

The

H·A·L·C·Y·O·N

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ANOTHER EXCEPTIONAL YEAR

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THE JUNE ISSUE of *The Halcyon* is traditionally an overview of the purchases made during the previous fiscal year, noting some of the highlights newly acquired for the collections. Acquisitions that were diverse, encompassing many different subject areas, time periods, languages, and formats made 2016–2017 exceptional and exhilarating. From a fourteenth-century Italian missal to a

nineteenth-century Canadian Pacific Railway photo album, we added many rare and important items to our research collections. In this issue, Graham Bradshaw, P.J. Carefoote, David Fernández, Ksenya Kiebusinski, Natalya Rattan, Elizabeth Ridolfo, John Shoesmith, and Lauren Williams contribute articles on recent purchases in their areas of expertise and interest. In the meantime, I thought I

would give you a brief summary of some key purchases made during the year.

One of the highlights was the acquisition of a 1507 printing of *The Golden Legend*, now the oldest English-language book at the library, and among the oldest English books in Canada. Widely read during the Middle Ages—some consider it even more popular than the Bible—*The Golden Legend* recounts fantastic

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OPENING PAGE: Detail from the *Roman de la Rose*. BELOW: Page from *The Golden Legend* with the giant 'X' that defaces the section on St Thomas Becket.

stories of the lives of the saints. The Fisher copy includes woodcuts by England's first printer, William Caxton, who had left the original carved blocks in his will to his apprentice, Wynkyn de Worde, who in turn printed this edition. Early in its history, the Fisher copy was owned by an English reformer, evident from the fact that a giant 'X' defaces the section on St Thomas Becket, the murdered twelfth-century Archbishop of Canterbury. Another interesting feature is the prefatory material: a translation of parts of the Bible into English which was still an illegal practice at the time.

We also acquired an exquisite illustrated copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, one of the most widely read vernacular works from the later Middle Ages, and arguably the most influential secular work of literature created in medieval France. About 250 manuscripts of this epic poem of chivalry and courtly love are known to have survived from medieval times. The Fisher copy was made in northern France, probably Paris, circa 1375, and is now the oldest complete vernacular manuscript in the Fisher collection. It is written in brown ink on vellum in a regular bâtarde hand. A single artist contributed four charming column-width miniatures in demi-grisaille. This remarkable manuscript will be the centrepiece of an academic symposium in the winter of 2018.

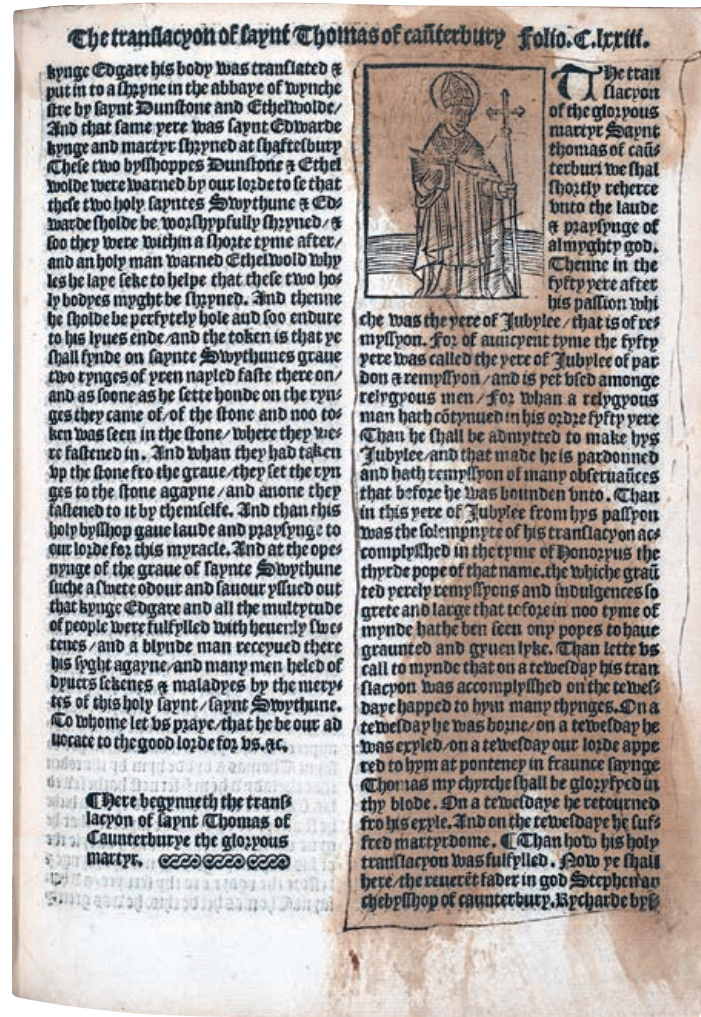
A significant 1559 edition of the Book of Common Prayer was also added to our collections. The original Book of Common Prayer was published in 1549 during the reign of Edward VI following England's break with Rome. The 1549 book was suppressed with the succession of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary I. In 1559, her sister Elizabeth I reintroduced the book with a few modifications to make it more acceptable to her Catholic and Protestant subjects. The 1559 Prayer Book, for

example, omitted prayers against the 'tyranny' and 'detestable enormities' of the Bishop of Rome, as well as the so-called 'black rubric' which, in the 1552 Prayer Book, had been included to explain that kneeling to receive the Sacrament did not express any idolatrous veneration of the elements of bread and wine. Another major revision was printed in 1662, two

Fisher now has all three of the most significant versions of the Book of Common Prayer — 1549, 1559, and 1662.

I wish to acknowledge the tremendous financial support that has enabled us to add to our research collections. In 2016–2017, we were fortunate to draw on funds from a variety of sources to buy important items. In addition to the Rare Book and Special Collections' regular acquisitions fund, we received support for one time only special purchases from the Friends of the Fisher fund and the Central Library's Collection Development budget. Endowments and other special funds have been vital to our work to build outstanding collections as well. For example, we have benefitted from endowments for particular subject areas, such as the Collard Canadiana fund, the Kenny Social History fund, and the Walsh Philosophy Collection Fund. Further, a number of scarce, important, and beautiful library and auction catalogues were acquired with funds from the Richard Landon/Marie Korey fund. Significant acquisitions in the history of medicine were supported by a grant from Associated Medical Services.

We are extremely grateful to donors and colleagues both past and present whose support has enabled us to build research collections of national and international significance. We also owe gratitude to the rare book dealers who find these unique items for us and offer them for sale. Finally, I thank my colleagues, the wonderful librarians in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Through their expertise, resolve, patience, sharp eyes, and passion, they have made extraordinary additions to the collections in 2016–2017. It was a most remarkable year indeed.





NOT LOST IN TRANSLATION: ORWELL'S *ANIMAL FARM* AMONG REFUGEES AND BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN

Ksenya Kiebuszinski
Petro Jacyk Resource Centre

AMONG THE MANY significant anniversaries being commemorated in 2017, the centennial of the Russian Revolution is among the most important, offering an opportunity to reflect on one of the defining political events of the twentieth century. The political allegory *Animal Farm*, its publication history, and reception by the peoples most affected by the Revolution's long-term consequences, present unique perspectives from which to look at dissenting voices to the rise of the Soviet Union and its role in the aftermath of the Second World War. With the recent purchases of this modern classic in a rare Serbian translation, and just this past March, of a unique Russian copy revised in the hand of its translator Gleb Struve, this year also offers us an opportunity to review the several noteworthy editions and translations of the satirical novel held by the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library that were

specifically intended for an Eastern European readership.

