

Kindred Spirits: Communal Making and Religious Revival in Arts and Crafts Movements, 1870-
1920

Anna Wager

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Reading Committee:
Susan P. Casteras
Estelle Lingo
Adair Rounthwaite
Geoffrey Turnovsky
Jeffrey Todd Knight

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Anna Wager

University of Washington

ABSTRACT

**KINDRED SPIRITS: COMMUNAL MAKING AND RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN ARTS AND CRAFTS
MOVEMENTS, 1870-1920**

Anna Wager

Chairs of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Susan P. Casteras and Professor Estelle Lingo
Division of Art History

Communal work, community support, and collaborative art production defined William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, and these tenets were also central to late-nineteenth-century religious practices. My dissertation chronicles the relationship between religious patronage and Arts and Crafts production in the United Kingdom and United States, by examining designers, artists, and their spaces, including convents, embroidery schools, architectural firms, and printing houses. Practitioners often worked in shifting media: book designers also made stained glass, architects supplied embroidery designs, and typographers also devised architecture. Such fluid, collective practices are key to understanding this networked artistic exchange. These communities were practicing a resistance both radical and conservative, pushing for dignity in labor through an almost archaic aesthetic, within a seemingly conventional, medievalist, and patriarchal structure—yet this structure also allowed for dissident behavior. By focusing on the communal, we can examine these spaces and their connections between religious artmaking, subversion, and understudied but vital aspects of Arts and Crafts production, engaging art history, material culture studies, gender studies, and scholarship on print culture and book arts.

Religious fervor driving artistic production is more commonly associated with earlier centuries, yet it was just as potent at the turn of the twentieth century, when religious vocation,

Arts and Crafts communities, and communal living were all tinged with revolutionary and anti-industrial assumptions. Gothic Revival was championed as inherently conservative and pure, but these religious spaces also allowed for homosocial living and greater opportunities for female artists. Communal activities and the Gothic Revival also became associated with Anglo-Catholicism, a form of High Church Anglicanism that was widespread but controversial. High Anglican Gothic was sensorially grand and overwhelming: incense, embroidered vestments, and heavy ornamentation created a glittering, refracted environment. These immersive aspects relate to Arts and Crafts medievalism, as well as the Decadent movement, a literary practice tied to Aestheticism. I argue that the integration of art and architecture in Arts and Crafts production led to intense, encompassing experiences, possible only through a sophisticated transatlantic networking and collaboration: a combination of direct experience and diffuse systems of actors. This dissertation examines three Anglo-American communities: the Society of St. Margaret, the Merrymount Press, and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's bookmaking and architectural firms. Centering on embroidery, bookmaking, and architecture, these communities all contributed to Gothic Revival church design and decoration. The activation of their art objects in these spaces created meaning for both the makers and the viewers.

DEDICATION

To Mary Wager (1918-2011) and Evalyn Paulson (1915-2016), my Gram and Mormor:
who taught me to sew a quilt and diagram a sentence,
and above all, to get on with it.

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INTRODUCTION

On the fourth floor of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London is a display of nineteenth-century ecclesiastical art (Fig. 1). Several chalices, a missal, a burse, an altar cross, an altar frontal, and a cope with hood are joined with stained glass and encaustic tiles. This collection is a composite of the various pieces needed to create a Gothic Revival church. Placed behind glass, arranged and ordered for display and study, the art objects are both shown to strong advantage, and are presented completely differently than how they would have been originally displayed and used. The books are shut, the chalices are empty, the crosses are not lifted, the cope is not in motion, the altar cloth hangs flat on a wall, and no light passes through the window. The three chalices are grouped together, showcasing completely different styles: relatively spare, to ornamented and floriated, and to subtly Decadent (Fig. 2), yet they would never have originally shared the same space. Designers highlighted here include luminaries like A.W.N. Pugin, William Butterfield, G.E. Street, James Brooks, George Henry Birch, John Pollard Seddon, and Phillip Webb. The institutions are often identified, as are the patrons; if the firm of builders or makers is known, then that is also included. It is a useful resource, but one whose artificiality deadens these objects. In *Hopes and Fears for Art*, William Morris writes, “nor can I deny that there is something melancholy about a museum, such a tale of violence, destruction, and carelessness, as its treasured scraps tell us.”¹

The very structure of this display elides the status of these works as objects of use. These are emphatically crafted objects, which in the light of the Industrial Revolution made them significantly personal. Rapidly increasing numbers of commercially and mechanically produced furnishings, cloth, and decorative objects stood in contrast to these crosses, copes, and books,

¹ William Morris, *Hopes and Fears for Art*, London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1917, 21.

which allowed “people to connect through hand-made things.”² Metaphorical and physical threads tied the maker to the user and viewer: especially fitting for a religious setting. John Ruskin, among many other Victorians, was increasingly concerned that the quantity of new objects “might diminish the tactile qualities of material things.”³ Ruskin and Morris’s aesthetic bent was towards imperfections, demonstrating the handmade-ness of the works. The museum setting highlights these works as “unique” objects—assigning a value to them by their inclusion alone—but also removes our ability to judge and experience their handmade-ness. They become imbued with fiscal and artistic power at the expense of usefulness. To quote the last stanza of Marge Piercy’s “To be of use” (1982):

The work of the world is common as mud.
Botched, it smears the hands, crumbles to dust.
But the thing worth doing well done
has a shape that satisfies, clean and evident.
Greek amphoras for wine or oil,
Hopi vases that held corn, are put in museums
but you know they were made to be used.
The pitcher cries for water to carry
and a person for work that is real.

William Morris’s famous maxim to “have nothing in your home which you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful” is a sentiment that applies to Gothic Revival church art. These objects were made to be worn, to be filled with wine, and to be read, enhancing and shaping the experiences of churchgoers. But they also enhanced and shaped the experiences of the people who made them, and those makers are my concern.

The display at the Victoria and Albert Museum fits into a broader discussion about design in Victorian Britain, and the role of Gothic Revival architecture within it. As the premier British museum for art and design, the V&A is the logical location for these works, and it is the first and

² Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, 108.

³ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 110.

only major museum to do an exhibition on Victorian ecclesiastical work. *Victorian Church Art*, and the subsequent catalogue published in 1971, organized the works by designer. This catalogue is a helpful resource for assessing the range of Victorian ecclesiastical furnishings, and it is the only exhibition and catalogue dedicated to the subject. Due to the structure of the catalogue, highlighting individual designers, who were overwhelmingly male, erases both female designers and female workers. Communal work is acknowledged through the names of firms, but the majority of workers' contributions have been lost to time and circumstance.⁴

Communal work, community support, and collaborative art production defined William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, and these tenets were also central to late-nineteenth-century religious practices. Arts and Crafts movements were a reaction against industrialization, and a (re)turn to handcraft. My dissertation chronicles the relationship between religious patronage and Arts and Crafts production in the United Kingdom and United States, by examining designers, artists, and their spaces, including convents, embroidery schools, architectural firms, and printing houses. Practitioners often worked in shifting media: book designers also made stained glass, architects supplied embroidery designs, and typographers also devised architecture. Such fluid, collective practices are key to understanding this networked artistic exchange. These communities were practicing a resistance both radical and conservative, pushing for dignity in labor through an almost archaic aesthetic, within a seemingly conventional, medievalist, and patriarchal structure—yet this structure also allowed for dissident behavior. Their radicalism was often rooted in venerating medieval buildings and working practices, as a way to push back against mechanization. By focusing on both communal making and religious spaces, we can examine the connections between religious artmaking, subversion, and understudied but vital

⁴ Of the producers discussed, 78 are listed as solo male designers and nine are repositories or firms. The women listed are Sarah Losh, Lady Waterford, and the Society of St. Margaret, who lent a chalice veil from their motherhouse in East Grinstead.

aspects of Arts and Crafts production, engaging art history, material culture studies, gender studies, and scholarship on print culture and book arts.

Religious fervor driving artistic production is more commonly associated with earlier centuries, yet it was just as potent at the turn of the twentieth century, when religious vocation, Arts and Crafts communities, and communal living were all tinged with revolutionary assumptions. Gothic Revival architectural styles gained in popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in Great Britain and America.⁵ Neo-Gothic was a stylistic and social reclamation of medieval Gothic architecture. It was generally heavily ornamented, and included an increased use of decorative patterns, lancet windows, and finials: a return to emphatic verticality of form in contrast to Neoclassicism. Gothic Revival was championed as inherently conservative and pure, but the church spaces associated with it also allowed for homosocial living and greater opportunities for female artists. Communal activities and the Gothic Revival also became associated with Anglo-Catholicism, a form of High Church Anglicanism that was widespread but controversial.⁶ High Anglican Gothic was sensorially grand and overwhelming: incense, embroidered vestments, and heavy ornamentation created a glittering, refracted environment. These immersive aspects relate to Arts and Crafts medievalism, as well as the Decadent movement, a literary practice tied to Aestheticism. I argue that the integration of art and architecture in Arts and Crafts production led to intense, encompassing experiences, possible only through this sophisticated transatlantic networking and collaboration.

⁵ For general Gothic Revival scholarship, see Sheila Kirk, *Philip Webb: Pioneer of Arts & Crafts Architecture*, Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005.

⁶ As in England, Episcopalian churches were viewed with suspicion by Congregationalist ministers in America. Congregational minister Horace Bushnell's essay "Taste and Fashion," (1843), was a "remarkable attempt to deter defection from his church to the Episcopalian ranks. Citing the need to emancipate beauty and taste from the 'fetters of fashion,' which would enable human society to approach its 'finished state,' Bushnell positioned fashion as a loosely disguised analogue for the aesthetic appeal of Episcopalian ritual," *Making American Taste: Narrative Art for a New Democracy*. Ed. Barbara Dayer Gallati. New York City: New York Historical Society, 2011, 102, 105.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters, which focus on embroidery, book arts, and architecture. I examine three communities: the Society of St. Margaret, the Merrymount Press, and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's architectural and bookmaking firms and his ties to the Visionists. The communities in my study are united by their complicated but affirming relationships with religion, linked through religious art production from England to New England. Chapter 1 focuses on convent art production, particularly the Society of St. Margaret (SSM), a transatlantic Anglican order. Their long-term embroidery partnerships with Morris & Co. and Gothic Revival firms led to their active participation in the Society of Arts and Crafts Boston (SACB), and extensive production in London and Sussex. My dissertation is the first to chart their network and output, and their relationships with Gothic Revival architects in England and America are an important expansion of existing scholarship on embroidery and church building.⁷ I also examine the treatment of embroidery within the art historical canon

Next, in Chapter 2, I focus on the Merrymount Press *Altar Book* (1896), arguably the most significant piece of Arts and Crafts printing in the United States. Produced for the Episcopal Church, the design principles in the *Altar Book* owe a debt to Morris's Kelmscott Press. The book also demonstrates Daniel Berkeley Updike's deep printing knowledge. The founder of the Merrymount Press, Updike was both a staunch Episcopalian and a master-printer, whose commitment to fine printing is linked to his work on objects of ritual and devotion. I examine the visual richness and density of his work, from ecclesiastical printing to bookplates, and chart his ties to artists in Boston and in England.

Finally, in Chapter 3, I analyze Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's architectural, typographic, and book designs, which he created for Copeland and Day in Boston, as well as embroidery for

⁷ The SSM is just one of several groups of Anglican conventual orders that emerged in the nineteenth century, due to the Oxford Movement. Their archives are held mainly in Pusey House, Oxford, and in the Episcopal Church Archives in Austin, TX.

the SSM. Goodhue's work in multiple media demonstrates the potential of religious patronage to be examples of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and speaks to a longstanding connection between typographic design, bookmaking, and architecture. His relationships with British publishers and other members of SACB are central to understanding his impact on turn-of-the-century art and design. Performance and costuming—religious ritual as stagecraft—is also essential to my argument that religious meaning was created through the activation of these objects in church spaces.

The Victorian period was a time of rapidly changing conceptions about religion, becoming more expansive beyond a male-focused Church of England, with the advent of the Oxford Movement and the rise of spiritualism. I would argue that this religious plurality is interlocked with changing conceptions of artmaking. The paradoxical nature of Catholicism and High Church Anglicanism point to church spaces that are “at once modern and yet medieval, ascetic and yet sumptuous, spiritual and yet sensual, chaste and yet erotic, homophobic and yet homoerotic, suspicious of aestheticism and yet an elaborate work of art. For English decadents Christianity was the last hope of paganism in the modern world.”⁸ Walter Pater's conception of Aesthetic hedonism as the stylistic grandchild of ancient Greece is relevant here. Religious commissions tie into questions of appropriateness, decadence, and sensuality, particularly in figuring the homosocial lifestyles of religious communities like nuns, as well as environments like printing houses and convents. Moreover, by expanding patronage networks to include work by women, Gothic Revival church building involved female participants in new, important ways.

Thomas Arnold described ritualism in the Oxford Movement as the “fanaticism of mere foolery. A dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony—the superstition of a priesthood, without its power.”⁹ For Arnold, the ritual and its things are interwoven; things have power, and the power

⁸ Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, 7.

⁹ Thomas Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold*, New York, 1845, 140-141.

to disrupt. In 1874, The Public Worship Regulation Act was brought before Parliament, a coordinated effort by Lord Shaftesbury and Archibald Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury; both Queen Victoria and Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli supported it. Although the Act was relatively hard to enforce, congregants could complain about a variety of religious infractions—from using excessive candles on the altar, using incense, kneeling, wearing elaborate vestments, or practicing communion while facing east.¹⁰ These complaints to the bishop could then be passed along to a new court, which would request that the activities cease; if they did not, then the clergymen could be jailed. Complaints were lodged, and most notably, Sidney Faithorn Green of St. John the Evangelist near Manchester, was arrested in 1881 and jailed for 20 months.¹¹

At the same time that clergymen were jailed, fined, or disciplined for wearing vestments, vestments were being produced in increasing numbers by convents, and by Watts & Co. The company was founded in 1874 by three Gothic Revival architects: George Frederick Bodley, George Gilbert Scott, and Thomas Garner. In *The Buried Life of Things: How Objects Made History in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2015), Simon Goldhill examines thing-ness through the lenses of archaeology, religion, and imperial landscapes. In his chapter on religion, he discusses a chasuble (Fig. 3) produced by Watts & Co. for the Society of St. John the Evangelist, a monastic order based in Oxford. The chasuble, as Goldhill points out, is an object “pointedly and wholeheartedly calculated to stand in opposition to the contemporary antagonism to ritualism: a banned priestly vestment for a member of a celibate monastic order, decorated with a full panoply of modern Morris-influenced imagery, in the name of a return to pre-Reformation

¹⁰ Simon Goldhill, *The Buried Life of Things: How Objects Made History in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 53.

¹¹ This arrest backfired, as Green’s wife and children were turned into the street when his property was seized, and the image of this was hard for the Act’s supporters to defend. Goldhill, 54.

culture.”¹² The chasuble has a crucified Christ on the back, notable for both his relatively non-emaciated form, and a garden of sunflowers at the base of his palm tree cross, a possible reference to the Tree of Life, which in Jewish traditions is the Torah and the promise of wisdom.¹³ The references to wisdom continue on the front of the chasuble, where bands of text quote from the Song of Songs: “I said I will go up to the palm tree. I will take hold of the boughs thereof.” Between these text panels are four florally-ornamented panels with the repeated phrase “I Ease You,” which has been written “I EaSe yoU,” or JESU. This is a reference to a 1633 poem by George Herbert, an Anglican priest and poet: “That to my broken heart he was *I ease you*, / And to the whole is *J E S U*.”¹⁴

As we shall see, this complicated interweaving of text, image, and object is central to the work produced by the Society of St. Margaret, the Visionists, and the Merrymount Press. Bodley’s chasuble is an “intricate pattern of cross-referenced literary and theological allusions, iconographic novelties, and gestures of doubling—back and front, ancient and modern, poetry and scripture,” semantically complex.¹⁵ Yet is it really “Bodley’s chasuble” at all? Goldhill describes the work as “made probably by G. F. Bodley,” and while I have no stylistic reason to doubt Bodley designed it, he would not have physically made it himself. As with other nineteenth-century—and contemporary—embroidery workrooms, the labor force would have been women.¹⁶ There is a tension here between authorship and making, and how the credit is

¹² Goldhill, 57.

¹³ Goldhill, 48.

¹⁴ The section reads: “JESU is in my heart, his sacred name / Is deeply carved there: but th’ other week / A great affliction broke the little frame, / Ev’n all to pieces; which I went to seek: / And first I found the corner, where was *J*, / After, where *ES*, and next where *U* was graved, / When I had got these parcels, instantly / I sat me down to spell them, and perceived / That to my broken heart he was *I ease you*, / And to the whole is *J E S U*.”

¹⁵ Goldhill, 61.

¹⁶ This gendered division was true at Watts & Co., which was founded in response to Morris & Co.’s success, and was stylistically influenced by Gothic Revival and Aesthetic movements. For more on Watts & Co.’s ties to both aestheticism and religious production, see Ayla Lepine, “On the Founding of Watts & Co., 1874,” *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, Ed. Dino Franco Felluga. Extension of *Romanticism and*

assigned. May Morris wrote in *Decorative Needlework* (1893), her guide to various stitches and patterns, that “the instinctive desire of man to ornament whatever article he makes with his own hand, to place his *mark* about his handiwork, leads him to decorate...as soon as his primitive wants are assured.”¹⁷ Embroidery in this way is a mark of humanity, and we can see why it would be central to Arts and Crafts. What is consistently missing from our discussion, however, is the role of the workers.

This project is therefore a project of recovery, as female voices and communal voices have been silenced, both by the nature of their production, and due to scholastic biases. My intention is to integrate female artists and American movements into the broader discussion of Arts and Crafts—which has predominantly focused on British men—by incorporating American figures like Daniel Berkeley Updike and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, who are more well-known in print culture studies. These typographers and type historians were a networked group, as much as Morris and his peers were. This interconnectedness—between people, and between media—was central to the communal nature of Arts and Crafts, where the practitioners “were not isolated artists united by stylistic similarities: they were masters and pupils, colleagues and rivals, lovers and friends who often conversed and collaborated in their efforts to raise standards of everyday design.”¹⁸ At the same time, this communal making does not necessarily track to any sort of visual sameness—they were working together, but in very different modes, and for very different reasons. What unites my subjects, from nun to typographer alike, is their art production for religious spaces, in a very specific Anglo-American context.

Victorianism on the Net, 29 April 2018, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=ayla-lepine-on-the-founding-of-watts-co-1874#_ftn6.end

¹⁷ May Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, London: Joseph Hughes and Co., 1893, 3.

¹⁸ Rosalind P. Blakesley, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, London: Phaidon, 2006, 8.

There has been extensive, but by no means exhaustive, work on Gothic Revival architecture, and on Arts and Crafts from a Morrisean standpoint. But there has been very little consideration on church spaces as Arts and Crafts spaces, or studies that consider embroidery and book arts as part of Gothic Revival architectural spaces. Religion, particularly the Gothic Revival and Oxford Movement, was central to the formation of Arts and Crafts, partnerships that extended to the United States. It is hard to overstate the influence of A.W.N. Pugin, who saw church building as a way to reconnect to the Christian feeling found in medieval cathedrals.¹⁹ He detailed the proper use for ornamentation, to be used for a specific purpose: in this case, always to glorify god. As George Frederick Bodley wrote in 1899, “architecture, and all art, should be animated by some great and leading principle. Religion is the highest.”²⁰ Thinking through the suitability of design is also central to Morris’s notion of Arts and Crafts spaces as whole units, where ornamentation is properly deployed. Morris’s firm created furnishings for Gothic Revival churches, and Morris trained in the office of G.E. Street, another major Gothic Revival architect. Yet as neatly summarized by Susan Mumm, “church history tends to neglect the role and importance of women in religion,” while “women’s history has not shown much interest in those women who it is assumed conformed to convention by being religious.”²¹

The communities in this study traversed geographical boundaries—most notably, the Atlantic—but they were also intensely local. Both Beacon Hill in Boston and Sloane Square and Hammersmith in London became breeding grounds for collaboration, fostered by the fact that the

¹⁹ J.D. Sedding told the Art Congress in Liverpool in 1888 that Morris was Pugin’s “true lineal descendent,” before noting that “we should have had no Morris, no Street, no Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Rossetti, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin,” Gillian Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: a Study of its Sources, Ideals, and Influence on Design Theory*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971, 13.

²⁰ Ayla Lepine, “Sacred Buildings, Sacred Bodies: George Frederick Bodley, Frederick Hart, and Washington National Cathedral,” *Gothic Legacies: Four Centuries of Tradition and Innovation in Art and Architecture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, 224-245, 225.

²¹ Susan Mumm, *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain*. London: Leicester University Press, 1999, 1.

artists, architects, and printers worked and lived close to one another. These artists drew from worlds as disparate as Renaissance bookmaking, Opus Anglicanum embroidery, and religious doctrine; integrating their work into art historical scholarship allows us to think more broadly about the myriad ways that religious art impacted late-nineteenth-century culture. An artificial distinction has been made, and is continually reinforced, between fine arts and material culture. This places them in a hierarchy that does not reflect their status in the nineteenth century, particularly in the burgeoning Arts and Crafts market. This binary also reinforces the idea that embroidery is “art” when produced by male artists, and “craft” when produced by female artists. My project interrogates this scholarly divide by examining production surrounding Arts and Crafts communities and the politics of these cloistered spaces, paying close attention to the circumstances in which their works were created, used, and valued. Whereas art history traditionally focuses on rare objects created by individual artists, to be viewed by a privileged few, my project sheds light on the collective production and reception of comparatively ordinary objects, whether they were cared for in a church, a store, or a studio.

Religious Arts and Crafts production is a quiet form of resistance, reinforcing the movement’s socialist and medievalist goals.²² By centering my dissertation on their networks, I intend to resituate these artists, and the art they created, into their original context. Encompassing transatlantic exchange, public art production, female labor, and homosocial communities, this dissertation centers on a network of well-connected, social mobile, quietly influential people. In a period of massive change and upheaval, the quietude found in creating art that was heavily invested in tradition and sensorial response provided these artists with the necessary opportunity to re-craft their changing world.

²² Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2006 has been especially helpful in theorizing the radical status of communal making and resistance for communities that were religiously aligned and socially motivated.

KINDRED SPIRITS

“Kindred spirits” evokes a dated, feminine, sentimental way to describe close friendships or important near-familial ties: the people who understand you, tinged with a grander, almost religious overtone. Not just a person who shares your hobbies and interests, but a person who understands why they interest you at all. A prime example is Anne Shirley, the Anne in *Anne of Green Gables*. Prone to dramatic descriptions, particularly about friendship, Anne describes kindred spirits as “a bosom friend—an intimate friend, you know—a really kindred spirit to whom I can confide my inmost soul. I’ve dreamed of meeting her all my life.”²³ Anne’s declarations of “kindred spiritness” are often met with skepticism by her guardian, Marilla, reinforcing the whole idea as one of emotional, chatty girlhood: not stoic, rational adulthood. Anne concludes, “kindred spirits are not so scarce as I used to think. It’s splendid to find out there are so many of them in the world.”²⁴ This quotation proliferates on embroidered samplers and printable posters sold on Etsy, often accompanied by a floral border, a recreation of handwriting, or two female figures. This reinforces the sentimental, old-fashioned tone of a kindred spirit.

So why describe these nineteenth- and twentieth-century Arts and Crafts practitioners as “kindred spirits”? In some cases kinship and kin are literally involved, as with the Sedding Brothers and Sister Isa, or with William and May Morris. Sometimes the communities themselves become kindred, through shared living and intimacy, like the Society of St. Margaret, the Merrymount Press, or the Visionists. Sometimes the practitioners band together against broader societal trends, forging shared spaces of safety and learning, like Daniel Berkeley Updike and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue. The feminine associations applied to “kindred

²³ Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables*, New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1908, 82.

²⁴ Montgomery, 223.

spirits”—irrational, emotional, old-fashioned—are similarly applied to the arts discussed herein, particularly embroidery. These are not “real” artforms, as they were produced communally, and often non-commercially. My use of “kindred spirit” here is in part a reclamation and a reworking of the gendered way that these works and practitioners are often discussed.

Homosociability is a key factor in the sort of intimate friendship that “kindred spirits” suggests. Kristin Mahoney’s *Literature and the Politics of Post-Victorian Decadence* (2015) examines communities surrounding Max Beerbohm, Vernon Lee, Baron Corvo, and Beresford Egan, figures who blur the lines between Decadent community, eroticism, and religious vocation. Mahoney’s current work on queer kinship charts the relationship between Laurence Housman and his siblings Arthur and Clemence, and how their relationship led to their advocacy for sexually dissident, feminist, and anti-colonial beliefs. In Truman Capote’s short story “Kindred Spirits” two disaffected women plot to kill one of their husbands, and become a sadistic, pseudo-sexual pair, promising that the murders would allow them to be “just us two.”²⁵ These spaces and relationships are a way to dismantle the heteropatriarchal order, without completely disavowing or disallowing it.

Nineteenth-century male, religious, homosocial spaces have been dealt with successfully in both Linda Dowling’s *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (1994) and Dominic Janes’s *Visions of Queer Martyrdom from John Henry Newman to Derek Jarman* (2015). Convents and sisterhoods have also been discussed in Susan Mumm’s *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* (1999). Taking religious vows and joining a convent were emphatically alternative lifestyles in the nineteenth century, and they were often viewed as aberrant at the time. What is more nebulous, and therefore harder to explore, are less

²⁵ Truman Capote, “Kindred Spirits,” in *The Early Stories of Truman Capote*, edited by Hilton Als, New York: Random House, 2015, 143-157.

strictly religious homosocial environments. Such examples include printing houses, guilds of women binders, embroidery workshops, and even the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Obviously, not all of these environments were strictly homosocial all of the time, but same-sex work, particularly communally, remains an important factor in considering the artistic production, and gendered divisions, in Arts and Crafts movements.

In addition to associations with proto-medieval guilds à la Morris, and artistic communes like printing houses and embroidery schools, there is a clearly a religious aspect to “kindred spirits.” Literally, this links to the Victorian interest in the occult and the rise of séances—kindred spirits gathering to call departed spirits, blurring the boundaries of past and present, metaphysical and tangible. The mysticism of High Church Anglicanism was especially open and meaningful to initiates particularly, another feature of kindredness: a special connection to which not everyone is privy. In Asher B. Durand’s iconic *Kindred Spirits* (Fig. 4, 1849), he depicted recently deceased Hudson River School painter Thomas Cole with Cole’s good friend, the poet William Cullen Bryant. The men stand on a rocky outcropping in the Catskills, with Kaaterskill Falls far in the distance. Cole and Bryant’s names are carved into a birch tree in the foreground. *Kindred Spirits* was commissioned by Jonathan Sturges, an art collector and friend to both men, who presented the painting to Bryant. The work is a memorial to Cole, an acknowledgement of his relationship to the Hudson Valley, and a testament to friendship, to kindredness.²⁶ The title was drawn from a sonnet by John Keats:

O Solitude! if I must with thee dwell,
Let it not be among the jumbled heap
Of murky buildings; climb with me the steep, —
Nature's observatory — whence the dell,

²⁶ *Kindred Spirits: Asher B. Durand and the American Landscape*, Ed. Linda S. Ferber, Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2007, 159-161. Bryant’s daughter donated the painting to the New York Public Library in 1904; it was purchased at auction by Alice Walton in 2005, and is now housed at Crystal Bridges in Bentonville, Arkansas.

Its flowery slopes, its river's crystal swell,
May seem a span; let me thy vigils keep
'Mongst boughs pavilion'd, where the deer's swift leap
Startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell.
But though I'll gladly trace these scenes with thee,
Yet the sweet converse of an innocent mind,
Whose words are images of thoughts refin'd,
Is my soul's pleasure; and it sure must be
Almost the highest bliss of human-kind,
When to thy haunts two kindred spirits flee.

This sense of the kindred—as a removal from the dirt and crowdedness of cities to seek solitude in nature, ideally with a companion, also tracks to the “retreat from the world” inherent in religious community. This is literal in the case of convents, but applies to Arts and Crafts communities as a whole. By reacting against industrialization, these communities were both products of their time, and opposed to the time in which they were formed.

The art objects in this study affected religious experience at the turn of the twentieth century. This is both obvious and complicated. It is obvious that these objects affected religious experience: they were used and valued in a religious space, by ministers, artists, and practitioners. Yet these works were greater than the sum of their parts. The intersection and interdisciplinarity of religious spaces makes them an ideal site for the ethos of Arts and Crafts—communal support and meditative creativity—to flourish. Morris’s dictum about “useful work vs. useless toil” centers on factory systems, but the almost reactionary nature of art production for churches fits into this as well. Not only were people making art objects for a specific and sanctified space, they were in theory glorifying something larger than themselves, too. Of course, this paints religious patronage with a broad brush. The ostensible point of art production for religious spaces and purposes is to glorify something holy: altar paintings do the same thing. What makes books, embroidery, and glass different? Who were they being made for?

Communal making, especially printing and embroidering, is inherently intimate. Time was a key factor for these “slow arts,” and in the nineteenth century time was a luxury, as opposed to more rapid, cheaper, factory production. It was also a necessity, particularly when producing large pieces of embroidery, architectural collaborations, or “complete books,” a form of printing that is a collective effort between typographers, printers, illustrators, and bookbinders. Close looking, as an art historical practice, also takes time. Time is a key component of the resistance against mechanization and factory production that was the main tenet of Arts and Crafts, and it is worth remembering that both embroidery and typesetting involved a degree of skill, dexterity, and concentration that was arduous, thankless, and time-consuming. They are both bodily practices, and manifested in a period of time spent grounded in the processes of the body.

Embroidery has historically been viewed as a practice for bored women, while typesetting is a skill that has been consistently devalued by scholars, seen as a mechanical job in contrast to calligraphic writing. Art historical canonization has taught us that grander, bigger, artworks are better, particularly in the case of “artist geniuses.” But smaller does not necessarily mean easier, and focusing on the physical making of these works is also important. Ignoring this work, because it is smaller, has meant that we have ignored both printing as an artistic process, and embroidery as a difficult act. As Richard Sennett states crafting is both physical and mental: “I make two contentious arguments: first, that all skills, even the most abstract, begin as bodily practices; second, that technical understanding develops through the powers of imagination. The first argument focuses on knowledge gained in the hand through touch and movement. The

argument about imagination begins by exploring language that attempts to direct and guide bodily skill.”²⁷ Questions of easiness, physicality, and movement are therefore also essential.

One commonality between typography and embroidery, in addition to the deftness and attention to detail necessary to produce both, is their similarly tactile natures. Unlike altarpieces or sculpture, printed matter and embroidered works are portable and therefore responsive to human touch in a way that larger, more historically prized works are not. I argue that these embroidered and printed works become nineteenth-century versions of relics, particularly when produced for a religious setting. The sort of repetitive action involved in embroidery, and the tactility inherent in running hands over stitches, both while making and while moving the finished object, speaks to the textural qualities of threads on cloth. Similarly, the indented letters left by a letterpress act as a marker of human activity, one that is repeatable, and therefore has wider possibilities of dissemination. These are physical traces of human labor, and as such have values assigned to them that are communal, making them ideal objects for Arts and Crafts interpretations. Embroidery has a complicated layering of symbolism attached to it, as an art form used to keep women in check, while also allowing a greater degree of economic and artistic freedom than would otherwise have been possible. More mainstream artforms, like painting, celebrate the agency of the painter, and their individual hand, while embroidery, by its very nature, is “a collective effort associated with workers lower on the social scale.”²⁸ The church spaces that this study examines are interdisciplinary spaces, melding a variety of art and craft. Moreover, this interdisciplinarity allows space for more “female” artforms, and more opportunities for people who are not wealthy nor necessarily well-connected to make art and meaning.

²⁷ Sennett, 10.

²⁸ Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. New York: Routledge, 1984, 81.

CODA: TWO CHURCHES

The Church of the Advent in Boston's Beacon Hill (Fig. 5) is a masterpiece of the Gothic Revival and the Oxford Movement. Complete with a Lady Chapel designed by Boston architects Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, an elaborate rood cross, and altar reredos donated by Isabella Stewart Gardner (Fig. 6), the Church of the Advent was a meeting place for nuns, printers, architects, and high profile members of the Society of Arts and Crafts Boston. Imported English glass and Italian candleholders melded with locally produced carvings, embroidery, and designs. Daniel Berkeley Updike worshipped there, as did the Society of Saint Margaret. This tonally holistic church environment was possible through a combination of media, and through the artists who worked together to create the space.

The same holds true for Holy Trinity Sloane Square in London (Fig. 7), a Gothic Revival church that boasted prominent members and ties between the architect, John Dando Sedding, and convents and embroidery schools. Holy Trinity is Gothic Revival par excellence, heavily ornamented with religious symbolism, from the trailing vines on the wrought iron gates outside to the vegetal and floral details inside. Sedding, as we will see, had a deep interest in natural forms, which comes through in this building, which Sir John Betjeman called the "Cathedral of the Arts and Crafts Movement."²⁹ The statement piece is Morris & Co.'s large stained glass window (Fig. 8), which miraculously survived bombings in 1940 and 1941 that destroyed the organ and roof. These churches are specifically linked, stylistically and communally, and they speak to an unambiguously networked connection between Arts and Crafts designers and workers, in both England and America.

²⁹ Signage at Holy Trinity Sloan Square, photographed 13 January 2018.

CHAPTER 1

Conventual Threads: The Society of St. Margaret and Ecclesiastical Embroidery

St. Margaret of Antioch is the patron saint of nurses, childbirth, and pregnant women, and is a slayer of dragons. As the story goes, in the third century, a governor in Antioch propositioned Margaret: she was a Christian and he was not. When she refused to renounce her faith and accept his proposition, he tortured her, locked her in a dungeon, and the devil appeared to her disguised as a dragon. She made the sign of the cross, but the dragon ate her regardless. While inside the dragon, the cross that she made took material form, and she used this crucifix to cut the dragon open and escape. When God “delivered” her from the dragon, Margaret petitioned to be an intercessor for women in labor. The Vatican discredited the account of St. Margaret’s path to sainthood in 1969, under Vatican II reforms, and her cult was suppressed; there had been attempts to repudiate her place amongst patron saints as early as 494, aligning with early—and continuing—suppression of midwives, to whom she was linked.³⁰ In an embroidered chasuble from the Society of St. Margaret convent workroom, produced at the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1.1), St. Margaret stands upon the dragon, which she is in the process of stabbing with a crucifix. She also holds the palm frond of martyrdom. Her associations with women imbue the saint with “womanly” attributes like patience, chastity, and passivity. This St. Margaret is represented with a vaguely Pre-Raphaelite face and long flowing hair, giving a sense of serenity and competence, rendered in short stitches that achieved subtle tone gradations. This chasuble was worn in the Society of St. Margaret’s chapel, so it shares both their name and their space. As a nursing order, their mission is connected to St. Margaret’s role as an intercessor for women. Usually, embroidery was commissioned from clergy and designed by architects, so these

³⁰ Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, New York: Routledge, 1984, 56.

works for St. Margaret's own chapel space are relatively rare. As we will examine, the technical artistry and skill evident in this piece is consistent with the Society of St. Margaret's exceptional artistic output, which peaked at the end of the nineteenth century.

St. Margaret was a staple of medieval embroidery as well. In the Steeple Aston Cope, she is depicted emerging from the dragon, holding the crucifix that allowed her to escape (Fig. 1.2, 1330-1340). The parallels with childbirth are fairly obvious, and Margaret is helped to safety by an angel. As in the Society of St. Margaret Cope, the dragon is resplendently rendered, here in green and red stripes, with blue and gold flourishes. In another medieval example from the Butler Bowdon Cope (Fig. 1.3, 1330-50), St. Margaret is in the act of "transfixing" the dragon: the moment of stabbing the dragon with the crucifix after her escape. Transfixed dragons curl up as a sign of submission, as this dragon does, forming a curved platform for St. Margaret to stand upon. This composition is similar to the Society of St. Margaret version, where the dragon is wrapped around her feet. While the Butler Bowdon St. Margaret looks down towards her foe, in the nineteenth-century version, she looks out towards the viewer. With the placement on the back of the chasuble, she is in a prime viewable position for the congregation: as the priest moved around, so did the saint. Moreover, located in the center of the cross, St. Margaret takes the visual space reserved for Christ.

While these medieval examples show the saint as an active participant in her own mythology, she is concurrently described in medieval tracts as far less physically imposing and strong. In the Golden Legend, St. Margaret is defined as "white by virginity, little by humility and virtuous by operation of miracles," while in the Hali Meidenhad Treatise, she is linked to Juliana, Cecelia, and Catherine as "maidens of irreproachable meekness."³¹ While Rozsika Parker brilliantly describes her as a saint "humble in writing and militant in thread," her

³¹ Parker, 57-58.

reasoning for why this material division occurred betrays our modern perceptions about nuns.³² She notes that the church's written and official descriptions of the saint, which focus on meekness, were "aimed at the nun or anchorite—women who committed themselves to living out their lives enclosed in cells attached to castles, churches, monasteries and convents."³³ I would argue instead that these writings are for men, to proscribe and regulate their female colleagues and congregants. While extensive scholarship exists on "meekness" in religious communities, as a virtue assigned solely to women, Parker does not push the issue here, content to describe wealthy nuns as "enclosed in cells." Parker also claims that by the nineteenth century "St. Margaret had been transformed from dragon slayer to victim," where the myth has been sanitized, and the more salacious stabbing aspects have been edited out.³⁴ While the Society of St. Margaret's embroidered patron saint is not bursting from the dragon, she is in the act of stabbing him (Fig. 1.4). There is more to the female church militant in the nineteenth century than Parker acknowledged.

This chapter examines the production of the Society of St. Margaret: the stylistic variety of their embroidery, and its significance in Gothic Revival commissions. John Mason Neale founded the Society of St. Margaret in 1855, specifically to provide nursing services to the rural poor in East Grinstead, Sussex. This quickly led to an orphanage being formed, and nursing and education resources expanded to London.³⁵ Their embroidery work is in dialogue with contemporary, secular embroidery, and with Early Modern precedents, both *Opus Anglicanum* and Florentine Renaissance fresco. The SSM was part of a web of transatlantic networks

³² Parker, 58.

³³ Parker, 58.

³⁴ In Anna Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848), she writes that the saint merely held up the crucifix "and the dragon flees in abject terror;" her support of childbearing mother was attributed more "to her acute suffering as to her escape from the devil." Parker, 36.

³⁵ John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996, 65.

between architects and embroiderers. The massive proliferation of their embroidery and commissions were in service to ornament a raft of new Gothic Revival buildings at the end of the nineteenth century. This embroidery is rarely discussed—sources dedicated to the Oxford Movement’s female adherents mention it only in passing, if it is mentioned at all.³⁶

The lived experience of women religious in nineteenth-century England is one of both actor and acted upon. We began with embroidery produced in a convent, and turn now to a painting produced about a convent. Sir William Quiller Orchardson’s work *The Story of a Life* (Fig. 1.5, 1866) is, at a cursory viewing, a scene of female community. Six students at the convent are arranged in a semi-circle, held under the sway of one of the nuns, who is telling them a story. Two of the students are in the act of embroidering, while the rest huddle together, listening to the nun’s tale. The six students lean against the wall, in a pose of listening, and listless, boredom. All of the girls are in their mid-teens, and look uniformly attractive, with flowing Pre-Raphaelite hair, like the embroidered St. Margaret. It is easy to imagine their uncomfortable seats, the lateness of the hour, and the combined pain and boredom they are feeling. Orchardson went to great lengths to make the scene seem both benign and unpleasant. This unpleasantness is amplified when we notice a shadowy figure at right: a nun, facing away from us and from the audience of six. Her back is towards us, and with her habit she is just a column of black fabric. The setting is Italianate, with no identifying features; the wall and floor are earth-toned, and rendered in impasto strokes. The setting is also a fantasy, since Orchardson’s imagination did not extend far enough to the actual interior of a convent, and the female mysteries within.

Orchardson’s painting visually demonstrates the complicated responses to conventual life in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, convent supporters saw religious life as a natural

³⁶ See A.M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities, 1845-1900*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1958, and Reed, *Glorious Battle*.

space for pious women, particularly “surplus” or “redundant” women, who were unwed; this was a real social concern in the wake of the Crimean War. On the other hand, detractors viewed convents as spiritual and literal prisons, leading to a proliferation of paintings depicting nuns as deeply unhappy, and trying to escape. Female sexuality—and agency—in the Victorian period was completely contingent upon the institution of the Victorian family. Convents, however, allowed for independence, instead of marriage and childbearing.

The *Art-Journal* review of *The Story of a Life* in 1866 was not wildly positive. While praising Orchardson’s “novel and eccentric wont,” they described the scene as “a pathetic narrative by which a nun excites the sympathy of a company of pensionnaires or novices in a convent. The picture is without colour, and the execution is ragged and even slovenly. We shall expect of Mr. Orchardson a work more worthy of his talent.”³⁷ In its second review in 1870, the *Art-Journal* described “the interior of a Convent, where a nun with a pale and saddened countenance appears to excite the sympathy of a number of young novitiates by the story of her life.”³⁸ *The Athenaeum* pronounced the poor listeners as “miserable in their appearance,” while back-handedly praising Orchardson for “so strong and vivid a conception of his subjects, that he never fails to make his works interesting...they fascinate the observer who may not see, or care to know, how flimsy is the execution of such potent ideas and telling designs.”³⁹ These reviews do not take care to identify the young women correctly, referring to them as novices without considering—or being aware of—significance in styles of dress. Moreover, they uniformly identify the nun as pathetic, lovesick, and lonely. Much of this critical opprobrium is justified. Orchardson’s paintings tended towards society subjects, like rich husbands and bored wives. *The Story of a Life* is in a similar vein, a socially significant “problem” being rendered in a glossed

³⁷ *The Art-Journal*, London: George Virtue, 1 June 1866, 168.

³⁸ J. Dafforne, *The Art-Journal*, London: George Virtue, 1870, 233.

³⁹ *The Athenaeum*, Vol. 1, 12 May 1866, 639.

fashion. Everyone is attractive, their setting is artificially staged, and Orchardson's "moral" is non-subtle. Although the nun telling the story—either about her tragic loss of love or her life in the convent—seems relatively serene, the spectre of the other nun effectively haunts the scene.

On the back of the painting is an inscribed poem by "F.E.W.," although it is not exactly clear when this poem was affixed—so it is unknown whether the reviewers were basing their reviews on the poems. These ten stanzas outline Sister Monica's story: tragic loss of her young love, the event that spurred her taking holy orders. "O my children,' she is saying, and her voice is like a dream, / 'Trust not the light that men call love; 'tis but a phantom gleam; / Here in the convent only is light for weeping, / The peace that passeth knowledge, and the love that never dies!'" The students listening to the story express their dismay to one another, before "'Nay, nay, sweet friend!' one whispered, 'Life is not always so, / Love is a game that fortune plays, and some must win, I trow; / Play you but long and brave enough, and never count the cost, / Win but the golden prize of love, —the world may well be lost.'" The clearest indictment of religious life comes from another of the young women, who "sat dreaming of a life of busy love and care, / Full in the hurrying tide of men, and yet unshaken there, / With one strong arm to guide her, and baby lips to frame / The sweetest accent ever heard—a mother's gentle name." F.E.W. leaves the ending ambiguous, with only God knowing what the end of these women's stories will be. This focus on motherhood contra religious vocation is in keeping with nineteenth-century anxieties surrounding the rise of convents, and points to the revolutionary act of joining a religious community.

Parker saw the nineteenth-century interest in St. Margaret as linked to contemporary notions of ideal womanhood: "the characteristics ascribed to the virgin martyrs—slenderness, grace and fairness—correspond to the developing contemporary ideal of aristocratic

femininity.”⁴⁰ The embroidered image of St. Margaret, however, “addressed the needs of other women, amongst them the embroiderers themselves, for she provided a powerful intercessor for women in labour. Women were thus divided into those who inhabited women’s realm of fertility, and those allowed a place in the masculine spiritual hierarchy on condition that, like Mary Queen of Heaven, they were chaste, solitary, maidenly and meek.”⁴¹ Parker has described not historically accurate figures, but the “maidenly and meek” ciphers that medieval men created through their writing. She again flattens the roles and accomplishments of nuns—both medieval and modern—into a repressed group. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (1984) is justifiably crucial reading for any discussion of women, embroidery, and agency, and it is unfair to unduly criticize Parker’s approach, which is necessarily Second Wave Feminist: centered on white women, and too heavily reliant on broad statements about male/female dichotomies. While Parker is an excellent and helpful starting point, the discussion of art creation by women religious has not advanced much beyond her initial analysis, and that must be addressed here.

The late-nineteenth-century Society of St. Margaret, and particularly their mother superior Sister Isa, demonstrates the networked world that these nuns accomplished and crafted. They had close ties to the Sedding Brothers, a firm of Gothic Revival architects, and also completed work for Morris & Co., in close proximity to other embroidery schools. John Dando and Edmond Sedding were Sister Isa’s brothers. The Society of St. Margaret, like many others, created pieces for secular and ecclesiastical spaces alike, with the generated funds supporting their transatlantic mission of nursing, embroidery production, and reform. As evidenced in the nineteenth-century proliferation of embroidery related images, like Tennyson’s “The Lady of

⁴⁰ Parker, 58.

⁴¹ Parker, 58.

Shalott” (1832) and Thomas Hood’s “The Song of the Shirt” (1843), along with their visual counterparts by William Holman Hunt and Anna Blunden, among others, Victorian conceptions of embroiderers were often of solitary women, hunched and self-contained over their needlework. The exemplar for this is May Morris, whose writing, teaching, and art production will be briefly analyzed here as well. Convent embroidery challenges the visual assumption of the solitary stitcher, exemplifying private work revived as social, public enterprise in the nineteenth century.

Yet this chapter is also, by necessity, about nineteenth-century Anglo-American perceptions of nuns. As the first examination of the Society of St. Margaret’s convent art production, this dissertation considers the social conventions to which they were party are important in considering how their work was valued and used. Audience is a crucial consideration: “whether the nun appears in a Canterbury tale, a gothic novel, an anticlerical diatribe, or a cinematic farce, the failure of her sexual repression has always been a topic of perennial interest, not the least because the audience of nun stories is rarely nuns themselves.”⁴² Adrienne Rich states that “the deliberate withdrawal of women from men has almost always been seen as a potentially dangerous or hostile act, a conspiracy, a subversion, a needless and grotesque thing.”⁴³ This deliberate withdrawal is often in concert with titillating suppositions about what *really* happened in convents.

Although studies of Victorian embroidery have since the 1970s championed the work of secular artists like May Morris, we have been slow to track convent production, dismissed by Rozsika Parker in the *Subversive Stitch* as “the modest undertakings of self-denying nuns.”⁴⁴ These nuns, and many other orders, could be seen as “self-denying” from our contemporary

⁴² Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, 32.

⁴³ Parker, 55.

⁴⁴ Parker, 39.

perspective, but to their non-cloistered Victorian peers, they were revolutionary. Handcrafts, and Arts and Crafts movements generally, were often figured as the antitheses to the modern, the professional, and the masculine, yet embroidery and textiles played a role in public space, in contrast to domestic space, challenging our conceptions about how women were making art. Christopher Reed helpfully distills the tension between the “modern” and the “domestic,” which Walter Benjamin marked as oppositional to a masculinist and capitalist public world. Yet Reed notes, correctly, that Anglo-American modernism is exactly rooted in the decorative program of Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts, the “twin strands of the Anglophone avant-garde in the Victorian era.”⁴⁵ Through the genesis of John Ruskin, who saw the health of the home as “a vital index of the moral health of the nation,” William Morris took up the domestic and the decorative as a method of reform.⁴⁶ Since “the domestic” was inherently feminine to a nineteenth-century mindset, the work of women in this period speaks not only to their work on interiors, but also how they subvert the interiority associated with the solitary craftswoman, in communal groupings like convents. The interiority of conventual life is refigured as exteriority through communal work for public spaces. Existing in communities that were both intensely social and simultaneously removed, the artistic labor of nuns deserves and demands further art historical study.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF NUNS

Two nuns are in a churchyard: one is in the process of digging a grave, while her sister carries a rosary that contains both a skull and a cross. John Everett Millais’s *The Vale of Rest*,

⁴⁵ Christopher Reed, “Introduction,” *Not at Home: the Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996, 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

(Fig. 1.6) was produced in the 1850s, when he had migrated towards “mood pictures.”⁴⁷ Painted while in Scotland, the image contains coffin-shaped clouds, considered harbingers of death in Scottish folklore, an evocative trope coupled with the setting, a desolate former monastery. *The Vale of Rest* had a great deal of traction as a melancholy mood picture, even being reproduced on sheet music into the twentieth century. Ruskin found the scene too macabre, and the nuns too plain. He wished for “the grave to be dug in prettier ground—under a rose-bush or willow, and in turf set with violets—nothing like a bone visible...so, it would have been a sweet piece of convent sentiment. I am afraid it is a good deal more like convent sentiment as it is. Death—confessed for king before his time—asserts, as far as I have seen, some authority over such places.”⁴⁸ Spaces of death, isolation, and unnaturalness: this was often the conception of English and American convents in the Victorian period. But that portrayal hopelessly misses the depth and range of conventual activity. In this section, I address both the visual conceptions of nineteenth-century Anglican nuns, and the way these map to concerns about the Oxford Movement, Anglo-Catholicism, and Decadence. Decadents regarded their faith, which was often Catholic, “as a beautiful possibility curiously out of place in a modern context, but no less beautiful for that.”⁴⁹ In this, they are not dissimilar to Arts and Crafts proponents like Morris, who were out rebelling against industrialization, factory production, and the indignity of modern labor.

Susan P. Casteras noted in “Virgin Vows: The Early Victorian Artists’ Portrayal of Nuns and Novices” (1981) that “the often vacuous stereotypes of nuns found in paintings, art journals, keepsake annuals, and popular magazines all reinforced partly sensational, partly sentimental

⁴⁷ *The Vale of Rest* was painted as a pendant to *Spring*, showing a cadre of young women lying in an orchard, in contrast to this macabre scene. The paintings were exhibited together at the Royal Academy in 1859.

⁴⁸ John Ruskin, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, edited by E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, London: George Allen, 1904, Volume 14, 213.

⁴⁹ Hanson, 26.

attitudes,” about convents, where “the nun might qualify as a perfect embodiment of the Victorian idealization of womanhood, particularly with her qualities of virginity, docility, dedication, spirituality, and modesty.”⁵⁰ Conventual autonomy was seen as a threat. Both in print culture and in paintings, nineteenth-century nuns are generally treated scopophilically by male artists, rendered as pretty young things demanding to be rescued. This calculated passivity turns them into objects instead of subjects, in direct contradiction to the actual work in which they were engaged.

The revival of Anglican convents in nineteenth-century England is due to the Oxford Movement, or Tractarianism, so called because of the group’s composition of *Tracts for the Times*. Unofficially founded in 1833 by four Oxford dons: John Henry Newman, John Keble, Richard Froude, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, the group’s aims were to “reclaim the catholic heritage for the Church of England,” by reestablishing ceremony and ritual to Anglican services, while also seeing benefits in “asceticism and self-mortification,” ideals with Catholic associations.⁵¹ These twinned interests in ceremonial decadence and personal deference made English Protestants especially nervous. Although the Tractarians believed in the dangers of factories and commercialism as a threat to “paternal social structures,” this does not necessarily mean that they were opposed to lessening social ills.⁵² Indeed, they saw these new industrial developments as a threat to social order and well-being, and advocated a resurgence of “romantic paternalist panaceas such as a renaissance of the squirearchy...national ‘holydays’, and village fairs where squire and laborer might fraternize.”⁵³ Such beliefs harkened back to the medieval

⁵⁰ Susan P. Casteras, “Virgin Vows: The Early Victorian Artists’ Portrayal of Nuns and Novices,” *Victorian Studies*: Vol. 24, No. 2, (Winter 1981), 157-184, 157.

⁵¹ C. Brad Faught, *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times*, University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003, 49.

⁵² S.A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the “Condition of England”*: *The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004, 191-192.

⁵³ Skinner, 191.

period, when lords would—ostensibly—share judiciously with the serfs they “protected,” and monasteries were in charge of the welfare and support of the poor. By valorizing the past, much like the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood did, the Tractarians combined “medieval idealism” and romanticism by criticizing commercialization and supporting “intellectual, aesthetic, and historical” movements.⁵⁴

Of the four Oxford Movement originators, Edward Bouverie Pusey focused the most heavily on nuns, and was a founder and champion of Anglican sisterhoods, so much so that they were called Puseyite sisterhoods.⁵⁵ Pusey may have formed women’s orders initially because his daughter Lucy was interested in becoming a nun.⁵⁶ The first new sisterhood, the Sisters of Mercy, was formed at Park Village in 1845, and more soon followed, focusing on nursing, visitation, and education; creating establishment schools; launching schemes for visiting the poor and sick in hospitals, prisons, and workhouses; and providing assistance in burials—although usually not physically as in *The Vale of Rest*.⁵⁷ Anglican clergy members were wary of sisterhoods as “popish” organizations, not to mention their similarities to Roman Catholic orders, but they flourished regardless. Indeed, by 1900—long after Tractarianism had waned and fifty-five years after the founding of the first sisterhood—more than 10,000 women had joined over 90 sisterhoods, a high population which speaks to the relative popularity of these groups.⁵⁸

While “retreating from the world” in the nineteenth century was a fraught choice, it was often one of financial necessity. Older, unmarried, uneducated women were natural recruits for

⁵⁴ Skinner, 198.

⁵⁵ Peter F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister: Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 1956, 225.

⁵⁶ Faught, 109. Pusey may have also believed that Anglican sisters were an “obvious manifestation of the Tractarian conviction that religious communities might yet be the most effective means of recolonizing the heathen territories of the Victorian city,” Skinner 209.

⁵⁷ Anson, 225. The first Sisterhood of Mercy was dedicated to early nineteenth-century poet laureate Robert Southey, who asked, “why then have you no beguines, no Sisters of Charity?” Anson, 26.

⁵⁸ Faught, 109.

sisterhoods, since these provided fiscal security and had the benefit of being “useful and transcendently important occupations.”⁵⁹ The second half of the nineteenth century saw a surplus of women, viewed as a logistical and moral problem in the especially heteronormative society of Victorian Great Britain. Historian and critic Anna Jameson noted that the 1851 census showed 104 women for every 100 men, at a rate of half a million more women than men in Great Britain—and the imbalance would only become more pronounced.⁶⁰ The disparity was such that during the Victorian period, roughly a third of women between the ages of 25 and 35 were unmarried, and while many would marry widowers, half of these were still unmarried 10 years later; this contrasted with bachelor numbers, where 18% of men were unmarried at 35, and 11% were unmarried at age 50.⁶¹ While much of the opposition to Protestant sisterhoods was concern about Catholicism, it was also concern about women, in community, in positions of power, without an immediate male intercessor. After all, Anglican sisters do not answer to a Pope. As John Reed noted, astutely, this distrust existed simultaneously with an acknowledgment that sisterhoods did valuable work, giving “unmarried women new and meaningful things to do.”⁶² Often working closely with priests in urban settings, Anglican sisters made real strides in education, nursing, and “penitentiary” work with prostitutes—vocations that were understandably grueling, dirty, and disease-ridden.⁶³

John Mason Neale, the founder of the Society of St. Margaret, was trained at Cambridge instead of Oxford, where he contributed to the nascent Anglo-Catholic discourse there by

⁵⁹ John Shelton Reed, 191.

⁶⁰ As Reed records, twenty years later, there were 105 women for every 100 men in England and Wales; by 1891 there were 106. English men and women of marriageable age faced a sex ratio even more unbalanced. In 1851, there were 110 women for every hundred men between the ages of 20 and 24, and the same ratio held for those between 25 and 29. Numbers were actually more disparate than they originally appeared, because men married women younger than themselves, corresponding to 125 women between ages 20 and 24 vs. 100 men between the ages of 25 and 29, John Shelton Reed 191.

⁶¹ John Shelton Reed, 192.

⁶² John Shelton Reed, 203.

⁶³ John Shelton Reed, 202.

founding the Cambridge Camden Society, which was concerned with ritual and religious decoration, concerns that he would continue to push.⁶⁴ Neale is notable for his liturgical prowess, translating roughly 60 hymns from Latin and Greek.⁶⁵ This interest in liturgy is evident in descriptions from the early days of the Society of St. Margaret. In an 1856 description of the service, Neale took care to note the liturgical choices: “at the Offertory of the elements they sing *Pange lingua* down to *Sola fides sufficit*. Then immediately after the Consecration, the *Tantum ergo*.”⁶⁶ This celebration of the sacrament was unusual enough, especially since they utilized a newly built oratory altar, a major Catholic red flag.⁶⁷ The Society of St. Margaret was also the first community in the Church of England to celebrate the Eucharist daily.⁶⁸ Like Pusey, who had influence “over a certain class of devout benevolent, and enthusiastic women,” Neale was able to appeal to upper-class women, and encourage them to join his ranks.⁶⁹ An Oxfordshire magistrate complains in 1859 that Pusey was successful by preying on “the hearts and feelings—ever open to kind and generous impression of our fair Countrywomen” where “particular attention is paid to ‘ladies of a certain age,’ and most particular attention to the younger and more impulsive and impressionable branches.”⁷⁰ Before long, “our kind-hearted and viable female bevy are working, with the utmost assiduity, in producing ornamental altar-cloths, carpets, fault-stools, etc.” and he

⁶⁴ John Shelton Reed, 53.

⁶⁵ Neale’s translations and compositions include Christmas hymns “Oh come, Oh come Emmanuel,” “Good King Wenceslas,” and “Good Christian Men, Rejoice,” and his publications included hymn-specific books, as well as theological treatises on medievalism, the “eastern church,” the history of pews, church symbolism, and the Psalms.

⁶⁶ John Shelton Reed, 55.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Sister Catherine Louise, *The Planting of the Lord: The History of the Society of Saint Margaret in England, Scotland, and The USA*, published internally, 1995, 9.

⁶⁹ James H. Rigg, *Oxford High Anglicanism, and Its Chief Leaders*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1895, 339.

⁷⁰ A Layman and Magistrate of that County, *A Watchman's Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts on Church Matters in the Diocese of Oxford,'* London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, 1859, 11.

suggests a remedy: “namely, an early entrance into the holy state of matrimony, as being the best preservative against all spurious customs and factitious fancies.”⁷¹

The most salacious event to befall the early Society of St. Margaret was the case of Amy Scobell, who joined the convent in 1857 against her father’s wishes. Neale was reluctant to admit her without this parental permission, but did do so after she expressed concerns about returning home. A month after joining the SSM, Sister Amy caught scarlet fever during her nursing activities, and died two months later. She had appointed Neale as the executor of her will, and left 400 pounds to the SSM, while 5,000 pounds were left to her brother. This does not sound extremely mercenary on Neale’s part, but the Rev. Scobell read it as such, and accused Neale of deliberately infecting his daughter with smallpox as a way to inherit. At the funeral, Neale and the sisters who attended were assaulted by a crowd throwing stones, who chanted “no Popery” and “remember, remember the fifth of November,” in reference to Guy Fawkes.⁷² The account gets exaggerated here, but Neale is said to have had to climb two nine-foot walls to escape this melee, and the following day he was hit by a stone; “the stone-thrower was arrested, tried, acquitted, and serenaded by the town band.”⁷³

The main SSM convent was built in East Grinstead in 1865, and while working predominantly as a nursing order, it earned a regular income from embroidery, and opened a branch house called St Katharine's Convent in 1870 in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, whose primary function was as an embroidery school, where girls were sent to be trained. There they produced vestments, altar frontals and banners, and exhibited yearly with the Church Congresses. St. Katherine’s went “over to Rome” in 1908, but East Grinstead remained

⁷¹ Ibid., 12.

⁷² John Shelton Reed, 206.

⁷³ John Shelton Reed, 206.

Anglican, producing embroidery until 1972.⁷⁴ Through their work in nursing with the poor, the sisters there realized that there was a need for clothing and bedding, and in 1887 founded the St. Margaret's Needlework Society, which relied on community members to be trained as sewers, who were then expected to produce work for profit. Being paid for commissions of altar frontals and vestments allowed them to use the money for charitable sewing. Four sisters moved to Boston in 1873 to be nurses, and the Boston convent grew rapidly, taking over most of the nursing at Boston's Children's Hospital. Although numbers have obviously waned in the intervening centuries, there are still Society of Saint Margaret's sisters in Boston, a branch affiliated with Trinity Church in New York City, and convents in East Grinstead, Walsingham, London, Aberdeen, and in Haiti.

Even with the increasing popularity of convents in the nineteenth century, they remained High Anglican, and therefore were inherently illicit. By 1850, the Tractarians had become a well-established if eccentric movement, and they were regularly lampooned in the pages of *Punch*. Satirical articles had such titles as the "Puseyite Cattle Show," describing how a "new Smithfield Club is to be established on Puseyite and medieval principles, to promote retrogression, in opposition to the spirit of the age," featuring ascetic cattle and "an extensive assortment of scourges, hair-shirts, iron belts and collars, and the like implements of self-annoyance."⁷⁵ The cartoons in *Punch* were even less forgiving, shown in "Fashions for 1850; or, A Page for the Puseyites" (Fig. 1.7) with stereotypically sleazy monks and figures in a mixture of Catholic and Protestant clothing. The presumed parallels between Roman Catholicism and Tractarianism are addressed in a cartoon from 1850 subtitled, "The Puseyite Moth and the Roman Candle," (Fig. 1.8) where Tractarian founder Edward Pusey is drawn to the seductive

⁷⁴ Sister Catherine Louise, *The Planting of the Lord*, 32.

⁷⁵ *Punch, or the London Charivari*, London: Punch Publications Ltd., v. 18: 1850, 259.

Catholic candle—complete with cross-shaped wick. In “The Guy Fawkes of 1850: Preparing to Blow Up All England,” (Fig. 1.9) a disguised Tractarian piles up bishops’ hats labeled after parishes, while the figures behind him are unable to stop his takeover of their churches.⁷⁶ The fact that the Tractarians were consistently mocked in *Punch* suggests their increasingly mainstream status.

