, reflecting Mr. Schmidt’s lifelong experience in book publishing and distribution. In searching for his minnows of Mormon mention, Jørgen Schmidt caught some prize trout in his net, rare books from Mormonism’s first years in Denmark like Grundlovens Bestemmelser med Hensyn til de Kirkelige Forhold i Danmark (Copenhagen, 1850), Sjælland Bishop J. P. Mynster’s survey of constitutional provisions governing the churches in Denmark, with its general history of the Mormons in the very year they arrived there; the first Danish edition of the Book of Mormon itself, Mormons Bog (Copenhagen, 1851); and what Schmidt believed to be the first book-length treatise in Danish on Mormonism, Mormonernes Laerdomme, Oprindelse og Fremgang (Mormonism’s doctrines, origin, and progress), by L. D. Hass, a clergyman in Hals, published, like most early works, in Copenhagen in 1851; and, forerunner of exposés by disaffected converts or sensation-seeking visitors, Quintessens blandt Mormonerne: Erindringer fra et Næraartigt Ophold i Mormonestaten (Copenhagen, 1855), Maria Ward’s notorious Female Life among the Mormons. The list of rarities could go on.

Jørgen Schmidt was a late convert to an American missionary church that in a hundred years, by the time he joined it, had transformed itself from a radical millennial movement to a stable institution devoted to improving the quality of life for its members in home congregations around the world rather than bringing them to “Zion.” In Denmark in Jørgen’s time Jesu Kristi Kirke af Sidste Dages Hellige, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (better known in Denmark as Mormonerne or de Hellige), was enjoying more respect than ridiculous, despite continuing lurid folklore about its past, especially flerkoneri, or polygamy. Mormons in Denmark at Jørgen’s death numbered around 4,300 in 22 congregations, 18 of them in meeting-houses of their own. But in the half-century 1850–1900 Denmark, and, to a lesser degree, Sweden and Norway, had yielded a remarkable harvest of converts whose emigration to Utah gave the state a decidedly Scandinavian complexion. It was a colorful history that appealed to Jørgen, professional bookman and amateur historian.

A threesome of Mormon missionaries from America led by apostle Erastus Snow arrived in Copenhagen on 14 June 1850, twenty years after Mormonism’s founding by Joseph Smith in upstate New York and less than three years after the Mormons had sought refuge in the West under Brigham Young. The missionaries preached a gospel of America as the land of Zion, the promised land to which the righteous from all nations were to be gathered before the Second Coming. The Book of Mormon, which Joseph Smith claimed to have translated from an ancient record on metal plates buried in the Hill Cumorah, was a New World narrative which reinforced the promise: two ancient peoples, it said, one from the Tower of Babel where tongues were confounded and one from Jerusalem in 600 B.C. to escape the Babylonian captivity, had been led to sanctuary here. The descendants of the latter, who left a record abridged by their last scribe Mormon, were the Lamanites, presumed to be the ancestors of the American Indians. The analogy appealed to latter-day refugees from “Babylon.”

The doctrine of “the gathering” made conversion tantamount to emigration, or at least the expectation of it. In their several removes westward across the United States after 1830 the Mormons accommodated themselves to a succession of centers for the ingathering: at Kirtland, Ohio; Independence, Missouri; at Nauvoo, Illinois; and finally, in 1847, in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, meanwhile proselyting with evangelical fervor in the United States itself, in Canada, and in missions opened in Great Britain in 1847 and northern Europe in 1850. At the same time they marshalled the practical means for bringing their converts in shepherded companies to Zion, a mas-

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* The biographical information throughout the essay derives from several sources: the interview with Mrs. Russell and family papers in her possession (obituary notices, memorial service program, genealogical records, a "Biographical Sketch" filed with the Historical Department of the LDS Church in 1974); a memorial essay, "Jørgen W. Schmidt, 1915–1988," in Kirkenes, church news section of Sjøren for September 1988; an interview with Jørgen Schmidt conducted in Danish by Richard L. Jensen in Lyngby, Denmark, 6 August 1973, for the LDS Church Oral History Program (Det Mundtlige Historiske Program); a letter of 18 May 1990 from Hans Bagger to Patricia Marks, editor of the Princeton University Library Chronicle, which provides some particulars about Jørgen Schmidt’s service with Rosenkilde & Bagger, antiquarian booksellers and publishers in Copenhagen.

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* Jørgen W. Schmidt and Hans Billeskov Jansen, Foreword to Mormonerne i danske aviser i dren 1850 — 1884 (Lyngby, 1980).

* A full account of the history of Mormon activity in Denmark may be found in William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957). Together with the charts, tables, and maps in the original doctoral thesis at Harvard University (1955), it seems to have become a basic reference for further studies by Scandinavian scholars. Jørgen Schmidt was familiar with it.
sive immigration enterprise that, next to proselyting, became Mormonism's chief preoccupation, involving a Perpetual Emigration Fund (a revolving fund), chartered sailing vessels, and organized wagon caravans from the frontier to the Salt Lake Valley in the early days, and later steamship and railroad concessions.

In dissenting times in England and Scandinavia, marked by social as well as religious unrest, Mormonism's millennial proclamation and material promise appealed to large numbers of the spiritually and economically deprived. During the second half of the nineteenth century 30,000 Mormon converts left Scandinavia, 17,000 of them from Denmark, to follow the gleam to Zion, a movement as large as the Puritan migration of the 1690s, though taking place over a longer period. At the time their countrymen were homesteading the richer and more expansive acres of the Old Northwest and the prairies, Scandinavian Mormons chose to join latter-day Israel in the rugged mountain West. Unlike the general movement from Scandinavia, in which the Norwegians and Swedes were early and most numerous, in the Mormon migration the Danes were first and predominant. The Danes, proverbially reluctant to sail out farther than they could row back, nevertheless, as Mormons, ventured well beyond the frontier of Scandinavian occupation in the United States. In every census in the hundred years from 1850 to 1950, Utah residents born in Scandinavia as well as those of Scandinavian stock (those having Scandinavian or mixed parentage) appear consistently as the second largest group of foreign-born or foreign ancestry in the state, second only to British-born and those of British ancestry. The 1980 census shows that 137,941 Utah residents were of Danish stock (multiple or single Danish ancestry), compared with 84,963 Swedish and 90,053 Norwegian. More than one early settlement in Utah became known as "Little Denmark."

Mormon emigration from Denmark shaped other regions of the United States as well. Backsliders among the convert-immigrants helped people the great West between the Mississippi and the Rockies; disillusioned or quarrelsome, they defected from their church immigrant companies en route and stayed behind to become the first settlers in towns and counties in Iowa and Nebraska that by now have forgotten their Mormon origin. Some disaffected among them backtrailed from Zion itself, notably the family of joiner and woodcutter Jens Møller Haugaard Borglum, immigrant of 1864, from Hjørring, Jylland, who by a polygamous second wife fathered a pair of famous future sculptors in sons Gutzon and Solon; Gutzon would one day carve Mount Rushmore.5

5 The family left Utah in 1879 for Omaha, where Jens as Dr. James Borglum, a homeopathic physician, became known as a selfless and compassionate “poor people’s doctor;” many of whose patients were Danish immigrants. The 1870 census lists Christiansa, the plural wife, as a “domestic servant” under her maiden name Michelsen, a temporary solution for a polygamous family in Nebraska until Christiansa provided a permanent one: the boys remember a mother’s goodbye kiss one day, never to see her again. See Richard L. Jensen, “The Mormon Years of the Borglum Family,” *Task Papers.*
Danish emigration in the 1850s and 1860s was essentially a Mormon phenomenon, and as their numbers grew they attracted national attention in Denmark. There the unrest, stirred in part by the nationalist followers of N.F.S. Grundtvig who were trying through poetry, myth, and saga to return Lutheranism to “old-fashioned, living Christianity,” and in part by the social and political revolutions convulsing Europe in 1848, had produced a liberal constitution just the year before the Mormons arrived; the Grundlov of 5 June 1849 secured to the nation an elected legislature and generous provisions on behalf of dissenters and the press. But the missionaries found the popular mind lagging behind the enlightenment: “We have to preach the Constitution to prepare the way for the Bible,” apostle Snow reported, “and the Bible to prepare the way for the Book of Mormon. . . . We sometimes may hunt whole neighborhoods over and not find a copy of the Scriptures, except, perhaps, in church, or with the priest.”

The first American missionaries recruited preachers among the converts themselves, laymen from all walks of life — farm laborers, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, stonemasons — who went two by two through most of the provinces of Denmark and ventured into Sweden (where proselyting was illegal) and Norway to spread the Mormon contagion as fortune favored them and the letter of the law allowed. These native elders, sometimes arrested as vagrants, became so well known they were celebrated in the street ballads of the time, and in 1856 the itinerant artist Christian Dalsgaard encountered them in a carpenter’s cottage and recorded the scene in Mormon-prædikant (Mormon preachers), a colorful genre painting marked by sympathetic realism which hangs in the Statens Museum for Kunst (State Museum for Art) in Copenhagen today. The painting and the street ballads are reproduced in several of the Danish accounts about the Mormons in the Schmidt collection, which also includes two biographies of the artist.

Publication was a striking aspect of Mormon activity in Denmark, an important adjunct of the preaching because the missionaries, like sowers, broadcast their Bøger og Skrifter (books and pamphlets) wherever they went. In his first year apostle Snow had managed to produce a Danish edition of the Book of Mormon (Mormons Bog, a copy of the first edition in the collection, as already noted), selections from the Doctrine and Covenants (Laerdommens og Pagiens Bog, a copy of the third edition, 1858, in the collection), containing the prophet Joseph Smith’s revelations and instructions to the church, a psalm book, and an effective tract, En Sandheds Røst (A voice of truth), destined to go through many editions; and he was about to issue a monthly periodical, Skandinaviers Sjirne (Scandinavian star), still enjoying publication as Sjirnen (The star) in Denmark. Snow had difficulty finding a printer who would handle Mormon heresies, but a young journeyman who needed a start in business took the risk. F. E. Bording of Copenhagen continued thereafter to do all Mormon printing until

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6 Erastus Snow, One Year in Scandinavia (1851), quoted in Mulder, Homeward to Zion, P. 46.
7 Knud Søeborg, Christen Dalsgaard og hans kunst (Copenhagen, 1943), and Morten Korch, Denmarks Malerkunst: Genfødselse af de mest kendte danske Malere (Copenhagen, 1920).
his death in 1884, and his son after him. Though every word of the mission's propaganda passed through his hands he never became converted, but the long business relationship spoke well for Mormon reputation.  

While Mormon literature was one stream of knowledge about America as Zion, the movement as it grew provoked another, a turbid flood of mingled fact and fiction which took its rise from clerical attack, folk rumor, travelers' accounts, and the testimony of disillusioned immigrants—all represented in the Schmidt collection, which we must presently examine, after giving some account of the collector.

Jørgen Schmidt, fascinated by all this history (he would write about much of it himself), brought an old love to his new faith—his love of books and his training in book publishing and distribution. He has left a touching account of his own conversion (and incidentally his courtship and marriage) which helps to explain the dedication he brought to a career of collecting, writing, publishing, speaking, all in defense of a church he was eager his countrymen should see in a truer light:

I am one of the few who were baptized without having received the missionary lessons and [were] never taught by a missionary. The Gospel was introduced to me by a brother-in-law who was very active in the Church. With him I discussed eastern religions, which at that time (in 1937) I was very interested in. He introduced me to a group of young girls who formed a jazz chorus and needed some Danish words for their music and texts for their shows, which he asked me to write for them. One of the girls was Rebecca [Rasmussen], whom I later married.