In early 1944, Eric Arthur Blair (1903–1950), known better by his pen name George Orwell, completed the manuscript of *Animal Farm* in which he sought to condemn tyranny universally, and particularly to destroy the myth that the Soviet Union was a truly socialist society. He began writing the novel immediately after the Tehran conference in late November 1943. At this strategy meeting between Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill, the Soviet Union gained tentative concessions on Eastern Europe from the United States and Britain. Later, leaders of the 'Big Three'—the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States—confirmed these terms at the wartime conferences of Yalta and Potsdam. Orwell leveled his criticism at the two western leaders' compromise with Stalin using animals to represent human vice and folly. The farm, Mr.

Jones, the pigs, and the other animals, stand in for the historical figures and events associated with Russian history since 1917.

Animal Farm's path to publication was not straightforward. Although under contract with Victor Gollancz, Orwell's publisher rejected the manuscript because it was too obviously critical of the Soviet Union, which was a crucial ally in the war against Hitler's Germany. The firm of Nicholson & Watson considered it in 'bad taste to attack the head of an allied government in that manner.' André Deutsch feared risking capital he did not have. T. S. Eliot, a director at Faber & Faber, praised Orwell's style and compared the novel to Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, yet rejected the manuscript because 'we have no conviction that this is the right point of view from which to criticize the political situation at the present time.' Jonathan Cape said yes, but reversed his decision following a visit to Peter Smollett

OPENING PAGE: Dust jacket from the first Canadian edition of *Animal Farm*, 1946; Myroslav Hryhoriiiv's cover illustration for the 1947 Ukrainian translation, *Колгосп тварин* (Collective Farm of Animals); title page of the advance copy of the first American edition of *Animal Farm*, 1946. **FACING PAGE, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:** 1981 Polish translation, *Folwark zwierzęcy* with cover illustration by Andrzej Krauze; 1984 reprint of 1974 Odnova edition, originally published in London; two coloured plates from lithographs by Jan Libenstein, printed in the 1985 large format, hardcover edition of *Folwark zwierzęcy*.

(1912–1980), the Head of Soviet Relations at Britain's Ministry of Information, who advised against such an anti-Soviet text. It turns out that Smollett was an operative of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (*Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*/NKVD) recruited by double agent Kim Philby.

Orwell, however, prevailed over British caution and Soviet subterfuge. The publisher Seckler & Warburg accepted the manuscript, and released the first English edition of *Animal Farm* on 17 August 1945 in a small print run of forty-five hundred copies because of severe paper rationing after the war. They published a second impression, of ten thousand copies, in November 1945, and a third, of six thousand copies, in October 1946. The first American edition published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. came out on 26 August 1946 in fifty thousand copies, followed by two impressions, of 430,000 and 110,000 copies, for the Book-of-the-Month Club edition. Two months later, S. J. Reginald Saunders of Toronto, under the leadership of Saunders' widow Ila, produced the first Canadian edition in two thousand copies, which carried on its cover the warning: 'Don't be a parrot. Think! Think for yourself.' By the time Seckler & Warburg released their fiftieth-anniversary edition of *Animal Farm* in 1995, with illustrations by Ralph Steadman (1936–), the book had sold more than twenty million copies in five dozen languages, and had been the subject of several radio, stage, and film adaptations.

Following the publication of *Animal Farm* in English, Orwell encouraged translators to publish the text in as many languages as possible. This suited the 'psywar' needs of the British Information Research Department, and the Office of Policy Coordination within the Central Intelligence Agency, just fine. In the late 1940s, the two government agencies began to use literature by established authors as a way to conduct its propaganda against the threat of Communism. It was Orwell, though, and his literary agent Leonard Moore (d. 1959), who, in their lifetimes, did the most to disseminate the novel across Central and Eastern Europe. By the time Orwell died in 1950, translations had appeared in Polish (London, 1946), Czech (Prague, 1946), Ukrainian (Neu-Ulm, 1947), and Russian (Frankfurt am Main, 1949), along

with other languages of Europe, the Middle East, and parts of Asia, ranging from Danish to Persian and Korean. These appeared at a time when the Soviet Union had successfully promoted communist government takeovers in most eastern European countries. Orwell's premature death cleared the way for western government officials to appropriate his name and work for their own political objectives without fear of protestation from the author. Other translations ensued: Lithuanian (London, 1952), Hungarian (Budapest, 1952–53), Latvian (London, 1954), and Serbian (Munich, 1955). *Animal Farm* also circulated in underground versions across the Iron Curtain well into the 1980s.

Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* as a satire of the Russian Revolution, but also one against any violent conspiratorial revolution that only leads to a change of masters. In a letter to the American editor, critic, and writer Dwight MacDonald (1906–1982), dated 5 December 1946, he stated, 'You can't have a revolution unless you make it for yourself; there is no such thing as a benevolent dictatorship.' His outspokenness against Stalin's politics and Western misconceptions about Soviet communism turned Orwell into one of the most respected representatives of the left by exiles and refugees of Soviet-occupied countries. The author further endeared himself to displaced persons following the Second World War by refusing to accept fees or royalties for translations undertaken by refugee groups. He told his literary agent, Leonard Moore, that 'as in the case of other Russian-occupied countries, where translations can only be made by refugees, I do not want any payment' (21 September 1946). He sympathized with the plight of the displaced persons, hoping that they would not be shipped back to the Soviet Union, and, as he said in a letter to the Hungarian-British writer Arthur Koestler (1905–1983) dated 20 September 1947, he considered them 'a godsend opportunity for breaking down the wall between Russia and the west.'

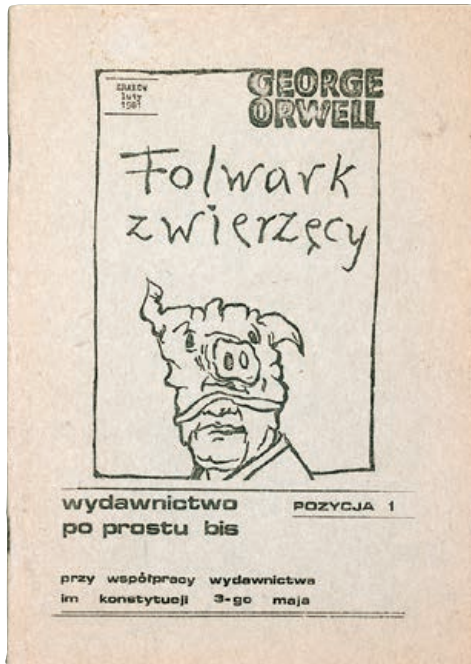
The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library preserves several translations of *Animal Farm*.

The Polish edition, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, was among the first to appear. The World League of Poles Abroad, a pre-war organization of the government-in-exile in London, sponsored the

translation. It was a collaboration between the translator, Teresa Jeleńska (1890–1969), and illustrator, Wojciech Jastrzębowski (1884–1963). Jeleńska was descended from Polish petty gentry and the wife of a diplomat. A frequent visitor to the capitals of Europe where she attended numerous embassy balls and receptions, she took refuge in Britain after the German occupation of Poland. Strapped for money, she turned to journalism and translation to help make ends meet. She read *Animal Farm* in August 1945, and was transfixed by it. Jeleńska dashed off a letter to Orwell asking for authorization to translate it into Polish. The two entered into a five-year correspondence. He offered the translator his help, suggesting that she ring him up should she 'feel in doubt about the meaning of any word or phrase,' and expected that they could understand one another despite him not knowing a word of Polish. The audience for the translation was largely Poles living abroad, and, more narrowly, Anders's Army (Second Polish Corps) in Italy. These were Polish citizens recruited from Soviet forced labour camps during the amnesty offered by Stalin in 1941, who were then passed on to British command.