In the same issue of *Punch*, wealthy nuns are critiqued in an article titled “Convent of the Belgravians.” The image of two sisters (Fig. 1.10) depicts the nuns dressing for the day, wearing fashionable mid-century dresses—with characteristically wide skirts—along with their veils. One nun puts on gloves, while the other ties a sort-of wimple while gazing in the mirror. Significantly, the mirror is placed with two candlesticks on a table, which then functions as an altar stand-in. Dangling from the nun’s waist is beading, presumably referencing a rosary, but interchangeable as a chain for a secular reticule. The commentary in *Punch* equates their conventual obligations to a wealthy marriage. The Abbess was specifically referenced: “The Convent will be under the superintendence of a Lady Abbess, who will be a real Countess, at the least. One principal object of the institution is to recall the good old times when the gentle Blanche or the high-born Brunhilda, taking the vows and the veil, connected the hallowed cell with the heraldic griffin, the coronet with the cloister.” Belgravia was, and remains, one of the most expensive and fashionable areas of London, and situating a convent there would be a clear sign of wealth. While the Society of St. Margaret was not located in Belgravia, their London site in Queen’s Square, Bloomsbury, was similarly fashionable. In 1859, SSM’s newest postulant, Katherine Warburton, described her first Good Friday at East Grinstead, where instead of fasting—which Neale thought of as a “pseudo-ascetic” practice—the nuns had cross buns and

⁷⁶ In a less jocular example, in 1848 a Guy was burnt at Exeter “wearing a surplice, cassock, and stole,” Alastair Grieve, “The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the Anglican High Church,” *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.111, No. 794: May 1969, 292-295, 295.

coffee, before stripping the cross, and draping it and the windows with black curtains; this was concluded with the rite of the Adoration of the Cross, and the procession of the Stations of the Cross, all of which were staples of Catholic services.⁷⁷ These images joined stories of “domineering superiors, abusing the young women under their supervision while living luxuriously themselves,” which were “staples of anti-sisterhood propaganda.”⁷⁸

These conceived notions of nuns as lascivious and wealthy are critiques also applied to Decadents, and the literature they produced. Ellis Hanson’s *Decadence and Catholicism* (1997) charts the dialogues between priests, saints, and virgins in writing from Walter Pater, Ronald Firbank, J.K. Huysmans, Charles Baudelaire, and Oscar Wilde.⁷⁹ Arch-Decadent Aubrey Beardsley’s unfinished erotic novel *Under the Hill*, which is based upon Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*, includes the mystic relationship between Saint Rose of Lima and the Virgin Mary. In Beardsley’s line drawing *The Ascension of Saint Rose of Lima* (Fig. 1.11, 1895), Rose embraces the Virgin as they float in the sky, with Rose as the embodiment of “some slim, sensitive plant, whose lightness, sweetness, and simplicity defy and trouble the most cunning pencil.”⁸⁰ Rose of Lima was said to have communicated with Mary through a Marian icon; this Pygmalion set-up references the Tractarian plan to publish a life of the saint, “whose ascetic sensuality...struck not a few Victorians as the very embodiment of Catholic decadence.”⁸¹ While nuns, especially lesbian nuns, appear in Firbank’s and Beardsley’s work, the overall focus of the Decadents on homosociability and sensual and tactile aspects of Catholicism are also tied to perceptions of nuns as immoral. None of these authors are female, and Decadent literature is predominantly the

⁷⁷ John Shelton Reed, 55.

⁷⁸ John Shelton Reed, 207.

⁷⁹ Priests were an especially common figure in this literature, both as fictional characters, and in reference to the sizable number of homosexual aesthetes who were also priests. “Popes, saints, priests, acolytes, choirboys, curates, monks, and nuns—were all seen as privileged, if highly unstable, subject matter for writers who were contesting conventional beliefs about the relationship between sexuality and religious experience.” Hanson, 298.

⁸⁰ Aubrey Beardsley, *Under the Hill*, New York: Grove Press, 1959, 58.

⁸¹ Hanson, 33.

purview of male authors. In these works, nuns are objects of voyeuristic pleasure, much like the paintings produced by male artists to titillate the public viewer.

Since at least the 1500s, wealthy nuns have been attacked by male churchmen for presumed decadence, a lack of true religious vocation, or a tendency not to follow the rules. Wealth, particularly when unregulated, could also lead to a greater degree of autonomy and ability to commission artworks, as Mary Laven and Giancarla Periti have shown in their work on Renaissance nuns.⁸² Criticism of Victorian nuns was therefore due to similar concerns. After the return of Anglican sisterhoods, attempts were made to legislate the sisterhoods through the proposal of government inspections. A robust pamphletting campaign, coupled with legislative attempts by Conservative MP Charles Newdigate Newdegate, were attempts to stamp out Roman Catholicism in England, by targeting communities of women.⁸³ Newdegate also appears in an 1851 volume of *Punch*, where the magazine made fun of his concern about nuns dying in convents—by quoting one of his speeches—claiming instead that nuns could never die: “he talks as though he imagined that the austerities of discipline or penance could in some instances shorten human existence, and furnish ground for investigation. He evidently does not know that all nuns depart this life by translation; and that inquests do not take place in nunneries, simply because perverse Protestants are well aware that the verdict of every coroner’s jury would attest the miracle.”⁸⁴

Since nuns were viewed as an aberration in the Victorian period, visual depictions of them capitalized on the “unnaturalness” of their vocation, most often setting up dichotomies

⁸² Mary Lavin, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, New York: Viking, 2003, and Giancarla Periti, *In the Courts of Religious Ladies: Art, Vision, and Pleasure in Italian Renaissance Convents*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016, and Periti, “Female Self-Commemoration, Spirituality, and Lineage in Jacopo Loschi’s Frescoes for the Convent of San Paolo in Parma,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Vol. 13 (2010): 11-32.

⁸³ See Rene Kollar, *A Foreign and Wicked Institution?: The Campaign Against Convents in Victorian England*, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2011.

⁸⁴ *Punch*, v 20 1851, 209.

between “the cloister and the world,” and making it clear that the second option was the acceptable one. Paintings that set up the convent as the stark alternative to normal, accepted womanly practices—namely, motherhood—span the second half of the nineteenth century. These include William Collins’s two versions of *The World and the Cloister* (Fig. 1.12, 1843), both set in a nearly identical Italianate setting. Arthur Hughes’s *Convent Boat* (Fig. 1.13, 1874) shows a novice being rowed away by three nuns, while on land a young boy cries on the shore and a man, older woman, and younger woman look at the scene in bafflement and dismay. Those on the shore are dressed in what appears to be medieval clothing, which fits a Pre-Raphaelite interest in medieval subjects, and locates conventual life as an activity of the past. The examples stretch to the turn of the twentieth century, with George Hall Neale’s *Christ or the World?* (Fig. 1.14, 1892), again utilizing historicized costume, where the young woman must choose between the vision of Christ that she has just experienced and the suitor who literally sets jewels at her feet. Arthur Hacker’s *The Cloister or the World* (Fig. 1.15, 1896) is even more dramatic; the nun kneels in consternation between an angel and a worldly apparition, decked in feathers and flowers, at right. Edmund Blair Leighton’s *Vows* (Fig. 1.16, 1906) is the epitome of what Casteras calls “rescued nun syndrome,” as a previous suitor grabs the hand of the wavering nun and seems to urge her to escape over her cloister wall.⁸⁵ What links these works is the concept of choice, between a solitary, unnatural pseudo-Catholic religious life (as it would have been viewed) and a more well-trodden path as a wife and mother.

The most notable example of a cloistered woman combined with floral symbolism is Charles Allston Collins’s *Convent Thoughts* (Fig. 1.17, 1850-51), which began originally as an

⁸⁵ Casteras, “Virgin Vows,” 178.

illustration of Percy Shelley's "Sensitive Plant."⁸⁶ Collins had initially planned for the work to be accompanied by two lines from Shelley's work, "And out of the cups of the heavy flowers / she emptied the rain of thunder showers," yet the final inscription is from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, "Thrice blessed they, that master so their blood / To undergo such maiden pilgrimage," which is much more symbolically weighty.⁸⁷ As the painting took on more religious attributes, the style began to clearly reference medieval illuminated manuscripts; indeed, the novice holds a Book of Hours on which an annunciation scene is visible, as well as an image of Christ's crucifixion.⁸⁸ Herbert Sussman stated that *Convent Thoughts* could be read in "terms of sacramental medievalism... as an allegory for the religious role of the artist and the sacred purpose of his art."⁸⁹ Originally titled *Sicut Liliom* ("as the lily"), and labeled as such on the gilt frame, the novice's purity is alluded to as she contemplates a lily—and is a lily among thorns—but also stresses her virgin barrenness among so many lush plants and flowers.⁹⁰ There is a veritable raft of lilies in the work, including turk's cap lilies, water lilies, and African lilies, as well as lilies etched on the frame, which was designed by Millais and certainly reinforces the theme of purity.⁹¹ Clearly visible behind the novice is the garden wall, which secludes her, and she stands on an odd island of grass in the pond, which heightens her sense of isolation.

Convent Thoughts did little to assuage fears about the Pre-Raphaelites' alleged Popish sympathies. John Ruskin's first review of the work was scathing and derided it for having

⁸⁶ Casteras, "Virgin Vows," 170. Collins's initial two sketches show a female figure in secular garb, while in the next two she has morphed into a nun.

⁸⁷ *The Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Art and Design*, ed. Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld, and Alison Smith, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, 87.

⁸⁸ *The Pre-Raphaelites*, catalog entry 88, 121.

⁸⁹ Herbert Sussman, "The Pre-Raphaelites and the 'Mood of the Cloister,'" *Browning Institute Studies*, Vol. 8: (1980), 45-55, 46.

⁹⁰ Casteras, 172, and *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 121.

⁹¹ *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 87

“Romanist and Tractarian tendencies.”⁹² In his letter to the Times from 13 May 1851, Ruskin states that, “I have no particular respect for Mr. Collins’ lady in white, because her sympathies are limited by a dead wall, or divided between some gold fish and a tadpole,” but that “as a mere botanical study of the water lily and *Alisma*, as well as of the common lily and several other garden flowers, this picture would be invaluable to me, and I heartily wish it were mine.”⁹³ As a staunch Protestant and “Low Churchman,” Ruskin’s discomfort at the subject matter is both understandable and unavoidable. Furthermore, the very way that Collins and the other Pre-Raphaelites painted encourages contemplation of the work and its resultant spiritual meanings by forcing the viewer to study all of the “small delicate strokes in deference to each iconographic detail.”⁹⁴ In some ways, nature is more active and alive than the novice is in *Convent Thoughts*.

Collins was having a religious crisis around the time he was painting *Convent Thoughts*, so much so that he was interested in turning the Brotherhood into a literal monastery, even making a sketch of his good friend Millais as “Butler to the Proposed Monastery.”⁹⁵ Thus, *Convent Thoughts* was a way for Collins, as a male artist, to explore and articulate his own religious crisis and anxiety; without over-generalizing, this may have been a factor in many of the paintings hitherto discussed. Millais and Holman Hunt mocked Collins for his ascetic values, feeding into the general nineteenth-century confusion about austere and celibate lives. It seems significant that to the Victorians, conventual vows of “poverty, chastity, and obedience” were greeted with the same skepticism that Millais bestowed on Collins, who was a High Church Anglican with Tractarian tendencies.⁹⁶ Rossetti may have planned to christen their group the

⁹² Casteras, 173. He received a letter from Collins in May of 1851, which stressed that Collins had not intended the Catholic overtones in the work, and Ruskin released a second review.

⁹³ John Ruskin, “The Pre-Raphaelites,” Letter to the Editor, *London Times* 20,800 (13 May 1851), 8-9, 8.

⁹⁴ *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 114.

⁹⁵ Nancy Rose Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, 231.

⁹⁶ Despite the Brotherhood’s efforts at various points to separate themselves and their works from more contentious religious movements, their religious beliefs were often discussed by critics. William Michael Rossetti took great

Early Christian Brotherhood, but was swayed by Holman Hunt, who was worried that the name smacked too much of Catholicism and the Nazarene group in Germany.⁹⁷ Both Burne-Jones and Morris had entered Oxford considering taking holy orders—which they quickly decided against—and the literal monastic Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood is realized figuratively instead. The idea of “Victorian sacramental medievalism” in literature represents a “dream of order” which would have been relevant and known to these artists.⁹⁸

Ultimately, even though the Pre-Raphaelites would have balked at a comparison to the Tractarian brotherhood, there are similarities between the two groups. Both were simultaneously reactionary and revolutionary. They were seeking inspiration from bygone eras while also championing activities—whether the Royal Academy or the Church of England—which made parishioners and painters alike nervous. Relationships within these brotherhoods were of utmost importance. Indeed, “friendships were intrinsic to the Oxford Movement...the friendships forged among the leading Tractarians were intense and deeply loyal.”⁹⁹ Similarly, when Millais, Collins, and Holman Hunt lived together in 1851 in Surrey, they “lived as happily together as ancient monastic brethren,” as Millais described it.¹⁰⁰

There is a long art historical precedent for associating the Virgin Mary and annunciations with a hortus conclusus, or enclosed garden. Since the novice in *Convent Thoughts* literally has her finger on an Annunciation image in the Book of Hours, the references to the Virgin Mary are

pains in his autobiography to stress that, “the notion that the Brotherhood...had anything whatever to do with particular movements in the religious world—whether Roman Catholicism, Anglican Tractarianism, or what not—is totally, and, to one who formed a link in its composition, even ludicrously, erroneous;” Grieve, 294. Ludicrous or not, Rossetti’s sisters and mother, along with James Collinson, worshiped at Christchurch in London, one of the first High Anglican churches to revert to the more Catholic practice of having flowers on the altar, while Millais, Collins, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti attended St. Andrew’s in Well St., which not only incorporated ritual but also the Catholic practice of chanting Psalms; Grieve, 294. Collinson would eventually convert to Catholicism, while Collins toyed with the idea but remained at least nominally Protestant.

⁹⁷ *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 11.

⁹⁸ Sussman, 45.

⁹⁹ Faught, 73.

¹⁰⁰ Andrea Rose, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*, Oxford: OUP, 1981, 63.

fairly explicit. Susan P. Casteras has noted that *Convent Thoughts* may allude to Psalm 143:5, “I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the work of thy hands.”¹⁰¹ This type of meditation—which the novice is doing as she stares at the lily and contemplates her fate—also echoes Ruskin’s reading of the painting as a study in horticultural details. Indeed, the Society of St. Margaret often included floral and vegetal elements in their embroidery, both as decorative art motifs, and the conception of Christ as a gardener and shepherd. It is to this embroidery, and to muse on the work of their hands, that we now turn.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. MARGARET AND EMBROIDERY

An unnamed sister at the Society of St. Margaret was quoted in Mother Kate’s memoirs, published in 1903, that the sisters were “all young, all enthusiastic, all very keen on *doing*...I always think we were somewhat like the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which had begun only a few years before we started our Soho Mission; for though we lacked their talent and genius, in our own humbler way we had all the youth, vigor, and sort of linked cohesion, which seemed to be the special attributes of enthusiasts and pioneers in these early days.”¹⁰² This quotation is a fascinating mix of self-deprecation and pride: about artistic talent, about cohesiveness, and about passion. While noting “we lacked [the] talent and genius” of the PRB, this nun draws a parallel between them both as revolutionary groups. Indeed, the foundation of the SSM in 1855 is only seven years later than the beginnings of the PRB, yet unlike the PRB, it is often difficult to confidently attribute embroideries to a specific convent, let alone a specific worker. Heightening the difficulty is that this work is truly communal, in a way that Arts and Crafts communities,

¹⁰¹ Susan P. Casteras, “Down the Garden Path: Courtship Culture and its Imagery in Victorian Painting,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1977, 83.

¹⁰² This nun had started at St. Mary’s in Soho in 1858, before moving to Society of St. Margaret; Mary Schoeser, *The Watts Book of Embroidery: English Church Embroidery, 1833-1953*. London: Watts, 1998, 94.

printing houses, and architectural firms are not. The communal aspect is key to this artistic production.

As an Anglican convent, the Society of St. Margaret existed in a space beyond traditional, accepted modes of female agency in the Victorian period, but also operated in a liminal space between Catholic and Protestant churches. Their cloistering was viewed as dangerously Catholic by Victorian Protestants, while Catholics would have viewed their lack of allegiance to the Pope—although there is a non-dissimilar patriarchal chain of command in Anglicanism—as dangerously renegade. A variety of factors sped the growth of convents, from the Oxford Movement and attendant spike in new churches and congregations, to the changing roles and expectations for Victorian women at the turn of the twentieth century. In fact, “embroidery, long regarded as a means of keeping women contentedly within the home, could potentially open doors” for workers.”¹⁰³ Embroidery workrooms and schools specifically run by convents had three main functions. The first was the creation of income from the sale of embroidery, which would support other work that was part of the sisters’ mission, such as nursing; the second was that teaching embroidery “provided practical training in sewing” to both gentlewomen who did the work for charity, and poorer women who did it to generate income; and third, that the dramatic increase of well-made vestments, altar cloths, and church furnishings in the latter half of the nineteenth century was necessary for the spate of building Gothic Revival churches in England and parts of America.¹⁰⁴

Unlike the PRB, which really fell apart as a cohesive group after five years, convents flourished through the 1850s and 1860s, and communal art-making was key to their practice. Architects often provided designs for embroidery to the embroidery schools, and the Society of

¹⁰³ Schoeser, 25.

¹⁰⁴ Schoeser, 94.

St. Margaret benefitted from a close association with the Sedding brothers, John Dando Sedding (known often as J.D. Sedding) and Edmund Sedding, who trained as architects under G. E. Street; Street also trained William Morris and Philip Webb. Their sister, Isabella Sedding, joined the East Grinstead convent in 1861 as Sister Isa, where she ran the embroidery workroom from 1871 until her death in 1906. In her obituary it is noted that “like her brothers, most wonderfully artistic, she came into contact...with members of the Morris and Rossetti school. Morris himself she often met at her brother’s home, and so it was that she carried the spirit and glamour of that school of Renaissance down into the quiet convent workroom, where it permeated all the beautiful embroidery which emanated from her hands.”¹⁰⁵ We could perhaps take this with a grain of salt, but Morris & Co. was situated extremely close to St. Katherine’s school in Queens Square, and the Seddings and Morris were close colleagues, so it also seems very likely their paths undoubtedly crossed.

Both Sedding brothers were authors as well as architects: Edmund wrote *Norman Architecture in Cornwall: A Handbook to Old Cornish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1909), which contains 160 plates detailing different architectural features, and J.D. wrote *Garden-craft Old and New* (1891) and *Art and Handicraft* (1903). The chapter “Art and Religion” from *Art and Handicraft* is especially useful for contextualizing his embroidery designs. He cites Ruskin’s “all great art is praise,” defining art as “the embodiment and communication of man's thoughts about man, Nature, and God. It is man's way of decorating his existence, and of ministering to the glory of his Maker. Art is both the need of man's nature, and its highest product.”¹⁰⁶ Sedding then pushes this further, linking artistic expression and talent with religious expression, as “by his divine craft the priest of line, of colour, of expression (the sculptor, painter, poet) can give grace

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ J.D. Sedding, *Art and Handicraft*, London: Kegan Paul, 1893, 25.

of matter and form to the study of nature, can call hidden marvel out of familiar things, can draw pathos out of each human face, aye, and out of face of bird and brute, and preach attractive sermons out of the mystery of life, nature, and the infinite.”¹⁰⁷ This attention to detail—of human, bird, animal, and plant—is evident in the embroidery produced by the SSM. While I am hesitant to attribute too much of their exceptional skill to the influence of Sedding’s writing, his close familial and working relationship with Sister Isa coincided with the height of their embroidery production, and the synthesis of his writing is apparent in their work.

The Seddings’ interest in nature is clear in a panel from a frontal for York Minster (Fig. 1.18), designed by J.D. Sedding and worked in 1869 by Sister Isa. It is a profusion of naturalist foliage, and medievalized, slightly stilted animals. The trees, doves, flowers, and butterflies weave around a banner bearing the text “the tree of life in the midst of the paradise of God.” The keys of St. Peter hang off one of the branches; Peter was the patron saint of York Minster. The natural ornament in this work is clearly important to Sedding, whose writing on gardens includes his 1889 lecture on “The Architectural Treatment of Gardens,” in addition to *Garden-craft*, and shows the further influence of Ruskin, whom he had both read and met. For Sedding, “architecture, music and painting are all based upon nature, they have their primal suggestion in natural phenomena: poetry, too, is full of picturesque natural imagery.”¹⁰⁸ Since these artistic expressions are linked through nature, they are also linked in his designs. This gardening thread continues through the SSM chronicle, *The Planting of the Lord: The History of the Society of Saint Margaret in England, Scotland, and The USA*, compiled and written by Sister Catherine Louise and published internally in 1995. The sections of the chronicle follow gardening metaphors: Part I Spring—Planting, Part II Summer—Growth, Part III—Harvest 1905-1955, and

¹⁰⁷ Sedding, *Art and Handicraft*, 29.

¹⁰⁸ Sedding, *Art and Handicraft*, 27.

Part IV—Winter and Promise of Spring. This cyclical organization is a way to turn decreased enrollments and consolidation of convents into pruning and strategic planting for future growth, while also linking to Christ’s role as a gardener, as Sedding theorized.

The SSM embroidery designs were tremendously varied. Works on linen were mainstays of most convent workrooms. The altar cloth produced for J.D. Sedding (Fig. 1.19) under the direction of his sister is quite different than much of their other output. Usually utilizing a larger palette of colors, the SSM also often included metallic thread, a hallmark of *Opus Anglicanum*, or “English work,” needlework produced in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The use of metallics would create refractive effects in muted church lighting. Yet this altar cloth is also striking, utilizing cobalt blue, red, and white thread on white linen. This piece takes Psalm 42:1 as the text and figural inspiration: “like the hart desireth the water brooks, so desireth my soul after thee O God.” The bodies of the harts are outlined in blue, with white stitching in concentric lines on the interior. Similarly, the flowers are outlined in red, with a series of white dot stitches in the centers of the flowers and on the leaves. This provides textural interest, giving the harts and flowers a sense of weight. These details are nearly impossible to see in photographs, requiring a close viewing in person to get the full effect. It is hard to view the works up close now, and it would hardly have been easier in the nineteenth century, both in terms of access and light sources. Regular parishioners were not interacting with altar cloths, which would only have been seen up close by clergymen, or in some cases lay groups like Altar Societies. This work is so pristine—the white cloth is spotless, more than a century later—that it is hard to believe the cloth was used at all. This is part of the stunning paradox of these works, which were made to be used: simultaneously durable and delicate.

In addition to the rows of harts, Sedding's altar cloth references communion in the blue grapes and grape vines. Chaffs of wheat, delicately stitched in white, form a wave-like line in the border between the harts and the rabbits. A chalice and bread meet in the center of "desireth," where pains have been taken to stitch HIS and decorative dots on the base of the chalice. There are interesting typographical inconsistencies, like the way the *a* and *r* overlap in "hart," and the stacked *o* in "brooks." While Sedding may have contributed to the design, there are also aesthetic choices being made by the nuns. Certain colors of vestments and altar frontals would be used at various points in the liturgical calendar, and so embroidery produced would have to keep that in account. Many of the pieces are rendered on white, purple, red, or green backing colors, the major colors in the liturgical calendar. The SSM produced multiple sets of vestments for use in their convent in East Grinstead, which often included a cope, cope hood, chasuble, and burse. While it is difficult to pinpoint exactly times or makers for these objects, those discussed here were most probably produced between 1870 and 1910, the height of St. Margaret's embroidery production. Many of these objects depict a solitary figure in an architectural setting, much like a Byzantine icon or a trecento Italian figure.

One set of vestments is particularly notable for its *etching* technique, which had been popularized in Bruges.¹⁰⁹ It also bears some similarities to *or nue* techniques, the layering of gold and silk threads to create a densely tactile image. In traditional *or nue*—popular in the fifteenth century—a base of gold thread is laid, and then couching stitches in different colors are stitched on top to create the image. In this process you can see both the longer underlying threads, and the shorter overlaying threads on top. The central tondo on this chasuble shows the Virgin Mary holding Christ, surrounded by angels (Fig. 1.20). This work does not utilize gold thread, but may

¹⁰⁹ Etching style embroidery was termed Print Work in the early nineteenth century, and returned in popularity following an exhibition of Swiss etching embroidery at the Great Exhibition of 1851. See Barbara J. Morris, *Victorian Embroidery: An Authoritative Guide*, Mineola: Dover Publications, 2003, 165.

be modified or new. The long underlying stitches, in white, are visible in a detail (Fig. 1.21), where we can see them running horizontally across the Virgin Mary's face. The shorter, vertical couching stitches are what actually form the image, and do bear a striking resemblance to etching with a burin, in the combination of short, almost v-shaped stitches with slightly longer stitches that act as shaded areas on the cloaks. Jesus's hair is rendered in interlocked stitches that resemble curls. The entire effect is one of printerly naturalism, an incredibly skilled use of unusual monochromatic embroidery. Moreover, this tondo is a near-exact copy of Botticelli's *Madonna del Magnificat* (Fig. 1.22), housed in the Uffizi. Mary is being crowned by two angels, and is in the process of writing the Magnificat, the Marian hymn, in the right side of the book.¹¹⁰ The left page contains the Benedictus, an invocation that forms part of mass.¹¹¹ The embroidery does not replicate the writing exactly—which would be physically impossible in terms of scale—but the Magnificat does start with the initial M, and some of the other letters are legible in the embroidery.

Botticelli had become increasingly famous in the nineteenth century in Britain, after a growing antiquarian interest in Florentine art, and influential writings by Alex-Francois Rio in the 1830s.¹¹² His frescos in the Sistine Chapel were especially lauded, while most of the collections of Botticelli's work remained in Paris, Berlin, or Florence. While the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood ignored his work in the 1850s, Edward Burne-Jones wrote positively about Botticelli's *Coronation* in the Uffizi, and the Rossetti brothers became "Botticelli boosters" in the 1860s.¹¹³ Most pertinently, Walter Pater wrote about the *Madonna del Magnificat*. He

¹¹⁰ The text for the Magnificat derives from the Gospel of Luke, 1:46-55, also known as Mary's song of praise.

¹¹¹ The text for the Benedictus also stems from Luke, 1:68-79.

¹¹² Michael Levey, "Botticelli and Nineteenth-Century England," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 23, No. 3/4 (1960), 291-306, 295. Rio's work was translated in 1854; both Ruskin and Eastlake read his writings, with Ruskin then expanding on Botticelli.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 299, 302.

described the Madonna as weary and grieving; while Mary was writing “My soul doth magnify the Lord,” Pater saw this as an attunement towards the weight of her son’s eventual death, as “the pen almost drops from her hand, and the high cold words have no meaning for her.”¹¹⁴ He also wrote compellingly about Botticelli’s *The Birth of Venus* in 1870, which was the first of Botticelli’s works to be reproduced as a chromolithograph.¹¹⁵ Pater and the Aesthetes were really the driving force behind Botticelli’s nineteenth-century popularity, which is an intriguing contrast to the *Madonna del Magnificat* being rendered in silk thread by a convent. As Ellis Hanson notes, and as I have expanded, the conflation of Decadence and Catholicism is linked to communities of unruly, unregulated women—women who chose communal lives over marriage and children.

Botticelli’s influence is therefore understandable, although it has never been discussed in relationship to their work.¹¹⁶ While the Society of St. Margaret members may not have extensively travelled to Italy, there were other ways to acquire knowledge of Botticelli: through writing, chromolithographs, and engravings. The Society’s close ties to the Seddings, and the Seddings close ties to Morris and G.E. Street also point to the possibilities for artistic exchange. Morris’s design influence tended much more to Northern Europe and Iceland, but Burne-Jones, and the older generation of Pre-Raphaelites, all had either travelled to Italy or studied Florentine works extensively. Unlike more strict Anglican precepts surrounding church decoration, High Church Anglicanism allowed for a greater focus on decoration, including paintings. Botticelli’s religious works, therefore, gained purchase in England in a way that was not possible before 1830.

¹¹⁴ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, 1893, reprinted Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, 61.

¹¹⁵ Pater described *Venus* as “cadaverous, or at least cold.” The chromolithograph was produced by the Arundel Society, Levey, 303.

¹¹⁶ I am indebted to Liz Simmons and Stuart Lingo for their keen Renaissance identifications.

The Botticelli tondo is joined by four scenes on the chasuble; the tondo is the center of the cross, and the four scenes are on each wing. Some of these are in various levels of decay, a reminder not only that these objects were used in a liturgical setting, but that they are over a century old. A panel involving angelic and female figures (Fig. 1.23) has extensive damage, and the darker brown backing material is visible throughout. Attempts were made to mend the lower center of the work, in a slightly brighter white thread. These images include miracles, like Jesus turning water into wine at the wedding at Cana (Fig. 1.24), and a scene between Mary, Joseph, and baby Jesus (Fig. 1.25). The same or nue technique is utilized; the white anchor threads are visible throughout. The final piece of this set is the burse, a cloth case that holds the corporal, which is the linen cloth upon which Eucharistic elements are placed. Burses are square, roughly a foot in length, and are perfectly sized projects for one person to work. The backing material is a cream-colored brocade, and the green ribbon surrounding the embroidery tonally ties the burse to the rest of the vestment set. The scene shows a solitary Christ walking in the wilderness (Fig. 1.26).

The 1971 *Victorian Church Art* exhibition from the Victoria and Albert Museum included one work from the SSM: an embroidered silk damask chalice veil, whose location is now unknown. The catalogue describes the design as “a medallion encircled by vine leaves and grapes” surrounding “the figures of the Virgin and Child, taken from *The Virgin of the Magnificat* by Sandro Botticelli. In the center, a Tudor rose with, on either side, elongated panels of interlaced ovals framing the inscription: ‘Gustate et videte quia suavis est Dominus,’ or ‘O taste, and see that the Lord is sweet.’ At the back, a cross within the Circle of Life inscribed ‘Angusta ad Augusta’, the motto of the SSM, meaning ‘through difficulties to honors,’ and a

shield bearing the Sacred Monogram. Rays of Glory fill the corners of the veil.”¹¹⁷ The work was produced in East Grinstead, and may have been shown with other works at the Sheffield Church Congress in 1878. Although the chalice veil’s location is unknown, it ties together the Botticelli vestments to their chapel space. In addition to the etching, or nue style of the vestments, the veil was made with “gold and silver thread and with silk in shades of white, cream, red, green, blue and brown....decorated with seed pearls and trimmed with cream silk cord.”¹¹⁸ The chalice veil is slightly more ornamented, as befitting its place on the altar.

The Society of St. Margaret also drew from other trecento and quattrocento paintings, primarily Florentine. On a chasuble made of burgundy—now rust-colored—brocade, the sisters embroidered a series of vignettes from Christ’s life, arranged in a cross shape, on both the front and back of the chasuble. On the horizontal bar of the cross are two flanking angels (Fig. 1.27) under a brilliant arched dome. The narrative scenes include Christ on the cross (Fig. 1.28), Christ’s flagellation (ave iho coronatus) (Fig. 1.29), and Judas kissing Christ (Fig. 1.30). The technique is, non-surprisingly, texturally rich: in the Agony in the Garden image, where Christ prays to the Spirit (Fig. 1.31), the deep green and ochre of the grass is rendered in long stitch, while the sky is formed by a diapered gold cross-stitch, and the Spirit’s orb stands in sharp contrast to the sky behind it. The delicate blue and white of the foliage are another contrasting element. Part of the inscription underneath reads “vitam et sanguineum,” with “life and blood.” This series of images, with corresponding Latin underneath each, blur the boundary between print and image, and image and architecture. Through the inclusion of fictive architecture, the scenes are demarcated as occurring specifically in built spaces. Like borders in illuminated manuscripts, their artificiality is reinforced by their material space. The resurrection is moved

¹¹⁷ *Victorian Church Art*, Exhibition November 1971-January 1972. London: V&A Publishing, 1971, 85. The text is from Psalm 33, “O taste, and see that the Lord is sweet.”

¹¹⁸ *Victorian Church Art*, 85.

from a cave, to an outdoor setting framed by columns and architecture. While the scenes are not traditional Stations of the Cross, their progression through Christ's life, death, and resurrection suggests movement, fitting for a garment worn and activated by a priest.

One of the panels depicts the resurrection of Christ, and the women at the tomb (Fig. 1.32). The text underneath, "Per resurrectionem tuam," is from the *Litaniae Sanctissimi Nominis Iesu*, the litany used in Catholic services, and translates to "through thy resurrection." This embroidery is a near compositional copy of a Fra Angelico fresco from the Convent of San Marco in Florence, completed 1438-50. The fresco (Fig. 1.33, 1440-42), located in cell 8 of this Dominican convent, depicts the angel with the Virgin Mary, three women at the tomb—identified in Luke as Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary the mother of James—and St. Dominic in prayer at lower left, while Christ levitates above the scene. Where Fra Angelico's fresco is emphatically sculptural—the folds in the drapery crisp, the tomb marbled through a sponging on of the paint—the embroidery is necessarily softer. Crucially, with the exception of Christ, the figures here all seem to be women. St. Dominic wears a black cloak, and has noticeable facial hair; the saint in the St. Margaret image wears a full blue robe. Lacking documentary evidence from the nuns describing their embroidery, I read these changes as a way to create a pseudo-convent at the tomb: the viewers at the tomb then become the viewers in the chapel, who were the nuns themselves. St. Dominic then becomes, possibly, St. Margaret. Where Fra Angelico's figures wear teal, burgundy, and mauve cloaks and dresses, the women in the embroidery all wear shades of blue and green, forming a more tonally unified grouping. The scene has been transposed out of the cave, and into an outdoor setting, complete with a vortex-like sky, and Christ floating within a spiky gold mandorla.

What becomes apparent, when we take this Fra Angelico example, is that these embroideries are a complex layering of the art historical canon—Florentine frescoes, in this case—with nineteenth-century material culture. The SSM’s knowledge of Botticelli’s work makes sense, for the period, and for the circles in which they were travelling. Fra Angelico’s work underwent a renaissance in nineteenth-century French art, but he was less of a phenomenon in England.¹¹⁹ This scene is approximately six inches square, so it is also a vastly different scale than the mural upon which it was based. It required a completely different method of working—close work, instead of work on a larger scale. Close looking, like close working, is both an art historical practice and a necessary way to examine embroidery. Close looking takes time, and much like Elizabeth Carolyn Miller’s excellent *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture* (2013), doing work slowly, could be a radical act. The luxury of taking time is oppositional to the Taylorist method of work, which sought to make factory production more efficient, and increase worker productivity. This dehumanization of labor, and the subsequent parceling out of time, was one which William Morris railed against. Marion Alford, Morris’s contemporary and author of *Handbook of Embroidery* (1880), discusses the key factors of medieval and monastic embroidery: time. “In the medieval ages, time was of no account. Skilled labor, such as was needed for carving, illuminations, and embroideries, was freely given as the duty of a life,” which has been subsequently translated into the ideal Victorian woman, “dutiful, pious, wageless and modest.”¹²⁰ Time is a key component of the resistance against mechanization and factory production that was a central tenet of Arts and Crafts, but embroidery also just takes time. Doing a better job of close looking at embroidery, as well as acknowledging

¹¹⁹ Nancy Davenport, “The Revival of Fra Angelico and Matthias Grünewald in Nineteenth-Century French Religious Art,” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, Vol. 27, No. ½ (Fall-Winter 1998-1999), 157-199.

¹²⁰ Parker, 32.

the difficulty of working small, would benefit our scholarship, but it would also benefit the field of art history generally.¹²¹

The vestments discussed here—with the exception of the hart altarpiece and York Minster frontal—were produced by the SSM for use in their own chapel. Since these embroideries were not commissioned by an outside party, why were they made, and for whom? Part of their creation was practical: vestments wear out, and new ones are required. But part of their creation is hard to match with prevailing notions of nuns as ascetic and unworldly, which is often an incorrect assumption regardless. Making is, here, directly related to meaning. Production by convents *for* convents is both public and private—works are produced in the community, and for the community. While embroidery was often created for financial reasons—the profits then to be applied to various charitable causes—the creation of this work also meant something for the participating artists, in the way that Morris figured medieval guilds as spaces of meaningful work instead of meaningless toil.

In addition to their etching technique, the Society of St. Margaret also perfected goldwork, traditionally the highest marker of ecclesiastical embroidery skill. They created a variety of textures through couching stitches—small, fastening stitches that hold down longer embroidery threads across the surface of the fabric. Laid gold wire was also used to create woven, diapered patterns. The use of gold threads by the SSM has long historical precedent in *Opus Anglicanum*. These embroidered pieces were a prized commodity in the medieval period—and remain so now, as an *Opus Anglicanum* show in the winter of 2016 at the Victoria and Albert museum attests. Produced by both professional embroidery workshops—which contained both men and women—and convents, the pieces were sold throughout Europe, declining in

¹²¹ Embroidery, and textile work generally, is often configured as radical, from suffrage banners to reinterpretations by contemporary artists like Judy Chicago and Olek.

production and demand after population decreases due to plague pandemics and the rise of Dutch embroidery in the fifteenth century. The bulk of *Opus Anglicanum* was destroyed during anti-Catholic violence after England broke with Rome under Henry VIII, and only 30 significant pieces remain. These pieces were both labor intensive and financially intensive; in just one example, a 1271 Altar Frontal from Westminster Abbey was the product of four years of work by four women at a fee of 36 pounds, plus the cost of materials—this is roughly equivalent to 500,000 pounds in the twenty-first century. The time-intensiveness of this work remained constant over time, as the Great Festal Frontal designed by C.G. Hare, made for Liverpool Cathedral in the early 1900s, also took four years to make.¹²² Acknowledging the intersection of time intensity and economics is a way to rethink the value of female labor.

C.H. Hartshorne's *English Medieval Embroidery* (1848) promoted a view of medieval female embroiderers as solitary, pure, and royal. Through his writing, he alleged a gendered division in medieval embroidery production, which was not only untrue, but shaped the way workrooms and embroidery groups were configured in the nineteenth century. Conversely, in a series of reviews from 1905 of an *Opus Anglicanum* exhibition, an American lecture tour, and her 1893 book *Decorative Needlework*, May Morris carefully analyzed historical embroidery and its lasting resonances, knowledge gained in her extensive career as a designer, embroiderer, teacher, and author. Morris's technical skill and appreciation was matched by a number of female historians and practitioners. By looking to the high status afforded medieval pieces, these historians and artists hoped that people would see their work as particularly feminine, but equal in stature to other types of art production. Morris's *Decorative Needlework* subverts the division between designer and worker, or "head and hands," that persisted in the reworked guild system of Arts and Crafts, and her instructive tone in the book is very similar to her reviews for the

¹²² Wall text, Liverpool Cathedral Embroidery Museum, 9 January 2018.

Burlington Magazine. This is in contrast to Hartshorne's approach. While he preserved and promoted *Opus Anglicanum*, he also lifted it up as a regressive model for female creative labor in the nineteenth century. His views of medieval embroidery were instrumental in shaping nineteenth-century perceptions of embroiderers as lonely, pious workers.

Hartshorne was a clergyman at Holdenby, and an antiquarian who published several works on book history and ancient ruins, general topics of antiquarian interest. Most pertinently is *English Medieval Embroidery*, published in 1848 by John Henry Parker. This is "the first book published to concentrate entirely on *mediaeval* embroidery."¹²³ He dedicated it as "A Tribute to the Varied Accomplishments and Domestic Virtues of Marianne, Viscountess Alford." Alford was an accomplished painter, who worked to make embroidery a legitimate art form by stressing its spiritualizing and enlivening aspects. As a wealthy patron, she funded the Royal School of Art Needlework in Kensington, and in 1886 published a book titled *Needlework as Art*. From this dedication, we have a sense of Hartshorne's audience: aristocrats, and particularly aristocratic women. He sees embroidery as leisure work for English gentlewomen in medieval towers, writing that for an "English gentlewoman" of the middle ages, there were "but few other modes in which her talents could be employed. Apart from the exercises of devotion, or the pleasures of hawking, it was probably the only recreation she could enjoy. Shut up in her lofty chamber, within the massive walls of a castle, or immured in the restricted limits of a convent, the needle alone supplied an unceasing source of amusement; with this she might enliven her tedious hours, and depict...the heroic deeds of her absent lord."¹²⁴

The image that Hartshorne created of a solitary medieval embroiderer betrayed "other needs, expectations and desires," and he also "constructed an imaginary division of labour for the

¹²³ Parker, 23.

¹²⁴ C.H. Hartshorne, *English Medieval Embroidery*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1848, 2.

mediaeval embroidery workshops.”¹²⁵ Based on one entry in a log, he concludes that both men and women made *Opus Anglicanum*, which is true, but then states that “men commonly travailed at the orfèvrerie department, whilst the women undertook the needle-work.”¹²⁶ Orfèvrerie is working with gold or silver, often as goldsmiths or jewelers, and in this instance refers to using very thin pieces of gold as a thread: exactly the sort of work that the Society of St. Margaret was producing. There is no evidence for this labor breakdown within the guilds. While Hartshorne’s tone is also instructive, it is very clear that he was not a practitioner—he is not specific, nor detailed in his analysis, either of the works themselves, or of working practices. As Rozsika Parker claims in *The Subversive Stitch*, William Morris legitimated, implicitly or explicitly, Hartshorne’s writing by establishing female-only embroidery studios, based on his description of medieval embroidery as a solely female activity. The “imaginary division of labor” in medieval embroidery production served Victorian purposes to segregate workers and marginalize work produced by women.¹²⁷

The most impressive example of orfèvrerie in the Society of St. Margaret’s oeuvre is a cope hood, depicting the conversion of St. Paul on the road to Damascus (Fig. 1.34). Described in Acts 9, Saul was a persecutor of Christians, and is stopped by a flash of light and a post-crucifixion Christ, who declared “I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.”¹²⁸ Saul was so stunned by this heavenly apparition that he fell from his horse, preached in Damascus, and became St. Paul. Caravaggio’s *Conversion on the Way to Damascus* (Fig. 1.35, 1601), for the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, focuses on the moment of conversion, centering on Saul’s dumbfounded response as he lies on the ground. Through chiaroscuro, Caravaggio uses the sharp

¹²⁵ Parker, 23.

¹²⁶ Hartshorne, 21-22.

¹²⁷ Parker, 23.

¹²⁸ Acts 9: 5.

tenebristic contrast of light and shadow both to represent Christ's illuminating apparition striking Paul, and to draw the eye diagonally across the monumental horse to Saul in the foreground. This painting is arguably the most famous—and compositionally striking—artistic example of the Conversion of Paul story, and the SSM took a different pictorially strategy. While Caravaggio centered on Saul, the cope hood situates Saul with his two companions on the road, giving us three responses to Christ's apparition.

Saul is the central actor in this narrative—it is his conversion—but his traveling companions are also necessary. While they also hear Christ's voice, only Saul sees the light, leaving his companions in the literal and metaphorical dark. In the embroidery, Saul shields his eyes from Christ's radiance, rendered in long stitch and gold beads, which provides textural contrast: the beams are sculptural, an embodied force. The companion at our right holds his hand up, not to block the light, but almost as a way to express surprise and concern about the sound. He moves away from the source, starting to turn as though to flee the scene. The third companion cradles his head in his hand, a different defensive position, one that turns him away from the voice, and also shields him from it. The visual rhythm created by the figures reinforces the semi-circular orientation of the cope hood.

Technically, this piece is extremely sophisticated. The tonal variation in the figures' tunics is incredibly detailed, where subtle changes are created through complex arrangements of the silk thread. The shields are rendered in short stitch, like ridged metal, while metal wires have been sewn onto both Saul and the figure at left, as a means of rendering chain mail. The faces are also nuanced; in a detail of Saul (Fig. 1.36), his discomfort and fear is actually readable on his face, embroidered in miniscule, painstaking stitches. Cope hoods are placed on the upper center of the cope, and basically correspond to the priest's shoulder blades, which means that they are

very liturgically present. At the same time, these details would be completely obscured in the dim lighting of a nineteenth-century chapel. Even in a modern setting, moving more than a few feet away from the piece would render the details indistinguishable. When you pick the piece up and move it around, it glints in the light—the effect is dazzling. It thus becomes a source of light itself, turning the priest into a beam of light, and the congregants into Saul/Paul. Through this religious service, the cope suggests, the participants can be converted and saved.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. MARGARET IN BOSTON

On August 11 and 12, 1834, an Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts was burned down. The fuel lighting this particular anti-Catholic fire was a series of rumors about women being trapped there against their will. Rebecca Reed, a charity scholar at the convent school, attended the convent as a student in 1831, before deciding to take vows in 1832. She left after six months as a postulant, amid swirls of rumors that she had been tricked by the nuns into leaving Episcopalianism and was being held at the convent by force. She began to write *Six Months in a Convent*, published in 1835, while her story was repeated throughout Charlestown throughout 1834. In July 1834, Sister Mary John left the convent because she was having doubts about her profession: her story was conflated with Reed's, and rumors of trickery and even torture were grafted onto the Ursuline convent.

The Charlestown incident was both an extreme example of concerns about Catholicism, and a very commonplace expression of anti-Catholic sentiment in New England. The male crowd that appeared outside the convent on August 11 and demanded that the “mysterious lady” be released saw their role as saviors.¹²⁹ Numbering anywhere from 50-200 men, the crowd

¹²⁹ Jenny Franchot, “Two ‘Escaped Nuns’: Rebecca Reed and Maria Monk,” *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 136-162, 145.

dispersed, only to return around midnight, setting fire to tar barrels on the property. The fire department was called but refused to intervene. The eight nuns and 47 pupils fled, the rioters looted the buildings, threw nine pianos out the windows, destroyed the old nunnery and tombs, and set the convent on fire; the crowd returned the following night to destroy the orchards, gardens, and fences. These tactics were not dissimilar to the dissolution and looting of the monasteries under Henry VIII, when convents were banned in the U.K., only to reappear under the Oxford Movement. Sister Mary Edmond St. George wrote a tract defending the convent, and received death threats. The Ursulines had uneasily re-settled in Boston, but were so concerned about further attacks that they permanently moved to Quebec and New Orleans in 1840.

Reed's book, *Six Months in a Convent*, capitalized on this sordid set of circumstances. The visual record of the burning convent makes the architectural space a central consideration. *Six Months in a Convent* was published by Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf in Boston and was one of the earliest—if not the earliest—American cloth covered books to include a pictorial stamp that related to the text of the book. Previously, pictorial stamps tended to be generic, such as urns, floral arrangements, or lyres. Instead, the gold stamp on the binding for Reed's book is a depiction of a convent (Fig. 1.37), with a cross atop a cupola, and a distinctive long staircase descending from the second floor. Even if this were just a generic convent, its inclusion on the cover would be a significant marketing tactic. Even more significantly, contemporary newspaper illustrations of the burning convent (Fig. 1.38) show that same distinctive staircase, demonstrating that the binding was not a generic convent, but the actual convent where Reed claimed that she had been imprisoned—or at the very least, taking care to match the convent on the book stamp with images of the convent from periodicals.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ I am grateful to Todd Pattison for pointing out this connection.

Why does a book stamp matter, and what can it tell us about nineteenth-century perceptions of Catholic women? Reed's story created a sensation, a fitting cap to an already sensational event. *Six Months in a Convent* sold incredibly well—50,000 copies within the span of a few months. Including a quasi-realistic depiction of the convent on the cover grounded the book in a real place, especially to people in Boston, who would have been well aware of images of the convent, and the alleged devious dealings of the nuns in residence. Taking the time to make a specialized book stamp helped market the book to an eager public, even though the name of the publisher does not appear on the cover. The physical image of the convent then becomes even more conflated with Reed's tale—which was very hard to verify in terms of true occurrences. Reed's account, and its success, also encouraged a raft of nun-related publications, including a fabricated tale of monastic sex slavery in Montreal, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, or, The Hidden Secrets of a Nun's Life in a Convent Exposed* (1836). The site of the Ursuline convent remained a charred shell for 40 years, before the brick remains were demolished. A stone marker designates the area—now in Somerville, and totally coincidentally a few blocks from an Airbnb where I stayed for a month while researching—as the site of both Ploughed Hill, “fortified and bombarded” in 1775-76, and the “site of Ursuline convent, founded 1820 and opened 1826, burned 1834.”

Nun pictures were not solely English products, but imagery of nuns in nineteenth-century America generally locates a tension less in a revival of convents and more relating to a fear of Catholicism. To examine just one example, Robert Walter Weir's *Taking the Veil* (Fig. 1.39, 1863), was completed in the same year as the massive Irish Draft Riots in New York City, but it was based on an event that he witnessed in Rome in 1826, which was common practice—to render a historicized setting instead of choosing an Irish-Catholic “taking the veil” in New York

City. The novitiate is in the process of joining a convent, and is traditionally young and lovely, dressed for a marriage ceremony, as befitting a Bride of Christ. The architecture is based on the Church of San Giuseppe in Rome, where Weir viewed this ceremony.¹³¹ The architectural elements are mostly composed of pristine, carved marble, although there are jewel-tones of color present in the green carpet that the novitiate kneels upon, the blue chair in the foreground, and the dramatic red baldachin that frames the altar. Including the spectators at the left side of the canvas reinforces the idea that though nuns were “removed from the world” they were also under close scrutiny, voyeuristically. The scattered flowers in the foreground may be simply flowers strewn during the ceremony, but they could also allude to the “flower” of this young soon-to-be nun, who by removing herself from the world is relinquishing some of the floral femininity and fertility so often associated with nineteenth-century women.

In contrast, of course, nineteenth-century nuns lived much more nuanced, active lives. The Society of St. Margaret migrated to Boston in 1871. They crossed the ocean to take charge of nursing at Boston Children’s Hospital, and were administratively linked to the Society of St. John the Evangelist, who settled and remains in Cambridge. In addition to nursing, they formed an embroidery workroom, produced altar bread, and ran a parochial school at the Church of the Advent, to which they were affiliated. In 1880 they purchased Nos. 15, 17, and 19 Louisburg Square in Beacon Hill (Fig. 1.40), a ten-minute walk from the Church of the Advent. These townhouses remain architecturally impressive, red brick and ivy clad, the sort of building you picture when thinking of old-moned Boston. These three buildings were then renovated to include a Chapel and Refectory on the corner, with guest rooms, kitchens, and two embroidery rooms in the center building, and a small hospital, the St. Margaret’s Infirmary, in the third

¹³¹ “Taking the Veil,” Yale University Art Gallery, accessed 15 November 2017, <http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/taking-veil>

house.¹³² A Chapel was then built onto the rear of the building three years later. The School of Embroidery also outgrew the space, and moved to 23 Chestnut Street. The SSM sold the Boston convent in 1988, moving the Massachusetts motherhouse first to Roxbury, then to its current location in Duxbury.¹³³ The Louisburg Square convent is now John and Teresa Heinz Kerry's residence in Boston.¹³⁴ The Chapel was designed by Henry Vaughan, who would later design the Washington National Cathedral in Washington D.C. with George Frederick Bodley. Vaughan's first commission after immigrating to the United States was the SSM Chapel, and in a moment of synchronicity, one of Bodley's first commissions in the U.K. was the SSM convent in East Grinstead.¹³⁵ Bodley would go on to become a major Gothic Revival architect, embroidery designer for Watts & Co., and a patternmaker to rival William Morris.

Like the influence of Sister Isa in England, the flourishing of the SSM in Boston owed a great debt to Sister Theresa, who arrived in Boston as a novice and managed to overhaul the position at Boston's Children's Hospital by spearheading hospital administration. Born Sophia Nelson, Sister Theresa started the St. Margaret's School of Embroidery in the 1870s, and it remained in operation until 1932. As at East Grinstead, students from the Order and the general public "produced elaborately designed vestments, altar hangings and other ecclesiastical accessories of silk and linen," which were sold to churches and shipped to England to be

¹³² The Infirmary shortly moved to No. 2 Louisburg Square, as they needed the extra space. Patricia J. Fanning, "Research Note: The Missionary Sisters of Louisburg Square," *Bridgewater Review*, 25 (1), 28-29, 28.

¹³³ The Roxbury convent was sold due to declining numbers, and an effort to use the funds for Haiti mission work, where there are two members of the SSM in residence; see Tracy J. Sukraw, "Sisters of St. Margaret choose mission over maintenance" Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 15 February 2011, accessed 31 January 2018, <https://www.diomass.org/diocesan-news/sisters-st-margaret-choose-mission-over-maintenance>

¹³⁴ While loitering outside about the Louisburg Square convent—having been politely dismissed over the intercom by one of John Kerry's staff, as I knew I would be—one of the neighbors stopped by to chat. He was very excited to reminisce about the nuns, describing them "all piling into Volkswagens to go out for Missions." John Lannon at the Boston Athenaeum housesat for the nuns in the 1970s, and described the interior as "warren-like," due to the renovation linking the three houses.

¹³⁵ Ayla Lepine, "Sacred Buildings, Sacred Bodies: George Frederick Bodley, Frederick Hart, and Washington National Cathedral," *Gothic Legacies: Four Centuries of Tradition and Innovation in Art and Architecture*, ed. Laura Cleaver and Ayla Lepine, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 224-245, 229.

exhibited at the General Conventions of the Church of England in 1877 and 1880.¹³⁶ The Embroidery School was a founding member of the Society of Arts and Crafts Boston (SACB).¹³⁷ They exhibited at the inaugural SACB exhibition in 1897, with textiles in the section on ecclesiastical art. While the sisters were only intermittently involved with the SACB, especially after 1900, the group's interest in ecclesiastical embroidery periodically flourished. In October 1913, "a group of ecclesiastical work was brought together by Mr. Frank E. Cleveland, a member of the committee, and exhibited in the rear gallery, during the opening of the remodeled Salesroom."¹³⁸

Boston architects Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue contributed designs for their embroidery commissions; Cram and Goodhue designed the Lady Chapel at the Church of the Advent, and this may have solidified their connections. Working with American Gothic Revival architects was a similar patronage structure to that used in England. Goodhue designed a cope hood for the sisterhood circa 1900 (Fig. 1.41), probably for use within their chapel.¹³⁹ The three rings of trinity are encircled by a crown of thorns. Branching from the crown are three pomegranates, and three Tudor roses. The pomegranates symbolize Christian community, and Goodhue utilized the roses in other designs too, most notably the catalogue cover design for the first SACB exhibition in 1897 (Fig. 1.42). The majority of the cover is a rose and pomegranate woven together; the sinuous stems and square vegetation are drawn from

¹³⁶ Fanning, "Research Note," 29.

¹³⁷ The SACB's mission statement was: "This Society was incorporated for the purpose of promoting artistic work in all branches of handicraft. It hopes to bring designers and workmen into mutually helpful relations, and to encourage workmen to execute designs of their own. It endeavors to stimulate in workmen an appreciation of the dignity and value of good design; to counteract the popular impatience of Law and Form, and the desire for over-ornamentation and specious originality. It will insist upon the necessity of sobriety and restraint, of ordered arrangement, of due regard for the relation between the form of an object and its use, and of harmony and fitness in the decoration put upon it."

¹³⁸ *The Society of Arts and Crafts, Sixteenth Annual Report and List of Members*, Boston (1903), 12. Cleveland was an architect who also designed metalwork.

¹³⁹ Goodhue consulted on ecclesiastical furnishings throughout his career. Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1914 Box 03: Fol. 22.

eighteenth-century botanical prints as well as Art Nouveau designs.¹⁴⁰ Beverly Kay Brandt suggests the rose may be a reference to the Jacobite White Rose organization, to which Goodhue belonged, as well as the English roots of the Arts and Crafts movement.¹⁴¹ While she does not consider religious overlap—her book does not mention nuns at all—the pomegranate seeds being joined into one fruit could reference the “unification of the fine and applied arts under the auspices of the Arts and Crafts movement,” drawing from the Christian belief in many bodies forming a unified Christian community.¹⁴² In addition to his embroidery designs, Goodhue exchanged letters with Arts and Crafts architect Frank Worthington Simon, who was based in East Grinstead, Sussex—the location of the St. Margaret motherhouse.¹⁴³ SSM had high-ranking commissions in Newark, Philadelphia, Bowdoin, and Boston, all serving Anglo-Catholic Episcopalian churches.

Fred Holland Day, one of Goodhue’s Visionist colleagues in Boston, and a Catholic Decadent, photographer, and designer, had more direct contact through the SSM. He began spending time with the Society of St. Margaret in the early 1890s, probably thanks to his model Nancy Lovis, who had boarded at the convent; his studio on Pinckney St. was a few blocks from their Louisburg Square base.¹⁴⁴ He became particularly close to Sister Theresa, and their friendship seems to have been grounded in mutual respect and interest in questions of theology and concern for the poor.¹⁴⁵ Day photographed Sister Theresa twice in 1895, and these images are an important corollary to the more salacious nun pictures produced in the mid-century. The

¹⁴⁰ Beverly Kay Brandt, *The Craftsman and the Critic: Defining Usefulness and Beauty in Arts and Crafts*, Amherst: UMass Press, 2009, 102.

¹⁴¹ Brandt, 101.

¹⁴² Brandt, 101.

¹⁴³ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1913, Box 01: Fol. 38. Goodhue encouraged Mr. and Mrs. Simon to visit him stateside, and they eventually did; their letters are also a mix of friendly updates and discussions about granite.

¹⁴⁴ Patricia J. Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens: The Life and Photography of F. Holland Day*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008, 103-104.

¹⁴⁵ Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens*, 103.

photographs are officially untitled, but one is cataloged “Nun with hands folded, praying, seated” in the Imogen Louise Guiney Collection at the Library of Congress (Fig. 1.43, c. 1895), and Day has positioned Sister Teresa in a contemplative pose, looking down to her folded hands. Day’s particular strength in sharply contrasting light sources draws our attention to her highlighted left cheek and the bridge of her nose, while her eyes and mouth remain sunken in shadows. This illumination across the left side of her body strikes her wimple and veil, putting the folds of her sleeves into sharp relief. Her hands emerge from the darkness of her clothing, as does the cross around her neck, which catches the light in ways that her habit does not. The image demonstrates a quiet spirituality, befitting the dignity of Teresa’s office. In Day’s other image of Sister Teresa (Fig. 1.44, c. 1895), he has positioned her in profile, looking to the left. Again, through a use of dramatic lighting, he draws our gaze to her face, which is enigmatic. Sister Teresa’s wimple, coif, and veil are more clearly visible here, with the vertical folds of the veil and habit, along with the crucifix, countered geometrically by the horizontal folds in the wimple. It is a spare image in many ways, but incredibly thoughtful, and it is easy to see Sister Teresa, as Day has captured her here, as the administrator of a hospital, convent, embroidery school, and community. She exudes calm competence, and is in complete opposite to other nineteenth-century visual depictions of nuns.

MAY MORRIS: SECULAR EMBROIDERY

The production of embroidery by convent workrooms is inextricably tied to secular workrooms, like those run by May Morris. May Morris, daughter of William, (1862-1938) studied textile arts at the South Kensington School of Design, directed the embroidery department of Morris & Co., taught at the Central School of Art and Design, and founded the

Women's Guild of Arts, remaining president for nearly 30 years. She also produced ecclesiastical pieces for Morris & Co. and independently. Her work provides historical context for the work of the SSM, of secular contra religious community. A. W. N. Pugin, the father of Gothic Revival architecture, weighed in on the increased interest in medieval, ecclesiastical embroidery "at present the generality of [ladies'] productions, covered as they are with hearts, rosebuds and doves, stand forth in all their *prettiness* like valentine letters on a large[r] scale...but we must most earnestly impress on all those who work in any way for the decoration of the altar that the only hope of reviving the perfect style is by strictly adhering to the *ancient authorities*."¹⁴⁶ This is insulting on a variety of levels, but it again points to the professionalization that begins to occur not only with female guilds, but with increased visibility of embroidery produced for church spaces. In 1863, George Edmund Street, the Gothic Revival architect with whom William Morris trained, "gave a lecture in which he recommended that ladies should do ecclesiastical embroidery because their eyes would then be cast upon 'something fair and beautiful to behold, instead of upon horrid and hideous patterns in cross stitch, for footstools, slippers, chair covers and the like.'"¹⁴⁷

When women did become involved in convents, their contributions were similarly dismissed as feminine and frivolous. When complaints were lodged against the Devonport Sisterhood in the 1870s, their bishop, Henry Philpott, stated "I could wish that the cross and flowers had not been placed on the altar in the Oratory. But ladies were ladies," while a later "supporter" described that this work made meaning for women "who might be far less innocently engaged," as they "find one of the sweetest pleasures of their life in decorating chancels, and working vestments, and helping to make the service of the altar as splendid as they know. What

¹⁴⁶ Anthea Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979, 103.

¹⁴⁷ Schoeser, 7.

senseless theorist, what narrow-minded bigot, would propose to sweep this joy of theirs away?”¹⁴⁸

In her 1893 book, *Decorative Needlework*, Morris dedicated these writings “to those who, without much previous knowledge of the art of embroidery, have a love for it, and wish to devote a little time and patience to its practice.”¹⁴⁹ Both in this book, and in her practice generally, Morris’s focus on education as an aspect of embroidery production is central. She laments the lack of apprenticeships for embroidery, like there would have been in the mechanical trades.¹⁵⁰ Like her father, Morris was a champion of progressive social movements. Concerned about class distinctions in embroidery production, she wrote that embroidery had become the province of “a very fine lady, who loves to accumulate dainty linen round her, fine as gossamer, wrought by what under-paid work-girl she does not know or care,” with “leisurely decoration” erased in the age of machine reproduction.¹⁵¹ The educational focus of the Society of St. Margaret counters many of these claims, as they worked across class lines in a way that Morris & Co. did not. The Morris firm persisted in gendered divisions of labor, which were largely repeated throughout the Arts and Crafts movement as a whole. They employed few women who were not in the embroidery section—there were a few women who did carpet weaving, but otherwise they were contained in the embroidery division. In addition to family members and associates (like Georgiana Burne-Jones), all of whom were not paid wages, there was a large group of waged female employees that May Morris supervised.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ *Bombastes Religioso of The Protestant Pope of 1899*, London: Simpkin Marshall Hamilton Kent, 1899, 29, partially quoted in John Shelton Reed, 189, on “Ritualism’s Appeal to Women.”