*By June 1881 they had paid Bording 100,000 kroner ($35,000) for a total of 1,840,750 pieces of literature—tracts, periodicals, and books—in Danish and 275,000 in Swedish. (Mulder, Homeward to Zion, p. 75.) The Schmidt collection concentrates on literature about the Mormons rather than by them, but the Bording imprint appears in a number of the earliest (now scarce) volumes that Jørgen Schmidt happily included.
When I wanted to date her, the answer always was “Pick me up at the Church after the meeting” (or MIA [Mutual Improvement Association] or singing practice or what else). So I did, but the weather in Denmark is often cold or rainy, so I made it a habit to wait inside for the meeting to close. I sat on the last bench and couldn’t help listening to what was said. After some months’ time I thought myself ready to be baptized.

However, I did not yet have a real testimony. It came in an unusual way: Walking along a street I found a sick bird. Apparently it was hit by a car. I picked it up and, holding it in my hand, I didn’t know what to do. I realized that it was my duty to kill it, as it obviously was too sick to ever recover, but I did not have the courage to do it. That poor little creature looked so tender and frightened that I could not do it any harm. Instead I prayed fervently, promising the Lord that I would forever be faithful if only he would free me of this task. When I was through the bird lay dead in my hand.

Then I was baptized on March 2, 1938.9

Jørgen was twenty-three. The experience that he brought to his new-found purpose was already considerable, and it was ongoing. Born on 8 July 1915, as Jørgen Frederik Windfeldt Schmidt in Gentofte, he was schooled in commerce and after graduation and some freelance journalism for Politiken advanced from apprenticeship to management, at first in the commercial division, then in the editorial, of Rosenkilde & Bagger, one of Copenhagen’s largest publishing houses. In 1937, the year before his conversion and marriage, he received a scholarship to study for that summer and fall in France, and he cycled from Copenhagen to Paris, where he made browsing in the bookstores and among the sidewalk stalls his movable feast. It was browsing with a passion.

The Second World War delayed the family’s plan to “go up to Zion,” but by 1948 they became part of the “new emigration” to Utah.

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9 This personal account titled “It’s Cold Outside,” was added to Mormoner (Copenhagen, 1977), the Danish edition of Robert Mullen’s The Latter-Day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today (New York, 1966) which Jørgen Schmidt helped to translate. It is in the collection.
that saw an exodus, reminiscent of the days when the “gathering” had been preached, of converts tired of Europe’s troubles, although church policy advised staying put to build up Mormon congregations at home. For fourteen years the Schmidt family tried to adjust to their new environment in Salt Lake City, years marked by Jørgen’s characteristic energy and initiative as he tried his hand at motel management for four years, followed by several years as proprietor of an import retail store, “European Specialties,” meanwhile conducting a Scandinavian radio hour every Saturday afternoon which featured music and news from the old countries. And he served in minor church positions in local Mormon congregations. But “Father was Danish through and through,” declares a daughter, and Jørgen was glad to be invited to return to Copenhagen in 1962 by Rosenkilde & Bagger, where he became a department manager. Back in Denmark with his family he could search the bookstalls and used-book catalogues, a favorite pastime.

By 1965 his tireless reading and collecting culminated in Oh, du Zion i Vest: den danske Mormon-Emigration 1850 – 1900, which Rosenkilde & Bagger published, the title an adaption of a favorite Mormon hymn, “O Ye Mountains High,” sung in Danish congregations from the beginning, expressing the longing for that Zion every convert hoped to reach. Less a narrative history than an anthology of texts contemporary with the advent of Mormonism in Denmark, the work stands at the center of Jørgen’s career and is an epitome of the collection as it developed. His purpose was to give an understanding of the background for the great following which the movement enjoyed among the Danish people; to place the individual missionary, the newly converted Mormon, the immigrant, the pioneer, in the midst of the environment in which he actually found himself... by reprinting articles from newspapers, excerpts from books, official documents, descriptions of the various immigration groups, all parallel with excerpts from the immigrants’ own diaries, letters and reports.”

The anthology (with foldout maps of both Denmark and the United States) gave Danish readers their fullest sense of the magnitude of the Danish Mormon emigrant experience in the context of Danish and American history. Document headings suggest their immediacy: “The papers show interest,” “The Parliament is appealed to,” “A pastor visits a Mormon meeting,” “A daughter writes back from Utah,” “An immigrant tells about this and that,” “America and the lives of the Danes there,” “Ballads about the Mormons,” “Is polygamy being practiced in Denmark?” “The Zealand bishop investigates the situation,” and so on. “There are fates,” says the Foreword, “behind the statistics.” The work, generously illustrated with period prints, photographs, and engravings of places and personalities both in Denmark and the United States, concludes with “Glimpses of the History of Utah,” recommended to be read before the texts themselves “because otherwise they will seem meaningless.” The volume includes a topical and name index and a comprehensive listing of articles in papers and periodicals, anti-Mormon literature, books of travel, and fiction in which the Mormons appear, listings that anticipate the ultimate Bibliografi Schmidt would issue in 1984.

In Oh, du Zion i Vest Schmidt does not pretend to be a scholar-historian but rather the bibliographer his training fitted him to be, scrupulous in crediting his sources, frequently the inspired amateur in seeking them out. He respected the work of the university men who wrote the definitive histories of Danish emigration and rejoiced when they turned their serious attention to the Mormons. The Library’s
collection, for example, includes Kristian Hvidt's doctoral dissertation, *Flugten til Amerika, eller Drivkraefter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868–1914* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1971), a comprehensive work of 557 pages examining the motivation behind the "flight to America" which puts Danish emigration in an international context. It gives "Baptister og mormoner" twenty pages in a chapter on emigration motivated by politics or religion and reproduces an 1874 skillingwise or penny paper about Ole Peersen and his wife Dorthes' journey to the land of the Mormons and their stay there. The leaflet, among copies of others in the Schmidt collection, is preserved in the *Folkemindesamling*, the Danish Folklore Collection, in Copenhagen.

In 1985 Jørgen Würtz Sørensen, lektor at the Aalborg University Center, using an impressive range of sources early and late, published *Rejsen til Amerikas Zion* (Journey to America's zion, Aalborg: Forlaget Fenre), wholly devoted to the Danish Mormon story. In the same year Sørensen's student Gert Westphal Poulsen produced the results of his research project at Aalborg's University Center, *Mormonforfolgerne i Danmark fra 1850–1851*, a detailed micro-history of Mormon persecutions during the first two critical years.

The year after *Oh, du Zion i Vest* was published, Jørgen left Rosenkilde & Bagger, to their disappointment, and accepted a church assignment to direct the translation, printing, and distribution of Mormon literature and serve as the public communications coordinator for the Mormons in all of Scandinavia. He now understood, he said, why he had returned: It was *Herrens ønske*, the Lord's will. He edited *Stjernen* (The star), the Danish mission monthly, gave radio talks, and wrote articles explaining Mormon doctrine, history, and culture. He formed a Mormon Tabernacle Choir Society which made arrangements for the famed Choir's appearance in Copenhagen, and staged a performance by a visiting troupe of native American dancers from Brigham Young University, the "Lamanite Generation," in Tivoli.

Despite a near-fatal automobile accident which sent him to the hospital for a year and left his wife paralyzed, he became an active member of the *Kristeligt Folkeparti*, nearly winning election to the *Folketinget*, or Parliament. He served on the town council and assessment committee for the Allerød Kommune and on his party's national committee on social laws. He organized the program for the visit of the Danish Mormon Choir to the United States, wrote words for several hymns, and helped to revise the Mormon hymnbook. It was said of

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Tilligemed en usaglig og sandfærdig Beretning om en rig Gardsmandsbatter fra Fyn, der først Lidt siden blev forføjet af Mormonerne, jaa at hun drog med disse til Utah, efterat have ofret sine Hængsummer til Præsterne: samt om, hvorledes hun blev trøngen til at være en Mand, der alt hande fyr Konder i Foveien, og om, hvorledes hun efter utallige Prøvelser vendte fattig tilbage til sit Hjem.

Haarø Jensen, My Adelgade 14

Title page of *Mormonpigens Klage*, a four-page pamphlet issued in Copenhagen in 1879. Jørgen W. Schmidt Collection, The Princeton Collections of Western Americana.
Ole Peersens og hans Kone Dorthes
Rejse til Mormonerne
og deres Ophold her.
Rife med Monolog mellem Bersene.

af
Bernhard Rolle.

København.
J. Strandbergs Forlag og Trykt.
Faab i Boghandlen, Holmstræde 18.

A woodcut portrait of Brigham Young and his wives on the title page of Beretning og Vise om Mormonprofeten Brigham Young, a four-page poem published in Copenhagen in 1877, the year of Brigham Young's death. Jørgen W. Schmidt Collection, The Princeton Collections of Western Americana.
him that “He had a great sense of language: to put the right word in the right place.”

In 1982 Jørgen established a small private press, Forlaget Moroni, the name derived from a Book of Mormon scribe who, as the Angel Moroni, tops the tallest spire of the Mormon temple in Salt Lake City. In semi-retirement, Jørgen wished primarily to publish his own writings and translations, most importantly his Bibliografi, but also a monograph on Carl Christian Anton Christensen, an 1850s convert-emigrant who as “C.C.A.” became well known among his people for his humorous verse and for his panoramic paintings of Mormon history now on long-term loan from Brigham Young University to Salt Lake City’s Museum of Church History and Art.\(^{10}\)

Jørgen also attempted a roman, a didactic story about Mormonpigen Eva, en dansk minoritetspige i Danmark, a Mormon girl as member of a minority group in Denmark (Forlaget Moroni, 1984), and he wrote a comprehensive study, Mormonernes Forsøg med Flerkoneri 1843 – 1890 (The Mormons’ experiment with polygamy 1843 – 1890), which appeared in 1983, but Forlaget Moroni’s most important production was without doubt the Bibliografi, an indispensable finding aid to the collection itself. Two name registers, one of persons, the other of places, refer by number, from 0001 to 2760, to the chronological entries. Book and article descriptions are meticulous: for books — author, title, publisher, the physical dimensions, number of pages, and, following the abbreviation “M,” the pages pertaining to the Mormons; for articles — date, name, place of publication, and length in millimeters of the column, page, or paragraph devoted to the Mormons. In both cases the entry often supplies a brief annotation or cross reference. What seems inert and mechanical (the nature of catalogues) comes to life in the relationship among the entries, which is to say among the books and articles themselves, all in Danish, of course, either Danish originals or works translated into Danish, and the chronological sequence gives the sense of an unfolding narrative. The entries lay a trail from a given publication to notices and reviews of it in the papers and periodicals, suggesting the spread of awareness and information about the Mormons throughout Denmark. A dozen entries on Håkon Mielche, the popular travel writer, for example, are scattered in the bibliography referring to his travel books as they appeared: Ovre i Staterne (Over in the States, 1939), Jorden Rundt (Around the world, 1943), and USA vest (1977). No fewer than sixty notices of Schmidt’s own Oh, du Zion i Vest appeared in urban and provincial dailies and weeklies when it was published in 1965.

\(^{10}\) Dr. Teddy Brunius, professor of art history at the University of Copenhagen, wrote a comprehensive, scholarly introduction to the volume, which includes eight reproductions in full color supplied from the museum’s 1984 exhibition catalog, C.C.A. Christensen, 1831 – 1912: Mormon Immigrant Artist, prepared by Richard L. Jensen and Richard G. Oman. Schmidt credits Jensen with invaluable assistance in making the Danish production possible.