Bolesław Wierzbiański (1913–2003), acting on behalf of the World League of Poles Abroad, commissioned the designer, painter, and graphic artist Wojciech Jastrzębowski, who was the former vice-chancellor of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw (1936–1939), and living in London from 1940, to illustrate the Polish edition. Jastrzębowski completed six illustrations, plus a cover, which features a portrait of a pig dressed in military uniform decorated with medals and epaulettes above which a banner proclaims: 'All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others.' Readers quickly snapped up the five-thousand copies of the illustrated translation—the Polish version vies with the Czech translation as the first illustrated edition of *Animal Farm* in any language—when it appeared in December 1946.

Publishers reprinted Jeleńska's translation for decades, particularly in the late 1970s through to the 1980s, in clandestine editions within Communist Poland. The collection NSZZ 'Solidarność' and Independent Publications from Poland holds three such



editions of *Folwark zwierzęcy*. 'Po Bistu bis' issued one in 1981. This was an independent student-run publishing house whose goal was to break state-controlled censorship and the government's monopoly on information. Supplementing the text are nine illustrations, including those on the cover and back, by the Polish-born British caricaturist Andrzej Krauze (1947–). This edition, and another printed anonymously in 1984, reprint in reduced facsimile the edition published in London by Odnova in 1974. Arkadiusz Kutkowski (1958–), a journalist and historian, supervised the

covert publication of the modest 1984 reprint in Radom, with illustrated wrapper only. He befriended a printer, a Solidarity sympathizer, brought ink for the press, and asked him to print the Orwell translation. The printer photographed the pages, prepared the plates, and printed the book on his 'second' shift.

The Kraków publisher Oficyna Literacka (Literary Press) produced a much more handsome and luxurious edition the following year. The large format, hardcover edition of *Folwark zwierzęcy*, with Jeleńska's interpretation, includes ten coloured plates reproduced from

lithographs by Jan Lebenstein, a distinguished Polish painter and graphic artist. Lebenstein (1930–2000), a graduate of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, received the *Grand Prix* at the First International Biennale of Young Artists in Paris in 1959. He remained in France, where he established close ties with the Polish *émigré* community involved with the Instytut Literacki (Literary Institute) and the journal *Kultura* (Culture). In 1974, he undertook a series of gouaches, paintings, and graphic illustrations in honour of Orwell, many of which he exhibited over the next two years in Paris and Brussels. Lebenstein considered Orwell's story *Animal Farm* 'a Socialist utopia in the form of a cruel fairy tale very appealing.' Lebenstein, in solidarity with supporters of independent culture and underground publishing in Poland, consented to have a selection of the illustrations from his *Animal Farm* cycle reproduced free-of-charge. The independent publisher Oficyna Literacka printed them by rotogravure, and pasted each image onto a separate sheet.

Teresa Jeleńska's role in the translation and dissemination of *Animal Farm* did not end with the Polish language. She also acted as an intermediary between Orwell and a young Polish-born Ukrainian scholar and journalist named Ihor Ševčenko (1922–2009), the eventual Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History and Literature at Harvard University. In 1945 and 1946, Ševčenko worked for *Dziennik Żołnierza* (Soldier's Daily), a newspaper published by General Stanisław Maczek's Polish First Armoured Division. One of the co-editors of the newspaper was Teresa's son, Konstanty 'Kot' Jeleński (1922–1987). Ševčenko's assignment was to survey the British press, and he soon discovered Orwell's column 'As I Please' among the pages of the *Tribune*. He went on to read *Animal Farm* in mid-February 1946 and immediately seized upon the idea that 'a translation into Ukrainian would be of great value to my countrymen.' He was motivated by the desire to convince fellow refugees that among the British there were left-leaning intellectuals who 'knew the truth' about the Soviet state and its institutions. Jeleński contacted his mother who, on behalf of Ševčenko, broached the question of a Ukrainian translation with Orwell. The writer not only agreed, but also wrote a unique preface to the edition—for decades the only published introduction—and refused any royalties.

The small *émigré* publishing house Prometheus issued the Ukrainian translation as *Колгосп тварин* (Collective Farm

BELOW: Kazys Dargis's 1952 cover illustration for *Gyvulių ūkis*.

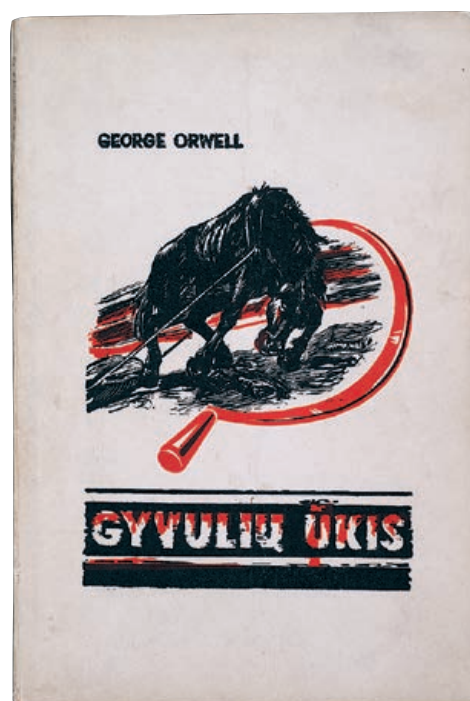
of Animals) in November 1947. Ševčenko masked his identity behind the pseudonym Ivan Cherniatynskyi—a combination of his father's first name and his mother's maiden name. The edition carried a cover illustration by Myroslav Hryhoriiiv (1911–2000), an editor and contributor of articles and illustrations to Czech and Ukrainian press, a designer of book covers, and the author of books on the methods of Soviet propaganda. The cover depicts, in the foreground, the pig Napoleon with a whip overseeing, in the background, Boxer the carthorse drudging a heavy load of boulders uphill, while a hen watches overhead. About two thousand to three thousand copies of *Колгосп тварин* were distributed to Ukrainian refugees living in displaced persons' camps inside the American Zone of allied-occupied Germany. Unfortunately, American soldiers stopped and searched a truck carrying the rest, and confiscated the remaining half of the print run. They handed the copies over to the Soviet repatriation authorities who destroyed them. Two copies, carried among the personal belongings of refugees immigrating to Canada, are in the Fisher's John Luczkiw Collection of D. P. Publications, 1945–1954.

After Orwell's death in January 1950, *Animal Farm* came out in Lithuanian and Serbian.

In 1952, the Lithuanian House Association in London published a translation under the title *Gyvulių ūkis: fantastinė apysaka*, featuring the original subtitle of 'A Fairy Story.' Ginutis Procuta (1933–), a native of Lithuania living in Canada, and a frequent and generous donor to the University of Toronto Libraries and the Vilnius University Library, donated a copy to the Fisher Library. It, along with the original 1947 Polish translation donated by the estate of Alexander Frejszmidt (1930–2012), and the recently purchased Russian edition, are now part of the Claude Bissell Collection. Fabijonas Neveravičius (1900–1981) served as the translator. He studied at the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy at the Lithuanian University in Kaunas, and then joined the Lithuanian Army during the Polish-Lithuanian War, 1919–1920. Afterwards, he returned to Kaunas and worked at the Military School there until 1934, when, for political reasons, he quit and began to work as a writer and journalist. Neveravičius participated in the anti-Nazi resistance during the Second World War, but by 1944 left for Western Europe. He eventually settled in England, where he edited the journal *Santarvė*

(Concord, 1953–1958), wrote historical novels and short stories about the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, and translated works by Stefan Żeromski (1864–1925), Władysław Stanisław Reymont (1867–1925), and Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), among others.