¹⁴⁹ May Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, London: Joseph Hughes & Co., 1893, preface.

¹⁵⁰ Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, 1.

¹⁵¹ Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, 2.

¹⁵² Callen, 15.

Like her contemporaries, Morris pointed to medieval embroidery, often produced in convents, as the pinnacle of embroidery production. The association of embroidery with women was initially “maintained with pride and dignity at a period when *Opus Anglicanum* was” famous, but this association “became trivialized as the status of women changed” in the intervening centuries.¹⁵³ *Decorative Needlework* starts with a history of embroidery—and why the medieval examples are the best, namely because “in medieval ornament, whether in an illuminated manuscript...or embroidered cloth, one is always sure though the interest of detail and beauty of form may vary very much, the work is not lacking in the essential qualities of good design.”¹⁵⁴ Morris closed by urging embroiderers, whether employed as such or pursuing the art form just as “an occupation for an idle hour,” to pursue it with “due method and soberness, and carried out in a workmanlike way.”¹⁵⁵ This focus on sobriety and exactness is exactly in keeping with the SSM’s working practice.¹⁵⁶ Creating an embroidery guide stands in contrast to the amateur status assigned to most embroidery pre-Arts and Crafts, where samplers were seen as the most common version of female accomplishment. Morris learned embroidery at the age of seven, and although she was known for designing, historically her father has been given credit for much of her work. She provides a practical guide to different stitches, when they should be used, and how to produce them. It includes sections on tapestries, quilting, patchwork, how to set to, and the importance of wedding design to good work. This last section, particularly where she gives tips on naturalistic (form and symmetry needs to be imposed for flow) vs. conventional

¹⁵³ Callen, 96.

¹⁵⁴ Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, 105.

¹⁵⁵ Morris, *Decorative Needlework*, 121.

¹⁵⁶ These traits—sobriety and exactness—are both coded to suggest the specifically female precision of embroidery, and a reclamation of this work: not something to do to “pass an idle hour,” but as a viable means of artistic and economic creation. Michelangelo would never be described as sober and exact, nor would most other male artists.

(removed too far from nature, too stylized to be distinguishable) design, is the most singular part of Morris's embroidery guide, providing women with the opportunity to design on their own.

Morris's work was inherently collaborative, both because of the Arts and Crafts ethos of communal making, championed in the revival of medieval workshop practice, and more specifically in her work in ecclesiastical settings. One of her most productive partnerships was with Gothic Revival architect Phillip Webb, with whom she completed a super-frontal (Fig. 1.45); he designed the altar (Fig. 1.46). The super-frontal has an indented lower edge with a border containing leaves and flowers. The main ground of the frontal is solidly worked with russet coloured silk and patterned with five large gold crosses, which are set on pearl-grey panels and surrounded by grapes and trailing vines. Some of the design elements were left to Morris's discretion, as she had a decent degree of design agency at this point. The work was ordered by Isabella Gilmore, William Morris's third sister, and May's aunt, who was the deaconess at Rochester and Southwark House, which was an establishment for lay sisters. The Inscription on the piece reads: "I came from the brains of Philip Webb the architect of our beautiful chapel; he was the great friend & companion of William Morris, Poet Arts & Craftsman. I was worked by May Morris... Webb delighted to give the design for me to May, he said the only woman in England who could work me."

In addition to her writings for the Burlington magazine, Morris took up the subject of medieval embroidery on her American lecture tour. Commenced in October 1909, and lasting three months, Morris's tour made stops throughout the East Coast and Midwest.¹⁵⁷ While part of the purpose for the lecture tour was to promote William Morris's life and work before his collected works were released in 1910, her focus, as a foremost expert on British Arts and Crafts,

¹⁵⁷ Natasha Thoreson, "The Reluctant Reformer: May Morris' United States Lecture Tour of 1909-1910," *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings*, Washington, DC, September 18-September 22, 2012, 2.

was on handcraft, specifically work by women. As the pamphlet about her tour described, Morris's role was as a "keen student of historic design and embroidery, and a practical craftswoman," lecturing on topics both "practical and art historical."¹⁵⁸ As Natasha Thoreson has argued, however, Morris's entire focus was of a piece with discussing and promoting gender equality. Her lecture subjects were: jewels, Medieval Embroidery, pageantry and the masque, historic costume, design in dress, and symbols and patterns, which included lantern illustrations. Her section on medieval embroidery compared *Opus Anglicanum* with the Italian style that existed at the same time. According to the *New York Times* review of *Medieval Embroidery*, she talked at length about women's roles in medieval guilds and workshops, and how "lessons gleaned from medieval institutions might improve working conditions for women in modern workshops."¹⁵⁹ Tied to her work with the Hammersmith Socialist League and her famous father's interest in labor relations, Morris's interest in suffrage was expanded by an extended stay at Hull House, where Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr sought to bring practical training and education to recently arrived immigrants in Chicago. Unlike Hartshorne's interest in "English gentlewomen," Morris is concerned with the worker—which for her included medieval women—but not, curiously, modern nuns. By talking about medieval workshops, she further upends the idea of the medieval embroidery as production by solitary workers, and though she does not discuss convents, her interest in community clearly tracks to convent production.

Victorian embroiderers were often likened to chatelaines, or castle caretakers: pious and self-contained, preferably locked away in a tower, embroidering as a pastime and not an occupation. However, as Morris stressed, and as the nuns and guilds who produced embroidery

¹⁵⁸ Thoreson, 4. This stymied audiences, who had expected her to focus extensively on her father and on British suffragette movements. A review in the *Washington Post*, titled "Girl Pleads for Arts and Crafts," expressed disappointment about her unwillingness to discuss suffrage, and that her demurrals to do so led to an "atmosphere less highly charged with vitality."

¹⁵⁹ Thoreson, 5, citing *NYT* December 19, 1909.

proved, embroidery was not “executed by amateurs in their spare time, but by highly trained female and male professionals.”¹⁶⁰ What Morris called trade-guilds were called trade-unions in America, and these re-workings of medieval guilds were a way to push her father’s socialist ideals and valorization of the medieval into a more practical space, aimed at female workers.¹⁶¹ The Art Workers Guild did not admit women, and by forming the Women’s Guild of Arts in 1907, Morris campaigned for the professionalization of handicraft that moved traditionally female artforms from amateur status to a more codified movement, one in which community was central.

May Morris described the contradictions of *Opus Anglicanum*—ornate, but made to be worn, handled, and used—as garments providing a “feeling that at the back of the obvious and commonplace lies a plane of thought of some spaciousness and dignity.”¹⁶² Centuries of accomplishment were erased through the promotion of a gendered division of labor. The divide between “great art” and craft further reinforces the Victorian idea—preserved today—that textile work is craft when completed by women and art when completed by men. To summarize, from her 1905 *Opus Anglicanum* review, Morris states “it is obviously impossible in a few pages to say all one would wish to note about the exhibition. I gather it has come as a surprise to many people that work so distinguished, so highly developed and so varied, should have been produced in our midst at this early date. The surprise surprises me, for they accept without exclamation the front of Wells Cathedral, illuminated books from Winchester, and so forth, and this is but part of the same story.”¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Thoreson, 7.

¹⁶¹ In *Decorative Needlework*, Morris urged women who were producing ornamental needlework to command a fair price, and not put their work “into competition with work done by machinery;” she saw this support of women’s work—and their ability to secure just payment to be her “serious duty,” 194.

¹⁶² May Morris, “Opus Anglicanum at the Burlington Fine Arts Club,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 7, No. 28 (Jul. 1905), 302-305 + 308-309, 302.

¹⁶³ Morris, “Opus Anglicanum,” 309.

COMMUNITY

Elizabeth Hoare (1915-2001) once found a nineteenth-century cope in a dumpster. Hoare was the long-term director of Watts & Co., an ecclesiastical and domestic embroidery firm that was formed in 1874 by G.F. Bodley, Thomas Garner, and George Gilbert Scott Jr. These Gothic Revival architects formulated it in part as a response to Morris & Co., but it remains in business, while Morris & Co. folded in 1940. Hoare took over management of the firm in 1951, remaining in control until her death. A granddaughter of George Gilbert Scott Jr., Hoare was also the niece of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, the architect of Liverpool Cathedral. Her lineage with the Scott architectural dynasty placed her in the center of conversations about architecture and embroidery, which also involved an interest in preservation. Part of her mission became rescuing embroidered pieces, mostly from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, after churches and convents decided to modernize, were forced to close, or when the pieces were simply deemed too dirty and damaged. As her obituary describes the collection process, “none of this could have been accomplished without Betty Hoare’s poise, style, charm, humour, vigour, and business acumen. Bishops, deans and clergymen were captivated by her.”¹⁶⁴ Perhaps because of her connection with the Scotts, Hoare chose to donate her collected ecclesiastical embroidery to Liverpool Cathedral, where the Liverpool Cathedral Embroidery Museum—formerly the Elizabeth Hoare Gallery—opened in 1993 in the cathedral’s triforium.

Which brings us to Hoare’s dumpster find. It is now lost from institutional memory where Hoare found the cope, or when, but it made its way to Liverpool Cathedral, where it is now on display in a cope chest near the northwest transept. The cope (Fig. 1.47) is silk on purple velvet, and based on stitching styles dating from 1880-1900. The body of the cope is an

¹⁶⁴ “Elizabeth Hoare Obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 17 October 2001, retrieved 20 February 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1359636/Elizabeth-Hoare.html>

alternating series of thistles and stylized roses, which stand out brightly in red and green against the purple. This is in contrast to the cope border, a row of saints in architectural niches, providing a trecento design element to the garment. While not completed by the Society of St. Margaret—the flowers on the body are staggered in a way that would be atypical for their work—some of the use of gold thread as a crosshatched background is similar. This is especially evident in the spaces behind the saints, where attempts have been made at three-dimensionality. Similarly, the folds in the saints' clothing are rather geometric and stylized, but clearly skillfully designed, with a great deal of attention paid to shading and naturalism. The columns surrounding the saints are composed of tightly woven gold thread, and stand in contrast to the thicker diapered gold wire in the background of the niches. Atop each arched niche is a keystone; these are composed of either a small piece of wood or a wadded piece of cloth, which has then been covered by fabric and stitched over. This was common practice for creating textural interest, but the height achieved in this cope is an especially sculptural example, which achieves three-dimensionality.

Even to the casual observer, this cope would seem to have required a great deal of time and skill to produce. It also remains remarkably unfaded and untorn; any patching that has been done, has been done so well that it is difficult even to notice it. Placed in a decorative case in the cathedral transept, it is clearly demarcated now as an object of value, where it was once an object of value *and* utility. It was instructive to watch people visiting the cathedral interact with the cope chest—people often passed by it without stopping, but once the curator, Vicky Williams, and I were standing and talking near it, people drew over to see it. This is common in museum traffic flow generally, but I do also think that copes are such archaized objects—even though they are still in use—that it is difficult to know how exactly to respond to them. Who wears them and why? In what context? Hoare found many copes in dumpsters, and in donation piles. Their

value, as Williams noted in our discussion, was often decided upon by clergy. “It’s men really, isn’t it,” she said, adding “although, I suppose it’s not *really* their fault.” While I tend to take a slightly less charitable view, she is correct: if people are not allowed or encouraged to see the technical difficulty inherent in embroidery, they cannot fully recognize whether objects should be saved. Williams, who is both a practicing embroiderer and an embroidery instructor, confronts this issue regularly, and so did Hoare. While Hoare’s intentions were certainly necessary and laudable, she often had to carry vestments on public transit, and store them in the attic at Watts & Co. She therefore did not keep an extensive amount of records, so many of the works are hard to actually place with certain workrooms.¹⁶⁵

These tensions surrounding making, craft, and value were also keenly felt by William Morris. The amateur status of “women’s work” is taken up to great effect in Anthea Callen’s *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, the only volume to focus solely on the women who did the lion’s share of the embroidery, lacemaking, jewelry, book-binding, and illustration. Callen is worth reading for her thorough analysis of the various communities of Arts and Crafts women in Britain and America, particularly schools in London and Glasgow. She charts Morris and Ruskin’s interest in reviving cottage industries, due to their fear that these art forms were dying out. In one example, Mary Slater (Fig. 1.48, 1900) was a lace maker in Honiton, and she was photographed making lace in a traditional, non-mechanical, way. This photograph serves to document an arena of female artistic production, but it also shows the uncomfortable reality where wealthier men—in this case, Morris and Ruskin—would fund and “educate” women who had been practicing the craft for a long time.¹⁶⁶ There is a paternalistic tone, a legitimization of

¹⁶⁵ Email correspondence, Sister Sarah, Society of St. Margaret archivist, November 2016 and December 2017.

¹⁶⁶ As Rosalind P. Blakesley noted, “many Arts and Crafts figures believed fervently that the working classes should be encouraged to realize their potential as producers, as well as consumers, of art. Yet in practice, this often resulted in educated designers and design theorists telling the lower classes what to produce, and what to like;” Blakesley, 9.

female craft occurring when men take it up. As a corollary, contemporary “maker culture” is discussed—both in colloquial articles and in scientific studies—as the province of tech designers, conveniently ignoring the collaborative female spaces and makers who are the historical precedent for these contemporary movements. The media focus remains on male creators or male-dominated fields, particularly engineering and computer science.¹⁶⁷

While industrialization was undoubtedly detrimental for both men and women—physically and environmentally—it is also clear that women were hit disproportionately hard. Cottage industries, like weaving, spinning, and lacemaking, were shifted into mills and factories in the nineteenth century, possible through new advances in power machinery. These displaced female workers joined the factory system, working twelve-hour days on dangerously automated machines. In a factory “a vast majority of the persons employed at night and for long periods during the day are females; their labour is cheaper and they are more easily induced to undergo severe bodily fatigue than men.”¹⁶⁸ While Morris was theorizing the importance of medieval guilds contra industrialization and factory production, and attempting to “salvage” handcraft, his own workshop production remained divided along gendered lines, an obvious difference between his workshop and that of the SSM.

The theme at the tenth triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious in 2016 was “Whither Women Religious: Analyzing the Past, Studying the Present, Imagining the Future.” Keynote speaker Dr. Deirdre Raftery (University College Dublin) focused on systemic and social reasons for the lack of publicity for scholarship on women religious. Raftery’s talk,

¹⁶⁷ See Tim Bjarin, “Why The Maker Movement is Important to America’s Future,” *Time*, 19 May 2014, retrieved 28 February 2018 <http://time.com/104210/maker-faire-maker-movement/> John Tierney, “The Dilemmas of Maker Culture,” *The Atlantic*, 20 April 2015, retrieved 28 February 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2015/04/the-dilemmas-of-maker-culture/390891/> amongst many others.

¹⁶⁸ Margaret Hewitt, *Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry*, London: Rockliff, 1958, 22.

“Researching Women Religious in the 21st Century: Old Challenges and New Opportunities,” dissected the scholarship, status, and sources of the field of religious women’s history. Much of the information about convents and their attendant organizations comes from internally produced biographies—as in the case of the SSM’s *The Planting of the Lord*—and biographies are viewed as too celebratory or biased by modern scholars. Knowing how to utilize the descriptive aspects of these sources is crucial. Contemporary stereotypes about nuns continue to limit the publishing outlets for some of this work, as they are often perceived as too entrenched in a religious hierarchy, amid assumptions that Catholic women religious remain suppressed and repressed. While this is an oversimplification, anecdotally, the most common response to non-religious scholars when learning that I research nuns is “are you Catholic?” or simply “...why,” and after talking about it at the CHWR conference, this was an experience that most of us shared.

Raftery’s broader point about access was that as academics, we needed to think about where we were publishing, and keep bibliometrics in mind. As convents are so tied to education, much of the research on nuns is published in education journals, which have low discoverability. Multi-author articles are more likely to be discovered, but multi-author articles are less advantageous for those seeking tenure or promotion. Research produced by scholars who are also nuns—of which there are many—tends towards collaboratively authored works, but these works are also often underpublished, because they do not follow academic trends supported and encouraged by graduate education. While digital technology can lead to greater connections between convents, and between nuns and researchers, convent archives are rarely digitized. These archives are increasingly centralized—the Episcopal Church’s archives are now held at a storage facility outside of Austin, for example—which means that they might be easier to access

all at once, but that they are removed from their traditional caretakers, and the loss of institutional memory and insider wisdom is detrimental.

It is not a coincidence that our dismissal of older women, and their accumulated knowledge, hits these collections particularly hard. Turning prosopography into a digitally accessible, visible record requires collaborative work between researchers and convents, a trust-building relationship that takes time, and which our institutions also tend to not reward. I have been lucky, in that the SSM has been both willing to let me stay with them in London and NYC, and to communicate over email. The SSM archivist in England, Sister Sarah, was able to tell me about Elizabeth Hoare and possible relevant collections over email, and to describe her process researching for the *Watts Book of Embroidery* in the 1990s, but these resources will not always be available.

The discussion about scholarship at the CHWR is a microcosm of several issues currently facing academic publishing: the big book-as-reworked dissertation as a ticket to tenure vs. multi-authored articles and online collaborations that might ultimately reach more people. Finances play a role in all of this as well. Conventual chronicles, which are often historical records and chronology combined with oral history, were traditionally produced internally, for reference by community members and occasional outside scholars. But as convent archivists die, and the research shifts to secular scholars, the methods of transmission also need to be varied. The SSM *The Planting of the Lord* has been crucial for sorting out the timeline of their founding and various sites, citing articles in Anglican digests that are no longer accessible, so this has become the source that synthesizes them. I received a copy from Sister Ann at the Neale House location in New York City, but they are scarce enough that Liverpool Cathedral has tried to get a copy and could not, for example. Mobilizing these stores of knowledge has a policy impact. Nuns

have such a massive amount of knowledge relating to health care, education, and social justice, and not fully engaging with that is a mistake.

When I visited Liverpool Cathedral in January 2018, the Elizabeth Hoare Gallery, housed in the west end triforium, was closed. The roof had leaked, which they were repairing, so most of the displays had been taken down. Williams had pulled the Society of St. Margaret works, and some of the strongest examples created for the Cathedral, and I was able to spend time with them, moving the works around, and discussing them with her. In a way, this was actually more conducive to getting a sense of movement for the pieces, than it would have been if they were in their normal display cases, but the loss of a permanent display space is disheartening. There are no immediate plans to reopen the gallery, as there are more structurally pressing building issues with which to contend. This is also very understandable, and it is important that the Hoare collection has a home at all, but it also feels like a dismissal. I was able to go up to the now empty triforium (Fig. 1.49), and walk among the empty glass cases with one display remaining. From this angle, the cope displayed at center is a ghostly presence in the gloom, a tangible, solitary reminder of loss. Seeing this vestment—formerly worn and activated in a religious setting—alone and static instead, is an inherently lonely scene.

A burse used and made by the Society of St. Margaret depicts the Virgin Mary surrounded by angels (Fig. 1.50). Schoeser dates the burse from 1880, and states that it was designed by John Dando Sedding for use in the convent in East Grinstead. While Sedding may have designed the work, he drew it directly from Renaissance Siennese artist Matteo di Giovanni (c. 1430-1495). Matteo's Virgin Mary enthroned, known as the *Madonna delle Grazie* (Fig. 1.51, c. 1470) is displayed at San Lorenzo in Grosseto. While Mary is depicted here without the Christ Child, her literal and figurative womb is centrally placed, framed by her hands and the folds of

her cloak; Christ's absence is given space through his mother's body.¹⁶⁹ The womb is circled by the phrases "Missus est angelus Ghabriel" and "Ave gratia plena Dominus tecum," which is a reference to the Hail Mary: Ave Maria, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Her cloak is embroidered with pomegranates, a symbol of holy blood, and the creation of the Christian church—a multiplicity of seeds encased in one skin, a congregation in microcosm. Mary transitively becomes the building of the church as well.

The painting's structure is a version of the Madonna enthroned, like Cimabue's *Maestà di Santa Trinita* (c. 1280-85), Giotto's *Ognissanti Madonna* (c. 1310), or Duccio's *Maestà* (1308-1311). The use of an architectural niche also recalls Marian iconology, where Mary is flanked by columns, as in Pere Serra's *Virgin of the Angels* (1385). The format, with the angels flanking, is structurally similar. As discussed, several of the convent's embroideries utilized this architectural format, a literal framing device. Notably, this Mary is sans Christ Child, and instead is praying with her hands folded. This gesture, relatively uncommon in the quattrocento, is visible in Filippo Lippi's *Madonna col Bambino e due angeli* (c. 1460-1465). Care has been taken to delineate the folds of the fabric, and to stitch REGINA along the neckline. The edge of the mantle, which frames her face, is embroidered "Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum," or "here is the maid of the Lord, let it be done to me according to your word."

Mary has been crowned Queen of Heaven, and her crown is rendered in thicker metal pieces—thicker than regular pounded gold thread. This metallic overlay texturally draws the eye to Mary's face, framed in this three-dimensional material. Her facial expression is enigmatic, befitting someone who was contending with the shock of the annunciation, and the sorrow of losing her son to a broken world. In looking at this work with Williams, we both settled on "weary" to describe Mary's affect. Her slightly heavy-lidded gaze is direct and dispassionate, but

¹⁶⁹ I am grateful to Lane Eagles for iconographical insight here, as in all Marian questions.

also very tired. An Italian source on Matteo's painting describes her eyes as "penetrating, penetrating eyes, the eyelids just lowered, the gaze fixed."¹⁷⁰ We kept circling back to this face: doesn't she seem...weary? What was the community *saying* with this image—one of their most technically brilliant—by making a Mary who was not outwardly jubilant, or emphatically serene? What can this tell us about nineteenth-century weariness?

Two Biblical quotations surrounding weariness are particularly relevant to the Society of St. Margaret and their missions. Galatians 6:9 reads "Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due season, we shall reap, if we do not lose heart."¹⁷¹ As a nursing order, the SSM now centers the nuns in nursing homes and hospitals, but in the nineteenth century it involved home visits, often in truly terrible, diseased conditions. Their current London motherhouse, St. Mary's Convent and Nursing Home in Chiswick—a mile from William Morris's Kelmscott House on Upper Mall Hammersmith—joined the community in 1910, and still operates as a nursing home. The SSM chronicle tells story after story of tuberculosis outbreak, death at orphanages, evacuations during WWII, and, post-chronicle, an earthquake in Haiti, and floods during Hurricane Sandy. Weariness is also referenced in Isaiah 40:31, "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint." Be patient, remain godly and steadfast, say these scriptures, and you will be restored to faith. But for the nuns that created this bourse, this may not have been the case. The St. Margaret Madonna is not a *mater dolorosa*—she does not cry, or visibly grieve. Her grief is internal.

¹⁷⁰ "Gli occhi vivissimi, penetranti, le palpebre appena abbassate, lo sguardo fisso," based on a report by Msgr. Crispino Valenziano, Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology, 7 December 1995, accessed 20 February 2018, http://www.maremmachevai.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=169&Itemid=9

¹⁷¹ In her concession speech on November 9, 2016, Hillary Rodham Clinton referenced this passage from Galatians, continuing "My friends, let us have faith in each other. Let us not grow weary. Let us not lose heart. For there are more seasons to come and there is more work to do."

Standing sharply in contrast to the Oxford Movement, which provided the social and religious circumstances behind so much of this work, was Victorian Muscular Christianity, an anti-intellectual movement which developed in the mid-nineteenth century¹⁷². Muscular Christianity focused on rigorousness and strength, the “masculine” attributes needed for missionary work throughout the British Empire. This imperialist mindset was also anti-Catholic, and therefore anti-High Anglicanism as well. Charles Kingsley was a major promoter of muscular Christianity, and he wrote anti-Catholic sermons, essays and novels, where the protagonist was always a “married Protestant who was privileged but sympathetic towards workers, physically fit, and confident without being arrogant. He was honest, chivalrous, and eager to leave domestic comforts for unknown parts of the world.”¹⁷³ The heroes always grew beards, presumably as a clear marker that they were not womanly.¹⁷⁴ He carried his message further in his novel *Westward Ho!* (1855) through his character Eustace Leigh, a Catholic who—quelle horror—becomes a Jesuit priest. Leigh was a staunch supporter of the Virgin Mary, speaking to her throughout the book, and he gives some of Christ’s lines to Mary instead, entreating his would-be paramour—this is before he becomes a priest—to join “the bosom of that Church where a Virgin Mother stands stretching forth soft arms to embrace her wandering daughter, and cries to you all day long, ‘Come unto me, ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest!’”¹⁷⁵ Originally from Matthew 11:28, and uttered by Jesus, Christ’s words—

¹⁷² The phrase “Muscular Christianity” was popularized by T.C. Sandars in a review of Charles Kingsley’s novel *Two Years Ago* in 1857, although the term had been used sporadically in the 1850s. See Tony Ladd and James A. Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport*, Grand Rapids, MI: BridgePoint Books, 1999, 13-14.

¹⁷³ Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England 1830-1885*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008, 153.

¹⁷⁴ Kingsley is adamant about beards, citing that the Christian “forefathers were not ashamed of their beards; but now...in proportion to a man’s piety he wears less hair, from the young curate who shaves off his whiskers, to the Popish priest who shaves his crown.” Charles Kingsley, *Yeast: A Problem*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1851, 56.

¹⁷⁵ Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*, New York: Fred DeFau & Co, 1889, vol. 2, 78.

transposed to Mary by Kingsley—imply both the Catholic veneration of a saint and their “womanliness” by placing Mary above Christ.

To Kingsley, this inversion of female over male authority is ludicrous, and laughable: this is the problem with Catholicism, to the muscular Christians. In contrast, High Church Anglican services end with the Hail Mary—both the Church of the Advent and Holy Trinity Sloane Square still conclude worship with the Hail Mary and bell ringing. The embroidered burse focuses on Mary, and many of the SSM pieces here discussed focus on female saints. The embroidered pieces housed at the Liverpool Cathedral “are part of the genealogical history of the Gothic Revival in the Anglican Church,” yet placed in a gallery away from the religious service.¹⁷⁶ The Virgin Mary burse, like the other embroideries, is figured now “as an aestheticized memorial of a once insistent theological fight, its boldly aggressive assertiveness rendered mute by historical forgetting.”¹⁷⁷ These works can seem so sanitized, static, and archaic to us, that we can forget that clergy were jailed for wearing vestments. I have never seen a piece of embroidery as delicate, intricate, and nuanced as this burse. I kept returning to it, drawn by the texture, the sorrow, the visually familiar stacking of the figures, and the hidden details, like the text woven into the edges. The burse, of all ecclesiastical embroidery, is arguably the most “unnecessary”: it is effectively a pocketbook, used to hold and keep the corporal clean. But, as per Morris, it is indeed an object of both use and beauty, which tells us a story of intimacy in making.

¹⁷⁶ Goldhill, 62. Initial designs for Liverpool Cathedral were by Bodley, who then oversaw the work of Giles Gilbert Scott, the grandson of his good friend and colleague Giles Gilbert Scott.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

By Authority: Daniel Berkeley Updike, the Merrymount Press, and “Pocket Cathedrals”

In John Ruskin’s (1819-1900) pseudo-autobiography, *Præterita* (1886), Ruskin recounted his joy upon receiving his first illuminated manuscript. For Ruskin, a “well-illuminated missal is a fairy cathedral full of painted windows, bound together to carry in one’s pocket, with the music and the blessing of all its prayers beside.”¹⁷⁸ Edward Burne-Jones took up this phrasing in an 1894 letter to Charles Eliot Norton, describing the Kelmscott *Chaucer* as an architectural space he wished to inhabit: “I love to be snugly encased in the borders and buttressed up by the vast initials—and once or twice when I have no letter under me, I feel tottery and weak; if you drag me out of my encasings it will be like tearing a statue out of its niche and putting it in a museum—indeed when the book is done, if we live to finish it, it will be like a pocket cathedral.”¹⁷⁹ This quotation illuminates the ties between architectural elements and bookbinding, which were central to William Morris’s book design practices, and the medieval roots of his and Ruskin’s ideas. It also shows the translation of these ideas to Boston, the American city with the most active Arts and Crafts communities and bond with British artistic movements. This was due in large part to Norton, who was an early supporter of both Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and an active correspondent with Burne-Jones. He was able to use his position as an art historian at Harvard to promote art as social reform to the Boston intelligentsia. Boston was a key site for both Gothic Revival building and fine presses, particularly the Merrymount Press and Copeland and Day. While influenced by Morris, these printers moved

¹⁷⁸ John Ruskin, *Præterita: The Autobiography of John Ruskin*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949, 456-457. Written by an aging Ruskin, *Præterita* is a clear-eyed—and often devastating—reflection by Ruskin on his faults. He ascribes his love of illuminated manuscripts to a love of “of toil, and of treasure...my nature is a worker’s and a miser’s; and I rejoiced, and rejoice still, in the mere quantity of chiseling in marble, and stitches in embroidery,” 456, an acknowledgement of both his interest in the tactile and his pervasive selfishness. Intentionally or not, this sort of framing relates to the hedonistic discourse promoted by Walter Pater in *The Renaissance* (1877).

¹⁷⁹ Douglas E Schoenherr, “A Note on Burne-Jones’s ‘Pocket Cathedral’ and Ruskin,” *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 15:4, 2004, 91.

beyond the ethos of the Kelmscott Press, to productions that had a wider spread and greater impact than what Morris was able to achieve, particularly through the work of Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941), the founder of the Merrymount Press.

This chapter examines the construction of the Merrymount Press *Altar Book* (1896), and its role as one object within a religious environment of glass, metal, brick, and aurality. This interconnectedness is a broader analogy for the networked world of the Society of Arts and Crafts (SACB) community in Boston, a more publican, far-reaching, and commercial enterprise than its English counterpart. The *Altar Book* was a communal endeavor, with Daniel Berkeley Updike at its center. Updike was a prolific and influential historian and author, and a member of the SACB; his extensive printing and writing career is essential to this discussion. I frame the *Altar Book* as an architectural work, a book designed to fit into an Anglo-Catholic architecture. The book's architectural qualities are dramatically enhanced by Robert Anning Bell's illustrations. Bell (1863-1933) was a prolific illustrator, bookplate designer, mosaic artist, and sculptor of plaster relief, and I will examine how his relief work and illustration relate, and how they intersect in the *Altar Book*. This, combined with the borders and capitals designed by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924), along with his custom Merrymount typeface, made the *Altar Book* not just an exemplar of Arts and Crafts printing, but a work that spans printing and architecture through its multivalent material reality. The work is simultaneously historically rooted and technologically advanced. I discuss the *Altar Book* as part of the Merrymount Press oeuvre, the community in Boston, and Arts and Crafts movements broadly. This chapter is, of necessity, bibliographic, biographic, and visual reconstruction and history of the *Altar Book*, placed in the context of Updike's other publications. I address these books as art historical

objects. This chapter is the first close study of the Merrymount Press books' technical artistry, their material realities, and the subsequent broader impact of the Press in Boston.

Updike was a parishioner at the Church of the Advent in Beacon Hill, where he also lived. The location of the Advent is important. As Peter W. Williams notes, the church blends into the residential neighborhood that surrounds it, instead of being located downtown in a more public, less residential setting.¹⁸⁰ The church is just one player in a thick arrangement of stately brownstones, woven into the fabric of the community. Advent was, and remains, a performative space, and the *Altar Book* was part of this performance. The *Altar Book* is an object of use, and was both used in worship services, and moved throughout the church space. Some of Updike's more inventive design choices will be examined in the light of this performativity. Beacon Hill was the locus for the Arts and Crafts and Anglo-Catholic communities in Boston. The tight-knit community of artists in Beacon Hill is crucial to my argument, as these artists were simultaneously traversing borders—of media, of gender, of acceptable religious leanings—and living hyper-localized lives. The headquarters of SACB, at 9 Park St, was on the same block as the Boston Athenaeum, and across the street from the *Shaw Memorial* in the Boston Commons. As the *Society of Arts and Crafts, Annual Report and List of Members* indicates, the Boston-based members of SACB lived predominantly in a five-block radius north of the Boston Commons, in Beacon Hill.

This same section of the neighborhood included major bookbinders like Alice Morse, Amy Sacker, and Mary Crease Sears, architects Ralph Adams Cram and Frank E. Cleland, silversmith George C. Gebelein, known as the “modern Paul Revere,” the Society of St. Margaret, and Updike. This sort of proximity matters in part because it mimics, albeit artificially,

¹⁸⁰ Peter W. Williams, *Religion, Art, and Money; Episcopalians and American Culture from the Civil War to the Great Depression*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016, 59.

the communal closeness of medieval guilds. These figures were busy, but they were also monied, and thus had time and space—and income—in which to congregate, in a way that an average factory worker at this peak of industrialization would not have been able. Cram stated that Beacon Hill was a “closely-knit, intimately sympathetic community, with a real unity in tastes and ideals,” providing a “give-and-take of social and intellectual traffic that was in itself a true creative energy” which “made our life wider and fuller than we had believed would be possible.”¹⁸¹

While the *Altar Book* was Updike’s brainchild, it was a collaborative work. As noted, the book includes borders and decorated capitals by Goodhue—who also designed the Merrymount typeface—which are joined by seven full-page illustrations by Bell, and plainsong arranged by Oxford-based composer Sir John Stainer, as detailed in the colophon (Fig. 2.1). Additionally, British bookplate designer and engraver, Charles William Sherborn, completed escutcheons at the beginning and end. Updike and his financier, Harold Brown, carefully ran their decisions past Episcopal leaders, so the book was printed “By Authority,” as evidenced on the title page (Fig. 2.2). Updike and Brown “had grown up together and were bound by common tastes and prejudices, but chiefly by a strong attachment to the ritual of their church.”¹⁸² Crucially, the fact that Sherborn, Bell, and Stainer were all British points to Updike’s interest in, and connections to, High Church Anglicanism and British culture, an important factor both for his work and for Boston’s Arts and Crafts community. Merrymount’s foreman, John Bianchi, is also an essential contributor to the success of this book, and for the Press’s output broadly, so committed to the

¹⁸¹ Ralph Adams Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1936, 219-220. Patricia J. Fanning stated that Beacon Hill community was “liberal, generous, and rebellious” despite not being especially activist-focused, where a “mixture of forceful personalities, youthful enthusiasm, and a desire to rebel against established norms infused the air, and the streets bustled with ambitious artists who were certain of their talent and confident of their future achievements” Patricia J. Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens: The Life and Photography of F. Holland Day*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008, 84.

¹⁸² George Parker Winship, “The Merrymount Press of Boston,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 101-117, 104.

enterprise that he named his child Daniel Berkeley Bianchi. This chapter considers the transatlantic networks that made the *Altar Book* possible, and informed Merrymount's other works. In light of Burne-Jones's "pocket cathedrals," I will consider the *Altar Book* as an architectural work, an ecclesiastical miniature inside a larger, architectural shell.

THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS

This section sets the historical stage for the Merrymount Press and its book production. Daniel Berkeley Updike organized his life and his work by the principles of order, legibility, and good design, and the over 20,000 books, pamphlets, and ephemera that his press produced testify to his work ethic. Like most printers of his generation, Updike was initially introduced to Arts and Crafts printing through the work of William Morris's Kelmscott Press, yet Updike's designs, particularly in his early publications, blended Arts and Crafts ideals with religious import in a way that was new and different. The *Altar Book* was produced for the Episcopal Church in America and printed in a run of 350, each sold for \$75. It was bound in blind-stamped pigskin with three metal clasps, measuring 11.5 x 15.5 inches.¹⁸³ The work of the Merrymount Press combines influences from Morris, Stanley Morison and the Monotype Corporation, and seventeenth-century Dutch typefoundries.

As a historian of type design who also owned a publishing house, Updike was uniquely suited to a creation process rooted in historical awareness. Through its very structure, font, and ornamentation, Updike's *Altar Book* is saturated in scholarship and practical knowledge of book making. At the same time, it feels neither archaic nor stuffy. In many ways the *Altar Book*, like

¹⁸³ Susan Otis Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1977, 83. Thompson has the most comprehensive discussion of the Merrymount Press from an art historical standpoint, and her book is an essential resource on American Arts and Crafts books. However, she does not delve into discussions of color or illustration.

the Merrymount Press itself, was a labor of love for Updike; it required the collaboration of punchcutters, illustrators, designers, and printers. While printing and typographic notables like Stanley Morison, William Edwin Rudge, and T. M. Cleland were effusive about the quality and thoughtfulness of the Merrymount Press books, their discussions are very rarely illustrated with examples from the Press's output, or constituting any sort of detailed physical and visual examination.

Merrymount was named after the colonial Merrymount community founded by Thomas Morton, located at a midway point between “the Puritans of Boston and the Pilgrims of Plymouth” in Quincy, and Updike borrowed Morton's symbol of the maypole for the Press.¹⁸⁴ In early advertisements, the Press's emblem is quite detailed: a group of six figures ribbon-dancing around a maypole (Fig. 2.3). They are dressed in archaized clothing, with a Botticelli-esque positioning, particularly in the two female figures. Surrounded by flowers in the foreground, the scene is located on a hill that opens up to a vista with trees, a lake, and distant hills. All of this suggests a sanitized medieval space, where workers found joyful dignity in their labor while contributing to the public good: exactly the same sort of mythologized medieval so vaunted by Ruskin and Morris. The image is labeled “Merrymount,” and the typeface chosen for the Press name is pseudo-runic, both rounded and angular. Evocatively, the stylized capital “M” resembles a bishop's hat. The “M” may also visually reference the “M” found in the tiling at Morris's Red House (Fig. 2.4). Located on the back garden porch, named Pilgrim's Rest, Morris's “M” is included in a tiled arrangement that features Morris's motto repeated twice, “Si Je Puis,” or “I will if I can,” and white roses on golden sunbursts.

¹⁸⁴ Martin Hutner, *The Merrymount Press: An Exhibition on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Founding of the Press*, Cambridge: The Houghton Library, 1993, x. Updike stated that “we regard Morton's Maypole as a symbol of work done cheerfully and well; of happiness found in work-a-day things.”

Text at the bottom of the Merrymount Press advertisement reads “D.B. Updike, Decorative Printing and Book-Making, The Merrymount Press, at the Sign of the Maypole, Seven Tremont Place, Beacon Street, Boston.” The press was located on the corner of Tremont Place and School Street, abutting the Granary Burying Ground and the Boston Athenaeum, where Updike was a member, and a block from the eastern edge of the Boston Commons.¹⁸⁵ The Press would move several times as it expanded; this was its most central location, and a quick walk from Updike’s lodging in Beacon Hill. At the top of the maypole fluttered a banner, emblazoned with “Optimum Vix Satis,” or “the best is barely enough,” the motto of the Updike family, and the motto of the Press.

In addition to the pseudo-medieval connotations of maypoles, the symbol gained broader associations with labor and worker’s rights at the end of the nineteenth century. Walter Crane’s annual May Day illustrations for socialist magazine *The Clarion* highlights the connections between personifications of nature and dignity in labor. In 1894’s *The Worker’s May-Pole* (Fig. 2.5), Crane’s maypole is a female figure, holding a banner declaring “Socialization, Solidarity, Humanity.” Her dress morphs into fluttering streamers, which spell out the proposed rights for workers: eight hours, leisure for all, employer’s liability, no starving children in the boards, adult suffrage, the land for the people, abolition of privilege, and centrally, a life worth living. In Crane’s accompanying poem, published in *Justice*, he states, “let the winds lift your banners from far lands / With a message of strike and of hope: / Raise the Maypole aloft with its garlands

¹⁸⁵ As Updike described it, “the first quarters occupied by the Press consisted of two connecting rooms on the upper floor of a building at the corner of Beacon Street and Tremont Place. These rooms, which were lofty of study, had been formerly occupied by an architect, who had installed a tasteful wooden mantelpiece and hearth on which it was possible to light a fire. The narrow windows, lofty ceilings, and hardwood floor made a good background for some pieces of old furniture, which presented a much better effect than the office equipment of that day. The back room, looking out on an angle of the Boston Athenaeum, was occupied by Mr. J. E. Hill, who did much of the designing of ornament which I required, as well as work on his own account,” Daniel Berkeley Updike, “Notes on the Press and its Work,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 7-55, 15.

/ That gathers your cause in its scope.” May 1, or May Day, became associated with worker’s rights in America after the Haymarket Riots in Chicago in 1886, and was sanctioned by the International Worker’s Congress in 1890. Crane’s 1895 offering, *A Garland for May-Day* (Fig. 2.6), has a single female worker offering an oversize garland, also emblazoned with messages: “production for use, not for profit,” “the plough is a better backbone than the factory,” and “no people can be free while dependent for their bread.” Updike’s practice, as the maypole demonstrates, was both a celebration of an idealized past—and what he saw as better historical bookforms—with dignity in labor, wedded to a specifically American, colonial space. The maypole fades as Merrymount’s symbol into the twentieth century, also pointing to this as an earlier, more socialist-minded moment in the printer’s history.

Updike’s conception of Merrymount as a combination between puritanical work ethic and more socialist, communal movements made the Press a working environment motivated by “the fancy that one could work hard and have a good time—which was not true at its beginning, although it has sometimes been since.”¹⁸⁶ This communal work undergirds every part of the *Altar Book*, a community-focused practice drawn from centuries of bookmaking to create works that were both aesthetically pleasing and culturally relevant. For Updike and his colleagues—and there were many, spread between England and New England—the importance of history was key in the evolution of design. The *Altar Book* was designed to guide the order of the Episcopal service, and closely resembles in format Morris’s Kelmscott *Chaucer* (1896) in terms of size, production quality of the images, illustrated capitals, and strategic deployment of red ink. However, Updike’s use of color and font is more significantly steeped in religious tradition, pulling influence from medieval calligraphy, Gothic Revival architecture, and several points in between.

¹⁸⁶ Daniel Berkeley Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 54.

What saved Updike during his bored and unhappy teenage years in Providence, Rhode Island, were part-time jobs in libraries in Providence and Newport, which he described as providing a “substratum of familiarity with books of all sorts, their appearance, titles, contents, [which] stood me later in good stead.”¹⁸⁷ His religious faith was encouraged by his teachers, and clearly served him well as a longtime deacon in the Episcopal Church, informing his production of the *Altar Book*. Moving to Boston in 1880, at the age of 20, Updike took a job at Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., originally as an errand boy and then as an advertising manager, where he spent hours combing through newspapers and preparing advertising copy. He thus became “trained to the kinds of types employed in the presses of the country,” and developed an organizational method involving “uniformity of arrangement and harmony of style,” both of which readied his eye for printing and design.¹⁸⁸ Updike moved to the Riverside Press in 1890 and formed the Merrymount Press in 1893. He stressed that he stumbled into his career, that he had no great knowledge of the mechanics of printing presses themselves, but that “the effort to get printing ‘right’ led me to collect types and to study them, and to study the history of printing, and finally I began to know something about it.”¹⁸⁹

Contemporary reception of the *Altar Book* was positive, although occasionally tinged with New England Protestant nervousness about ostentation. J. M. Bowles’s review in *Modern Art* praised the effort that went into the work, and identified the three aims of the *Altar Book*: “to make it a useful book, especially adapted for daily use on the altar, otherwise there was no reason for its publication,” to be visually “as beautiful as possible, in honor of its purpose and the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Updike, “Notes on the Press and its Work,” 9.

¹⁸⁹ Updike, “Notes on the Press and its work,” 54, and Rudolph Ruzicka, “Fragments of Memory,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 118-129, 121. John Bianchi, who joined Merrymount as the foreman and became partner in 1915, managed the mechanical and bookkeeping aspects, while Updike focused on design, Thompson, *American Book Design*, 86.

Church,” and “to quite naturally weave in and employ the wealth of symbols” pertaining to ecclesiasticism.¹⁹⁰ As Bowles’ rightly noted, “such a work exacts sacrifice, for it takes infinite pains, eternal vigilance, unlimited time, watchful care, patience, and even religious devotion to bring forth its like.”¹⁹¹ Will Bradley’s Art Nouveau periodical *Bradley, His Book* also praised the *Altar Book* in 1896, and mentions Updike’s use of Arnold hand-made paper, which would have had a thicker weight than commercially produced papers.¹⁹² This paper is a close approximation in terms of quality and feel to the stock that Morris had made for Kelmscott, and it was produced at the Eynsford Mills in Kent, another transatlantic connection. The paper is also intensely white, in a way that wood-pulp paper is not, providing an even more dramatic contrast with the deeply pigmented ink, another innovation that Morris also perfected. In a final note from a critic, Joseph Pennell declared in the London *Chronicle* that “for sharp, clean, perfect printing, it utterly out-distances the Kelmscott Press...Mr. Morris himself has been improved upon.”¹⁹³

TYPOGRAPHY

An examination of the typographic choices and innovations at Merrymount, in light of Updike’s historical studies, will form the backbone of this discussion. Updike’s most significant publication is *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use: A Study in Survivals* (1922), a two-volume compendium of typographic history originating from lectures that he delivered at Harvard for thirty years, complete with 367 illustrations.¹⁹⁴ Considered a “typographic Bible,” *Printing Types* is still regularly assigned and used. But Updike was not a designer himself, either

¹⁹⁰ J. M. Bowles, “Mr. Updike’s Altar Book,” *Modern Art*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Autumn, 1896), 122-126 + 129-131, 125.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Will Bradley, “Notes,” *Bradley his Book*, Vol. 1. No. 2 (June, 1896), 61-64, 63.

¹⁹³ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 84. Pennell, an American ex-patriot who was good friends with Whistler, was a choice review for Updike to receive.

¹⁹⁴ Since Updike was a perfectionist, the working process to produce *Printing Types* involved extensive revisions and last-minute changes, not to mention financial instability from the Harvard University Press, which delayed publication; see Max Hall, *Harvard University Press: A History*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986, 49-50.

using custom typefaces on rare occasions, such as the *Altar Book*, or working from forms that he acquired in Europe. The Merrymount type (Fig. 2.7) is a visual embodiment of the press itself, blending conservatism, tradition, scholarship, and weight. It was described in the 1894 advertising circular as “perfectly clear to the eye, it possesses a richness and solidity which makes it suitable for use in connection with massive decorations.” Designed by Gothic Revival architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue for the *Altar Book* in 1893, Merrymount is classified as a humanist typeface, since “*humanist* letterforms are closely connected to calligraphy and the movement of the hand.”¹⁹⁵ Handwriting is implied, for example, in the rhombic tip on the lowercase r, the downward slant of the stem of the lowercase b, and the outward flick on the bottom of the lowercase d. The use of rhombic or diamond shapes as textual components is directly related to scribal writing, where diamonds of ink left by a pen were the building blocks of letters. Although colons and periods in the *Altar Book* are also rhomboid, the tittles are round, tempering some of the explicitly handwritten feel of the letters.

Humanist touches are also evident in the lowercase e, in which the bar has an oblique stress. This reflects the angle of the nib of the pen, also viewable in romans like Nicholas Jenson’s (Fig. 2.8), and is one of the key identifying features of Morris’s Golden typeface as well. This calligraphic referent is important, because it takes the typeface back to incunabula, early European printed works, dating from 1450-1500. While other humanist features remain in later typefaces—not perfectly symmetrical bowls in the lowercase o, for example—the oblique-e is a feature that disappears by the mid-sixteenth century. In contrast, Garamond, in his 1530s-1550s typeface (Fig. 2.9), uses a lowercase e with a straight bar, a movement away from the

¹⁹⁵ Ellen Lupton, *Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010, 46. Craig Eliason has discussed the labeling of humanist as a mid-twentieth century invention; see Craig Eliason, “A History of the ‘Humanist’ Type Classification,” *Printing History*, 18: July 2015, 3-26.

scribal hand. In deliberately choosing a slanted e, Goodhue and Updike strongly reinforced the handmade, pre-industrial, craft aspects of the *Altar Book*. Another specifically incunabular design is a sharply angled hyphen, or possibly a repurposed acute accent (Fig. 2.10), which Goodhue employs in his typeface. While Aldus Manutius's hyphens are relatively horizontal (Fig. 2.11), some also flare slightly on the right—again, suggesting the lifting up of a pen.

At the same time, however, there are several elements of the Merrymount font that do not just pull from tradition. For instance, the slant of the Merrymount e is not as sharp as the slant on Jenson's lowercase e—Goodhue has created a hybrid incunabular-modern letter. While an admittedly minor difference, this points to Goodhue's adaptation of incunabular forms, not direct copying. Goodhue employed capitals that are slightly thicker than their lowercase counterparts, a device which helps ease of reading in large blocks of texts. This makes it ideally suited for a book of service like the *Altar Book*, since paragraph breaks are not used.¹⁹⁶ As a font "solely adapted to an enormous page," the Merrymount type was infrequently used by the Press for its more mainstream books; Updike supplemented type designs from Goodhue and Herbert Horne by acquiring forms during his trips to Europe.¹⁹⁷ Goodhue's training as an architect is evident in the strong baseline of the letters, which give the font weightiness. Triangular forms at the bottom of the lowercase m and the top of the uppercase m create a strong structural and architectonic form. While similar letterforms appear in Manutius's typeface, the flaring at the bottom of the letters is more nuanced, like one would actually make with a quill pen. Goodhue's triangular brackets would have been hard for a scribe or calligrapher to draw. Yet those triangular brackets

¹⁹⁶ Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, edited by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, 42-80.

¹⁹⁷ Updike, "Notes on the Press," 28. The Press predominantly used "Caslon, Scotch-face, or Mountejoy-Oxford fonts," supplemented with "borders, initial-letters, and type-ornaments" to vary the effect; "Notes," 36. Indeed, forty percent of Merrymount's books were printed in Caslon; Thompson, *American Book Design*, 92. After the publication of the *Altar Book*, Updike travelled abroad and returned with nineteenth-century English, sixteenth-century Roman, and contemporary French types for the Press; Winship, "The Merrymount Press of Boston," 111.

also anchor the letters, making them columnar in form. They become a structural element of the work, giving the typeface, and page, an architectural weight. Two oddities that do persist in the typeface are the lowercase t, which has an odd downward slanting serif, and the question mark, which is strangely elongated.¹⁹⁸ While the ligatures also point to a handwriting-holdover, some of them are more successful than others: the “ct” looks fine, the “fl” seems compressed.

Part of what made the Merrymount Press so successful was its embrace of allusive typography, where the type matches in tone and aesthetic intent the content of the text.¹⁹⁹ To accomplish this, the printer and their associates have to master an awareness of historical precedents with knowledge of contemporary trends. For the *Altar Book*, a lighter type would have been overwhelmed by the density of the borders, while the heaviness of the Merrymount font would have looked odd in an octavo. Beatrice Warde’s most famous essay “The Crystal Goblet, or, Printing Should be Invisible” (1930) details how in successful printing, the typography should not even register, subsumed to the content of the text. It should flow so smoothly that the reader should be able to ignore it. Arts and Crafts printing is fairly antithetical to the “printing should be invisible” mindset.

It is almost difficult to reconcile something like the *Altar Book*, to my mind the most adventurous, intricate example of ecclesiastical printing in the nineteenth century, with a timetable for the Boston and Maine Railroad, but Updike printed both. The clarity of the timetable is appropriate for its function, just as the ornateness of the *Altar Book* is appropriate for a Gothic Revival church space—both demonstrate D.F. McKenzie’s idea of “forms effecting

¹⁹⁸ Will H. Bradley expressed dislike for Goodhue’s lowercase t in particular, Bradley, “Notes,” 63.

¹⁹⁹ Many catalogs on Arts and Crafts art are printed in a faux-Morrisian style, as are many critical bibliographies of Morris, which is an interesting example of allusive typography’s continuing appeal.

meaning.”²⁰⁰ Updike was a stylistic chameleon over the 20,000 books printed by Merrymount, and ultimately the *Altar Book* is an outlier. This marks it as significant, made both for a particular moment in time, and for a particular religious setting.

The move away from explicitly craft-based models is clear from Updike’s later assessment of the Merrymount type in *Printing Types*, which is worth quoting at length:

The type known as Merrymount was designed for the Merrymount Press about 1895 by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, the architect, who designed the well-known Cheltenham fonts. He, too, based the Merrymount font on the Jenson letter, but instead of having the courage of our rather wavering convictions and making a type as light as Jenson’s both he and I were seduced by Morris’s unduly black types. So we merely modified the heaviness of the Morris fonts, although adopting an early form of roman letter. The result is that the type is too black unless used on large pages as in *The Altar Book* (1896) and an edition of the *Agricola* of Tacitus (1904), both in folio...Extremely ingenious in its clever rendering of a written letter, it is not, as type, easy to read, and the excessive length of the descenders compels a somewhat leaded composition. It is an interesting letter-form and shows research, but it was not a wholly fortunate experiment, because more calligraphic in effect than is comfortable to the eye. It just lacks the charm of fine writing, and yet is too like it to make a fine type; and so falls between two stools.²⁰¹

In later printings, like the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*, Updike used seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century typefaces, like Caslon, Elzevir, and Janson. Unlike “modern” typefaces, like Didot or Bodoni, which tend to be thinner and lighter, Updike’s later typefaces of choice are still “old style,” with humanist touches like irregularly shaped bowls and serifs. Old style, humanist romans are the basis for typefaces like Times New Roman, and are therefore typefaces that feel comfortable and legible to our contemporary eyes. To paraphrase Warde, they are invisible. The same cannot be said for the Merrymount type, which is forcefully visible. This visibility is

²⁰⁰ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 14. Along with Marshall McLuhan’s oft-quoted “the medium is the message” from *Understanding Media*, “forms effect meaning” is a neat summary of book history, and the importance of tactility/medium.

²⁰¹ Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use: A Study in Survivals*, Vol. 1 and 2, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, 218.

crucial for church usage, both in terms of legibility, and to aesthetically “fit” into a densely ornamented environment.

RUBRICATION

Updike’s legacy was formed through scrutinizing typographic history, and this extended to the historical use of color, which is significant in the *Altar Book*. Rubrication, the process of adding articulation or explanatory marks in red ink to religious works, also dates back to scribal writing practices. Updike traced the word “rubrics” in print to Venice in 1550, but acknowledged fourteenth-century references to “lege rubrum, si vis intelligere nigrum” (“read the red, if you wish to understand the black”).²⁰² Illumination and rubrication are generally treated as decorative and functional additions, respectively, but decoration is also a function, and rubrication increases both legibility and visual interest. Updike’s use of rubrication in the *Altar Book* is a combination of traditionally religious with aesthetic innovation. The historical precedent for this is long-established: in a ninth- or tenth-century Koran (Fig. 2.12), the calligrapher has utilized red diacritical marks, as well as a gold medallion marking the end of a verse, a roundness contrasting with the angular beauty of the script. The location of these red marks would have guided the reader in pronunciation, since the Koran—like most other religious works, particularly at the time—would have been primarily recited. Although rubrication originated as a handwritten process, Gutenberg’s firm printed some initial runs of the Bible with red ink, before abandoning it as too time-consuming. Peter Schoeffer, as a scribe turned type designer and printer, would have understood rubrication from both angles. Handwritten rubrication is evident in the Ransom Center’s copy of the 42-line Gutenberg Bible (Fig. 2.13), where marginalia has been

²⁰² Daniel Berkeley Updike, “Some Notes on Liturgical Printing,” in *The Well-Made Book: Essays and Lectures*, Ed. William S. Peterson, Cambridge: Mark Batty, 2002, 93-111, 93-94. Updike also notes that rubrication was often replaced by italics post-1500, particularly in cheaper editions where two colors were prohibitively expensive.

incorporated to aid reading aloud. Quick flicks of red ink alert the reader to the start of sentences. This function is fulfilled in the *Altar Book* by Goodhue's enlarged capital letters, with the rubrication providing directions to the reader.

In the circular advertising the *Altar Book*, Updike states "as there is no italic, all portions of the book which are commonly printed in italic are printed in red, in accordance with the ancient method of rubrication." He also notes that, in older printed books, "the rubrication in all these books, whether old or new, appears to be governed by the usual rule that words to be said are printed in black, and directions for their use in red, as in Roman Catholic and Anglican rubricated prayer books."²⁰³ The tradition of rubricating in red had morphed into secular books of the nineteenth century, such as the output from Morris's Kelmscott Press. Morris was not a dedicated historian of type in the same way that Updike was, but he absolutely considered typographic tradition in designing his three typefaces (Fig. 2.14). The Kelmscott *Chaucer* (Fig. 2.15, 1896), perhaps the closest visual cousin to the *Altar Book*, occasionally utilizes red type, as seen in the final page of the text. This manuscript convention is more evident in some of Morris's less ornate works, like Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Sonnets and Lyrical Poems* from 1894, printed in the Roman Golden type. Rubrication is used here in explanatory notes to the text, as in "For the Holy Family, by Michelangelo" (Fig. 2.16), and as section designations, seen in "Sonnets on Pictures" (Fig. 2.17).

In the *Altar Book*, Updike and his colleagues take the concept of rubrication and expand it, creating something beautiful and practical. There are several different permutations of red ink in the work. In the page for the Collect and Epistle for the First Sunday of Advent (Fig. 2.18), the information about the collect is in red, and the words to be spoken aloud are printed in black; this is the formula that is generally maintained throughout the work. The page involves one of

²⁰³ Daniel Berkeley Updike, "Some Notes on Liturgical Printing," 97.

Goodhue's borders, two decorated capitals, plainsong musical notation interspersed within the text, and red and black ink. The use of two colors required two runs through the press, which creates a significantly higher chance for error, making this a painstakingly detailed process.

Both Daniel Berkeley Updike and Gregg Anderson stressed that Updike used rubrication “only in accordance with ecclesiastical usage,” but the red ink in the *Altar Book* is also innovative.²⁰⁴ There is no equivalent visual precedent for it. Even more comparatively conservative pages are visually compelling, such as one detailing the Nicene and Apostles' Creed (Fig. 2.19), where the instructions are in red with guiding words—Provided, Sentences, Note—in black, and the creed is also printed in black, since it was to be said aloud. Like the religious books that came before it, the stylistic choices in the *Altar Book* are designed to help in ease of reading aloud. Another intriguing section is under The Communion of the Sick (Fig. 2.20) where the initial capital and directions are in red, as are the titles, with the oral passages in black; however, in the collect on this page, “he” and “his” are also rendered in red. This has nothing to do with rubrication per se, but instead emphasizes the pronouns, possibly to show where the speaker could swap in female pronouns instead. Updike had strong feelings about every aspect of printing, but he was especially clear about acceptable uses of color in religious texts. In his essays “Some Notes on Liturgical Printing” (1935) and “Ecclesiastical Printing” (1908), he gave directions about how printers should approach liturgical works, the acceptability of printing in red and black and absolutely no other colors, avoidance of “fancifulness,” and the use of appropriate fonts.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Gregg Anderson, *The Work of the Merrymount Press and its Founder Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941): An Exhibition*, San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1942, 18.

²⁰⁵ Daniel Berkeley Updike, “Ecclesiastical Printing,” in *The Well-Made Book: Essays and Lectures*, Ed. William S. Peterson, Cambridge: Mark Batty, 2002, 145-152, 150.

The pages detailing the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion (Fig. 2.21) are particularly striking. The entire page is rendered in red, with the exceptions of the title, the fleuron underneath, the pilcrows designating paragraphs, and the words "Provided," "Lord's Prayer," and "Collect." It would have been significantly easier just to print all of the communion text in red, since all of it is direction for the priest, but the punctuation of black on the page creates visual interest and functions as pseudo-rubrication, telling the priest that the Lord's Prayer and the collect are provided in the text.

The physical difficulty inherent in the neat printing of this work is staggering, and it is no wonder that the entire process took three years. A notably tricky page details the "Prayer of Consecration" in the communion section of the book (Fig. 2.22). Letters in the text correspond to letters on the right side that offer rubricated details for the priest. For example, the scriptural passage, "Likewise, after supper, (d) he took the Cup" correlates to (d) on the right side, which reads "Here he [the priest] is to take the Cup into his hands." The inset rubrication at right does not exactly line up with the rest of the black lines, suggesting a rearranging of type after the first run through the press.²⁰⁶ This page, as with all the other pages with borders, shows a tight registration, with the text nearly flush against the borders' edge. This means that there is no real margin, and absolutely no margin for error—the printers had their space requirements down to an absolute science. Updike's methods of rubrication speak to both his interest in historically accurate and aesthetically "good" design, and his concern with doctrinal accuracy.

²⁰⁶ My supposition about the order of printing colors is that the red ink was printed and then the black, because the music notes lie on top of the red lines, and because the blackness of the ink used would have been overpowering if used first. In the sixteenth century, black was printed first and then red, but I believe the opposite occurred here.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Robert Anning Bell's seven illustrations for the *Altar Book* are an essential component in the work, highlighting key moments in the liturgical year and composing its most elaborate pages. This is the first analysis of the illustrations, and they demonstrate Bell and Updike's collaborative working process. This helps situate Bell's illustrations into his broader oeuvre, which included plaster reliefs and mosaic. Through extant drawings and their printed counterparts, we can ascertain the design changes that were part of this publication. A brief summary of the illustrations and their location in the order of the service is as follows: 1. Start of the Collects—Moses banishing the serpent (Fig. 2.23), 2. Christmas—the infant Jesus with the Wise Men (Fig. 2.24), 3. Easter—the Angel at the tomb (Fig. 2.25), 4. Ascension Day—Christ rising to Heaven (Fig. 2.26), 5. Whitsunday—figures at prayer (Fig. 2.27), 6. Trinity Sunday—Christ on the cross, with God the Father and the Holy Spirit (Fig. 2.28), and 7. Communion—Christ on the cross with worshipers (Fig. 2.29). With the exception of the Whitsunday image, the images are all on the verso, and all are surrounded by Goodhue's elaborate floral and vegetative borders, all of which are also different, as none of the borders were repeated.²⁰⁷ Contemporary reviewer J.M. Bowles's main concern with the book was whether Goodhue's borders overwhelmed Bell's illustrations, creating an effect that was "over-rich," and implicitly decadent. It is clear when examining changes between the drawings and the printed images that Updike was also concerned, often dictating that Bell's designs become more streamlined and pared down, to fit better within the dense borders.²⁰⁸ At the same time, Bell's background as a stained

²⁰⁷ The Collect image has a border with large flowers, Christmas has floral and holly with bats and owls, the Easter image is coneflowers with peacocks and banners, Ascension Day has three different stylized lilies, Whitsunday has large lilies and coneflowers, and Trinity Sunday has roses and lilies.