The collection may be roughly divided into six or seven subject matters: polemics, the theological controversies the Mormons provoked; Danish and American histories, general and specialized, with emphasis on religious history and udvandring, emigration; travel narratives and personal memoirs; popular culture: fiction, folklore, and film featuring Mormon characters, scenes, or events, both Danish originals and translations; a few school texts; a number of yearbooks and handbooks, reference books on religion; several specialized bibliographies, particularly the Bibliografi over Dansk-Amerikansk Udvandrerhistorie, which was the first number (1983) in the Udvandrerarkivets skrifterserie. Schmidt’s bibliography justifies its initial year, 1837, because the collection includes Amerika især i den nyeste Tid, en historisk-statistisk Haandbog, by Frederik Klee (Copenhagen, 1837 – 1839), a historical and statistical handbook on America, “especially in modern times.” Almost as early is J. Chr. Riise’s Historisk-geographisk Archiv (Copenhagen, 1849), which in its twentieth volume includes an anonymous entry “Mormonerne” taken from the Boston Daily, November 1842, when the Mormons were gathering at Nauvoo, Illinois, and had sent missionaries to England but not yet to Scandinavia.

As a glance at Schmidt’s Bibliografi will testify, newspapers and periodicals devoted an inordinate amount of space to the Mormons, attention quite out of proportion to their numbers. The Mormons were “restorationists,” not reformers in the usual Protestant sense, and claimed a new “dispensation” of the primitive gospel, but their mixture of Old Testament institutions (priestry, priesthood, and polygamy) with New Testament redemption puzzled established
**Mormonen,**
den rige Haandmand

**Morten Petersen,**
der drager til Jions Land.

Af R. James.

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**Dg:**

**Moderemaelt.**

Trykt i København hos H. C. Nissen.

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Churches which did not consider them Christian. The 1850s were most prolific in both Mormon and anti-Mormon propaganda. Apostle Snow's *A Voice of Truth* and Parley Pratt's *A Voice of Warning,* two of the earliest Mormon tracts to appear in Danish, provoked a chorus of "voices" and "warnings" from the Danish clergy, all represented in the collection: *En Røst i vor bevægde Tid mod Baptismen, Mormonismen, og andre religiøse Forvirringer* (Odense, 1852), by smallholder Jens Sørensen Dyholm, cried out in a troubled time against the Baptists, the Mormons, and "other religious confusions," and *En Advarels i mod de falske Propheter* (Nykjøbing, 1852), by parish priest H.P.S. Koch, warned against false prophets.

The bishops and theological faculty at the universities wrote impressive treatises, arming their parish priests with scriptural and historical defenses against Mormon aberrations. Among the titles in the collection are *Kort Begreb om den egentlige Mormonisme* (Christiania, 1855), a "Brief Account of the Real Mormonism," by C. H. Jensenius; C. B. Garde's ninety-two pages on the errors of Mormonism, *Om de mormonske Vildfarelser til Mine Menigheder* (Copenhagen, 1854); and Alfred Beyer's refutation of Mormonism's opposition to infant baptism, *Et Forsvar for den i Danmark bestaaende Kirkes Daab* (Copenhagen, 1858). Like Carl Fog's article "Mormonerne. En Historisk Sildring" in *Nyt Theologisk Tidskrift* (Copenhagen, 1851) these learned arguments could hardly be expected to reach the commoner. The parish priests and pastors knew how to approach him more directly and wrote handbooks like *Haandsvaekning for Menigmand i Kampen mod Mormonisme* (Everyman’s aid in the fight against mormonism, Copenhagen, 1857), and *En lidet Modgift mod Mormonernes false Laerdemme* (A little antidote to mormonism’s false teachings, Randers, 1857), works which often abandoned doctrine for diatribe. Anti-Mormon works were a staple in series like Professor Dr. Frederik Nielsen's *Smaalshfter til Oplysning for Kristne* (Pamphlets for the instruction of Christians) at least one of which, *Mormonismen og Sultsstadena* (Mormonism and Salt Lake City, 1893) is in the collection.

It was polygamy, of course, that gave Mormonism such wide notoriety, making it fair game at church and carnival. Balladeers hawked

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11 One of Jørgen Schmidt's accomplishments was to have Mormonism reclassified as "Christian" in the Danish library system.

12 *En Advarels Røst.* A copy of the third edition (Copenhagen, 1855) is in the collection.
"the latest new verse" about the Copenhagen apprentice masons who sold their wives to the Mormons for 2,000 kroner and riotously drowned their sorrow in the taverns. Mormon polygamy outside the United States was doctrine only, never practice. The covenant of "celestial marriage" had to be approved by the president of the church and solemnized in a temple ceremony, beyond the reach of anyone but the Saints in Utah. But Skandinaviens Stjerne defended the doctrine on scriptural and social grounds, described its practice in Zion, and closely followed the efforts of the United States to outlaw it. Threatened with disfranchisement, the church issued a public Manifesto in 1890 abandoning the practice. But in the continuing debate between the Mormons and their opponents the doctrine remained a live issue. In 1904 Christian Fennesbeck, as the Bibliografi shows, published an answer to an attack by parish priest A. Bålow in both the Holstebro Avis and Holstebro Dagblad, pointing out that with 41,800 illegitimate children born in Denmark between 1895 and 1900, Denmark had better look to her own morals.\(^13\)

The tone changed with the religious climate, from a century that split hairs over the interpretation of Biblical texts to an era, especially after the Second World War, content to be more educational than sensational in the entries on Mormonism in the religious yearbooks, handbooks, and encyclopedias — the movement seen from a sociological perspective with even polygamy, for example, regarded as one more expression of American subcultures. That is the approach in Carol Gold’s “Amerikanske Subkulturer” in Kvindestudier 5, Utopi og Subkultur (1981), a volume on women’s studies in the collection.

The Mormon doctrine of baptism for the dead, resulting today in an astonishing practical program of genealogical research, is not the threat that wholesale conversion and emigration once seemed to the Danish clergy, although the teams of Mormon technicians microfilming civil and church records in a grand sweep of Denmark’s depositories has raised some eyebrows: "Shall the Mormons baptize our grandfathers again?"\(^14\) But the international conferences of archivists and genealogists held in Salt Lake City, where they visit church vaults tunneled into the granite mountains for safekeeping this harvest of records, are respectfully reported, and as widely as the old rumors and alarms once were. Several issues of the Danish edition of Reader’s Digest in the collection devote articles to the Mormon genealogical program.

The narrow window of doctrinal debate between the Mormons and their opponents in Denmark widens considerably in the secular world of history and travel, works fully represented in the collection. They brought the whole of America as a place and a past to Danish readers and put the Mormons in a continental context, often amusingly, seeing them as an exotic interest along with the West and the Indians. "Yankees, Mormons, and Indians" was no unusual juxtaposition. The association even got into the comic books, as in Mormonernes Tog (The mormon [wagon] train), No. 3 in the Illustrated Classics series Genmem Indjanernes Land (Through indian country). In 1849, even before the arrival of the Mormon missionaries, Tidshistorien, weekly\(^{13,14}\)

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\(^{13}\) Mulder, Homeward to Zion, p. 95.

supplement to Fjøs Stifts Adresse-Avis, described the “Mormon state” as part of its account of Nye Stater i Nordamerika.

Translations of American historians include Francis Parkman, The Oregon Trail, rendered as Gudskjærgernes Vej, focusing on the goldseekers; James Truslow Adams, The Epic of America, cited Amerikas Saga; and Harvey Wish, American History 1900 - 1948. More valuable are the original Danish contributions. In 1897 K. Ostergaard’s De Forenede Stater, volume nine of Land og Folk, paired the history and topography of Utah with that of Nevada and took care to instruct Danish readers how to pronounce Jutae. Vilhelm Rasmussen in 1936 prepared his U.S.A.: Amerikas Forenede Stater for “Folkeoplysningens Fælomme,” the educational advancement of the people, and provided 72 illustrations, including Salt Lake City’s Main Street and Temple Square. In Den gamle Pioner fortæller (Old pioneer tales) Anton Kvis in 1935 recounted the experiences of Danish-Americans “i det uopdyrkede Vesten,” the uncultivated West. Franz W. Wendt in De Danskes Veje (1942) describes Danish contributions abroad; on its cover a drawing depicts Danes behind a prairie plough. Two handsomely bound volumes, giving due dignity to their scholarly contents, embrace De Danskes Veje: Danske pioner og dansk virke under alle Himmelstrøg (Skandinavisk Bogforlag, 1951), by three academics, with a foreword by Prince Axel. It undertakes to give an account of Danish pioneering and achievement “everywhere under heaven.” The Danish migration to Utah gets attention in an early chapter.

Kristian Hvidt’s Danske Veje Vestpå (Politikens Forlag, 1976) seems to be a version of his Flygten til Amerika for the general reader. Arild Hvidtfeldt’s Nordamerika, also published by Politikens Forlag in the same year, treats “Mormonerne ved Saltsyttet” in a section called “Amerika bliver voksen” (America comes of age), a curious mingling of fact and folklore, but with a fine reproduction of Frederick Piercy’s sketch of the Missouri River crossing on the Mormon pioneer trail at Council Bluffs. Of special historical interest is Holger Munchaus Petersen and Jens Lorentzen’s Rejser til Amerika med Thingvalla liniens udvandrerkibbe for 1898 (Høst, 1977), apparently a souvenir, well illustrated, of Thingvalla Shipping Lines’ long service before 1898 in the emigrant passenger trade.

The earliest travel account in the collection seems to be Torben Lange’s Fra Roskildefjord til Mississippi, his letters home from 1841-1851 but not published until 1945. The Mormons were at Nauvoo, which flourished on the Illinois side of the river from 1839 to 1846, before the exodus to the West. A Danish translation of William Chandlee’s Visit among the Mormons in Utah appeared in 1858, and by 1861 a translation of Austin Ward’s A Husband in Utah, or Scenes among the Mormons, counterpart to Maria Ward’s Female Life among the Mormons, both books exploiting the taste for sensational reports about the Mormons. In 1871 prospective Danish emigrants could furnish themselves with Praktisk Raadgiver for Udsendere til Amerika, a practical emigrant guide of which a 1974 reprint is in the collection. In 1875 V.C.S. Topsoe’s Fra Amerika provided pictures and a map. “Through America” and “From America” and “Journey to America” run like a refrain through the travel accounts, with chapter headings or subtitles that often feature the Mormons along with other attractions like the Niagara Falls and the scenery of the Far West.

Not only journalists or professional travelers went “Jorden Rundt” (around) the world, with stopovers in Mormon country. Carl Emil Petersen, an artisan (haandvaerker) who traveled “25,000 danskemil uden Penge” (without money), went around the world twice in 1907, his account “richly illustrated.” H. Andersen in 1884 saw America from a landboandpunkt, an agriculturist’s view; the signed copy in the collection is inscribed to Henrik Cavling, well-known Danish traveler whose Journalistliv (1930), also in the collection, recollects his visit to polygamist Peter Hansen and describes Bikuben, the Danish weekly in Salt Lake City. Kai Thorenfeldt went Jorden Rundt paa Cykle (Around the world on a bicycle) in 1928, and a lighthearted couple, Irma Testrup Petersen and her husband, friends of Jørgen Schmidt’s, traveled by motorcycle and sidecar in 1951 following in the tracks of the pioneers (I Pionerernes Hjulspor).

Too often accounts merely echo old stories rather than observe directly, no less guilty than Mark Twain of playing to the popular image of the Mormons as polygamists (true enough in his day), as he does in Blandt Mormonerne (1946), a selection of passages from Rounding It, with a satirical cartoon of a polygamist and his wives on the
cover. More authentic and valuable is an account like Edward Clausen’s Hverdagens Amerika (Everyday America) describing a visit in 1952 to the “Byen hedder Jensen” (the town called Jensen) in Utah, today famous for its dinosaur deposits but named after a Danish settler who fought the Indians, built the first bridge in town, and seemed to the Danish journalist the embodiment of the town’s history, “One must go west if he would understand America.”