The cover to *Gyvulių ūkis* was illustrated by Kazys Dargis (1917–1977), an artist trained at the Academy of Art in Vilnius, who at the end of the Second World War traveled to Denmark and then to England. The cover features Boxer the carthorse dragging a boulder, encircled by



a sickle, a symbol of the Soviet Union. As a curious aside, Dargis's wife, Bodil (née Rønnow, 1925–1988), was an accomplished Danish animator who worked on the CIA-funded British animated film, *Animal Farm*, by John Halas and Joy Batchelor (1954). Orwell was clearly a family affair.

A translation of *Animal Farm* into Serbian followed in 1955, although there had been earlier attempts to publish one in Yugoslavia in late 1946 or early 1947. A Mr. A. G. Avakumović wrote to Orwell on 21 September 1946 suggesting a translation into Serbian, and then met personally with the author later that winter, hoping to convince both Orwell and the publisher Fredric Warburg (1898–1981) that an edition in Roman script, produced in England, in about five thousand copies, could feasibly be smuggled into Yugoslavia. The individual

was Aleksandar G. Avakumović (1896–1954), the Yugoslav ambassador to Romania in 1941, and then to Sweden, until his retirement in October 1944. He fiercely opposed the Communists' rise to power, and refused to return to Yugoslavia after the war was over. His son, Ivan (1926–2013), eventually immigrated to Canada, where he published a number of studies on the Doukhobors, on socialism and the Communist Party in Canada, and on the Canadian political thinker and literary critic George Woodcock (1912–1995).

It is difficult to say what role Avakumović or his son played in the eventual publication of *Animal Farm* in Serbian. Nonetheless, the translation by Slobodan A. Stanković, *Farma životinja: savremena basna*, appeared a few years later under the imprint of Iskra publishing house in Munich. Stanković, later a research analyst of Yugoslav affairs for Radio Free Europe, included a preface and afterword in which he explained that his people, Yugoslavs, who read Orwell's *Animal Farm*, will have 'a picture of Tito's Yugoslavia,' and that in the satire, they will find everything that their Fatherland has undergone and is currently experiencing. He continued to stress that everything that transpires in Orwell's satire, as a rule takes place in all countries where Communists hold power. Although they promise 'a paradise on earth,' they do nothing but deceive and mislead people and societies. This Serbian edition is a bit of a rarity, and difficult to find in libraries across North America and Europe, although the Belgrade University Library and the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad hold a copy each. The Fisher Library purchased its copy from local antiquarian bookseller, David Mason, in 2015.

Given the obvious direct criticism of the Russian Revolution and Stalin's policies, and the implied criticism of dictatorships in general, it is no surprise that George Orwell's *Animal Farm* found a broad audience among émigrés and refugees from Eastern Europe, and that clandestine copies smuggled across the Iron Curtain found eager readers in the Soviet bloc countries. Although libraries often forego collecting translations from English into foreign languages, the example of *Animal Farm* suggests that in some cases it is well worth our while, especially when they are expressions of intellectual bravery.



“WONDERFUL TRANSFORMATIONS”: THE ACQUISITION OF MARIA SIBYLLA MERIAN’S *ERUCARUM ORTUS*, *ALIMENTUM ET PARADOXA METAMORPHOSIS*

David Fernández

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

ON 18 JUNE 1701, the naturalist-artist Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717) and her daughter Dorothea Maria Graff (1678–1743) sailed back to Europe following a two-year residence in Suriname. Merian was returning to Amsterdam with a bounty of natural history specimens, rolls of paintings on vellum, and with a vision to bring to light her most recent entomological and botanical investigations. Letters and exotic insect specimens sent to fellow naturalists carried news of the project, while subscription notices for the new publication appeared in scientific journals of the period. ‘That curious person *Madam Maria Sybilla Merian*’, reads an ‘advertisement’ printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. 23, 1702), ‘being lately returned from Surinam in the West Indies,

doth now propose to publish a *Curious History* of all those insects, and their transmutations.’ The first edition of *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* was published in Amsterdam in 1705; a beautiful folio volume illustrated with sixty copperplate engravings still regarded today as Merian’s masterpiece and as one of the most extraordinary examples of natural history illustrations of the New World.

Born into a family of engravers, Merian’s artistic legacy equals her accomplishments as a naturalist and avid observer of the natural world. As her biographer, Natalie Zemon Davis, notes in *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (1995), Merian advanced an important ‘ecological vision’ of insects and their food plants and, at the same time, she presented a holistic approach

to art and nature in her published works. In *Blumenbuch* (1675, 1677, 1680), for instance, Merian transforms the life cycles of insects into magnificent art pieces that served as patterns for textile artists in the eighteenth century. The entomological illustrations in the later book, *Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung* (1679, 1683), are indicative of Merian’s growth as a naturalist with a systematic view on collecting and observation.

This year marks the three-hundredth anniversary of the death of this exceptional figure in the history of early modern science. The Fisher Library recently acquired the only copy in Canada of the first Latin edition of Merian’s *Erucarum ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis*, originally published in two parts in German as *Der Raupen*

OPENING PAGE: Posthumous portrait of Maria Sibylla Merian based on a drawing by her son-in-law. **BELOW:** Six hand-coloured copper engravings of insects and plants.



wunderbare Verwandlung in 1679 and 1683. The Latin edition was published in Amsterdam just one year after the author's death in 1717, and was translated by her daughter Dorothea Maria Graff, who also edited the third part of the book. The Fisher Library copy contains 150 fine hand-coloured copper engravings of insects and plants, as well as the rare allegorical frontispiece by Jacobus Schijnvoet (1685?–1733?),

three sectional frontispieces of floral wreaths signed by Merian, and the posthumous portrait of the author based on a drawing by her son-in-law. Plants flourish with vivid colours and insects come alive in their environments in these engravings—a true testament to how Merian was able to operate with success in the worlds of art and science in the early modern period.

This book joins two other significant recent acquisitions of early editions of books on entomology: the first comprehensive work dealing with insects to appear in Europe (*De animalibus insectis*, 1638) and the first book solely devoted to insects to be printed in Britain (*Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum*, 1634).



ALLEN GINSBERG'S *KADDISH FOR NAOMI GINSBERG*

John Shoesmith

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

WHEN NAOMI GINSBERG, the mother of famed Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, died in 1956, there were only seven attendees at her funeral. By Jewish custom, a Kaddish, or mourner's prayer, can only be recited in the presence of a *Minyan*, a quorum of ten Jewish males over age thirteen. Allen had an unusual, oft-fraught relationship with his mother as she struggled for the majority of her adult years with mental illness, causing her to spend many years in and out of hospitals, as well as receiving electroshock treatment. Still, Allen always felt close to her, and he was determined that in the absence of a Kaddish delivered at her funeral, he would one day write an elegy for her.