²⁰⁸ Bowles, 125.

glass artist is clearly evident here, as was his interest in Renaissance forms. Comparing “before and after” images will elucidate his working process.

Through Bell’s drawings held at the Boston Athenaeum, it is possible to get a sense of the designing process for the image and textual interplay. The initial drawing (Fig. 2.30) and the final print for the Nativity scene are relatively similar: Mary holds the Christ child at left, both encircled by a mandorla. The Wise Men are in the lower right corner, garbed in a variety of fabrics, none of which look particularly accurate for the period. Joseph stands above them, appropriately both supervisory and deferential, while a troop of seraphim flank the image in the upper right, and Bethlehem and the star are visible in the center background, a compositional device in Nativity depictions stemming from Netherlandish painting. This preparatory drawing is more focused on the foreground figures—the Wise Men are larger and take up more space in the picture plane, for instance—and the background shows a few close-up buildings, but not a full cityscape. Bell also initially used a greater range of tonalities. If we compare the area right behind Mary, the printed version is more starkly black and white, while the drawing shows a gradation from the underside of the arch, to the interior walls of their pseudo-stable. While the drawing shows Bell’s skill at rendering architectural spaces in a three-dimensional manner, the print is more compositionally ambitious, with a greater sense of depth. Some of the subtleties of the drawing would have undoubtedly been lost in the printing process. What is fascinating, however, is that the extant drawing has strips of paper surrounding the image, which had been pasted on. As they are starting to fray, by examining the edges, Goodhue’s border is visible underneath (Fig. 2.31) At some point in the design process, the pen and ink drawing was tried out with the borders, and then assessed without the borders, and changes were made. This is also the case with one of the earlier Easter drawings (Fig. 2.32), suggesting that this was Updike’s

general working practice.²⁰⁹ This step of testing out drawings and borders together is certainly not singular to the *Altar Book*, but having the visible trace of the process is less common.

Moreover, this assemblage speaks to the collaborative piecing together of this printing.

Other design changes between drawing and print illuminate the role the images held as doctrinally legible inclusions to the text. The Moses who appears in the *Altar Book*, in the first image in the text, is a fearsome snake-tamer. The text in a cartellino at lower right is from John 3:14, “Et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis,” or “Just as Moses lifted up the snake in the wilderness, so the son of man must be lifted up.” The snake has indeed been lifted, and is coiled around a staff, rising above the crowd. Yet in the Biblical narrative, this snake on a staff is actually bronze, placed by Moses so that the people gazing upon him would be healed from the bites of real snakes. The crowd surrounding Moses in this image is unwell, both clamoring for restored health and stricken down, like the sick figure in the lower left. A light beams from the right, visually extending Moses’ open-armed embrace, and reinforcing the power of God.

An earlier pencil version of the image (Fig. 2.33) has a completely different composition, with Moses and the snake on the left, and a group of nearly nude figures in the lower right, with a snake launching himself towards them. Moses’s strange sheet-drapery and the torsion of the figures seems much more bacchanalian, and the final version is more decorously clothed. Moreover, the snake on the stake here is too animated, looking quite a bit like the springing snake at right. The design may have been changed to a more static copper snake to reduce any sort of doctrinal confusion about the image. Finally, an intermediary pen and ink drawing (Fig.

²⁰⁹ Without existing correspondence, it is hard to tell whether Updike or Bell requested these changes, but since there are some quite distinct changes between the initial images and the finished works, the borders were pasted on in Boston, and Updike was a noted perfectionist, it seems likely that he was requesting changes. By testing out the images with the borders, it became clearer which harmonized, and which did not.

2.34) retains the earlier composition—large Moses at left, struggling snake-bit figures in the lower right, while including the Biblical text and a more demure copper snake. Moses's arms are raised, but the dynamism from the abstracted light of God has not yet factored in. This composition, again, shows Bell's skill at dealing with textures and subtleties in shading and tone, while the finalized version amps up the levels of tonal contrast—the figure behind Moses is now garbed in a dark robe, instead of a white one—all of which makes the image more powerfully didactic.

The final image in the book correlates to the communion, or consecration, section of the service. The included text is from John 12:32, “Et Ego, Si Exaltatus Fuero A Terra, Omnia Traham Ad Me Ipsum,” or “And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all people to myself.” The print is both a standard image of Christ on the cross with four worshippers, with a macabre touch—the skull at the base of the cross. The inclusion of the skull is also traditional, and references Golgotha or Calvary, the site of Christ's crucifixion. The figures, three women and one man, also appeared at the empty tomb on Easter—the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and two figures whose identities shift throughout artistic representations, although they are very likely Mary of Clopas and the unknown “disciple whom Jesus loved.”²¹⁰ As with the rest of the images in the *Altar Book*—and most of Bell's oeuvre—the figures are dressed in a vaguely Renaissance fashion. The figure at lower right, presumably Mary Magdalene, is wearing a dress that would not be out of place in Botticelli's *Primavera*; coupled with the composition, this gives the images a Florentine affect.

In a contemporaneous example, Bell's poster advertising the Liverpool School of Architecture and Applied Art (Fig. 2.35, c.1894), the woman being crowned by the angel—of

²¹⁰ The “unknown disciple” is most often identified as John the Evangelist, from John 19:26, “Then when Jesus saw His mother and the disciple whom He loved standing by...”

art, presumably—is wearing a similar sort of voluminous dress. In comparing the Communion image with one earlier pen and ink version (Fig. 2.36), differences include a much more pared down sky and skyline, and the location of Christ is slightly to the right of center. The skull is also replaced by lilies. Another pen and ink sketch (Fig. 2.37) is much more visually dense, with trees in the background, lilies and a skull at the base of the cross, and the haloed pilgrims wearing explicitly medieval outfits: tunics with knee breeches, and elaborately wrapped dresses. The visual quality of this image is both beautiful and technically excellent—but it also would have been difficult to wood engrave, one of the reasons for these changes. Bell was not new to the process of illustration, but may have been unused to working in this particular scale. In the finalized version, increasing the drama of the sky through clouds and lines of light, while paring down the landscape, helps the work fit into the visually busy border and text, while centering the scene upon Christ on the cross, which keeps the focus on him, and on sacrifice. This is particularly important since the image is linked to the communion service, the most visceral representation of Christian loss and redemption.

Figural participation, like the figures at the cross, is also essential in the Easter image, the rolling away of the stone at the tomb, where the three Marys are greeted by an angel; they are identified in a banner in the border as the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Mary of Clopas.²¹¹ The image has to suggest both the absence of Christ and the promise of resurrection, which Bell successfully accomplished. The printed version is masterful: Bell suggests the tomb in the upper left corner, while focusing our attention on the brilliant angel, hovering on a flaming cloud, as the Marys bow in the foreground. The foliage is rife with lilies, a well-established symbol of the resurrection, which surround the emptied coffin. This image was reproduced in Bradley’s review of the *Altar Book*, and it is easy to understand why. It also bears absolutely no resemblance to

²¹¹ In Latin, the banner reads “Beata Maria Virgo, S. Maria Cleophae, and S. Maria Magdalene.”

any sort of medieval design principle: it is completely Renaissance influenced, with a heavy dose of theatricality. An earlier drawing depicts the actual moment of Christ leaving the tomb (Fig. 2.38), as the angel wheels away the stone, and two Roman soldiers sit, dumbfounded, in the lower right. This drawing provides a good record of Bell's working practice—some of the areas have been whited out, and there are visible layers of uneven ink. The soldiers bear a visual resemblance to Burne-Jones's drawings, but while the angel rolling the stone is dynamic, the figure of Christ is a bit awkward—his stance feels unnatural, and there is no clear engagement with the viewer. Even though Christ does not even appear in the final printed image, he is present in his absence. It is a more effective visual strategy, which Bell certainly realized. In one intermediate drawing (Fig. 2.39), the angel stands to upper left by the tomb, with the three Marys in the lower right. It is less engaging than the image that was chosen, but does have a strong diagonal composition. More importantly, the pasted-on borders are in evidence, with some areas peeled off or whited out, again suggesting that they were designed to be removed or covered, to test the image with them and without them.

While depicting the Holy Spirit has continually been an artistic challenge, the image for Trinity Sunday uses a standard conflation of Christ on the cross, God the Father as an elderly man, and a dove as the Holy Spirit. Like Masaccio's *Trinità* fresco in Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 2.40, 1425), God is holding up the cross. Unlike the *Trinità*, Bell has made the setting vaguely celestial, with a mandorla made of clouds circling both figures. God is crowned, giving a kingly aspect to the image, while the cross and figures are supported by seraphim. This convention was taken to the extreme in a drawing by Bell (Fig. 2.41), where the mandorla itself is composed of seraphim, which is a trope also found in early Renaissance painting. This image veers very close to sensory overload, particularly in combination with the spiky edge of the mandorla and the

density of the black sky behind the figures.²¹² This *Altar Book* image is less compelling than some of the others, but it cannot be denied that it does fit well in the borders, and is a straightforward interpretation of the Trinity—doctrinally useful and not confusingly rendered.

Conversely, the Ascension Day image went through significant changes. The initial drawing (Fig. 2.42) shows Christ in the clouds, as one might expect, with worshipers on the ground, both with bowed heads and arms raised in supplication. This image was never used—probably for the lack of narrative clarity. Yet even in this example, Bell’s artistic skill is evident. He was an excellent draughtsman, and his penwork is both expressive and highly precise. Crucially, he was able to render human faces in a completely believable, attractive way. The printed image morphed to be more didactically clear, and more “medieval”: Jesus is now solidly enthroned in heaven, circled by seraphim, while the figures on the ground are now all haloed and cleanly attired. The horizon acts as a distinct dividing line, separating the celestial from the earthly, and effectively sanitizing both spaces. The move away from “unnamed worshippers” to “clearly divine worshipping participants” also occurs in the Whitsunday images, and is crucial to understanding Updike and Bell’s design program.

The image for Whitsunday, also known as Pentecost, is the most visually striking in the *Altar Book*. Pentecost, which occurs 50 days after Easter, is the festival when the disciples had gathered together, and Christ came to them as tongues of fire, settling on each disciple, speaking to them in their native language. Bell’s initial image (Fig. 2.43) shows exactly this: the disciples are huddled in a semi-circle in a low-ceilinged room, engaged in prayer, as the tongues of fire

²¹² This is the only drawing from the series not held at the Boston Athenaeum, but at the John Carter Brown Library instead. It is not entirely clear if the drawing was completed after the *Altar Book* version or before, because the drawing was given to “John Nicholas Brown from His Affectionate Brother Harold Easter A.D. MDCCCXCVI,” and it is unclear whether this was an earlier Bell version, or something commissioned for this purpose. For more information, see Alice H.R.H. Beckwith, “Book Illustration and Other works by Robert Anning Bell,” *The Victorian Web*, 28 June 2017, <http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/art/illustration/bell/index.html>

rain down, although they look much more like tongues than fire. The image is doctrinally accurate, but the pictorial space is vague and undefined—are they in a church, or a hut? The fire is also not immediately recognizable as flames, looking rather more like stalactites. But the scene is obviously penitential, showing the moments before the word of Christ reached his disciples. The finished printed image is drastically different (Fig. 2.27). Instead of a semi-circular, intimate grouping, the now-haloed disciples are divided in two, with the Virgin Mary enthroned in the center. Their simple garments have been replaced by individualized robes, many which look like brocades in a historically inappropriate way—but wholly appropriate for a stylized, vaguely medieval affect. The flames actually look like flames, and the scene has moved to a more defined physical space: perhaps not a church, but with the throne, pedestal, and arched ceiling which implies a religious arena. The tiled floor is similar to the floor at the Church of the Advent. As for the rest of the mise-en-page, the Whitsunday text is also bordered by a row of stylized red flames, the only time rubricated imagery appears in the text block in the book.

Why does it matter that the image of Pentecostal disciples moved from an undefined interior space to a very explicit religious setting? Why has their personal devotional response become regulated and codified, watched over by the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit? The print version of Bell's illustration is much more didactically clear—even the flames are more emphatically flame-like. The disciples are suitably reverent, but also suitably clean and polished. The patterning on their robes ties them to Goodhue's borders, again helping make the pages a cohesive whole. The Virgin Mary watches over the scene, as she watched over patrons at Anglo-Catholic churches in Boston. If you know the iconography of Pentecost, it is clear what is happening, but even if you do not, the general details—flames descending, with the Holy Spirit above—tells you that this scene is important, and blessed. The Whitsunday image is the only one

that appears on the recto, while the rest are on the verso, which serves to mark the festival as especially significant. Although this could be just the way that the layout happened, Updike was also so deliberate in his design choices that I believe this is an intentional decision. Whitsunday is, after all, the festival that manifested the importance of the word of God, and the importance of personal engagement with that word. It is an especially weighty topic for a book that was such a labor of love and time and effort by an entire community of people. It is a festival about words and translation, for a book that was so self-consciously about those things as well.

The transition from a more nuanced, detailed drawing to a starker wood engraving is not singular to the Merrymount Press. Edward Burne-Jones, the most frequent illustrator for the Kelmscott Press and Morris's friend and collaborator, worked closely with wood engraver Robert Catterson-Smith, in a similar process.²¹³ In *Walter Approaching the Cave Entrance for Earthly Paradise* (Fig. 2.44, 1896), Burne-Jones's more subtle shading and tonalities in the pen and ink drawing have been covered up with white paint, both to get a better sense for the clearer outlines of the figure and vegetation, and to show some of the white spaces in the print. The same is true for the *Altar Book* illustrations. Wood engraving is not a media capable of extensive gradation in tone, although the *Altar Book* images do have a degree of depth. Bell's printed images either embraced full-on riotousness, as in the Easter scene, where the horizontal tomb and starkly white clothing of the Virgin are balanced by dense foliage, lustrous wings, and a literal footstool of flames, or they turned to certain areas of expansive whiteness of the page, as in the Collect image of Moses.

Recent scholarship on Bell has focused not on his extensive book illustrations, but on his plaster relief, his mosaics in the Houses of Parliament, and his involvement with the Arts and

²¹³ I am indebted to Heather Bozant-Witcher's work on the Kelmscott *Chaucer* Platinotypes, presented at MLA in 2018, which illuminated Burne-Jones and Catterson-Smith's relationship and working practice.

Crafts movement in Liverpool; all informed his work for the *Altar Book*.²¹⁴ As a painting and drawing instructor at the Liverpool University School of Architecture and Applied Art (LSAA), Bell was part of a growing movement, particularly in Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, and London, to combine practical arts training with an academic setting. This was a tremendously important offshoot of William Morris's defense of craftwork. Although the LSAA ultimately had a more far-ranging effect than Morris did through their educational advancement, Bell and his colleagues remain obscure for this exact reason: their educational focus meant less art produced by Bell. By expanding educational opportunities, Bell and his colleagues ensured that less publically vaunted artforms, such as plaster relief, would be passed on to their students. In a confluence of economics and cultural activity, Liverpool reached a prosperous height at the turn of the twentieth century, thanks to their location as a port city, and this money trickled down to arts funding.²¹⁵

Crucially, the LSAA worked in a Morrisian model to support art creation "collectively and collaboratively by a self-determining workforce," by using a master and apprentice system, drawn from medieval guilds.²¹⁶ This focus on the communal was a response against industrialized art production, in the same way that Updike's entire printing venture, and life work, was as well. The fact that Bell worked extensively with mosaic and relief is also significant; his two main mosaic commissions were the façade of Westminster Cathedral (1915-16) and at the Houses of Parliament. His work demonstrates a commitment to traditional media

²¹⁴ See in particular, Alice Eden, "Robert Anning Bell (1863-1933) and the mosaics in the Houses of Parliament," *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter 2009), 22-31; Eden, "Robert Anning Bell in Liverpool, 1895-1899: the Arts and Crafts movement and the creation of a civic culture," *The Burlington Magazine*, (May 2012), 345-351; and Peter Rose, "The Coloured Relief Decoration of Robert Anning Bell," *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850-the Present*, No. 14 (1990), 16-23.

²¹⁵ Eden, "Robert Anning Bell in Liverpool," 345. Liverpool at the time was also less of a cultural center than London, so even with this prosperity their ideas did not disseminate as widely outside the area.

²¹⁶ Christopher Crouch, *Design Culture and Liverpool, 1880-1914: The Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002, 112.

and sculptural forms, artistic priorities that are visually evident in his illustrations. Bell's polychrome plaster reliefs, like *The Cup of Water* (1897, Fig. 2.45) show the same crisp drapery and attention to figural details that are evident in his drawings. Bell's talent as a graphic artist, and ability to imbue his two-dimensional figures with both depth and weight, was similarly essential in his sculptural work. Both his illustrations and his relief sculptures are simultaneously two-dimensional and three-dimensional, a blurring of media. Writings about mosaic from William Morris, Owen Jones, and Lewis Foreman Day—as well as by Bell himself—helped revive the artform: another connection to a medieval and religious form of artmaking. Bell also frequently collaborated with other artists, and consistently worked in illustration and sculpture simultaneously. Walter Crane praised Bell's illustrations for observing “with much taste and feeling for beauty the limitations and decorative suggestions in the relation of line-drawing and typography.”²¹⁷ Crane too suggests Bell's work is “at the nexus of architecture and print. It is this awareness of materials, and an ability to work within borders—both inked and architectural—that made Bell such an essential part of this endeavor.

COVER, BORDERS, AND INITIALS

The “rightness” of the text for this book is reinforced by Goodhue's borders, which emphasize the density of black ink through the twisting foliate designs. Yet the initials are also crucial, particularly in their iconographic references. Like the illustrations, they prove the extensive, collective labor that went into this work. Moreover, in referencing other liturgical and doctrinal objects in print, Goodhue highlighted their importance to the religious ceremony, and how the *Altar Book* was a central liturgical object as well. Many of Goodhue's iconographic references are also carved in churches—most relevantly at the Church of the Advent. This also

²¹⁷ Rose, “The Coloured Relief Decoration of Robert Anning Bell,” 17.

shows that he was actively, and visually, participating in a history of this imagery, while also aligning with a specific Bostonian context. Extant sample borders suggest that they were drawn in ink and then printed from metal plates, with text inserted as necessary.

Goodhue also completed the cover design (Fig. 2.46): obviously, the most visible part of the book, and the part that parishioners would have been the most able to view. The front cover is emblazoned with an almond-shaped roundel at center, surrounding a haloed lamb, which is flanked by a cross and banner—standard Anglican iconography for Agnus Dei, the Lamb of God, who also makes an appearance in the colophon image. This image is circled by text reading “SURGE QUI DORMIS ET EXSURGE A MORUIS ET ILLUMINABIT TE CHRISTUS,” drawn from Ephesians 5:14, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.” Rays of light radiate around the lamb, continuing past the frame of the text, visually linking the *Altar Book* itself to the light of God. The stamped leather background design is an alternating vertical pattern of a vase with a bird on either side, which alternates with leaves encircling a flaming heart. This flaming heart also appears on the three gold clasps (Fig. 2.46), tying to the design of the background. Since the cover is stamped but not gilded, the effect is relatively subtle. Slightly unusually, there is a different image in the center of the back cover, showing what appears to be a pelican, feeding three chicks. In Christian symbolism, the pelican acts as a stand in for the sacrifice of Christ, since pelicans were believed to be so self-sacrificing that they would feed their babies with their own blood if necessary. The text surrounding this image reads “QUICUMQUE ENIM SPIRITU DEI ACUNTUR II SUN FILII DEI,” modified from Roman’s 8:14, “for whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.” These images—the Agnus Dei, and the sacrificing pelican—are not only cornerstones of Anglo-Catholic iconography, but of iconography dating to the medieval period. Their inclusion here

specifically references the medieval church, the high moment of the craft and guild systems, which Updike and Morris so admired.

Goodhue designed borders to surround the seven images and their facing pages, which is the same format used in the Kelmscott *Chaucer*. The question of influence here is a bit muddy, because both folios were released in 1896, and work on the *Altar Book* had started in 1893. Yet several earlier Morris works had made their way to Boston by then, and Goodhue was definitely aware of them; this connection will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3. The combination of design influence on his borders was likely a mix of Burne-Jones and Updike, with a heavy dose of Goodhue's own creative energy. One example of Goodhue's slightly offbeat designs are the borders framing the nativity text, which include, in addition to the standard floral motifs, owls, bats, and mice (Fig. 2.47). These animals are tucked amongst the vines, some more hidden than others. They are playful, glancing over the printed banners in the border, which here proclaim the prophets and sibyls in Latin. Bats and owls are not commonly associated with the birth of Christ, and their inclusion is puzzling. Every aspect of this book has a lengthy backstory, either in printing doctrine or religious doctrine, and these whimsical figures complicate that. Most of Goodhue's borders do focus on mostly floral and vegetative subject matter, although he does also include peacocks in the Easter borders (Fig. 2.48). Peacocks were associated with Easter in the early church because peacock flesh was thought to be immortal, making them an apt symbol for the resurrection. Like the use of rubrication, borders span the line between decoration and function, ultimately acting as both. These visual references are doctrinally significant.

The decorative aspects are straightforward—bats sneaking out of foliage and all—but the functional aspects are more nuanced. Juliet Fleming has convincingly argued that printers' flowers—and I would add, ornamented borders—serve to mark “what writing looks like,” by

encouraging “readers to think about writing under the aspect of appearance, and to engage in the production of their own perceptual and conceptual analogies between the two visual systems.”²¹⁸ The borders, printers’ flowers, and decorated initials all serve to demarcate the printed book as a printed book—in Updike’s case, also creating a reference to a historical past and method of historical making. As Fleming stated, printers’ flowers exist “not to add beauty to a page of type but to remind readers that the printed page is a beautiful thing,” which is especially pertinent to the *Altar Book*.²¹⁹ Jerome McGann described William Morris’s typographic choices as a method to “foreground textuality as such, turning words from means to ends-in-themselves. The text here is hard to read, is too thick with its own materialities.”²²⁰ This focus on materiality as an end in itself is applicable to the *Altar Book*, too, although Updike would have bristled at the suggestion. Goodhue’s typographic and design choices reinforce that materiality. By this point in the nineteenth century, Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* (1856) had influenced a turn towards arabesques and abstracted designs in Gothic Revival architecture, marking non-figural design in a specifically orientalist context.²²¹ The interest in abstracted design has referents to Albrecht Dürer and William Morris, with several points in between. Even while engraved, such designs speak to the hand of the craftworker.

Illuminated capital letters were frequently used in manuscripts to signify the beginning of a section, a tradition that Goodhue and Updike continued. There is no standard size among the initials, which vary in size in order to fit in the text, leading to close to a hundred distinct wood

²¹⁸ Juliet Fleming, “How to Look at a Printed Flower,” *Word & Image*, Vol. 22, No. 2, April-June 2006, 165-187, 171.

²¹⁹ Fleming, 172.

²²⁰ Jerome McGann, “‘A Thing to Mind’: The Materialist Aesthetic of William Morris,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Winter, 1992), 55-74, 72.

²²¹ The *Grammar of Ornament* was a collaboration with Kensington Museum director Henry Cole, a treatise detailing proper ornamentation, color theory, and design guidelines for a variety of buildings, drawn heavily from Middle Eastern examples. It remains a key source for the treatment of foliage and other “natural forms” in architecture.

engraved initials. As a basic example, these four Ws (Fig. 2.49) are all encircled by vines, but none of them are the same. Many of the letters also have some sort of iconographic marker as part of the design, and are linked to specific religious occasions. Easter week is especially rich in symbolism, referring to different Stations of the Cross during Holy Week. To choose just two examples: Tuesday's capital T has a depiction of a column with ropes around it, referencing Christ being tied to a column and flogged (Fig. 2.50), and Good Friday's A has a banner proclaiming Agnus Dei tucked into the upper right of the letter's block (Fig. 2.51).²²² Easter's initial capital has lilies (Fig. 2.52), as one would expect, but it is also worth noting that the other two capitals on the page, for the Epistle and the Gospel, are both slightly smaller and plainer—the opening capital for each feast day is more elaborate, which all makes sense as part of a design hierarchy. It continues on: for the initial A on the first Sunday after Easter (Fig. 2.53), a shield with IC XP NIKA (Christ, Chi-Rho, conquers) is hanging on one of the vines, while on the second Sunday after Easter (Fig. 2.54), a pelican feeds her chicks, as she does on the back cover of the *Altar Book*. Fitting in with the Pentecostal fire motif, the Monday in Whitsun-Week (Fig. 2.55) has a stretched cloth with a flame design across the O.²²³ All of the Sundays immediately following Trinity Sunday have the three interlocking rings of the Trinity somewhere in their initial capitals, all of which are different. Three examples, from the twenty-five Sundays after Trinity: the Fourth Sunday after Trinity's initial O (Fig. 2.56), with the Trinity and Caritas (caring), the Ninth Sunday after Trinity's initial G (Fig. 2.57), marked by the Trinity and a Sapientia (wisdom) banner, and the Twenty-Second Sunday after Trinity's initial L (Fig. 2.58),

²²² The other days of the week are not neglected: Monday has nails, Wednesday has a hammer, Thursday has a crown of thorns, and Easter Even has a shirt, referencing Christ being stripped of his garments.

²²³ These symbols of resurrection also continue: the Third Sunday of Easter has a butterfly in the initial, the Fourth Sunday has a phoenix rising from the ashes, and the Fifth Sunday has a peacock.

with a Trinity and Continentia (restraint) banner. This litany of letters is a fraction of the different capitals in the book.

This intensive attention to detail remains in the services honoring particular saints. The initial capitals for this section each include a particular attribute for each saint. To again choose from a plenitude of examples: Thomas the Apostle's initial A has a carpenter's square, to reference his work as a builder (Fig. 2.59); Saint Matthias's O has an axe, with which he was beheaded (Fig. 2.60); The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary's W is marked by a potted lily, representing her purity (Fig. 2.61); Saint Barnabas's O has a metal plate with flames upon it, as he was burned as a martyr (Fig. 2.62); and St. Peter's O has a double symbol: two crossed keys, as the gatekeeper to heaven, and a rooster, as a reminder of his denial of Christ (Fig. 2.63). These iconographic references are not subtle—and turn into an Edward Gorey-like list of painful deaths when taken en masse—but at the same time they enhance an understanding of Christian iconography, by highlighting saints' accouterments in a space that could “just” be a visual placeholder. As miniature referents, they also speak to the difficulty of rendering, for example, a pot of lilies, in a size smaller than a thumbnail, in a wood engraving. They are both completely unnecessary visual details and completely appropriate iconographic reminders of venerated saints. This duality—between “necessary” ornamentation and “unnecessary” excess, is the underlying tension at the heart of Goodhue's borders and initials. Abstracted designs—such as foliate borders—could function as neutral spaces to rest the eye, while also reminding the reader that they were reading. Later printings at the Merrymount Press completely eschew this visual density, but for the *Altar Book*, it was integral, and fitting with the Gothic Revival spaces the books were made to inhabit.

ENGRAVINGS AND “LITTLE JOBS”

This section will examine the shifting scalar possibilities for printing at the Merrymount Press, from engravings for the *Altar Book*, to job printing, including bookplates, pamphlets, and invitations. Charles William Sherborn, Updike’s engraver, was known in his native England primarily as a designer of bookplates. He contributed two engravings to the *Altar Book*, one as part of the frontispiece, and one as part of the colophon. Through their detail and grayscale affect, they stand in contrast to the stark black and white of the wood engraved borders and illustrations. As Sherborn’s son Charles Davies notes in his biography of his father, his was “a singularly simple life, but one in which devotion to Art became a religion.”²²⁴ Although his relationship with Updike has not been documented, Sherborn did have an exhibition at the Grolier Club in 1892, which seems like the likeliest way for them to have met, and to have become acquainted with one another’s work.²²⁵

Colophons were a method in scribal practice of acknowledging the workers, date, and conditions involved in the making of the book, and they were revived by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press (Fig. 2.64). Updike’s colophon follows a similar formula (Fig. 2.1), with an important difference: because of the religious content, the acknowledgements are framed from a religious standpoint, noting that “the making of this Altar book was begun about the feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, A.D. Mdcccxciii, and finished at Easter, A.D. Mdcccxcvi,” a nearly three-year span. The book was funded by Updike and Harold Brown, acknowledged here as “laymen of the Diocese of Rhode Island.” The remaining contributors are also mentioned:

²²⁴ Charles Davies Sherborn, *A Sketch of the Life and Work of Charles William Sherborn, Painter-Etcher, with a Catalogue of his Bookplates, compiled by himself and George Heath Winer*, London: Ellis, 1912, preface. This work is the most complete biography we have of Sherborn, although obviously shaped by his son. Sherborn trained in London under a goldsmith at 14, with further training in metalwork in Paris, Rome, and Geneva. He settled in London as an engraver.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

“the plain-song is arranged by Sir John Stainer, Mus. Doc. Oxon.; the plates are designed by Robert Anning Bell; the borders, initials, type and cover by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue; and the colophons are engraved by Charles Sherborn.” Updike also appears in the copyright information at the bottom: “Published by Daniel Berkeley Updike, The Merrymount Press, Boston, Massachusetts, in the Year of Our Lord MDCCCXCVI.” Finally, the title for the colophon page is “IN GLORIAM TRINITATIS SANCTISSIMÆ ET INDIVISÆ, DEI UNITUS BENEDICTI IN SÆCULA: ALLELUIA,” or “For the glory of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, One God, blessed forever—hallelujah.”

The actual colophon image is visually dense and slightly cryptic. It is a combination of Brown and Updike’s family crests, deducible through the inclusion of “OPTIMUM VIX SATIS” under the shield and armor at right; this motto, “the best is barely enough,” is also the motto of the Merrymount Press. Brown’s armor, at left, includes the motto, “GAUDEO,” “I rejoice.” In addition to the shields with their helmets, the image includes a swan holding a ring in its mouth, and possibly a phoenix. The phrase at the bottom of the image, “NON NOBIS, DOMINE, NON NOBIS SED NOMINI TVO DA GLORIAM,” or “Not to us, Lord, not to us, but give the glory to your name.”²²⁶ This reinforces the idea that despite their page of names and acknowledgements, the purpose of the book was religious. This dynastic crest joins Brown and Updike together visually, as business partners and religious compatriots. What is significant about all of this is both the thoroughness of the acknowledgements, the close hewing to a Morrisean and medieval use of colophons, and the unusualness of such a practice in a religious book. While it would not be uncommon to reference a benefactor in a religious printing, the use of family crests in the colophon image ties Updike and Brown concretely to the work, in a very visible, self-conscious

²²⁶ This phrase is the start of Psalm 115, from the King James version as: “Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake.”

way—which is, arguably, antithetical to a Christian focus on humility. For Updike, the printing was an act of devotion, but the *Altar Book* was really bankrolled by Brown, another prominent Rhode Islander, and like Updike, a staunch Anglo-Catholic.²²⁷ As Updike notes, “neither Mr. Brown nor I had much in common with American Protestantism, and his position theologically was Tractarian, or as it would now be called, Anglo-Catholic, as mine has continued to be.”²²⁸

Sherborn’s frontispiece image (Fig. 2.65) is a similarly compressed melding of symbolism, foliage, and Latin inscriptions. It follows a similar format to the colophon: an image rife with symbolic references, and a Latin inscription below. The Latin, “FLVMINIS IMPETVS LAETIFICAT CIVITATEM DEI, ALLELUIA: SANCTIFICAVIT TABERNACVLVM SVVM ALTISSIMVS. ALLELVIA ALLELVIA” draws from the Latin Psalter, Psalm 46:4. This can be translated as “The rush of the river gladdens the city of God, Hallelujah: the most High has sanctified his temple, Hallelujah Hallelujah.”²²⁹ The engraved image corresponds exactly to this verse. The Lamb of God—the Agnus Dei—is standing atop the source of the four rivers of paradise, in an enclosed garden, referencing the hortus conclusus of the Virgin Mary; the walls of the enclosure also may refer visually to Jerusalem.²³⁰ While this iconology is unusual, and specific to the verse itself, the haloed lamb, the crozier and cross, and the Bishop’s hat are all fairly straightforward, speaking to a specifically Anglican, or Anglo-Catholic, religious context. The fact that this Latin phrase was also part of a chant, drawn from the Vulgate version of the psalms, reinforces the medieval goals of the *Altar Book*: a unification of image, text, and music. The banner at top, “ECCE AGNUS DEI,”

²²⁷ This was also not their first business venture: one of the earliest works through the Press was *An Inquiry into the Naming of Churches in the United States*, compiled by Updike and Brown.

²²⁸ Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 13.

²²⁹ The first part of this verse is also part of a Latin ecclesiastical chant, used on the Feast of Epiphany. The English translations do not track exactly to a direct translation of the Latin; the King James Version has rendered the verse, “there is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the most High,” which is close, but not the same. The first phrase could also be “the movement of the river gladdens the city of God.”

²³⁰ While not an especially common trope in Christian iconography, the “four rivers of Eden” also appears as part of the apse mosaic in San Clemente, where two deer drink from the rivers, which flow up to the tree of life.

or “behold the lamb of God,” is a common phrase in Anglican worship, sung or spoken as part of the invocation to communion.

The format of Sherborn’s engraved images for the *Altar Book* closely match his other bookplate engravings: text in a vaguely stone or architectural bar at the bottom and an image at top, often incorporating the same leaves, shield, and helmet from a suit of armor format. These bookplates are a combination of generalized floral design elements, with some reference to the specific person’s interests and activities. For example, in the plate for Johanniss Platt (Fig. 2.66), Sherborn included a standard armor-and-shield design, along with books, a portfolio, palette and brushes, and a landscape drawing in the corners, as well as a lamb with the Platt family motto, “NEMINEM METUE INNOCENS,” or “Being innocent, fear no one.” In the catalogue raisonné provided by Sherborn’s son, Updike is listed twice, for the *Altar Book* commission, and a separate armorial image; the *Altar Book* commission is listed in the “Etchings” section, and the armorial image is under “Bookplates.”²³¹ Sherborn’s commissions heavily skew towards British patrons, particularly in London, but he did some work for people in Boston and New York as well, and fits into the transatlantic network of which Updike was the locus.

Sherborn’s work falls into an art historical gray area, as does the work of everyone who contributed to the *Altar Book*. By either working in less vaunted media, like engraving, or teaching simultaneously and having a reduced output, like Bell, these artists have not received sufficient technical nor artistic consideration. The memorial image for Sherborn, *In Memoriam* (Fig. 2.67, n.d.) is a similar format to his bookplates as well. The work was completed by

²³¹ Sherborn, *A Sketch of the Life*, For the *Altar Book*: “1894. Updike (D.B.). ‘The Altar Book.’ Two line-engraved symbolic plates: (1) With ‘Ecce Agnus Dei’ (4 by 3); (2) With ‘Gaudeo optimum vix satis’ (3 7/8 by 3 1/8). Both signed ‘C.W.S. 1894’ Various trial proofs,” 20, for the bookplate: “1894. Updike. ‘Daniel Berkeley Updike.’ Full armorial, with a tulip and lily at the base of the shield. Signed ‘C.W.S.’ Not dated. Mr. Updike is the publisher, of Boston, U.S.A. Among his publications is an Altar Book profusely illustrated, and containing two plates engraved specially for it by Mr. Sherborn. Both of them have been mistaken for bookplates,” 70.

American Sidney L. Smith (1845-1929), an American bookplate engraver based in Boston; the fact that an American colleague was recognizing Sherborn speaks to his wide influence. Sherborn is rendered in a gestural half-length engraving, with part of his studio visible behind him. At the top of the frame is a palette with a stack of brushes threaded through it, along with a spray of flowers. Below the frame are the tools of an engraver: the burin, ink, and paper. The text beneath, located in a faux-stone frame, reads, “In Memoriam: Charles William Sherborn. Born June 14, 1831, Died February 10, 1912.” The entire image is ornately framed, while also suggesting that we are viewing an actual worker, shown by the position in his studio, the tools of his trade, and his clean but sensible outfit, coupled with the small glasses perched on his nose—necessary for close work. In this rendering at least, Sherborn got his due as both an artist and an artisan.

Significantly, the bulk of the works produced by the Merrymount Press were predominantly different from the *Altar Book*, in terms of both audience and scale. Yet the design focus of Updike’s hand is clear in everything, from more commercial book commissions and the Press’s frequent job printing of bookplates, post cards, and advertisements, to Updike’s work for the Episcopal Church.²³² Moreover, much of the Press output was in the vein of “jobbing” commissions, such as pamphlets, funeral notices, and greeting cards. By printing these smaller, less labor intensive works, the Press was able to fund itself in between larger jobs, which brought in more money, but which were also much more labor intensive. This method of job printing was

²³² For more on Merrymount’s commissions, and some of the illustrators employed, notably Thomas M. Cleland and Rudolph Ruzicka, see Walter Muir Whitehill, “Boston Arts and Craftsmen at the Opening of the Twentieth Century,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (September, 1977), 387-408, 401-402. One of the last works printed by Merrymount was a timetable for the Boston and Maine Railroad, “an object of real beauty attained through clarity,” showing the Press’s commitment to any work that crossed its doors, M. A. de Wolfe Howe, “Updike of Merrymount: The Scholar-Printer,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 86-100, 86.

essential to the financial health of early modern printers as well.²³³ By developing the Press around this commissioning structure, Updike, the print historian, was using a well-established model which had fallen out of popularity.

Bookplates were one of the many smaller jobs that the Merrymount Press often completed, which helped fund its larger book projects. While it would be impossible to go through the entirety of its job records—over 40,000—in this space, a few examples will illustrate the versatility of the Press, and in particular, its engagement with the Arts and Crafts community in Boston. One of its bookplates (Fig. 2.68) was for Ogden Codman Jr., an architect, interior designer, and dilettante, and the bookplate is a simple design: “*Ex Libris*, Ogden Codman, Jr.” surrounded by a frame with stylized vines around it. Another *Ex Libris*, for Edith Wharton (Fig. 2.69) is more elaborate, showing her Newport estate, Land’s End, with a border of waves and a ship motif. Merrymount also printed several orders of service for schools and churches, private exhibitions, border designs for stationary, and occasional fleurons. The press did extensive work for Trinity Church, a large Episcopal Church in Boston, which, like the Church of the Advent, boasted an impressive array of parishioners.²³⁴ Merrymount also produced a series of Christmas cards for the Press to send to its clients each year.

The importance of the Press in disseminating news about SACB events in Boston was also crucial. William Snelling Hadaway, who would go on to become a prolific book illustrator and metal designer in Madras, India, trained in Boston and the Press printed “The Decorative

²³³ Peter Stallybrass, “Little Jobs’: Broadsides and the Printing Revolution,” *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, Ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, 315-341. As Stallybrass notes, while “little jobs” vastly outnumber printed books, for instance, they have been saved in far fewer numbers, viewed as ephemera and therefore less valuable. I am grateful that the Boston Athenaeum received the job records from the Merrymount Press, and has kept the ephemera as part of their rare book collection.

²³⁴ Phillip Brooks was the much beloved rector at Trinity, so much so that there is now a statue of him on the premises. He is also known as the lyricist of “O Little Town of Bethlehem.” Several of his speeches, as well as “The Secret of His Greatness,” his eulogy from the Boston Evening Transcript, were printed or reprinted at Merrymount.

Work of William Snelling Hadaway,” in 1895, when he was only 23 (Fig. 2.70). The two-page brochure tells of Hadaway’s willingness to make wallpaper, printed cloth, stenciled patterns, and any sort of book and paper illustration. It is charming in its rather mercenary tone and slightly panicked note about getting work, closing with “those who are interested in either branch of his work, he would be very glad to meet at his office; or, if they are unable to call upon him, he would consider it a favour, either to call upon them, or to enter into correspondence with them.”²³⁵ In a final example, the festival organizing committee of the Boston Art Students Association (BASA) requested fliers for their annual artist’s festival (Fig. 2.71), as well as printed tickets for their gala, to be held on April 8, 1896, at Copley Hall, Clarendon St., 8 o’clock. The subject of the gala—with proceeds benefitting Copley Hall—was “A Fete Given in Baghdad by the Caliph Haroun er Reschid,” noting on the flier that his “summons to you is herewith enclosed.” Clothing was specified in both the flier and on the ticket, as “only African, Asiatic, Japanese or Polynesian costumes will be admitted, as the guests will represent a gathering of the peoples described in the stories of the ‘Arabian Nights’ Entertainment.”²³⁶ This endeavor was one of several occasions for the elite arts community in Boston to convene and support their various artistic spaces. Attendance at events such as this was contingent upon the job printing at the Merrymount Press, a structure that both fiscally supported the Press and allowed for Updike to continue influencing the cultural landscape of Boston, religious and otherwise.

²³⁵ “The Decorative Work of William Snelling Hadaway,” Boston: Merrymount Press, 1895.

²³⁶ They helpfully provided information for those who wished to learn more about the subject; they could contact “John C. Abbott, 30 Winter St., Boston, Third Floor [Upholstery Department].” Other printings for Dedham Pottery and various artists’ private shows make up part of the Merrymount’s output.

PRECEDENTS: THE 1892 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

As noted in the colophon, the type for the *Altar Book* was “set at The Merrymount Press, Boston, and three hundred and fifty copies of the book were printed at the De Vinne Press, New York.” This was not Updike’s first collaboration with Theodore Low De Vinne, the most influential American printer at the turn of the twentieth century. De Vinne wrote extensively about printing, and experimented with coated paper and other innovations to foster new methods of printing illustrations.²³⁷ He also decried the use of “modern” typefaces, describing them as “feminine,” and much preferring old style type, like those favored by Morris and Updike; he was instrumental in making old style the common and established style of roman that we are so accustomed to now.²³⁸ In describing his work at the Merrymount Press, Updike stated that he wanted to move away from “romantic archaism and much else that was sentimental and silly,” which he viewed as the scourge of modern printing, towards “the revival of printing as an art.”²³⁹ Like De Vinne, I suspect there is a gendered element in Updike’s choice of language here, linking the “sentimental and silly” implicitly to increasing numbers of female readers and writers in the nineteenth century. This is the uglier side of the brand of printing conservatism practiced at both presses.

The Episcopal Church’s 1892 printing of the *Book of Common Prayer* was a collaboration orchestrated by De Vinne, involving Goodhue, who designed the borders, and Updike, who oversaw the production. They were forced to work around a preexisting typeface chosen by the DeVinne Press; both Goodhue and Updike emphatically hated the result. The *Book*

²³⁷ Thompson, *American Bookbinding*, 145.

²³⁸ Megan Benton, “Typography and Gender: Remasculating the Modern Book,” *Illuminating Letters: Typography and Literary Interpretation*, Ed. Paul C. Gutjahr and Megan L. Benton, Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001, 71-93, is particularly helpful in parsing out De Vinne’s argument against “modern” faces, and the staying power it has had.

²³⁹ Thomas M. Cleland, “A Tribute to Daniel Berkeley Updike,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 81-85, 82.

of Common Prayer is weighty in all senses of the word. A folio bound in white calfskin and board, it is physically difficult to lift. The white leather with gold clasps and tooling (Fig. 2.72) bring to mind Dante Gabriel Rossetti's use of a white and gilt palette in his bindings, although the context and size here are much different. The combination of white leather and gilt makes the object glow in a candlelit setting, creating a cultish dimension to the book. This was the sort of practice that Updike actually abhorred—in contrast, the binding of the *Altar Book* is in stamped, non-gilded leather, although ornate in its own way. When gilt is used in Updike's work, like on the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*, it is done so sparingly.²⁴⁰ Tooled around the edge of the 1892 cover is "BENEDICITE OMNIA OPERA DOMINI DOMINO LAUDATE ET SUPEREXALTATE EUM IN SAECULA," drawn from the usually Catholic Benedicite Dominum, "Bless the Lord, all ye works of the Lord, praise and exalt Him above all forever," in a blackletter script.²⁴¹ This textual border surrounds an arabesque of stylized flowers, leaves, and vines. These design elements are continued on the spine, bordered on the top by "The Book of Common Prayer Mccccxcii" at top, and "after the Standard" at the base. The lilies and thistles from the cover repeat on the flyleaf in alternating rows (Fig. 2.73), with banners proclaiming "Alleluia" and "Hosanna." The cover and flyleaf are visually linked, but also fussily ornate and overly coordinated in a way that is atypical of Goodhue and Updike's later work. The project was a perfect storm of youthful insecurity and too many competing ideas about bookmaking.

²⁴⁰ Updike believed that "fancifulness" could be manifested in "the trivial sprinkling of crosses and devotional emblems on printing intended for use of the Church," the result of "wretched taste and is the resort only of ignorant incompetence;" Updike, "Ecclesiastical Printing," 150.

²⁴¹ This phrase comes from the Benedicite canticle, drawn from the Song of the Three Young men, which became Canticle 1 in the *Book of Common Prayer*. It is used as part of the morning service, making its use on the cover of the work especially relevant.

Updike wrote a frankly apologetic two-page printed statement that was distributed with the book, “On the Decorations of the Large-paper Edition of the Prayer Book of MDCCXCII.”²⁴² His nervousness about the book is evident in this text, although he tried to stress that “religious symbolism has been very sparingly employed, because in a sense all the work is symbolic; and because religious symbolism is very carelessly and irreverently used among us at the present day. No one was ever more religious in feeling and work than were the craftsmen of the middle ages; but they were religious in spirit and in manner rather in design. They used natural forms, but in a reverent and careful way.”²⁴³ This statement is significant for two reasons: it points to Updike’s belief in the importance of religious “spirit and manner” manifesting themselves in printed works, and stresses that the “natural forms,” i.e. Goodhue’s abstracted floral borders, carry a reverence of their own. Unlike the *Altar Book*, the *Book of Common Prayer* is not didactically illustrated, and so the foliate borders are the main form of ornamentation. Updike and Goodhue are acknowledged on the copyright page, under the printers mark for the De Vinne Press: “the plan of symbolism and method of decoration were arranged by Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike; the preparatory studies of plants were made by Mr. William Wells Bosworth; the designs for the borders and cover by Mr. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, and the final drawings for reproduction by Mr. Joseph Eliot Hill.”²⁴⁴

The problem, ultimately, was the difference between Theodore Low DeVinne’s “chilly but workmanlike style,” Goodhue’s partially realized borders, and Updike’s inability to have the

²⁴² The edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* was commissioned by Henry C. Potter, William R. Huntington, and J. Pierpont Morgan, and their financial backing was what spurred the involvement of De Vinne, who then recruited Updike.

²⁴³ Daniel Berkeley Updike, “On the Decorations of the Limited Edition of the Standard Prayer Book of MDCCCXCII, New York: De Vinne Press, 1893, and in *The Well-Made Book: Essays and Lectures by Daniel Berkeley Updike*, Ed. William S. Peterson, New York: Mark Batty Publishers, 2002, 283-288, 284-85.

²⁴⁴ At the time, Bosworth was a youthful architect, who, much like Goodhue, worked in both book and building design. His works include much of the M.I.T. campus, and after 1920 he was Paris-based, notably working on architectural renovations of Versailles and Notre-Dame, funded by John D. Rockefeller. Hill is less well-known, but his name does appear in other late-nineteenth-century books.

designs work together.²⁴⁵ As Updike sheepishly states, “in these decorations Goodhue’s line was very far from De Vinne’s typography, and I fancy it was a painful task for the latter to reprint his uninspired but dignified book with the *appliqués* so continuously, unremittingly (and sometimes unwillingly), supplied by Goodhue and myself.”²⁴⁶ Updike “begged those in authority to be allowed to omit borders on the Gospel for Good Friday,” but was refused.²⁴⁷ These sorts of considerations mattered for him, both doctrinally and aesthetically: Good Friday is a solemn occasion, and should be visually treated as such. Ultimately, several aspects about the *Book of Common Prayer* were horrifying to Updike. In addition to the “poor taste” shown in having borders on Good Friday, the publishers had allowed the mixing of typographic styles, as evidenced on page 62, Saint Stephen’s Day (Fig. 2.74). Not only were there rubrications that were also italicized—Updike believed it should be one or the other, never both—there was a mixture of headings in blackletter, roman italics, and regular roman type.²⁴⁸ He writes in “Some Notes on Liturgical Printing” (1935) that “italic, being a substitute for rubrication, should never be rubricated.”²⁴⁹ Even more galling than red printed italics, “a more serious fault is the introduction of gothic initials in prayers printed in roman type.”²⁵⁰

While the *Altar Book* was a similarly collaborative experience, the collaboration at the Merrymount Press followed a model that I will call a “complete book,” where the parts are clearly considered together, in order to form a holistic object. This is also evident in the

²⁴⁵ Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 12.

²⁴⁶ Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 10.

²⁴⁷ Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 13.

²⁴⁸ Updike ascribed the use of italics as a form of rubrication to economic factors: “italic type (invented by Aldus about 1501) was, for economic considerations, employed to represent rubrics, as this avoided the necessity of printing in two colours; and this plan was adopted for inexpensive editions of liturgical books;” Updike, “Some Notes on Liturgical Printing,” 94. He further stressed “the rule that italics should never be rubricated still holds;” 103.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 98. Also, “Roman initial letters, either free or block, should be used with prayers set in roman; and gothic initials if prayers are set in black-letter;” 105.

Kelmscott Press works, for example: in the *Chaucer* (Fig. 2.75, 1896), the mise-en-page is one visual field, and clearly all organized as one unit. This is also similarly true in the *Altar Book*, as in this mise-en-page from the Christmas service (Fig. 2.76), where the borders extend across both pages. In contrast, the borders for the *Book of Common Prayer* were clearly grafted onto existing page layouts, with aesthetically unpleasant results. In this page spread from the Psalms (Fig. 2.77), the table of Psalm order on the verso has a completely different border in both size and coloration, although the underlying flowers and leaves match. The text blocks are different sizes, and there is again the mixing of gothic and roman typefaces that Updike abhorred. Goodhue would also work textual banners into his *Altar Book* borders, but far more successfully. While the borders in the *Book of Common Prayer* are fine, artistically, they are inconsistent sizes (Fig. 2.78), which gives the entire book an uneven feel. They also look like an after-thought—which they were. The fact that the borders do not, on any of the pages, extend to the page edge also reinforces a visual disjunction between the edge of the book and the page contents themselves. None of this is aesthetically disastrous, but makes the book feel disjointed, and piecemeal. The whole layout situation speaks to industrial printing, which is exactly what Updike worked in later years to disavow at his own Press.

There are glimmers of the future greatness of the *Altar Book* evident in this earlier work, showing that Goodhue and Updike were testing out certain ideas in advance. The communion pages (Fig. 2.79) have a more well-proportioned border of grapes—which must have been an intentional nod to the wine as the blood of Christ. The format of the rubricated communion instructions at right is very similar to that used in the *Altar Book*. The Easter borders (Fig. 2.80) are composed of lilies, which also occur in the *Altar Book*. What further frustrated Goodhue and Updike about this *Book of Common Prayer* was that the public reception was relatively positive.

As Updike recounts, “the 1892 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* ended up being quite popular...sad to relate, the edition had an immediate and astounding success! We were congratulated, and we blushed. Our shame was taken for modesty and we were congratulated more!”²⁵¹ Art periodical *The Knight Errant*, writing in 1893, seconded their concerns and expressed excitement about the forthcoming *Altar Book* since “the recent edition of the Standard Book of Common Prayer contained, as is already well known, a number of errors, both typographical and artistic.”²⁵² The *Knight Errant* was the journal Goodhue managed with Ralph Adams Cram, and he co-authored this editorial (as B.G.G.), so both of their negative opinions are documented. The *Altar Book* was funded in part as a way to expunge the poorly rendered *Book of Common Prayer* from public memory, and clear Updike’s conscience.

Contemporary trends in religious printing clearly show what Updike was rebelling against, and why. While the *Altar Book* is clearly influenced by Updike’s meditations on the guild system, medieval forms, and Gothic Revival architecture, it is done so in a fairly subtle way. Owen Jones (1809-1874), who effectively invented Gothic Revival styles through his architectural designs and highly influential *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), took religious book decoration in a very different direction. Jones’s *Victoria Psalter* (Fig. 2.81, 1861-62) takes a medieval work—the Psalter, used predominantly for private devotion—and modifies the heavy ornamentation to an industrial context.²⁵³ Jones embraced machines as part of his work, and worked extensively with chromolithography for the book. The interior pages (Fig. 2.82) are decorated in gold, black, multiple reds, and multiple blues. The leather binding is ornamented

²⁵¹ Updike, “Notes on the Press,” 12-13.

²⁵² G. E. B. and B. G. G., “Concerning Recent Books and Bookmaking,” *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Jan., 1893), 123-128, 126.

²⁵³ Oddly, the Victorians did not “revive” the use of Books of Hours until the 1890s, worried by Roman Catholic overtones associated with the text. Thus, Jones chose the Psalter instead of the Book of Hours. For more information see Alice H.R.H. Beckwith, *Victorian Bibliomania: The Illuminated Book in 19th-Century Britain*. Providence: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1987, 19.

with sunken oval panels inside a rectangular frame, filled with ferns. These ferns and vines extend across the cover, running over the raised rectangles, and creating a three-dimensional, incredibly tactile and busy object.²⁵⁴ By dedicating his *Psalter* to Victoria, with her permission, Jones was able to “officially” stamp it, and move it away from Catholic associations by invoking such an exemplary Protestant. Jones’s use of chromolithography, and his dedication to England’s most famous Protestant, would have been anathema to Updike.

1928 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND LATER PRINTING

It should be noted that the *Altar Book* was relatively atypical in the long view of Updike’s career, which rapidly moved away from more heavily decorated Kelmscott-esque forms when those forms became less popular at the turn of the twentieth century, mirroring the broader trend from ornateness to minimalism. Updike’s 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* (Fig. 2.83) was the work in which he took the most pride. Printed in Janson, with very little ornamentation, it is no less beautifully ordered than the *Altar Book*, holding its own through the quality of the type and paper.²⁵⁵ As Morris notes, “I have always been a great admirer of the calligraphy of the Middle Ages, and of the earlier printing which took its place. As to the fifteenth-century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by force of the mere typography.”²⁵⁶ Morris’s use of “force” connotes textual weightiness, where the typography is materially encoded. Updike’s work as a typographic historian and collector furthers the primacy of typography with aesthetic and legibility concerns, which he pursued across all of his works, even when they are stylistically different. Comparing the *Altar Book* to the *Book of Common Prayer* is illustrative of the shift

²⁵⁴ Jones also occasionally used papier-mâché bindings, which Updike would have doubly hated.

²⁵⁵ The American Episcopal Church now offers a facsimile—as close as can be managed—to the 1928 book in PDF form, in an interesting example of textual genesis; see <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1928Standard/Standard.htm>

²⁵⁶ William Morris, *Art and Craft of Printing*, New York: Elston Press, 1902.

from nineteenth- to twentieth-century fine press design, and of Updike's later associations with Stanley Morison, Monotype, and the *Fleuron*.

The *Book of Common Prayer* is bound in stamped pigskin leather, only ornamented by four raised bands across the spine (Fig. 2.84). This design element, which references raised bands, speaks to an early modern, pre-industrial form of binding where quires were handstitched and held together by cords, which created the raised band effect. Like the *Altar Book*, the *Book of Common Prayer* is a set of "lessons for the Christian year," with rubricated commentary for the minister, although the *Book of Common Prayer* does not include any musical notation. However, the method of rubrication is similar, with instructions to the priest in red, with pilcrows added to the start of rubricated passages to help with legibility (Fig. 2.85). The version for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was proposed by future-Bishop Samuel Seabury in 1785, and had been revised several times since.²⁵⁷ Unlike the 1892 version, Updike had full creative control, and was able to produce his ideal book.

In 1928, J.P. Morgan Jr. asked four printers to submit designs for the newly revised *Book of Common Prayer*, with the winner gaining the commission.²⁵⁸ Along with Updike, the competing printers were his colleague Bruce Rogers at William Edwin Rudge's Press, and the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, the two most consistently "good" Anglican printers at the time; Updike got the commission. The book was printed in red and black ink on Kelmscott Hammer and Anvil paper—again, a thicker, richer weight—and bound in maroon English pigskin sourced from Edward and James Richardson of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with type cast at

²⁵⁷ Revisions had occurred in 1783, 1822, 1832, 1838, 1845, 1871, 1892—which was considered a "highly conservative revision," and then 1928. For more on this timeline see Martin Hutner, *Making of the Book of Common Prayer*, Southbury: Chiswick Book Shop, 1990, 2.

²⁵⁸ In a moment of synchronicity, J.P. Morgan Sr. had sponsored the 1892 *Book of Common Prayer*.

Merrymount on the Thompson Typecaster with electrotyped matrices from Stempel Foundry.²⁵⁹ Janson was one of the seventeenth-century Dutch fonts that Updike favored, and the only ornamentations for the volume were Caslon fleurons.²⁶⁰ 500 copies were printed on paper, with five presentation copies on vellum. Even more so than the *Altar Book*, the *Book of Common Prayer* is emphatically an object of use: legible, practical, and aesthetically pleasing.

William Morris saw the purpose of “applying art to articles of utility,” from textiles to cabinets to books, as a way to “add beauty to the results of the work of man, which would otherwise be ugly; and secondly, to add pleasure to the work itself, which would otherwise be painful and disgusting.”²⁶¹ While these ideas were clearly influential to Updike—and to a generation of American printers—by the time of the *Book of Common Prayer* they had started to fade. One of the key anti-Morris voices was Stanley Morison (1889-1967), an important figure in the discussion of type design, and therefore of print production. Morison was also a historian of print, designer of Times New Roman, and long-time typographic consultant to the Monotype Corporation, and his numerous writings on the history of type design highlight his awareness of the actual practice of printing, areas insufficiently addressed by later print historians, like Elizabeth Eisenstein and Adrian Johns. Morison was part of an entire generation of “master-printers” and type-designers who also wrote actively as historians of typography; they therefore had both practical knowledge of bookmaking, but also had a long view, historically.²⁶² They produced the journal *The Fleuron*, which ran from 1923-1930, which contained essays on historical discoveries, book reviews, and a wealth of typographic samples.

²⁵⁹ Hutner, *Making of the Book of Common Prayer*, 59.

²⁶⁰ The Caslon flower was praised by W.A. Dwiggins, as “excellent as single spots, the Caslon flowers multiply their beauties when composed in bands or borders as ornamentation for letterpress. They then become a true flowering of the letter forms—as though particular groups of words had been told off for special ornamental duty, and had blossomed at command into intricate, but always typographical patterns;” Updike, *Printing Types*, Vol. 2., 106-107.

²⁶¹ William Morris, *Art and its Producers, and the Arts and Crafts of To-day*. London: Chiswick Press, 1901, 22.

²⁶² This group also includes Updike, Beatrice Warde, Frederic Goudy, Bruce Rogers, Charles Ricketts, H. Halliday Sparling, and Theodore Low De Vinne, among others.

Unlike Morris, Morison saw typography as “the efficient means to an essentially utilitarian and only accidentally aesthetic end.”²⁶³ Even though Morris saw the Kelmscott books as legible—he certainly tried to make them so—to type historians like Morison it seemed like he was pursuing beauty for beauty’s sake, which they would have viewed, ultimately, as a problem. For both Updike and Morison, Morris’s books suffered from illegibility. They were impressive as art, but not as books. Despite his professed aims to make books that were “easy to read,” by not troubling “the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters,” Morris was frequently criticized by his historian-colleagues. “Notes on Morrisania” in 1896 stated that the Kelmscott books were better for collectors, not readers, reinforcing the idea of his work as elitist, for an entitled market.²⁶⁴ Bruce Rogers acknowledged in 1900 that Morris’s types were handsome, but the “‘readability’ is lacking in all three faces, and that is the first requisite. His books are, some of them, very beautiful but they are rather curiosities of bookmaking than real books.”²⁶⁵ The *Altar Book* also suffers from illegibility.

Gregg Anderson, who organized the first display of Updike’s work in the 1940s at the Huntington, was quick to distance Updike from Morris’s early influence, claiming that Updike’s “later development was in a different direction. Instead of producing books with a purely aesthetic appeal—as was the purpose of Morris—Updike soon made it his concern to see that the books he printed were first of all readable and suited to the conditions under which they would be used,” while remaining up to his exacting standards, set by a study of historical models.²⁶⁶

Morison added that the “essential qualities” of an Updike book were the “accurate composition

²⁶³ Brooke Crutchley, “Logic, Lucidity, and Mr. Morison,” *Type & Typography: Highlights from Matrix, the review for printers and bibliophiles*, West New York: New Jersey: Mark Batty Publisher LLC, 2003, 1-14, 1.

²⁶⁴ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 35. Even in the nineteenth century the costs were prohibitive enough that the books were more likely bought by a wealthy clientele.

²⁶⁵ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 66. Rogers (1870-1957) was an influential American typographer who invented the Centaur typeface.

²⁶⁶ Gregg Anderson, *The Work of the Merrymount Press and its Founder Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941): An Exhibition*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1942, 9-10.

of the text; occasional decoration; proportionate and therefore satisfactory imposition; scrupulous presswork; careful folding, sewing and wrapping of the finished product.”²⁶⁷ This assessment clearly belongs to Updike’s later work, not the *Altar Book*. Yet at the same time, the *Altar Book* functions as a “complete book” because of the collaborative nature of it, and its specific historical context. Reasserting that context—of the work within a highly ornate liturgical space—is crucial to understanding how the book functioned.

PARTICIPATORY ENGAGEMENT

The *Altar Book* was a work of art on display, and it still is: the venues have just shifted from churches to special collections. Yet it was also made to be used. There are practical considerations for a book that is to be opened and closed in front of hundreds of people, several times a week. Updike, always conscious of disruptions in order, tried “as far as possible” to make page-turns “occur at liturgical points when they would not disturb the congregation.”²⁶⁸ He further clarifies that “‘turnovers’ should be avoided during prayers, psalms, or lections,” while “turnovers during music are less objectionable than during portions of the service which are said or intoned.”²⁶⁹ The book was designed specifically not to disrupt. Both the *Altar Book* and the *Book of Common Prayer* were key players in religious services, stored and cared for with the same amount of reverence bestowed upon communion sets or embroidered vestments. This section, then, examines the relationship between materiality, craft, architecture, and aurality, and the way that these connections move beyond book design to questions of participation.

