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THE PRINT-COLLECTOR'S QUARTERLY

EDITED BY
FITZROY CARRINGTON

CONTENTS

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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Marcantonio Raimondi

(1480 [?] – 1530 [?])

"He is like some great composer who borrows another's theme only to make it his own by the originality of his setting."

Arthur M. Hind

MARCANTONIO. PORTRAIT OF PIETRO ARETINO

"One of the few portraits engraved by Marcantonio is that of the notorious publicist and blackmailer, Pietro Aretino. Vasari refers to the plate as a portrait engraved from the life in Rome, but apart from the tradition one would be tempted to regard it as based on some Venetian painting." Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, 7⅜ × 5⅞ inches

MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI

By ARTHUR M. HIND

Of the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum

Author of "Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum," "Short History of Engraving and Etching," "Rembrandt's Etchings: an Essay and a Catalogue."

THE great turning-point in the history of Early Italian Engraving was the influence of Albrecht Dürer. Several of the engravers mentioned in my former article[1] among the predecessors of Marcantonio made copies of Dürer or borrowed details from his prints, and even modified their manner of work under his influence, but none of them approached the same level of technical accomplishment.

For this accomplishment, as well as for his sense of style in engraving, Marcantonio deserves to rank beside the Northern master, though he never possessed a tithe of the latter's expressive power and depth of thought. He owed much to Dürer in the development of his art, but always preserved a remarkable individuality. The clarity of expression natural to the Italian kept him from Gothic complexities and peculiarities of manner, and while he built up his conventions on the foundation of Dürer's engraving,

[1] "Some Early Italian Engravers before the Time of Marcantonio." The Print-Collector's Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 3, October, 1912, pp. 251–289.

he tended throughout his life to greater simplicity and dignity in his linear scheme.

Marcantonio made more copies from Dürer than any of his predecessors or contemporaries in Italy, but the curious fact that they were practically all copperplate versions of woodcut originals shows at once something of his originality. He was never obsessed by the details of Dürer's method of line-engraving: it was the style of the master that he chiefly emulated, and he was probably more attracted by the larger dignity of the woodcuts than by the more elaborate engravings.

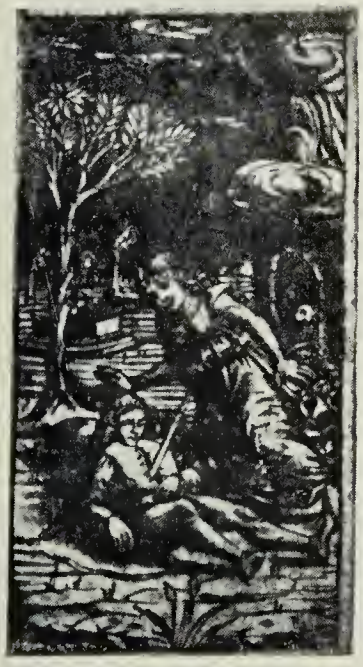
Dürer himself when in Venice in 1506 made bitter complaints to the Venetian Senate of Marcantonio's copies of his series of large woodcuts, the *Life of Mary*. Apparently the copperplates, bearing Dürer's well-known monogram, had been posing as originals. There is no reason to think that Marcantonio had fraudulent motives, but the print-sellers no doubt took advantage of Dürer's popularity and the ignorance of the public. Whether at the advice of the Senate or not, in any case Marcantonio refrained from using Dürer's signature on the copies which he subsequently made from the *Smaller Woodcut Passion*. In view of this early quarrel, one is relieved to find Vasari relating an exchange of courtesies between these two great masters of engraving later in their lives.

Considering Marcantonio's admiration for woodcut, one would have expected to find him working as a designer of woodcuts, particularly as this method of illustration was so popular in Venice and North Italy in his time. Perhaps there are designs from his hand among the multitude of anonymous cuts of the period,

FRANCESCO FRANCIA

PORTRAIT OF A BENTIVOGLIO

Size of the original engraving, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter



PYRAMUS AND THISBE

Size of the original engraving, $1\frac{13}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$ inches

ARION ON THE DOLPHIN

Size of the original engraving, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ inches

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Size of the original engraving, $1 \times \frac{5}{8}$ inches

FOUR EXAMPLES OF BOLOGNESE NIELLI, OR PRINTS IN THE NIELLO MANNER

MARCANTONIO. ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

"The stamp of the niellist is strongly impressed in Marcantonio's early engravings, particularly in the tendency to overload the shading. This black style is very noticeable in *St. George and the Dragon*." Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, 11⅞ × 8¾ inches

but hitherto only one signed cut has been identified—*i.e.,* the *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* which appeared in "Epistole et Evangeli," printed by the brothers del Gesù (Venice, 1511).

But whatever his admiration for woodcut—and it certainly helped to broaden his style of engraving—we probably have to thank his education as a goldsmith for his loyalty to engraving on copper. Born in Bologna about 1480 (*i.e.,* about nine years later than Dürer), he served his apprenticeship under the famous goldsmith and painter Francesco Francia. The F of his usual signature, a monogram formed of the letters M A F, seems to denote the surname *de' Franci,* which, Vasari states, was given him because of his friendship with the master. Vasari specially praises him for his nielli, but unfortunately we are unable to identify any of the Bolognese nielli as definitely by his hand. Two niellated plates preserved and exhibited in the Picture-gallery at Bologna—the *Crucifixion* and the *Resurrection*—have been traditionally attributed to Francia, and several of the finest of the Bolognese niello prints, such as the *Portrait of a Bentivoglio* (Duchesne 350), may be the master's work. Others, like the *Pyramus and Thisbe* (D. 259) and *Arion on the Dolphin* (D. 258), might quite well be by the young Marcantonio, but we have practically no clue to the authorship of any of the unsigned Bolognese niello prints. An important group of Bolognese niello prints, usually signed ₱, are generally attributed to Peregrino da Cesena, but the print on which his name occurs in full (*The Resurrection,* D. 122) is not incontestably genuine. The only print in the niello manner commonly called

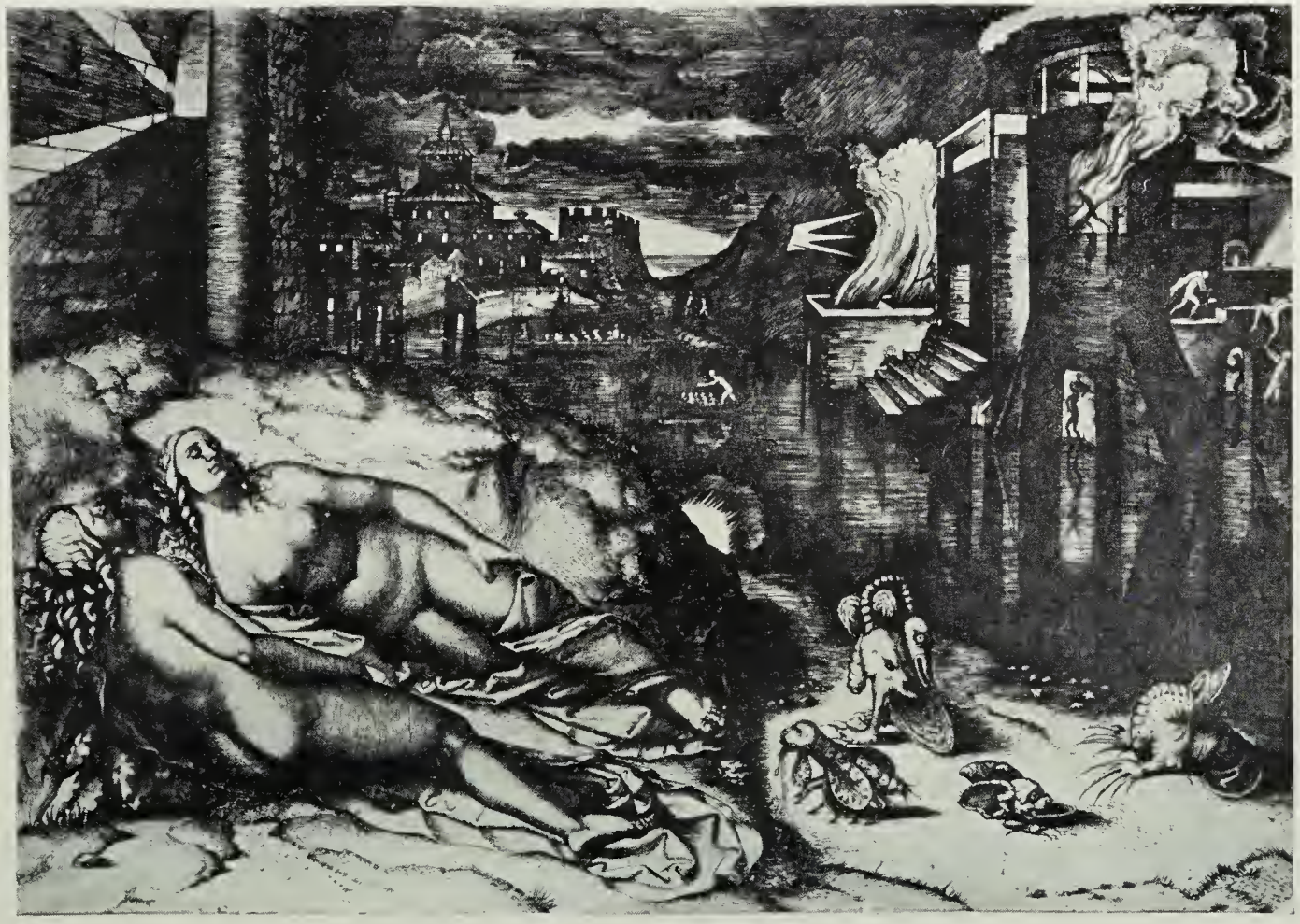
Marcantonio is a *Neptune in his Car* (Passavant 282), which corresponds in subject to two other niello prints of the Bolognese school, one signed "O P D C" ("Opus Peregrini da Cesena"?), the other an anonymous but even finer example which was sold at the Gutekunst auction at Stuttgart, 1899 (No. 864). If the last named is by Francia, and the attribution of the other two correct, we see the master's original copied by two niellists of his immediate school, if not in his own studio.

In our previous article we referred to the nielli attributed to Finiguerra, without describing the process. In the niello proper a small silver plate is engraved as an ornament for its own sake, not with the purpose of producing an impression. The rare, and often unique, impressions known are the proofs taken by the goldsmiths either to test their work in the making, or more probably to keep as a record of the design in their studios. The lines of the plate itself are filled with a black composition (*niello*) formed by the fusion of copper, silver, lead, and sulphur, from which the art gets its name. Powdered niello was laid on the surface of the plate, melted by the application of heat, and so run into the lines. The substance being allowed to cool and harden, the surface of the plate was burnished, and the design would then appear black on a bright ground. The presence of holes in the plate (as in the Bolognese *Portrait of a Lady,* Dutuit 590 *bis,* and in most of the Florentine examples) is one mark of a true niello, these being probably made for riveting the plate on to some plaque, box, or other piece of ornament. Bolognese so-called "nielli" are probably for the most part prints in the niello man-

MARCANTONIO. BAPTISM OF CHRIST

After a study by Francesco Francia for the picture at Hampton Court

Size of the original engraving, $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$ inches



MARCANTONIO. RAPHAEL'S DREAM

The figures based on some Giorgionesque original, the fantastic and grotesque motives reminiscent of Jerome Bosch

Size of the original engraving, 13 × 9⅜ inches

ner; otherwise one could hardly explain the fact that the signature of "Peregrino da Cesena" comes out in the right direction on the prints. But apart from the presence of rivet-holes or reversed lettering, it is often difficult to differentiate between the true niello and the niello-like engraving. The method of work is almost precisely similar, and though modern criticism seems to render it unlikely that line-engraving actually traces its discovery back to niello-work, nevertheless the technical development of engraving in Italy must have gone almost hand in hand with this special branch of the goldsmith's craft. Thus we find not only Finiguerra, one of the earliest Italian engravers (though hardly the "inventor" of the art, as he is called by Vasari), but Marcantonio, the greatest of the Italian classical engravers, brought up in the same traditions of niello-work. It was a branch of the goldsmith's craft which had a strangely short-lived popularity in Italy, coming into common use in Florence about the middle of the fifteenth century, and finding its latest exponents in Bologna within the first decade of the sixteenth century. The stamp of the niellist is strongly impressed in Marcantonio's early engravings, particularly in the tendency to overload the shading. This black style is very noticeable in the *St. George and the Dragon* (B. 98). The dark groups of trees, silhouetted against the sky, and the Gothic buildings in the background are characteristic of Marcantonio's early practice of borrowing from Dürer, reflecting various features from such engravings as the *Rape of Amymone* and the *Great Hercules.*

Nearest of all of Marcantonio's early prints to Francia is the *Baptism of Christ* (B. 22), which is

probably based on some study for the picture at Hampton Court. The differences it shows from the painting, and Marcantonio's practice in connection with Raphael, render this hypothesis more likely than the supposition that he worked on the basis of the painting. Apart from this example, we are unable to point to any immediate reproductions of designs by Francia in Marcantonio's early work. His later work proves him to have been an interpreter of originality, but scarcely a master of original ideas, so that it is perhaps merely our lack of knowledge that inclines us to regard the majority of the plates of the Bolognese period as of his own invention.

The curious allegorical subject generally known as *Raphael's Dream* (B. 359), where the figures, if nothing else, seem to be based on some Giorgionesque original, is still in the dark manner of the Bolognese period, but it probably dates sometime between 1505 and 1509, when Marcantonio was working in Venice. The fantastic elements of the composition, with the grotesque animals in the foreground, look as if they had been suggested by Jerome Bosch. Wherever he turns, Marcantonio finds some new inspirer. Thus a visit to Florence on his way to Rome (about 1509–10) is probably responsible for his engraving of the *Bathers* (B. 487), dated 1510, which is based on details from Michelangelo's lost cartoon of the *Battle of Pisa*. And he pays a passing tribute to the young Lucas van Leyden (who was then only about sixteen years of age) in copying the landscape from his engraving of *Mahomet and the Monk Sergius*. Lucas van Leyden returned the compliment, in the last few years of his life (*i.e.*, from about 1528), by becoming as close an

MARCANTONIO. THE BATHERS

This engraving is based on details from Michelangelo's lost cartoon of the *Battle of Pisa*

Size of the original engraving, $11\frac{3}{16} \times 9$ inches

MARCANTONIO. POETRY

Based on a study by Raphael for the fresco in the Camera della Segnatura, in the Vatican

Size of the original engraving, 7 × 6 inches

imitator of Marcantonio as he had been of Dürer in the preceding decade.

From the time of his arrival in Rome, about 1510, most of Marcantonio's work was inspired by Raphael. One of the earliest and most beautiful of his Roman plates, the *Death of Lucretia* (B. 192), was engraved, according to Vasari, after a drawing by Raphael, before the commencement of personal relations between painter and engraver. And Vasari adds that it was this print, shown to Raphael by friends of the engraver, which induced the painter to allow some of his own drawings to be published in engravings. From which I suppose we are to infer that Marcantonio began by reproducing Raphael without authority, but happily his piracy, if such it was, succeeded in attracting rather than provoking the painter.

Raphael had the wisdom to see how much he might benefit by the good reproduction of his work, and securing the services of Marcantonio, and turning his color-mixer and factotum Baviera to printing, he profited largely by the sale of their impressions. This at least is Vasari's story, and as he wrote within fifty years of the event, his tradition should carry weight.

Nevertheless, in face of tradition, Dr. Kristeller of Berlin, in a most carefully reasoned article,[1] inclines to the opinion that Marcantonio was never actually in the service of Raphael at all. He bases his opinion chiefly on the absence of correspondence in detail between Marcantonio's engravings and the respective pictures or frescoes of Raphael. If there had been an immediate relation between the two, such as Vasari

[1] "Jahrbuch der kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen," XXVIII (1907), p. 199.

describes, he thinks that Raphael would almost certainly have made Marcantonio reproduce his compositions in their final shape, for this final shape nearly always shows an advance in composition on the subjects as treated by Marcantonio. He instances among others the *Apollo* (B. 334) in relation to the figure in the School of Athens, and the *Poetry* (B. 382) in connection with the circular fresco on the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican. Personally I see no strong reason why the painter should not have been content for his engraver to use some of the studies anterior to the full development of his compositions. The early sixteenth century was hardly the period of faithful reproduction. Even Rubens, a century later, did not exact from the engravers of his studio faithfulness to detail. Much less would Raphael have found Marcantonio, with the independent traditions of the early Italian engravers, slavishly rendering the details of his pictures even had he set him the task. And it is conceivable that between some of the early variant studies and the cartoons immediately used in transferring the subject to fresco, there may have been no smaller drawings of the final idea to place in the engraver's hands. In fact, Raphael's surprisingly rapid methods of work render this very probable. And in any case a small drawing would be by far the most convenient form of original for the engraver to use. But granting that Raphael might have allowed Marcantonio to reproduce his preliminary studies, we cannot, I think, be at all certain that the use of such studies was invariably the cause of the difference of Marcantonio's engravings from the completed works. He might have taken a

MARCANTONIO. DEATH OF LUCRETIA

"One of the earliest and most beautiful of his Roman plates, the *Death of Lucretia* (B. 192), was engraved, according to Vasari, after a drawing by Raphael. . . . And Vasari adds that it was this print, shown to Raphael by friends of the engraver, which induced the painter to allow some of his own drawings to be published in engravings." Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, 8½ × 5⅜ inches

MARCANTONIO. ST. CECILIA

Based on a study by Raphael for the picture in Bologna
Size of the original engraving, 10¼ × 6⅛ inches

similar license in reproducing Raphael's pictures, as Robetta did, for example, in his rendering of Filippino Lippi's *Adoration of the Kings.*

In the poverty of our knowledge of original drawings which show direct relationship to the engravings, we find it difficult to come to any definite conclusion about Marcantonio's connection with Raphael. The complete catalogue of Raphael drawings which Dr. Fischel has long had in preparation[1] should help to solve some of our difficulties. At the moment our knowledge does not extend beyond the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the British Museum, the *Pietà* in Oxford, two separate figures for the *Parnassus* in Oxford and the British Museum,—all these by Raphael,—and finally the *Triumph of Titus* in the Louvre, generally accepted as by Baldassare Peruzzi. Most of the drawings passing under his name are merely copies from the prints. The two figure-drawings for the *Parnassus* agree with Marcantonio's engraving where they differ from the Vatican fresco: one a study for a muse (Fischel 113, Oxford), and the other for the man who stands with outstretched hands in the right foreground of the engraving (Fischel 117, British Museum). Here we have a definite instance in which we know drawings, as well as the finished composition, and it absolutely supports Dr. Kristeller's contention that the engraver worked from preliminary studies rather than after the fresco. In the drawing by Peruzzi in the Louvre there is a considerable amount of detail of ornament which is simplified in the engrav-

[1] The references given below are to the numbers in his "Raffaels Zeichnungen: Versuch einer Kritik." Strassburg, 1898.