More fugitive than solid histories or widely circulating travel narratives, expressions of popular culture have nevertheless found their way into the Schmidt collection. Not the film itself but accounts of it in two sources are found of Mormonens Offer (The Mormon’s victim), Nordisk Films’ 1911 fanciful portrayal of white slavery, discussed in 50 Aar i dansk Film (1956) and Marguerite Engberg’s Dansk Stumfilm (1977), a study of Danish silent movies which reproduces three stills from the 1911 production.

Thomas Thomsen’s illustrated Farvel til Danmark 1830-1914 (Farewell to Denmark, 1830-1914, Universitets-forlaget i Aarhus, 1980) studies the views of America and Danish emigration found in the skillingstidsskrifter, and an American publication, Danish Emigrant Songs, edited by Rochelle and Robert Wright (Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), includes a bilingual text of “The Mormon Girl’s Lament” in a section on “Songs about the Mormons.”

The Mormons figured in popular romance and melodrama as an exotic interest, a literary staple. Stories about Mormon girls lured to Utah abound, usually with the assurance on the title page that “the narrative is founded on an actual incident,” as in the anonymous Mormonernes Pigeferd (Girls captured by the Mormons) and Baldwin Möhlhausen’s Mormonpigen, a Ny Aftenblad feuilleton (1871). But B. S. Ingemann’s Landsbyhjemne (Children of the village, 1943) seems more realistic.

Three novels deeply rooted in Mormon history and community, all by contemporary women with Mormon backgrounds, one of them of Danish ancestry, have found their way into translation, and into the collection: Maurice Whipple’s The Giant Joshua, titled Leftets Land (The promised land) in a 1942 Swedish translation, a story of pioneering in Brigham Young’s day in southern Utah; Virginia Sorensen’s On This Star, retitled På denne jord (On this earth) in the 1948 Danish translation, a story of two generations in a Danish Mormon immigrant family set in the predominantly Scandinavian town of Manti, Utah, called Temple City in the novel; and Blanche Cannon’s Nothing Ever Happens Sunday Morning, Faithfully rendered in the Danish Der Sker Aldrig Noget Søndag Morgen (1949), a serio-comic story about a suburban Mormon household. These novels, critically acclaimed in the United States, like Halldór Laxness’ Det gengjorde Paradis (Paradise reclaimed) about Utah’s Icelandic colony, provide a welcome relief to the superficial stereotypes of popular romance and the ubiquitous Westerns of Zane Grey, also in translation in the collection, with which the Danish public seems to be so familiar.

Two poets have made it into the collection, C.C.A. Christensen’s retrospective volume, Mindetegn, of his poetry and articles and a memoir (Bikubens Bibliotek, 1921), and Johanne Slots’ USA-Landskaber (Forlaget Minerva, 1982), an impressionistic travelogue in verse which includes a poem called “Idaho-Utah,” a roll call of place names and local scenes.

“The Dream of America,” an exhibition at Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen in 1984 and the Forhistorisk Museum at Moesgaard in 1985, puts the history of Mormonism and the general emigration from Denmark, and their relationship, in perspective. Its handsome souvenir volume, Drømmen om Amerika, replete with period illustrations and retrospective narratives, in a way encapsulates the Jørgen Schmidt collection. What he said of his own book, Oh, du Zion i Vest, bears repeating: “There are fates behind the statistics.” The souvenir’s essay on the Mormon emigration, “Til Amerika for Guds Skyld” (To America for God’s sake) by scholars Mette Skougaard and Kristian Hvidt seems a confirmation of an earlier historian’s remark: “That Mormonism at the outset came to play a role in [Denmark’s] emigration saga is one of those facts which make the course of history unpredictable and rich in surprises.” That may be said of Princeton’s Jørgen Schmidt Collection. It would have pleased Jørgen Schmidt that the International Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies met in Salt Lake City within a year of his death, scholars — not converts, immigrants, nor mere travelers — bringing their own special kind of curiosity to the City of the Saints so many of their compatriots had helped to build. The Danish Road in a suburb south of the city no longer leads anywhere, but it is there, a reminder and a presence of Denmark and the Mormons.

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16 The editors of De Danes Vej (Copenhagen, 1951), p. 57.

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Lewis Carroll's *St. George and the Dragon* and *Le Petit Nèmrod* by J. J. Tissot

A Problem in the Relationship between Painting and Photography in the 1870s

BY NANCY FINLAY

At first glance there would appear to be small affinity between Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, the author of the beloved children's classic *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and the fashionable painter of French and English high-life, James Jacques Tissot. Two of Tissot's late mezzotints, however, are devoted to what Anthony Trollope termed "baby worship," the Victorian cult of the child, which is also reflected in Dodgson's photographs of his child friends. In particular, a photograph by Dodgson in the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelist's in the Princeton University Library, *St. George and the Dragon*, and a mezzotint by Tissot in Princeton's Graphic Arts Collection, entitled *Le Petit Nèmrod*, exhibit virtually identical iconography: A child on a rocking horse "attacks" two other children crouching beneath animal skins and pretending to be wild beasts. A fourth child, a girl, figures as the princess in Dodgson's *St. George*, and as a victim of the "beast" in *Le Petit Nèmrod*. In each, the central child is identified with the hero, St. George or Nimrod, and the curious intensity of the image suggests a significance beyond the mere illustration of precocious cuteness. The resemblance seems too close to be mere coincidence, and a logical explanation would be: Dodgson based his photograph on a painting by Tissot which also served as the basis for the mezzotint. Considering the probable dating of the two compositions, however, it is also possible that the Tissot painting was inspired by the Dodgson photograph.

The relationship between painting and photography in the nineteenth century was a complicated one. The potential of photography as a means of reproducing and disseminating copies of works of art was recognized soon after its invention in 1839, and the literal manner in which the photograph reproduced natural appearances led to its use by artists as a substitute for studies and sketches after the live model. While it is well known that Tissot frequently based his paintings on photographic sources, it is less generally recognized that Dodgson sometimes based his photographs on paintings. "Artistic photographers" such as O. G. Rejlander, H. P. Robinson, and Lake Price attempted to elevate the status of photography as a fine art by imitating the effects of contemporary easel paintings in their photographic compositions. In a manner both more direct and more naive, Dodgson not only adopted conventional compositional devices from easel painting in his photographs, but also attempted to reproduce the actual compositions of favorite pictures using photographic views of live models.

Early in his career as an amateur photographer, Dodgson began to use his camera to copy works of art: a picture in Christ Church College, a portrait of a friend, works by the sculptor Alexander Munro. In his search for photographic subjects, he sought out the child models used by well-known painters, including the children of the Pre-Raphaelite painters John Everett Millais and Arthur Hughes, and Angus Douglas, one of Rossetti's child models. On 4 July 1865 Dodgson admired a portrait of Cyril Bickersteth, the son of the

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3. *Photographic Scrapbook* No. 1, pp. 42, 78, 79, 84, 86, 98, 95; and No. 11, p. 27; Parrish Collection and the Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

4. A photograph of Mary Milais (1856) is in *Photographic Scrapbook* No. 11, p. 84; Agnes Hughes (1870) in No. 11, p. 35; and Angus Douglas (1877), posed as the "Milkman's Boy," in No. 11, p. 33. Numbers in parentheses are Dodgson's negative numbers.
to photograph the model of a painting by Sophie Anderson entitled *Rowe Morn*, but was dissuaded by the information that the girl was a cottage child and "by no means pretty." In 1865, he had better luck, recording in his diary for 6 July of that year:

I bought a little picture of Mrs. Anderson, of a child's head in profile: the original was in the house, and was called into the room, a beautiful child, about twelve, Elizabeth Turnbull by name. I intend taking a photograph of her in the same attitude as the picture.8

Again on 8 April 1867, Dodgson made an appointment with artist James Archer to "photograph 'Maggie, you're cheating' from real life," apparently intending to pose the live models in the attitudes of Archer's painting.9 It would be interesting to know how many of Dodgson's photographs, admired today for their naturalism, actually reproduce the attitudes of forgotten paintings. The production of such *tableaux-vivants* may be related to the Victorian passion for the

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7 Green, *Diaries*, p. 213.
8 Green, *Diaries*, p. 284.
9 Green, *Diaries*, p. 284.
game of charades. A dramatic scene in one of Louisa May Alcott's early thrillers described the recreation of paintings such as Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* by participants in this popular parlor game.¹⁰ The Henry Holiday album at Princeton consists entirely of such "fancy pictures" by Dodgson, some of which undoubtedly have unrecognized painted precedents.

Dodgson's use of photography in relationship to the visual arts is essentially reproductive. His small-scale photographs of actual paintings and sculptures and his photographs of live models re-enacting the compositions of favorite paintings are the equivalent of the engraved or lithographic copies which were widely circulated of popular works of art. Tissot also used photography in this way. As early as 1859, he began taking photographs of his paintings to document his work. In 1970, Willard Misfeldt discovered a set of three albums containing photographs of Tissot paintings compiled by the artist, presumably as a record of the works as they were sold.¹¹ More commonly, however, photographs were regarded by artists as studies to be used as substitutes or supplements to the living model, to suggest a pose or composition that might be adapted to the requirements of serious art. Since engravings and other prints were also used in this way and the borrowing of motifs from the old masters or even from contemporary painters was common practice in the nineteenth century, it might be possible to maintain that the photograph was therefore viewed as simply another artistic source. While the use of motifs from prints and paintings, however, provided the artist with a repertoire of visual and even literary allusions, photography was valued for its direct portrayal of nature without artistic intervention. The photograph seems to have occupied a position analogous to that of the sketch, which also tended to furnish a relatively direct and unbiased view of nature. While elements were sometimes borrowed directly from photographic sources, more often they were transformed to accord with the artist's own vision in the process of being transferred to canvas, and their photographic origins were thus discretely disguised.

Tissot is among those artists who are known to have used photographs in this manner, and a frank use of photographic sources has already been demonstrated for a number of his prints and paintings.¹² A striking example is the painting entitled *Waiting for the Ferry*, which is directly based on a photograph of Tissot's mistress Kathleen Newton and her children. The major differences between the photograph and the painting which is based on it are in the manner in which Tissot has framed the figures and in the background. His radical cropping of the foreground group in the painting, probably inspired by the use of similar compositional devices in Japanese prints, appears more "photographic" than the central placement of these figures in the photograph itself. The background has been completely altered from a suburban backyard, presumably the garden of Tissot's house in St. John's Wood, to a perspective view of a dockyard in *Waiting for the Ferry*. The figures are also much larger in proportion to the picture space in the painting, a distinction that is also true for the mezzotint *Le Petit Nemrod* compared to Dodgson's photograph.

Although Tissot does not actually crop the figures in *Le Petit Nemrod*, they are brought much closer to the foreground plane, while in the Dodgson photograph, as in the anonymous photograph of Mrs. Newton and her children, they are situated in a middle ground much farther from the viewer. Likewise, what is an interior nursery scene in Dodgson's *St. George* is in Tissot's print situated out-of-doors in a park where the children play under the watchful eye of their mother or nanny. The rocking horse and the animal skins might seem to make more sense in an indoor than in an outdoor setting, but the same animal skins were used by Tissot in a second mezzotint, *Le Banc du Jardin*, as well as in a number of other compositions, suggesting that they were studio props belonging to the artist.