Participatory engagement is the relationship between the book—which is activated in church

²⁶⁷ Stanley Morison, “Recollections and Perspectives,” *Updike: American Printer and His Merrymount Press*, New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947, 56-66, 66.

²⁶⁸ Updike quoted in Anderson, *The Work of the Merrymount Press*, 17.

²⁶⁹ Updike, “Some Notes on Liturgical Printing,” 108.

spaces—and those who are handling the book: reading from it and moving it around the space. More passive engagement by parishioners is also vital, for while they may not have been able to hold or read from the book themselves, they are key actors in the experience.

Crucially, High Anglicanism follows the Catholic practice of bowing to the *Book of Common Prayer*. In contemporary services at the Church of the Advent, the *Book of Common Prayer* is brought to the middle of the center aisle before the Gospel is read from it, and the congregation bows to the physical object, the word of God made substantial. For someone with Updike's staunchly Anglican faith, printing these works was a necessary form of reverence. He was particular about printing in general, but his deep concern about getting his religious works "right" points to their doctrinal importance to him. At the same time, while engagement with the *Altar Book* and the *Book of Common Prayer* would have been—and continue to be—participatory, the average church-member would likely not be able to interact with these books up close. The *Altar Book* is so rife with symbolic weight that to appreciate it fully, you would have to be as doctrinally attuned as Updike. I have found new details and references every time that I have looked through the book; it is a work that requires sustained looking. The question to bear in mind is: who was permitted to look.

Elizabeth Eisenstein writes that "concern with surface appearance necessarily governed the handwork of the scribe," and I would argue that the same sentiment should be applied to printer-historians like Updike, who was professionally obsessed with surface.²⁷⁰ "Surface" connotes superficiality, but to Updike, the surface referenced something deeper and doctrinally significant, and was therefore essential. It feels artificial to divorce the *Altar Book* pages from one another, and any discussion of artistic or religious merit without considering the physical

²⁷⁰ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 24.

object is counter-productive, as Updike well knew. Shortly after his *Printing Types* was published, Beatrice Warde described him as “the foremost surviving representative of the ancient tradition of the master-printer responsible for the appearance of all that went through his presses,” an accurate assessment of Updike’s work.²⁷¹ To his peers, it undoubtedly seemed like Updike’s very being became stamped upon the books that he published. While the folio-sized *Altar Book* may not be a “pocket cathedral,” it is a lectern cathedral, or a cathedral within a cathedral: a work that continues to reflect the space in which it is placed, and whose design elements—from typography to illustration—reference architecture.

The use of musical notation in the *Altar Book* proves this point well. Plainsong is an essential part of the religious service, and is included on many of the pages with notations about where the priest would need to sing or chant liturgical passages, which makes sense for a book used during a service. Square notes, called neumes, are printed in black on red lines. At a practical level, square notes are easier to cut than oval ones, but they are also traditionally used in medieval plainchant. As seen in the call and response during communion (Fig. 2.86), a four line staff is used, in contrast to modern five-line notation. The angular C at left, where a time signature or bass and treble markers would be located now, indicates the “do” note, which orients the singer to the relationship between pitches. Aesthetically, the square notes bring a greater weightiness to the text as a whole, in addition to being doctrinally appropriate, and they fit stylistically with the rest of the work. In a fourteenth-century manuscript of the Graduale Aboense (Fig. 2.87), the same color scheme is used—black neumes on a red staff. The main difference, however, is the “do” marker here: while it is still C shaped, the lines are clearly diamonds of ink, deposited by the nib of a pen. While the *Altar Book* attempts to mimic the

²⁷¹ Beatrice Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1956, 194-195.

scribal hand in the shape of the notes, the C is much more rigid, in a way that would actually be difficult to write by hand. This is where the pseudo-medieval aspect of the book starts to feel too self-conscious. Regardless, it is also tremendously difficult printing, requiring at least two runs through the press, and using irregularly shaped pieces of type.

In Chapter XXII of *Printing Types*, “English and American Revival of Early Typeforms and its Effect on Continental Types,” Updike examines the heavy-hitters of the fine press movement: William Morris (Kelmscott Press), Charles Ricketts (Vale Press), T.J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emery Walker (Doves Press), Sydney Cockerell (Ashendene Press), Lucien Pissarro (Eragny Press), Bruce Rogers (Riverside Press), and his own Merrymount Press. “What value have these specially designed and privately cut fonts?” he asks, concluding “in themselves, very little. They are only in the nature of interesting experiments; and there is scarcely one of them that is absolutely practical.”²⁷² The two key reasons that type failed were because of a division of labor between designer and punchcutter, and because of a tendency towards decoration that was detrimental. Most types “were not cut by the man who designed them, and the type-cutter cannot put into them *as he works* the touches which the designer would instinctively give, if he were a type-cutter too,” while “when a book becomes decorative at the expense of its readability, it ceases to be a book and becomes a decoration, and has then no *raison d’etre* as a book.”²⁷³ What unites these stances is the crucial role of the designer to understand historical precedent and material realities; Updike clearly believed that an engagement with materials was critical to his success as a historian. This is another form of participatory engagement, between a historian and historical media, one that he translated to an

²⁷² Updike, *Printing Types*, 218.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

increasingly mechanized working practice. This engagement with materials also extends to religious practice and movement.

To Updike, knowledge of the physical factors of bookmaking was necessary to make anything legible, which is accomplished for the *Altar Book* through rubrication, a readable, weighty font, and “clear” illustrations. As aforementioned, a book would fail when it became “decorative at the expense of its readability.” As a book designer and type historian, Updike, above anyone else of his generation—which was full of supremely talented printers and designers—was able to grasp, physically and mentally, that it *matters* how a book is printed. So too does Updike’s scholarship matter, because he spent his life looking at every printed piece of paper that crossed his path, and writing seriously about what he saw. The *Altar Book* was designed for a religious setting during an exciting moment in the life of a young press, in a Boston that was just discovering the Arts and Crafts aesthetic. It is impossible to ignore the historical and visual precedents that formed the *Altar Book*, but it is equally important for us to see it, now, as a living object that continues to make meaning. Although the visual density of the *Altar Book* was not sustained throughout the Merrymount Press output—or indeed, the twentieth century—Updike’s careful focus on the book as a holistic work remains central for fine press and book artists. Goodhue’s Merrymount typeface was wholly appropriate for a Gothic Revival church setting, as were Bell’s pseudo-Renaissance/Art Nouveau images. It is difficult to imagine the book in a sleek, modernist setting, largely because it feels especially historical, made for a certain kind of ornate environment.

COMMUNITY

This chapter has analyzed the *Altar Book*, and the overlapping artistic, religious, and printing communities, which formed it. We will return to Charles Eliot Norton, a figure much like Updike. By the end of his life, Norton's anti-military and anti-industrial stances had been branded as reactionary. Despite his previous roles as a denizen of taste in Boston, with an influential platform through Harvard, Norton became a bit of a pariah. He was *too* moral, and he was treated as a relic, a hectoring force from a bygone era. This fate did not await Updike, but it seemed like he thought it would. Updike states, "I have been classed by my work as a conservative, but I am a liberal conservative or a conservative liberal—whichever you like or dislike. All I wish to conserve, either in traditionalism or modernism, is common sense."²⁷⁴ For Updike, "common sense" was a push towards legibility and practicality in design, which he saw as the backbone of effective printing when combined with good historical examples. Updike's ties to Harvard, in part via Norton, were well established. Despite never attending college, his extensive knowledge and patrician bearing made him a welcome addition to their printing curriculum, another way of spreading his *Printing Types* gospel. Attaching a "reactionary" label to Updike and Norton is fair in many ways, but it also misses a lot of nuance about their positions. Through conservative rebellion, they were also coming down on the side of workers' rights and handcraft, just as Morris did. Even though Updike's work visually changed over his long and fruitful career, his interest in the *rightness* of good design remained.

Updike frequently gave a lecture at Harvard on what he called the seven champions of typography: "Spacing, Leading, Indentation, Ink, Paper, and Imposition." The seventh champion,

²⁷⁴ Howe, "Updike of Merrymount: The Scholar-Printer," 93.

“dear reader, is *You*.”²⁷⁵ He acknowledged that none of these points are groundbreaking, but that principles—to practice good leading, or use high quality paper—can fall by the wayside when the actual business of printing takes over, with time or money as a guiding factor. These “champions” guided his approach to holistic bookmaking. One possible link between architects and printers is the supervisory nature of their work: “a publishing project such the *Altar Book* could enlist the talents of illustrator, decorator, designer, and binder, in addition to the compositors and pressmen who actually printed the book,” and an architect would be supervising a similarly large number of engineers, decorators, letter carvers, and builders.²⁷⁶ Although Morris and Updike are at the top of their class, it is worth remembering that neither worked in a vacuum. What is striking about type design generally is the lineage it involves, and the communities that are built around it; it is similarly striking how much work is left to be done on the interconnected threads of these relationships, and with the relationship of type design to print culture. This holds true for Bell, Goodhue, and Sherborn, too—they were all participating in artforms that crossed media and fostered community, rooted in historical precedents.

The *Altar Book* is often considered the finest American Arts and Crafts printing, with the work viewed as a successor to Morris.²⁷⁷ Yet medieval influence and a collaborative approach were not singular to Morris, of course. In a 1911 speech to the Royal Institute of British Architects on the process of painted reliefs, Robert Anning Bell defended the medieval method of communal making. “The architect, the sculptor, and the painter have specialized each in his

²⁷⁵ *Typographers on Type: an Illustrated Anthology from William Morris to the Present Day*. Ed. Ruari McLean. New York: Norton, 1995, 45.

²⁷⁶ Nancy Findlay, “A Millennium in Book-Making: the Book Arts in Boston,” *Inspiring Reform: Boston’s Arts and Crafts Movement*, Wellesley: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, 1997, 120. Johns also acknowledged the communal aspects of printing, “a large number of people, machines, and materials must converge and act together for it [a book] to come into existence at all...in that sense a book is the material embodiment of, if not a consensus, then at least a collective consent;” Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998, 3.

²⁷⁷ This can lead to interesting image search errors about Goodhue’s designs being attributed to Morris, like an image search for “William Morris notebooks,” where Goodhue’s owl is tagged as a Morris design.

own art in these later centuries and have lost that comprehension and sympathy with each other's work which characterized them in earlier and happier times, when their object was rather to produce a beautiful piece of work in collaboration than to express each of them his own particular talent apart and aloof from the others."²⁷⁸ This collaborative ethos linked architecture, printing, and design under a master-craftsman, in this case Updike. For Bell, producing a "beautiful piece of work in collaboration" was the goal, which he further imparted to his students.

The printing house community, at least on site, was predominantly male. Yet this was also the era of increasing numbers of female bookbinders, and Updike was able to employ both Sarah Wyman Whitman and Mary Crease Sears. As Updike reminisces:

Mrs. Henry Whitman [was] a figure in the artistic circles of Boston, who for many years designed the best of the covers for Houghton, Mifflin & Company's books. She was a woman of taste and charm, though the personal impression she produced was perhaps greater than any definite accomplishment. Somewhat fantastic in phrase and manner, she dealt with us, to use her own words, "very handsomely." I remember at the first exhibition of the Society of Arts and Crafts, in 1897, on seeing a folio leaf of our Latin Tacitus set in Goodhue's Merrymount type, she cried: "Phoebus, what a page!"²⁷⁹

Whitman designed the cover for the Merrymount *Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora*, and the work was the only other text to use the Merrymount type (Fig. 2.88). The book, a collection of Tacitus's works, was a "belated reply to Morris's dictum that there had been no good printing since the fifteenth century," causing Updike to select a fifteenth-century text and print it "in the fifteenth-century manner, better than any fifteenth-century book was done."²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Talk given on 22 May 1911, later published as R. Anning Bell, "Painted Relief," *Journal of the RIBA* Vol. 18, 3rd Series, 1911, 485-500, 485.

²⁷⁹ Updike, "Notes on the Press," 22.

²⁸⁰ Winship, "The Merrymount Press of Boston," 107.

George Parker Winship found the Tacitus rather unsatisfactory, because “the earliest books are satisfying, because they are not perfect. There is something about the slight unevenness of inking and the variations in the paper which give a human quality that the perfect machining of modern work never gets. No more does it come from the artificiality of hand press-work under present-day conditions.”²⁸¹ This last phrase is crucial: Updike’s “turn to the past” was during the height of industrialized printing, which the Press did grudgingly embrace. While the Merrymount type looks fine as part of the Tacitus, Winship does have a point: it feels affected, in a way that the *Altar Book* does not. The fact that Updike even turned the colophon into Latin also seems a bit precious, with phrases like “Magister Daniel Berkeley Updike” and “Bostoniae in Republica Massachusettensi” lending an air of absurdity (Fig. 2.89). Whitman was a designer for Houghton and Mifflin predominantly, and her cover for the Tacitus is plainer than her usual work (Fig. 2.90): it has her characteristic hand-lettering, but no other ornament. The combination of commercially produced materials with the Merrymount type feels rather wrong.

Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904) was an accomplished stained glass artist, binding designer, and painter. Like Bell, she worked in these media simultaneously, and like Bell, this is evident in her geometrically pared down designs, elegant hand-lettering, and skill at modeling. There may have only been one Whitman, but women like her—talented, hard-working, committed, sharp, and moneyed—were crucial to the success of the SACB, and to the craft and printing community in Boston. Like the “excellent women” in Barbara Pym’s *Excellent Women* (1952), this female community was a source of often invisible support: as patrons, as lay ministers, and as sources of extensive emotional and artistic labor. The same description could be easily applied to the Society of St. Margaret, and these communities of women made the churches run. When Whitman died in 1904, the Merrymount Press completed two works for her

²⁸¹ Ibid., 108.

service. Annette P. Roger commissioned a subscription for a memorial, of which 350 copies were printed, and for which she paid \$6.00. F.R. Morse paid \$449.20 for 550 memorial addresses, which included covers marked by a wreath encircling “Minibus o Date Lilia Plenis,” a phrase from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, mourning the death of Marcellus, “give lilies with full hands.”²⁸² The Memorial Address included sections about Whitman’s role in the churches of Boston, and her support of the arts in the city, with speakers ranging from James B. Dow, Richard C. Cabot, Thornton K. Lothrop, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.²⁸³ Updike was directly involved in the printing of the Memorial Address, as evidenced by his notes about the color of the covers, on his personal stationery—although his involvement makes sense, particularly considering his perfectionist tendencies, Whitman was also one of his people.

Updike, and his community, had an indelible effect on the social and cultural landscape of Boston. Much of this community engagement centered at the Church of the Advent. Updike’s influence, and the influence of the Merrymount Press is still felt in Boston, particularly by printers and print historians who have ties with Harvard and the Boston Athenaeum, and who had colleagues, now deceased, who knew Updike; his memory, and the memory of the Press, remains present. One such example is John Kristensen, the operator of Firefly Press, which purchased the matrices from Merrymount after the closure of the Press. Kristensen published “The Merrymount Janson Type and Matrices” in *Printing History* in 2017, and like Updike is a scholar-printer, researcher, and historian. The *Altar Book* was a product of the intersections of wealth, class, and religion, as were all of Updike’s fine press printings. It was also a product of

²⁸² Roger’s job ticket is 2408 (22 September 1904), and Morse’s is 2344 (29 July 1904). Both received 50 extra printings than what they had requested (350 vs. 300, 550 vs. 500), which seems to have been Merrymount’s standard practice, in case of error.

²⁸³ Holmes and Whitman both occupied the same exalted social circle, and she had also done many binding designs for his works as well—her ability to navigate professional and socio-economic relationships was essential. It is significant, although not surprising, that the speakers are male, despite Whitman’s large network of female authors and friends.

multiple media and multiple people: designers, artists, typographers, bookbinders, musicians, and religious leaders. These workers and their artforms became entwined and connected, bound together along with the cover itself.

Whitman once quoted her painting teacher, Thomas Couture, that “letters were the most beautiful embroidery in the world because it was an embroidery that spoke.”²⁸⁴ With the textural qualities of letterpress, Goodhue’s letters can seem embroidered, tactilely resembling stitches as you run your hand across the uneven, woven pages. The borders become tapestry frames, and the images become bas-relief. Unlike “operative deceit,” Ruskin’s term for representing one visual effect in the medium of another—a paper patterned to look wood graining, for example, or wallpaper that mimicked fabric—the media shifts in the *Altar Book* point to the various interests and influences of their creators. In the 1893 circular advertising the new Merrymount Press, Updike promised that “Service-Books, Books of Devotion, Memorial Sermons and Addresses, services for Christmas, Easter, etc., and all other forms of ecclesiastical printing of a rich yet simple sort, in accordance with the best traditions of such work will be gladly undertaken.” The *Altar Book* was the model of this promise, a hyper-detailed, multi-layered, time-intensive act of labor. Updike’s “rich yet simple” working practice, his communal, guild-like interests, and his historical knowledge helped turn the paragraphs of the *Altar Book* into palaces: the book as cathedral, emphatically crafted.

²⁸⁴ Stuart Walker, “A Quiet Revolution,” *Fine Books and Collections*, 9.1 (Winter: 2011): 36-40, 38.

CHAPTER 3

Piracy and Performance: Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Decadence, and Craft

Academic writing is often described in architectural terms. One builds arguments, structuring a strong foundation and an orderly framework. In contrast, storytellers weave their tales, or embroider details, stitching together a narrative from a variety of sources. As Katie Collins notes, writing-as-architectural metaphor provides “a comforting sense of progress and control. Buildings have blueprints; their construction appears to proceed in a predictable fashion; engineers can calculate precisely where the load bearing walls and lintels need to be; construction workers know how to mix the mortar so it won’t crumble.”²⁸⁵ Metaphors of stitching, in contrast, speak to a process that is much more diffuse, calling to mind the integration of many sources, almost in the manner of commonplace books, collections of quotations and ideas grafted together. By using metaphors of stitching, quilting, and piecing, academic writing can be imagined as “something that is part of life, rather than something apart,” alluding to a writing practice that is collaborative rather than the “view of the scholar as the extraordinary, solitary genius who sits alone in his study day after day.”²⁸⁶ The idea of writing-as-embroidery allows for a broader variety of sources—including input from colleagues and practitioners. Moreover, “piecing is also a decentered activity,” and this decentering ties to communal making, and the contributions therein.²⁸⁷ Arts and Crafts communities are effectively diffuse, working collaboratively in a guild-like setting. There is less linearity in quilting vs. building a wall, for instance. Both are composed of blocks, but the trajectories are vastly different.

²⁸⁵ Katie Collins, “Woven into the Fabric of the Text: Subversive Material metaphors in Academic Writing,” *The Materiality of Research Series*, The London School of Economics and Political Science Review of Books, accessed 16 July 2017, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseviewofbooks/2016/05/27/the-materiality-of-research-woven-into-the-fabric-of-the-text-subversive-material-metaphors-in-academic-writing-by-katie-collins/>

²⁸⁶ Ibid. The scholar in this scenario is male by default, as a hypothetical figure who has the ability to withdraw from other obligations, generally those of caretaking.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's (1869-1924) entire working practice was an act of decentering. He operated in multiple areas: architecture, bookmaking, drafting, writing, and design. Unlike many of his colleagues, his work is geographically dispersed, centering in Boston and New York City but extending to Washington D.C., Nebraska, Florida, and California, with several ambitious projects in process at the time of his untimely death at the age of 55.

Goodhue's work falls in between the academic disciplines of architectural history and print culture studies, and he has remained on the periphery academically. Goodhue's architecture and bookmaking practices have not been discussed in conjunction with his communities, and remedying this allows us to cross disciplinary categories for a better understanding of his work holistically. Indeed, from an early age, Goodhue viewed his production as linked, sketching architectural and book designs simultaneously. In this chapter, I argue that this simultaneity is key to thinking of Goodhue's buildings and objects as transportative. These works facilitated religious performativity; his Arts and Crafts influenced books, typography, architecture, and costuming, grounded in both the past and fantasy, allowed for escapism from "modern" life. I also argue that this transportative aspect is a crucial component of the Gothic Revival spaces in which Goodhue was trained. Community is also central here: like convents, congregations, and printing houses, Goodhue's friend group and his architectural firm crafted spaces which allowed for playacting and religious devotion. Many of the works to be examined here are not overtly religious, but their inclusion is crucial to thinking about nineteenth-century interconnections between decadence, religious affect, and performativity, which converged in his Gothic Revival-influenced buildings and books.

While Goodhue's colleagues had a penchant for drama—whether writing manifestos or photographing themselves as Christ—we will instead begin with a rather slight and strange book

about an object: a synthesis of religious space and bookmaking. In 1900, the Merrymount Press printed *Description of the Pastoral Staff belonging to the Diocese of Albany New York*, a twelve-page book designed by Goodhue. As the title suggests, it is a description and celebration of a pastoral staff, also known as a bishop's crozier, a ceremonial rod with a curved and ornamental top, hooked in reference to shepherds' crooks.²⁸⁸ The cover of the book is an unostentatious board, with a leather-bound edge (Fig. 3.1).²⁸⁹ The pastoral staff was donated by "APP," Anna Park Pruyn, to the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, an Episcopal cathedral built in 1872. The staff was used for the first time on October 31, 1897, and the book was produced to commemorate this event. The text is a combination of ample descriptions of the staff, with detailed photogravures of the object itself (Fig. 3.2). The text describes the staff in extensive detail: "the Staff is hollow, seamless aluminum, combining lightness and strength, tapered throughout, ornamented at intervals...the Staff is covered at the grip, where the hand comes, with white shagreen so as to give a firm hold and to avoid the chill of metal in cold weather." The thirty-four decorative lozenges and seventy-two enamel plaques, which adorn the crozier, are labeled and linked to Biblical narratives.

It is a dizzying amount of ink spilt on one crozier, but fitting for this dizzyingly ornate crozier. The crook was "enameled to represent a Gothic shingled roof," above a band of the "twelve stones worn on the breastplate of the high priest: namely, the sard, emerald, ligure, beryl, topaz, sapphire, agate, onyx, carbuncle, diamond, amethyst, jasper," or the signs of the zodiac near the shagreen hand-holder to "indicate the flight of time," or gold unicorns and beavers which surround the word "Albany." The crozier is an architectural object, rivaling any of the

²⁸⁸ The crozier is a mark of a bishop in several Christian denominations, and has ties back to the rod held by Moses in Exodus, Chapter 4, when the staff is turned into a serpent and back into a staff.

²⁸⁹ 150 copies were printed, and I examined no. 32, at the Boston Athenaeum. Their copy was donated by William Greenough Wendell, who received it from his father, Barrett Wendell, who received it from Anna Park Pruyn, who donated the staff.

works put forth in British Gothic Revival churches. This book is effectively an architectural object, too, as the borders are densely packed with reredos, screens, and statuary, printed in red (Fig. 3.3), a similarity in architectural weightiness shared by the *Altar Book*. The frontispiece spread displays the choir of the Albany Cathedral of All Saints, including the bishop's throne and the staff. The viewer is placed in the choir stall, looking across to the pulpit. On the lower margin, below the choir, is a recreation of the seal of Albany: a European colonist, a Native American, a beaver who has gnawed down a tree, two sheaves of wheat, and a three-sailed ship (Fig. 3.4). Unlike many of Daniel Berkeley Updike's projects at the Merrymount Press, this is a printing for an emphatically American church. Albany had much fewer extant ties to Britain, unlike Boston, and had a larger stake in emphasizing ties to New York State as a whole. Underneath is the banner bearing "Assiduity," in blackletter. This version of the seal—which matches the current seal of Albany quite closely—was adopted in 1789, and references the fur-trading past of the region, the Dutch colonizers, and the indigenous communities. The European man holds a sickle, a nod to agriculture, while the indigenous man holds a bow over his shoulder. The ship references Albany's prime position on the Hudson River, and their history of shipping and trade. The recreated seal is surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The inclusion of the seal of Albany, coupled with a depiction of the Cathedral of All Saints, marks the pastoral staff as a localized object, specific to this one cathedral, and a particular city. It is not clear who wrote the text for the book, and who paid for its commission, although it was possible Pruyn did both. Instead, the colophon focuses on the content of Goodhue's designs: "representations of our Lord, the Evangelists, and the Apostle Paul...the emblems of the Evangelists, the Arms of the City and Diocese of Albany, and the Signs of the Zodiac, which have a place upon the Staff, are also repeated in the border. The lozenges and

medallions at the top of these pages shew the chasings upon the Crucifixion Boss: the square panels on the outer side of each border shewing the scenes from the life of our Lord before his ministry engraved on the Boss below the Grip.” The deliberately archaizing language, like “shew,” and the wealth of detail feels overly extensive and ornate. Updike is credited with the arrangement and printing, and Goodhue with the decorations. The Merrymount Press job records are silent on the subject, and Goodhue’s collected correspondence dates post-1900, offering no help on the circumstances of his involvement.²⁹⁰ We know that Goodhue was in Boston, and doing work for both Merrymount and Copeland and Day, and this is one of several commissions at the time. But did he have access to the staff? Did he work from the photogravures, which seems more likely? His borders were contingent upon the iconography of the staff—even though he had drawn the Evangelists and their symbols before, and could look up the seal of Albany on other documents, he had to reference this object specifically, which was based on a variety of British examples. As the text notes, the crozier was an amalgamation of “examples of ecclesiastical art in the South Kensington Museum,” produced by Child and Child, Alfred Place, London. The South Kensington Museum would later merge with the Victoria and Albert Museum, and though no Child and Child works are currently on view, the ties between British institutional collecting practices and this American printing remain tantalizing.

A book about a staff, designed by a typographer-architect, is a simulacrum for my overarching argument that Arts and Crafts productions for church spaces were sites of trans-media collaboration. *Description of the Pastoral Staff* is an intriguing combination, a strange vanity project in celebration of a liturgical object—and the patron who commissioned it. The pastoral

²⁹⁰ The job records for the early years of the Merrymount Press are spotty, and Goodhue’s correspondence generally dates to after he moved to New York City. He did communicate with Betty Pruyn in 1920, who may have been Anna Pruyn’s daughter-in-law. I am grateful to the finding aides and staff at both the Boston Athenaeum and Columbia University’s Avery Library for valiant attempts to fill in these areas.

staff had become a site of veneration by 1905, and could “be seen by making application to the Verger. It is a most remarkable example of modern workmanship, worthy of careful inspection. Between three and four years were spent in making this Staff and 39 workmen were employed on it,” a very slow-moving Arts and Crafts method of production.²⁹¹ An extensive amount of work went into the crozier, and then into the book about the crozier. Goodhue’s borders are intricate, and extend into the text itself. On the first page of text, the crozier divides the columns, and the crook loops around the wrought metal in the upper border (Fig. 3.5). The crozier’s base in the lower border is a lozenge with a shield covered in Christological symbols: the bishop’s mitre, bales of hay, and a unicorn, surrounded by the roundels of the four gospels. Yet the architectural elements have been flattened, becoming ciphers, possibly of a pulpit, or possibly as the architectural details which formed the staff itself. The effect is almost as of a paper-and-chalk rubbing of a cylindrical object: the three-dimensionality is gone in the borders, although the print of the choir stall is prospectively accurate. While the composition of the page is integrated, a testament to Goodhue’s close working practice with Updike and the Merrymount Press, the architectural elements in the borders have been unmoored from their initial frame of reference, melding with floral elements that make the whole image, words and all, into a pattern. The use of blackletter, relatively unusual for Merrymount, reinforces the archaic elements of the work.

It is this archaism that is central to the *Description of the Pastoral Staff*, and the actual staff itself. Paying a firm for three to four years of labor for a staff, in 1900, was a clear statement about valorizing the past, and valorizing past methods of artistic commissioning. By the same token, printing a book with such a small print run, for such an incredibly niche audience, was an affordance allowed Updike through his modern pseudo-guild, and this sort of

²⁹¹ Woman’s Cathedral League, *Historical and Architectural Guide to the Cathedral of All Saints Albany*, Albany: J.B. Lyon Company Printers, 1905, 60-61.

passion project was one to which he was accustomed. He was able to supplement these commissions were larger, more commercial runs. While the book embodies a medievalized aesthetic, it also makes use of photogravure close-up views of the staff, which allowed for a detailed look at the various design elements. The book project is a curious mix of overly-detailed description, in a blackletter font, with nineteenth-century photographic technologies. The *Description of the Pastoral Staff* is not a “major” work in Goodhue’s oeuvre, and the only publication that mentions it is Susan Otis Thompson’s *American Book Design and William Morris*, where she noted the “antique flavor,” in a “large book with paper as thick as cardboard. The double-spread opening has a frontispiece of the Albany Cathedral; both it and the text within have red Gothic architectural borders by Goodhue. The text is solid set in Caslon black letter type with both decorated and red initials.”²⁹² Despite this limited scholarly attention, I would argue that the *Description of the Pastoral Staff* is a useful and important synthesis of Goodhue’s work as a whole: a skillful integration of text and architecture, a playful inventiveness while completing a proscribed commission, and an ability to work within and across different media. Goodhue’s early work has been described as William Morris lite, but this elides a great deal of his talent, and the potency of his works.

Goodhue’s life and career is split in two: Boston and the aftermath; any discussion of Goodhue’s work also necessitates a discussion of his community, both in Boston and in New York City. As a young man in Boston, he was a member of both the Visionists and the Pewter Mugs. The Visionists, like the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, are preserved in amber. Their oversized personalities and proclivity towards manifesto-writing ensured that their groups would be remembered by the brashness of the young men—and occasional though rare women—far overshadowing their later works. While a regular and central member of these groups, Goodhue

²⁹² Thompson, 89.

often remained on their periphery. Both Ralph Adams Cram and F. Holland Day counted the Visionists as a core part of their identity, but Goodhue was able to disassociate himself. He was by all accounts happily married to his wife Lydia, and was able to balance a healthier family life than some of the other members. He was also a great deal more irreverent, and the wittiness that he exhibited in correspondence is evident in his works as well. Cram described him as “exuberantly enthusiastic, with an abounding and fantastic sense of humor, he flung gaiety and abandon widely around whenever he was in the temper to do so.”²⁹³

This chapter examines Goodhue’s craft: a synthesis of architecture, space, and bookmaking, of which the *Description of the Pastoral Staff* is one example. Goodhue’s works are diffuse, and an examination of his journals, sketchbooks, correspondence, and personal library reveals his tendencies as a stylistic chameleon and constant innovator, with deep connections to Arts and Crafts production both in America and the United Kingdom. This chapter is the first extended discussion of Goodhue’s book designs, situating his print output within his variant roles as architect, typographer, and designer. I argue that Goodhue was both reflective about the interconnectivity of the media in which he worked, and embodied the holistic working practice that both Morris and Ruskin championed. Simultaneously, his borrowings from Morris led to charges of piracy, and questions of attribution are a crucial part of this story. Goodhue is now most well known for his architectural commissions, and while I will discuss some of these, my focus lies on integrating his printing and costume design into a broader discussion of his oeuvre, to resituate him as part of Arts and Crafts networks.²⁹⁴

Born in Pomfret, Connecticut in 1869, Goodhue had a patchwork educational upbringing, including three years at Russell’s Collegiate and Military Institute in New Haven. Unable to

²⁹³ Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936, 77.

²⁹⁴ For more on Goodhue’s architectural commissions, please see Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue*, Boston: Architectural History Foundation and MIT, 1983.

attend college because of financial constraints, he apprenticed with the architectural firm of Renwick, Aspinall, and Russell in New York City, from 1884-1891. This experience allowed for intensive and practical training, and he practiced drawing and designing after hours, honing his already prodigious talent as a draughtsman. On a whim, Goodhue applied for a competition designing a cathedral in Dallas. When he won, he needed to seek out external help and settled on Ralph Adams Cram and Charles Francis Wentworth in Boston. They did not actually build the cathedral, but the firm of Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson—renamed as such in 1898—became known for their collaborative practice in Boston, working frequently with the Society of Arts and Crafts on English Gothic Revival styles. Goodhue married Lydia Thompson Bryant in 1902 in Cambridge, and the couple then moved to New York City; his official relationship with Cram ended in 1913. His letters, held at Columbia University, are a glimpse into a witty man’s chaotic life—he travelled extensively for work, mended squabbles between his brothers, and doted on his children, Frances and Hugh. He died in New York City, in 1924, of a heart attack, shortly before his 55th birthday.

For the Society of St. Margaret and Daniel Berkeley Updike, craftwork was both reactionary and spiritually necessary. These figures turned to artistic production as a meditative act, and an act of resistance: a withdrawal from societal conventions to form a convent and teach embroidery, for instance, or establishing the Merrymount Press as the Anglican printshop par excellence in America. Goodhue is different. He was an avowed atheist, and many of his architectural commissions were not passion projects, in the same way that they were for some of his colleagues, so his sense of creativity and agency is different, and more pragmatic.²⁹⁵ He ran multiple architectural firms, and he travelled extensively. He and Lydia were liberal and

²⁹⁵ Cram, 78. Cram studied Catholicism intensely; as he notes, “Bertram had none of this feeling. Religious matters had no particular interest for him; he saw the problem from a purely aesthetic point of view, and his vivid imagination led him to think of all he did as adventure, invention, the exploration of new fields.”

cosmopolitan. Yet he was also an active and vital member of these transatlantic networks, and worked closely with Updike and Arts and Crafts offshoots in both New York and Boston. What motivated his work was a driving impulse towards inventiveness, and an interest in both books and architecture as objects that he could solve, work that would give him meaning. In a letter to William Rutherford Mead in 1910, Goodhue states “I fancy I must have done fifteen or twenty churches of some magnitude, and thought I can claim no particular piety, and am crazy for a skyscraper or two by way of variety, it begins to be evident that church architect I am and must remain for practically all my work is made up of churches, or is, at least, ecclesiastical in character.”²⁹⁶ This sort of pragmatism is notable exactly because it is not notable. While William Morris wrote about his motivations extensively, Goodhue worked as an architect, produced extensive amounts of book designs, and effectively managed his brother Harry’s stained glass business. This is where he divides with Morris: both were demonstrably busy and hardworking, but Goodhue clearly is so out of economic necessity. This is something we often dance around in art history—“pot boiler” paintings are dismissed as artistically inferior, while workshop assistants often remain unnamed and unstudied. Starving artists often have a more exciting narrative than people who did the work without a lot of fanfare, but that lack of fanfare can also lead to everyday works that are compelling and scholastically rich.

Goodhue’s oeuvre is extensive, and he designed, supervised, and built consistently. Cram cautioned against describing people as geniuses, before claiming that Goodhue was exactly that: “a genius takes his place in no recognized category, and Bertram was this, to a degree I have seldom met with during an over-long life. As a master of decorative detail of every sort he had no rival then nor had had for some centuries before; his pen-and-ink renderings were the wonder and the admiration of the whole profession, while he had a creative imagination,

²⁹⁶ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1910 Box 01: Fol. 06

exquisite in the beauty of its manifestations, sometimes elflike in its fantasy, that actually left one breathless.”²⁹⁷ The two partners had parted on less than ideal terms, and this reads as a rose-colored reflection, written 12 years after Goodhue’s untimely death. The fact that Goodhue was so difficult to characterize and categorize, I think, led to his ultimate fall into relative obscurity—he was too hard to pin down to one style or genre. Yet the originality of work makes it, and his production, worthy of study. Moreover, his disciplinary breadth also allows for a more nuanced treatment of his art production as a whole.

TO A FAIR PIRATE

Goodhue, like the rest of the Visionists, was seduced by the lure of William Morris and the British Arts and Crafts movement. This is especially evident in his work for Copeland and Day, a Boston firm that drew on Morris’s private press aesthetic and brought it to a wider audience. Founded in 1893 by Herbert Copeland and Fred Holland Day—or Frederick H. Day as he was known professionally—the press sought to print high-quality books at an affordable price, by relying on more commercial materials while launching the careers of designers including Goodhue, Will H. Bradley, and Ethel Reed. By targeting an upwardly mobile middle-class audience at the turn of the twentieth century, Copeland and Day was able to capitalize on the need for beautiful books: both for viewing pleasure, and as a status symbol. It was also the American distributor of the British avant-garde journal *The Yellow Book*, which subsequently introduced Aesthetic art, literature, and ideas to a wider American audience. This also allowed Goodhue and his friends at the *Knight Errant*, their short-lived art periodical, to model some of their production off of British models. Goodhue’s book designs for Copeland and Day owe a tremendous debt to Morris, from the ornate borders to the density of the type. They are

²⁹⁷ Cram, 76. Goodhue’s lack of contemporary name recognition, compared to some of his peers like Stanford White and Henry Hobson Richardson, is doubly puzzling.

aesthetically successful works, but they are often successful as a pastiche of another person's style. Goodhue regularly switched around his style, depending on the commission, which is straightforward design practice, of course. Yet it needs to be stated here, because discussions of American craftsmen often claim their work as Morris knockoffs, without a deeper dive into intentions, goals, and differences.

Unlike the major private presses of the 1890s, Copeland and Day was a hybrid fine-commercial press: higher quality works, but produced more cheaply and for a larger audience. A.J.A. Symons describes these presses as notable for “their variety of size and arrangement, their combination of type with decoration, their cheapness in price and boldness in experiment; the unity of their parts, the excellence of their detail; above all, the legibility of their leading, loose yet not lax.”²⁹⁸ Their initial forays into publishing were focused on Kelmscott or Morris related works, befitting the popularity of Arts and Crafts in Boston, and the ties between Boston and Britain. As bibliographic printer Carl Purington Rollins notes, “in the short quarter century from 1890 to 1914 the spirit of adventure seized the printers...in no similar length of time was so much interesting and stimulating work issued from the American press.”²⁹⁹ The impulse in holistic design was crucial here, as described in “Notes on the Crafts” in 1904: “the materialization of the author's conception must be sympathetic in every particular: the font of type, the arrangement of type on the page, the ink, the paper, and lastly the binding must be as wings to the spirit of the literary matter, lending it form and atmosphere, and reflecting its

²⁹⁸ Joe W. Krauss, *Messrs. Copeland & Day: 69 Cornhill, Boston 1893-1899*, Philadelphia, George S. MacManus Co., 1979, 1.

²⁹⁹ Carl Purington Rollins, “The Golden Age of American Printing,” *New Colophon* ii (September 1949): 299-303, 299-300.

vitality while increasing it.”³⁰⁰ For Morris and Goodhue, and all the other book artists who learned from them, a melding of authorial content and design was crucial.

Published in 1896, the same year as the Kelmscott *Chaucer*, Wilfred Scawen Blunt’s *Esther: a Young Man’s Tragedy, Together with Love Sonnets of Proteus* was Copeland and Day’s shot across the bow. This collection of poetry is a clear link between Goodhue and Morris, as Kelmscott had also printed a version of the book. Copeland and Day’s *Esther* sold for \$3.00, roughly \$80.00 now. Although a sizeable investment, it was not prohibitively expensive, in contrast to the Kelmscott *Esther*, which sold for 2 guineas, or roughly £234 today. Goodhue received copies of the books he designed for Copeland and Day, and Nicholas Goodhue donated these books, with the rest of Goodhue’s library, to Columbia University’s Avery Library in 2013. This is the first analysis of their contents. Goodhue’s copy of *Esther* was annotated by Blunt. On the flyleaf, Blunt wrote the following acrostic (Fig. 3.6):

To a fair Pirate
Bearest a challenge o’er the Western Sea,
Elaborate Book, of friendly words or war?
Rich are thy rubrics red with piracy,
Thy type what trophies won from hands afar!
Ruin us wouldst thou? Nay, then, do they worst.
A poet am I, but no hungry bard
Meting his songs for silver, and my thirst
Grieves not for gold where fame is my reward.
Oh no, I grudge it not. Thou art welcome truly,
Of any shape thou wilt, or any hue
Dear to my pride, since thus my poor songs duly
Heralded are and blazoned to worlds new.
Under what flag thou wilt, fair pirate, fight,
Each hue a good hue, and god shield the right.

This acrostic—with the clever use of “BERTRAM GOODHUE” down the left margin—is notable for several reasons. It concretely links Goodhue’s design interest to Morris, as Blunt

³⁰⁰ “Notes on the Crafts,” *The International Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, Volume 23, Comprising July, August, September, and October, 1904, Numbers 89-92 + 389-396, 394-395.

alleges his work was piracy: “fair pirate, fight, / Each hue a good hue, and god shield the right.” Blunt describes Goodhue’s piracy of Morris’s designs in specific terms: “rich are thy rubrics red with piracy,” claiming that Goodhue’s utilization of red ink owed a debt to Morris. By stating “thy type what trophies won from hands afar!” Blunt also alleges that Goodhue’s typefaces are a modification of Morris’s Golden typeface.³⁰¹ This piratical relationship as proposed by Blunt serves to tease Goodhue and re-center British bookmaking as that which was to be emulated.

Blunt concludes that it does not matter to him if Goodhue is selling his works under false pretenses; Blunt was wealthy, and sought fame, not money (“A poet am I, but no hungry bard / Meting his songs for silver, and my thirst / Grieves not for gold where fame is my reward”). Blunt could charitably be described as a Byron-esque figure. He was a poet, horse breeder, ex-diplomat, anti-imperialist, and frequent adulterer, which included an affair with Jane Morris, William Morris’s wife.³⁰² The printing of Blunt’s works at Kelmscott therefore takes on an extra layer of salaciousness, and sadness, especially since Morris also printed Rossetti’s works, another of Jane’s lovers. In truth, Blunt was the sort of blustering hedonist that the Visionists would have immediately recognized as a comrade. Tucked into Goodhue’s *Esther* was also a note from Blunt, dated August 9, 1896, from Newbuildings Place, Southwater, near Horsham Sussex. It is transcribed here:

Dear Sir,
I have written some rhymes at the beginning of a copy of the Proteus sonnets & Esther, and sent it to Mr. Sanderson, who says he is waiting yr. instructions as to the binding. I think the American edition is excellent, though rather piratical (as

³⁰¹ Susan Otis Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1977 81. The status of Golden in the United States was surprisingly contentious: American Type Founders Company wanted to make an American patent, and Morris said no, so they released a typeface based on Golden, and named it Jenson. Jenson/Golden is frequently misidentified in turn of the century American bookmaking.

³⁰² For scholarship on Blunt, see Elizabeth Longford, *A Pilgrimage of Passion: the Life of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*, New York: Knopf, 1980; for more on Jane Morris and the way she has been historically misaligned and understudied, see Wendy Parkins, *Jane Morris: The Burden of History*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

William Morris) –Can you tell me who sent me 8 copies of the Edition? Was it Mr. Day? Also there was a small sonnet in our copy in type writing.

Your [?]

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt

Book historians and dealers have long maintained that Goodhue was looking at and copying Morris, and I am grateful to Stanley Ellis Cushing, Mark Samuels Lasner, and Ed Nudelman for conversations on exactly this topic. But this note, and Blunt's acrostic, also show that Goodhue's contemporaries were aware of the visual referents, too, and not afraid to mock Goodhue for it.

Like the Kelmscott works, the point of the Copeland and Day *Esther* was the interior harmonies, not the exterior, and the bindings for it vary wildly. In a non-scientific sample, Goodhue's copy was bound at the Doves bindery, and is one of the 50 rubricated in the print run. It is a typically beautiful and skillfully done binding, in a characteristic Dove design: gold cinquefoil flowers in bands on the spine, and in the four corners of the cover—overall a relatively spare and generic ornamentation (Fig. 3.7). As we see from Blunt's note, he sent this particular copy to the Doves Press, where C.J. Cobden-Sanderson supervised the binding. In contrast, Mark Samuels Lasner's copy of *Esther* remains unadorned, still with the board-and-paper cover in which it was sold (Fig. 3.8). The only writing or ornamentation is *Esther & Love Sonnets of Proteus by Wilfred Scawen Blunt* on the spine, along with 1896 at the bottom. Significantly, this is the exact format that William Morris used when selling the Kelmscott Press books—they were loosely bound in vellum, with the title and date stamped in gold on the spine. Copeland and Day visually recalled Kelmscott, while working with cheaper materials. In keeping with university library practices, the University of Washington's copy has been institutionally rebound. Finally, to close this small sample size, Edward Nudelman's copy was bound by Dudley and Hodge in crimson morocco with gilt lines, leaves, blossoms, and dentelles (Fig. 3.9); Dudley and Hodge were the in-house binders at Copeland and Day. What all of this points to is a

plurality of design, much more akin to early modern printing practices, when books were often sold with vellum or paper bindings, which the buyer could then take to their binder to customize. As Copeland and Day became more established, they moved away from this model, to stamped, book-cloth bound works.

When we compare the Kelmscott *Esther* to the Copeland and Day *Esther*, some similarities do emerge. Both works utilize humanist roman typefaces; Copeland and Day's does not have incunabular roots, like Morris's Golden does. While Golden has a strong oblique stress and diamond-shaped tiddles and punctuation, which reference the shape of pen nibs, the type in the American *Esther* is more generically "old." Some of the serifs are angled, but some are blocked. Copeland and Day often used Caslon, a solid, legible workaday eighteenth-century typeface, but this is not Caslon.³⁰³ It has all the heaviness of an incunabular face, without the nuance. Goodhue's borders are similarly less subtle than the ones that Burne-Jones produced for Kelmscott, but Goodhue's are interestingly geometric (Fig. 3.10). A motif that emerges when you study his patterns is his interest in sharply angled floral designs—Goodhue's flowers have cones and sharply pointed leaves, in a way that most "real" flowers do not. They are flowers that are not willing to blend or subsume to the text, which works quite well in the *Altar Book*, but slightly less well in a smaller format book like *Esther*. The crucial difference in the borders is that Goodhue's are rendered with the design itself in black, as if by a woodcut—the background areas had been carved away—while Burne-Jones's are a white design on a black border, as in a wood engraving, which allows for a greater degree of subtlety in the line. All of these choices serve to make the Copeland and Day "piratical" version feel a bit more rough-hewn, which is not to suggest that it is *bad*, or poorly done. I actually think it is more interesting: a nod to existing

³⁰³ Caslon's A has a distinctive divot at the peak, which is not observed here, and the G has a spur which is present here and not in Caslon. Many of the other letters look very similar, however.

works, but modified for a different sort of print schedule and material availability. The slightly fuzzy quality engendered by the woodblock printed initials and borders give more of a textile affect to the page. Copeland and Day did use handmade paper for this, and the ties between linen paper and printed cloth are important considerations here as well.

The Visionists were certainly very aware of Kelmscott. In Francis Watts Lee's review in the *Knight Errant*, he praised both Morris's *Poems by the Way* and Blunt's volume as marking "a new era in the making of English books, and we hope in our next number to give an account of the work done at this press during the first year of its existence, illustrated by a few fac-similes (sic) of the exquisite pages which could have been given us only by so great a master of decorative art as Mr. Morris himself."³⁰⁴ Cram described the Copeland and Day works as "models of admirable art," and that "for some of these volumes Goodhue made his wonderful initials and decorations based on the art of William Morris."³⁰⁵

Copeland and Day's *House of Life*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti was printed in 1893 and released in early 1894, and Goodhue owned two copies, one which was vellum bound, and one which was bound at the Doves bindery. The colophon acknowledges his involvement: "This first complete edition of the House of Life, written by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, is published by Copeland and Day in Cornhill, Boston, and contains three borders and one hundred and fourteen initial letters, designed by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue."³⁰⁶ Goodhue's vellum copy is inscribed "To Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, to whom much of the beauty of this book is due, with the compliments of the publishers," dated February 8, 1894. Copeland and Day used an Aldine type for this—similar oblique stresses to the old-style types that Golden was based on, but with fewer overtly humanist forms. While the borders are visually interesting but not overpowering, and

³⁰⁴ Francis Watts Lee, "Reviewed Work(s), *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 1892), 32.

³⁰⁵ Cram, 85.

³⁰⁶ 500 copies were printed on French handmade paper, and 50 rubricated copies on Michallet paper

match the density of the type well, the rubrications initially seem a bit fuzzy, as though the edges were not exactly clear (Fig. 3.11). This may be because this method of rubricating just the initial capital is not as compelling as rubricating some of the titles, for example, or the numerals. The printing was overseen by William Dana Orcutt, who studied the Kelmscott Press books as Goodhue did.

The review “Concerning Recent Books and Bookmaking” in the *Knight Errant* praised the design as well as the choice of *House of Life* as Copeland and Day’s foray into fine press publishing. As Goodhue co-wrote the review, and the periodical was produced by the Visionists, their take is a bit biased.³⁰⁷ According to the article, the “principal charm of the volume lies in the black and white borders and initials,” which “strongly suggest Mr. Morris’s work in their general appearance; more probably from the fact that he is practically the only man who has heretofore done anything in this style, than on account of any great similarity which really exists between the two.”³⁰⁸ This disavowal preempts criticism of Goodhue as a pirate, especially when coupled with the next, more searing page: “and while Mr. Goodhue’s style would hardly have been possible without Mr. Morris’s, it cannot be justly said that he has copied him. The borders, in feeling with the poems, are exceedingly good, and are much better drawn than many of those from the Kelmscott press.”³⁰⁹ All of this predates the Copeland and Day *Esther*, and Blunt’s mocking sonnet. But these reviews do demonstrate a going concern by the Visionists, to be seen not as William Morris knockoffs or subpar producers, but as influenced by his work while still being independent. Whether they succeeded is debatable.

³⁰⁷ It was the practice at the *Knight Errant* to list authors by initials, which I have identified whenever possible. These authors are listed as G.E.B. and B.G.G., and while the latter is easy, I have not been able to identify the former.

³⁰⁸ G.E.B. and B.G.G., “Concerning Recent Books and Bookmaking,” *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (January, 1893), 123-128, 123.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

The *Knight Errant* described the vellum binding as plain, yet this version of the vellum bound copy is stunning: while mimicking the Kelmscott binding of vellum with a green ribbon bookmark, several gold lilies have been stamped on the cover (Fig. 3.12). This white and gold combination is reminiscent of Rossetti's binding design for Algernon Charles Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* (Fig. 3.13, 1865). While Rossetti's placement of the gold roundels was asymmetrical, the Copeland and Day binding used a geometric placement of flowers and grapes, a motif which Goodhue also used in the border to the poem "Love-Lily." Goodhue's leather bound copy (Fig. 3.14) again shows the Doves Bindery's color palette—gold stamping on leather—and a note tucked inside states that the vines on the cover and spine were designed by Walter Crane. These letters and inscriptions show the extensive networks in which Goodhue and his colleagues worked, tying them to Crane, Cobden-Sanderson, and Blunt, and my aim to resituate Goodhue in this communal context.

While in Boston, Goodhue also completed designs for Small, Maynard, and Co. Within his library was a copy of their printing of Jose-Maria de Heredia, *The Trophies: Sonnets*, for which he designed the borders, initials, and cover. The initials and borders feel more delicate than some of Goodhue's earlier works. In the opening page (Fig. 3.15), Goodhue went for a pseudo-Greek aesthetic, complete with temples, and a repeating pattern of goddesses, stylized flowers, and vases. The similarity in V shapes between the women and the various flower arrangements is a skilled way to provide visual interest in a relatively static composition. In Goodhue's initials, he used reworked versions of hanging lamps (Fig. 3.16). These designs are significantly lighter than his earlier works, and are a shift in style caused both by the content—matching aesthetic tone to the text—and a more pared down form of book design by 1900.³¹⁰ He

³¹⁰ A note from the publisher reads "To Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue who has made a stunning cover and a beautiful book. S.M. & Co. Seper. 6th '00."

changed and specialized his designs depending on textual content, as in William Vaughn Moody's *The Masque of Judgment*, also from 1900. A cover design of a haloed and neoclassical winged figure is stamped in gold and black on blue book cloth (Fig. 3.17). For this commission, Goodhue went with an art nouveau-style design, evident in the stylized flowers and text on the spine (Fig. 3.18) which are more geometric and sculpted. Unlike the early works for Copeland and Day, the use of book-cloth for the binding is cost-efficient and commercially savvy.

Goodhue also designed several covers for Richard Hovey, including the spine and title page of *The Birth of Galahad* (Fig., 3.19, 1898).³¹¹ Tucked in Goodhue's copy was a letter to Goodhue from Hovey, asking if Goodhue is going to design Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung* for Bliss Carman, a commission that seems not to have not materialized.³¹² Hovey was a poet and member of the Visionists, as was Carman. These examples further highlight Goodhue's regional bookmaking relationships, as well as his international ones. In addition to his book designs for Copeland and Day and Merrymount, Goodhue also worked for Stone and Kimball, a publishing house formed by Ingalls Kimball and Herbert S. Stone, whom he met in Boston before they moved to Chicago. He designed the Cheltenham typeface for them in 1897, and they continued their collaboration until the 1910s.³¹³ When Goodhue was nominated for the Century Association in 1910, he acknowledged his bookmaking past along with his architectural work: "Also I am, or used to be, considerable of a book maker, my chief example being the "Altar Book of the American Church," (sic) of which I am proud, and the so called "Morgan Prayer Book," of

³¹¹ Goodhue's copy is inscribed "To Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Designer Extraordinary."

³¹² The letter includes details about the Hovey's new home on Morningside Ave, and Hovey's plans to produce a book of sonnets for Copeland and Day.

³¹³ On August 26, 1910, Kimball wrote to Goodhue, asking "will you please have prepared an alphabet of capitals and an alphabet of lower case A-Z in the Cheltenham black, which we have talked about. It doesn't make any difference about the size, but in order to register the design in France and England these proofs are necessary. I will have plates made and proofs pulled if you will send me the drawings. Also I will pay the costs of registration, even though we may not succeed in selling the face;" Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue correspondence, 1910 Box 01: Fol. 05.

which I am not.”³¹⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, Goodhue and Updike were strongly opposed to their work for De Vinne, and very vocal about it. In 1913, Goodhue wrote to Updike to request a copy of the *Altar Book*, which he needed for a book on “my handiwork other than architecture,” and the publisher wanted to see a selection of his work. Goodhue “thought the *Altar Book* would be perhaps the most impressive exhibit of all.”³¹⁵

Pirate or no, Goodhue’s interest in Morris extended beyond bookmaking. Tucked in with his architectural plans is a sketch for a cradle (Fig. 3.20), with four angels carved on the posts, and an inscription, which he wrote in script on an upper band, and transcribed next to the drawing twice, once in English and once in pseudo-Old English: “Four angels round my bedde / Two atte my feete & two atte my hedde/ Matthew Marke Luke & John / Blesse the bedde that I lye on.” In a letter to Henry Gennert, Goodhue mentions that he has designed a piano that “will or ought to delight Mrs. Gennert’s heart. Even though I did design it myself, it seems to me about the most satisfactory things of the kind in existence.”³¹⁶ Although it is unclear whether this crib was ever made, and the piano’s whereabouts are unknown, Goodhue here has created a career that is a William Morris-Edward Burne-Jones hybrid. Morris designed medievalized beds for his home at Kelmscott Manor, and Burne-Jones designed elaborate pianos for the wealthy Ionides family in London. Goodhue’s forays into furnishing, small though they may have been, further point to Morris’s influence, and the multifaceted focus of Goodhue’s career.

Goodhue’s pages, particularly for Copeland and Day, seem embroidered. The density of the ink, the foliate borders, and the high woven quality of the paper all make the pages feel

³¹⁴ Goodhue also approached his list of qualifications with a typical degree of flippancy, noting that “I don’t drink enough to produce any effect, never chew, have been known to swear, and smoke inordinately;” Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1910 Box 01: Fol. 06. Ibid. Reinforcing his polymath interests, Goodhue also admitted that “apart from architecture, I occasionally aim at being a ‘Gigadibs’ though my friends accuse my literary style of more than Meredithian involution and worse than Jamesian obscurity.”

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue correspondence, 1910 Box 01: Fol. 03.

stitched. Creating embroidery is often referred to as “working” instead of more artistic verbs: painters paint, sculptors sculpt, and embroiderers work. This same linguistic structure applies to architecture, too, as architects work, or build. Goodhue’s designs feel worked. They are not effortlessly composed like Updike, nor as self-consciously, intentionally ornate, like Morris. At a glance, Goodhue’s lines and borders lose their linguistic punch, and become tactile patterns, bitten into the paper. This sort of “unreadability” is exactly what Stanley Morison distrusted about the Kelmscott Press, where legibility lost out in favor of artifice and visual density.

In a 2011 interview, the poet Susan Howe discussed this phenomenon—of typography transmuted to embroidery—as she examined Jonathan Edwards’s manuscripts. Two of these volumes were made “from discarded semi-circular pieces of silk paper Edwards’s wife and daughters used for making fans. If you open these small oval volumes and just *look*—without trying to decipher the minister’s spidery hand—penstrokes begin to resemble stitches of thread as if the text moving across its fragile textile surface contains message within message. As if surface and meaning co-operate to keep alive in one process, mastery in service, service in artifice.”³¹⁷ As with most archival finds, the sight of Edwards’s “spidery hand” humanizes the fire and brimstone preacher from a religious fundamentalist cipher to a once breathing person, who jotted notes on paper that his family members supplied to him.”³¹⁸ She also points to the mutability of print, to be both textus and textile. When looking at Goodhue’s corpus of book design, the pages do become textile-like, threaded with letters.

³¹⁷ Susan Howe, “An Open Field: Susan Howe in Conversation,” Academy of American Poets, September 7, 2011, accessed 11 April 2017.

³¹⁸ Ibid. Howe’s interview was part of a broader conversation about the space for grief and artifice in academic work, and how at times of grief work can become “your purpose for living and the only way to go on.” Howe’s husband Peter Hewitt Hare died in 2008, and her *That This* (2010) collection tackles this intersection of grief and work.

ARCHITECTURAL TYPOGRAPHY

The church of St. Thomas in New York City is Gothic Revival par excellence, an Episcopal cathedral on the corner of W 53rd Street and 5th Avenue, where it now shares a block with the Museum of Modern Art. The church was founded in 1823, a fire destroyed the previous building in 1905, Goodhue and Cram's work on the plans began in 1907, and the cathedral was completed in 1913. The entire church is intricately carved and highly ornamented, but the statement piece is the reredos (Fig. 3.21), which Goodhue designed and Lee Lawrie carved. Goodhue was awarded the American Institute of Architects' gold medal posthumously for these reredos in 1925. They stand at 80 feet high and 43 wide, and are allegedly the largest in the world. Like those at the Church of the Advent in Boston, which Cram and Goodhue designed, they feature a dizzying array of sculpted figures, including the usual suspects: the twelve Apostles, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, John the Baptist, and the Virgin Mary. There are also some less canonical religious figures, like John Wesley, John Wycliffe, Richard Hooker, and Samuel Seabury, who was the first Anglican Bishop in the United States; Bishop Daniel Tuttle, an Episcopal missionary who was instrumental in spreading the church to Montana, Utah, and Idaho; and George Washington, British Prime Minister William Gladstone, and Phillips Brooks, the Bishop of Massachusetts and long-term rector of Trinity Church in Boston. As St. Thomas's Self-Guided Tour Pamphlet states, the reredos provide a "panoramic history of Christianity from promise to present day."³¹⁹

Lawrie completed the modeling for the sixty figures, and they were carved by Edward Ardolino.³²⁰ The impressive individuality of these figures is difficult to view, because of their

³¹⁹ "A Walking Tour of Saint Thomas Church," accessed 16 December 2016.

³²⁰ For more on Lee Lawrie see *Lee Lawrie*, edited by Joseph F. Morris, Athens: University of Georgia Press, American Sculptors series, 1955, and Gregory Paul Harm, *Lee Lawrie's Prairie Deco: History in Stone at the Nebraska State Capitol*, self-published, 2008.

height. Even the blueprint is overwhelming, over six feet high (Fig. 3.22). This linen-backed blueprint shows half of the reredos, and is a stunning piece of printing. Photographing and figuring out to view this document was difficult, and it was easy to get lost in the gold design swirling across the indigo of the background. There are only a few notations on the blueprint, like “concrete girder” or “these stones remain as they are.” The rendering is both very detailed, with time taken to mark individual iconographical details from the reredos—and also hard to decipher, as the foliate borders around the figures start to swallow them (Fig. 3.23). Goodhue’s pencil drawings are much easier to digest and decipher—admittedly, as someone who does not read architectural blueprints on a daily basis—and this image of the reredos is a reminder of how layering can fail: the layering of image and text, the layering of typography and stone, and the way information is graphically rendered in 2-D when it exists as a 3-D object. I argue in this section that Goodhue’s approach to architecture was that of a book designer, and so the layout and detail that clutters this blueprint would be more at home—and more easily digestible—in a different printed format. The reredos pull inspiration from All Souls College in Oxford, Mexican cathedrals, and his previous reredos at the Church of the Advent in Boston and the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Fall River. Lawrie’s interest in relief sculpture and sculptural murals also link his and Goodhue’s work to two-dimensional designs, like in Goodhue’s borders.

Goodhue moved to New York City when Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson received a commission for West Point in 1903, and they needed someone to staff a New York office. After Goodhue moved to New York City to handle the West Point commission, the firm effectively divided the work to have Goodhue handle a third of the work, the Boston office a third, and then jointly work on a third. This gradually changed to a split in the partnership, which was relatively amicable. One of the crucial sources on Goodhue is still Ralph Adams Cram’s *My Life in*

Architecture (1936). Five years younger than Cram, Goodhue met the architect in 1890, when he entered a contest to build a cathedral in Dallas. When he won—which he was not expecting—Goodhue needed capital, and decided to approach the firm of Cram and Wentworth in Boston to see about a partnership. As Cram described it, “as soon as this golden and engaging youth appeared in the office with his proposition that we should jointly carry out his project, the matter was settled; for none could resist the charm of his personality.”³²¹

St. Thomas was the last project that was a Cram-Goodhue collaboration; by this point, “Bertram was steadily losing interest in Gothic, and indeed all the other historic styles. The modern theme appealed more and more to his exuberant and inventive spirit.”³²² He was also steadily losing interest in Cram. Goodhue learned that Cram—or Cram and his followers—were taking full credit of St. Thomas and the Chapel of the Intercession; Goodhue responded by sending Cram a statement “in accordance with your request for my point of view and no ‘permission to publish’ is given with it,” which outlines that while St. Thomas was a joint commission, it was Goodhue’s ultimately, while Intercession was completely Goodhue’s work. Cram’s take on this is slightly different; he acknowledged that Goodhue disliked his original designs—“he had scant sympathy with my French Gothic tendencies, particularly resenting the rose window, in place of which he wanted a high, mullioned and traceried window as occurs in so many of the great fifteenth-century cathedrals of England.”³²³ These questions of authorial control and ownership are linked to the question of “piracy” in communal produced work. In the final project, “all the exquisite detail, and the placing of this detail, was [Goodhue’s] work, and in its originality, delicacy, and charm, and in the justness of its placing, it would, I think, be hard

³²¹ Cram, 75-76.