RAPHAEL. PIETÀ

From the original drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
"One of Raphael's most masterly sketches." Arthur M. Hind.

MARCANTONIO. PIETÀ

Based on the drawing by Raphael in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Size of the original engraving, 8 5/16 × 6 9/16 inches

MARCANTONIO. MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

Based on the drawing by Raphael in the British Museum
Size of the original engraving, $10\frac{15}{16} \times 16\frac{13}{16}$ inches

ing (B. 213). The differences in this respect are such as to render it highly improbable that the drawing should be a copy from the print. And it is remarkable that every figure in Marcantonio's engraving is given a greater dignity and massiveness. Analogous variation may be noted in his renderings of subjects by Raphael—*e.g.*, the *Madonna di Foligno*. He seems to make no attempt to reflect Raphael's peculiarly soft and feminine types, but sacrifices softness and sentiment without compunction in favor of forms cast in his own more classical mould. Most of the painters of the period of the Renaissance owed an immediate debt to the art of ancient Rome, but none, with the possible exception of Mantegna, caught so much of the stern classical spirit as the engraver Marcantonio.

For the *Pietà* (B. 37) we probably have the original study in a drawing belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford—one of Raphael's most masterly sketches. Marcantonio engraves the subject in the same direction, omits one lightly sketched figure, but otherwise follows the grouping and individual postures of the figures fairly closely. At the same time he is entirely independent of Raphael in his elaborations, original in his development of the different types of face, dependent on Northern suggestions for his treatment of various new elements in the costume, and an open plagiarist of Lucas van Leyden in the landscape.

The drawing for the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the British Museum shows an even more immediate relation to Marcantonio's work. The main outlines of the figures have been pricked for transfer, and as in dimensions and relative positions the figures corre-

RAPHAEL. MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

From the original drawing, in pen and ink and red chalk, in the British Museum

MARCANTONIO. MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

A second version of this subject, possibly a later repetition by Marcantonio himself
Size of the original engraving, $10^{15}/_{16} \times 16^{13}/_{16}$ inches

MARCANTONIO. VIRGIN AND CHILD IN CLOUDS

Based on a study for Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*
Size of the original engraving, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{9}{16}$ inches

spond to both of the engraved versions (B. 18 and 20), it is almost certain that the drawing was used as Marcantonio's immediate original in developing the subject on the plate. I will come later to the question of the two engraved versions; suffice it here to say that they correspond so nearly in size and in all the elements shown in the sketch that I have found no clue to determine for which of the two engravings the drawing was pricked. I should expect it to be used for the earlier version (see page 262). As a further demonstration of the certain connection of drawing and prints, it should be noticed that the figures of the woman fleeing on the right and the soldier chasing her, which do not occur in this position in the engravings, are not pricked for transfer; while the same soldier, shown in a *pentimento* attacking a woman toward his left, as given in the prints, is pricked like the rest. The drawing is done with great vigor in pen and ink, showing some traces of chalk beneath. Dr. Fischel and Dr. Kristeller contest the authenticity of the pen-and-ink work, regarding it as a later addition to Raphael's original chalk sketch. Morelli denounced it, without more ado, as a forgery. I admit it is somewhat heavier than Raphael's usual manner, as shown, for example, in the Oxford *Pietà* drawing, and there is more regular cross-hatching than one expects; but I cannot conceive that any one in the school but Raphael could have shown the combination of strength and expressiveness seen in the pen-work. If not by Raphael, one would be compelled to regard the drawing as by Marcantonio, for the pen-work cannot have been added after the pricking. But in spite of Vasari's praise of Marcantonio's drawing, we know noth-

ing of it,[1] and have no justification for thinking that he came so near Raphael as this, and so far surpassed the expressiveness of his engraving in his own drawing. Moreover, the traces of chalk beneath the pen-work are so slight that it is almost absurd to speak of Raphael's chalk-drawing as retouched by a later hand: the later hand would need to have been as great a creator as Raphael.

As in the case of the *Pietà,* Raphael's original has been elaborated with great independence except for the drawing of the figures. But even there it is only in their postures that Marcantonio has kept strictly to Raphael. He had an entirely free hand in relation to details of type, costume, and landscape (or rather architectural) setting. For the background in this case he has taken his suggestions from Rome and some bridge across the Tiber. Marcantonio's independent treatment of his originals is aptly illustrated by a story related by Vasari. Bandinelli apparently complained to the Pope that Marcantonio had committed various errors in transferring to the copper his large design of the *Martyrdom of St. Laurence.* Bandinelli was in good favor with the Pope, and Marcantonio fresh from official disgrace and imprisonment for engraving Giulio Romano's licentious designs[2] to

[1] Dr. Kristeller attributes to Marcantonio a drawing of a *Man seen from the Back* (study for a figure in B. 399), in the collection of the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. Apart from this, and a personal suspicion that a drawing of *Orpheus* in the British Museum might be by his hand, I have no attributions to suggest. The *Orpheus* (Malcolm collection, 240, placed with Francia as a work of his school) is in silver-point on buff prepared paper heightened with white.

[2] The papal censure was evidently successful, as practically nothing but a single impression and a few fragments of the engraved series remain.

MARCANTONIO. DEATH OF DIDO

"The prints of the first two or three years in Rome are, as a group, perhaps the most charming of all Marcantonio's work, the *Death of Dido* and the *Poetry* being unsurpassed for grace of design and delicacy of workmanship." Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, $6\frac{5}{16} \times 5$ inches

MARCANTONIO. THE GUITAR PLAYER. A PORTRAIT OF PHILOTHEO ACHILLINI

"An attractive portrait of Marcantonio's earlier period is that of Philotheo Achillini, the Bolognese theologian, jurisconsult, littérateur, and musician, who in his 'Viridario' (first published in 1513, though written as early as 1504) had been among the first to sing the young engraver's praises."

Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ inches

Aretino's "Sonnets"; but in spite of these relations, the Pope took Marcantonio's part, and declared that where he had altered he had even bettered Giulio's design.

One of the few portraits engraved by Marcantonio is that of the notorious publicist and blackmailer Pietro Aretino (B. 513). Vasari refers to the plate as a portrait engraved from the life in Rome, but apart from the tradition one would be tempted to regard it as based on some Venetian painting. An attractive portrait of Marcantonio's earlier period is that of Philotheo Achillini (B. 469), the Bolognese theologian, jurisconsult, littérateur, and musician, who in his "Viridario" (first published in 1513, though written as early as 1504) had been among the first to sing the young engraver's praises.

The existence, to which we have already alluded, of two engraved versions of the *Massacre of the Innocents* (B. 18 and 20) gives rise to a further interesting problem in relation to Marcantonio's prints. There are several other instances of parallel versions, and the difference in quality between some of them corresponds to differences in style shown by Marcantonio at different periods of his life. Thus B. 18 (distinguished by the fir-tree in the right corner of the background) is executed in a somewhat finer and softer manner which comes nearer to Marcantonio's early Roman work (*e.g.*, the *Death of Dido,* B. 187, and *Death of Lucretia,* B. 192). The other, B. 20, already shows some elements of the more open and vigorous style of his later work. The same may be said of the two versions of *Christ lamented by his Mother:* B. 34 being the earlier, and of about the same date as the

Dido, B. 35 much more vigorous in its engraving and more masculine in its types. Of this latter, with the empty tablet which was Marcantonio's regular signature after about 1515, there can hardly be a doubt. Nor do I think that B. 34 can be by any other hand than the engraver of the *Death of Dido,* and we are driven to the conclusion that in the case of several favorite subjects Marcantonio engraved second plates to satisfy the popular demand. Marco da Ravenna, to whom the plates in the softer manner have sometimes been attributed, was an excellent engraver, but I do not think that he could have quite attained the subtlety and delicate workmanship shown in what I have called the earlier versions of either the *Christ lamented by his Mother* or the *Massacre of the Innocents.*

On the other hand, I do not feel the same conviction in relation to the two versions of the *Virgin and Child in Clouds* (B. 52 and 53). Here the engraving, which is nearer to Marcantonio's earlier Roman manner (B. 53), is more immediately related to the *Madonna di Foligno* (1511) of the Vatican (chiefly in the treatment of the Virgin's hair and the position of her hands), and I am much more inclined on that account to think that we here have a scholar like Marco da Ravenna, who imitated Marcantonio in his softer manner, rather than the master himself. An inference partly based, of course, on the assumption (by no means incontestable) that the engraving more closely resembling the finished work is the later of the two versions.

One of the most beautiful of Marcantonio's prints is the allegorical figure of *Strength* (B. 375). It has

MARCANTONIO. STRENGTH

"One of the most beautiful of Marcantonio's prints is the allegorical figure of *Strength* (B. 375). It has the utmost vigor and breadth of style, without the hardness of line which sometimes mars his later work."

Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, 5⅛ × 2⅞ inches

MARCANTONIO. THE THREE GRACES

" . . . But even in his most direct transcriptions from ancient sculpture, such as the *Three Graces*, where he shows a somewhat harder and less sympathetic linear manner—something more of the marble, in fact, than would be probable were he using a Raphael drawing—there is every reason to think that he considerably modified the setting of the original group." Arthur M. Hind.

Size of the original engraving, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$ inches

the utmost vigor and breadth of style, without the hardness of line which sometimes mars his later work. Its finest impressions show a remarkably soft and rich tone, a quality rarely seen in the Roman engravings of the period.

Reference has already been made to the influence of ancient sculpture in Marcantonio's style—an influence which gradually became more and more evident throughout his Roman period. One feels its presence in the peculiarly plastic form of the *Strength,* softened, no doubt, by the mellifluous style of Raphael, and resulting in a thoroughly individual expression. The antique is seen far more definitely in the large composition of the *Judgment of Paris* (B. 245), based on reliefs such as are preserved in the Villa Medici and Villa Pamphili at Rome, but again interpreted through the eyes of Raphael. But even in his most direct transcriptions from ancient sculpture, such as the *Three Graces* (B. 340), where he shows a somewhat harder and less sympathetic linear manner—something more of the marble, in fact, than would be probable were he using a Raphael drawing —there is every reason to think that he considerably modified the setting of the original group.[1]

In the last half-century Marcantonio has been somewhat out of favor with the collector. We agree that he is more than justified in preferring the depth and originality of Dürer's genius, but he may rather belittle the importance of reproductive engraving as practised by an artist of the caliber of Marcantonio. The tradition of reproductive engraving that goes

[1] For he probably based his work on the Vatican sculpture (see Clarac, Pl. 632, No. 1427).

back to the collaboration of Marcantonio and Raphael as its fountain head has to answer for innumerable exhibitions of dull craftsmanship, which modern reproductive methods have almost succeeded in killing. But Marcantonio himself, as we have seen, was far from being a mere translator of alien works. He is like some great composer who borrows another's theme only to make it his own by the originality of his setting. And when he falls short of this ideal, he is at least an interpreter of insight and originality, with a feeling for beauty of style which should be one of the best recreations from the lawless incoherence of so much of modern art.

WHISTLER'S LITHOGRAPHS

By THOMAS R. WAY

Author of "Memories of James McNeill Whistler"

Compiler of the Catalogue of Mr. Whistler's Lithographs

WHILE every other form of original reproductive art has been steadily collected for generations, lithographs have been almost left alone. There was enthusiasm soon after the art was first invented by Aloys Senefelder in 1796 and became generally understood. Many artists of distinction used it and many fine prints were made, especially in France and England, but the great facilities which the simplicity of the process offered, proved such an attraction to the commercial side of the world that there rapidly grew up a number of professional lithographic draughtsmen whose sole object was to reproduce other men's originals, whether as fine prints like mezzotint engravings or for general commercial purposes, and the original, spontaneous works by artists of distinction grew fewer and fewer, so that during the latter half of the last century hardly any such were done in England. In France lithography was better treated, and it would probably not be difficult to link up a complete chain of distinguished artists who were also great lithographers down to the time when Fantin began its use. Whether he started doing so before Whistler is not known, but the two men were fellow-students in Paris, and it is interesting that each

should have been eventually fascinated by its possibilities, although the source of inspiration was quite distinct and the character of their lithographs quite dissimilar.

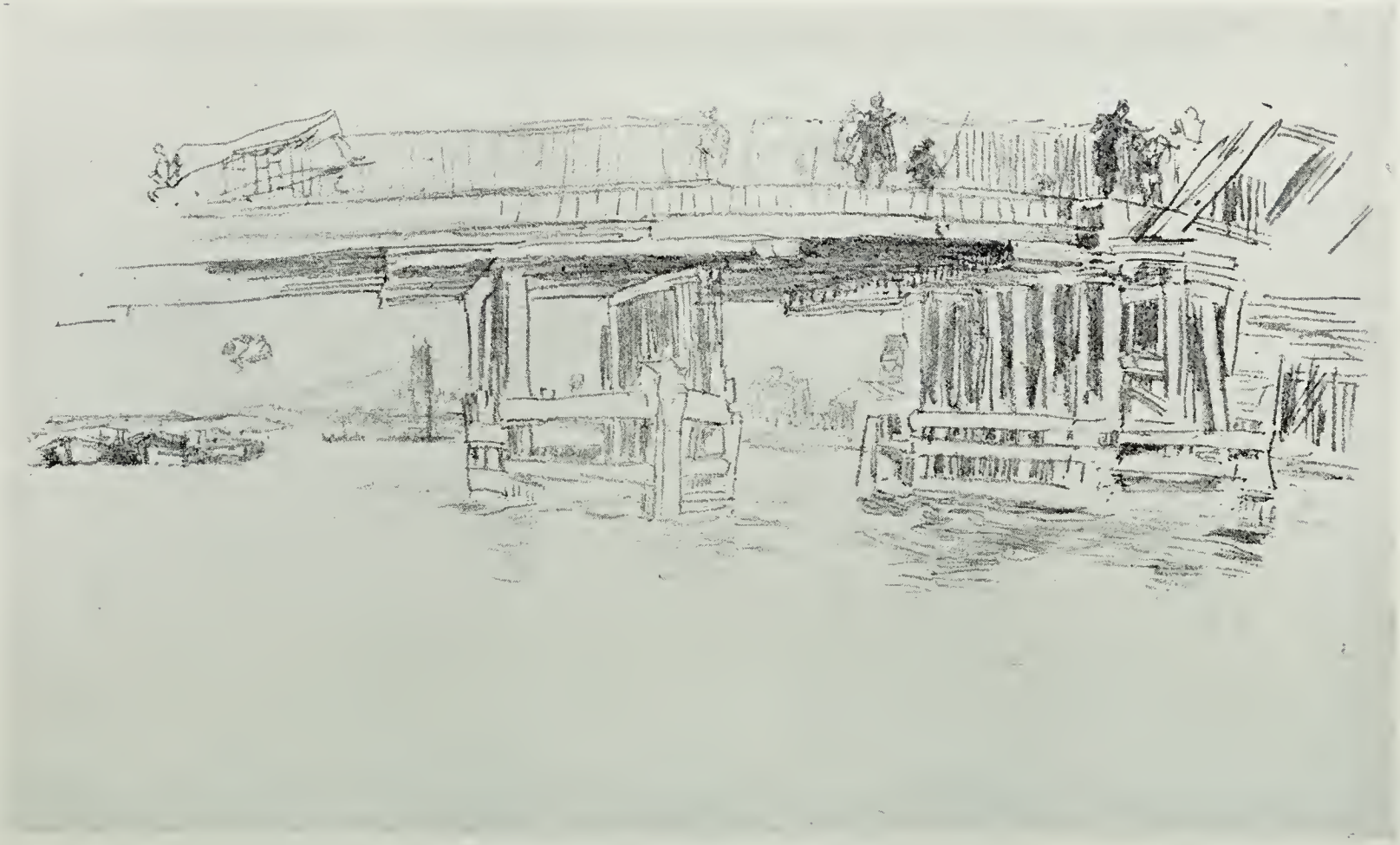
Whistler had been many years established in London before the writer's father met him and explained the methods and procedure of the art to him in 1878; previously he knew little or nothing about it, but from that date up till 1896 he worked intermittently, drawing, as far as can be seen, some one hundred and sixty-three subjects. These contain such a variety of interests and of treatment, from the slightest of delicate sketches to the most elaborately wrought lithotints, that some at least cannot fail to interest and charm even the most obdurate philistine.