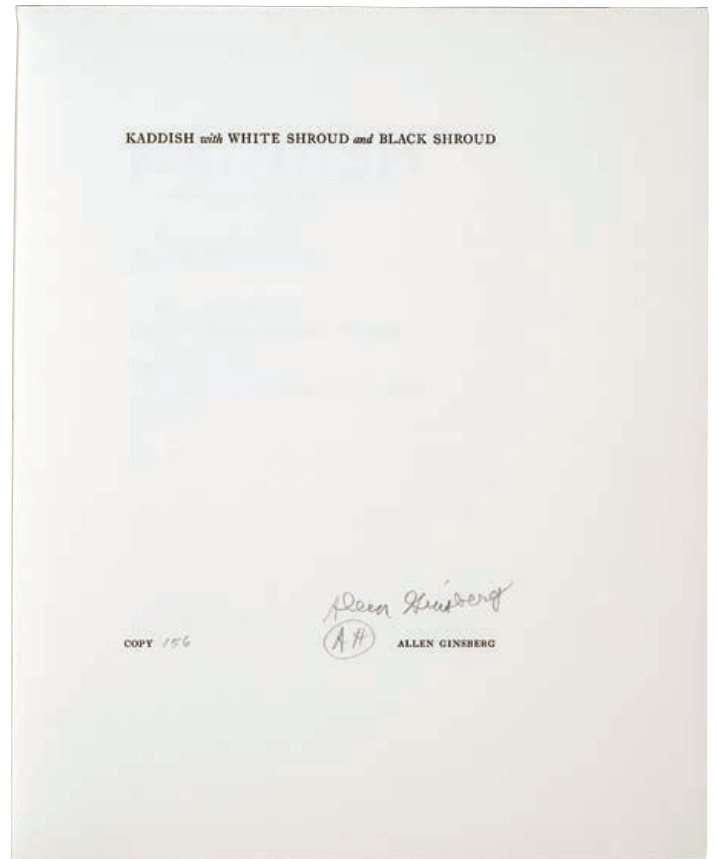
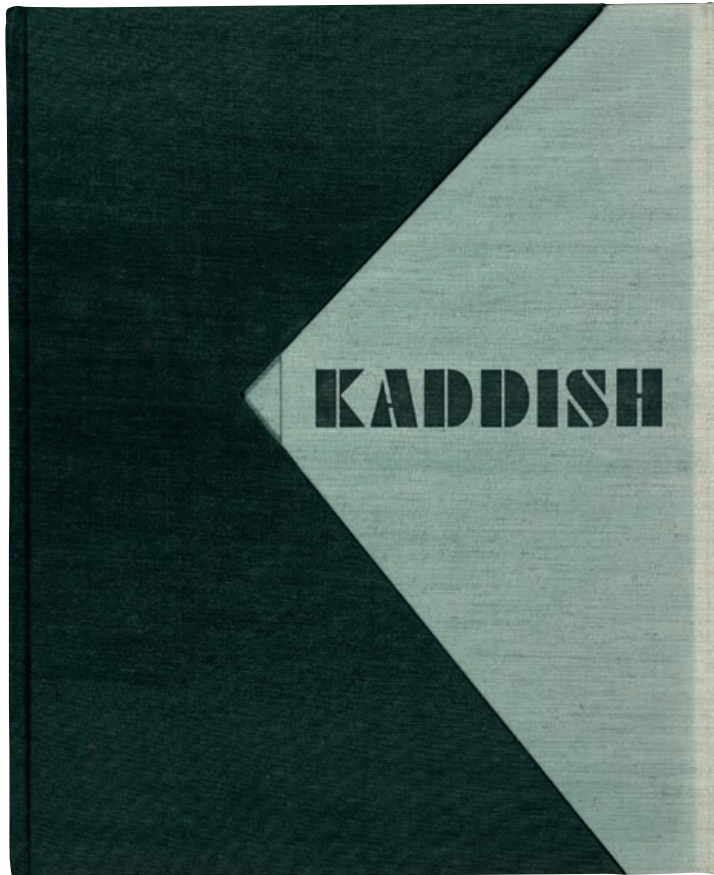
He did not begin the poem, however, until almost a year and a half after her death. Living in Paris and sitting in a café with his notebook, he began to sketch out thoughts about his mother, the effect of which brought him to tears. 'I write best when I weep,' he wrote to Jack Kerouac about the work. Much like the

composition of 'Howl,' the long-form poem that turned Ginsberg into a national figure (aided by a high-profile obscenity trial against it), the bulk of *Kaddish for Naomi Ginsberg, 1894–1956* was written largely in one prolonged sitting when he returned to New York City in 1959: from six o'clock on a Saturday morning in November, until ten on Sunday evening. The poem dealt with the death of his mother, but it also reflected Ginsberg's own somewhat-estranged relationship to his religion. While 'Howl' would forever remain Ginsberg's most well-known work, 'Kaddish' is often celebrated as his finest achievement, particularly in encapsulating Ginsberg's broad views on life and death, although it too was controversial owing to its frank and explicit sexuality.

The poem was eventually published by City Lights Books in 1961 as part of its Pocket Poet Series in a collection titled *Kaddish and Other Poems 1958–1960*. Like *Howl*, published in 1956 by City Lights, it sold well, going through ten additional printings by the beginning of 1970.

With its emphasis on free-form informality and spontaneity — Ginsberg himself used the phrase 'First thought, best thought' to describe his work — the writing of the Beats would not seem like ideal candidates for fine press treatment. Yet Ginsberg's two most-famous poems, 'Howl' and 'Kaddish', were both published in sumptuous versions after their original City Lights editions. In 1971, San Francisco publisher Grabhorn-Hoyem released a signed limited-edition *Howl*, with a cover design by the California artist Robert La Vigne. The Fisher was fortunate to receive this edition in 2014 through a donation by the estate of Jean Whiffin. Earlier this year, the Fisher acquired its fine press twin, *Kaddish for Naomi Ginsberg, 1894–1956*, and in many ways it is a true twin: it was published by the successor to Grabhorn-Hoyem, Arion Press, launched in 1975 by owner Andrew Hoyem following the death of fellow printer Robert Grabhorn and the consequent dissolution of Grabhorn-Hoyem. Over the years, Arion has printed an eclectic roster of fine press books,

OPENING PAGE: Lithograph portraits of Ginsberg and his mother by American artist R. B. Kitaj. **BELOW, LEFT TO RIGHT:** Kaddish slipcase and title page. **FACING PAGE, LEFT TO RIGHT:** Early phrenology head, circa 1860; map of skull showing locations that determine intelligence, personality, and character traits from Spurzheim's *Phrenology*, printed at London in 1825; later phrenology head, circa 1880. Background image shows a craniometer used for taking skull measurements.



from classics such as *Moby Dick* and Molière's *Tartuffe*, to lavishly illustrated poetry texts.

Arion's *Kaddish*, published in 1992 (the book also contains two additional poems: 'White Shroud' and 'Black Shroud'), is a handsome book, but also subtle in its execution. It contains

but two illustrations: lithograph portraits of the poet and his mother by American artist R. B. Kitaj. It is cloth-bound in two colours, black and grey-green, with a flap that folds into the front cover. In short, it is a dignified tribute to Naomi Ginsberg.

Both of the fine press editions of *Howl* and *Kaddish* will be on display early next year when an exhibition featuring the photographs of Allen Ginsberg will be mounted at the Fisher Library.