³²² Cram, 79. Cram more charitably described Goodhue as moving towards “those vivid and original lines that finally culminated in his masterpiece, the State Capitol of Nebraska; go backward, if that is the word, to the various phases of Continental Gothic and away from the English Perpendicular of our earliest amatory experience;” 114.

³²³ Cram, 116.

to beat;” moreover, the reredos are completely Goodhue’s design, along with chancel furniture and fittings.³²⁴ Even with the cooling of their relationship, it seems clear that Goodhue appreciated Cram as a collaborator and sparring partner. He writes in 1914, after a protracted battle about St. Thomas, “I often miss the stimulation of your companionship and controversion of my ideas.”³²⁵

St. Thomas would have been a difficult commission even under ideal circumstances; they were building on a plot of land barely bigger than the building, in a busy urban area. Yet the commission was a success, innovative in its avoidance of transepts to really heighten the “illusion of unencumbered centrality.”³²⁶ Similarly, while the walls are relatively unadorned, they are enlivened by the placement of moldings on the aisle arcade, through Goodhue’s design of a “feather[ing] out of ornamental or sculptural elements into solid masses of masonry,” a tactic that he used in later buildings, providing a “vivid contrast of intricate shapes against plain surfaces.”³²⁷ Coupled with his commitment to handcraft was a willingness to experiment with relatively new material, like Rumford tile, used in the vaulting and which improved the acoustics of the space. Goodhue’s goal, as he relayed to Percy Erskine Nobbs, in a letter from 1910, was to build a craft-focused architectural practice if possible. While acknowledging that this was unlikely, he longed to form a firm of ten men, “of course each be[ing] the best and perhaps only ideal one of his kind... a joiner, a wood carver, a sculptor, a tile man, a hardware man, a glass man, etc... and each of whom could be trusted to do the right thing out of his own head.”³²⁸ This collaborative method, with himself as the decision-maker, was his ideal method of working, and he “realized that many of the elements which gave great distinction to his completed buildings—

³²⁴ Cram, 117.

³²⁵ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1914, Box 03: Fol. 10.

³²⁶ Oliver, 65.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Oliver, 54-55.

like the sculpture, stained glass, woodwork, and hardware—were the result of close collaboration with other artists.”³²⁹ Goodhue incorporated handcraft in his buildings whenever possible. While the stone for St. Thomas was cut into uniform blocks, the extensive budget allowed him to hire men to surface it, so that “no two blocks should be made consciously alike.”³³⁰

While Goodhue did not do extensive work for Merrymount after he moved to New York City, he and Updike stayed in touch. In May 1913, in a typically conscientious sort of Updike letter, he wrote to ask whether the interior of St. Thomas’s was Goodhue’s or Cram’s creation, “because I thought it was you and have been told it was Cram, and I wish to speak the truth and speak it with authority if I say anything at all.”³³¹ Goodhue responded at length, noting ruefully that “there seems to be a sort of warfare going on” between their friends, who were getting into arguments at dinner parties about who designed St. Thomas. He clearly states “the accepted rough plan which, of course, carried with it so many modifications by me in the course of construction, was the work of R.A.C. The elevations, ornament, in fact, the general effect of what the public sees or think they see has been my work.”³³² Describing the situation as “terribly funny but equally, of course, it has a side which is funnily terrible,” this event is both a scuffle between creative partners, and something more.³³³ To return to the question of piracy, this gets to an essential question of ownership: how do you assess individual contributions in communal making? How can you assign credit—or blame—for certain parts of a book, while also figuring works as holistic productions? And does the same hold true for architecture? There were practical concerns here for Goodhue, both financially and regarding his reputation.

³²⁹ Oliver, 55.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1913 Box 02: Fol. 42

³³² Ibid.

³³³ In an earlier letter to Updike, on 28 February 1913, Goodhue responded to his praise about St. Thomas, “there seems to be a little difference of opinion as to who designed this particular building, but I think I can assure you that the part of it you saw and liked may be credited to me;” clearly attribution was an ongoing problem.

Updike was in New York in October 1913 while Goodhue was out of town, but he went up to Washington Heights to see Goodhue's Church of the Intercession. The letters between these men are striking both in their normalcy and business-like tone, but more so for the undergirding of support and respect that run through them. Twenty years after collaborating, Updike made a point to go and see Goodhue's buildings, and was sure to tell him when he did so. In a letter from 1911, Updike typed that "I like, I may add, your work so much better than I do some other people's," and he added quotation marks around "some other people's" to really hit home the point that he meant Cram, without saying Cram. Updike continued, "there is so much charm about the work that you do...just that quality that so many people try to get and that no one but yourself, it seems to me, achieves."³³⁴

Goodhue's architecture, his typographic designs, and his sketching intersected in the creation of letterforms and decoration. He was in good company for these commissions, as artists from Albrecht Dürer to William Morris often worked at the nexus of lettering and stonework. Even though Morris saw the decline of book production as contingent upon the Renaissance in Germany, he gives a pass to Albrecht Dürer, for "though his method was infected by the Renaissance, his matchless imagination and intellect made him thoroughly Gothic in spirit."³³⁵ In many ways Dürer and Morris were similar, as talented polymaths who mastered a variety of arts. An appreciation of Dürer was not limited to Morris: when Bruce Rogers and Emery Walker formed their very short-lived Mall Press in 1916, the only book they produced was a translation of Dürer's *On the Just Shaping of Letters* (1535).³³⁶ Like Pacioli, Dürer stressed geometric

³³⁴ From Goodhue in return, "it is very pleasant to receive the sort of letter you write and my natural conceit has been by several degrees augmented." (15 February 1911)

³³⁵ William Morris, *Some Notes on Early Woodcut Books, with a Chapter on Illuminated Manuscripts*, New Rochelle: Elston Press, 1902, 1.

³³⁶ Greta Lagro Potter, "An Appreciation of Sir Emery Walker," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July 1938), 400-414, 411. They were so short-staffed, due in large part to World War I, that Rogers had to pull the paper by hand for all of the copies.

awareness in creating letterforms, especially in his roman capitals, which were to be used in architectural inscriptions.³³⁷ Goodhue viewed sculpture as an integral part of the whole, “insisting that every element of decoration must be significant and that the carven stone ‘should be of the substance of the building... and the sparse lesser ornament occurs only where the eye requires some restful interruption.’”³³⁸ This description of sculpted objects, serving as a place to rest the eye, makes them sound like ornaments in a book, a reminder of the object’s materiality. Charles Ricketts states, “like the architect, the printer can express the nature of his thought only by the use of white and black, and it is only through such limited means that he reveals gaiety or austerity.”³³⁹ Goodhue was not hampered by the restrictions of his chosen media, thriving in both architecture and printing.

If we think of Goodhue’s turn-of-the-century ecclesiastical commissions as book-like, with sculpted letters and flattened yet sculpted ornament, then his bookplates can also function as architectural objects, as well. In his ex-libris for M. A. de Wolfe Howe (Fig. 3.24), an impressive ship is labeled “There is no Frigate like a Book / To bear us Lands away.” I call attention to this bookplate, out of huge number of examples, because the sentiment—of a book to be transportative—is very in keeping with Goodhue’s impulse towards fantasy and escape. Moreover, bookplates act as a signpost to alert the viewer to whose book they hold, or the person’s family motto, or simply what things the person liked and valued. They can remain, as a memorializing trace long after the original owner has been gone.

Goodhue’s early sketchbooks are a medley of intersecting concerns as well. His earliest are autograph albums from his time at Russell’s Collegiate and Military Institute, but even as a

³³⁷ In contrast, his Gothic or blackletter font seems much in line with humanist fonts built on calligraphic diamonds.

³³⁸ Charles Harris Whitaker, “Time and Circumstance and the Never-Ending Dream,” in *The Lincoln Star*, January 23, 1927.

³³⁹ Charles Ricketts, “Of Typography and the Harmony of the Printed Page,” translated from French by Richard K. Kellenberger, *Colby Library Quarterly* (November 1953): 194-200, 200.

sixteen-year-old, his skills as a draughtsman were apparent. More striking are his sketchbooks post-1902, which are a mixture of architectural plans, mathematical calculations, and book and print designs. In 1903, Goodhue drafted a plan for John Nicholas Brown's house in Newport, Rhode Island (Fig. 3.25). Brown was the nephew of Harold Brown, Updike's financial backer for the *Altar Book*; as founding families of the state, Brown University is named after them. On the same page as the plans for Brown's estate are a few calculations, and then a series of McClure's Magazine covers that Goodhue was designing. Cramming drawing into corners of sketchbook pages is not revolutionary—Leonardo did it, and so did lots of other people—but what is different here is the blending of architectural plan and print design, a visual combination of two disparate parts of Goodhue's practice. The following page is a sketch of Goodhue's office on 5th Ave, surrounded by multiplication and division (Fig. 3.26). It is these details that give you a sense of Goodhue as a practicing architect, a person—unlike Morris—who was not independently wealthy, and who took plenty of commissions for the financial necessity of it, not always a grander artistic impulse. These mathematical notations speak to the pragmatism of Goodhue's situation, in addition to his holistic ideas about architecture.

Goodhue extensively annotated and sketched in his copy of Reginald Blomfield's *The Mistress Art* (1908). He was not wildly effusive about the book, noting on the front endpaper that “who having finished reading it (Oct. 29th) here records his opinion that it is wholly one sided & narrow-minded treatment of a very noble theme. The basis is correct—his grandeur is confounded with bombast—essentials with nonessentials, & what is called nobility in one direction is pronounced petty in another.” Goodhue was annoyed by Blomfield's treatment of Pugin in particular. In additions to his book review on the endpapers, there are interspersed a floor plan, column design, and a drawing of what seems to be a waterside fortress (Fig. 3.27).

The building is octagonal, and the low, tipped point of the dome, coupled with the double columns, looks like a Safavid construction. It is a lovely drawing, combining crisp lines and details in the dome and windows of the building, to subtly atmospheric touches in the mountains in the distance, and the plants flowering in the foreground, combining perspectival accuracy with romantic nuance.

In Goodhue's sketches in the Blomfield, he situated the building on the banks of a lake, reflected in the water, which is also filled by much of his commentary about the book. He seems to have drawn the building and landscape first, and then fit the text around it. The combination of his signature and *ex Libris* in a flourish in ink, and the architectural plan and column drawn around it, coupled with the building and text, mark his levels of participation with this object, both textually and visually. It seems likely that the plan, which is highly symmetrical, does reference the building, while the double-column is a close up view of the columns on the sketch, giving us a plan, overall exterior, and detailed object. Whether intentionally conceived or not, the way that he structures the building around the hinge of the spine also means that the drawing takes on three-dimensionality, becoming a fictive backdrop. Goodhue's engagement with a rather dry text on art and architecture, commercially printed, is significant. He transformed the book into a sketchbook, as he transformed his printing into architectural surrogates.

These sort of textual and visual annotations continue throughout *The Mistress Art*. In another interactive example, Goodhue sketched what seems to be a cross-section of the Colosseum near a discussion of the Colosseum on page 249 (Fig. 3.28). Some of Goodhue's annotations are related to his opinions about architecture, like when he dismissed J.H. Mansard's seventeenth-century cathedral designs for Leopold, Duke of Lorraine as "what a mess he made

of it,” on page 286.³⁴⁰ Blomfield praised seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French architecture as “great co-ordinated design,” and Goodhue noted disparagingly that “he confuses grandeur and bombast hopelessly.” With interests in both Gothic Revival and more modernist architectural movements, Blomfield’s praise of neoclassicism was exactly what Goodhue did not try and emulate in his own works. So much of Goodhue’s early practice with Copeland and Day was thinking about text and image integration, and seeing the way that he does so with his own library is instructive. If we think of his career as a practice of shapeshifting between media—typography to bookmaking to architecture—we can also think about how these illustrations factor into that chameleon-like method of working.

The intersections between Goodhue’s architectural practice and bookmaking practice come together in his sketchbooks and drawings, which are a combination of book designs, commissioned projects, quick drawings, and architectural plans. One page is just a series of locks and keys (Fig. 3.29), demonstrating Goodhue’s close attention to detail; for St. Thomas alone, he designed symbolic ornament “on the organ case, choir stalls, chancel rail, baptismal font, various piece of furniture and hardware, in the seventeen stained glass windows of the nave and chancel, and on the main entrance portal of the church.”³⁴¹ This thick ornamentation is mediievally influenced, as seen through an Arts and Crafts context. Like the reredos, his ornamental program included contemporary figures and situations: an airplane, automobile, and the sinking of the Lusitania join Biblical figures in the choir stall; the discovery in 1921 of caricatures of “the passing show in Fifth Avenue” on the façade, and a dollar sign woven into the ornament created

³⁴⁰ When Blomfield described the effects of Grand Manner as “not so much the result of conscious artistic intention as of accident, or rather perhaps of extraneous motives admirably realized,” Goodhue countered with “why not?”

³⁴¹ Oliver, 69.

a scandal, with editorial pieces defending his work in the New York Times.³⁴² These insertions point to Goodhue's penchant for combining modern elements with Gothic ones, and his rather irreverent sense of humor.

Goodhue's commitment to, and interest in, decorative elements is a direct line from his book designs. He knew when and how to judiciously apply ornament, weaving symbolism throughout. Several of these drawings could be both the decorative finials on a key, or a feature as part of a pastoral staff, or a railing, or any number of decorative elements. This page is reminiscent of sample pages for fleuron designs, the floral ornaments that are prevalent in early modern books, and in nineteenth-century fine press publishing. Some of Goodhue's designs here also reference shapes that he used in the *Altar Book*, for example, like grapes and distinctive flowers. Were these designed as metal joints on a book cover, or metal to gird a church? The fact that both could exist simultaneously speaks to the holistic nature of Goodhue's architectural practice, and the visual and physical ramifications that made his books into architectural objects. It also points to the specific nature of Gothic Revival architecture, as the finishing "details" carried immense weight.

COMMUNITY

The Visionists were a strong part of Goodhue's early career development, providing not only a social outlet but necessary connections for commissions. Although the community dispersed in the late 1890s, and Goodhue's more mature work in New York City involved different colleagues, he remained in communication with his Boston past. As Cram described the group, they were an "original and vivacious group of individuals that, for the ten years between

³⁴² Oliver, 70. As one defender noted, it "would scarcely have been false to the spirit of Gothic if he had shown us modern flappers fox-trotting through the Pearly Gates. Perhaps the greatest of Mr. Goodhue's services is that his pleasantries recall the robust simplicity of medieval piety and its sense of the goodness of living;" quoted by Oliver, 70.

1890 and 1900, made life for me so notably worth living.”³⁴³ Many of the Visionists wrote both prose and poetry, most notably Bliss Carman, Richard Hovey, and Louise Imogen Guiney; still more wrote reviews, like Goodhue and Matthew Brander; contributed to book and poster design, like Ethel Reed; or were photographers, like F. Holland Day. Cram described his books from this period, *The Decadent* and *Black Spirits and White*, as “indiscretions,” products of youthful overindulgence.³⁴⁴

The Visionists were the largest Boston manifestation of the Decadent movement, loosely founded by Charles Baudelaire, Walter Pater, and Oscar Wilde. The conclusion of Pater’s *The Renaissance* (1873) contains a summary of Decadent and Aesthetic thought, that “we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest in art and song. For our one chance is in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. High passions give one this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love...of this wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for art’s sake has most; for art comes to you professing frankly to give nothing but highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments’ sake.”³⁴⁵ This passage points to a compulsion towards “art for arts sake,” as per Wilde, and to experiences grounded in emotion. While Pater does not mention Anglo-Catholicism or Tractarianism specifically, the sensorial component of both is indeed related. It is interesting to consider how this ephemerality tracks to someone like Goodhue, whose job was designing buildings for posterity. Additionally, the “interval” is a way to theorize the luxury of time—being able to work on art in a non-industrialized way as a meaningful use of the interval.

³⁴³ Cram, 84.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. *The Decadent* was published with Copeland and Day, *Black Spirits and White* was published with Stone and Kimball.

³⁴⁵ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, 1893, reprinted Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, 212-213

The *Knight Errant*, which lasted for four printings, melded with the *Mahogany Tree*, a literary journal associated with Harvard; Copeland was a member in both. These groups of writers expanded to form the Pewter Mugs, which also included Harry Eldredge Goodhue and Daniel Berkeley Updike, among many others.³⁴⁶ Cram wrote the most extensively about these movements, and described Boston at the time as “very kind to such as we were, furnishing many places for conviviality.”³⁴⁷ Most of their communing locations centered around Beacon Hill and the northern edge of the Boston Commons near the Boston Athenaeum; as discussed in Chapter 2, the Boston network was actually hyperlocal, and heavily contained near Beacon Hill. The Visionists were a more select group of the Pewter Mugs, and Cram’s description is worth quoting at length:

Made up of the madder and more fantastic members of the Pewter Mugs, this group never counted more than perhaps twenty members. We had our hide-out, naturally, in Province Court, on the third floor of a disreputably decadent building mostly occupied by locksmiths, cobblers, and other modest practitioners of divers sorts of hand labour. The stairway was dusty and decrepit, the general environment unpromising; but once individual pass-keys admitted the members of the group to the room we called our own, there was a marked change in atmosphere. The one room was not over-large, but it had an open fireplace, one end was filled by a cushioned divan, and there were bookcases to hold the contributions of the individual Visionists, as it was a basic law that whoever wrote a book must give a copy.³⁴⁸

Cram’s use of “decadent” to describe their building is significant. It calls attention to the pre-modern laborers that were housed there—the locksmiths et al aforementioned—and sets the scene as a place of non-industrialized labor, with attendant salaciousness.

Douglass Shand-Tucci’s *Ralph Adams Cram: Boston Bohemia, 1881-1900* (1995) is the only full biographical study of Cram and his circle. Shand-Tucci is essential reading for situating the social and cultural factors at play with these artists, and he takes a sweeping scope that is an

³⁴⁶ Cram provides a partial list, 91.

³⁴⁷ Cram, 89.

³⁴⁸ Cram, 91-92.

important overview. His research is clearly extensive, yet he also advances a problematic revisionist stance. His main argument links upper-class, and specifically Harvard-based, homosexuality with a flourishing of art and culture in Gilded Age Boston, identifying Cram, Goodhue, and Day as key figures in this process. His method of reveal effectively makes these artists into self-conscious “others,” defining queerness in a twenty-first century way, not as this community would have been theorized at the turn of the twentieth century. Leaving aside all of the issues—both scholastic and ethical—with “outing” people that are long dead, this analysis misses a larger picture of Hellenistic revival and Decadent thought, essential to any discussion about these artists and their perceived sexual orientations. I will address the homosocial community in which Goodhue participated, through a discussion of their intellectual ties to Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, and the British Decadence movement.

Decadence is viewed as a sickness, a mark of decay, of society that has pushed itself too far and too indulgently; America in the 1890s was just such a society. With “manifest destiny” effectively concluded, the Robber Barons at peak opulence, and a citizenry that was sickened by factories, maligned as weak and neurasthenic, America’s perceived decay—of land, of infrastructure, of the social order—was ripe for the Decadent movement to take hold. Crucially, decadent thought is not just acknowledging decay, but “the desire for decay, the wish for degeneracy, the delectation of decline.”³⁴⁹ Like Shand-Tucci, David Weir locates in the Decadent community in Boston a propensity towards decadence as “a means of revolt against New England tradition and partly as a sort of cultural legitimation of same-sex desires that were socially taboo and legally prohibited,” a contrast to their “aggressively heterosexual counterparts

³⁴⁹ David Weir, *Decadent Culture in the United States: Art and Literature against the American Grain, 1890-1916*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008, xii. “Decadence” is often appended to the late stage of empire. Weir identifies the four components of decadence to be “historical decline, physical degeneration, and the negative and positive responses to cultural disintegration,” xv.

in New York.”³⁵⁰ Cram’s *The Decadent* is important reading in this regard, particularly for his framing of Goodhue as a Decadent. Published in 1893, the book is dedicated to “Tibi Mio Caro BGG,” or “to my dear BGG.” The Visionists saw smoking cigarettes as a specifically Decadent pastime; Cram describes Goodhue’s two default positions as “hunched up over a drawing-board, his lips writhing nervously around innumerable dropping cigarettes...as he wrought out some inimitable study in dazzling black and white,” or at rest, “perched crosslegged on the edge of a table, a stein of beer beside him, while he sang riotous or sentimental songs to improvised accompaniment on the Spanish guitar.”³⁵¹ In F. Holland Day’s 1892 photograph of Goodhue in a library (Fig. 3.30), some of this youthful insouciance comes through, as Goodhue leans back against a bookshelf, propping his head in his hand. The subtitle of *The Decadent* is “*Being the Gospel of Inaction,*” which Goodhue embodies in this restive pose.

As Linda Dowling argues in *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (1994), the relationship of male university communities and an embrace of Hellenism through the writings of Walter Pater created a sanctioned space for homosocial relationships: one of the “markers” of Decadent behavior. An embrace of Greek teaching, particularly Plato, allowed for an embrace of “homosexual counterdiscourse able to justify male love in ideal or transcendental terms.”³⁵² Tied to aestheticism and Decadence, homosociability flourished at Oxford, as it did at Harvard. Moreover, Catholicism was linked implicitly and explicitly with Decadence. As Anglo-Catholics—or like Goodhue, an atheist who designed Anglo-Catholic buildings—the Visionist community often overlapped with Catholicism in Boston. Both Louise Imogen Guiney and F. Holland Day were devout Catholics, and combined their twinned interests in religion and Decadence by arranging for a requiem mass to be read in Boston for arch-Decadent Aubrey

³⁵⁰ Weir, xvii.

³⁵¹ Cram, 77. It is hard to deny the sexual connotations of these descriptions.

³⁵² Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, xiii.

Beardsley's death in 1898.³⁵³ Day met with Wilde in 1882, when Wilde was on his American lecture tour and Day was 17; the visit was recounted in the *Mahogany Tree* in 1892, where Day is described as “the lilies apostle” hanging on Wilde's every word.³⁵⁴ Little wonder that the Press mark for Copeland and Day would be a lily, seen here on the cover of Alice Brown's 1895 *Meadow-Grass* (Fig. 3.31). A stylized lily rises above their initials in a wreath, with banners proclaiming “Sicut Liliū Inter Spinas,” or “as a lily amongst thorns.” The Press, then, becomes a modified homosocial community.

The most intriguing example of Goodhue's Visionist book patronage was his binding and title page for Bliss Carman's *Saint Kavin, a Ballad*, printed by John Wilson in 1894. The colophon is performatively medieval, stating the work came “by the Grace of God, and the help of John Wilson, Printer...this Ballad of Saint Kavin was made and printed in fifty copies for the Visionists and the Guests of their House at No. iii in Province Court, Boston.” Carman's ballad is nine pages long, and printed on vellum. Saint Kavin, a figure of their invention, became a talisman for the Visionists; as Carman describes him, “This St. Kavin was a most / Modern sort of saint, indeed; All the virtue he could boast / Was not found in any creed.” The opening page of the ballad is surrounded by Goodhue's illustrations of the various aspects of the saint (Fig. 3.32), marked as a poet, an academician hunched over a desk, and a seer. A frieze of the last supper at the top of the page references fellowship—“cum fraternitate somiorum”—which applies to the community of the Visionists as well. St. Kavin himself takes up the majority of the right margin, memorialized as a statue, wrapped in a snake, with a pipe and some sort of jar on the base. Kavin's attire is a mix of secular and religious, with what appears to be a modern collared shirt and tie, a belt, and an overlay of robe and vestments. Like Kavin, the Visionists

³⁵³ Estelle Jussim, *Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete*, Boston: D.R. Godine, 1981, 91.

³⁵⁴ *Mahogany Tree*, Boston, Vol. 1: No. 10, 153.

were playacting at religious rites. The entire book is sumptuous, with a flyleaf of silk doublures and a custom leather binding. The cover (Fig. 3.33) bears Goodhue's and Bliss Carman's initials in alternating rows of diamonds—BG and BC—and Goodhue's family motto, "I neither envy nor despise."³⁵⁵

As a "modern sort of saint, indeed" Kavin was a suitable emblem for The Visionists: religious, but as a way of performing devotion as theater, the same criticism leveled at nineteenth-century Catholics in Boston. When Carman writes "Little wonder then, poor soul / That his teaching should be queer, / And his calendar unroll / With new feast-days every year," he is giving voice to the charges leveled at The Visionists, as Decadent hedonists.³⁵⁶ There are further architectural connotations, as Kavin is described as inhabiting "Body of a battered Greek, / Gothic epicure of soul." This combination of Greek and Gothic is particularly suggestive of homosociability.³⁵⁷ Crucially, Goodhue, Cram, and Copeland are mentioned by name, along with several other Visionists:

All the Belialac crew
Who inhabit Province Court,
Visionists without a view,
Dreams their fad, and drool their forte:

The unbarbered man of books,
Seven centuries out of style;
B.G. who belied his looks,
With a mood beneath his smile;

Ralph, the royalist in bond
To these days of dull restraint;
Herbert bearded; Herbert blond;
Herbert the lean bookish saint.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ This is written as *Nec Invedio Nec Despicio*, but it should be *Invideo* instead of *Invedio*; this was presumably a bookbinding error, which seems odd. The Goodhue family crest is flanked by the banner with their motto.

³⁵⁶ Kavin, 2.

³⁵⁷ See Dowling in particular, for the Hellenistic connotations of male, university communities.

³⁵⁸ Kavin 6-7. Carman also mentions Edmundus, Little Mac, Southern John, Will, and Thede.

Carman romanticized the space which the Visionists inhabited, as warm, comfortable, comforting meeting places, which still had an aura of deviance and mystery: “Then you’d see a gleam of fire / Through the shutter chinks, and guess / He was having his desire / With his cronies, none the less”.³⁵⁹ The linking of “desire” and “cronies” here reinforces the homosocial bonds which the Visionists shared.

Goodhue conjured up a series of dream-visions related to St. Kavin, centered on Traumburg, or “dream town.” As dream-visions, they are intensely detailed architectural fantasies. A series of drawings were reproduced in *A Book of Architectural and Decorative Drawings* in 1924, one of a rash of publications after Goodhue’s death. *The Treasury, Saint Kavin’s, Traumburg* (Fig. 3.34) is a cluttered drawing of an imagined church treasury, a decadent jumble of statuary, lamps for incense, and all manner of silver and gold plates and vessels. As always with Goodhue, his talent lies in choosing an interesting perspective and balancing the density of the objects with the pared down line of the ceiling and floor. He also drew the cathedral of Saint Kavin’s in a pastoral setting (Fig. 3.35), the church rising above a fen-like countryside. The intensive detail in the foreground, of the bridge, water, and cottage, is reminiscent of his other site-sketches for his commissioned architectural projects, like the Baltimore Cathedral. This blending of professional production with Decadent fantasy was a hallmark of his work in the 1890s.

Yet Goodhue’s completed works were described as dream-like, too. The Nebraska State Capital building, which he completed with Lee Lawrie’s exceptional sculptural work, was labeled by Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, as built of a “gossamer web of dreams...[which] took form and shape. Face to face with it at last, Goodhue knew that the hour had come. Thus, out of the dream stream of the ages, rising

³⁵⁹ Kavin 8

exquisite in proportion and marvelous in simplicity, through Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue was born one of the great buildings of all time.”³⁶⁰ Lawrie is also implicated in this dream: “never could Goodhue’s dream have been realized had not Lawrie, with pure submission to the dream of another, thrown himself and his great talents loyally and completely into the work...that well it might be said that Lawrie became the very incarnation of Goodhue’s sculptural self.”³⁶¹ Goodhue also occasionally partnered with his brother, Harry Eldredge Goodhue, a stained glass artist who ran The Harry Eldredge Co. Stained and Leaded Glass from Church St. in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Their relationship is preserved through their letters, often mundane missives about land, birthdays, gossip, and commissions, which ground the “dream” of Goodhue’s work in practicality.³⁶²

Carman’s *Saint Kavin, A Ballad* also contains a telling description of gender politics within The Visionists, where there were a few female members: “Men he could not understand, / Nor the world, that painted dream; / But to touch a woman’s hand, / Made things better than they seem.”³⁶³ The Visionists were homosocially male, predominantly, but their most talented author-colleague was Louise Imogen Guiney, whose *Nine Sonnets at Oxford* (1895) Goodhue designed. As with his Morris-influenced works at Copeland and Day, Goodhue was such a savvy imitator that the Bodleian mistook the privately printed *Nine Sonnets at Oxford* for a Kelmscott work, and

³⁶⁰ Whitaker, “Time and Circumstance,” 1927.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Their letters, which peak from 1910 to Harry’s death in 1918, are a mix of business commiserations—in that Harry was sometimes bad at keeping his business afloat without a brotherly influx of money, to Bertram’s annoyance—and family commiserations about their children’s rascally tendencies. An average example, from 1910: Harry on his sons: “Wright is fine and a comfort but the two younger ones are terrors, I almost dread Sunday when they devil me all day long.” Bertram: “I am sorry to hear that your kids have developed criminal tendencies. Since Wright is good, why don’t you put him on police duty to guard the others.” Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1910 Box 01: Fol. 01.

³⁶³ Kavin, 3.

according to Guiney “paid an absurdly large sum for its copy.”³⁶⁴ Guiney attended some Visionist meetings, and spent a lot of time with the members, especially Day, individually.

The short-lived Visionist periodical, the *Knight Errant*, was published through Francis Watts Lee’s Elzevir Press from 1892-93, on special hand-made paper, with a new fount of type; as Cram states, the periodical was “a model of perfect typography and the printer’s art.”³⁶⁵ As Patricia J. Fanning notes, the *Knight Errant* also facilitated the founding of Stone and Kimball, the Merrymount Press, Small, Maynard, and Co., and Copeland and Day. The periodical was a training ground for a number of printers and artists, chief among them Goodhue. The entire commissioning structure of the *Knight Errant* was one built on collaboration, and of seeking out friends for commissions. It effectively launched the careers of Day, Cram, Goodhue, Guiney, and Matthews, and affected affiliated artists and historians like Updike. The first issue also included an essay from Charles Eliot Norton, he of Burne-Jones and “pocket cathedral” fame. Norton was friends with Updike, and is a direct link to the Arts and Crafts movement percolating in Boston.

Guiney published “The Knight Errant” in the first issue of the periodical, from which the magazine took its name:

“The Knight Errant”

Spirits of old that bore me,
And set me, meek of mind,
Between great dreams before me
And deeds as great behind,
Knowing humanity my star
At first abroad I ride,
Shall help me wear, with every scar,
Honour at eventide.

Let claws of lightning clutch me,
From summer’s groaning cloud,

³⁶⁴ Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens*, 47.

³⁶⁵ Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens*, 46. Lee was a Christian Socialist, who supported a variety of social-justice causes and Episcopal organizations, and was an ardent follower of William Morris.

Or ever malice touch me,
And glory make me proud.
O give my faith, my youth, my sword,
Choice of the hearts desire:
A short life in the saddle, Lord!
Not long life by the fire.

Forethought and recollection
Rivert mine armour gay!
The passion of perfection
Redeem my faulty way!
The outer fray in the sun shall be
The inner beneath the moon:
And may Our Lady lend to me
Sight of the Dragon soon!

Linda Hughes describes the contemporary response to this poem as “a woman’s appropriation of the warrior’s spirit as she undertook her own battles,” while noting that the “poem’s gender masquerade that calls chivalry into question” intrigues modern readers, too.³⁶⁶ She also rightly states that while we may ignore the rhyme and form for a closer examination of Guiney’s gender politics, the poem is aesthetically and technically masterful. Guiney was far and away the best poet in the Visionist circle, and “A short life in the saddle, Lord! / Not long life by the fire.” became a rallying cry for her Decadent peers. Guiney’s work was “a paradoxical blend of conservatism and daring,” a combination of reactionary and revolutionary that could be applied to Goodhue, Cram, and even Updike.³⁶⁷ John Everett Millais’s *The Knight Errant* (Fig. , 3.36, 1870) is a nearly life-sized oil painting of the titular Knight, rescuing a woman who has been stripped and tied to a tree by robbers. The painting was Millais’s only attempt at painting the female nude, and reception focused on the success—or not—of his efforts. But the intriguing aspect of the painting is Millais’s conception of the “knight errant,” which was printed in the

³⁶⁶ Linda K. Hughes, “Daughters of Danaus and Daphne: Women Poets and the Marriage Question,” *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Fin-de-Siècle Literary Culture and Women Poets, 2006, 481-493, 484.

³⁶⁷ Paula Bernat Bennett, ed. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Poets: An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998, 317.

1870 exhibition catalog at the Royal Academy. According to Millais, the “order of Knights errant was instituted to protect widows and orphans, and to succor maidens in distress.”³⁶⁸ This version of medieval chivalry would have appealed to the Visionists, although as Guiney’s poem demonstrates, they were drawn less to the damsels and more to the drama and danger involved.

The founders of the *Knight Errant* pronounced that they were “men against an epoch.”³⁶⁹ In their 1892 essay “The Quest,” the editorial board—Goodhue and Cram—described the new purpose of the knight—thankfully, no longer as a damsel-rescuer—as “to war against the Paynims of realism in art, to assail the dragon of materialism, and the fierce dragon of mammonism, to ride for the succor of forlorn hopes and the restoration of forgotten ideals...not only beauty in Art, but beauty in thought and motive, beauty in life and death.”³⁷⁰ Cram took this a step further in his essay “On the Restoration of Idealism,” as a call “to fight the same disease” that Rossetti fought in painting, that Anglo-Catholic Cardinal Newman fought in religion—an explicit tie to the ritualism of the Oxford Movement—and that Wagner fought in his operas, to “build on the wide ruins of a mistaken civilization a new life more in harmony with law and justice.”³⁷¹ The figure of the knight errant had potency for the Pre-Raphaelites, the British precursors to the Visionists, as youthful enthusiasts of art, medieval poetry, and a glorified past.

In his essay “The Final Flower of Age-End Art,” Goodhue turns explicitly to British aestheticism, and William Morris, as hope for the resurrection of art away from the “parching simoon of commercialism.”³⁷² He describes aestheticism as a “sort of Pre-Raphaelite decadence,” and praises Morris, Ruskin, Burne-Jones, Whistler, Beardsley, Manet, and Puvis de

³⁶⁸ 1870 Royal Academy

³⁶⁹ Weir, 52.

³⁷⁰ Cram and Goodhue, “The Quest: Being an Apology for the Existence of the Review Called the Knight Errant,” *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 1892), 1-2, 1.

³⁷¹ Cram, “Concerning the Restoration of Idealism, and the Raising to Honour Once More of the Imagination,” *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 1892), 10-15, 15.

³⁷² Goodhue, “The Final Flowering of Age-End Art,” *The Knight Errant*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Jan. 1893), 106-112, 111.

Chavannes as artists worth emulating. It is notable that Morris's socialism does not appear in a strong way in Goodhue's writing for the *Knight Errant*, nor does it factor into his colleagues' writings either. Goodhue and Cram met with noted socialist and decorative artist Walter Crane in 1891; he described them as "a cultivated group of young men...who had been inspired by the recent English revival of painting and book decoration and the higher forms of art generally."³⁷³ Yet unlike the British aesthetes, who were notably progressive, Cram in particular embraced reactionary thought, and was happy to be labeled a reactionist. His list of heroes included Morris, Ruskin, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, as well as conservative and religious figures like Cardinal Newman and Matthew Arnold.³⁷⁴ This radical-reactionary paradox is central to their collective artmaking.

PERFORMATIVITY AND COSTUMING

Cram strikes a pious tone in *My Life in Architecture* about the activities of the Visionists, "for there was not even a pack of card or a pair of dice in the place, and no beverage more potent than beer; while the smoke, which was indeed dense, was innocent of any aroma other than that of pipes and cigarettes."³⁷⁵ He further acknowledges the performative aspects of their meeting in the same breath, continuing that there was occasionally smoke from "the lingering perfume of incense when Herbert Copeland officiated as Exarch and High Priest of Isis, clothed garishly in some plunder from Jack Abbott's trunks of theatrical costumes."³⁷⁶ While all of this is probably debatable, costuming was indeed crucial to their activities. In this section, I focus on both these more overt instances of costuming and play-acting, from Goodhue's time as a Visionist, and the

³⁷³ Weir, 64.

³⁷⁴ Weir, 61. Unlike Cram, Goodhue moved stylistically away from Morris in the twentieth century, as contemporary taste shifted.

³⁷⁵ Cram, 92.

³⁷⁶ Cram, 93.

Twelfth Night revels he held in his New York firm, to some of his book annotations, arguing that performativity and piracy are linked, as a way to masquerade as another body, or another work.

This propensity for festivals is evident in Mabel C. Pelletier's account of one of the "Oriental Festivals" that the Boston Arts Students Association threw in 1894. The "Oriental Festival" was inherently racist, while also an occasion for Bostonians, most of whom had minimal real life experience with these Middle Eastern communities, to suspend reality and perform identities that were different than their own. It was also an opportunity for the BASA— young art students in Boston, who often crossed paths with the Visionists—to explore through open-ended play with inventive costuming. As one of the attendees described to Pelletier (she only identifies him as "a stalwart but beautiful Eastern youth in silken attire of many hues"), costuming was in service of the experience: "it is the spirit of the evening that makes it all so fine, not the individual clothes or the persons who wear them. It is the fact that for the hour we are back in Bagdad or Balsora or the capital of the Island of Eben; it matters not which is the place chosen. We have gone into the life of the old fairy stories and are not cold Bostonians for tonight."³⁷⁷ This cultural appropriation is parallel to an imagined sort of placelessness.

This quotation suggests that the fête allowed for the possibility of embodying an Other, whose country of origin did not really matter: what mattered was the chance to not be "cold." The wealthy and white denizens of Boston were able to pretend at something different and exotic, to pirate a different lived experience. Indeed, the festival was proposed as specifically Egyptian themed and "this suggestion was happily changed to the more general term of Eastern or Arabian Nights' Festival. We say happily, for what characters could be better adapted and

³⁷⁷ Mabel C. Pelletier, "Festival of the Boston Arts Students Association," *The Bostonian*, v. 1, 1894-95, 354-368, 356.

imitated in a night's frolic than those from the Arabian Nights?"³⁷⁸ Pelletier further states, "let us, then, make much of such artistic fraternities among us, and take counsel of them, profiting by their vital enthusiasm for aestheticism."³⁷⁹ A photographic illustration of Goodhue, fully dressed in Middle Eastern attire, complete with staff (Fig. 3.37), appears right in the middle of this quotation. While Pelletier locates the nucleus of BASA around the studio of Otto Grundmann, the sentiment could apply to the Visionists as well. The fact that Goodhue was there along with H. Winthrop Pierce, May Hallowell, and H. W. Bicknell, all rising stars in the Boston art scene, also demonstrates how he was tied into this group of socially mobile artists.

Staging was central to the BASA fête, and Goodhue was in charge of decorations. Pelletier described the various rooms, including the caliph's throne room, "a luxurious massing of cushions and soft rugs and draperies. Flanking the throne on either side were two gold lions. Over the throne, emblazoned on the wall, were the names of the artists who lent their talent in decorating the throne room; these names were in large quasi Arabic characters."³⁸⁰ As for clothing, the "Eastern idea was carried out with such fidelity that not a pair of modern trousers were allowed in sight, and too much credit cannot be given to the committee for the enforcement of a strict observance of this rule."³⁸¹ Pelletier further praised the designers—and Goodhue in particular—for observing "the Oriental rule, [and] keeping the human figure out of their work."³⁸²

John C. Abbott developed a play, "The Fair Persian," from the Arabian Nights, which began with Mozart's Turkish march. The highlight of the play seems to have been the dancing of a variety of women—Miss Hawes, Miss Sherwood, Miss Throop, Miss Hall, Miss Cate, Miss

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 362.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 360.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 363. H. Winthrop Pierce was costumed as the caliph.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 362.

³⁸² Ibid., 363.

Holroyd—a daring and transgressive move by these society women, again further reinforcing the idea of “oriental” dance forms as inherently seductive and exotic. Abbott also designed the program, which relays the different events throughout the “Oriental Festival,” which ran from 9 pm to 4 am. Goodhue's slot to host was 12:15 am: "Bertram Goodhue, Duban, the Magician, will call upon the King of the Djenii to spread revelry and rejoicing among the assembly."³⁸³

The BASA fêtes continued, garnering enough money and support that the Merrymount Press printed some of their programs and tickets, as noted in Chapter 2. In 1896, the BASA organizing committee included Sarah Wyman Whitman, Cram, and Goodhue's brother, Harry. The subject for that year's fête was “A Fête Given in Baghdad by the Caliph Haroun er Reschid, whose summons to you is herewith enclosed.” Costumes were requested to be “only African, Asiatic, Japanese, or Polynesian.” Extremely similar in scope to the 1894 festival, these festivals were held at Copley Hall, across the street from Trinity Church. This points to the hyper-localized nature of this community, centered in Beacon Hill with the rest of the Society of Arts and Crafts, and the strong backing by wealthy women, like Whitman and Isabella Stewart Gardner.

While Goodhue moved in various art circles in Boston, his colleague and friend Fred Holland Day was embracing costuming in both his photography and his everyday lived experience. Patricia J. Fanning's *Through an Uncommon Lens: The Life and Photography of F. Holland Day* (2008) details Day's photography and his partnership with Herbert Copeland. Day is ripe for anecdotes; he once bid a stranger enter his library, and when the stranger entered the room Day was “sitting on a shelf right under the ceiling, wrapped in an oriental costume, smoking a water pipe!”³⁸⁴ Day turned his compulsive posing to his theatrically inventive

³⁸³ Ibid., 366.

³⁸⁴ Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens*, 118.

photographs. Like the BASA fêtes, he often turned towards orientalist costumes to transform models like Nancie Lovis from a “conventional, middle-class young woman” into a “mysterious, idealized figure.”³⁸⁵ A devout Catholic, who spent time with the SSM’s Sister Teresa, as noted in Chapter 1, Day’s religious beliefs were foregrounded in his work. Our interest here is in his photographs that blur the line between religious fervor and performance. Like the ornament and ritual associated with High Church Anglicanism, Day’s religious photographs are both objects of devotion and of theatricality.

Day threw costume parties for the Visionists, including a medieval themed event in 1894 (Fig. 3.38), where the group posed on the main staircase of his house in Norwood. These costumes are both medieval and specifically religious, featuring a bishop with a crozier at left, a figure holding a thurible in the foreground, and a vaguely monk-like robed figure standing on the stairs. Throughout Day’s extensive photographic career, he often turned to religious subjects, most strikingly casting himself as Christ. In his *Crucifixion* (Fig. 3.39, 1898), with two Roman soldiers, Day has depicted himself as Christ on the cross, while the two soldiers in loincloths stand guard; these soldiers are rumored to be Cram and Goodhue, which would make sense for the timing, and the fact that he often photographed the men. The composition is arresting, as the cross—with Day’s attached body brutally straining against its cords—rises starkly above the flattened Massachusetts landscape. The wood for the cross was imported from the Middle East, and Day starved himself to appear authentically emaciated in these images.³⁸⁶ In a frontal facing *Crucifixion* (Fig. 3.40, c. 1898), Day has again depicted himself as Christ, with Mary and possibly St. John as attendants. The work is atmospheric, stilled while suggestive of the motion of Mary’s upturned head. Like much of his photography, the staging owes a large debt to British

³⁸⁵ Fanning, *Through an Uncommon Lens*, 74.

³⁸⁶ Weir, 80.

photographer Julia Margaret Cameron, although most of her work focused on bust-length portraiture. Lastly, another *Crucifixion* from 1898 (Fig. 3.41) shows the crucified Christ (Day) with two male and two female attendants. The viewers—Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and possibly St. John—are without the liturgical symbols that we may be used to seeing, like lilies, which the Magdalene often holds. The setting is actually reminiscent of one of Robert Anning Bell’s crucifixion drawings, although it is unlikely Day would have seen this drawing, since a different version made it into the *Altar Book*. Regardless, Day’s inclusion of his friends, and his interest in dressing in a religious masquerade, is especially relevant in this intersection of religious ceremony and performance.³⁸⁷ More sinisterly, Day’s crucifixion of himself is undeniably a staged demonstration of his fears of public reaction against his more bohemian activities in conservative Boston.³⁸⁸

In a British connection to Goodhue’s work, the play-acting and costuming so central to the Visionists was also common practice of the Hammersmith Socialist League. The partnership between Charles Ricketts and May Morris is especially notable. Ricketts, a leader in Aesthetic book and costume design, frequently supplied embroidery designs to Morris, and he also designed a ring for her (Fig. 3.42, c. 1899-1903), with a garnet and the shape of a domed building. Ricketts produced several rings for friends, mostly all made by Carlo Giuliano, a London jeweler. Morris’s ring, and the striking dome, is influenced by Jewish wedding rings, with the building a reference to home, or to a temple. Morris was not married at this point, nor would she remarry, and the context for this ring may therefore be more aesthetic or symbolically

³⁸⁷ This set of photographs is now part of the Louise Guiney collection at the Library of Congress.

³⁸⁸ Weir, 80. Significantly, Oscar Wilde also references the crucifixion in *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, as a metaphor about the hanging of an inmate.

weighty.³⁸⁹ Listed in the *Victorian Church Art* catalog as “Bishop’s Gloves for use at Easter,” a set of gloves was designed by Ricketts and embroidered by Morris, c. 1907 (Fig. 3.43).³⁹⁰ Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the gloves are made of linen, with yellow silk braid, seed pearls, and extensive amounts of silk embroidery. Three ears of corn are embroidered on the back, and rise from a leaf, which twines around them. The back of the gloves are extensively embroidered with curling lines and hearts, ornamented to an absurd point, even for Gothic Revival preferences. Morris and Ricketts’s ecclesiastical gloves could certainly have been produced for a church; as discussed in Chapter 1, Morris completed a number of ecclesiastical commissions. This would be unusual for Ricketts, so much so that I suggest that these gloves were used not in a church setting, but in a Socialist League play.³⁹¹ The connections between performance and religious observation are central to Decadence movements, of which Ricketts was an active participant. From the 1840s onwards, utilizing Gothic architecture and vestments was a practice popularized by stage designers.³⁹²

Although Goodhue’s interior and costume designs were not explicitly related to the Visionists in later years, his interest in clothing styles and costumes remained, and are evident in three books about China that he annotated; it seems likely that he and Lydia were considering a trip to China. J.O.P. Bland’s *Houseboat Days in China* (1919) was a present from Goodhue to Lydia for Christmas in 1920, and both of their annotations can be found throughout, some that are simply grammatical, and some that are more critical of the content. The most striking addition to the work, however, is a drawing and accompanying text of inside back cover, labeled

³⁸⁹ As with many facets of both May Morris and Charles Ricketts’s lives, there is a great deal more to research about them. For more on Ricketts and jewelry, the only source is Diana Scarisbrick, “Charles Ricketts and his designs for jewelry,” *Apollo CXVI* (September-1982); p. 163-4.

³⁹⁰ *Victorian Church Art*, Exhibition November 1971-January 1972, London: V&A Publishing, 1971, 158.

³⁹¹ The Socialist League hosted a variety of lectures, musicales, plays, and variety shows; see Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013, 51. I am grateful to Mark Samuels Lasner for discussions about these gloves.

³⁹² Schoeser, *The Watts Book of Embroidery: English Church Embroidery, 1833-1953*, London: Watts, 1998, 10.

“Today and Tomorrow” (Fig. 3.44). Goodhue drew a gate to a city, bracketed by figures in the foreground, and buildings to the left and right, dating the image on February 19, 1920. As with Goodhue’s drawings in *The Mistress Art*, this drawing is a compelling mix of detailed architectural elements, and virtuoso touches—the cascading lines below the dog, for example, which suggest the continuation of pavement, or the figures at middle ground, which are rendered in quick gestural lines. Goodhue has chosen an interesting perspective here, situating the viewer low to the ground, possibly looking up a hill, so that we also look upwards to see the underside of the arch.

Goodhue’s perspective here is Orientalist, in a similar fashion to the Visionist “borrowing” of stereotypical Chinese and Middle Eastern clothing for fêtes. Goodhue seems particularly preoccupied with the idea of a fading past, and a concern about China modernizing, and to his mind, losing their traditional methods of work and clothing. The text that he wrote for “Today and Tomorrows” shows his romanticized views of China: “In and out the city gates pass the travellers eager with anticipation or footsore from the many miles they have come. To and fro rush [unclear] people... Back and forth, glide the workers... within their palanquins—with girls pretending not to notice the young men. Everyone sounds a raucous street cries of soft Yet soon comes Tomorrow perhaps all will be at an end—a desert silence—[unclear] only to the whirring of the wings of bats—or the gentle [unclear] laughter of legends.”³⁹³ Goodhue was not especially hidebound, but his interest in “traditional” non-modern Chinese culture is repeatedly reinforced through these drawings.³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Some of the text is lost in the gutter of the book, and some of Goodhue’s letters are too indistinct; this is closest translation I can currently offer.

³⁹⁴ Goodhue was relatively open-minded about marriages, for example. When Goodhue’s older brother, Wells, was “peppery” about disliking his son Eldredge’s flapper wife, Bertram wrote to Harry, his younger brother, about Eldredge, the nephew, and Anna, the flapper in question: “All in all he is a fine young man and his uncle is proud of him if his father isn’t... Anna is just the regulation type of flapper and, good-hearted and square as she is, is not

In Francis Nichols's *Through Hidden Shensi*, published in 1905, Goodhue made several notes about currency, landscapes, and questions about culture, while underlining passages that he then noted on the flyleaf; based on his handwritten *ex Libris*, he made these notes in 1921. In one example, Goodhue wrote "keep on the left side always – p 24," and highlighted the relevant passage on 24: "in eating, sleeping, talking, and walking, anywhere amid Chinese civilization, the left hand is always the place of honour. The right hand is an inferior position, which the stranger from the West must carefully avoid if he wishes to retain the respect of the people." As he noted on the endpaper, "he is ignorant of what is proper—but his intentions are good so forgive any [...] any slips of etiquette," seemingly a way to express his own good intentions. This attention to cultural sensitivities is admirable, certainly, though muddied by Orientalist assumptions. As a record of future travel plans, these books are voyeuristic—in the way that peering in people's diaries is interesting, too. Goodhue's annotations are humanizing, and point to his curiosity and interest. Where *Through Hidden Shensi*, like *Houseboat Days in China*, becomes more significant is in relation to Goodhue's conception of objects, and the weight of history.

Chapter IV, "Beyond the Wall of Shansi," opens with a description of the wall itself, downplaying it as "heaps of mouldy brick... a sad disappointment." Undeterred, Goodhue drew the wall in the upper margin, letting his pencil lines intersect with the title, trailing down the left margin (Fig. 3.45). He labeled the drawing "cross-roads" and rendered a stretch of the wall, incorporating a bridge and rolling hillsides, as the wall snaked back to the upper right. We are pulled into the drawing through a pathway, peopled with sketchy figures, which extends above the title. Goodhue worked with the textual boundaries, but also abjures them: he did not draw

perhaps the girl I should have picked out for my son to marry; this, however, is a mere personal expression of preference in flappers." Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence 1918 Box 06: Fol. 07.

explicitly around the text, or place a box demarcating it, or anything that would suggest division. As with his early Copeland and Day works, Goodhue clearly has the holistic page in mind. These sorts of annotations also demonstrate an irreverence to printing, and an ownership over it. Not that Goodhue was systematically trying to destroy texts, but that he viewed them as a space to express his own interests and creativity.

Goodhue allowed himself some editorializing, as in Chapter V, “The Blight on the Land,” about the opium crisis. A drawing of a village extends across the upper margin (Fig. 3.46), and Goodhue’s usual skill in closely detailed drawing is in evidence—the rooflines are beautiful, and the mountains in the background are a subtle punctuation to the buildings in the foreground. Yet Goodhue also moved into character study, drawing two figures in the left margins who seem to be passing through the city gate. While the background figure is fairly sketchily rendered, the foreground figure is more detailed, and his face is cast in shadow, a rather heavy-handed reference to Goodhue’s annotation below: “YEN-HOCK - & every opium sufferer knows what that means.” Yen-hock was a late-nineteenth-century term for an opium needle, which was used to transfer a glob of opium from its container to be held over a flame, heated, and transferred to a pipe.³⁹⁵ By adding an addict in the margin, Goodhue humanizes the ravages of opium, while also reinforcing opium use as a distinctly Chinese problem. On the facing page is a photogravure labeled “Approaching an Opium Village” (Fig. 3.47). The combination of this “documentary” photograph with Goodhue’s drawing is a curious combination of artistic fancy and fact. Of course, the photograph is as much a fiction as was Nichols’s text itself.

There are two more straightforward illustration-annotations in the book. In Chapter VII, “The land of Yau and Shun,” Goodhue draws another city, focusing on houses and the way they

³⁹⁵ For more on this terminology, see Stephen Crane, “Opium’s Varied Dreams: New York City, 1896” in *Stephen Crane: Prose and Poetry*, New York: The Library of America, 1984, 853-858, 856.

intersect with the mountainous landscape behind them. His goal here seems not to reference a specific place, but to play around with perspective, as the buildings on the right are steeply gradated, a nice perspectival challenge. Nichols's text below starts by discussing how there is no one "Chinaman," a move against stereotyping the Chinese, which he does by employing a variety of Chinese stereotypes; this sort of tension between clarity and racism is a pretty apt metaphor for the entire book. The chapter is about racial differences between the Chinese, specifically in Shensi, and Mongolians, but it is unclear whether Goodhue's drawing references this at all, and I suspect that it does not. However, in Chapter XII, "Sian and the Sianese," Goodhue worked in concert with the text, labeling his drawing "The Walls of Sian," with "see p. 158" underneath (Fig. 3.48). Flipping the six pages to 158, one finds an extensive description of the walls, which were—in 1905—fifteen miles long, thirty feet high at a minimum, with extensive towers for shooting arrows and repelling attackers. Nichols continues: "The walls are an object of pride to the Sianese. In speaking of the points of interest in their city they invariably call a stranger's attention to the walls...with the introduction of improved implements of warfare...the majority of Chinese cities no longer take as much interest in their walls as formerly, and a tendency is manifest to allow the old defenses to fall into a state of dilapidation."³⁹⁶ Goodhue's view of the walls show no dilapidation, and serve to further sanitize the past, demonstrating concern about changing ways of life. They also show his significant skill in architectural drawing; this offering has neither figures nor landscape, and is solely a site-study.

Similar tendencies of visual and textual interplay are evident in F.L. Hawks Pott's *A Sketch of Chinese History* (1913). Goodhue jotted notes about the text, often critiquing the

³⁹⁶ Nichols, 158.

accuracy of Pott's scholarship.³⁹⁷ Goodhue pitted Nichols against Pott; where Pott writes that the Emperor and Empress left Beijing during a siege and "suffering much hardship on the way," Goodhue annotates that "according to Nichols...the court made a sort of triumphal progress and suffered no hardships at all." Goodhue drew "Shia Huang Ti-s Palace of the Many Rooms," underneath a discussion of the "Fall of the Ch'in Dynasty" (Fig. 3.49). Transliterated now as Qin Shi Huang, he was the first emperor of China and the founder of the Qin dynasty, and known by non-specialists for the terracotta soldiers that were placed around his city-sized mausoleum. Goodhue's sketch of the palace is a fantasy. Probably a reference to the Epang Palace, which was never fully completed, Goodhue's drawing is a mythologized palace, complete with his usual impressive attention to detail, strong deployment of perspective, and virtuosic plants in the foreground—which look a bit like Whistler's butterfly signature, possibly another locus of "piracy." Again, this sort of drawing, as integrated into the printed page, is a space for Goodhue to test out designs and ideas, and assumptions about how places looked. Another building sketch is found on page 59 (Fig. 3.50), under a discussion of the Tang dynasty, a period in Chinese history that saw the advent of woodblock printing and the rise of Buddhism. Goodhue's drawing is more non-specific than usual. The use of brick is characteristic of Tang architecture, and the stepped nature of the building's edifice is slightly reminiscent of other Tang building projects, like the Qianling Mausoleum. Goodhue is able to play with these historical conventions, and create something different and non-real.

Yet the most striking drawing has nothing to do with architecture. On the last page of *A Sketch of Chinese History*, Goodhue drew two men, one in an older style of dress and one in contemporary clothing (Fig. 3.51). Underneath, he wrote "What Do You Think." The older,

³⁹⁷ For example, regarding a map of China during the Hsia Dynasty, Goodhue wrote "there is an egregious error in this map," although it is not clear what the error is. On 31, next to "peculiar breeds of the equine family," he wrote "such as?" On 194, next to a mention of Sun Yat Sen, he wrote "a graduate of Yale."

“traditional” figure is literally in the shadows, and hovers behind the younger man’s right shoulder. While both are frontally facing, with tightly set mouths and determined glances, the younger man is clean-shaven, in contrast to the other man’s moustache. The “what do you think” query can be taken a few different ways. It could be asked, from Goodhue’s outsider-observer perspective, about changes in contemporary China, and incorrect Western perspectives on opium and trade. Or it could be directed at the Chinese figures and what they think—was the “modernization” of China beneficial in their eyes, or not? It is hard to read the image without thinking about Goodhue’s privilege, and an interest in maintaining the status quo—longing for a less modernized China, for instance—because the status quo benefited him, a relatively wealthy white man living in New York City. It also points to his Visionist writings as a reactionary, someone who sought glory and meaning in an idealized medieval past.

These three books, and the annotations and sketches therein, show the way that Goodhue approached Chinese history and culture as something for him to stage. His attention to visual detail is unparalleled, as is his skill as a draughtsman, and there is demonstrable curiosity and interest in his architectural renderings. Goodhue’s annotations are a method of participating with a text. Drawing is also a method of discovery, a way to comprehend and organize knowledge. Albrecht Dürer, for instance, found drawing and engraving to be a way to verify our visual senses.³⁹⁸ When John Ruskin was sketching in Italy, “he drew these rough objects in the same spirit as he found them, beautifully evoking the irregularities of the stones of Venice in free-flowing lines on paper; by drawing, he discovered the pleasures of touch.”³⁹⁹ Significantly, drawing is also an intimate act: sketching in a book that would only be seen by the artist and his

³⁹⁸ Peter Parshall, “Graphic Knowledge: Albrecht Dürer and the Imagination,” *The Art Bulletin*, 95.3 (2013), 393-410, 406: “it became for him a kind of truth test in the manner of a scientific proof...the definitive manner of description, the best means for giving evidence of what could be confidently regarded as fact.”

³⁹⁹ Sennett, 108-09.

wife. They were not produced for an architectural firm, or to be replicated as designs for a publishing house. These drawings are personal, and sketching in a quarto-sized book also means that the books could be held in the hand while drawing. I argue that Goodhue's activity here is not dissimilar from the Society of St. Margaret's embroidery, nor Updike's production of the *Altar Book*: Goodhue's sketching is a meditative activity, that allowed him to test out and workshop different architectural styles, including, significantly, ones that he had not seen in person before.

Goodhue transferred this inventive energy into his own architectural firm, too. After leaving Boston and the youthful playacting of the Visionists behind, he developed artistic fantasies in the pages of his library, and staged various productions at the Goodhue firm. His Twelfth-Night Revels were a yearly event, involving costuming and a play written by his workers. The 1922 play was titled "Ups and Downs," telling of a group of draftsmen who were "hauled before the bar of justice on the serious charge of having desecrated a church edifice with understandable symbols," all culminating in a "farcical trial," where the workers were rescued by their boss.⁴⁰⁰ Lawrie produced a commemorative medal for the occasion, and the staff designed a program, depicting all of them toiling away at their desks (Fig. 3.52). The program from 1919, for "The Magician: A Comedy in Two Scenes" (Fig. 3.53) is decorated by a foliate border very similar to Goodhue's designs for the *Altar Book*, with a modified series of magical talismans on crests throughout the border.

In his 1922 speech to his staff, Goodhue told anecdotes about them one by one, and gave them a cast of Lawrie's medal. He blended silliness and sincerity, lamenting the current economic climate, mocking the Ecole des Beaux Arts, praising his clients and his workers. He

⁴⁰⁰ "Twelfth-Night in Mr. Goodhue's Office," *Pencil Points Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for the Drafting Room*, 3:2, 1922, 48-54, 48.

was sheepish about the medal, which bears his face on one side, and the New York City skyline on the other, and instead chose to focus as much as possible on his workers, reserving special praise for Lawrie, his long-term sculptural collaborator.⁴⁰¹ In a Morris-like fashion, he saw their work as a way to craft meaning, moving beyond just architecture, which for them “comprises not only designing, drawing, construction and supervision, but, as you have seen, play-writing, scene painting and acting, and, as you will see later, musical composition and the writing of Latin verse.”⁴⁰² He further ties the centrality of sculpting and letterforms back to his discussion of architecture, mentioning that Henry Boak produces “charming photographs and lettering. Don’t run away with the idea that lettering is an easy job. Any architect will tell you that it’s one of the hardest in the world.”⁴⁰³ These festivities concluded with singing in Latin, the office chant of “E-raise! Rub! Goodhue!” and lots of punch, while an exhibition of their artwork—oil paintings, water colors, etching, photographs, and pencil drawings—remained on the walls after the drafting room had returned to normal.