To the casual student who begins to take an interest in, and perhaps collects prints, lithographs offer a curious difficulty. One often hears the remark about a lithograph, especially if it is slight in execution, that it is a pencil sketch; and this feeling of freshness and spontaneity is peculiarly characteristic of all Whistler's lithographs. There is too, naturally, the softness of the chalk line drawn upon a rough or fine-grained surface which is so different to the bitten-in line of an etching. Proofs of this character are so different from the appearance say of a "Thames" plate that some would-be collectors might think such works unworthy the dignity of collecting; but when once the taste for doing so is acquired, the most delicate subjects will be found to be among the most fascinating.

In the great memorial collection at the New Gallery in London, where an almost complete set of the lithographs was shown upon one wall, the dominant

WHISTLER. THE TALL BRIDGE

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithotint, 10⅞ × 7⅛ inches



WHISTLER. OLD BATTERSEA BRIDGE

In the distance, beneath the bridge, are seen the suspension bridge and the tower of Chelsea Church
From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 5½ × 13 inches

character of them was to be found in their tenderness, their delicacy of tone. Whistler used to have an expression—"fair"—which in early times he was very fond of saying. He used it frequently then of his lithographic proofs; he wished them to be "fair"—that is, delicate or blonde. Now, although it is many years since he started doing these works, they are not very well known—certainly not as well known as they should be. A few perhaps are, for he permitted nineteen subjects to be reprinted, some from the original stones, some from retransfers put upon second stones so as not to injure his originals, and issued in various publications. As the numbers printed and circulated by the *Studio* and the *Art Journal* were very large, these are quite familiar to most art lovers. It would be not at all a bad start to any one to collect a set of these nineteen subjects as a beginning. The two which appeared in 1878 in Piccadilly will not be easy to obtain: *The Broad Bridge* and *The Toilet;* both are lithotints, or wash-drawings, and in proof state most charming. Then there are the three in *The Whirlwind—The Winged Hat,* a fascinating portrait study, with the very interesting *Tyresmith* and *Maunder's Fish Shop; Chelsea Rags,* from the *Albemarle; The Doctor,* from the *Pageant;* and the others from the bigger magazines mentioned above, which can be more easily obtained. There are also the frontispieces to Mallarmé's "Prose et Vers," and to Mr. Pennell's "Lithography and Lithographers," both portraits of the authors, the former a masterpiece indeed, and both printed from the original stones. To these must now be added the two little sketches, *Grand Rue, Dieppe* (146), recently reprinted in the writer's "Memories

of J. McNeill Whistler,'' thus making the number nineteen. Then if the budding collector will acquire the original set of six lithographs issued in 1887 as ''Art Notes,'' consisting of two of the finest of Whistler's lithotints, *Limehouse* and *Nocturne,* with the four simpler chalk drawings, *Battersea Bridge, Reading, Gaiety Stage Door,* and *Victoria Club,* of which thirty sets signed were issued, and seventy sets unsigned of the five last named (*Limehouse* having shown signs of wear), he will probably become so enthusiastic that he will not be satisfied until he has obtained *proofs* of the magazine subjects and sought out the remaining one hundred and thirty-nine. Among these there are some few so rare, yet so very desirable, that they will be most difficult to obtain. Considering that the total number is so many less than that of his etchings and dry-points, the variety of subjects which he has treated is remarkable; it is at least as wide. Indeed, there is no monotony in looking through the whole collection at one sitting, and after long study it is the writer's firm conviction that in the reproductive side of his art, Whistler did his best work in his lithographs. The technique of the art is so simple and the facilities so great that you have his mind expressing itself at once, each stroke thought out and put down exactly as he wished. And this great facility is also the great difficulty of the process, because if the mind using it is hesitating, if it does not quite know what it wants to do, so surely will its weakness and fumbling appear in the proof. Again, if there is any attempt to be smart and clever, these things will be in the proof, too, and there is no blaming any one else. The printer, if he knows his busi-

WHISTLER. THE TYRESMITH

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 6½ × 7 inches

WHISTLER. CHURCHYARD, GRAVESTONES AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 8¼ × 6¾ inches

ness, will get from the stone exactly what the artist has put there, neither more nor less; and certainly in Whistler's proofs this was the case while he was alive to supervise his printing. He was particular, too, as he should be, that there was no sign of deterioration. He fixed the limit at one hundred proofs, but there were not very many of his lithographs of which this number were printed, while of many the numbers were very small, indeed. After his death an edition of twenty-five proofs of each of a number of subjects was printed by F. Goulding for Whistler's executrix and the stones effaced. Some of them seemed to have suffered a little from neglect. But of some few subjects which he drew in Paris, and of which the stones appear to have passed out of his hands, there are on the market proofs, so called, which he would certainly not have allowed to appear, so worn are they. Unlike etching, where the sharp steel needle is the only instrument for the draughtsman to use, he can in this process use a variety of tools—a crayon with a sharp or broad point, a stump, or a brush; and Whistler used each and all, and obtained results which had not even been attempted before, and which were perfectly successful and lovely. The earliest of the subjects, which were all drawn direct upon stones, show all these processes, for he was experimenting at the time to learn its possibilities. It seems hardly desirable, in such a notice as this, to attempt to describe them all, that having already been done in the official catalogue made under Whistler's own supervision by the writer; but an account of some few typical subjects will perhaps be interesting and set the readers to seek the proofs, where they can see for themselves the beauty of these works.

The student of lithography will do well to learn something about the chief characteristics of this art, so as to enable him to recognize it under its many varieties and to judge as to the qualities of the proofs he is examining. In Whistler's works it will be found that he has drawn with the simple chalk line in many cases; then, with the addition of tones obtained with a stump; again, in line with washes of diluted ink on the plain stone, or entirely with the brush on a rectangular surface of half-tone, finishing with a scraping out of lights; or again, the color scheme has many printings, each of a different tone of color. The wash-drawings he made entirely upon stone; the other manners he used both upon stone and transfer-paper.

To begin, we will take one of the earliest, the litho-tint *Nocturne* (5), done in 1878. A stone was prepared with a rectangular space of half-tone about 7 by 10 inches for him to experiment upon, and he started with the remark, "Now, let us see if we can remember a nocturne," and thinning out his ink, proceeded to lay broad washes across the stone. The subject he drew was the familiar Chelsea reach of the river opposite to his house in Lindsay Row (now 96 Cheyne Walk), and he completed it at the one sitting —or standing, rather, for he always stood to work. When the ink was quite dry he delicately scraped out the lights reflected in the river and the steam which is being blown off from the steamers anchored for the night in front of the dark buildings. Now, if this had been water-color upon paper, it would have been as simple as it seems; but in the lithographic process it is necessary to put down at once the right tone with one stroke and not to disturb this by retouching until it is

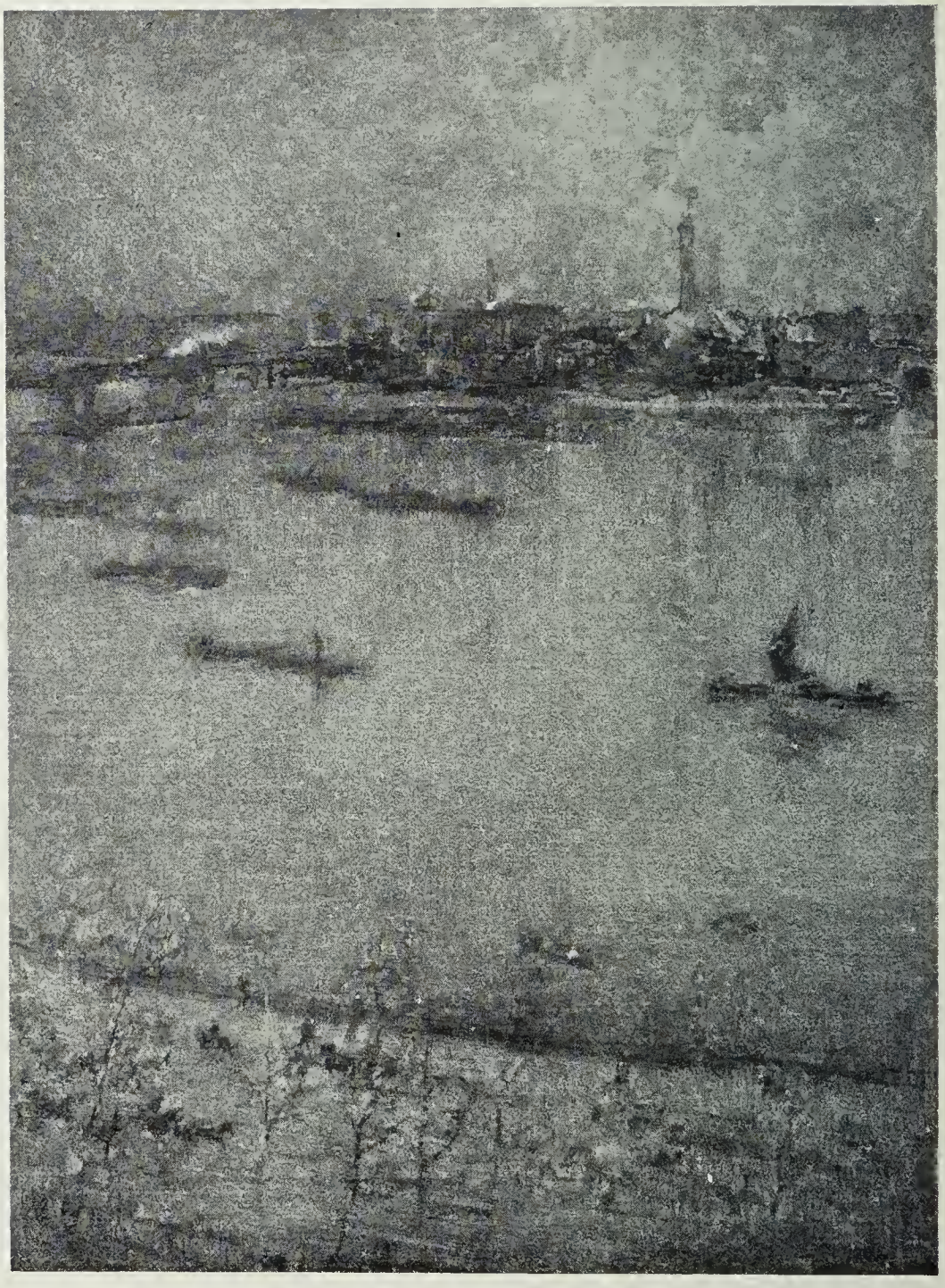
WHISTLER. NOCTURNE

"The subject he drew was the familiar Chelsea reach of the river opposite to his house in Lindsay Row (now 96 Cheyne Walk), and he completed it at the one sitting—or standing, rather, for he always stood to work. . . . The result is a triumph, both technically and artistically."

T. R. Way.

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.

Size of the original lithotint, 6¾ × 10⅛ inches



WHISTLER. THE THAMES

A view from an upper room in the Savoy Hotel, looking toward the Surrey side of the river

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.

Size of the original lithotint, 10½ × 7⅝ inches

quite dry, which it takes a long time to do. He made no retouching at all, and when he had finished the drawing was ready for its etching to deposit the grease into the stone, and then to pass to the printer, for until etched the grease remains on the surface and will not print. The result is a triumph, both technically and artistically. All the proofs were printed upon thin sheets of Japanese or gray-tinted paper mounted upon larger sheets of French plate-paper. There were only a few trial proofs on the Japanese paper, as he preferred the tone of the gray, and in this form one hundred were printed and published. Its mystery and poetry will compare not unfavorably with the painted nocturnes themselves.

Next we will take the last lithotint which he made when staying at the Savoy Hotel in 1898—*The Thames* (125). Before commencing this very elaborate subject he appears to have made an oil study, which, however, has not been carried anything like as far as the print. Again he had the stone prepared with halftone for him, and drew—this time from nature—the river with the buildings on the opposite side, and Waterloo Bridge and Charing Cross Railway Bridge, on either hand, barges sailing by, and in the foreground the Embankment with passing hansom cabs and figures seen through the lacework of the branches of the trees in the gardens below the hotel. On this occasion, although he had done his part well, the prepared ground proved to have been uneven, so he went over the whole drawing with a scraper twice, so that there are three distinct states to this print, but the final is what he wanted, and is splendid, indeed; there were only twelve proofs then printed, but it was re-

printed after his death. This lithotint is a marked contrast in handling to the *Nocturne,* but shows that peculiar characteristic of Whistler's mind all through. He knew what he wanted to get, and nothing short of it would satisfy him, even if the work had to be done over and over again; no trouble was too great for him to take. It was the same with one of his earliest lithotints, the *Early Morning* (7), drawn in 1878; it came as dark as a nocturne at first, but he stuck to it and lightened it again and again until he made the most delicate and silvery print imaginable. Of this there were about fifty copies preserved, a large number having been printed for *Piccadilly* but not published, as the magazine died.

He used lithotint also without the prepared half-tint for three of his earliest efforts, and an interesting example is *The Tall Bridge* (8), also drawn and printed for *Piccadilly* but not used; in this instance it is doubtful if half a dozen copies exist beyond the twelve proofs on mounted Japanese paper. It is a tall drawing of two piers of the very quaint old wooden Battersea Bridge, which he pictured so often with the brush, the needle, and the chalk. The structure is drawn with firm chalk lines and washes of delicate tone laid over the whole to draw it together, very much as he made a painting in ink upon his Venice plates, only with this difference—that he needed to repeat the painting for each impression of the etching, while what he did upon the stone repeated itself automatically in the printing. Some proofs were pulled in a pale brownish color, and are particularly beautiful.

If these four subjects were hung side by side for comparison, their exquisite delicacy of tone and ex-

WHISTLER. LITTLE NUDE MODEL READING

"Among the nudes perhaps the *Little Nude Model Reading* is the most delightful. The charm of form and suggestion of color, the perfect composition as she sits upon the little cabinet, all given with such mastery and economy of touch—surely there are few drawings of his generation to equal it." T. R. Way.

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.

Size of the original lithograph, 6⅝ × 7 inches

WHISTLER. THE DANCING GIRL

"*The Dancing Girl* is a typical example drawn with the fewest of lines of the grayest color, yet so clearly and firmly put down—the little figure, so full of suggested movement, seems to be but a passing thought of his mind." T. R. Way.

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.

Size of the original lithograph, 7⅛ × 5¾ inches

pression of space and atmosphere, their variety of treatment and subject, could not fail to convince the most critical that in Whistler's hands lithography could produce works of art fit to rank with those of any other master in any medium. Unfortunately, he did not draw many other lithotints, but in the other branches of the process there are many subjects which demand enthusiasm and praise quite as high.

From time to time he made a number of studies of the nude or very thinly draped models similar to his pastel studies. Indeed, a certain similarity in the effect and the manner of using the two mediums may have helped him. Among the nudes perhaps the *Little Nude Model Reading* (29) is the most delightful. The charm of form and suggestion of color, the perfect composition as she sits upon the little cabinet, all given with such mastery and economy of touch—surely there are few drawings of his generation to equal it.

At the same period when this was drawn there were several of the lightly draped figures. *The Dancing Girl* (30) is a typical example drawn with the fewest of lines of the grayest color, yet so clearly and firmly put down—the little figure, so full of suggested movement, seems to be but a passing thought of his mind; and while the same feeling is roused by several others which were done then, it is even more so by *La Danseuse: a Study of the Nude* (148), which he drew in Paris a few years later. Yet the student will notice a great difference in the character of the line used, due to the different grain of the surface upon which the drawings were made. The two—Nos. 29 and 30—were made upon a transfer-paper which had a mechanical grain on its surface which, when transferred

to the stone, printed with the clear line as he drew it; the other—No. 148—was drawn upon a smooth transfer-paper which gave a soft, blurred quality to the line, lacking, perhaps, the brilliance and crispness of the former, but in his hands having a charm of its own.

Nude Model Reclining (47) is yet another example of the variety of treatment, in this the drawing having been made with a chalk in line, the color and modeling with a stump in a very masterful manner.

Yet another nude study, *Little London Model* (130), was probably the last lithograph Whistler drew. He made it in 1896. It is an interesting study of character and drawn with the softest of lines and delicate stump work, giving color and rotundity of form with great delicacy.

As one might expect, there is a long series of subjects drawn from quaint old buildings, shops, and courtyards, such things as he was fond of etching: St. Bartholomew the Great; his favorite Chelsea; Brittany—especially note *Vitré—the Canal* (39), with its cloudy sky and liquid water, both drawn with the stump, being his first experiment; a particularly interesting series of Luxembourg Garden subjects, full of groups of figures, with which, too, should be classed the drawings made in the garden of his home in Paris, 110 Rue de Bac; *Confidences in the Garden* (60), with two ladies (his wife and her sister); *La Belle Jardinière* (63); and Nos. 140 and 141, which he destroyed after proving.