Since Dodgson sometimes based his photographs on paintings and Tissot sometimes based his paintings on photographs, the dating of


St. George and Le Petit Némoïd becomes crucial to understanding the relationship between them. While the dating of the painted prototype of Le Petit Némoïd is somewhat uncertain, Dodgson’s St. George and the Dragon may be securely placed in the summer of 1875. As systematic in the pursuit of his photographic hobby as in his mathematical investigations, Dodgson assigned consecutive negative numbers to each of his photographic plates, beginning with his earliest efforts in the 1850s and continuing until 1876 when he apparently stopped taking photographs. These numbers are indicated in the tables of contents in Dodgson’s handwriting at the front of Parrish albums numbers 1, 11, and 111. Using this sequence of numbers, and comparing dated photographs and references from Dodgson’s diaries, it is possible to establish an accurate chronology for his photographic work. Made from Dodgson negative number 2316, St. George and the Dragon is one of the latest photographs in the Parrish Collection. A photograph of the art critic John Ruskin, made from negative number 2309, may be securely dated 3 June 1875. On that date, Dodgson noted in his diary: “With some difficulty I persuaded Ruskin to come and be photographed, and to stay luncheon with us.” This appears to have been the only time that Dodgson photographed Ruskin. In addition, the subjects of Dodgson’s St. George photograph may be identified as Xie (pronounced “Eckie”) Kitchin and her brothers, as photographed subjects on numerous occasions in 1873, 1874, and 1875. Conceived as a costume piece with dressed-up children, St. George and the Dragon also resembles the twenty-five photographs in the Henry Holiday album, compiled by Dodgson to commemorate a pleasant week spent with the illustrator in July 1875. Unfortunately, probably because the album was intended as a gift, no negative numbers are recorded for these photographs. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that St. George and the Dragon should be dated to the end of June 1875, following the Ruskin photograph and preceding the photographs in the Henry Holiday album, which were taken in July.

Tissot’s mezzotint is dated 1886. Although this would seem to establish the priority of the Dodgson photograph, Tissot characteristically based his prints on his own paintings, and the date of the painting on which the mezzotint is based is not definitely known. The painting remained in the artist’s possession until his death, and in 1906 was given to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Besançon, where it has been ever since. The evidence for its dating is circumstantial, but reasonably conclusive. The little boy on the rocking horse is Cecil George, the son of Mrs. Newton, and the other youngsters are Cecil’s half-sister Violet and two cousins, the children of Mrs. Newton’s sister. The same children and the same animal skins appear in other paintings from the end of Tissot’s London period, which lasted from 1871 until 1882, when, following the death of Mrs. Newton, the artist returned precipitously to Paris. That last year, 1882, seems a plausible date for the painting: Cecil George would have been six years old. It has even been suggested that Le Petit Némoïd was painted after Tissot’s return to Paris, as “a nostalgic memory of happy hours . . . , a recollection of a chapter in his life now closed forever.” Tissot exhibited a painting entitled Un Némoïd, which may possibly have been this picture, at the Palais de l’Industrie in 1883.

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It is much easier to imagine how Dodgson, who was a frequent visitor at the Royal Academy and other exhibitions, besides having many artistic friends, could have seen Tissot’s painting (although a unique original) than to conceive how Tissot could have seen a copy of a photograph by an Oxford amateur. Dodgson occasionally did sell his negatives to London photographic publishers, but the only known instances of this practice involve portraits of famous people. St. George and the Dragon would appear to belong to that category of essentially private photographs that Dodgson took for his own pleasure and the enjoyment of his friends. If Tissot ever saw it, it was most likely in the possession of one of Dodgson’s London friends, such as the artists and literary figures whom he sometimes photographed. Nevertheless, if there is a direct relationship between St. George and

13 Green, Diaries, p. 340.
16 Wood, Tissot, p. 129.
the Dragon and Le Petit Nemrod, as the visual evidence so strongly suggests, it must be the Dodgson photograph which is the source for the Tissot painting, given the dates of the two works.

Appearing at the same time and in the same milieu, Dodgson's and Tissot's child heroes share the same quality of being at once real children and the characters in a fairy tale, like Dodgson's own Alice or Sylvie and Bruno. On a trivial level simply pretty children at play, on a more profound level, they really are Nimrod, “a mighty hunter before the Lord,” and the hero Saint George, the protagonists in a cosmic battle of good and evil. A better parallel might be the children's stories of Dodgson's friend George MacDonald, where the line between fantasy and reality is not clearly drawn, and in a Platonic sense, the fairy tale becomes more real than everyday life. While this mingling of reality and fantasy is true of children's stories and children's games of any period, this representation of it by adults is especially characteristic of Victorian England, where it was generally believed that children really were good and innocent.

Ironically both St. George and Le Petit Nemrod date from near the end of their creators' artistic careers. Never convinced of the value of his photographic experiments and suffering from a fear that he might not live to finish the many projects he had in hand, Dodgson abandoned photography the year after he photographed St. George in order to devote more time to his literary pursuits. Tissot, in 1886, was on the brink of a religious crisis that culminated in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Although he continued to produce religious illustrations until his death in 1902, these are not of a quality to bear comparison to his earlier, secular works.

The Art of the English Book from William Morris to Eric Gill

BY DALE ROYLANCE

During the last years of the nineteenth century there was an extraordinary flowering of the arts of the book in England, stimulated by the artist-craftsman philosophy of William Morris. Like his contemporary Pre-Raphaelite friends, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones, Morris rejected the crass commercialism of late Victorian England to return to the simple, pure idealism of a romanticized medieval and early Renaissance world of his imagination. In keeping with this philosophy, Morris and many of his gifted followers established their own private presses to produce some of the finest examples of papermaking, printing, and binding in the history of the book.

The most important and influential of these private presses was the Kelmscott Press, established by William Morris in Hammersmith, London, in the years 1890 – 1891. To celebrate the centennial of its founding, the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts exhibited many of the Library's greatest treasures of the English art of the book, with an opening lecture by Sebastian Carter, proprietor of the Rampant Lion's Press in Cambridge, England.

The strength of our Princeton exhibition was made possible by the Library's particularly rich holdings of turn-of-the-century English printing and book illustration, and by the loan of several books and works of art from the private collection of Jean Preston, Princeton University Libraries' curator of manuscripts. Miss Preston's father, Kerrison Preston, originally collected Pre-Raphaelite art and books through his lifelong friend, Graham Robertson, who knew many of the writers and artists of the period.

The versatility of William Morris embraced not only writing and philosophy but also collecting medieval manuscripts and early printed books. His feelings about books and houses, which he called
the two most beautiful things in the world, approached the mystical. In both his books and his home, Kelmcott Manor, he demonstrated again and again his mastery of well-chosen detail. The frontispiece of the book he wrote on the socialist future of England, News from Nowhere, shows the east front of Kelmcott Manor, which he purchased in 1872. It is a paradox of Morris' philosophy that he espoused socialism while creating the most patrician limited editions, as well as living a life of aristocratic ease at Kelmcott Manor.

William Morris turned to printing in the late 1880s as the ultimate expression of his belief in the importance of an integrated revival of the arts and crafts. His imagination had been fired by an illustrated lecture on early printing given by Emery Walker in 1888, which included lantern slides of early Renaissance printing types. Morris set out to recreate in modern terms the beautiful type faces of these first printers, and also to make his own paper, find the best possible ink, create woodcuts in the medieval manner, and finally bind his books as works of art in their own right.

Morris created several new type designs based on the great typefaces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of his most successful adaptations was "Kelmcott Golden" (1892), created with the help of Emery Walker and based on the Roman fonts of Nicolas Jenson. When he issued his edition of The Golden Legend, he had changed the format for using the typeface, incorporating the full page into the design rather than following the more Gothic "ragged right" and narrow double-column style of many early books.

The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer was not only the masterwork of the Kelmcott Press, but also in many ways a true masterpiece of nineteenth-century printing. The book's visual appearance represented a deliberate revival of all the best qualities of medieval design and craftsmanship. Morris designed the elaborate borders, the decorative initials, and the magnificently medievalist title page. He set the text in his "Troy" typeface (1891), which was based on the fifteenth-century types of Peter Schoeffer and Gunther Zainer.

Two other remarkable craftsmen worked on the Chaucer under Morris' direction. Edward Burne-Jones' illustrations are well known, but the unsung hero of the project — credited only in the colophon — was W. H. Hooper, a highly skilled wood engraver of the day who arduously cut hundreds of intricate designs in wood for the "Kelmcott Chaucer."
In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was formless and void, and darkness was over the face of the deep. And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. And God saw that the light was good. Therefore God called the light "Day," and the darkness He called "Night." And there was evening and there was morning, the first day.

And God said, "Let there be dry land in the midst of the waters, and let there be a division between the waters and the dry land." And God made the dry land and separated the waters from the dry land. And God called the dry land "Earth," and the division between the water and the earth He called "Sky." And there was evening and there was morning, the second day.

And God said, "Let there be lights in the sky to separate the day from the night, and let them be signs for seasons and days and years. And let them be lights in the sky to give light on the earth." And God made two great lights—-the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night. And God called the lesser light "Sun," and the greater light "Moon," and He called the lesser lights "Star." And there was evening and there was morning, the third day.

And God said, "Let there be formless and void deeps in the earth, and let the waters under the sky flow over the earth." And God formed the deeps in the earth, and let the waters flow over the earth. And God called the deeps "Oceans," and He called the waters flowing over the earth "Seas." And there was evening and there was morning, the fourth day.

And God said, "Let there be green plants and trees, and every kind of fruit tree, and let them bear fruit and bear seed, and let them abound on the earth, and let mankind eat of them, and let animals eat the fruit of the trees. And God made the green plants and trees, and every kind of fruit tree, and let them bear fruit and bear seed, and let them abound on the earth, and let mankind eat of them, and let animals eat the fruit of the trees. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the fifth day.

And God said, "Let there be lights in the sky, to give light on the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God made the lights, the greater lights to rule the day, and the lesser lights to rule the night. And God called the lesser lights "Stars," and the greater lights "Sunshines." And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

And God said, "Let there be a division between the lands and the seas, and let them be covered with living things. And God made the lands and the seas, and let them be covered with living things. And God called the lands "Countries," and the seas He called "Waters." And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the seventh day.

Thus the work of God was completed, and it was very good. And God rested on the seventh day from all the work that He had done. And God blessed the seventh day and called it holy, for it was the day on which God rested from all the work He had done in creating the heavens and the earth.
The Kelmscott Chaucer was issued in just 425 copies, but with several different bindings. The most splendid was a later binding in gold-stamped white pigskin executed at Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson's Doves Bindery in 1907. His design presents an oriental carpet created from a few ornamental tools of vines and leaves, bordered by the first line of the Prologue of The Canterbury Tales.

One of the first and most assiduous followers of William Morris and his Kelmscott Press was C. H. St. John Hornby. Retired and well-to-do, St. John Hornby established his own press in 1894 at Ashendene in Herts; in 1899 he moved to Chelsea, where he continued until 1935. Chelsea was an idyllic setting for the press, which was located in the garden house of his estate.

All the books issued by the Ashendene Press remain serene essays in bibliophilic perfectionism. Like Morris, St. John Hornby created his own typefaces derived from the types of sixteenth-century printers. The most notable of them was "Subiaco," based on the types of Sweynheim and Pannartz.

The last book from the Ashendene Press was a splendid bibliography recording the sixty handsome books designed by Hornby and printed by his pressman, Charles Gere. Like the Ashendene edition of Dante, it was printed in the "Subiaco" typeface.
The surprising success of William Morris' Kelmscott Press led not only to reverent emulation by the Ashendene Press but also to opportunistic attempts to profit from imitating the style of its books. Partly to rival the Kelmscott Press books, the publisher John Dent commissioned a young artist, Aubrey Beardsley, to design and illustrate a new edition of Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. The result, however, was more art nouveau than medievalist. Morris himself regarded Beardsley's strange effusions as crude parody of the Kelmscott Press, and almost sued the publisher in protest.