COLLECTION OF PHRENOLOGY MATERIALS

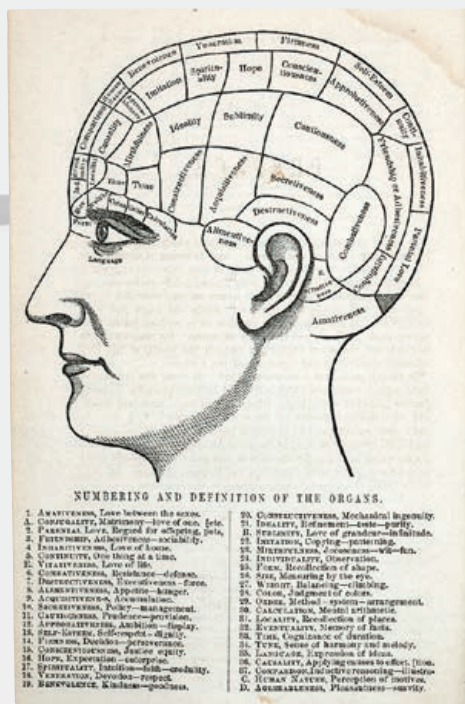
Natalya Rattan
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library



PHRENOLOGY, KNOWN AS the study of the structure of the skull as it relates to mental faculties and character, was a theory proposed by the Viennese physician, Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828) in the nineteenth century, although he preferred the term ‘crani-oscropy’. The central belief of phrenology is that each part of the brain is responsible for different intellectual and emotional functions, which can be detected by the visible inspection of the bumps and indentations of the skull. Gall believed that there were twenty-seven individual organs that determined personality. Phrenologists would run their fingertips and palms over the skulls of their patients to feel for enlargements and indentations. The development of phrenology and its spread throughout the United States was aided by Gall’s colleague, Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776–1832). Spurzheim, along with George Combe (1788–1858), the founder of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, were key individuals in the spread of the phrenology movement, pushing the study towards additional designations of the brain and skull, corresponding to different emotions and characteristics.

The Fisher Library recently acquired a valuable collection of books, artifacts, and archival material relating to various aspects of phrenology. Highlights of the book collection include works by Johann Gaspar Spurzheim and George Combe, as well as Lorenzo and Orson Fowler, who were two of the most influential leaders and teachers of the phrenology movement during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Fowler brothers opened up phrenology clinics, sold supplies to other phrenologists, and started

the *American Phrenological Journal* in 1838. Their sister, Charlotte Fowler and Lorenzo’s wife, Lydia were also notable phrenologists and their texts are included in the collection as well. Charlotte Fowler would go on to marry Samuel Robert Wells, who entered into partnership with his brothers-in-law, forming the publishing house of Fowler and Wells. The firm produced hundreds of titles, and sold charts, sets of cranial casts, and the famous phrenology heads. Also included is Thomas Forster’s *Sketch of the New Anatomy and Physiology of the Brain and Nervous System* of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim (1815), which contains the first use of the term ‘phrenology’.



In addition, the collection includes thirty-eight phrenology heads, which are three-dimensional molds used to identify the locations in the skull that determine intelligence, personality, and character traits.

Also included is the archive of French explorer Joseph de Brettes (1861–1934), who made four expeditions to South America, including two to the not yet surveyed Gran Chaco region. His archive includes a seldom seen nineteenth-century cranial measuring device. This type of craniometry tool was used in the field of physical anthropology during the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth. His archives also contain a working copy of his title, including revisions, *Mission Géographique dans le Chaco (Amérique du Sud)* which was published in 1889 upon return from his expedition; a rare offprint from the proceedings of the 1903 Anthropological Society of Paris; an ornate archeological specimen; and a detailed offprint bibliographic sketch of De Brettes’s extensive explorations of Argentina and Colombia (1895) and Tunisia.

Although phrenology was discredited as a legitimate form of scientific inquiry in the mid-nineteenth century, it gained notoriety in the early twentieth century, when it was adopted as a means of justifying racism and colonial policies. Despite its blemished history and contemporary illegitimacy, many of the theories that Gall developed as a basis for phrenology were important in the development of the fields of psychiatry and neuropsychology. Of equal importance, these documents provide a window into historic notions of class, sexuality, and gender.

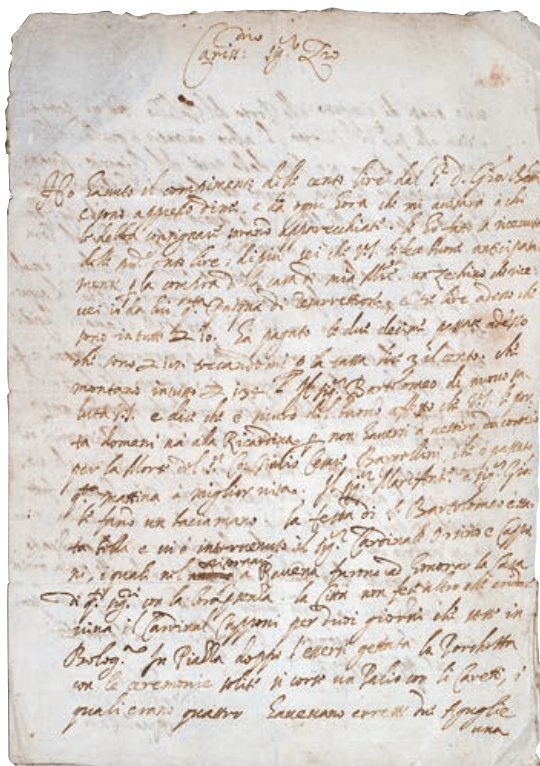
A MEDIEVAL FESTIVAL IN BOLOGNA, OR, WHEN PIGS FLY

Elizabeth Ridolfo

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

THE *Festa della porchetta* is a large and spectacular annual public celebration with a long history that takes place on the Feast of Saint Bartholomew in Bologna, Italy. There are several stories about its origin and meaning—some trace it back to 1281 as a commemoration of the storming of the fortress of Faenza, while others believe that it celebrates the victory of Bologna against the imperial army in Fossalta and the arrival of King Enzo in the city on 24 August 1249. The feast was celebrated annually until 1796 when Napoleon's troops occupied the area and it was abolished. This year the Fisher Library acquired a letter written on 24 August 1621 in the beautiful Italian cursive hand of one Ruggiero Pessi, to his uncle Pietro Maggiali in Reggio Emilia, describing his exciting experiences at the festival.

Over the centuries of its celebration, the feast inspired many songs and poems, illustrations, and descriptions provided by visitors to Bologna that help us to understand what occurred. The festival itself marked the end of a multi-day fair. Some accounts have the morning devoted to religious observances, while the rest of the day was filled with grand performances in the public square, games, races, and competitions involving food. Great care and planning went into building sets and making props to decorate the piazza for performances, and these were often documented in printed plans or pamphlets. Etchings from the 1700s show Bologna decorated with palaces, gardens, and large temples. There are stories of ships doing battle in artificial seas, fire-spitting gryphons, elephants, and all manner of fantastic



temporary structures erected for the actors, singers, dancers, acrobats, and animals, as well as descriptions of the competitions. Some depictions show people chasing livestock that were released into these structures, or animal races on the main streets. One etching, created by Angelo Michele Mazza in 1726, depicts a set of greased poles called 'cuccagna trees', hung with meat to reward those who could climb to the top. The title-page woodcut from Giulio Cesare dalla Croce's 1599 poem about the festival shows the main event—the throwing of the *porchetta*. In it we see people gathered below the balcony of the Palazzo del Podestà in Piazza Maggiore, waiting to catch the roasted pig, poultry, sweets, coins, wine, and other items thrown down to them from above by nobles and city elders, the

papal legate, and the cook of Palazzo del Popolo—all to the accompaniment of live musicians.