Then come several more quaint street subjects of Lyme Regis, though his chief work there was in the forges, of which we shall write later; but the groups of children, and some horse subjects, are particularly

WHISTLER. VITRÉ—THE CANAL

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 9¼ × 5⅞ inches

WHISTLER. CONFIDENCES IN THE GARDEN

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 5⅜ × 6⅜ inches

interesting, and then we get to the drawings made from the windows of the Savoy Hotel in 1896, six in all, including *The Thames* lithotint already described. If one must select one of them alone to describe, surely the vast space and immensity of the city has never been better suggested than he has done in *Little London* (121), with the great curve of the river and the Embankment, and the long row of buildings leading away into the City, crowned with the mighty dome of St. Paul's—the whole scene full of life and movement, though only 7⅜ inches high and 5⅜ inches broad. To one who knows the places he has drawn it is marvelous to note how true to the natural atmosphere of the individual spot these lithographs are. *Rue Fürstenberg* (59) is unmistakably Paris; as is *Charing Cross Railway Bridge* (120) the Thames; and *St. Giles-in-the-Fields* (129), the second of a series of London churches which he planned doing, is the epitome of an old gray stone Renaissance church seen through the branches of equally typical London trees. Its architecture seems to be suggested rather than drawn, but yet the vision is quite complete, and, like everything he touched, the most interesting and charming points of the object are the things recorded.

A class of subject which always greatly attracted Whistler was the craftsman at work in his shop, especially if the place could be seen from the street so that it could be drawn from a distance and be made the concentrated point of the picture. There are many etchings of the kind which are familiar to all who know that side of his work—dark interiors with figures full of suggested detail; and when we look through his lithographs we find many similar pictures

WHISTLER. RUE FÜRSTENBERG

"To one who knows the places he has drawn it is marvelous to note how true to the natural atmosphere of the individual spot these lithographs are. *Rue Fürstenberg* is unmistakably Paris." T. R. Way.

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.

Size of the original lithograph, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches

WHISTLER. ST. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 8½ × 5½ inches

—about fifteen—studies mostly of blacksmiths at work in their forges. Several were drawn in Paris, and the two dark interiors drawn in the *Passage du Dragon* (Nos. 72 and 73) are notable in their very elaborate finish with the stump, especially the minute heads in *The Forge* (72). Another fine dark subject is *The Blacksmith* (90), one of the Lyme Regis forges. In this Whistler has delighted in carrying the drawing to its utmost limits, and the brilliant lighting of the man as he works the bellows of his forge, relieved against the dark background, which is full of the odd assortment of objects one usually sees in such a place, is splendidly given. But among the Lyme Regis forges there are few treated in this manner; they are mostly far less elaborate. One in particular may be noted, *The Strong Arm* (89), a blacksmith holding a bar of iron in the flame, which lights up his figure and indeed floods the whole subject. This blaze of light is amazingly suggested without any strong darks to emphasize it, and the figures of the man and the boy behind are rendered with the fewest possible lines. This characteristic runs through most of these forge subjects, and shows that he was able to express what he wanted to say with the greatest facility to himself.

The next group—the portraits, in which one includes many with fancy titles such as *The Winged Hat* (25), *Gants de Suède* (26), *La Robe Rouge* (68), *Firelight* (104)—numbers fully one quarter of the whole of Whistler's lithographs; some of them are amongst the rarest, as also the most desirable, of the collection. M. Duret, in his life of Whistler, has recorded the infinite pains he took to do the tiny head of Stéphane Mallarmé (66) for the frontispiece to the

WHISTLER. THE STEPS, LUXEMBOURG

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 8¼ × 6¼ inches

WHISTLER. SAVOY PIGEONS

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 7¾ × 5⅜ inches

WHISTLER. WATERLOO BRIDGE

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 6⅝ × 5 inches

WHISTLER. CHARING CROSS RAILWAY BRIDGE

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, 5⅛ × 8⅜ inches

poet's "Prose et Vers," how both artist and sitter were almost in despair from the number of failures; but the final achievement was worth any effort to accomplish, and it is interesting to compare it in M. Duret's book with the reproduction of one of the failures, which must be a very scarce lithograph. The *Study No. 1* (107), the portrait of Mr. Thomas Way, was the third attempt, the earlier ones being cast aside rather than any alteration being tried. On one occasion he gave up the work in despair after many efforts, but it was not altogether difficult to understand why. He had painted a full-length portrait of Count Robert de Montesquiou, and the proprietors of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* asked him to make a lithograph of it for the magazine in place of a mezzotint which they had had engraved but which he condemned. There are at least four lithographs of the subject which are said to be by Whistler. Two are undoubtedly his, Nos. 137 and 138; the other two, which are only beginnings, may have been so, but it is surprising that he had them transferred to stone and proved in the state in which they now appear. He was so dissatisfied with his work that he would not allow it to be printed for the *Gazette,* and said it only proved the absurdity of expecting an artist to repeat his masterpiece. He could not copy his own work. Nevertheless, these two are very interesting. But among the men's portraits which we are dealing with first, while there are several excellent studies of Mr. Joseph Pennell, notably the *Firelight—Joseph Pennell No. 1* (104), perhaps the best of all is the portrait of his brother, *The Doctor* (78), a splendid likeness on a minute scale.

There are many very charming female studies and portraits. One of the most popular, because the best known, is *The Winged Hat* (25), which was published in the *Whirlwind;* but quite as charming is *A Portrait* (75), Miss Howells, a full-length seated figure seen by lamplight, the first of such effects among the lithographs, which later on he repeated in the Lyme Regis forges and the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pennell and others. No. 75 passed through three states before it was completed, and it is most interesting to compare them together. But the model he delighted to draw more than any other was his wife, and the pictures he made from her finally culminated in what he himself considered his great triumph among his lithographs —and indeed it deserves to rank with the portrait of his mother. He chose to call it *The Siesta* (122). It is a study of Mrs. Whistler lying upon a couch covered with white drapery. She has very dark hair, and is looking at the *Spectator*. It was drawn at the Savoy Hotel, where they were staying during her last illness, and it is simply the expression of the sympathy of the man for his wife in her suffering, inspiring the hand of the master lithographer.

Perhaps one should leave off writing about these lithographs at this point, but there remains yet another series. So far all these lithographs were printed in black or brown upon white paper; but he made some experiments in color, using several printings to complete each subject, and it did not seem advisable to mention them before. Five only are known, two studies of houses—*The Red House, Paimpol* (100) and *The Yellow House, Lannion* (101). The first has three printings, red, gray, and black; the second, five

WHISTLER. FIRELIGHT—JOSEPH PENNELL No. 1

Size of the original lithograph, 7⅜ × 6 inches

WHISTLER. STÉPHANE MALLARMÉ

Drawn in 1894 as a frontispiece for Mallarmé's "Prose et Vers"
From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original lithograph, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches

yellow, green, brown, gray, and black. There are three figure-studies, of which the most charming is *Draped Figure Reclining* (156), a girl half recumbent on a couch upon which is a blue and white pot. Six printings are used, gray, green, pink, yellow, blue, and purple. There is a proof of this subject which is as exquisite in color as any pastel. His treatment of them is quite the same as that he used in pastel-drawing; there is an outline in gray and the color is put on in definite strokes with little or no attempt at blending. Some impressions are altogether delightful, but they do not seem to have got beyond the state of the first experimental proofs, and consequently no two are alike. It is a great pity, because if Whistler had gone on with his color-prints, he would have found no limits to his aspirations, and he would have made greater triumphs out of the despised art of lithography.

THE DIVISION OF PRINTS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

By ARTHUR JEFFREY PARSONS

Chief of Division of Prints

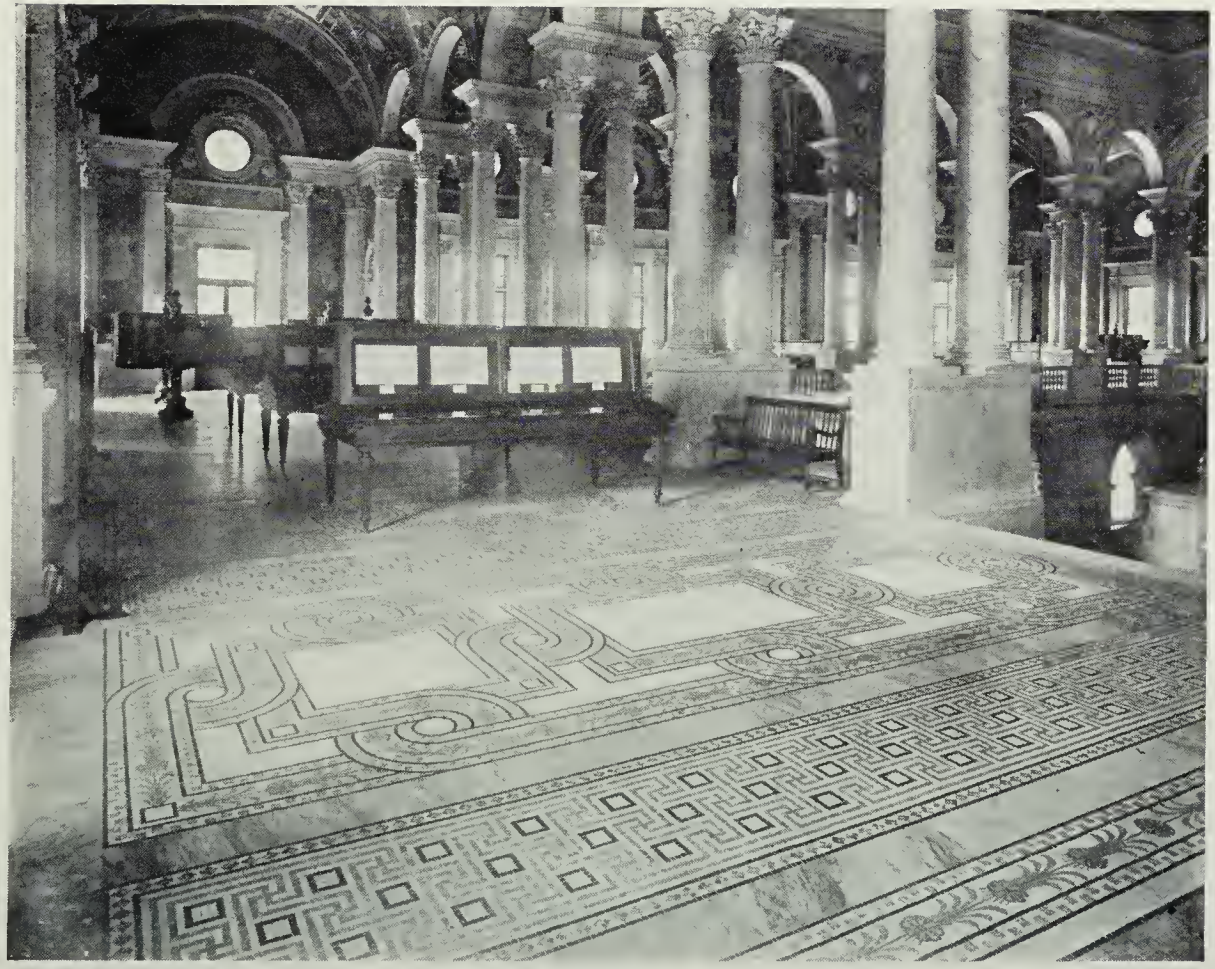
ALTHOUGH as an institution and as a collection the Library of Congress is over a century old (having been founded in 1800), the new building, completed in 1897, opened out for it a new career of usefulness, and imposed upon it corresponding new obligations. By its size, its efficiency, and its impressiveness architecturally, the building has constituted an invitation to gifts, bequests, and loans of material, which have enriched not merely the collections of printed books, but also and notably those of manuscripts and of prints.

As regards the prints, a visitor is at once impressed by the amplitude and charm of the spaces for exhibit. These are chiefly on the second floor, in long galleries that may be traversed at will without interference with the absorption of readers. They total, for all manner of material, not less than 22,000 square feet of floor area. Of this some 15,000 square feet are now devoted to exhibits of prints, some 6000 square feet of this being available for storage also, in double-tiered cases having accommodation for portfolios as well as surface for exhibit. All these spaces are lofty, airy, and admirably lighted, some by skylight as well as side window.

What, then, is the collection? And how far does it

respond to conditions so unusual and the opportunities which they afford: for exhibits to interest and inspire the thousands of casual visitors to Washington from all parts of the country (and, indeed, of the world); for the systematic aid of the resident student; and, in source material, for the visiting investigators who, in increasing numbers, have recourse to the national capital for serious research?

Historically the nucleus of the collection was the deposits of prints under the Copyright Law. These began in 1846, and, with but the brief exception of a decade, have continued uninterruptedly since that date. The total of these now in the collection is about 350,000. A large percentage represents, of course, the cheaper forms of reproduction—photographs, lithographs, and even stereoscopic views; but the representation of the finer processes—in etching and engraving—is no mean one. And considering the functions of the Library—among others, to preserve the record of current manners, events, personages, and achievements, and to make this available for illustration—the utility of even the inferior prints often compensates for their mediocrity as works of art. It is quite commonly assumed that copyright overwhelms the Library with a mass of "trash," for which it should be commiserated. The assumption is an error, and the commiseration quite misplaced. The law which requires the deposit of an article in the Copyright Office does not require its transfer to the Library proper, still less its retention there. And, in fact, hundreds of thousands of articles deposited never find their way into the collections of the Library. A *selection* is made, and the material which is



WEST MAIN GALLERY, SECOND FLOOR

where are exhibited Arundel Society prints, Orientalia, models of Washington, D. C. (modern and proposed plans), Dürer engravings, Rembrandt etchings, Incunabula from the John Boyd Thacher collection, First Editions, and special exhibit from the Music Division.

SOUTHWEST PAVILION, SECOND FLOOR

where are exhibited engravings by Bartolozzi, from the Garrett collection; portraits of the Presidents of the United States, St. Memin engraved portraits, and a collection of medals from the Treasury Department.

WEST-SOUTH GALLERY, SECOND FLOOR

where are exhibited engraved portraits of noted men, third century to the middle of the eighteenth century, selected from the Hubbard and Garrett collections, and lithographs and etchings by Joseph Pennell of the Panama Canal from the Library collection.

finally drawn into the collections as the result of it—the books, the maps, the music, and the prints—represents a judgment based upon criteria of actual or prospective utility. In the case of each, entire groups are eliminated as a matter of course.

The prints from copyright constitute, therefore, not merely a collection formidable in size, to which some 15,000 are added yearly, but one (for the National Library of the United States) of great importance historically, and of no mean significance artistically.

The examples of the finer processes—of etching and engraving—possessed by the Library have been due, however, chiefly to gift, bequest, or loan. Among the gifts there should, in etiquette, be mentioned first those from friendly governments: France, Germany, Japan, Italy, and Austro-Hungary, received in the order named. France led off with a selection (made by the Minister of Education) of 225 engravings from the Chalcographie du Louvre. These include examples of the French engravers from 1593 to 1900. The German Government followed with 761 facsimile reproductions of copper and wood engravings by the old masters: reproductions made by a government establishment, under governmental authority and the editorship of Dr. Lippmann, Director of the Print Cabinet of the Royal Museum at Berlin. Then came Japan with a collection of photographs, also made under governmental auspices, some 300 in number, of paintings, drawings, wood-carvings, decorations, etc., largely of Japanese temples. The gift of the Italian Government, in grateful recognition of the aid furnished to the sufferers at Messina, consisted of nearly 2500 engravings from the Regia Calcografia of Italy;

while that of the Austro-Hungarian Government comprised over a hundred examples of the extraordinary prints issued by the Imperial Printing Press at Vienna—colored lithographs, reproductions of stipple engravings, and a few originals by English and German artists.

The examples of the old as well as of the modern masters in their primary form—of etching and engraving—are, however, due chiefly to gift, bequest, or loan of private collections. The first notable gift, coincident with the completion of the new building, was of the collection formed by the late Gardiner G. Hubbard of Washington. It was made by his widow in a letter to Congress which stated that as the collection had been gathered by him during many years "chiefly devoted to the welfare of his fellowmen," the deposit of it in the Library, where it "could be studied and enjoyed," was in accordance with his wishes and "would give him the greatest satisfaction." The donor added that it was her intention (since effected at her death by her own will) to provide for the increase of the collection by a bequest of $20,000, of which the income was to be used for the purchase of additional prints. This sum has now been paid over to the government, with a resulting guaranteed income of $800 per annum available for purchase.

As transferred to the Library (in 1900), the collection contains over 2700 prints. Its items are set forth in a sumptuous catalogue, with illustrations, issued by the Library in 1905. As will appear from this, it includes examples of all schools, but with especial emphasis in two directions in which Mr. Hubbard

EAST END OF SOUTH CURTAIN, SECOND FLOOR, SHOWING SOUTHEAST PAVILION

This comprises the "Inclosure," or Reading-room, and office of the Division of Prints. In the southeast Pavilion, a section, adjoining the Reading-room, is set aside for the consultation of art and architectural periodicals.