HOLISTIC PRACTICE

In 1911, Goodhue received a letter from frequent bookmaking collaborator Ingalls Kimball about ugly scaffolding at St. Thomas. Kimball asks, “what can I do to get Norcross Brothers to build a respectable looking structure over the sidewalk while St. Thomas’s is being constructed? You could design a simple and effective covering, sheathing, or what you like for the heavy timbers that must be used. Have the thing painted some neutral color, and possibly,

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 49.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 51-52.

decorated with a repeating stencil.”⁴⁰⁴ Kimball was confident that Goodhue agreed with him, but this was emphatically not the case. Goodhue’s response is illuminating:

I am rather at a loss to know just how to answer your letter...for while its object is undoubtedly a worthy one, I find myself absolutely at odds with modern ideals in such matters. Beauty, after all, is not susceptible of definition and what is one man’s meat is another man’s poison. To me, it seems that to try and prettify the operation of building would be one of the most mistaken things imaginable. The processes by which beauty is arrived at are in themselves beautiful if honest and honorable...to argue that the scaffolding used for the erection of buildings should be made ornamental is exactly like stipulating that a blacksmith’s forge should be of some beautiful form and covered with ornament instead of as at present perfectly adapted to the end which it serves and no more. Heavy timbers are honest, and, therefore, honourable, no matter how time or mud stained they may be. To sheath them would at once be telling a lie, and to cover them with a neutral colour and then stencil a repeat pattern over this would be telling another. Furthermore, if this same system were adopted up and down through the multifarious building operations now going on in Fifth Avenue, I should come to my office by another street to avoid the sheer horror that would result.⁴⁰⁵

Goodhue is in line with William Morris’s ideas about preservation, which involved protecting historical material through minimal interventions. Morris was able to disseminate these ideas after founding the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877. In a rebuttal to Goodhue’s letter, from 27 February, Kimball clarified that he did not mean to cover the scaffold itself, but to construct a sort of screen over it, to bring a sense of “dignity and decency.”

These procedural discussions about preservation and restoration extended up the Hudson to Albany, in the figure of Bishop William Croswell Doane, who served the Cathedral of All Saints, the home of Anna Park Pruyn’s much-revered crozier. His views on craft and religious architecture were comparable to those of William Morris, G.E. Street, J.D. Sedding, A.W.N. Pugin, and the other Gothic Revival architects in the United Kingdom. Doane chastised the American impulse to build quickly, as “the result is poor churches, badly built, cheaply furnished

⁴⁰⁴ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1911 Box 01: Fol. 14.

⁴⁰⁵ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1911 Box 01: Fol. 14.

inside and out with stucco and staining.”⁴⁰⁶ Like the Gothic Revivalists, Doane believed that “the great churches of the world are the growth of centuries,” and wrote atmospherically about the patina of wear that builds up over time, as “the buildings seem so full of age and song, that the old echoes are awakened, to become the chorus to the anthems of today.”⁴⁰⁷ There is a layering of history and sensorial responses at play here. Ruskin was adamant that faux-materials were immoral, meant to trick the eye instead of providing substance, and Doane also seconded this: “I had rather put an unhewn pillar in, rough with scars of its splitting from the virgin rock, and let a third generation shape the shaft and carve the chapter [capital], till the faces on it speak and the flowers in it smell; than shape, out of sanded wood or moulded plaster, the fairest lie,” vaunting “honest” craftsmanship over material falsehoods.⁴⁰⁸

In 1917, Cram took up historical preservation for a French church. Goodhue expressed concerns, asking whether they “have such complete records of what once existed that they can almost duplicate every stone and every bit of glass needed.”⁴⁰⁹ This sort of perfectionist tendency is informed by William Morris’s views on preservation, and Goodhue’s background in print design. In a letter recommending his collaborator Ingalls Kimball to the Century Club, Goodhue provided a neat summary about his own work: “though my own professional vocation deals with the building of buildings rather than of books, there is a very close established connection between the two, and the memory of the things that Mr. Kimball and I have worked on together is one of the pleasantest I possess.”⁴¹⁰

While a cliché to end a study of a person’s oeuvre on the subject of tombs and memorials, part of Goodhue’s legacy are the monuments created for him by long-term sculptural partner Lee

⁴⁰⁶ Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, church record, accessed, 20 November 2017.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1917 Box 06: Fol. 04

⁴¹⁰ Avery Library, Columbia University, Goodhue Correspondence, 1916 Box 05: Fol. 08

Lawrie, at the Chapel of the Intercession, West Point, and the Rockefeller chapel at the University of Chicago. Lawrie had sculpted Goodhue as a grotesque for the West Point Chapel (Fig. 3.54), which was subsequently removed. Architectural grotesques, figures that were often chimera-like hybrid animals, were a staple in Gothic cathedrals. Lawrie situated Goodhue's grotesque in the chapel, where the sculpted architect is propping up a platform. Goodhue rests his feet on a four square, and holds a completed cathedral in his arms. His left hand props up his head, and he seems to be holding some sort of writing instrument in his hand. Although an early work for Lawrie—the West Point commission was in 1903—his skill as a sculptor is evident, from the crease in Goodhue's pants and rolled sleeves, to the naturalistic modeling of his arm and profile. It is a youthful rendering of Goodhue at the start of his New York City career.

Lawrie's two posthumous memorials of his friend and frequent collaborator obviously strike a different tone. Goodhue is interred at the Church of the Intercession in Washington Heights (Fig. 3.55), and Lawrie made his memorial a visual celebration of Goodhue's work. Above Goodhue's tomb is a carved arch with many of his significant buildings—the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer, the Nebraska State Capitol, the Church of St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew's Church, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, all in New York City, and the United States Military Academy Chapel at West Point, the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale, and the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel in Chicago. As on Goodhue's cover of *Saint Kavin, a Ballad*, from his Visionist heyday, his tomb also bears the family motto "Nec Invideo Nec Despicio" with the family crest. The crest reappears in Lawrie's memorial in the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel in Chicago (Fig. 3.56), where a statue of Goodhue flanks the east transept doors across from J.S. Bach. The sculpted Goodhue holds a model of the Rockefeller Chapel, with the West Point Chapel represented behind him. The two chapels represent his two academic chapel

commissions, and the combination of Bach and Goodhue references the aural combination of architecture and music in the chapel space. Like the West Point grotesque, Goodhue literally cradles one of his buildings in his arms, in the way that one might cradle a book.

After Goodhue's death, Ingalls Kimball created a broadside for the Grolier Club, to which Goodhue belonged, as a way to commemorate his life (Fig. 3.57). Titled "Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue—*Artist*," Kimball describes Goodhue's myriad accomplishments, focusing heavily on his book and bookplate designs; he was "recognized by Architects, the world over, as a master in his chosen profession; to those who love books he was a master of the Craft of Printing." Kimball described his mastery of multiple arts as unusual in "modern times," and that "the breadth of his interest, his sensitiveness to beauty wherever he found it, is indeed more to be looked for among the artists of the middle ages with the whole spirit of which he was so deeply in sympathy," specifically mentioning the Kelmscott books as "appeal[ing] to the Medieval note in Goodhue's nature, and some of his early initials and borders show the inspiration of the same originals which had influenced Morris." This positioning of Goodhue as a multi-talented medieval craftsman is striking, especially since Kimball tempers it by describing his work as medievalism with a "touch of Goodhue, a flavour of the Twentieth Century." The broadside is rubricated with sidebar markers of his book work: "Bookplates," "The Merrymount Type," "Cheltenham Type," and "His Scholarly Patience," before ending with a discussion of Goodhue's participation with the Publication Committee at the Grolier Club. Unlike Lawrie's memorials, Kimball highlighted the communal and the mundane.⁴¹¹ Kimball frames Goodhue as part of a community, and closes his remembrances by asserting Goodhue's position as a force for change among his peers: "for the work he did himself, and for the influence he exerted upon the

⁴¹¹ Two large paragraphs of this two-page broadside are devoted to Goodhue's typefaces, the area of his oeuvre for which he is least remembered now.

work of others in the Graphic Arts, printing owes a great debt to the genius of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, *Artist*.”

Goodhue’s bookplate fully leans into memento mori conventions (Fig. 3.58): a skeleton, leaning on an architect’s T-square, extends a bony arm to the artist-knight, stopping his work. The image is labeled “Ex Libris: Beltrami Grosvenor Goodhue,” with the inscription drawn from Christ’s betrayal in the garden, “Ecce appropinquat hora: Mat. xxvi,” or “Behold, the hour is at hand.”⁴¹² Goodhue frames the artist-simulacrum in the window of his studio, with a shining cathedral on a hill behind him. The artist’s face is shaded in horror, and acknowledgement, that the hour is indeed at hand. In a very small space—bookplates are by their very nature quite small—Goodhue has rendered all of the media which he mastered, from the floor plans on the wall, the plans in the foreground, the built church in the distance, even the masonry surrounding the window. He also is in the act of writing with a quill pen, referencing his past work in bookmaking and his love of drawing, and suggesting the shifting scale between bookplate and building. The bookplate is also adamantly Goodhue’s, ownership being a key part of the practical conventions of the genre. The Goodhue family crest is on his workstation, and his initials are on a piece of paper artfully placed on a floor, a simple cartellino a la Giovanni Bellini. The artist-knight is a medievalized, sanitized version of Goodhue. While Goodhue was so often pictured and conceived in relationship to his colleagues, here he faces judgment alone.

Ultimately, Goodhue framed himself in community—as a Visionist, and then as an architect who straddled Gothic Revival, Art Nouveau, and more modern, minimalist styles. He enjoyed having “the power of veto” over his workers, but allowed them to exercise their say at

⁴¹² Ecce appropinquat hora, et Filius hominis tradetur / Vos fugam capietis, et ego vadam immolari pro vobis,” “Behold the hour is at hand, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners. / Ye shall run away, and I will go to be sacrificed for you.” This is directed at the disciples after they fall asleep when supposed to be keeping watch, just before Judas appears in the garden to betray Jesus.

the same time.⁴¹³ When describing his office in 1922, he described a place of joyful work: “I believe it makes for happiness that men's work should be interesting and not always mere work, like that of the men ruled by an efficiency fanatic, therefore, it's perfectly well understood that anybody can look at books, smoke, talk, and sing – especially the latter. Often, going into the drafting room, I find myself in a perfect nest of singing birds.”⁴¹⁴ Goodhue justified choosing commissions judiciously, as “we take only those that promise success and happiness: success for the building, satisfaction and consequent happiness, secondarily, of course, for the client, but primarily for ourselves.”⁴¹⁵ This focus on meaning making, while in the service of commercial production, allowed for inventiveness, play, and the celebration of craft, often in the concomitant celebration of something grand and religious. If there is one thread that runs through Goodhue's multi-media output, it is this focus on meaningful work, on the facilitation of piety through performance.

⁴¹³ “Twelfth-Night in Mr. Goodhue's Office,” 49.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

CONCLUSION

The April 8, 1871 issue of *Punch* published a rhyme titled “An ABC for Youthful Anglicans.” In examining some of the letters, the concerns about appearance, doctrine, and encroaching Catholicism which so preoccupied Anglican discourse at the end of the nineteenth-century are evident:

B is a Biretta, which Anglicans wear
To hide their defects both of head and of hair.
C is for Chasuble, hung on a peg,
And useful to hide the defects in the leg.
D’s a Dalmatic, for festival use
Embroidered all o’er by an Anglican goose.
E is an Eagle, which serves as a desk,
In part medieval, in part arabesque.
F is a Frontal, which gracefully fell
O’er the altar, affronting the people as well.
...
M is the Mass they’re so bent on repeating,
That their service might almost be called a “Mass-meeting,”
...
O is the Orphrey, a piece of embroidery
Worked o’er the vestments to make them more tawdry.
...
T is the Thurible, whose very smell
Incenses the people, and makes them rebel.
U is the obsolete Use of (old) Sarum,
Brought out for their converts, for Rome to prepare ‘em.
V is the Vow they imprudently make
Both wedlock and goods of the world to forsake.⁴¹⁶

This excerpt calls particular attention to four pieces of embroidered objects—chasuble, dalmatic, frontal, and orphrey—as well as Anglo-Catholic practices like swinging incense in thuribles. Moreover, the reference to “(old) Sarum” is about pre-Reformation religious practices, namely Roman rites, which had been modified in Salisbury; Old Sarum is the site of Stonehenge. The rhyme therefore locates Anglo-Catholic and Tractarian religious practices within an archaic past.

⁴¹⁶ *Punch*, “An ABC For Youthful Anglicans,” 8 April 1871, 145; quoted partially by Anson, 215.

The Public Worship Regulation Act was passed a few years after this issue of *Punch*, and dealt exactly with the objects they mention, and the doctrine that allowed for their inclusion in church services. The mockery from *Punch*, and the more sinister implications of the PWRA, is simultaneously also a gendered critique. Their clear nervousness regarding embroidery specifically points to work by women as a problem; the rhyme also mentions the taking of vows as forsaking “wedlock and goods of the world.” Lamprooning religious embroidery is a critique about the agency of convents, by targeting the art they produced. Likewise, Goodhue’s architecture and its decorative surfaces could make the people rebel, while Updike’s printing would be just another gaudy addition to this supposed jumble, much like the pile of objects Goodhue drew when constructing the vestry at Traumburg.

What the rhyme misses, of course, are the connected strands between these ritual objects and spaces, in concert with the rituals themselves, tying those who made the works to those who used them. J.D. Sedding applied a textile metaphor to describe the interweaving of art and religion: “see how, like warp and woof, they run together in the woven fabric of human history!”⁴¹⁷ This combination of religious meaning and art making is one that applies directly to Updike, Goodhue, and the Society of St. Margaret, along with their interest in and commitment to artforms of the past. Their working practice was based on an obligation to create spaces that were meditative and meaningful, and to make that meaning for themselves, through craft. As Richard Sennett describes it, “craftsmanship names an enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake.”⁴¹⁸ These convents, printing houses, and architectural firms were sites of good work—aesthetically, technically, and arguably morally—as well as sites of independence, through the formation of their communities.

⁴¹⁷ J.D. Sedding, *Art and Handicraft*, London: Kegan Paul, 1893, 30.

⁴¹⁸ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 9.

The root between *text* and *textile* speaks to weaving, changing, and process, whether that is with words or with thread. In Thomas Wharton's novel *Salamander* (2010), Nicholas Flood, an eighteenth-century printer of novelty books, is tasked with creating a never-ending book.

Wharton's description of the intricacy and depth of one printed object is reproduced here:

The book tells its own story. Examine it closely and you will see the ragged edges of the type, its cracks and bumps and gaps, the letters that lie crookedly or ride higher or lower than the others, the ink's variations in depth, consistency, and hue, the motes of dust and droplets of sweat sealed with the warp and woof of the paper, the tiny insect bodies caught as the platen came down and now immortalized as unnecessary commas and full stops. In these imperfections lies a human tale of typecutters, squinting compositors, proofreaders and black-faced printer's devils, laboring against time and heartache and disorder, against life, to create that thing not found in nature, yet still subject to its changes. The pages stain, fox, dry out. Paper flakes like rusty metal. Threads work loose, headbands and tailbands fray. Front and back boards sag from spines, flyleaves and buckram corner-pieces peel away. Dust mites, cockroaches, and termites dine on paper and binding paste. Rats and mice make snug nests in the middle of thick chapters. And unseen through the chemical action of time, the words themselves are drained of their living sap. In every library, readers sit in placid quiet while all around them a forest decays.⁴¹⁹

Wharton positions the book as a living object, one composed of moving parts, and one which is in a constant and irrevocable state of decay. This attention to the creation of books, and the components that comprise them, lends itself well to thinking about books as architectural objects, quires tied together through stitching, like the embroidery that ties together the Gothic Revival spaces discussed here. These spaces are then activated through movement, facilitated by these art objects.

I will conclude with a crafted object: the altar at the Church of the Intercession (Fig. 1), Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's Gothic Revival behemoth in Washington Heights.⁴²⁰ The altar is composed of stones from significant Christian worship sites, predominantly in England, but also in Israel and Palestine. These inlaid stones were crowd-sourced and sent to Goodhue's office, but

⁴¹⁹ Thomas Wharton, *Salamander*, New York: Washington Square Press, 2010, 153.

⁴²⁰ For more on the Intercession, see Oliver, 87-89.

there is now no record of the actual process, nor documentation of their receipt. It is easily possible that Goodhue just found some stones, or mixed some New York City stones in with those claiming to be from Bethany, Salisbury, or Nazareth. This assemblage of fictive and real, of stone and iridescence, is both a built and woven object. The foliate shapes, rendered in brass, curve like they did in Goodhue's border designs, and the inclusion of grapes and leaves recall the Society of St. Margaret altar frontal. Through the composition of this altar, Goodhue's firm brought other sites to the church, to be included in this specific space. The altar is also an analogy for Arts and Crafts production: working collectively, for the creation of a multivalent work that is both intimate and public.

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IMAGES

INTRODUCTION



Fig. 1, Display of Gothic Revival ecclesiastical art at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 2, Display of Chalices, Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 3, G.F. Bodley for Watts & Co., *Chasuble* (c. 1882), Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 4, Asher B. Durand, *Kindred Spirits* (1849), Crystal Bridges Museum, Bentonville



Fig. 5, Church of the Advent, view from the altar, Boston



Fig. 6, Church of the Advent, view of the reredos, Boston



Fig. 7, Holy Trinity Sloane Square, façade, London

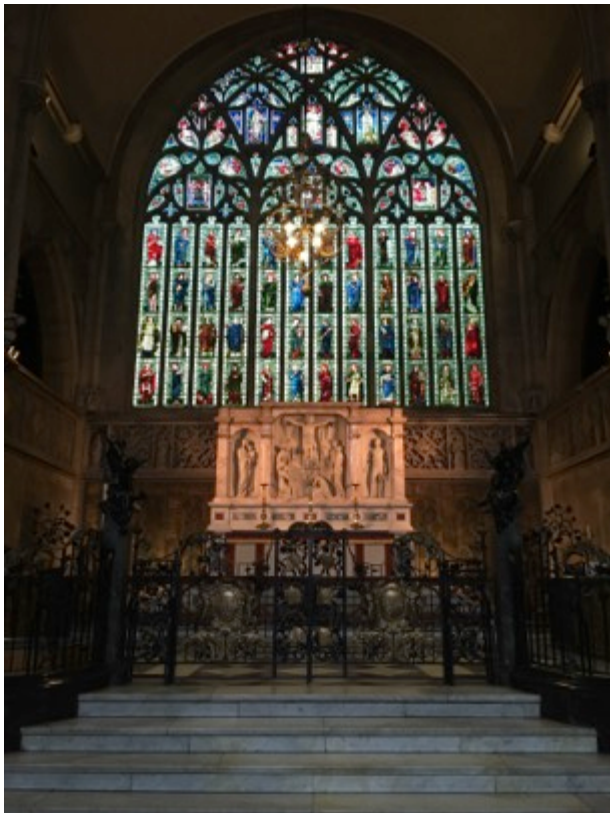


Fig. 8, Holy Trinity Sloane Square, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones window, London

CHAPTER 1



Fig. 1.1, Society of St. Margaret, *St. Margaret Chasuble*, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.2, *Steeple Aston Cope* (1330-40), Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 1.3, Butler-Bowdon Cope (1330-50), Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 1.4, *St. Margaret Chasuble*, detail



Fig. 1.5, William Quiller Orchardson, *The Story of a Life* (1866), Yale Center for British Art, New Haven



Fig. 1.6, John Everett Millais, *The Vale of Rest* (1859), Tate Britain



FASHIONS FOR 1850; OR,

A PAGE FOR THE PUSEYITES.

Fig. 1.7, *Punch*, “Fashions for 1850; or, A Page for the Puseyites” (1850)



THE PUSEYITE MOTH AND ROMAN CANDLE.

“Fly away Silly Moth.”

Fig. 1.8, *Punch*, “Puseyite Moth and the Roman Candle” (1850)



THE GUY FAWKES OF 1850
 PREPARING TO BLOW UP ALL ENGLAND!

Fig. 1.9, *Punch*, “The Guy Fawkes of 1850: Preparing to Blow Up All England” (1850)

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.

CONVENT OF THE BELGRAVIANS.

VERYBODY who has a proper veneration for the reredos, and who, without holding extreme opinions on the subject of the dalmatic, feels correctly on that of the alb, who has a soul that can appreciate mediæval art, particularly the beautiful foreshortening of our ancestors, and who would revive their ecclesiastical practices and institutions to an extent just tastefully Romanesque, will be “ryght gladde” to hear that it is proposed to found a Convent, on Anglican principles, under the above title. The vulgar, who think that a minority is necessarily a sect, will, of course, call it a Puseyite Nunnery: that cannot be helped.

The Convent will be under the superintendence of a Lady Abbess, who will be a real Countess, at the least. One principal object of the institution is to recall the good old times when the gentle **BLANCHE** or the high-born **BRUNHILDA**, taking the vows and the veil, connected the hallowed cell with the heraldic griffin, the coronet with the cloister.

The Nuns will all make an engagement of celibacy; but, to preclude them from contracting any rash obligation, only for so long as they may remain in the Convent, which they shall be at liberty to quit whenever they please, at a month’s notice—or the equivalent alternative. Each Nun will be required to contribute to the necessities of the Convent at least £10 a week, that sum being the minimum at which it will be possible to defray the expenses of the establishment, and keep it select. She will be, also, expected to bring two silver forks, and all the usual requisites of the toilet.

Fig. 1.10, *Punch*, “The Convent of the Belgravians” (1850)



Fig. 1.11, Aubrey Beardsley, "The Ascension of Saint Rose of Lima" (1895)



Fig. 1.12, William Collins, *The World and the Cloister* (1843)



Fig. 1.13, Arthur Hughes, *Convent Boat* (1874)



Fig. 1.14, George Hall Neale, *Christ or the World?* (c. 1892)



Fig. 1.15, Arthur Hacker, *The Cloister or the World* (1896)



Fig. 1.16, Edmund Blair Leighton, *Vows* (1906)



Fig. 1.17, Charles Allston Collins, *Convent Thoughts* (1851), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



Fig. 1.18, Society of St. Margaret, *Panel*, York Minster



Fig. 1.19, Society of St. Margaret, *White Linen Altarpiece*, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.20, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, tondo detail, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.21, Society of St. Margaret, tondo detail, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.22, Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna del Magnificat* (1481), Uffizi Gallery, Florence



Fig. 1.23, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Etched angel and female figures, damaged, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.24, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Etched wedding at Cana, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.25, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Etched Mary, Joseph, and Jesus, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.26, Society of St. Margaret, *Burse*, Christ walking in the wilderness, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.27, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Angels on rust colored fabric, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.28, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Christ on the cross, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.29, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Christ flagellation, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.30, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Judas kissing Christ, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.31, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Agony in the Garden, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.32, Society of St. Margaret, *Chasuble*, Christ's Resurrection, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.33, Fra Angelico, *Resurrection of Christ* (1440-42), Convent of San Marco, Florence



Fig. 1.34, Society of St. Margaret, *Cope hood*, Paul on the road to Damascus, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.35, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Conversion on the Way to Damascus* (1601), Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome



Fig. 1.36, Society of St. Margaret, *Cope Hood*, Detail of Saul, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.37, Rebecca Reed, *Six Months in a Convent*, book stamp, Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf, 1835



Fig. 1.38, Charlestown newspaper illustration, 1834



Fig. 1.39, Robert Walter Weir, *Taking the Veil* (1863), Yale University Art Gallery



Fig. 1.40, Louisburg Square, Boston (November 2016)



Fig. 1.41, Society of St. Margaret and Goodhue, *Cope hood*

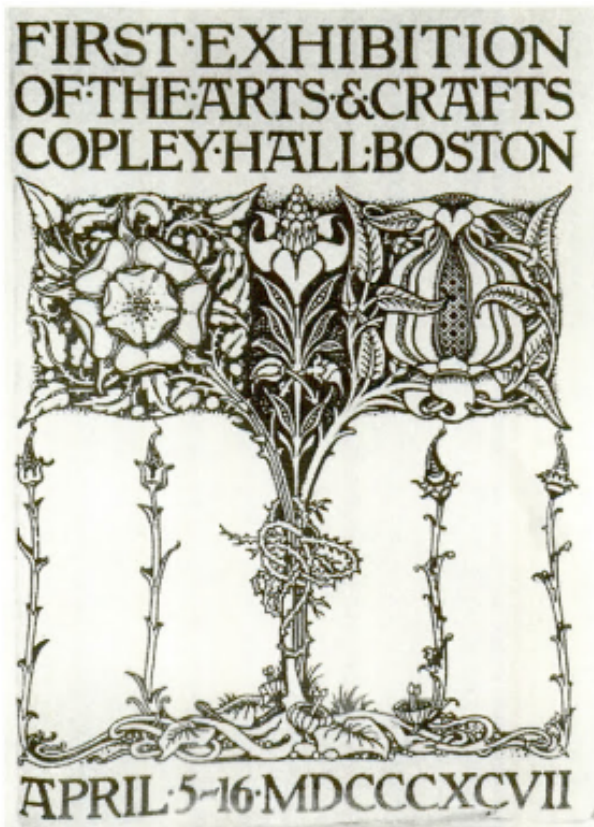


Fig. 1.42, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Society of Arts and Crafts Boston, *First Exhibition* cover (1897)



Fig. 1.43, Fred Holland Day, *Sister Teresa* (c. 1895)



Fig. 1.44, Fred Holland Day, *Sister Teresa* (c. 1895)



Fig. 1.45, May Morris and Philip Webb, *Super-frontal* (1898-99), Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 1.46, Philip Webb and May Morris, *Altar and Super-frontal* (1898-99), Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 1.47, Elizabeth Hoare's found cope, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.48, Mary Slater, lace maker (1900)

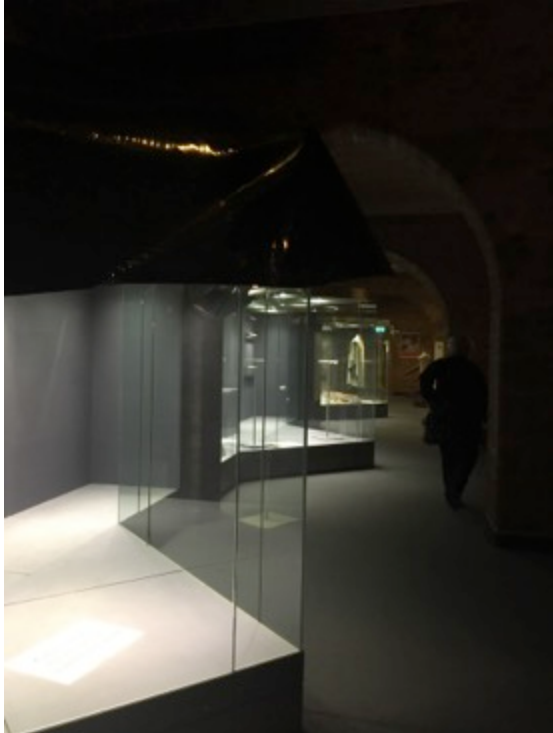


Fig. 1.49, Triforium Gallery, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.50, Society of St. Margaret, *Burse*, Elizabeth Hoare Embroidery Gallery, Liverpool Cathedral



Fig. 1.51, Matteo di Giovanni, *Madonna delle Grazie* (1470), Grosseto Duomo

CHAPTER 2

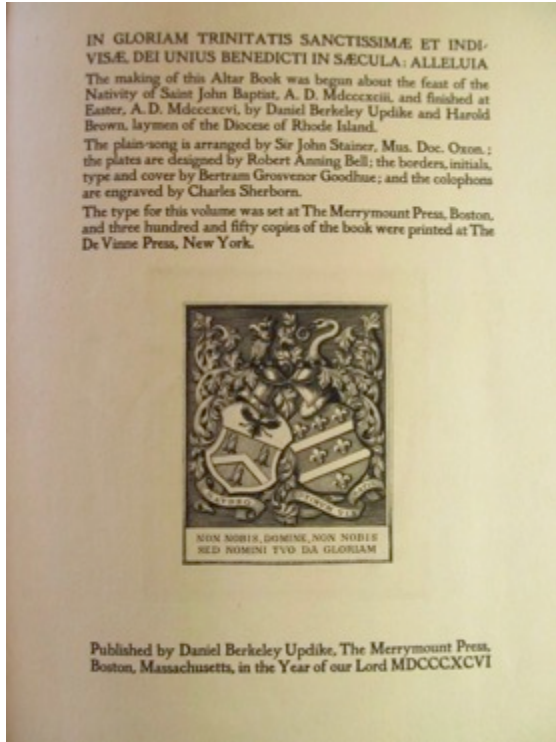


Fig. 2.1, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Colophon, Boston Athenaeum copy

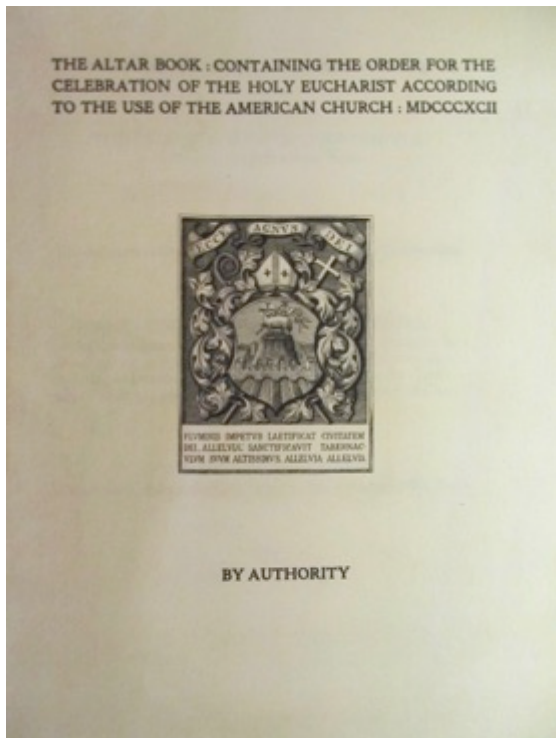


Fig. 2.2, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Title Page, Boston Athenaeum copy

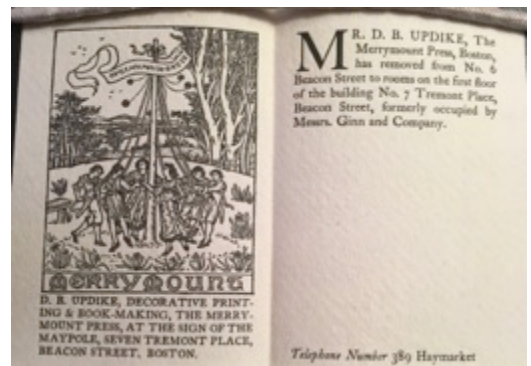
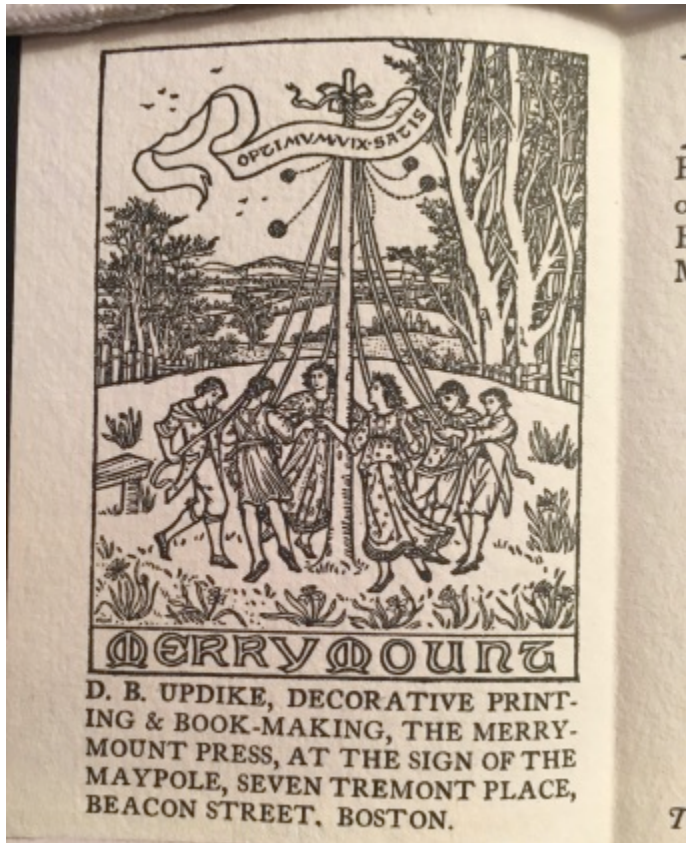


Fig. 2.3, Merry-mount Press advertisements, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.4, Tiling, William Morris porch, Red House, Bexleyheath



Fig. 2.5, Walter Crane, *The Worker's May-Pole* (1894)



Fig. 2.6, Walter Crane, *A Garland for May-Day* (1895)

THURSDAY BEFORE EASTER.

THE EPISTLE. 1 Cor. xi. 17.



IN this that I declare unto you that ye come together not for the worse. For first of all, when in the church, I hear that there be you; and I partly believe it. For also heresies among you, that testified may be made manifest as ye come together therefore into one place, this is no supper. For in eating every one taketh before other and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the churches shame them that have not? What shall I say to you in this? I praise you not. For I have received which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This is the tament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unwor- and blood of the Lord. But let a m

Fig. 2.7, Merrymount Type, Boston Athenaeum copy

MEMORIA. CAPITULO. XXIII.

d Ifficile e sapere chi gl'altri di memoria habbi auanzato. Bêche essa sia chosa necessaria alla uita humana. Molti per questa hãno acquistato fama. Cyrro Re di tutti cfoldati del suo exercito sapeua enomi. Lucio Scipiõe tutto el popolo Romano chiamaua per suo nome. Cynea imbasciadore di Pyrrho Re el secondo di che era giuncto a Roma tutto el senato & lordie equestre saluto chiamãdo ciaschuno pel nome suo. Mitridate Re di .xxii. nationi atutti nell'administrare ragione parlaua in loro lingua sãza interprete. Carmada greco sapeua quanti uolumi & diche materia ciaschuno scriptore hauea composto. Simonide medico trouo larte della memoria dipoi fu rilimata & ridocãta in perfectione da Metrodoro Sceptio: & niẽtedimeno nessuna chosa e nellhuomo piu facile a perdere p molti casi o morbi o di tutte lechose o in particolare dalchũa & spesso la paura lossende. Vno pchosso da una pietra dimẽticho solamẽte le lettere. Vnaltro cadendo dellecto dimẽticho lamadre e parenti & glamici. Alchuno p malattia anchora eserui dimenticha. Messala oratore dimẽticho el proprio nome. Ma spesso uolte tenta di fuggire lamemoria etiam nel corpo sano & quieto. Spesso nel uenire del sonno manca in modo che la uana mte ricerca doue essa sia.

Fig. 2.8, Jenson Type

qui se neglecto,
 erat. Qui bene
 sibi ipsi vilescit,

Fig. 2.9, Garamond Type


THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN ADVENT. **THE COLLECT.**

 LORD, raise up, we pray thee, thy power, and
 come among us, and with great might succour us;
 that whereas, through our sins and wickedness,
 we are sore let and hindered in running the race
 that is set before us, thy bountiful grace and mer-
 cy may speedily help and deliver us; through
 the satisfaction of thy Son our Lord, to whom,
 with thee and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory, world without
 end. **Amen.**

Fig. 2.10, *Altar Book* hyphen, Boston Athenaeum copy

deno, Odi quanti dolori & amara poena & cruciamento gerua lei, O pra-
 uo impio, & execrabile appetito, O insania detestabile, O defraudati sen-
 si, per uoi cusi lubricamente, cum il medesimo piacere belluo, & gli mise-
 ri mortali ruinano. O sordido amore. O absordissimo furore. O disordi-
 nata & inane Cupidine, di tanti errori & tormeti ad gli pertacti cori nidu
 labonda lacescente. O di multiplice benemaluagio & exitiale interito. O
 immane monstro, come ageuola & subdola gliochii degli ifelici amato
 ri tui, ueli & nubili: O tristi & sciagurati chi se inuiscida cum tanti mali, in
 tanto

Fig. 2.11, Aldus Manutius Type



Fig. 2.12, Section, Koran, 9th-10th c. Abbasid, probably Iraq, Freer and Sackler Galleries

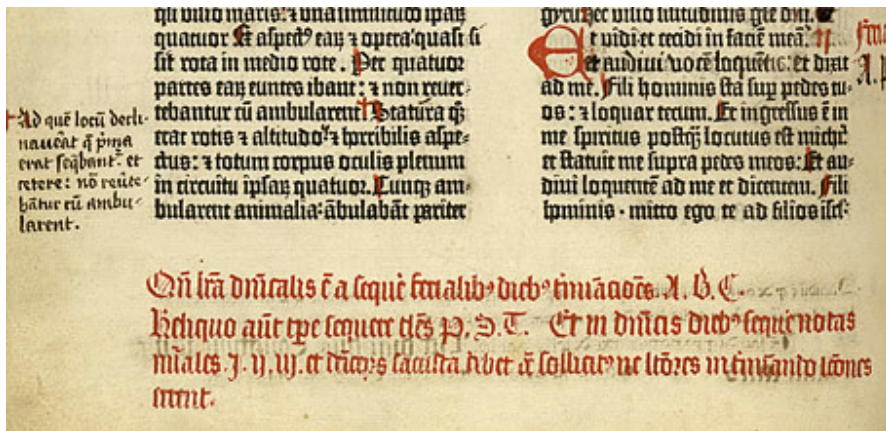


Fig. 2.13, Detail, Gutenberg Bible, c. 1450, Harry Ransom Center

While on her hearth lay blazing many a piece
Of sandal-wood, rare gums and cinnamon;
Men scarcely know how beautiful fire is;
Each flame of it is as a precious stone
Dissolved in ever-moving light, and this
Belongs to each and all who gaze upon.
The Witch beheld it not, for in her hand
She held a woof that dimmed the burning brand.

This is the Golden type.

NOW es the rede knyghte slayne,
Lefte dede in the playne,
The childe gone his mere mayne
After the stede;
The stede was swifter than the mere,
for he hade nothyng to bere
But his sadille and his gere,
fro hym thofe he yede.

This is the Chaucer type.

I dreeste me forth, and happede to mete anone
Right a faire lady, I you ensure;
And she come riding by herself alone,
Al in white; with semblaunce ful demure
I salued hir, and bad hir good aventure
Might hir bifal, as I coude most humbly;
And she answered: My doughter, gramercy!

This is the Troy type.

KELMSCOTT TYPES

Fig. 2.14, William Morris Type



Fig. 2.15, Kelmscott *Chaucer*, final page, University of Iowa Libraries

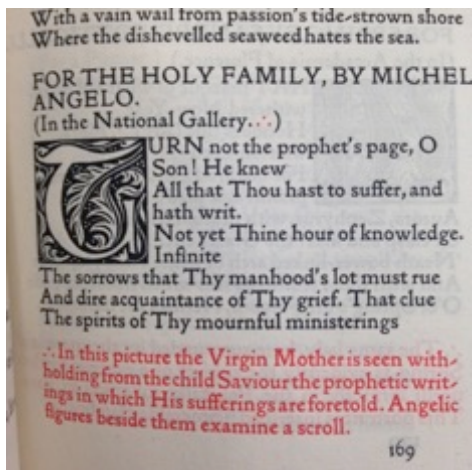


Fig. 2.16, D.G. Rossetti, Kelmscott Press, "For the Holy Family," University of Washington

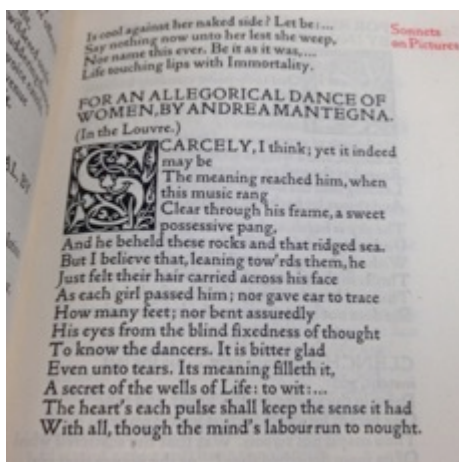


Fig. 2.17, D.G. Rossetti, Kelmscott Press, "Sonnets on Pictures," University of Washington

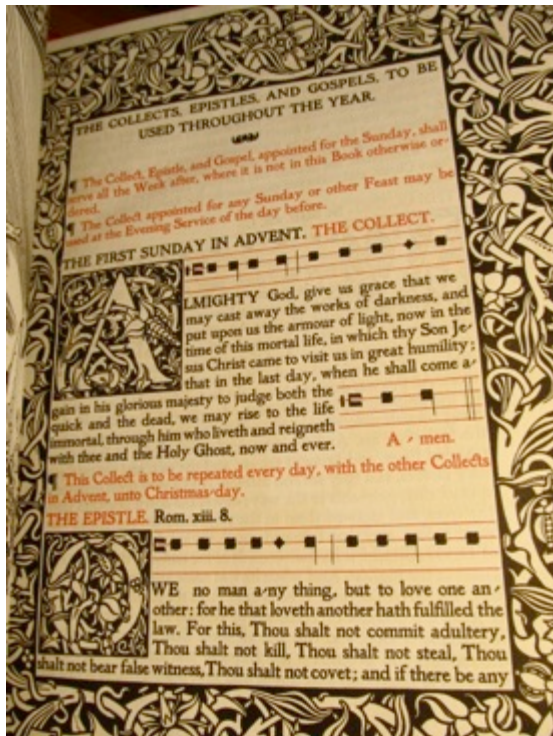


Fig. 2.18, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Collect and Epistle for the first Sunday of Advent, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.19, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Nicene and Apostles' Creed, Boston Athenaeum copy

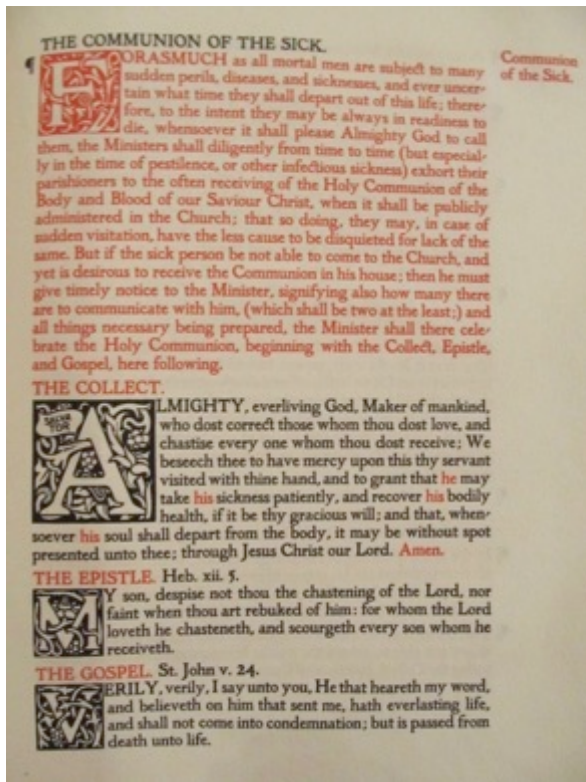


Fig. 2.20, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, The Communion of the Sick, Boston Athenaeum copy

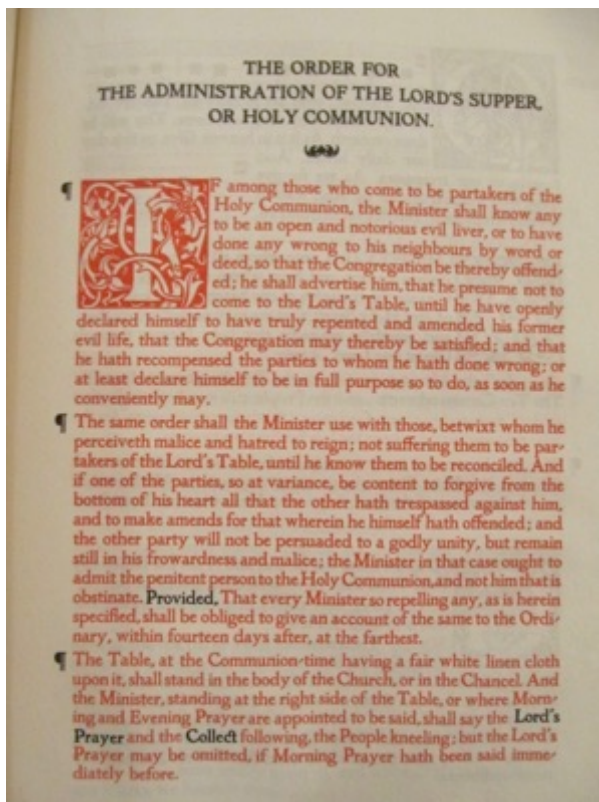


Fig. 2.21, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, Boston Athenaeum copy

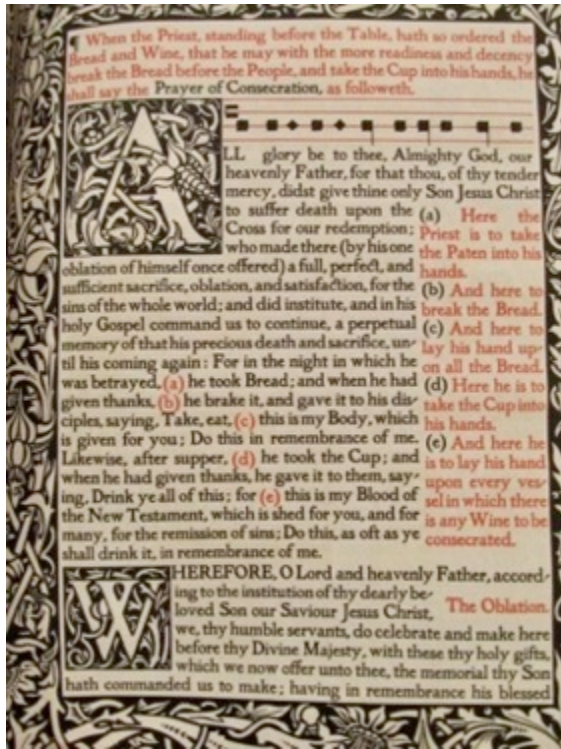


Fig. 2.22, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Prayer of Consecration, Communion, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.23, Robert Anning Bell, "Moses Banishing the Serpents," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.24, Robert Anning Bell, "Christmas," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.25, Robert Anning Bell, "Easter," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.26, Robert Anning Bell, "Ascension Day," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.27, Robert Anning Bell, "Whitsunday," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.28, Robert Anning Bell, "Trinity Sunday," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.29, Robert Anning Bell, "Communion," Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*



Fig. 2.30, Robert Anning Bell, "Nativity" drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.31, Robert Anning Bell, "Nativity" with pasted on border, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.32, Robert Anning Bell, "Easter" drawing with pasted on border, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum

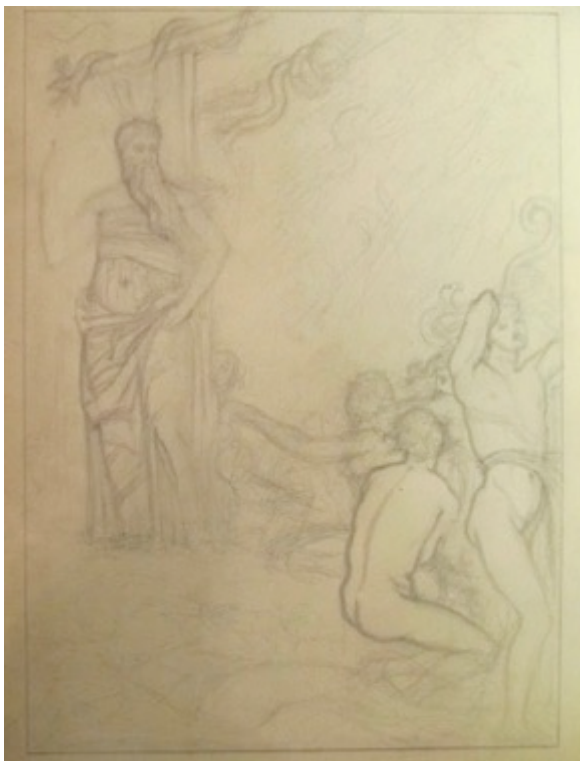


Fig. 2.33, Robert Anning Bell, "Moses" pencil drawings, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum

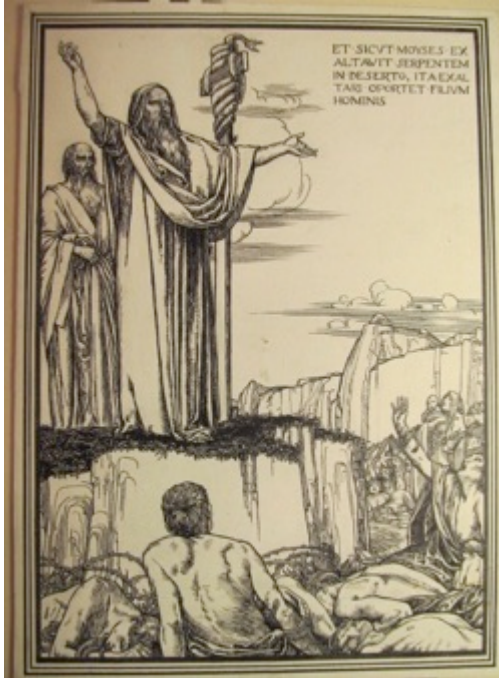


Fig. 2.34, Robert Anning Bell, “Moses” pen and ink drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.35 Robert Anning Bell, poster for Liverpool School of Architecture and Applied Art



Fig. 2.36, Robert Anning Bell, "Communion" drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.37, Robert Anning Bell, "Communion" drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.38, Robert Anning Bell, “Christ leaving the tomb” drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.39, Robert Anning Bell, “Easter” drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.40, Masaccio, *Trinità* (1425), Santa Maria Novella, Florence



Fig. 2.41, Robert Anning Bell, "Trinity" drawing, John Carter Brown Library



Fig. 2.42, Robert Anning Bell, “Ascension Day” drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.43, Robert Anning Bell, “Whitsunday” drawing, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.44, Edward Burne-Jones and Robert Catterson-Smith, *Walter Approaching the Cave Entrance for Earthly Paradise, The Hill of Venus* (c. 1896), William Morris Gallery, London



Fig. 2.45, Robert Anning Bell, *The Cup of Water* (1897), sculptural relief



Fig. 2.46, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Binding, recto and verso, Boston Athenaeum copy

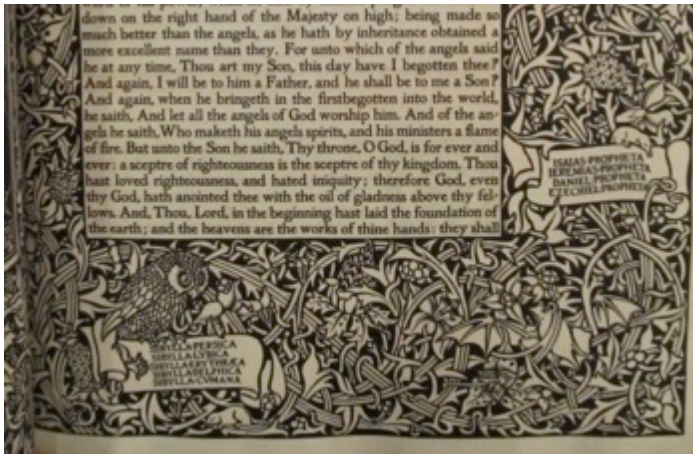


Fig. 2.47, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Nativity border, owls, bats, and mice, Boston Athenaeum copy

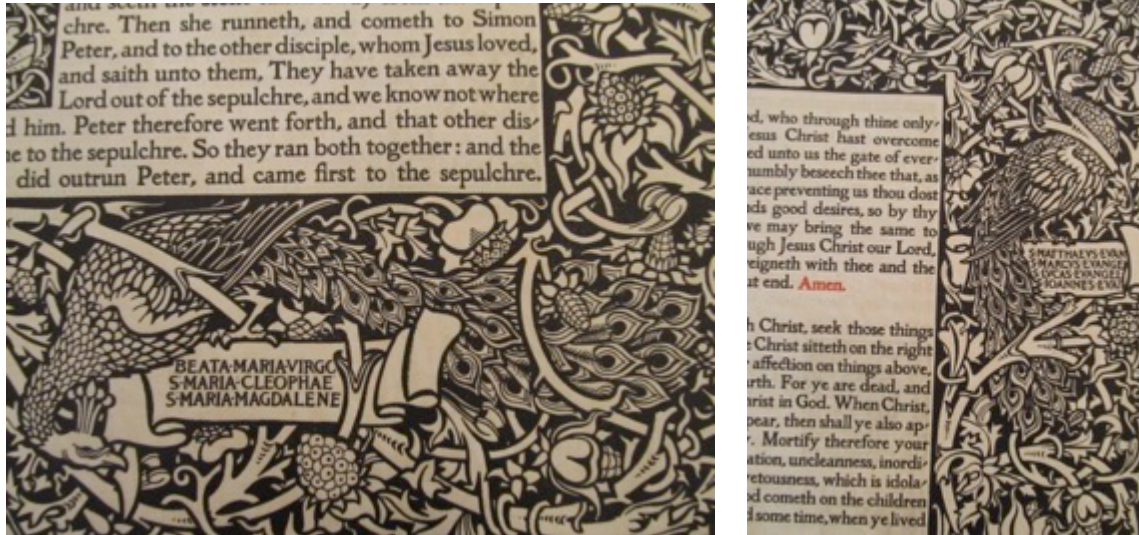


Fig. 2.48, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Easter border, peacocks, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.49, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Four initial Ws, Boston Athenaeum copy

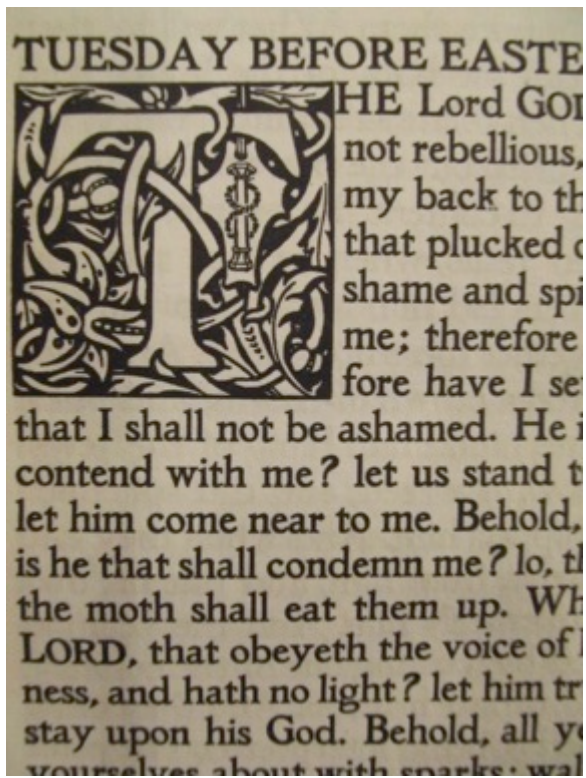


Fig. 2.50, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, T with column and ropes, Boston Athenaeum copy

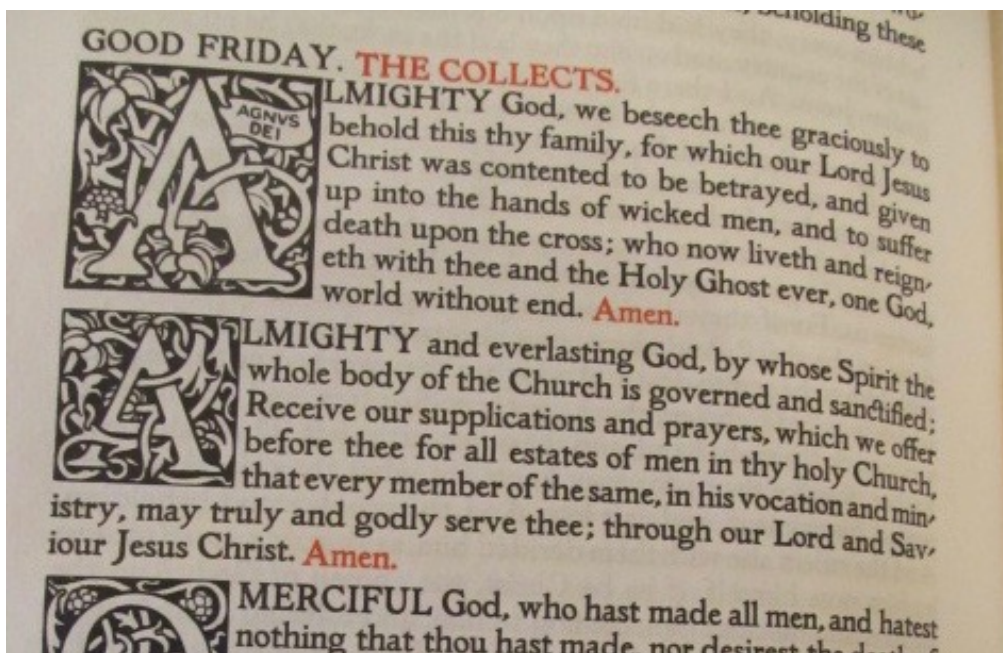


Fig. 2.51, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, A with Agnus Dei, Boston Athenaeum copy

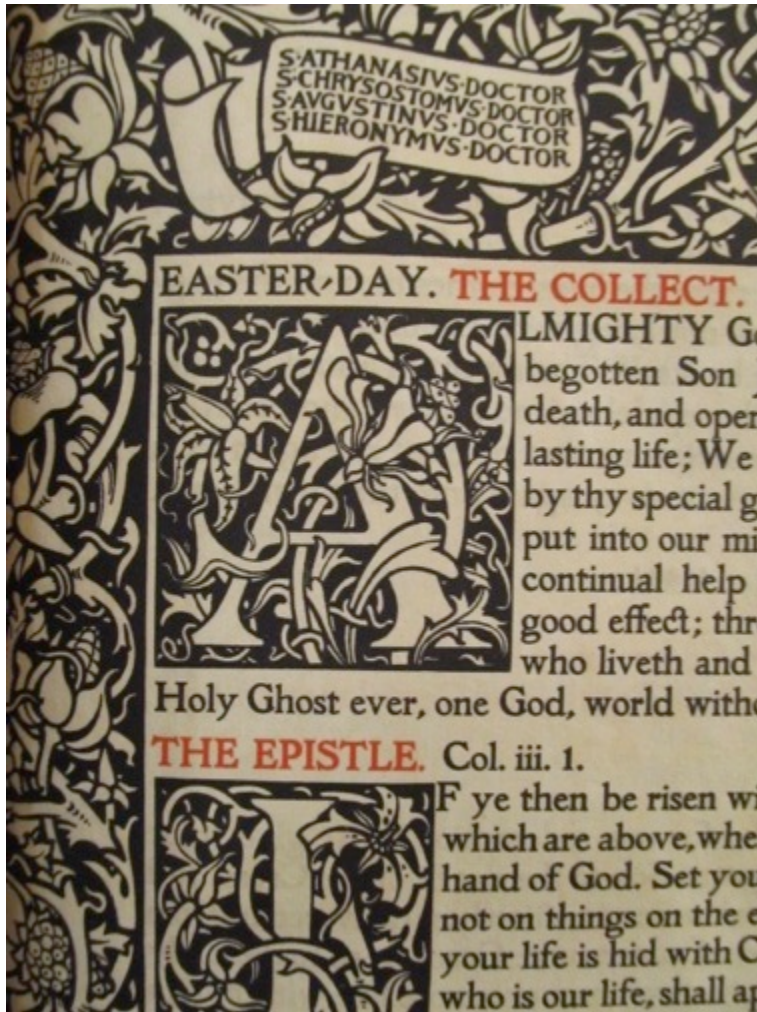


Fig. 2.52, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Easter with lilies, Boston Athenaeum copy

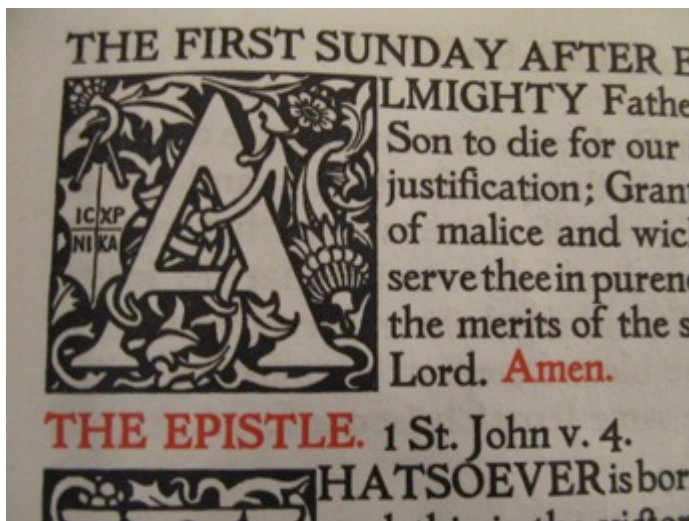


Fig. 2.53, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, A with IC XP NIKA, Boston Athenaeum copy

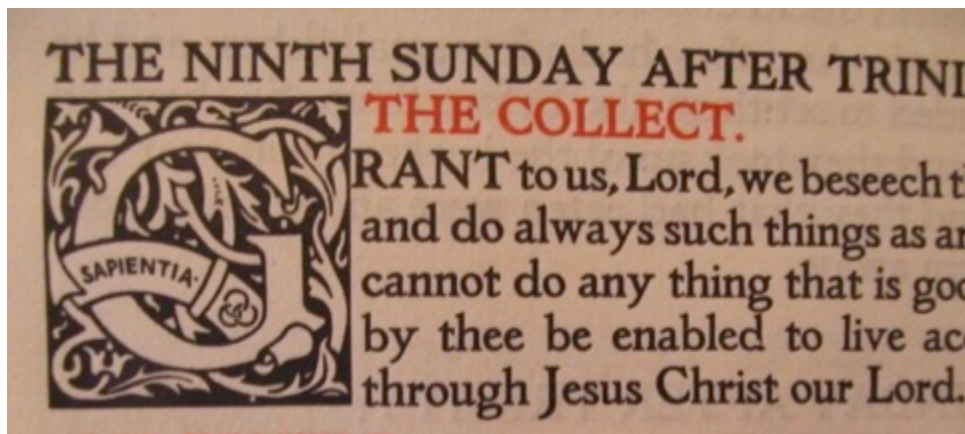


Fig. 2.57, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Ninth Sunday after Trinity's initial G, Sapientia, Boston Athenaeum copy