This letter enhances the existing stories of this interesting festival by sharing one man's personal experience of the event. The author identifies some of the Cardinals who attended the feast, and then describes some of what he personally saw that day. He tells his uncle about a riot that broke out during the festival, which needed to be controlled by armed knights who formed a wall with their bared swords, and beat the crowds with clubs. During the more peaceful parts of the festival, he sees the *porchetta* thrown from the balcony after some ceremony, and mentions a pyramid with flowing fountains of wine moving through the crowd. This letter complements the Fisher's small but excellent collection of Italian Renaissance cookbooks, with instructions for the lavish feasts that would have been enjoyed by popes, cardinals, and other nobles during this period. Where the cookbooks describe

the long and refined service of sumptuous and intricate meals, the feast of the *porchetta* shows what would probably have been taking place on the streets at the same time as these rich banquets. It also reveals the interaction between the upper classes and the general population, in which food is offered as a prize, generating competition, and creating entertaining spectacles that occasionally resulted in a little chaos. These accounts help bring to life aspects of food culture and traditions that are hinted at in the printed volumes and ephemera in the library.

Since 2002, the feast has been revived, and though you probably won't see any of the things described in the letter, you can still receive free bread, wine, and *porchetta* in Bologna on August 24.

ABOVE: Ruggiero Pessi's letter to his uncle Pietro Maggiali describing the *Festa della porchetta*.



THREE ANONYMOUS BOOKBINDING SAMPLES

Lauren Williams

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

WHAT CAN AN object tell us about how books were created, sold, and used? This question is the driving force behind the acquisition of many of the non-book artifacts in our collections. From woodblocks and engraved metal plates used for printing illustrations, to bookbinding tools, pieces of type, and booksellers' tickets, the study of these kinds of objects illuminates aspects of bookmaking and bookselling in a way that would not be possible through an analysis of the book alone.

The study of these objects, however, is rarely straightforward. Unlike published books, which generally supply the reader with clear details about the date, place of publication, title, and author of the work, these book-related items often arrive at the library lacking this information altogether. This was certainly the case with these three beautiful bookbinding design samples, purchased by the Fisher Library in 2016.

At a time when the physical and thematic relationship between a book and its cover is taken for granted, it is difficult to imagine that texts were once sold separately from their bindings; but this was indeed common practice until the nineteenth century. After unbound, printed pages had been purchased from a bookseller, it was then up to the patron to commission a binding for the book. As a result, the luxury of a binding often reflects the relative wealth of the book's owner.

While the study of historical bookmaking has provided a wealth of information about various aspects of the process, less is known of the precise details surrounding how exactly bookbinders at various times throughout history advertised, priced, and sold their bindings. It is possible that the designs, shown here, may have been placed on display at a bookseller's or bookbinder's shop, to provide examples of available binding styles to customers. Or, considering their relatively small size, they

may have served as props for a travelling salesman. However it is equally likely that they may not have served as advertisements at all, and were instead used for practice by an apprentice bookbinder while training in the art of finishing (the process of decorating the binding).

Determining what to call these objects also poses a challenging dilemma. *Plaquette* is a term that one could use; it generally refers to a piece of board covered in leather, created in order to practise finishing techniques, or to experiment with potential layout designs. However, this might be confused with *plaquette binding*, a style originating in fifteenth-century Italy, which features a central metal vignette cast in relief. Certain institutional libraries have opted for the term *binder's sample* to describe similar objects. Others have called them *binder's dummies*. In its strictest sense, however, this term refers to a mock-up of the full book, with mostly blank pages, that the

OPENING PAGE: Untitled binding sample in blue morocco. **BELOW, LEFT TO RIGHT:** Two untitled binding samples, bound in black and brown morocco.



bookbinder would have sent to the publisher for approval.

Each of these terms carries a connotation about the way the object would have been used; when this information is unknown, it becomes a challenge to choose appropriately. Despite this ambiguity of terminology, however, there is much more that can be gleaned from these objects. An examination of the hair follicles and general pattern of the leather, for example, indicates that these were bound in goatskin; the style of the design is art nouveau, which suggests that these were likely created in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The

paper doublures, attached to the undersides of two of the boards, are also fascinating subjects for analysis; one looks to be marbled in a French *papier tourniquet* style, while the other is reminiscent of the English 'bench marbling' or 'Morris marbling' technique.

While these details do not conclusively reveal the origin or intended use of these binding samples, they are intriguing pieces of the puzzle. As such, these binding samples will make excellent teaching tools, both as engaging examples of bookmaking and bookselling practices, and as objects for discussion; they will also provide scholars with fascinating questions to consider.

If one delves even deeper, these kinds of book-related objects can be used as entry points through which to examine the roles and methods of the various individuals involved in each step of the object's creation: from the person who conceived the design, to the tanners who prepared the leather, along with the craftspeople who cut and pared the leather, who mixed the glue, and who performed the tooling, inlay or onlay work; not to mention the metalsmiths who created the various tools used to realize the design. As happens so often in the study of book history, what may initially appear to be a dead end can unfold beautifully into rich and varied new avenues of enquiry.



THE BIRTH OF POLITICAL CARTOONING: LUTHER'S *ABBILDUNG DES BAPSTUM* OF 1545

P.J. Carefoote

Interim Head of Rare Books and Special Collections

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1917 is not the only anniversary of a cataclysmic historical event being marked internationally this year. Five hundred years have now passed since Martin Luther (1483–1546) allegedly nailed his Ninety-Five Theses to the doors of the chapel of Wittenberg Castle, thereby inaugurating the Protestant Reformation. As Luther aged, his grievances hardened in many areas, not least of which was against the office of the papacy which had excommunicated him in January of 1521. In the intervening twenty-four years he had written numerous sermons and treatises vilifying the four popes who had presided over the fracturing of the western church, but none had proven to be as venomous as the caricatures recently acquired by the Fisher Library for 'Flickering of the Flame', this year's fall exhibition commemorating the role of print in the Reformation era.

The innocuous title given to these caricatures, *Abbildung des Bapstum* (or 'Image of the papacy') conceals their scandalous character. In 1545, Luther published one of his most polemical works, *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet* [Against the papacy at Rome, established by the devil]. These caustic broadsides likely originated in the workshop of Lucas Cranach, and were subsequently printed by Hans Lufft, with descriptive verses written by Luther, in order to complement his treatise. They are as scatological and vulgar as the text that they accompany. Despite their profanity, Luther felt that Cranach's artists had not gone far enough, complaining in a letter to the theologian Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565) that 'he could have represented the pope in a more appropriate, that is to say, more diabolical fashion, but you can judge for yourself.' Illustrations like these were blunt instruments, devoid of the nuance of theological argument.

Their strength was their ability to provoke hostility towards the old order, especially among the illiterate, and in that effort they were successful. An emotional attachment to Luther's movement was enhanced by cartoons such as these that elevated Luther to the status of a saint at the expense of the pope who is now depicted as Satan's spawn. The subject matter of the caricatures is generally self-explanatory.