SOUTH CURTAIN, SECOND FLOOR

Showing cases for the storing of engravings and special art works, and for the exhibition of prints by movable (and interchangeable) panels of the case doors.

was particularly interested: Napoleoniana (portraits of Napoleon and of his contemporaries) and Dürer, of whose engravings it contains all of the most important, and, indeed, lacks only about a dozen listed in the catalogue of Bartsch.

The collection of the late George Lothrop Bradley, also of Washington, originally a loan, became by his will a residuary bequest subject to a life interest in Mrs. Bradley. It comprises about 2000 items, of which 1466 are engravings and etchings, and the remainder are reproductions in portfolio form and photographs. The engravings include examples of all schools and of the most eminent artists—among them Bolswert, Carracci, Cranach, Dürer, Edelinck, Goltzius, Hogarth, Hopfer, Lucas van Leyden, Mantegna, Nanteuil, Ostade, Pontius, Potter, Rembrandt, Rubens, Sadeler, Schongauer, Strange, Toschi, Turner, Visscher, Vorsterman, and Waterloo. The Dürers include the great "Triumphal Arch" of Maximilian. The series in this collection comprises a few original cuts and impressions from the Bartsch edition of 1799; and the Turners, a good set of the "Liber Studiorum," mostly in the second and third states. The English school includes also such engravers as Woollett, Scott, Middleton, Palmer, Walker, Goodall, and Lupton; the modern Italian, examples of Morghen and his pupils.

For the study and exhibit of the classics of etching and engraving the largest resource of the Library is due to a loan. It is the collection of prints originally formed by James L. Claghorn, acquired from him by the late T. Harrison Garrett of Baltimore, and subsequently enlarged through various purchases. It is

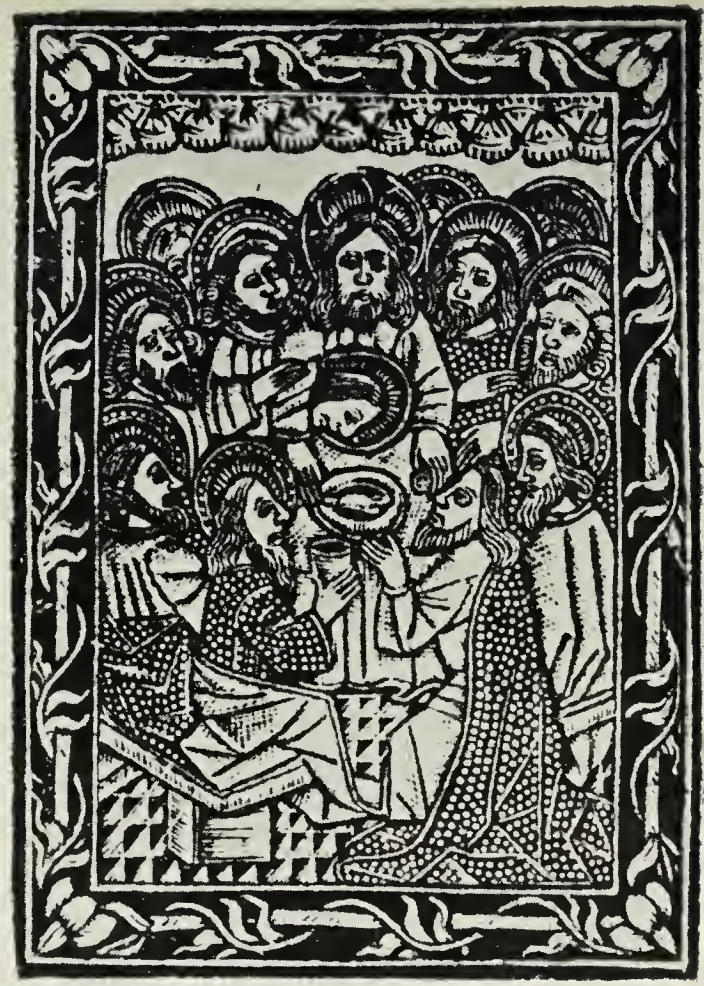
one of the largest, in private ownership, in the United States, comprising no less than 22,000 items, of which, in 1904, by the generous public spirit of Mr. Garrett's family, about 20,000 were placed in the Library on deposit. The collection is rich in portraits, especially in mezzotint, but indeed quite representative of all schools having historical interest. Two groups of signal note are the etchings of Rembrandt and those of Seymour Haden. The former, including 197 prints, supplemented from other collections in its possession, enabled the Library, in commemoration of the Rembrandt tercentenary, to make the largest representative exhibit of Rembrandt's etched work ever shown in this country, and to include in it a fine example of the *Hundred Guilder Print* (in the second state) and sixteen examples of the landscapes, including *The Three Trees* and *The Gold-Weigher's Field.*

The collection of Seymour Haden's etchings is practically complete to 1887. It includes four states of the *Shere Mill Pond,* five of the *Sunset in Ireland,* and a wonderful impression of the *By-road in Tipperary;* also numerous "counter-proofs," "trials," and "states," of especial interest from the standpoint of technique.

The history of the Garrett collection includes an episode illustrative of the vicissitudes to which such precious material is subject while in private hands. In 1904, while a few thousand of the prints had already been placed in the Library, the bulk of the collection was stored with the Mercantile Trust Company in Baltimore. Late in January a telegram advised the Library that the whole of it might be taken

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Size, $1\ 15/16 \times 2\ 3/4$ inches



THE LAST SUPPER

Size, $2 \times 2\ 13/16$ inches

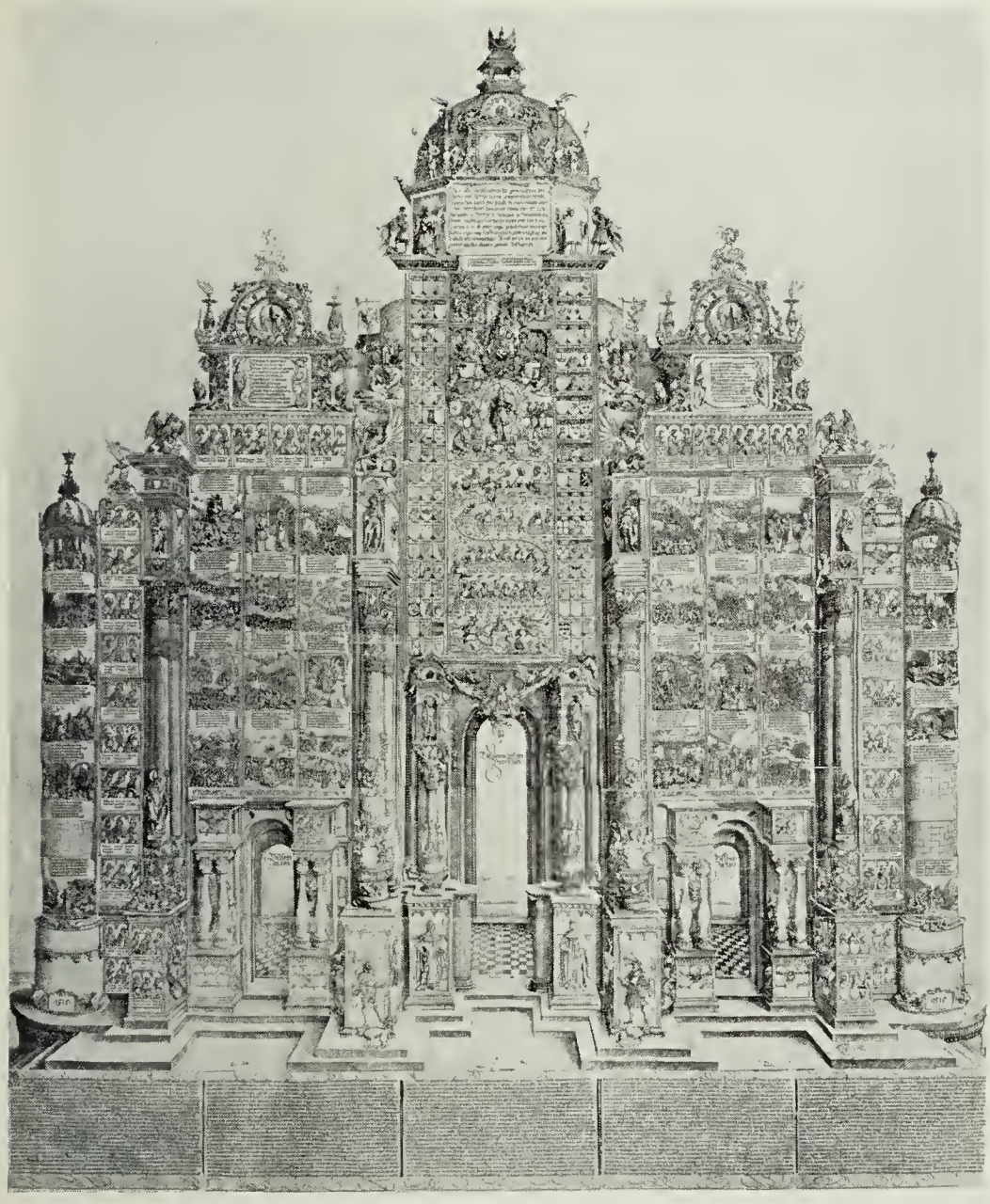
Printed from relief blocks, engraved on metal in the manner of woodcuts by an anonymous German engraver of the middle of the fifteenth century. These prints are in "white line" and white dots, and are called "dotted prints," *manière criblée* or *"interrisile"*

From the Gardiner G. Hubbard collection

over. No time was lost, and within five days the entire residue was packed and shipped to Washington. This was on a Friday. On the Sunday following—but two days later—occurred the great Baltimore fire. It attacked the Mercantile Trust Building, and while it did not destroy the building, it gutted completely the room in which the prints had been stored.

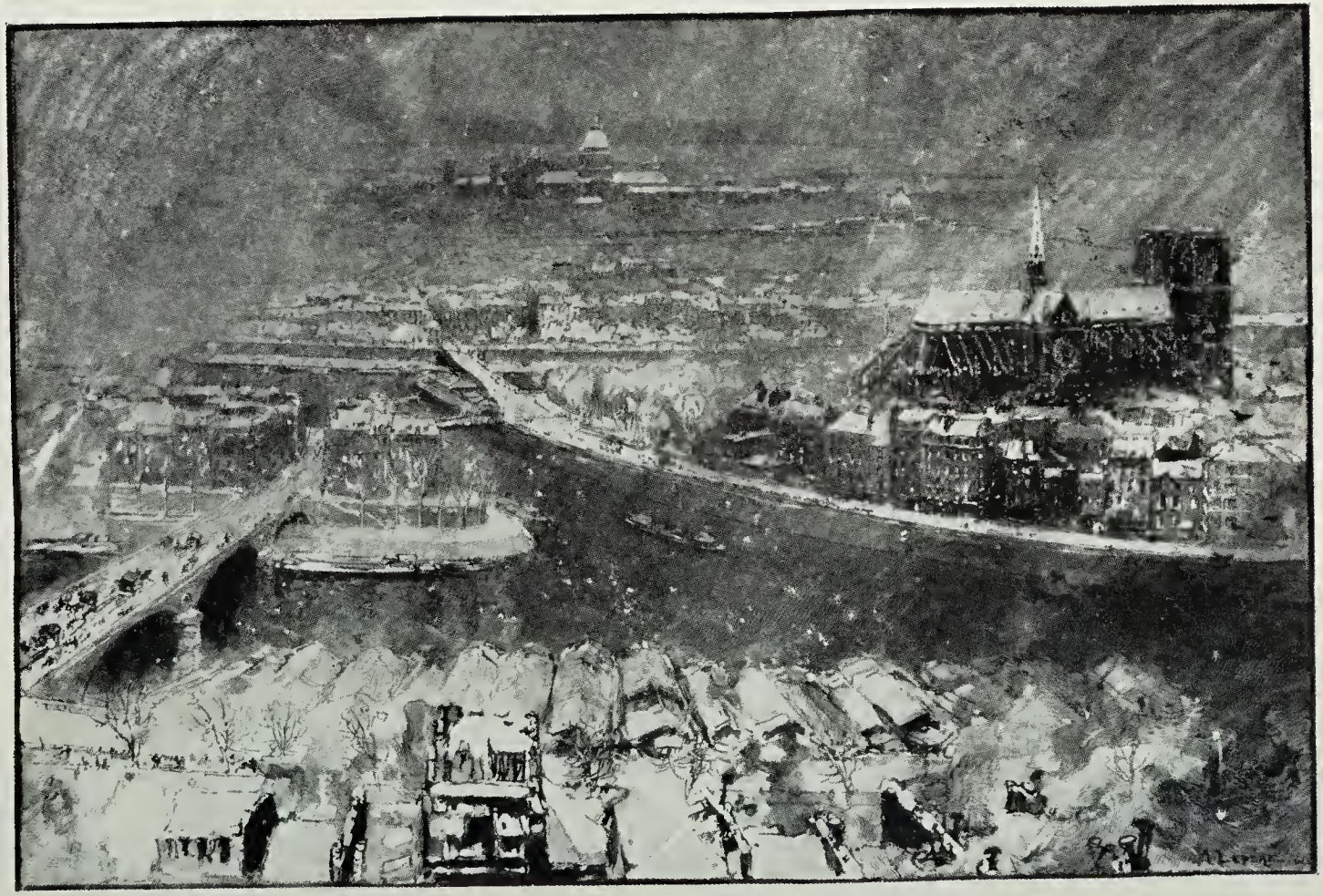
For the art of Japan the Library owes its largest resource to a collection formed by the late Crosby S. Noyes of Washington, and given by him to the government. It comprises 145 original drawings, 331 wood-engravings, 658 books illustrated by Japanese artists, and a dozen water-colors. Representing many years of careful and assiduous collecting by Mr. Noyes not merely in the United States but in Europe and in Japan itself, it furnishes copious material for study and exhibit.

The collections above noted have all come to the Library without cost—*i.e.*, either by copyright, gift, or loan. The purchases, having been limited to such expenditures as could be afforded out of the ordinary appropriation for "increase," have not been, of course, so numerous, nor individually so important. Yet they are not without significance, for they have been made with a view to fuller representation in fields within which, by a moderate expenditure, adequate representation was feasible. This is, of course, no longer within the earlier periods, the products of which are now to be had only at prices which are prohibitive. But it embraces the "moderns" in all schools and processes. The purchases have included, therefore (to mention only a few groups), of



DÜRER. THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

Drawn on 192 woodblocks by Albrecht Dürer, Wolf Traut, Altdorfer, and Springinklee in 1512–1515, and cut by Hieronymus Andreä, of Nuremberg, in 1515–1517
From the George Lothrop Bradley collection
Size of the original woodcut, complete, 10 feet × 9 feet 8 inches



LEPÈRE. PARIS SOUS LE NEIGE

From the Library of Congress collection
Size of the original wood-engraving, 17¾ × 11⅞ inches

the modern English school, examples of the work of Affleck, Baird, Brangwyn, Burridge, Eyre, Farrell, Frood, Hardie, Hayes, Hole, Macbeth-Raeburn, Maxwell, Molony, Neave, Osborne, Rushbury, Smythe, Sparks, Strang, Synge, Walker, and Watson; of the modern French, Béjot, Dauphin, Etienne, and Lepère. Among the twenty examples of the work of the last named (in lithograph, etching, and woodcut) is his masterpiece, *Paris sous la neige*. Among the modern Dutch are Dupont, Graadt van Roggen, Koster, Monlyn, Veldheer, Witsen, and Zwart.

It is particularly a policy of the Library to secure representative examples of the abler contemporary American etchers; and it has done so in the purchase of prints by Aid, Armington, Burr, Chandler, Congdon, Cotton, Covey, De Cordoba, Gagnon, Gleeson, Haskell, Hopkins, Hornby, Hyde, Jaques, Kimball, King, Learned, Levy, Lum, MacLaughlan, Marin, Melville, Merrill, Millar, Nordfeldt, Pearson, Pennell, Reed, Roth, Sawyer, Schneider, Stuever, Stevens (Dorothy), Stevens (Helen B.), Stevens (Thomas W.), Washburn, Webster, White, and Winslow. In the mention of this effort it must pay its tribute to the service rendered by the Chicago Etching Club in its encouragement of the etchers of the younger school, many of whom, lacking it, would have failed of a public.

In the domain of lithography the purchase of a collection judiciously formed laid a foundation at once broad and representative. Added to by individual purchases, it now comprises some 2000 separate lithographs by the most noted lithographers of all schools. Rops, for instance, is represented by 138 prints—in

other words, by all but 46 of his complete output as recorded in Ramiro's catalogue. The French school, from Vernet to Steinlen, and the English, from Harding to Way, are both substantially exhibited in characteristic examples.

An exhibition, arranged by periods, made last year, of examples from this group, illustrated very instructively the development of lithography and the most characteristic work of each period. It consisted of lithographs separately issued as "prints." Of the great mass of lithographs in the form of illustrations in books, the Library possesses, of course, a large collection, constantly added to. These are being listed in a special catalogue which already comprises over 10,000 entries. An example of the works thus analyzed is the "Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France," edited by Baron Taylor. Its eighteen volumes contain nearly 2700 prints, the best landscape work, in lithography, of the period. Other examples are the French periodicals *Le Charivari* and *L'Artiste*. The earlier volumes of the former contain the first impressions of Daumier, Gavarni, Madou, Pigal, Adam, Travies, Bourdet, Numa, Devéria, and other artists of note; the latter includes many able copies of paintings exhibited in the yearly salons. The collection of Japanese prints also has been enlarged by purchase—in particular, through the friendly mediation of Miss Helen Hyde, who, in Japan, personally secured for the Library many important prints which, if sought now in the open market, could be had only at several times the prices actually paid.