Aubrey Beardsley's personality and art were far more compatible with Oscar Wilde and the *fin de siècle* mood than with the medievalism of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. He found the perfect vehicle for his brilliantly perverse style in Wilde's *Salomé*. Before long, Beardsley's illustrations were permeating every aspect of the graphic arts of the 1890s. He enjoyed a huge succès de scandale with the conservative English public with his designs for *The Yellow Book* and *The Savoy*, as well as *Salomé*. 


Like the Kelmscott and Ashendene Presses, the Vale Press was named after the home of the men who created it. "The Vale" was located in a cul-de-sac on the King’s Road in Chelsea and was the home shared by two lifelong friends, Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts. Both Ricketts and Shannon were artists and wood engravers, so illustration became characteristic of the Vale Press style, and usually more significant than the type in their elegant book designs.

OF THE GREAT REJOICINGS AND MERRIMENT AT THE RUSTIC WEDDING-FEAST OF DAPHNIS

habit and, placing him near his own Father, they heard him speak to this purpose.

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AND CHLOE AFTER THEIR INVENTION THROUGH THE CARE OF THE NYMPHS

MARRIED A WIFE. MY DEAR SONS, when I was yet very young, and later, a while years, not less but I should, it was my happiest to be a Father. The first I had a son, then the second a daughter, and then Admira the third. I thought there was a view of the

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In books produced by the Vale Press, a Renaissance mannerism took the place of the more Gothic look of many of the Kelmscott and Ashendene Press books. Like the masters of those presses, Shannon and Ricketts designed typefaces especially for their works: “Vale,” “King’s,” and “Avon.”

The Avon typeface was designed by Ricketts for the Vale Press edition of Shakespeare. As may be read on the page from the Bibliography, the fonts were destroyed by Ricketts in 1904 by throwing them into the Thames, lest they “should drift into other hands than their designers’ and become stale by unthinking use.”

The Doves Press was founded in 1900 by Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson, who had previously created the famous Doves Bindery. His partner was the ubiquitous Sir Emery Walker, who had so strongly influenced both William Morris and St. John Hornby. Their appetite for ambitious projects such as the Doves Bible (in five volumes) and the Doves Shakespeare was matched only by their insistence on a purist typography without any variation in design and, unlike the work of Ricketts and Shannon, with no pictures of any kind.

The press ended production in 1917, when Cobden-Sanderson, like Ricketts before him, threw the Doves types, matrices, and punches from the Hammersmith Bridge into the Thames.
Emile Pissarro, eldest son of the French painter Camille Pissarro, founded the Eragny Press in 1894. For his first books he used the Vale types designed by his friend Charles Ricketts. In 1904, Pissarro employed the punchcutter E. P. Prince, who had also cut the types of nearly all the English private presses, to create a new Eragny typeface, “Brook.”

The Eragny books are small and charming, and beautifully embellished with color woodcuts created by Emile Pissarro and his wife Esther. Together, without any additional help, they were able to print, illustrate, and bind thirty-two editions of uniformly high quality and craftsmanship.


Artist, engraver, type designer, sculptor, and socialist philosopher, Eric Gill was the last in the line of great English craftsmen working in the late nineteenth century tradition begun by William Morris. Gill's influence is still felt today, and his most famous typeface, "Perpetua," is a modern face of particular clarity and beauty.

Many of Gill's books were illustrated with erotic drawings in keeping with his liberal philosophy about sexual freedom and nudity. Not surprisingly, his work offended the conventional morality of Victorian England.

Eric Gill confronted the tradition established by William Morris in many ways, not least by his own design and illustrations for Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Comparison with the Kelmscott Chaucer reveals a clarity, simplicity, and legibility wanting in the far more Gothic and elaborate Victorian look of Morris' more celebrated book.
EDMUND SPENSER’S THE FAERIE QUEENE

The Firestone Library exhibition commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Spenser’s Faerie Queene was the first ever to display together early editions of all of Spenser’s works. Held in the Library’s main gallery during the 1990 fall term, the exhibition was also meant “to augment our sense of the intellectual and literary world into which Spenser launched the first three books of his epic poem,” wrote its organizer, Princeton University English Professor Thomas Roche, in the catalogue.¹

Professor Roche organized the exhibition in conjunction with a conference at Princeton which also commemorated The Faerie Queene’s first appearance. Called “Spenser 400,” the conference, funded primarily by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, assessed the modern understanding of this poem, known especially for the tantalizing intricacies of its allegory.

While the conference focused on the 1990 context for reading the poem, the exhibition assembled artifacts that provided a sense of its context in 1590. Professor Roche, a self-styled old-style literary critic, is widely knowledgeable about both the text and its historical period, and his selection and arrangement of objects for the exhibition reflected this vast knowledge. He produced an annotated edition of The Faerie Queene for Penguin — a task that took ten years at the rate, he said, of “a canto a day.”² That deep and prolonged engagement with the text made him extraordinarily well qualified to display and give brief bibliographic descriptions of early editions of The Faerie Queene, as well as of Spenser’s other works.

There were several copies of the first edition on display, and Professor Roche pointed out some of the intriguing variants among them — especially the mixed efforts by author, printer, and compositor to include new dedicatory sonnets to compensate for Lord Burghley’s having been left out of the original list of dedicaries. The 1590 first edition contained Books One through Three of The Faerie Queene. Books Four through Six came out in 1596; and the “Mutability Cantos” — possible fragments of a seventh book — first appeared in the first folio edition of the whole work that was brought out by Mathew Lownes in 1609. The bigger folio page led to a double-column format, and the numbering of stanzas (helpful for orienting the reader in so long a work) was introduced.

It is a testament to the extraordinary strength of the Princeton University Library holdings in original Renaissance materials in general, and Spenser in particular, that only twelve books were borrowed from other collections for this exhibition; seven of those were early editions of Spenser, and four of those seven were early editions of one work — Shepherd’s Calendar. Mark Farrell, curator of the Taylor Collection, arranged to borrow the other editions: 1579 from the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas; 1581 and 1591 from the Newberry Library in Chicago; and 1586 from the Harvard University Library. Working over a year and a half at the task, Farrell played Ariel to Roche’s Prospero in the staging of this exhibition, implementing gracefully a master’s grand design.

The display was organized in the exhibition space so that the editions of Spenser were followed by early editions of English contemporaries Raleigh, Sidney, and Harvey. There were twelve of the thirteen early editions of Sir Philip Sidney’s Arcadia and one of the few extant copies of Lady Mary Wroth’s The Countess of Montgomery’s Urania (1621). Wroth was, as the title page of her book proclaims, “neice to the ever famous and renowned Sr. Phillips Sidney knight,” and the Urania, according to Professor Roche, is the Arcadia rewritten from a woman’s perspective.³ Twenty years ago Wroth probably

¹ The exhibition catalogue was published in the Princeton University Library Chronicle, vol. 52, no. 1 (Autumn 1990). The quoted statement appears on p. 15.
would not have appeared on a list of works slated for inclusion in *The Faerie Queen*’s four-hundredth birthday exhibition.

Another figure whose reputation may be undergoing a favorable change is Gabriel Harvey. Six books on display were from the Gabriel Harvey collection belonging to Lucius Wilmerding, Class of 1927. Harvey did not write them — they are by Livy and Machiavelli, for instance — but he owned them, and the annotations in their margins are in Harvey’s hand. Long known as Spenser’s teacher and friend, Harvey is best known among his twentieth-century readers for, said Professor Roche, “being among the biggest of bores.” But Anthony Grafton of Princeton and Lisa Jardine of Jesus College, Cambridge, have been studying Harvey’s marginalia and are discovering through those remarks the intellectual perspicacity that explains Harvey’s higher esteem among his contemporaries.⁴

The flow of the exhibition moved from Spenser’s key English contemporaries to his key Latin and Italian precursors in the epic. The Virgils, taken from the Library’s Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888, Collection, were among the most spectacular items on display. There was the 1469 first edition lying next to a contemporaneous manuscript version. And there was also the first illustrated edition of 1505. Its figures in Renaissance garb give an intriguing sense of layering of perspective: We are looking at the way people at the outset of the sixteenth century conceived of the *Aeneid*’s characters and action. Figures on the page to which the book was opened are arranged in a winding path upward as if spatial placement were being used to depict linear, narrative movement. Ariosto and Tasso — Spenser’s Italian precursors in romance epic or epic romance — are required reading for Professor Roche’s Spenser courses, and editions of their works, respectively *Orlando Furioso* and *Gerusalemme Liberata*, figured prominently in the exhibition. My only reservation about this exhibition was its subtle insistence on epic as the genre of *The Faerie Queen*, implied by the prominence of Virgil. Surely as important a classical antecedent was Plato; the exhibition might have included Renaissance Platos and Ficino’s *Symposium*.

The works of Ariosto and Tasso nonetheless provided a good bridge into the issue of illustration. They attracted clever and imagi-native renderers of their worlds in comparison to those who illustrated Spenser, and the juxtaposition of cases of the illustrated Italians with illustrated editions of the *Faerie Queen* clearly made that point, which Professor Roche underscored in his accompanying remarks. The onlooker was thereby prompted to ask the really interesting question of why illustrations of Spenser seem to fall short of the imagined mark.

The exhibition also included very interesting visual representations of Spenser meant for spaces other than books: the posterboard copies of the *Britomart Windows*, William Blake’s *The Characters in Spenser’s The Faerie Queene*, and William Etty’s *Britomart Redemees Fair Amor* and *Phaedria and Cymochles on the Idle Lake* as well as *Princes* original painting, *Phaedria and Cymochles*, on loan from The Princeton University Art Museum. The large copies of the six windows were made from Professor Norman Farmer’s slides, and even the copies made the point that the windows were done by two artists and that one of the artists, Frederic Shields, was better than the other anonymous artist. Dorotha Beale commissioned Shields to design the windows for Cheltenham Ladies’ College. Beale tried to censor Shields’ work, and he quit after doing only two windows. In *The Faerie Queene* Britomart views Artegaill in a magic mirror; in Shields’ design, a blind, nude Cupid shoots an arrow as Britomart looks.⁵ Beale apparently objected to Cupid — the god epitomizing the sexual and erotic — for he is not in the present window depicting the looking-glass episode. All the Etty’s, but especially the original painting that hung in the case immediately opposite the entryway to the Spenser exhibition, powerfully figured forth the beautiful erotic quality of imagery, incident, and symbolism in *The Faerie Queene*. The exhibition — deftly inclusive — incorporated what Beale repressed.

— JACQUELYN SAVANI, PH.D.
Associate Director for News,
Communications/Publications

GLENOD T. ODELL RETIRES

Glen Odell retired on 31 December 1990, bringing to a close thirty-four years of work in libraries, twenty-one of which have been within Princeton University Libraries.


⁵ Norman Farmer, “‘A Monument Forever More’: *The Faerie Queene* and British Art, 1770—1950,” *Library Chronicle* 55, pp. 25–78. This is a first-rate account.
Mr. Odell's initial appointment in 1969 was as Assistant University Librarian for Science and Technology. In 1980 he became the Associate University Librarian, a position now called the Deputy University Librarian. At that time, Mr. Odell did not give up any of the responsibilities he had carried during the previous ten years. New duties were simply added, notably liaison with the campus Facilities Planning Office and with architects and contractors working on an awesome series of construction projects during the 1980s: the Geology Library, Fine Hall Annex, the Plasma Physics Library, renovations to the Chemistry Library, the 1988 addition to the Firestone Library, and a number of other projects which were planned but never constructed. In addition, he assumed responsibility for the establishment and supervision of the Access Office after the faculty adopted a policy restricting access in 1982.