The one that is most complicated for modern viewers bears the title 'The monster of Rome found dead in the Tiber, 1496.' After weeks of torrential rain at the end of 1495, the Tiber River burst its banks, flooding the city of Rome. At the beginning of the New Year, rumours began to circulate that a monster had been found in the receding waters that had the head and body of an ass, the breasts and genitalia of a female, one cloven hoof and one claw for hind legs, with one human hand and the snout of an elephant's trunk serving as a second hand. Black scales

OPENING PAGE: 'The monster of Rome found dead in the Tiber, 1496.' BELOW, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Birth and origin of the pope; The pope, God of this world, is worshipped; The kingdom of Satan and the pope; A just reward for the most satanic pope and his cardinals; The pope thanks the emperor for his immense kindnesses; Kissing the pope's feet. FACING PAGE: Ezra Pound's Rapallo-headed notepaper.



covered most of the body, while a bearded man's face protruded from the backside, from which emerged a tail in the shape of a dragon's neck, at the end of which was the head of a serpent. Not surprisingly, this was seen as a portent of doom for Rome, and was effectively used as a symbol of papal corruption in the

early Reformation period, with Melancthon, for example, writing the pamphlet *Von dem Papst Esel zu Rom* (The Pope-Ass of Rome) in 1523, based on a Moravian engraving of the monster from 1498. Not surprisingly, all such images were subject to aggressive censorship. It is estimated, for example, that only eighteen

copies of the original series of nine caricatures are still in existence in some form. Thanks to the support of the Central Library Administration, the Fisher now owns seven that survived the centuries hidden as pastedowns in a Saxon book-binding dating from 1569.



EZRA POUND LETTERS

Graham Bradshaw

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

‘GOOD POEM IN N/EW/ [*The New English Weekly*] keep at it. Wyndham Lewis interested in Petition / more than in any political movement. says he will write you or phone / if he dont do it soon / write to him co/ his publishers.’ These words by Ezra Pound, in his own idiosyncratic style, begin a letter to John Penrose Angold, a young English lawyer and poet with whom Pound had struck up a friendship based on a shared interest in literature and the Social Credit movement. The letter, together with three others by Pound, as well as a short handwritten note, is among a small grouping of items recently added to the Fisher Library’s Pound collection. Of the four letters, all of which were typewritten, two were composed on his Rapallo-headed notepaper decorated with a drawing of Pound’s profile, printed in blue, by the celebrated artist and sculptor, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. Only one letter can be accurately dated; the envelope in which it was mailed is present, and the postmark gives the date of 30 October 1935. Internal evidence suggests the other letters are from 1935 or 1936. All of the letters contain a number of corrections, underlinings, exclamations, and short comments in Pound’s hand.

In the early 1930s Pound began to take a particular interest in the world economic situation, and his writings of the period show an increasing preoccupation with the subject.

Heavily influenced by the ideas of Major C. H. Douglas and Social Credit philosophy, Pound would expend a considerable amount of energy setting out his ideas on economic reform in letters to his friends and acquaintances. He also spent time writing pamphlets and articles for various publications, especially *The New English Weekly*, a review of ‘public affairs, literature and the arts’ founded by A. R. Orage. Beginning in 1932 and over the next eight years, Pound contributed nearly two hundred pieces to this journal. As noted by Roxana Preda in *Ezra Pound’s Economic Correspondence 1933–1940*, Pound gathered together a circle of young men of similar outlook, including Angold, who were loosely associated with the *NEW* (p. 32). He also suggested they maintain contact with one another, and encouraged them to create a forum that he called the Cobbett Club, for the purpose of discussing economic issues. This turned out to be a short-lived venture of less than a year’s duration. Also related to Pound’s interest in economic matters was the movement called ‘Petition’, referred to in the letter quoted at the head of this article. Petition was promoted by British Social Creditors, but was an unrealized attempt at persuading King Edward VIII to call for a commission to investigate the ‘causes of poverty, unemployment, restriction of production, and the causes of economic warfare among nations.’ (Preda, p. 195).

Accompanying the letters is a copy of Angold’s *Collected Poems*, issued in 1952 in a small printing of 350 numbered copies by the poet and publisher, Peter Russell. Russell, who also published several of Pound’s works, first heard of Angold when corresponding with Pound in 1949. With the encouragement of Pound, T. S. Eliot, and Philip Mairet (the then editor of *The New English Weekly*), the manuscript of Angold’s poems was sent to Russell for publication. The book gathers together thirty-seven poems composed by Angold in the 1930s and early 1940s, many of which appeared in *The New English Weekly*. A short obituary of Angold printed in the journal noted that the first poem to appear in the magazine was his ‘Edburton Camp’ in 1933, and his last, ‘Gloucester Cathedral’, was published within its pages in January 1944, less than a month after he was killed in a flying accident while serving with the Royal Air Force. The news of Angold’s death only reached Pound in October 1945 as he was working on *The Pisan Cantos*, while imprisoned in an American army disciplinary training centre in Italy, awaiting the outcome of the investigation into his pro-fascist wartime activities. Deeply saddened by the loss of his friend, Pound refers to Angold in the opening lines of Canto LXXXIV, quoting passages from a poem by Bertran de Born, the twelfth-century Provençal troubadour, to lament his passing.



FISHER LIBRARY SUMMER SEMINAR ON THE HISTORY OF BOOK ILLUSTRATION

David Fernández and Samantha Bellinger
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

THE FISHER LIBRARY hosted its inaugural Summer Seminar from 5–7 June 2017 on the theme of the history and identification of book illustration. The three-day seminar addressed the most notable techniques of book illustration, from woodcut, engraving, and etching to lithography, and many other processes developed before 1860. Divided into short lectures, hands-on sessions, and demonstrations from local book artists, the seminar was led by one of the experts in the field, Dr. Rowan Watson, Senior Curator Emeritus at the National Art Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England. Dr. Watson has taught at London University's Institute of English Studies since its inception, and at the London Rare Book School. In addition to instructional sessions,

two workshops were held by local book artists, including George A. Walker, as well as Janis Butler and Walter Bachinski of Shanty Bay Press, giving participants the opportunity to contextualize various techniques of illustration within the broader sessions of the seminar.

This educational initiative was funded by the 2016 Chief Librarian Innovation Grant and involved the participation of librarians, archivists, scholars, and students associated with institutions across Canada, such as the University of Calgary, Queen's University, McGill University, University of Ottawa, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Library and Archives Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum, York University, Ryerson University, and University of Toronto.

ABOVE, CENTRE: Fielding, T.H. (Theodore Henry), 1781–1851. *The art of drawing on stone...* by C. Hullmandel. London: Published by C. Hullmandel ..., & by R. Ackermann, 1824. **LEFT AND RIGHT:** *Sculptura-historico-technica, or, The history and art of engraving...* London: Printed for S. Harding ..., 1747.

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Exhibition Hours

9–5, Monday to Friday, year round

9–8, Thursdays only, 21 September–26 April

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120 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario



20 March to 9 September 2017

Struggle & Story: Canada in Print

2 October to 20 December 2017

Flickering of the Flame: Print and the Reformation

Exhibition opening: Wednesday 4 October, 5:00 PM

PLANNED EVENTS 2017–2018

Lectures begin at **6:00 PM** (Note the change to start times.)

Wednesday, 27 September 2017 at 6:00 PM

The John Seltzer and Mark Seltzer Memorial Lecture

Print and the Reformation. A Drama in Three Acts.

Professor Andrew Pettegree, St Andrews University,
Scotland

Wednesday, 18 October 2017 at 6:00 PM

The Alexander C. Pathy Lecture in the Book Arts

Written in Wood: Visual Narratives with a Canadian cut

George Walker, book artist

Wednesday, 21 February 2018 at 6:00 PM

The Johanna and Leon Katz Memorial Lecture

Andy Donato on his work as a Canadian newspaper
cartoonist

Tuesday, 27 March 2018 at 6:00 PM

The George Kiddell Lecture on the History of the Book

*How Many Printers Does It Take to Change a Liturgy?: The
Surprisingly Disorganized Process of Printing the Elizabethan
Book of Common Prayer in 1559.*

Peter Blayney, University of Toronto Department
of English, Freeman of the Worshipful Company of
Stationers, and authority on the early London book trade

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Thank you!

EDITORS' NOTE

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