Reproduction in color has now been brought to such

BONINGTON. TOUR DU GROS HORLOGE (EVREUX)
Built by the English in 1417

From the Library of Congress collection
Size of the original lithograph, 13⅛ × 8⅛ inches

BONINGTON. RUE DU GROS HORLOGE, ROUEN

From the Library of Congress collection
Size of the original lithograph, 9½ × 9⅞ inches

perfection that a collection such as this adds greatly to its efficiency by the inclusion of color-prints. The Library has of course the publications of the Arundel Society and those of the Medici Society. The former constitute one of its permanent exhibits; the latter have been drawn upon recently for a special exhibit of color-prints. It has added, however, from other sources, so that its resources as a whole in this field are quite notable. They include, for instance, good examples of all the modern French etchers in color, from Raffaëlli (the first of them) to Bertrand, Champion, Detouche, and Helleu. A group quite individual and wholly charming is a set of the color etchings and woodcuts of Miss Hyde, mostly the gift of the artist.

The acquisition of photographs of painting, sculpture, and architecture is now a settled practice of libraries for research, as of those for "popular" service; and the Library of Congress has adopted it as a matter of course. Its purchases during the past six years have included some 45,000 such photographs. Their use is by no means limited to the response to specific calls by students on the premises. It lends them freely to the various schools and colleges in Washington. Through the American Federation of Arts it lends also, to institutions in other American cities, duplicate copies of the engravings received by it through copyright. A group of such prints, illustrative of an artist, a subject, a type, a period, or a country, sent out in this way, may carry to a community which lacks either an adequate library, gallery, or museum, a stimulus and suggestion often productive of permanent influence. And there is no

expense involved in this service except that of transportation, which is met by the borrower.

The treatment of the prints from an administrative point of view is conventional, with such attention to detail as is possible with a limited staff dealing with a mass of material so considerable. The "mounts" for the finer prints are of a light cream-colored cardboard, ordered in lots of from 50,000 to 100,000 sheets, in order to insure uniformity in tint. Three sizes are used: 14×18 inches, 22×28 inches, and 28×40 inches. For photographs the smallest size generally suffices, as preference in purchase is given to photographs not exceeding 12×14 inches in dimensions.

The prints, once mounted, are placed in portfolios, and these, in turn, in the storage cases, which are equipped with sliding trays so as to accommodate the portfolios either upright or horizontal, as their size and contents may require. The finer prints are of course grouped under the artists, as are also the photographs of painting and sculpture, but those of architecture are arranged according to place.

As they stand in the cases, therefore, the prints are readily located. There are, however, in preparation catalogues in card form. These include not merely the separate prints, but reference to material in books and periodicals. There is, for instance, a card list of portraits, which contains already over 27,000 entries: a useful supplement to the "Portrait Index," published by the Library in book form a few years ago, and which has proved invaluable to authors, editors, and artists. An index to *painted* portraits, indicating

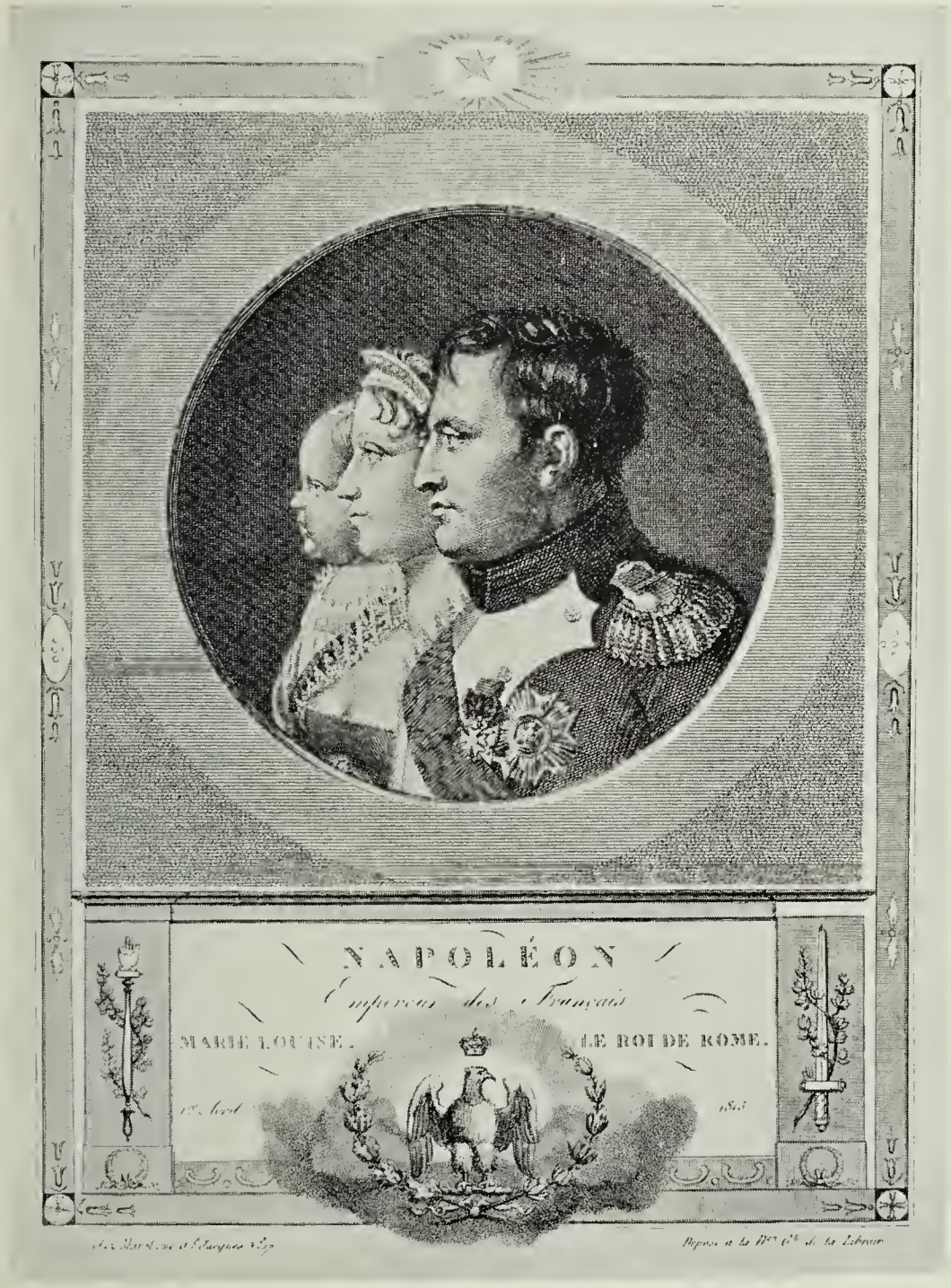
ROPS. MAN AND WOMAN

From the Library of Congress collection
Size of the original lithograph, $12\frac{1}{16} \times 15\frac{15}{16}$ inches

also their location, would be highly useful and is greatly needed. Such an index is rather within the function of an art museum than of a library. Having a long observation of the need of it,—of the frequent doubt or perplexity that might be solved by it,—the Library of Congress earnestly hopes that it will be undertaken. Begun by one or two institutions for their respective localities, it might readily be extended, through coöperation, so as finally to cover the entire area and the most important personages in the history of the United States.

But the Division of Prints in the Library of Congress is not limited in its jurisdiction to the care and administration of prints alone. It has also the custody of the books and periodicals which constitute the literature of the fine arts and architecture. The representation of this in the Library was until recently by no means an extraordinary one, although it included individual items of fundamental importance. During the past year or two, however, and in particular through the expert counsel of Professor Richard A. Rice, for so many years head of the department of fine arts at Williams College, systematic effort and considerable expenditure have been applied to the development of it, the result of which will be, in the near future, to assure here a collection not merely representative, but of high efficiency—a collection, if not the largest in this country, at least approximating the best.

The functions of the division include, therefore, the utilization of this literature—not the classification or cataloguing of it, which is attended to by the regular



NAPOLEON I, MARIE LOUISE, AND THE KING OF ROME

Anonymous engraving, after Bosio
From the Gardiner G. Hubbard collection
Size of the original engraving, 6 3/8 × 8 13/16 inches

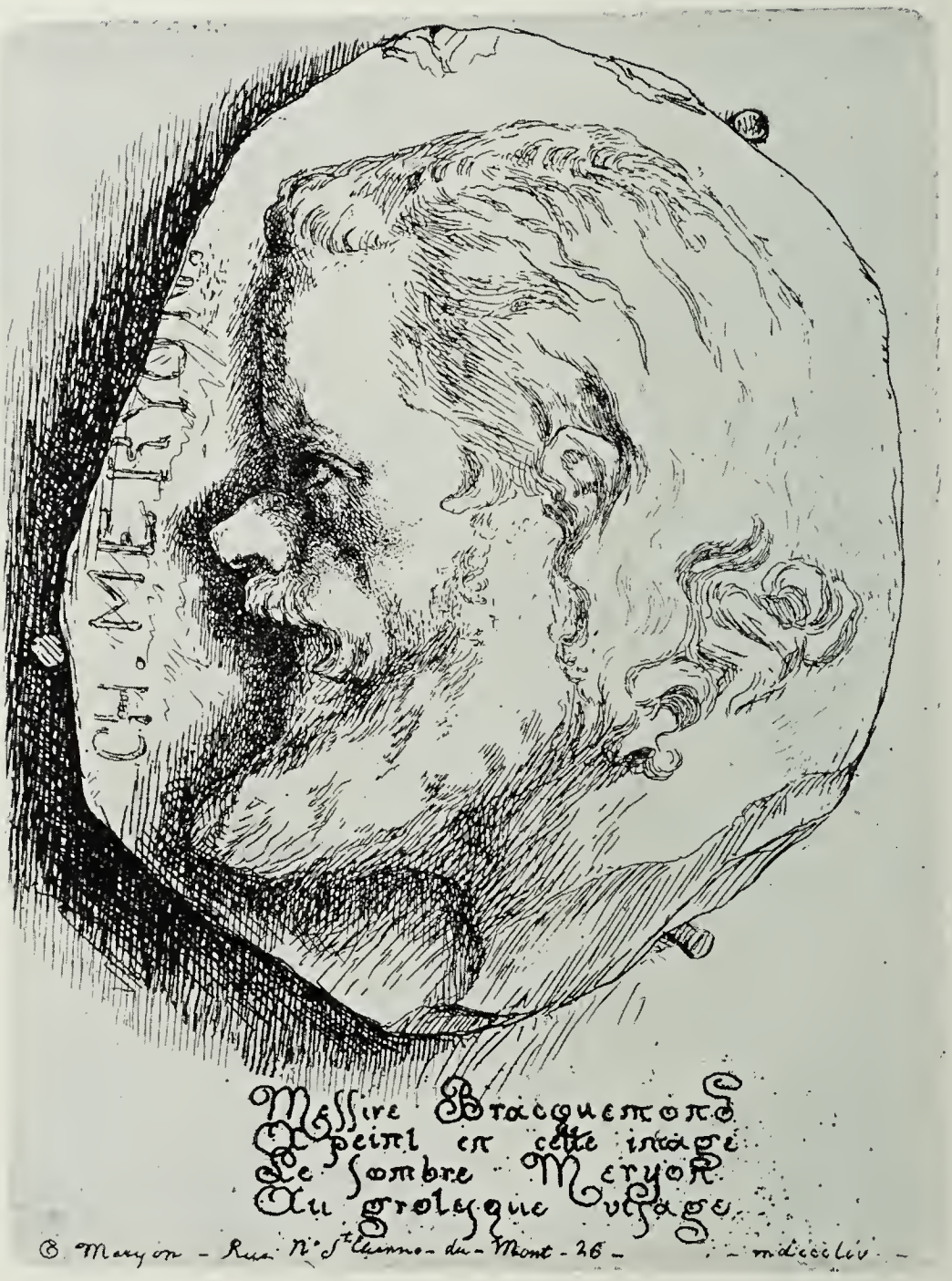
catalogue staff, but its interpretation to the public. The latter includes not merely the response to requests for a particular book, but suggestion in answer to inquiry for material on a particular subject. This latter requires special lists and indexes, and such also are in process of compilation—one, of articles in art magazines, comprising already some 17,000 entries. Of inquiry resulting in what popular parlance would term a "practical use," one of the most common is for material appropriate for illustration of a projected book or magazine article or a set of lecture slides. It is in the response to such that there is demonstrated the utility of the prints received from copyright, and of others inferior artistically, but embodying a record of the subject-matter in perhaps its only surviving form.

As concerns the use of the prints in systematic study, special considerations are to be noted. Washington is not a metropolis. In population (300,000) it is but one of the smaller cities of the United States, and its residents are occupied largely with the affairs of government, or science rather than art. It has, of course, its institutions of learning, and, attached to these, its instruction in the fine arts. It has also the "study clubs" usual now in a city of its size, which concentrate the attention of groups of its residents-at-large upon periods or masters of art, as upon other subjects. But it cannot be said to have a considerable number of residents pursuing either the study or the exposition of art in a systematic way.

On the other hand, it is the capital of the United States. It is visited by a multitude of sightseers, whose number increases annually. Nearly a million

of these each year come to the Library, and may be seen there, absorbed in the inspection of the various exhibits. And if this absorption has only in part and in varying degrees an instructed appreciation as a background, it may none the less represent an influence experienced, suggestive, informing—at any rate, awakening—which may result in later potencies widely applied in local enterprises: just as the mural decorations in the building itself, in whatever respects defective, have exercised such an influence, and induced a wide recognition of the fitness of mural decoration in public buildings generally.

To such a service, broad and perhaps far-reaching, even if vague and incalculable, there must be added, however, the more specific one of response to a demand really scientific—*i.e.,* implied in the needs of trained investigators engaged in serious research. It is its constituency of such investigators, for the most part visitors from other cities, that the Library has most deeply in regard; and it estimates them, not in their number or significance to-day, but in their possible number and significance hereafter. For in its Division of Prints, as in its Division of Music, it is considering not the needs and uses of to-day, but the needs and uses of the future: as it is considering also its unique opportunities as a National Library, with a duty to the country as a whole, rather than one merely local.



PORTRAIT OF CHARLES MERYON

From the etching by Félix Bracquemond
This is the portrait which Meryon himself preferred
Size of the original etching, 4¾ × 3½ inches

CHARLES MERYON, POET

By WILLIAM ASPENWALL BRADLEY

Author of "Meryon and Baudelaire," "Maxime Lalanne," etc.

THOSE who read my article in The Print-Collector's Quarterly for December, 1911, will recall a project for collaboration between Meryon and Baudelaire, proposed by the publisher, Delâtre. This came to naught, as plans for the album containing the "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris," for which Baudelaire was to write a prose accompaniment, fell through. But the suggestion at least serves to remind us that, when he originally published his etchings at his own expense, Meryon himself provided a partial accompaniment for the work in the form of little poems which he etched on separate copper plates, and in his own handwriting. A few of the shorter poems were even placed directly upon the etchings themselves, where they appear in one or more states. Would Meryon have discarded these verses from the new album, and were Baudelaire's remarks intended entirely to supersede them as more formal and edifying? In certain cases they had already been rendered obsolete by changes in the plates which destroyed the point of the verses; or, as in the case of *Le Pont-Neuf* and *Le Stryge,* they had been effaced from the copper in later reworkings. And yet we know from Meryon's manuscript notes en-

titled "Mes Observations," on the article by his friend Philippe Burty in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* as well as from numerous variants in existing proofs, that he devoted no little time and attention to these verses in the attempt to perfect their form and diction. It would thus seem as if Meryon, at one period of his career at least, took his rôle of poet with some seriousness. It may strike one as remarkable that an artist who expressed himself so completely in his chosen medium, should have had a reserve store of sensibility sufficient to demand an outlet in another channel. But Meryon's mind was wholly absorbed by his subject-matter. His selection of Paris with its monuments was by no means a casual one, dictated merely by a sense of the picturesque and by the promise of profit from such an undertaking. For him, perhaps more than for any other artist who has ever lived, save perhaps the Russian novelist Dostoieffsky, cities had an inward significance, a soul. It was this that attracted him and that he strove to interpret beneath the material constructions of bricks and stone; and as his imagination was of the intellectual, brooding, order, his work has, in the words of Burty, a *portée philosophique* which renders any successful imitation of it impossible.

This philosophical intention of the artist Meryon's poems tend to prolong and, in some instances, to render more explicit. Often mere *jeux d'esprit,* their very playfulness touches the chords of life and death with a kind of macabre and ironic humor, stirring an uneasy sense of the mystery of good and evil. In the longer and more serious poems, the lines throb with a passion of pity and tenderness for suf-

fering mankind. This is heightened and intensified by the poet's wistful contemplation of his own destiny when, like a child, he dreams of the future, gazing on the stars and seeking, in his own artless way, to solve the enigma of life after his first experience of pain and sorrow. A distinct autobiographic interest attaches to these poems which not only mirror his emotional moods, but reflect some of the outward vicissitudes of his adventurous and unhappy life.