The Deputy Librarian's position obviously included, by definition, his service as the University Librarian during my absence and, when I was here, the role of colleague, critic, and sometime prodder.

We shall miss Mr. Odell's regular presence, and I am certain that the Friends of the Library join me in wishing him well, although formal occasions to say so are limited because of his distaste for rites of passage such as retirement parties. He'll be around: He is still a member of the Friends' Council, and one of the last things he did on the job was to make certain that we fully understood the nature of his library borrowing privileges as a retired University employee.

DONALD W. KOEPP
University Librarian

THE ART OF ANTONIO MARTORELL

From time to time, Dale Roylance mounts small exhibitions of the work of important artists who visit Princeton to lecture to students and others interested in the graphic arts. Antonio Martorell, printmaker, poster artist, and painter, came to campus during the fall term, 1990, under the sponsorship of the Library's Graphic Arts Collection and the Program in Latin American Studies. His lecture, "Prints and Posters in Puerto Rico," was well attended, and examples of his work were displayed in the exhibition cases leading to the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts.

Born in Santurce, Puerto Rico, in 1939, Martorell was one of an extraordinary generation of Puerto Rican graphic artists whose work is part of distinguished collections, including the Casa del Libro in San Juan, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Library of Congress. He trained under Lorenzo Homar at the Graphic Arts Workshop of the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, and also studied in Madrid with Julio Martín-Caro. In 1968 he returned to Puerto Rico, where he established the well-known Taller Alacrán ("Scorpion Workshop," in English). From 1978 to 1984 he lived in Mexico, where he continued his work as a printmaker.

Martorell's work includes portfolios illustrating texts by the poets Ernesto Cardenal and Antonio Machado. On display at Princeton were books such as his ABC de Puerto Rico and The Rainbow Colored Horse. There was also a set of caricature playing cards, the famous Barajas Alacrán, and a selection of designs for costumes, posters, and sets for the Taller de Histriones, a theater and dance group.

The portfolio entitled Loas — perhaps his most important work to date — was also exhibited. Loas was inspired by Afro-Caribbean mythology; a stage version was produced by the Taller de Histriones in 1979 with choreography by Alma Concepción. The exhibition included a watercolor maquette, a mask, and other graphic designs for Loas.

ARCADIO DÍAZ-QUIÑONES
Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures

HENRY E. GERSTLEY, 1899 – 1990

Henry E. Gerstley, a member of the Council of the Friends of the Library since 1959, died in Philadelphia on 2 March 1990.

After his graduation from Princeton in 1920, Mr. Gerstley studied for a year at the Harvard Business School and then joined the Wilkening Manufacturing Company in Philadelphia. When he retired in 1961 from the company, which made piston rings, he was chairman of the board. His chief avocational interests were music and book collecting.

An able pianist and a lover of opera, Henry Gerstley actively supported fine music in Philadelphia. He was president of the Settlement Music School from 1955 to 1972, when he became chairman of the board of directors; in 1988 he was named the board's chairman.
emeritus. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Marlboro Music School and Festival for almost thirty years, serving as treasurer for twenty-two years. The vast collection of opera scores which he formed was bequeathed to the Free Library of Philadelphia.

As a book collector, Henry Gerstley was greatly influenced by his close friendship with that voracious collector, Richard Gimbel. As a result of that influence, Mr. Gerstley assembled a major Robert Louis Stevenson collection, which he presented to Princeton during the years 1951 through 1970. The collection is rich in important presentation and association copies and includes as well significant autograph items. Particularly notable are a manuscript draft of St. Ives, mainly in the hand of Isobel Strong but with changes and additions in the hand of the author, and a pastel portrait of Stevenson by Girodaro Pieri Nerli dated 1892. Most notable is the Henley-Spoor copy of the rarest of all Stevenson items, Penny Whistles (1883), one of only three known copies of the trial edition of A Child's Garden of Verses, the gift of Colonel Gimbel in honor of Henry Gerstley. Mr. Gerstley's generosity made possible the publication by the Library in 1971 of a catalogue of material by and about Stevenson forming part of various collections in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

After her husband's death in 1970, Mrs. Richard Gimbel presented to the Library, in honor of Henry Gerstley, the autograph manuscript of Act II, Scene 4, of Richard Wagner's Die Walküre (from the collection of Jerome Kern) and the autograph manuscripts of four poems by Stevenson.

Henry Gerstley for many years faithfully attended the meetings and dinners of the Council of the Friends, which were enlivened by his wit and friendliness. His concern for the well-being of the Library was further demonstrated by a bequest which has resulted in the establishment of the endowed Henry E. Gerstley, Class of 1920, Book Fund.

— ALEXANDER D. WAINWRIGHT
Treasurer, Friends of the
Princeton University Library

CHARLES RAHN FRY, 1942 – 1990

Councillors of the Friends of the Princeton University Library were saddened to learn of the recent death of Charles Rahn Fry, Class of 1965, who had formed a very important collection of pochoir, that is, prints and illustrated books produced mainly in France in the 1920s and 1930s using a refined version of an older process of applying color by means of stencils.

Even as an undergraduate, Charles Rahn Fry cultivated a taste and style in his appearance and demeanor that was to be an important aspect of his presence throughout his all too short life. He had been instrumental in reviving the Tiger, the campus humor magazine, and he accomplished a great deal in returning the magazine to fiscal and editorial viability. He formed several friendships through that effort that were characteristic of his abiding interest in people. Indeed, at one point he wrote that through collecting, "a basis for establishing a network of friendships is at hand."

Upon leaving Princeton he took a position editing books at Time-Life, Inc., including an important series on the history of photography. At length, he became an editor at Dover Publications, editing several books on aspects of the art deco movement of the 1920s and 1930s.

In the early 1980s he formed a collaboration with Princeton Curator of Graphic Arts Dale Royance which led to the exhibition, "The Stencil Art of Pochoir," here in the Firestone Library in 1982. In 1984 Mr. Royance joined Mr. Fry in organizing a similar exhibition at the Grolier Club in New York City. In more recent years Mr. Fry developed a strong interest in Hungarian painting and travelled often to that country in pursuit of his latest collecting passion.

Charles Rahn Fry was especially interested in supporting libraries, being involved at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City, playing a role in the founding of the Lenox Society at the New York Public Library, and, of course, serving on the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library.

In recent years he was slowed by the chronic illness that eventually claimed his life, but he never complained and, indeed, never allowed his own discomfort to prevent him from actively inquiring after the well-being of his many friends. Charles Rahn Fry has been taken prematurely from us, and his collecting acumen, elegance, and empathic personality will be sorely missed.

— WILLIAM L. JOYCE
Associate University Librarian for
Rare Books and Special Collections
ANTHONY TROLLOPE'S ORLEY FARM

Albert H. Gordon, Harvard Class of 1923, has donated an extraordinarily important manuscript to the Library. In a ceremony held on 29 October 1990 and attended by President Harold T. Shapiro, Ph.D. 1964, Mr. Gordon presented the holograph manuscript of Orley Farm, by Anthony Trollope, to William L. Joyce, Associate University Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections.

The manuscript will be held in the Robert H. Taylor Collection of English and American Literature, where there is a set of artist's proofs of John E. Millais' illustrations for Orley Farm. The proofs were especially bound for Trollope himself, and he supplied captions and identifications.

Both the Taylor Collection and the Morris L. Parrish, Class of 1888, Collection of Victorian Novelists contain important Trollope materials, with the result that Princeton's Trollope holdings are unrivaled. In addition to more than five hundred letters written by Trollope and other material relating to him, the two collections now include the manuscripts of eleven novels and two non-fiction books.

According to Mr. Joyce, the Orley Farm manuscript is "a splendid gift, one that both recognizes the importance of Princeton's Trollope holdings and adds immeasurably to their depth." Mr. Gordon's gift commemorates his friendship with two graduates of Princeton, Frederick Lee Moore, Class of 1918, and Rogers Sullivan Lamont, Class of 1920. He was accompanied to the presentation ceremony in Princeton by his friend, Professor N. John Hall, who has written extensively on Trollope. University Librarian Donald W. Koepp, Alexander D. Wainwright, curator of the Parrish Collection, and Mark R. Farrell, curator of the Taylor Collection, were also present at the ceremony, as was Mr. Gordon's daughter-in-law, Sarah Gordon, who is a graduate student in Princeton's Department of History.

— PATRICIA H. MARKS

PRINCETONIANA AT PRINCETON

Materials relating to the history of the institution now known as Princeton University and to the lives of its graduates have long been an important part of the holdings of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Recently, the Library has acquired and catalogued items that pertain to both aspects of Princetonian: two broadsides having to do with the finances of the College of New Jersey, and two by Philip Freneau, Class of 1771.

Freneau was celebrated during his lifetime and afterwards as "the poet of the Revolution" and as a journalist whose writings were important during the early years of independence. Freneau founded a newspaper in New York, the Time-Piece and Literary Companion, the first issue of which appeared on 13 March 1797. In it he referred to "printed Proposals, issued some weeks ago in this city," but both the Monmouth County Historical Society and Lewis Lexy, one of the leading Freneau scholars of his time, searched in vain for such a document. A proposal is printed on page four of the first issue of the newspaper, but it is dated 13 March, and therefore could not be assumed to be the prospectus "issued some weeks ago." As a result, in the "Library Notes and Queries" section of the February 1941 Princeton University Library Chronicle, the unidentified author states that "The Library would be interested to know if such a broadside exists."

Nearly fifty years later, the earlier broadside prospectus has been found and acquired by the Library. The printed document, which measures ten by seven inches, sheds light on the publication of the Time-Piece and adds an important item to our collection of Freneau materials.

The two "Proposals," though roughly similar in form, are noticeably different in content. The broadside, dated and signed "New York, December 6, 1796... Philip Freneau," proposed that the new publication be called The Time-Piece, and Literary Journal, to be published "early every morning in the week, Sundays excepted." Six "Conditions" of publication are given, and they cover everything from paper and format to content. Readers are assured that "the ear-
liest foreign as well as domestic intelligence will be given . . . without the fatigue of a prolix perusal." Freneau stressed the broad appeal of the new publication, one that would be "acceptable to every taste."

In the second section of the broadside Freneau adds that there will be a five dollar per annum subscription fee, declaring that if "a moderate number of subscribers . . . offer . . . to afford a tolerable prospect of success," the first issue would appear on Monday, 2 January 1797. In the lower margin, space is provided for subscribers' names and "places of abode," though no names are listed. The verso of the broadside contains a manuscript copy of a financial transaction involving DeWitt Clinton and Asa Danforth.

It is quite possible that Freneau never got the "moderate number of subscribers" he hoped to find, for the magazine's first issue was three months late. Moreover, the new publication, now named The Time-Piece and Literary Companion, appeared only three days a week (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays), and the subscription fee was accordingly reduced to "Thirty Shillings (New York Currency)." Only the contents remained as proposed in the prospectus, with everything from wedding announcements to presidential addresses in the first issue. This, too, would change. As the old fire in Freneau returned, the tone of the periodical became much more political and acerbic. Although the prospectus had alluded to the Time-Piece as a forum for political debate, the change may have caught subscribers by surprise. As Lewis Leary pointed out:

Perhaps Freneau did intend a literary periodical which would avoid politics. Yet we know too much of his intense and fiercely belligerent nature to believe that he really would. Perhaps, on the other hand, he could not yet afford to antagonize any of the first few subscribers to the newspaper. Profit from publishing was precarious enough without that.¹

Whatever Philip Freneau's intentions may have been, the broadside prospectus adds an important new dimension to the publication history of the Time-Piece and Literary Companion.