Of particular interest from every point of view is the dedication of "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris" to the seventeenth-century Dutch etcher, Reynier Nooms, better known as Zeeman, who was one of Meryon's most important masters in the art of the needle, and several of whose plates he carefully copied before attempting any original work. But to seize the full significance of this dedicatory poem and its peculiar appropriateness in the present instance, one must also bear in mind Meryon's own maritime experience as an officer in the French navy, as well as the fact that Zeeman himself had etched some views of Paris architecture. The reference in the last stanza but one seems to indicate how direct was the influence of these upon Meryon in his style of treatment. Indeed, it may very well be that Meryon received from them not only the elements of his somewhat severe and graver-like technique, but the original suggestion, even, for his great undertaking.

You who sailors grave!
Whose callous hand could capture
In a kind of rapture,
And so simply tell
All that weaves the spell
Of the sea and wave.

Let me tell thee, sire,
How I do admire
What subtly shows to me
The sailor soul in thee.

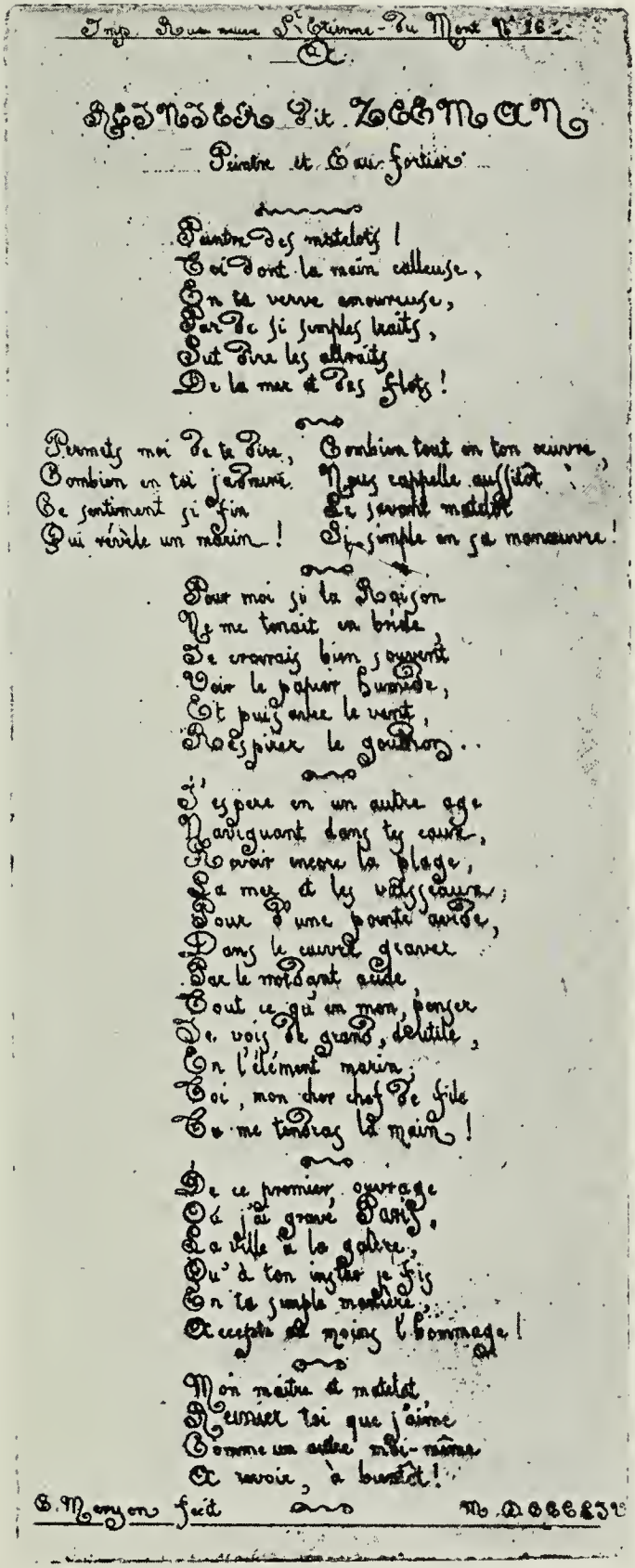
In all your work, no less,
How each trait doth aver
The skilful mariner
So simple in address.

If Reason did not check
My fancy, wont to roam,
I half the time should find
Your paper wet with foam,
And then along the wind
Should scent the tarry deck.

In some new age may I,
As through thy waters slipping,
Once more thy shores descry,
Thy ocean and thy shipping;
That on the plate well laid,
With keen point I may trace,
By acid's mordant aid,
All, in my thought's vast space,
I see that 's good and great
In the salt brine of the sea;
And thou, dear captain and mate,
Wilt offer thy hand to me!

Of this first work and new,
Where I have Paris shown,
—A ship adorns her banner—
And tried to make my own
My master's simple manner,
Accept the homage due!

My master and man of the sea,
Reynier, thou whom I love
Like another part of me,
May I see thee soon above!



MERYON. VERSES TO ZEEMAN (1854)

Size of the original etching, 6⅞ × 2¾ inches

MERYON. OLD GATE OF THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE

The frontispiece for "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris"
Size of the original etching, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches

As a frontispiece for "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris," Meryon presented a picture, fantastically surmounted by the figure of a devil, of the old entrance to the Palais de Justice. To face this, he wrote a short poem in the second etched state of which occurs a variant through the substitution of the word "gémisse" for "rougisse," in the first line. I have incorporated both readings in my translation:

Though pure souls blush and groan,
For frontispiece I 've shown
This sooty devilkin,
Malicious, full of sin,
Who shadows with his wings
The old twin towers of kings,
Of Paris, pleasant town,
Paris, of fair renown,
Which love and laughter crown—
Where science, mighty rede
Of diabolic breed,
Full many a cub doth hatch
That Demons claw and scratch!
The wicked animal
Who brought about our fall,
Has chosen, far from well,
In our good town to dwell.
The case is truly grave,
And sadly I engrave,
Because, to rid the town,
We needs must—tear it down. . . .

For the *Stryge,* the first principal plate in the portfolio, Meryon supplied but the two following lines, which might, however, serve as a motto for the work as a whole:

Lust, a foul vampire, insatiable and lewd,
Fore'er o'er the great city, covets its obscene food.

Even this brief inscription, which was traced directly beneath the etching, appears in only one state. Yet nothing could better sum up the saturnine philosophy of this mystic medieval dreamer, for whom the monster thus described stood as the symbol of that spirit of sin and suffering which corrupted the soul of the town which he loved and hated with a singular intensity of evil fascination.

The same sentiment is more concretely and humanly expressed in the verses at the top of the third state of *La Rue des Mauvais Garçons:*

What mortal once did dwell
  In such a dark abode?
Who there did hide him well
  Where the sun's rays never showed?

Was it Virtue here did stay,
  Virtue, silent and poor?
Or Crime, perchance you 'll say,
  Some vicious evil-doer.

Ah, faith, I do not know;
  And if you curious be,
  Go there yourself and see,
There still is time to go . . .

The last line, of course, contains a reference to the demolitions then in progress throughout the old quarters of Paris. Among the many monuments doomed to disappear was the old Pompe Notre-Dame on which Meryon composed the following verse, entitled "La Petite Pompe." Set in a very clever and amusingly Bacchic border which seems to exude drunkenness in every line, this little conceit has been well

MERYON. LE STRYGE

Size of the original etching, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches

characterized by one writer as an "elegant and witty fantasy":

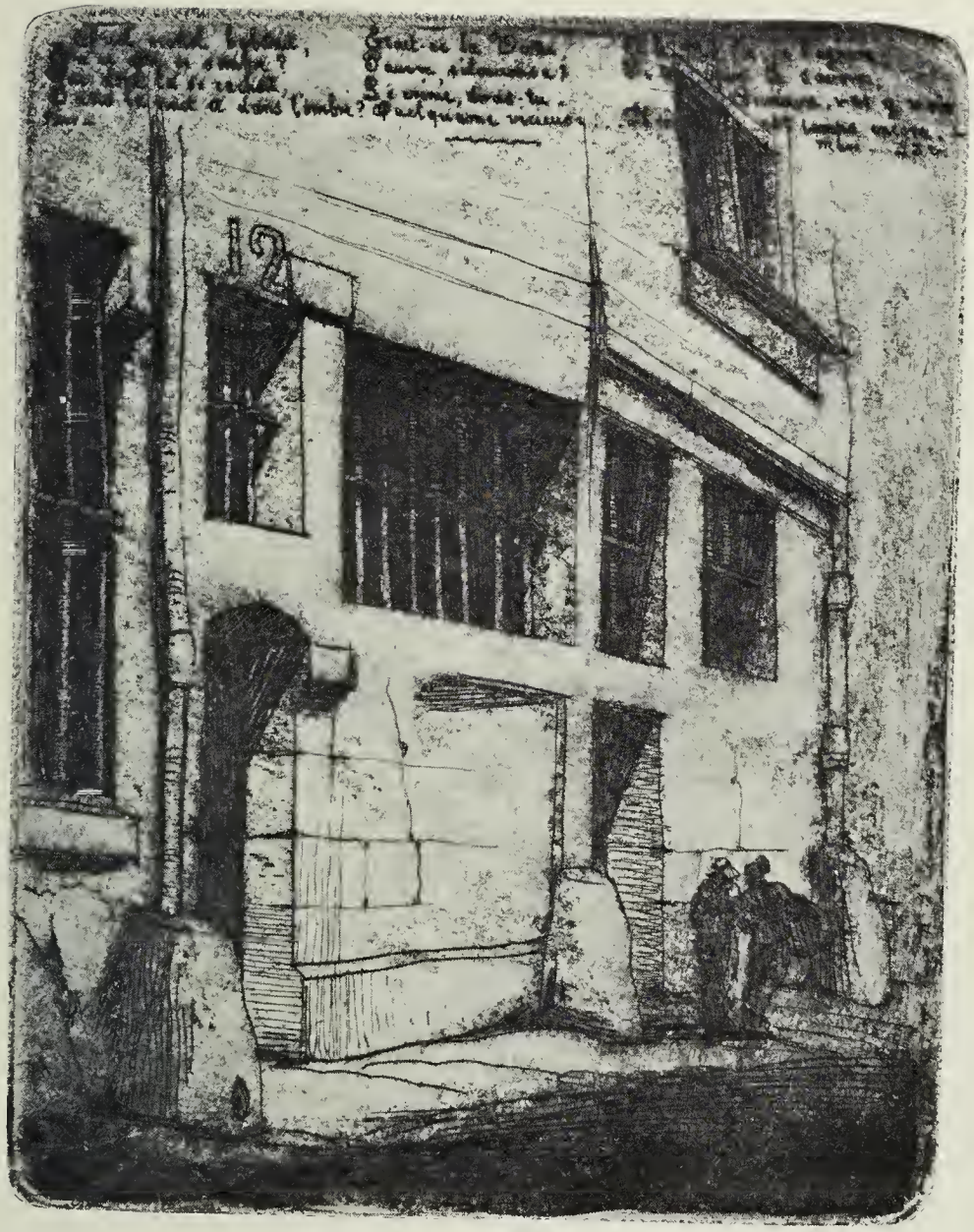
You 've served your day,
Lackaday!
Poor old pump,
Shorn of your pomp,
You now must die!
But to mollify
This iniquitous decree,
By a Bacchic pleasantry,
Why, pump, do not you,
Quite impromptu,
Instead of water pure,
No folks can endure,
Pump wine,
Very fine?

Not the destruction, but the restoration, of the Pont-Neuf produced the following two stanzas, the second with its whimsical, yet wistful, reference, perhaps to his own infirmities:

Of old Pont-Neuf the view
Exactly shown you see,
All furbished up anew
By recent town decree.

Doctors, who know each ill,
And surgeons full of skill,
Why not with flesh and bone,
Deal as with bridge of stone?

According to Delteil, these verses occur only in the sixth state of *Le Pont-Neuf;* but the text, as he gives it, does not coincide in the last two lines with that of a proof in the New York Public Library from which I have made the above translation, nor does it make good sense.



MERYON. LA RUE DES MAUVAIS GARÇONS

Size of the original etching, 4⅞ × 3⅞ inches

Of all Meryon's important plates, the one which he worked over and altered most in successive states—these number eleven—is *Le Pont-au-Change*. In the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, there appears in the upper left-hand corner a balloon on which is inscribed the word "Speranza." This balloon gives way in the seventh to a flock of birds which, in turn, disappear in the tenth in favor of a flight of small balloons; while in the eleventh and last still other balloons are added, including a larger one which bears, this time, the name of "(Vas)co da Gama." It is not difficult to see how, to his imaginative mind with its mystical turn for symbols and correspondences, man's soaring invention could become identified with his indomitable readiness to rise, even from the depths of despair. To develop the spiritual significance of this analogy, and to explain the inscription of the word "Speranza" on his first balloon, he wrote the following poem which enables us to penetrate the very mood in which the brain-sick etcher placed his cipher upon a plate which thus becomes his own personal record, no less than the record of his outward vision:

O power of Hope divine, Balloon, with upward urge,
Like the pale skiff that rocks upon the swelling surge,
Stirred by the careless breath of Autumns full of peace,
You float, and in the mists, set swirling by the breeze,
Reveal yourself sometimes unto our eager eyes,
In the calm tracts of space, on the blue ground of the skies,
Where the life-giving rays of a bright sun that gleams,
A line of gold do trace below the brilliant dreams
Of doubtful days to come; descend and build anew
The courage, sorely tried, of the rude and storm-tossed crew;
Of warriors stern and bold, who for a better fate,
Before the press of foes, still bear themselves elate,

MERYON. LE PONT-NEUF

Size of the original etching, 7¼ inches square

MERYON. LE PONT-AU-CHANGE

Size of the original etching, 6⅛ × 13⅛ inches

Of wounded, broken hearts, who seek o'er earth in vain
The unknown joy they scent, and hunger to attain!
But, moody dreamer, why, when pictures are thy trade,
Wilt thou among the clouds forever promenade?
Descend, descend to earth, and do no longer try
To climb the paths too steep, that lead up through the sky.
Fear thou of Fate to tempt the wayward fantasy,
For never unto men is she with favors free.
And since you hold the point, through fortune's latest freak,
That makes a needy etcher of the sailor far too weak,
So work that on the copper, black-glazed, that you must
hollow,
Your hand will leave behind the ripple that should follow
Each feeble skiff that passes upon the stormy sea
That men call life, whose waters both harsh and bitter be,
Where oft, too oft, alas, the lying hope that bore
Us on with siren lure deserts us at the shore!

If the foregoing, with its note of pensive self-communion, is the most personal and poignant of all the poems, "L'Hôtellerie de la Mort" is the most powerful and passionate. Written to accompany *La Morgue,* it completes the purpose of that etching by carrying the eye beyond the grim walls of the "inn of death" to the soul of the sinister tragedy within. In it a sense of profoundest pity struggles with the never-failing ironic perception of the artist, in a strange atmosphere of imaginative fantasy, to produce an agonized and heart-rending cry of revolt against the mysterious principle of suffering that pervades the universe. Peace and a promise of felicity are found at last in an influx of that peculiar mystical sentiment and insight which would seem to have its source in German romanticism:

Come, view, ye passersby,
Where her poor children lie;
A mother charitable,
This Paris that you see.
To them, at all times free,
Gives both a bed and table. . . .

See, without turning pale,
These faces that show naught,
Some smiling, some distraught,
The future's mystic tale. . . .

Here Death herds all the drove
Of those whom Fate waylays
Upon the stony ways,
Through Envy, Want, and Love. . . .

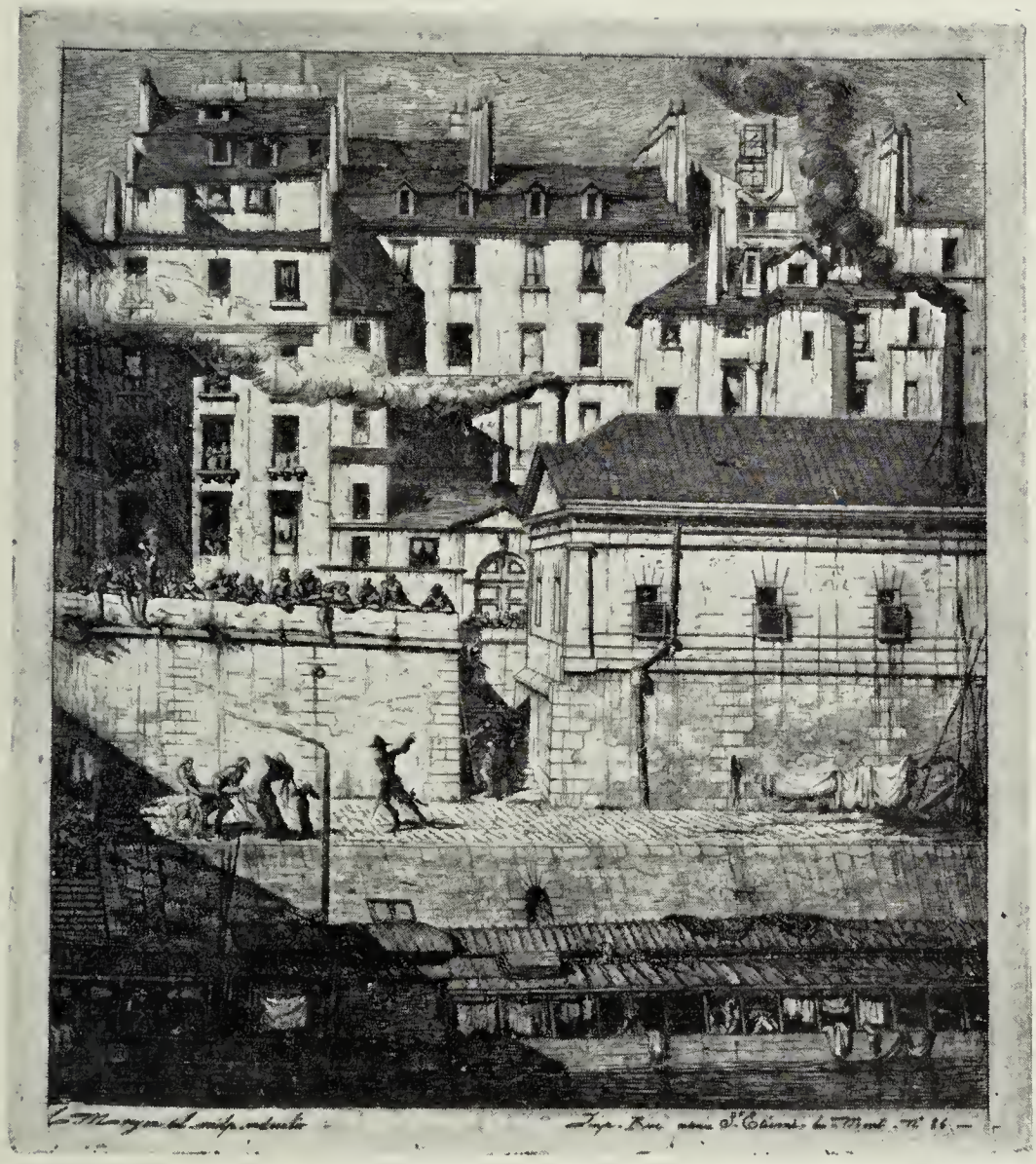
When upon Paris breaks
The pitiless hue and cry,
Satan himself then quakes,
So full the tables lie. . . .

Ah, may thou ne'er be shown
On this black bier of stone,
Of some one dear to thee,
The awful effigy! . . .

Oh, passers, passers, pray
For all who pass this way,
And down to death are hurled
Forever, without measure,
By this great haunt of pleasure,
Here in this famous world!

And yet, Death, may it not,
'Neath the stern mask we see,
Hide, of man's final lot,
Some smiling mystery?

Who knows if, Grief and Pain,
Drawing aside their screen,
At the end of toil and strain,
The star may not be seen?



MERYON. LA MORGUE

Size of the original etching, 9⅛ × 8⅛ inches

MERYON. L'ABSIDE DE NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS

From a proof in the collection of Harris B. Dick, Esq.
Size of the original etching, 6 × 11½ inches

Then on, poor human bands,
Dig and delve in the earth,
With your feet and with your hands.
For there is due to dearth
Some black bread every day!
If under famine's flail,
With night still on the way,
Your forces growing frail,
And stricken with dismay,
Upon the road are spent;
If you envisage Death,
Whom God perchance doth send,
Then, with your latest breath,
Wiping away your tears,
Glance at the vaulted skies,
Where cease for aye men's fears.
Lift up again your eyes!
There you perchance will read
That for you now draws nigh
The sweet days of no need.
When, never more to die,
The flower shall unfold,
The flower with fresh corol,
With the holy aureole,
Of blessings manifold,
Whose germ all hearts do hold!

Equally characteristic, in a certain note of sardonic humor, is the little piece of six lines which Meryon affixed to *L'Abside de Notre-Dame:*

O you who subtly relish each bit of Gothic style,
Then view you here, of Paris, the noble churchly pile:
High they have wished to build it, our great and saintly kings,
To give, unto their master, their deep repentance wings.
Although it so large, alas, they call it now too small,
Of those who fashionably sin, for it to hold them all!

This completes the first Paris series on the literary side, nor are there any poems for the later Paris pic-

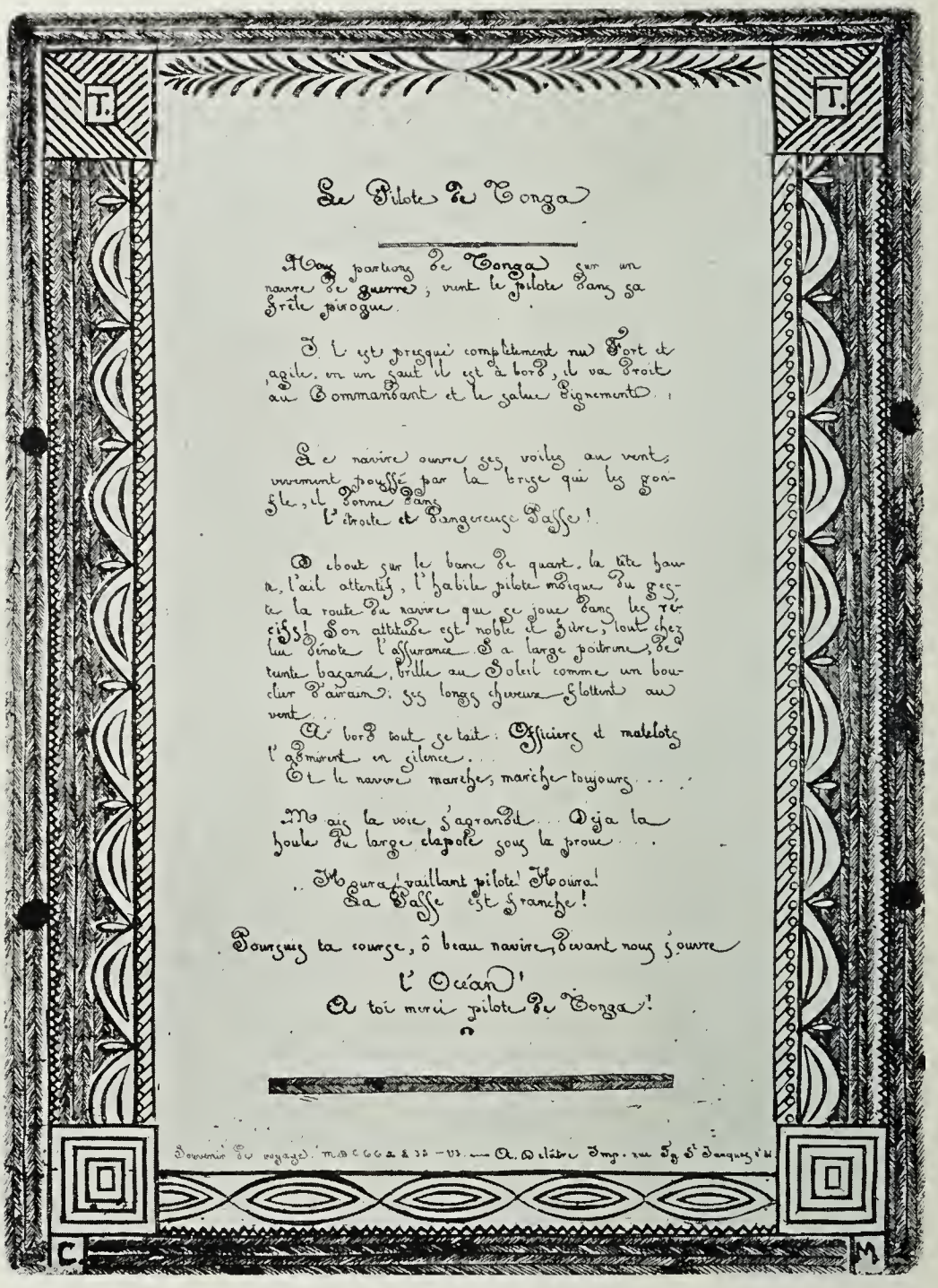
tures, except one of little interest for *Le Bain-Froid Chevrier,* which appears in the proofs with letters. Unlike any of the other poems, this is engraved on the plate in Roman characters instead of being etched in the artist's own hand-writing, which is, perhaps, one reason why it seems less personal and more perfunctory. Worthier of translation is the little set of verses which Meryon inscribed in a portfolio of the "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris" sent, in 1854, to his friend Eugène Bléry, who taught him how to etch:

Bléry, to you, my guide,
Who first for me untied
Of art, your secret way;
Who did, without delay,
Of your high-burning soul,
The mirror bright unveil;
My Muse, fresh for the goal,
Of what it hath, though frail,
Would make an offering,
In graving here your name
Within the frontis frame
Of this small gift of hers—
Though what stirs in her heart
But feebly it avers—
The first fruits of her art.

Had Meryon ever carried out his scheme for a portfolio of prints illustrative of his travels in the South Seas, he might have written a number of poems to accompany them. As it is, we have only one inspired by this subject and by this episode in his life. It is unrhymed and is, in fact, a sort of prose poem. "I did not make this little piece as a song," wrote Meryon in "Mes Observations," "though it doubtless

MERYON. LA PETITE POMPE

Size of the original etching, 4¼ × 3⅛ inches



MERYON. LE PILOTE DE TONGA (1861)

This song, composed in prose, after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand, was intended as a preface to a series of souvenirs of the voyage of the corvet *Rhin*, which Meryon intended to illustrate.
Size of the original etching, 8 × 5¾ inches

contains the material for one, according to the custom of the Islanders.'' It reminds one of similar little pictures, simple and rhythmic in line and glowing with light and color, presented by that other great artist who visited the South Seas and who has left a literary as well as an artistic record of his impressions —the late John LaFarge. The text of Meryon's graceful and spirited composition is printed in red, and is surrounded with a frame of Polynesian ornament. It is entitled

LE PILOTE DE TONGA

We sailed from Tonga on a ship of war; now comes the Pilot in his frail pirogue.

He is nearly nude. Agile and strong, with one leap he is on board; he goes straight to the commander and greets him with a courteous salute.

The ship spreads her sails to the winds; swiftly sped by the breeze that swells them, she enters
the narrow and dangerous strait.

Standing on the quarter deck, his head held high and his eye alert, the skilful pilot shows with a gesture the course of the ship which runs gaily among the reefs! His is the noble attitude of the Sylvan. Everything about him denotes assurance. His broad bosom, of tawny hue, gleams in the sunlight like a bronze buckler. His long locks float in the wind.

On board all is still. Officers and sailors admire him in silence,

And the ship sails on, and on, and on.

But the channel broadens. At length the surge of the open sea sounds beneath the prow.

Hurrah! valiant pilot! hurrah!
The strait is passed!
Pursue thy course, O noble ship; before us opens now
The Ocean!
And to thee, Pilot of Tonga, thanks!

Very different from this purely descriptive and decorative composition is the last of Meryon's metrical compositions, "L'Attelage," with its dramatic form and its profound sense of the misery of life for the humble. Like the other poems, it is in his own handwriting, and it has a decorative initial in the shape of a summary but suggestive sketch of a bit of dreary landscape that accentuates the sordid and hopeless moral atmosphere of the poem itself:

A horse crawled on his way, sad, and with hanging head,
For he was old and thin, and powdered o'er with dust.
Behind him, as he went, a pensive yokel led
An ancient plow that creaked, unoiled, and worn with rust.
The man was spare and bent, by age, so it did seem,
And I felt deepest pity for this unhappy team.
And that I might console them, when as I came in reach,
'O weary slaves,' to both I thus began my speech,
'You will have rest at evening, when you are growing old. . . '
—I had not finished speaking, when both at once, decisive:
'We hope for nothing ever: for us, no mirth will hold
'The future years derisive.
'For we are of the race foredoomed from birth to toil.
'Poor man, poor animal,
'Both with our burdens shall
'Go turning up the soil,
'With sweat, in summer's heat.

L'attelage.

Un cheval se traînait triste et tête baissée ;
Car il était vieux et maigre et poussif ;
Il s'en allait traînant plaintive et mal graissée
Une vieille charrue ; un homme tout pensif
La menait ; il était maigre et courbé par l'âge
Et j'eus pitié vraiment de ce pauvre attelage. —
Et pour les consoler, en passant auprès d'eux :
— « Serviteurs fatigués, leur dis-je, tous les deux,
« Vous avez le repos au soir de la vieillesse . . . »
— Je n'avais pas fini qu'ils répondaient en chœur ;
— « Non, nous n'attendons rien ; jamais, point de liesse,
« Pour nous, dans l'avenir moqueur,
« Aujourd'hui ni demain ; nous sommes de la plèbe,
« Homme pauvre, pauvre animal,
« Il faut, supportant notre mal,
« Finir en remuant la glèbe,
« À la sueur de notre front,
« De notre maître il faut enfler le patrimoine
« Il faut faire pousser l'avoine ;
« D'autres que nous la mangeront. »

— Oui, me dis-je, pour eux leurs fatigues sont vaines ;
Leurs travaux, leurs sueurs, et leur temps et leurs peines,
Ne leur rapportent rien. — Ah ! c'est qu'en vérité,
Quelques uns, trop nombreux, plus qu'ils n'ont mérité
Souffrent en cette vie, et quelle récompense
De leurs labeurs ingrats ? . . — La mort, à ce qu'on pense.

MERYON. L'ATTELAGE
Size of the original etching, 5⅜ × 3¾ inches

'For what our lord inherits, 't is ours to cause to swell
'And make the oats grow well
'That other mouths shall eat.'

—'T is true, I mused, for them their weariness is vain;
Their labor and their sweat, their long hours and their pain,
Do bring them no return; ah! it is truly taught,
That certain men, too many, more than in justice ought,
In this life suffer all, and what the generous fee
For all their thankless toil?—Death—so it seems to me . . .

Other pieces written by Meryon, and either etched or engraved on copper, have a curious rather than a literary interest. Thus "Petit Prince Ditto" is a political pasquinade on the Prince Imperial and contains a scurrilous reference to his reputed origin. The two plates entitled respectively *La Loi Lunaire* and *La Loi Solaire* are, as Burty calls them, philosophical fantasies based upon a system of absolute morality. The first, in particular, both in the order of its ideas and in the symbolic style of its decoration, reminds one somewhat of Blake, between whom and Meryon there are certain points of resemblance both in temperament and in intellectual organization. Through the latter, with his powerful objective vision, there runs a vein of unmistakable mystic sentiment and perception. True mystics have always been thus endowed, and it may even be said that the primary basis of mysticism is a firm grasp upon the ordinary realities of life. It is from this ground, and not from any vague indistinctness, or any absolute denial of the senses, that the mystic worthy of the name soars to his transcendent interpretation of life as a whole.

Seen aright, each of Meryon's plates is such an

interpretation, and his poems aid us to understand them in such a sense. But their function is not merely interpretative. They have, in addition, an intrinsic literary value of their own. They possess sincerity and depth of feeling, and, in the matter of expression, a certain blunt and homely directness that I have endeavored to preserve in my renderings, even at the expense of metrical and syntactical smoothness. They are, moreover, entirely original—so much so, indeed, that Meryon has all the air of having actually *invented* poetry for his own peculiar purposes, as he invented his simple yet strikingly decorative way of presenting it.

And yet these original and naïve verses, so evidently the work of a hand quite unpracticed in the art of poetry, of a mind of no particular literary culture—of a medieval ballad-mind, if I may be allowed the expression—have their affinities with other poetry. As I have faithfully turned his French alexandrines into their precise equivalent, his quaint homeliness reminds me of more than one elder English poet—Sir Thomas Wyatt, Nicholas Grimald, Michael Drayton—who tried to give Renaissance form to this, our traditional ballad measure. But in mood and intellectual content, it is to the great poets of the nineteenth century that he is most akin. Thus, in the pensive pessimism of the wistful searcher of the skies, we seem to listen to a less convinced and more mystical Leopardi; in "L'Hôtellerie de la Mort" there is a hint of Hood's humanitarian sentiment and social invective; in "L'Attelage" sounds the same outraged sense of the dignity of human labor, and even of the moral claims of animal life, that penetrates modern poetical expres-

sion from Burns to Baudelaire;[1] while, in Meryon's frequent bizarrerie of diction, his imaginative fantasy, and his fondness for the occult and the abstract —his metaphysical note, in short—we recognize that he is brother to Poe and a forerunner of the *symbolistes*. Thus, also, they have their value as a gloss on the moral and spiritual evolution of the age, these little poems which, finally, thrill us as the product of the same mind which imagined the austere, grandiose, and mystical visions of the "Eaux-Fortes sur Paris," and of the hand which graved these on the copper with such restrained ardor of execution.

[1] Though this poem perhaps presents an even more remarkable parallel with that famous production of fourteenth-century, or Middle-English, literature, "The Vision of Pier the Ploughman." Not only the spirit, but the very language, of Meryon's piece is found in such a passage as the following from Miss Jessie L. Weston's admirable rendering into modern English in "Romance, Vision, and Satire":

> "Some set them to the plough-share, and seldom thought of play.
> In harrowing and sowing they gain, laboriously,
> What many of their masters destroy in gluttony."

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