In addition to the prospectus, the Library is fortunate to have acquired a 1798 printing of Freneau's poem, "The News-Lad's Address, to the Readers of the Farmer's Oracle, Wishing Them a Happy New-Year." First published on 7 January 1784 by the Freeman's Journal, this broadside was later reprinted in the 1795 edition of Freneau's works as "A News-Carrier's Petition." The version recently catalogued measures 13 ¾ by 8 inches; its text is enclosed within an ornamental border. Below the title is an introduction, not present in earlier versions, in which the reader is implored to "Accept the address I humbly bring/Ye patrons whom I wish to please." After four stanzas, a bracketed message appears: "Here the reader gives the boy a piece of Money, who makes a bow and trudges on." Following this are twelve verses which wax eloquent on the virtues of news delivery, including this one which credits the newsboy with a civilizing mission:

Ere he arose, the Savage Man
No bounds to years or seasons knew.
On Nature's book his reckoning ran
And social festivals were few.

The Farmer's Oracle was a weekly paper published in Troy, New York, from 31 January 1797 through 17 April 1798. It was one of a number of newspapers for which Freneau wrote these carriers' addresses. Also known as "Newsmen's presents" or "Bellmen's verse," these addresses were written for newsboys to deliver to customers in the hope that they would receive some small present in return. The "News-Lad's Address" represents the first separately published address by Freneau to be acquired by the Library, and it illustrates the diversity of clientele for which the "poet of the Revolution" wrote.

doing so. The Synod went on to note “the desolate State of many Congregations, and the increasing Number of Vacancies, which have little Prospect of Supply, but from the College of New Jersey.” No amount is designated, but the Synod speaks of “one general and vigorous Effort to raise a Fund, the Interest of which, with the ordinary Income, may be sufficient to defray the whole annual Expense.” The document, which does not appear in any bibliographies of the period, is important not only as an illustration of early financing at the College but also as a reminder of the role of the Presbyterian Church in the founding and early years of Princeton.

A different kind of appeal was made by the trustees several decades later. Under the administration of President Samuel Stanhope Smith, the board petitioned the state legislature for funds, claiming that the College’s finances had been “ruined” by the ravages of war, among other things. Not only had the physical plant suffered as a result of the Revolution, the College had felt the effects of a diminishing number of students, in part because of the increasing number of colleges in other parts of the country. In some cases, these latter were institutions that received both state and federal support.

In its appeal, the College pointed out the importance of the institution to both town and state and its intention to be the fountain of education to so large a portion of America, to furnish those states with their legislators and their judges, and be able to infuse her spirit into the politics and councils of our country.” The College had adopted a new mission, and wanted qualified students — regardless of their means — to be a part of it. To achieve this goal, the administration felt that public assistance was required to offset the cost of tuition.

The petition, which was printed by Matthias Day of Trenton, measures sixteen by thirteen inches and is entitled “To the Honourable the Legislative-Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey: The memorial and petition of the trustees of the College of New Jersey humbly sheweth ...” It is signed by Smith and six trustees and dated 9 February 1796. Charles Evans cites it as number 30854 in his American Bibliography,* Lucile M. Morsch records it as number 324 in her bibliography of New Jersey imprints.⁵

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* Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Chicago: Privately printed for the author by the Columbia Press, 1931), vol. 11, p. 5.
⁵ Lucile M. Morsch, Check List of New Jersey Imprints, 1744–1800 (Baltimore: WPA Historical Records Survey Project, 1939), leaf 103.

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Philip Freneau, “The News-Lad’s Address to the Readers of the Farmer’s Oracle, Wishing Them a Happy New Year.” Broadside. Rare Books and Special Collections.
Despite the attractive presentation of its case, the College was not wholly successful in its appeal, partly because, according to John Maclean's *History of the College of New Jersey*, Nassau Hall was still "under the entire direction of one denomination" fifty years after its founding.4 Legislators at first were reluctant to raise taxes to support such an institution, but the College succeeded in persuading the State that changes in governance had taken place. This resulted in funding for repairs to Nassau Hall as well as the purchase of books and scientific apparatus. Unfortunately, legislators who supported these appropriations were later turned out of office for having done so.

Whatever the results of the appeal, the petition does have bearing on early state aid to higher education as well as aid to church-related institutions. Like the "Recommendation of the Synod," it illustrates the various ways in which the College sought to increase its endowment during the early years. It is an important addition to the records of other fund-raising appeals already in the Library.

—SCOTT G. CARLISLE
Rare Books Cataloguer

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Friends of the Library

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

The Chairman, Jamie Kamph, called the spring meeting of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library to order at 3:55 p.m., Saturday, 28 April 1990, in the Graphic Arts Collection. The Chairman called for a motion to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the meeting of 17 November 1989. A motion was made, seconded, and approved.

The Treasurer, Alexander D. Wainwright, circulated his report for the period 1 July 1989 through 31 March 1990. After a brief discussion that entailed principally answering questions about the notes in the report and the balances of the publication fund, the short-term interest bearing accounts, and the endowed funds, the report was approved.

The Chairman then asked Joseph J. Felcone, Vice-Chairman, to report the names of the new members of the Council, pending their election at the annual meeting later that evening: Robert M. Backes, Class of 1939; A. Perry Morgan, Jr., Class of 1946, Laird U. Park, Class of 1944, and Scheide librarian William Stoneman. The Chairman announced that Alfred Howell had asked to step down from his seat on the Council, and that the Chairman had reluctantly acceded to his request.

The Chairman then presented the Council with the recommendation of the Friends' Finance and Executive Committee that the dues should be increased, while the non-deductible portion of the dues should also be increased to reflect the true cost of the services the membership received from their dues payment. After considerable discussion of the matter, the Council voted to increase the subscription to the *Chronicle* to $30 (single issues will now cost $10), raise the dues to $50, and designate the non-deductible portion of the dues to
be $25, all of which become effective on 1 July 1990. The Chairman and officers were further instructed to monitor these changes carefully and to report back to Council at next year's annual meeting.

The Chairman then reviewed the events scheduled over the course of the past year, from the opening of the "Oak Spring Garland" exhibition of Mrs. Paul Mellon in October through the several workshops, the black-tie dinner, and the trip to New York City, in addition to the usual exhibition openings. She noted that the Friends had extended their activity to include at least 209 new people, and that, at a net cost of $3,044, that came to a per capita charge of $14.50 per person, which seemed quite reasonable. The Chairman then asked Secretary William L. Joyce to enumerate some of the events being considered for the next year. They include an open house for members in the Scheide Library, provisionally scheduled for the autumn, another evaluation day and young people's program, another black-tie dinner, a course offered by departmental curators through the Princeton Adult School, another workshop on some aspect of book-binding or conservation or the book arts generally, and, of course, the usual array of exhibition openings, and the annual meeting and dinner.

The Chairman then noted that Departmental Senior Secretary Jane Snedeker had been a source of great courtesy and constancy in providing information to Friends concerning the several events scheduled in recent years, and that her genial nature and efficient service on behalf of the Friends warranted special recognition. The Council then unanimously approved a resolution making Ms. Snedeker coordinator for Friends' events, effective immediately.

The Chairman then noted that the loan of funds by the Friends to the Library had been carried out as described at the autumn Council meeting and that construction had proceeded most expeditiously and that the project was nearing completion.

The Chairman also noted that a report from conservation consultant Don Etherington recommended a broader and coordinated conservation program for the Library. He had been invited to advise the Library on the proposed new conservation facility to be constructed with funds in the Helen McKernon Fund created for the purpose, but his report redirected attention toward possibly relocating the Rare Books and Special Collections facility in an area where it would be more proximate to (and coordinated with) the work of the Treatments Section for the general collections. Librarian Donald Koepp has agreed with Etherington's recommendations, and the position of Library Preservation Officer is currently being advertised; the search for Conservator for the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections is suspended pending filling the former position. As soon as that position is filled the search for the Conservator will resume and plans for the new conservation facility will be developed.

The Treasurer noted the deaths of David McAlpin, Jr., former Chairman of the Friends; Lola Szladits and Reed Stuart, both members of the Council at the time of their deaths. The Treasurer proposed, in accordance with Friends' tradition, that $500 be transferred to the Friends' Book Fund in memory of each of our colleagues and that their families be notified of this action.

The Chairman announced that the Friends were hosting several guests at dinner following the lecture and opening of the exhibition, "American Graphic Arts: A Chronology to 1900 in Books, Prints, and Drawings": Ms. Jane Snedeker; Mr. Scott Clemons, Class of 1990 and winner of last year's Adler Book Collecting Prize; Ms. Grete Fitzell, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts who will be retiring this year; Mr. and Mrs. Michael Sherman (Mrs. Sherman is Special Collections Assistant in Graphic Arts); and Mr. Dale Roylance, Curator of Graphic Arts.

The Chairman reviewed the events of the day following the Council meeting, including the lecture by Professor Wilmerding, the exhibition opening, and the Friends' dinner and annual meeting at Prospect House.

The Council meeting adjourned at 4:20 p.m.

— WILLIAM L. JOYCE
Secretary

ANNUAL MEETING

Chairman Jamie Kamph briefly welcomed all Friends, whether newer members or faithful Friends over the years, to the dinner at Prospect House which followed the lecture and exhibition opening.

The Chairman opened the annual meeting and recognized Vice-Chairman Joseph J. Felcone who, on behalf of the nominating committee, placed the slate of candidates for the Friends' Council Class of 1990 – 1993 before the membership. The slate was duly approved.
The Chairman briefly reviewed the events of the year now concluding, calling particular attention to a series of special events including workshops, programs, and a trip to New York City, and observing that we hope to plan a similar schedule of activities for next year.

The Friends' dinner guests were introduced by the Chairman, who then made a presentation of the first copy of the exhibition catalogue, *American Graphic Arts: A Chronology to 1900 in Books, Prints, and Drawings*, to Leonard L. Milberg, Class of 1953, whose interest in the project and generosity respecting it had helped make it possible.

The annual meeting concluded shortly after 9 p.m.

— WILLIAM L. JOYCE

Secretary

Cover Note

One of the pleasures of a visit to the Graphic Arts Collection in Firestone Library is the opportunity to look at the fine reference collection assembled there over the years to complement the original masterpieces. There one can see not only the “Kelmscott Chaucer” produced by William Morris but also a beautiful book published by the Pierpont Morgan Library, *William Morris and the Art of the Book* (New York, 1976). In it there are three important essays about the man whom Charles Ryskamp called “one of the foremost men in the history of the printing arts.” That William Morris richly deserved that encomium is skillfully demonstrated by Paul Needham, Joseph Dunlap, and John Dreyfus, who write about their subject as book collector, calligrapher, and typographer.

As Charles Ryskamp points out in his preface to the book, “It is hard to think of anyone since the Renaissance who excelled in so many fields: poet, novelist, translator; designer and decorator of stained glass, tapestries, wallpapers, carpets, furniture; leader in social and political causes; printer, typographer, illustrator, calligrapher; and equally distinguished as a collector.” For all the breadth of his interests and accomplishments, Morris had depth, meticulously seeing to the details of each book produced by his Kelmscott Press. His taste was formed by his scholarship; as a collector, he had assembled books of great beauty, many of them by medieval masters who worked in the scriptoria of monastic establishments. From them he derived a style at once strong and graceful. The visual impact of his books, especially those adorned with his own illustrations, calligraphy, and typography, can sometimes obscure the beauties of detail.

Although every aspect of production merited Morris’ attention, the care with which he chose the paper on which his books were printed
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