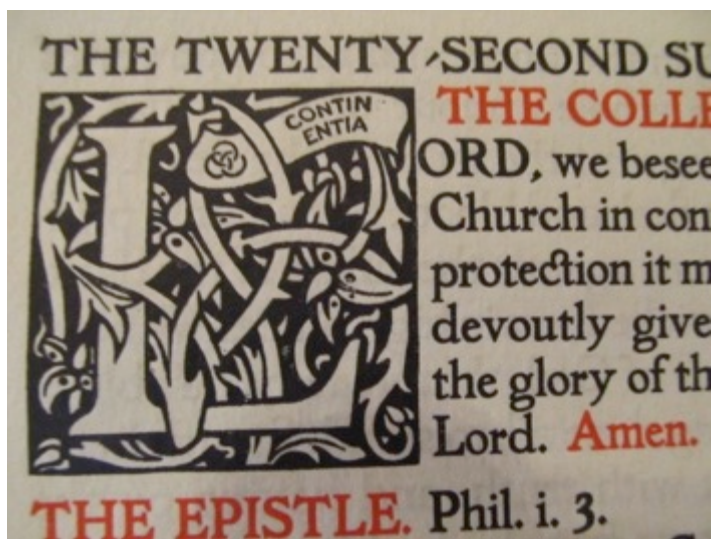


Fig. 2.58, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Twenty-Second Sunday after Trinity's initial L, Continentia, Boston Athenaeum copy

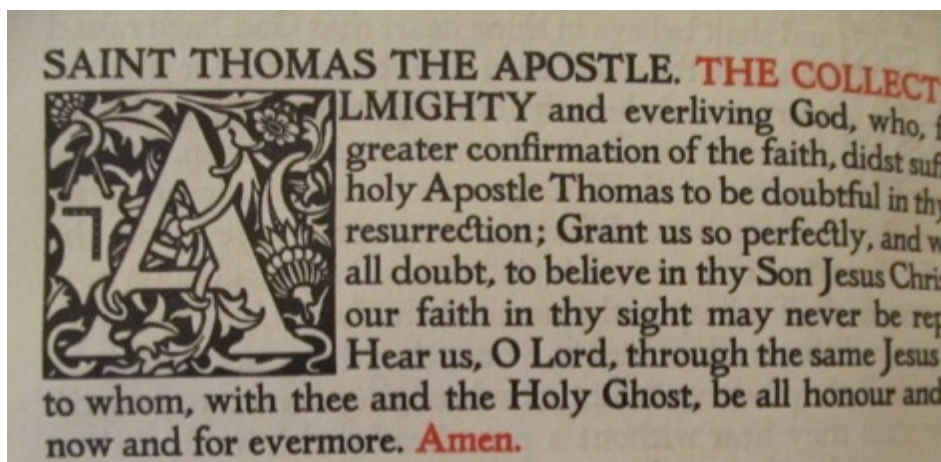


Fig. 2.59, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Thomas the Apostle, Boston Athenaeum copy

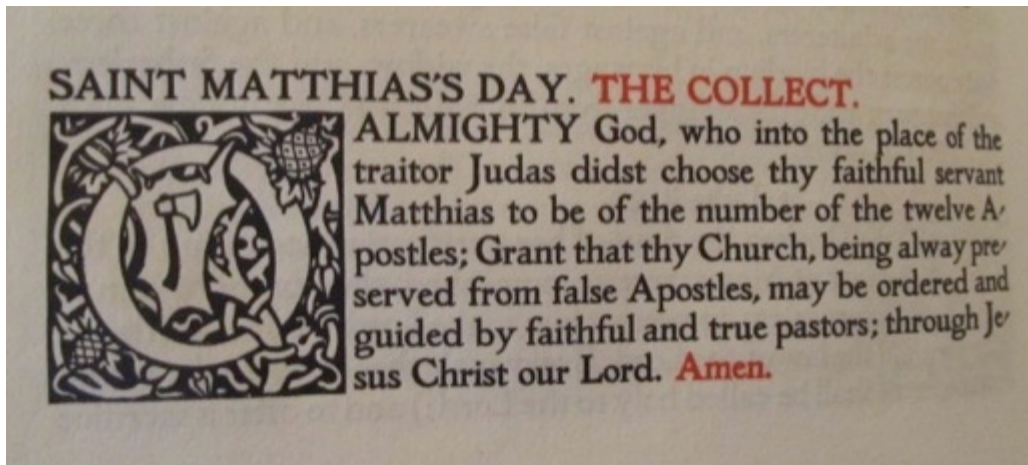


Fig. 2.60, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Saint Matthias, Boston Athenaeum copy

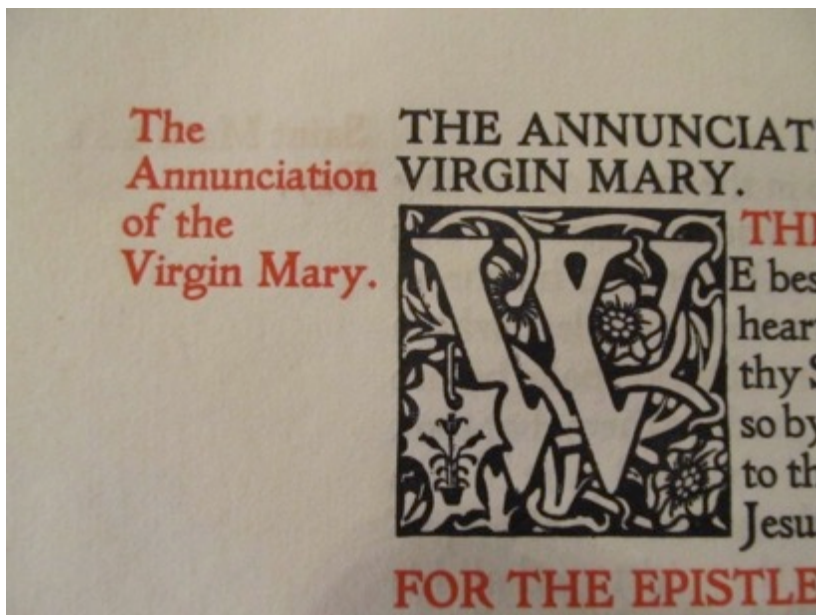


Fig. 2.61, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Boston Athenaeum copy

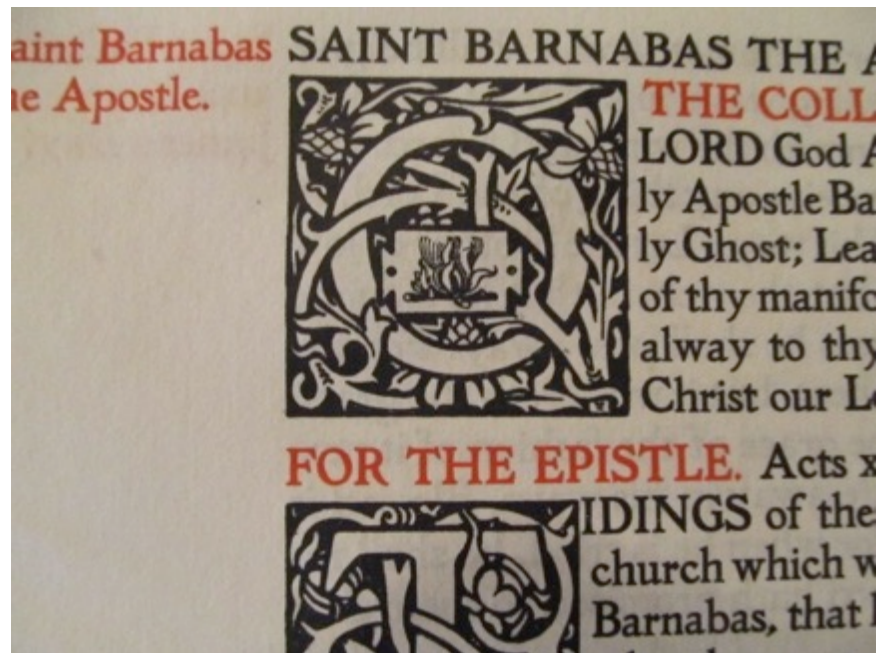


Fig. 2.62, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Saint Barnabas, Boston Athenaeum copy

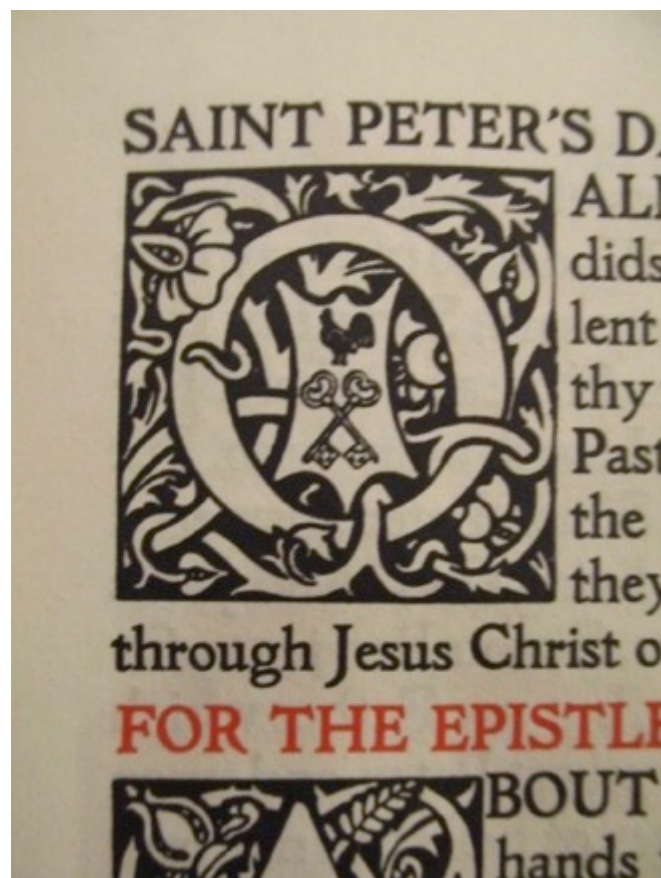


Fig. 2.63, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Saint Peter, Boston Athenaeum copy

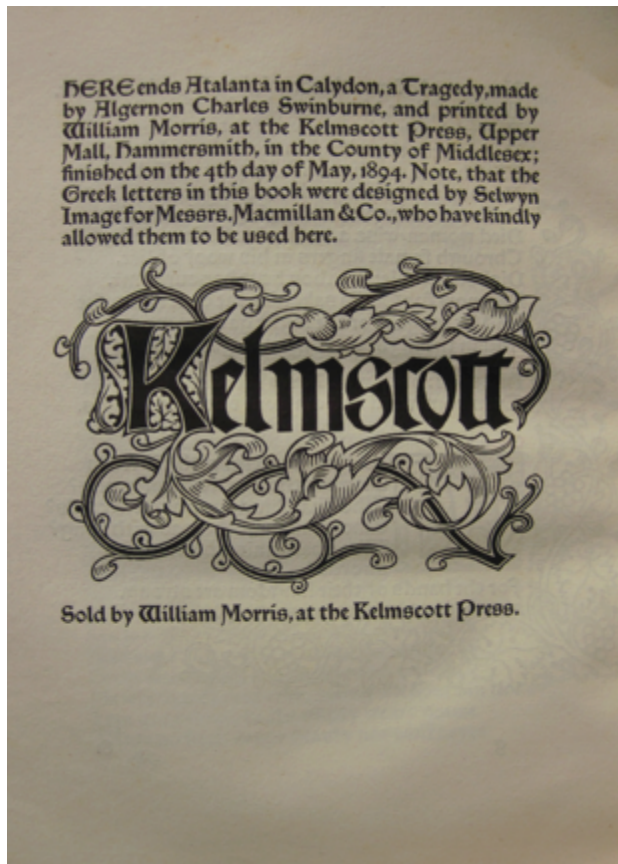


Fig. 2.64, Kelmscott Press colophon, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library

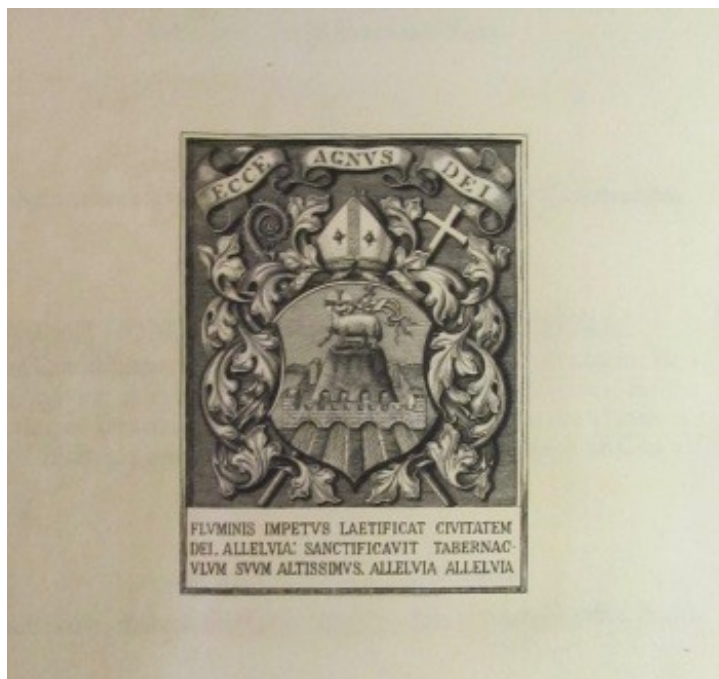


Fig. 2.65, Charles William Sherborn, Frontispiece, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.66, Charles William Sherborn, Johannis Platt Bookplate



Fig. 2.67, Sidney L. Smith, *In Memoriam*, for Charles William Sherborn (1912)

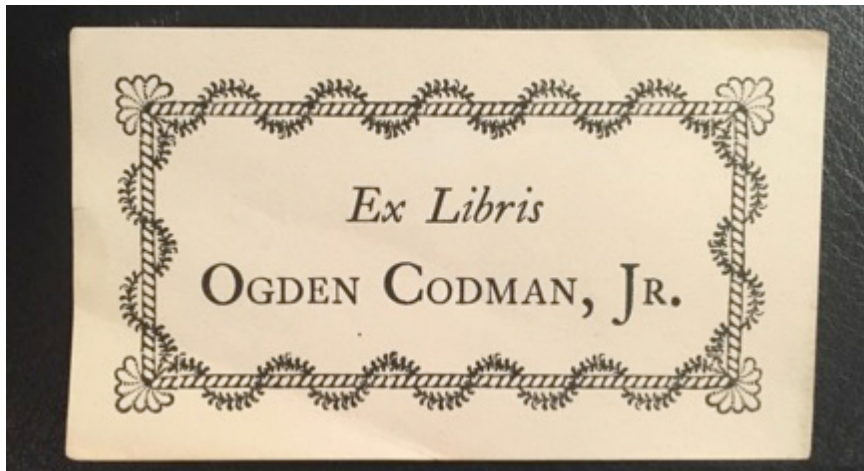


Fig. 2.68, Merrymount Press, Ogden Codman bookplate, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.69, Merrymount Press, Edith Wharton bookplate, Boston Athenaeum

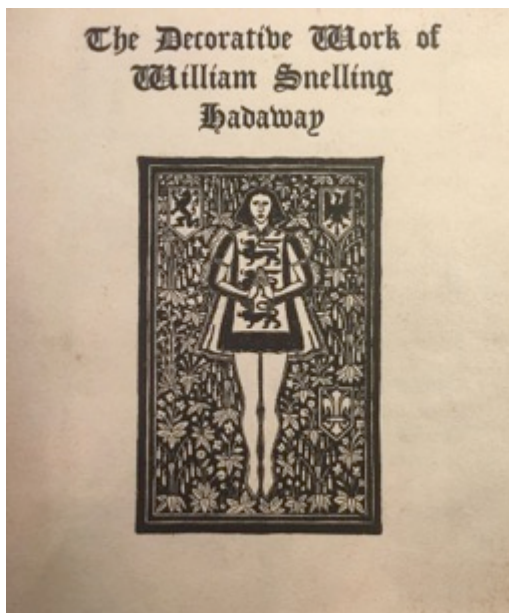


Fig. 2.70, Merrymount Press, William S. Hadaway booklet, Boston Athenaeum



Fig. 2.71, Merrymount Press, BASA artists' festival, Boston Athenaeum

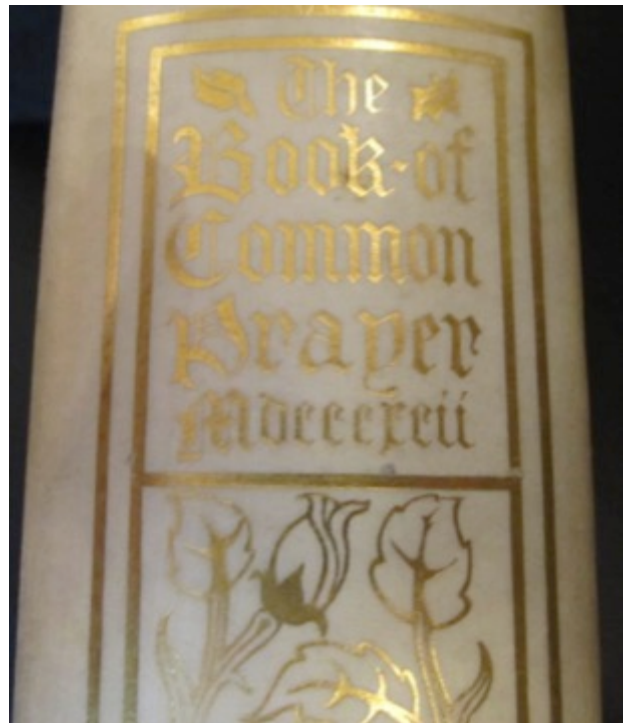
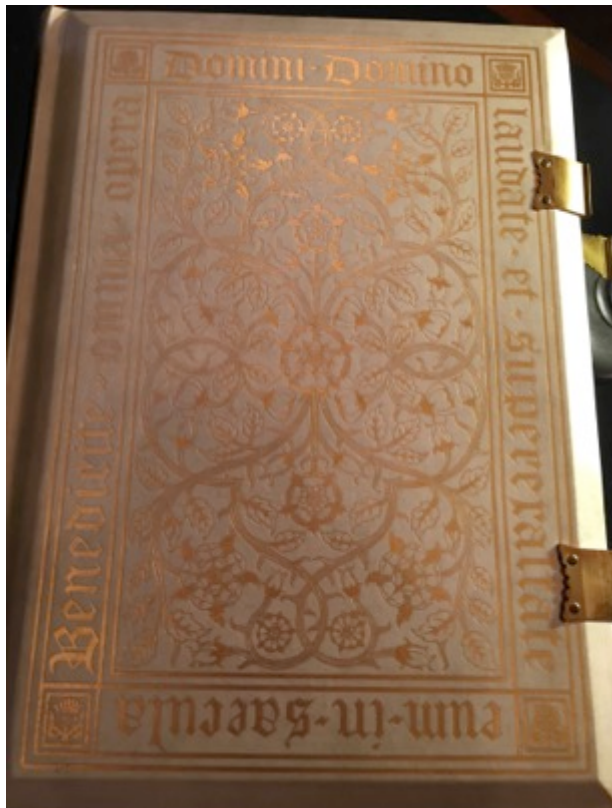


Fig. 2.72, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.73, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Lilies and Thistles flyleaf, Boston Athenaeum copy

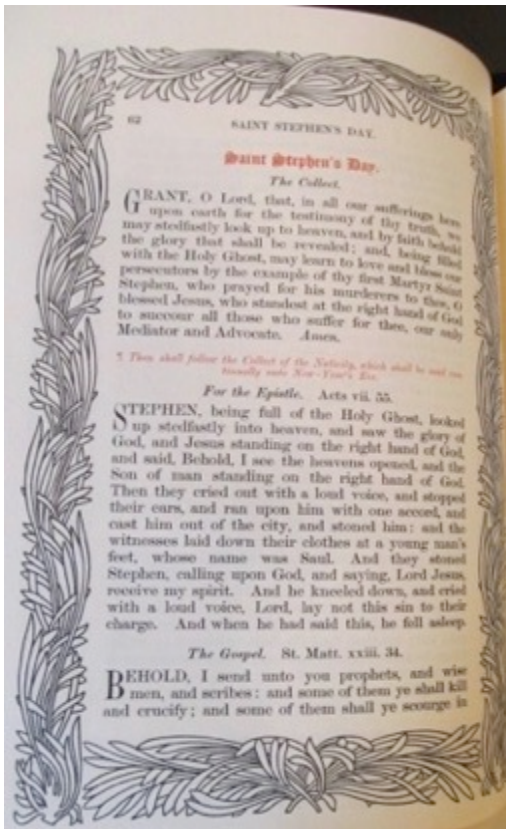


Fig. 2.74, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Saint Stephen's Day, Boston Athenaeum copy

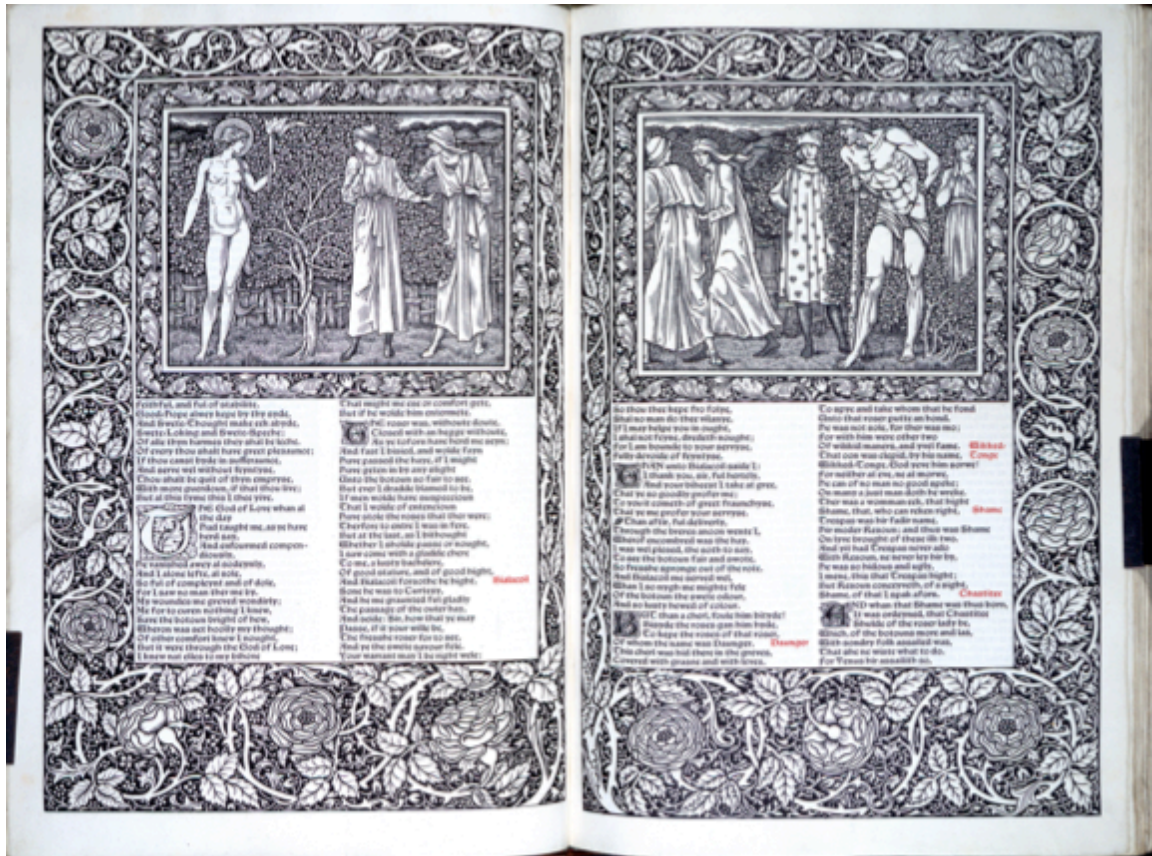


Fig. 2.75, William Morris, Kelmscott Press, *Chaucer* (1896)

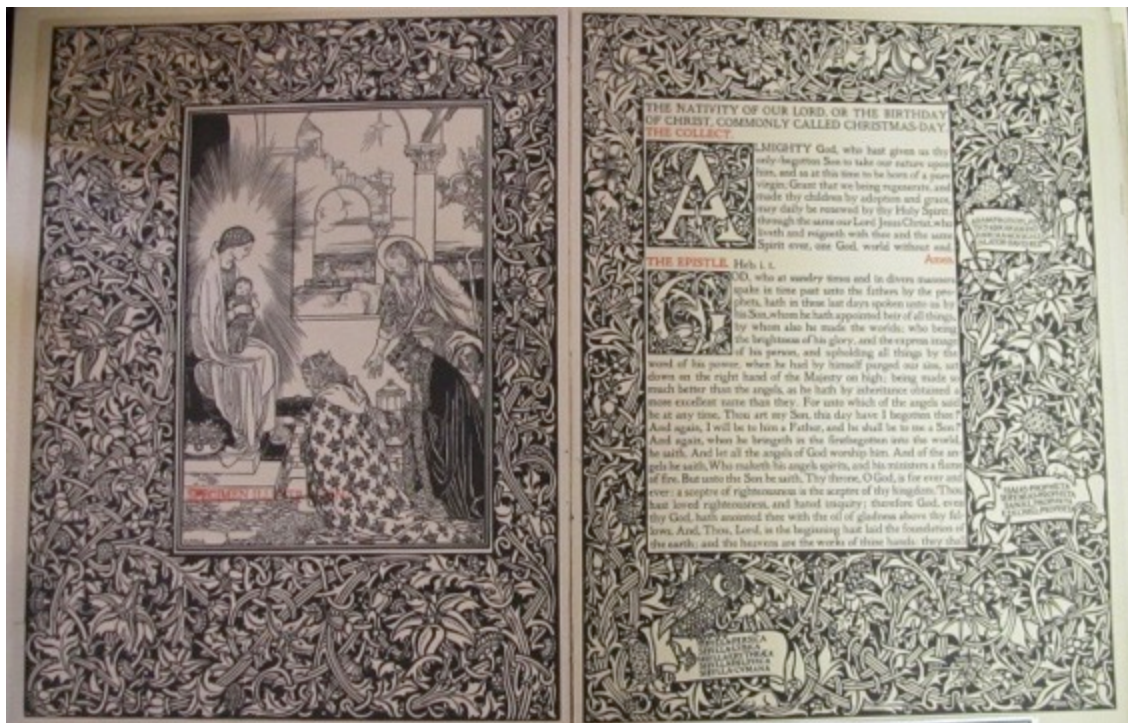


Fig. 2.76, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Nativity pages (1896), Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.77, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Psalms full page, Boston Athenaeum copy

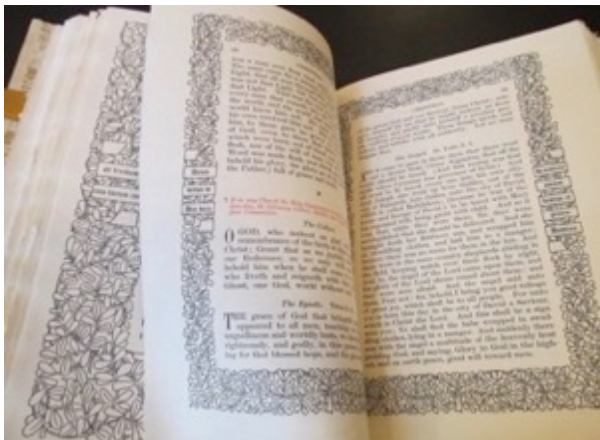


Fig. 2.78, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), inconsistently sized borders, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.79, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Communion pages, border of grapes, Boston Athenaeum copy

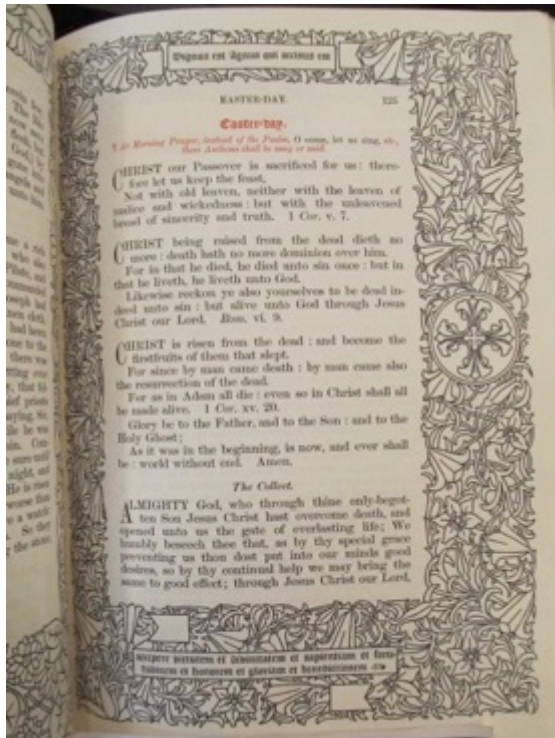


Fig. 2.80, De Vinne Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1892), Easter border, lilies, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.81, Owen Jones, *Victoria Psalter*, exterior, Leighton Son and Hodge, 1861-2, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 2.82, Owen Jones, *Victoria Psalter*, interior pages (1861-2)

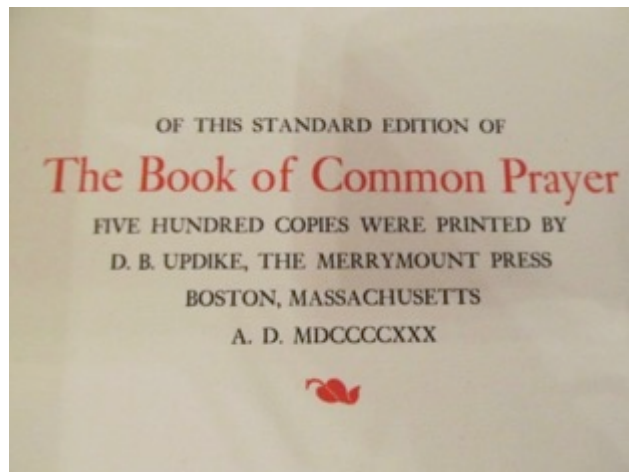
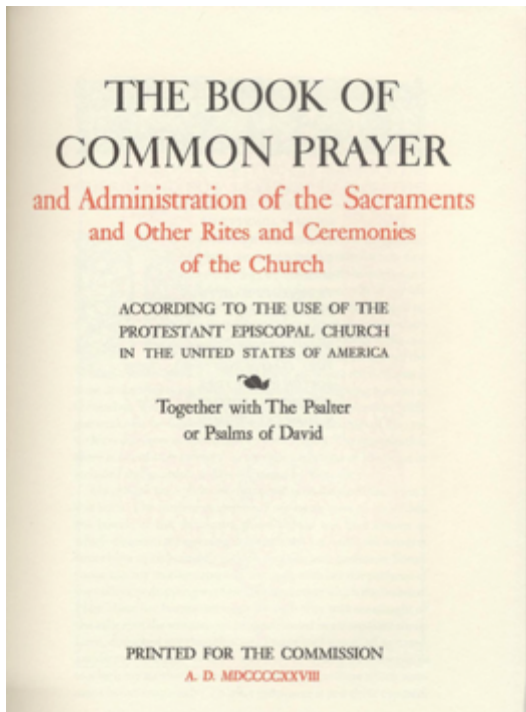


Fig. 2.83, Merrymount Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1928), Boston Athenaeum copy

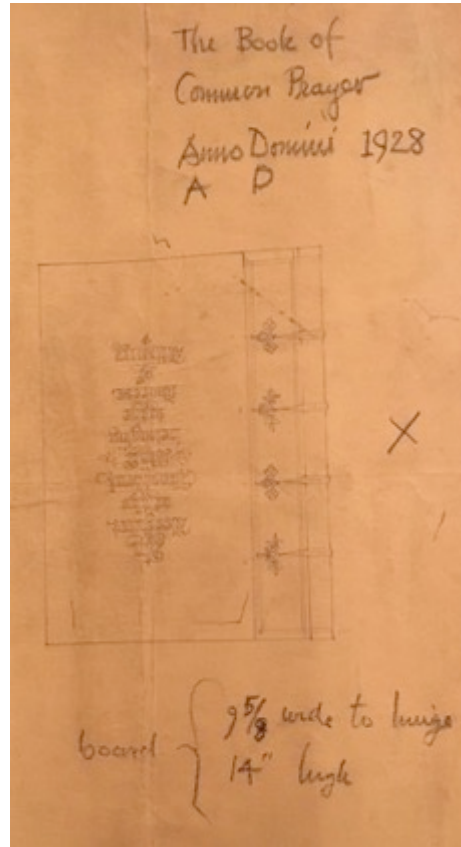
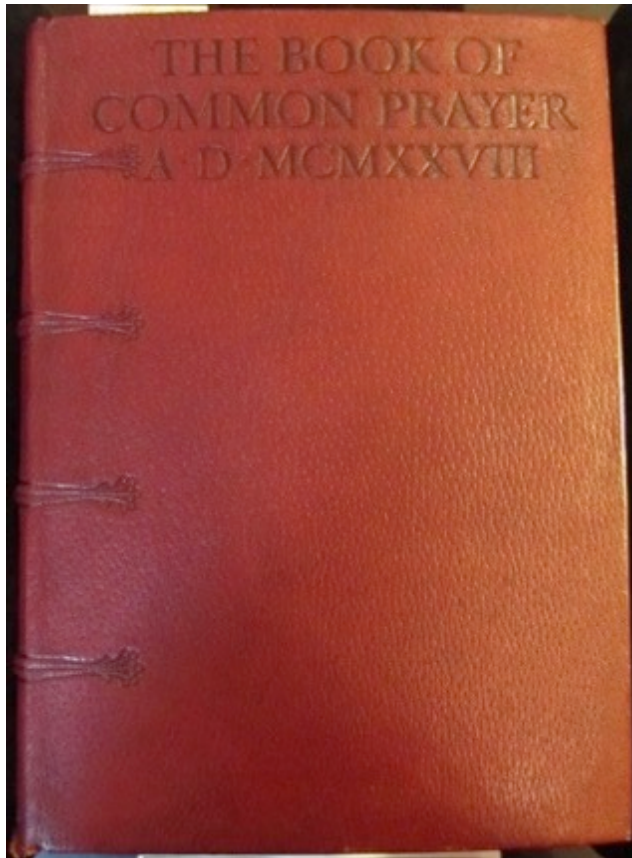


Fig. 2.84, Merrymount Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1928), binding and design, Boston Athenaeum copy

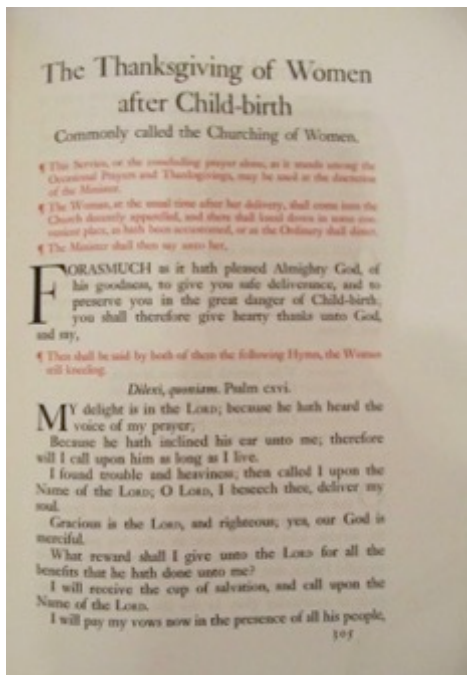


Fig. 2.85, Merrymount Press, *Book of Common Prayer* (1928), rubrication, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.86, Merrymount Press, *Altar Book*, Neumes, Communion, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 2.87, *Graduale Aboense*, fourteenth century, Turku, Finland



Fig. 2.90, Sarah Wyman Whitman, *Tacitus* (1897), Binding and lettering design

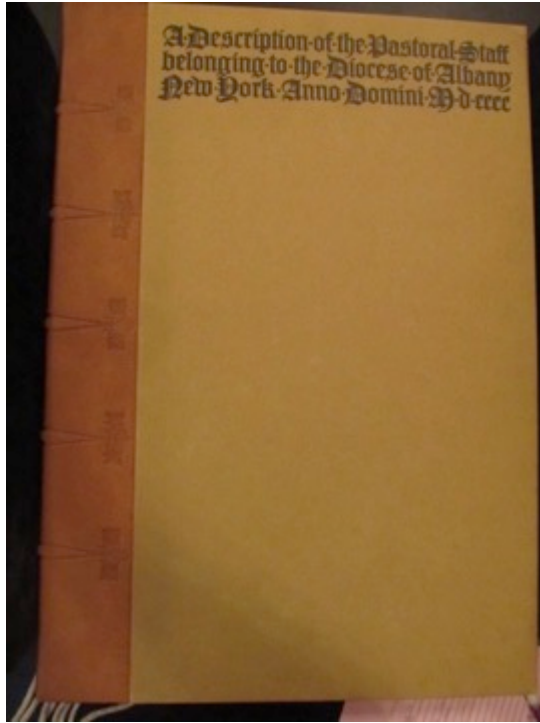


Fig. 3.1, *Description of the Pastoral Staff* (1900), Boston: Merrymount Press, Cover, Boston Athenaeum copy

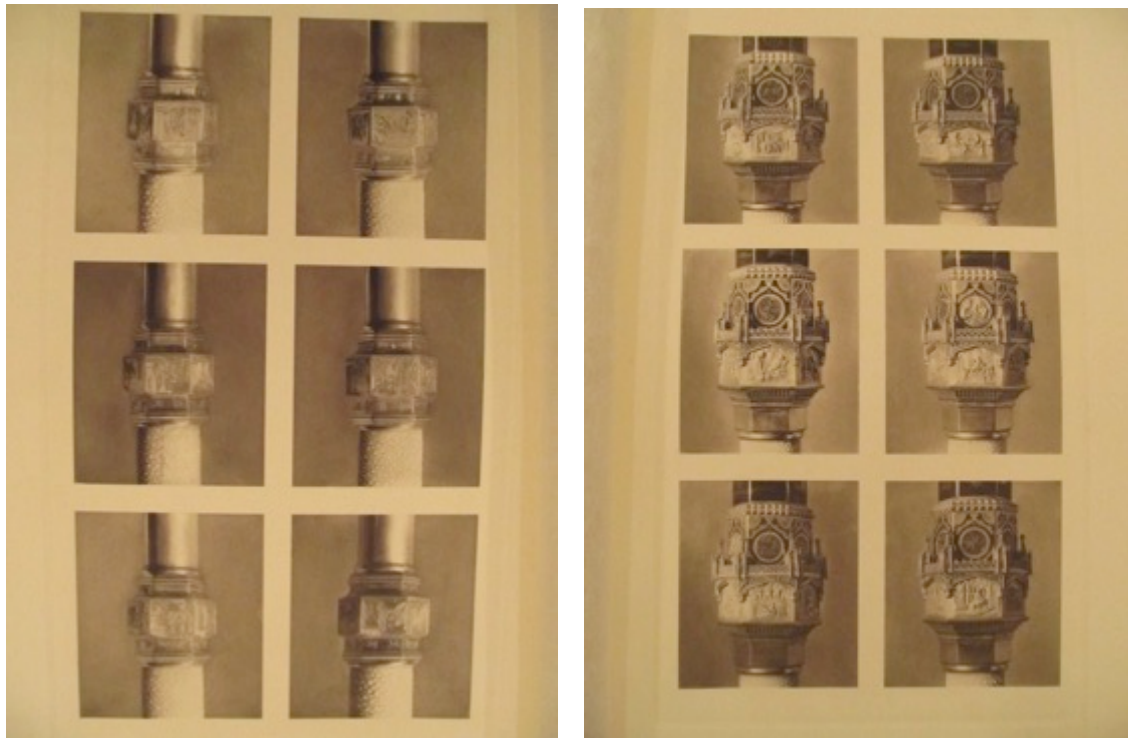


Fig. 3.2, *Description of the Pastoral Staff* (1900), Boston: Merrymount Press, Photogravures, Boston Athenaeum copy

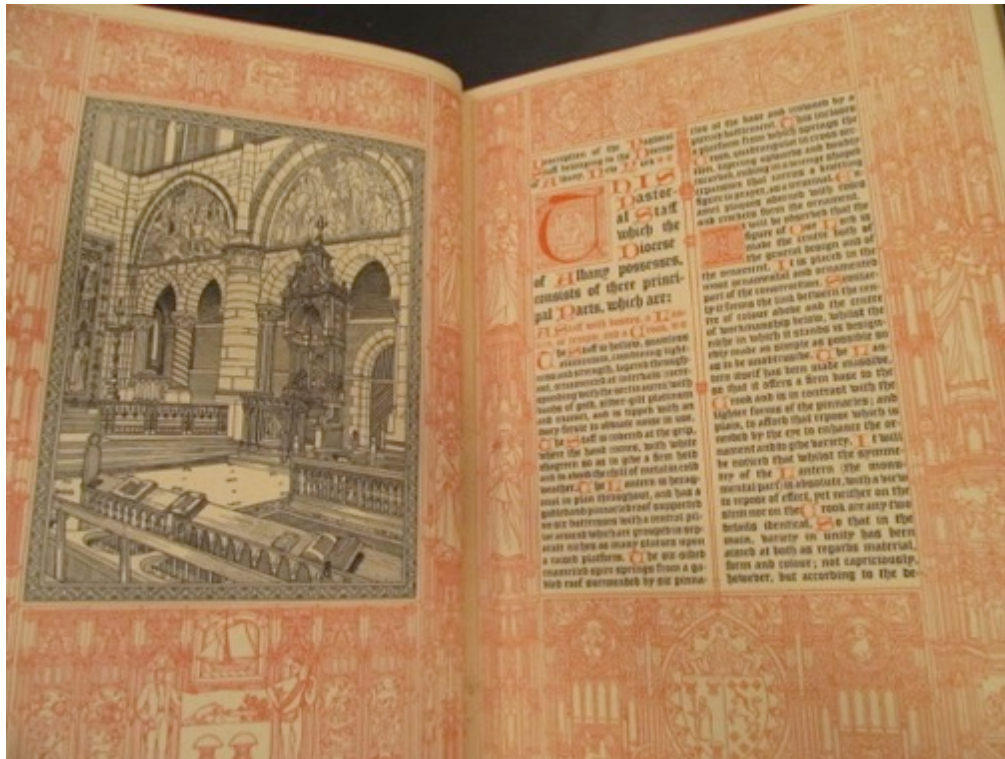


Fig. 3.3, *Description of the Pastoral Staff* (1900), Boston: Merrymount Press, Frontispiece, Boston Athenaeum copy



Fig. 3.4, *Description of the Pastoral Staff* (1900), Boston: Merrymount Press, Seal of Albany, Boston Athenaeum copy

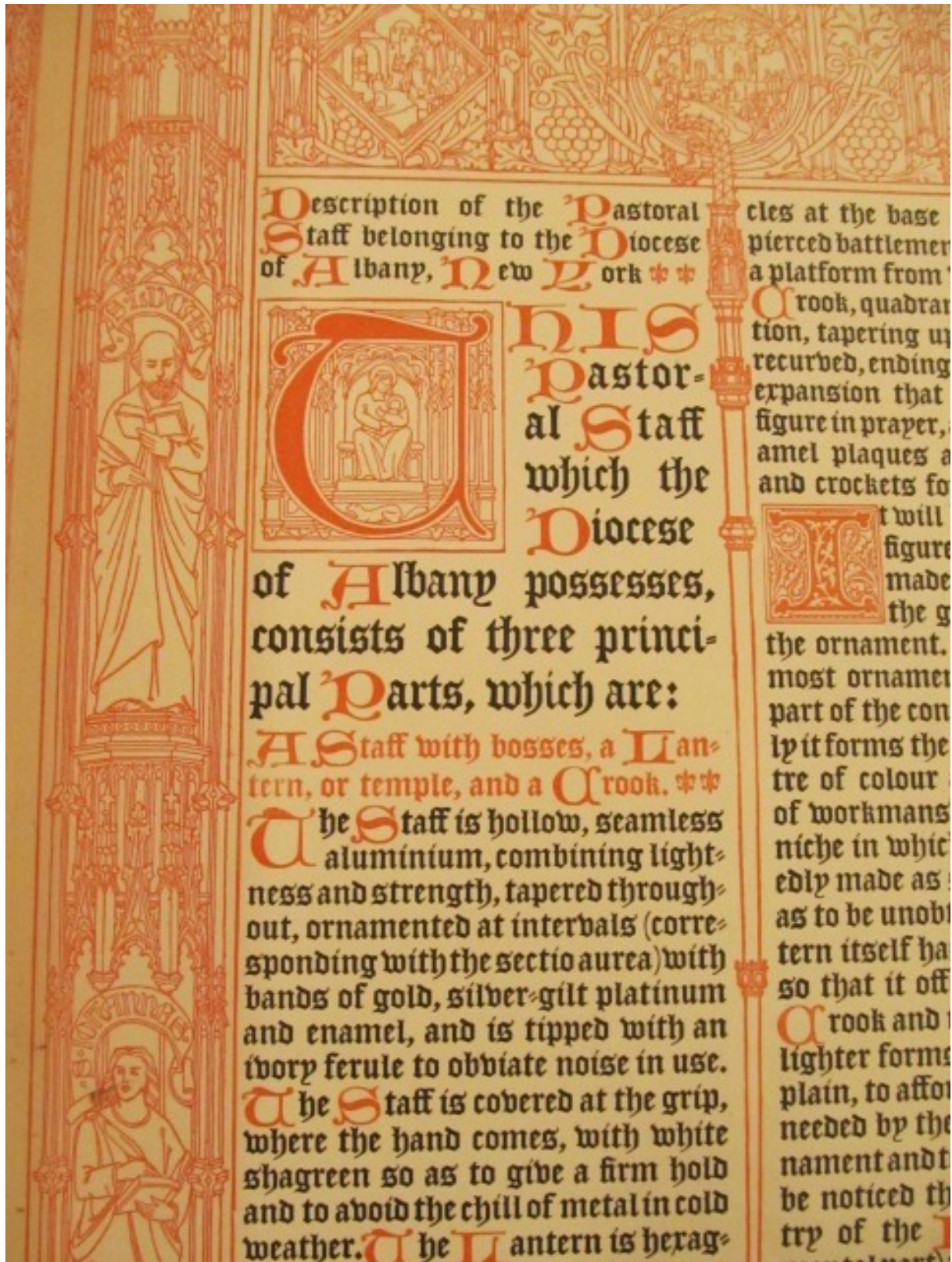


Fig. 3.5, *Description of the Pastoral Staff* (1900), Boston: Merrymount Press, image of Crozier, Boston Athenaeum copy

To a fair Pirate

Barest thou a challenge o'er the Western Sea,
Elaborate Book, of friendly words or War?
Rich are thy rubrics red with piracy,
Thy type what trophies won from lands afar!
Ruin us wouldst thou? Nay, then, do thy worst -
A poet am I, but no hungry bard
Meting his songs for silver, and my thirst
Grieves not for gold where fame is my reward.
Oh no, I quaff it not. Thou art welcome truly,
Of any shape thou wilt, of any hue
Dear to my side, since thine my poor songs duly
Hevalded are and blazoned to worlds new.
Under what flag thou wilt, fair pirate, fight,
Each has a good horn, and God shield the right!

Newbuildings, August 5. 1896

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt

Fig. 3. 6, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Esther: A Young Man's Tragedy, Together with Love Sonnets of Proteus* (1896), Boston: Copeland and Day, Inscription by Blunt, Columbia University Avery Library

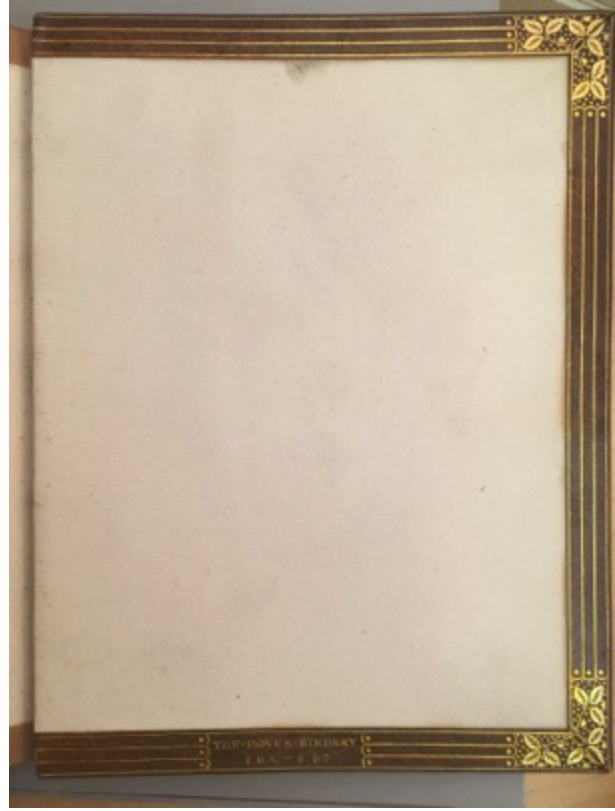
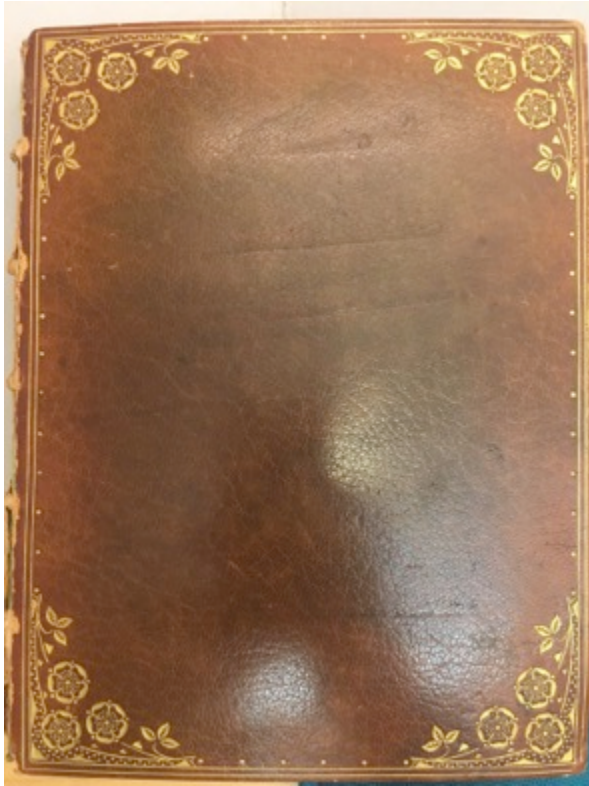


Fig. 3.7, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Esther: A Young Man's Tragedy*, Dove binding, Columbia University Avery Library

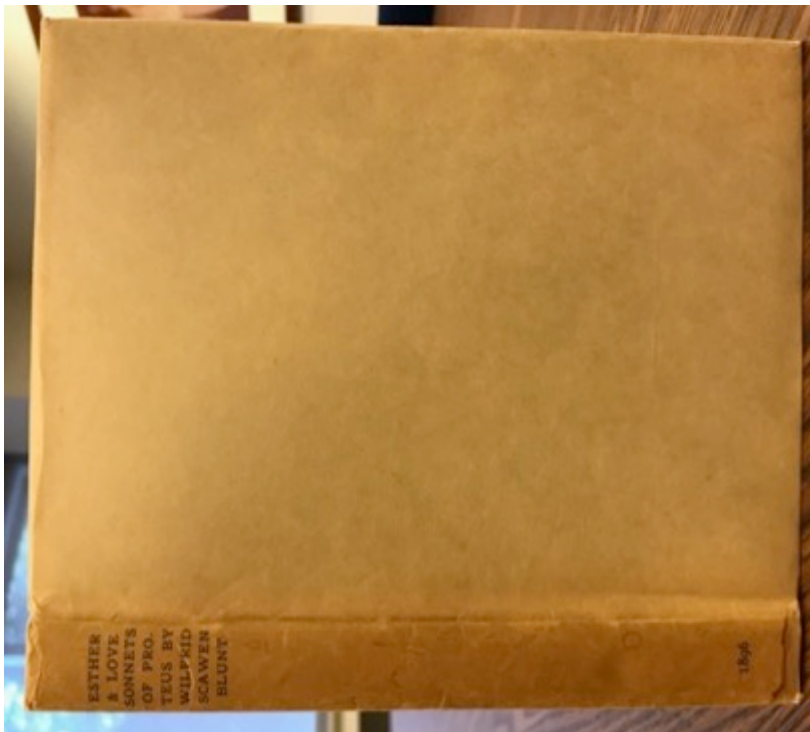


Fig. 3. 8, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Esther: A Young Man's Tragedy*, Board and paper cover, Mark Samuels Lasner collection, University of Delaware, Newark

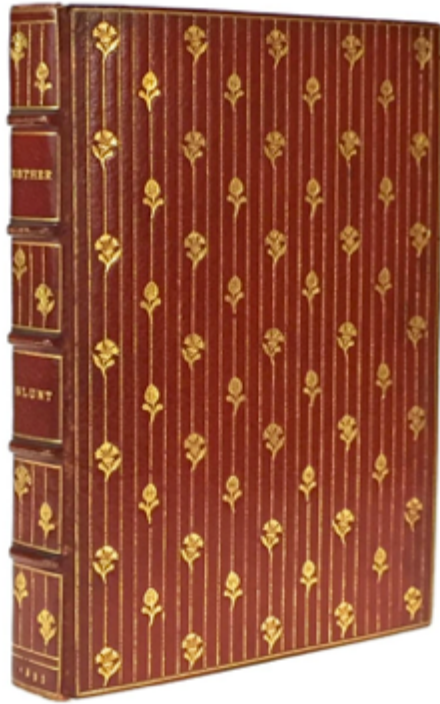


Fig. 3.9, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Esther: A Young Man's Tragedy*, Dudley and Hodge binding, Edward Nudelman collection, Seattle

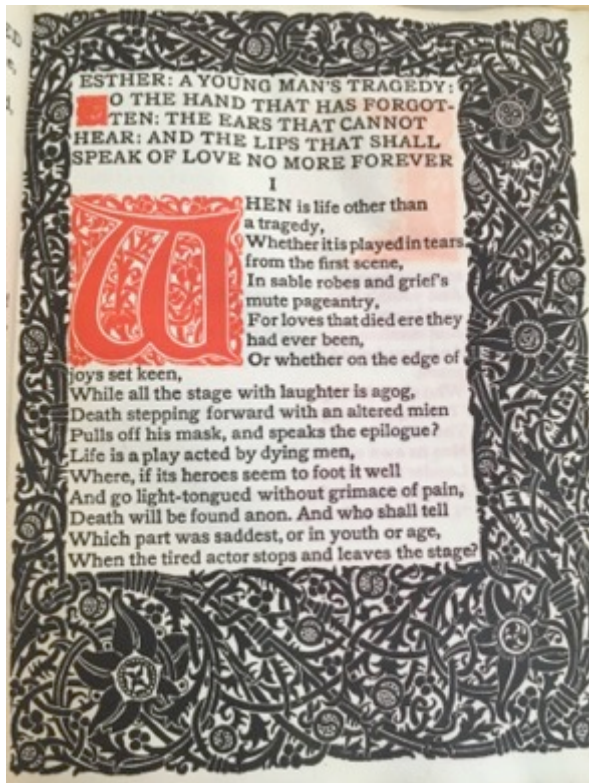


Fig. 3.10, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Esther: A Young Man's Tragedy*, Goodhue's flowers, Columbia University Avery Library



Fig. 3.11, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *House of Life* (1893), Boston: Copeland and Day, Rubrication, Columbia University Avery Library



Fig. 3.12, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *House of Life* (1893), Vellum binding, Columbia University Avery Library

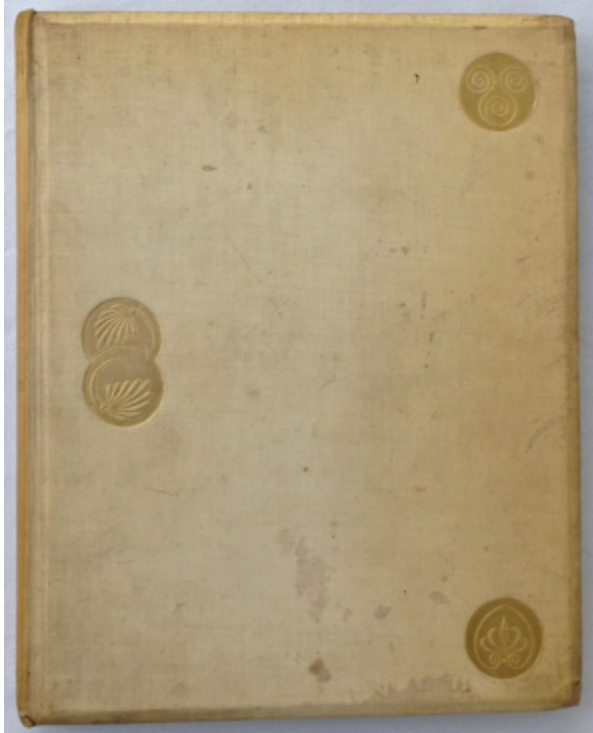


Fig. 3.13, Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865), Rossetti design, Delaware Art Museum Library



Fig. 3.14, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *House of Life* (1893), Dove binding, Columbia University Avery Library

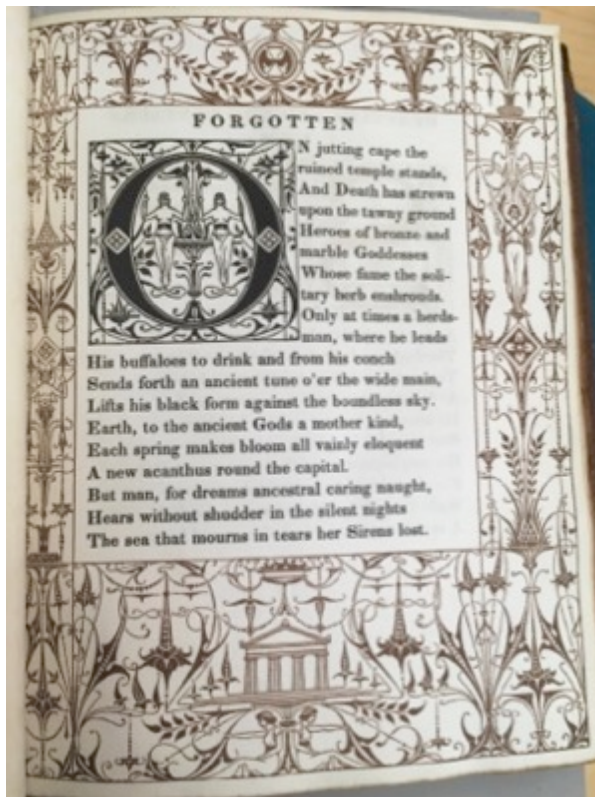


Fig. 3.15, Jose-Maria de Heredia, *The Trophies: Sonnets* (1900), Boston: Small, Maynard, and Co., Initials and borders, Columbia University Avery Library

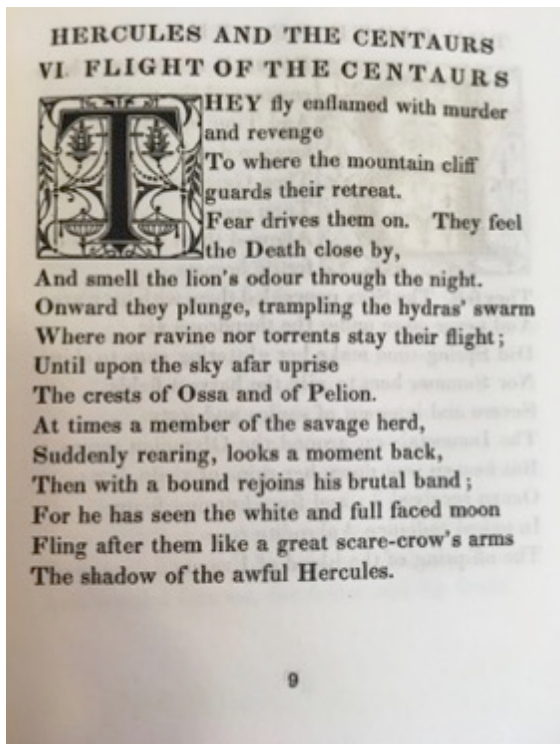
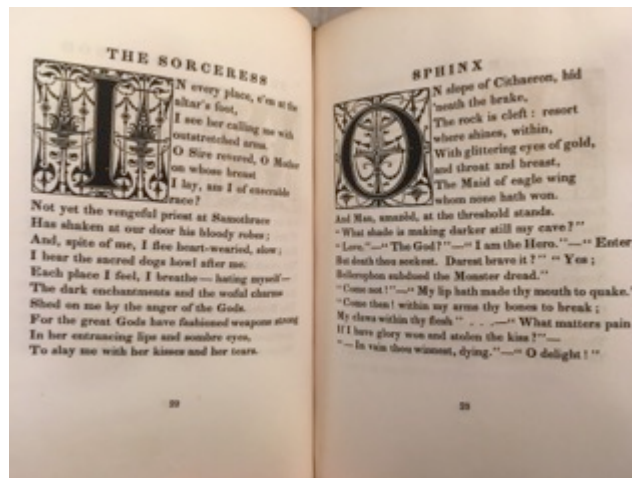


Fig. 3.16, Jose-Maria de Heredia, *The Trophies: Sonnets* (1900), Initial detail, Columbia University Avery Library



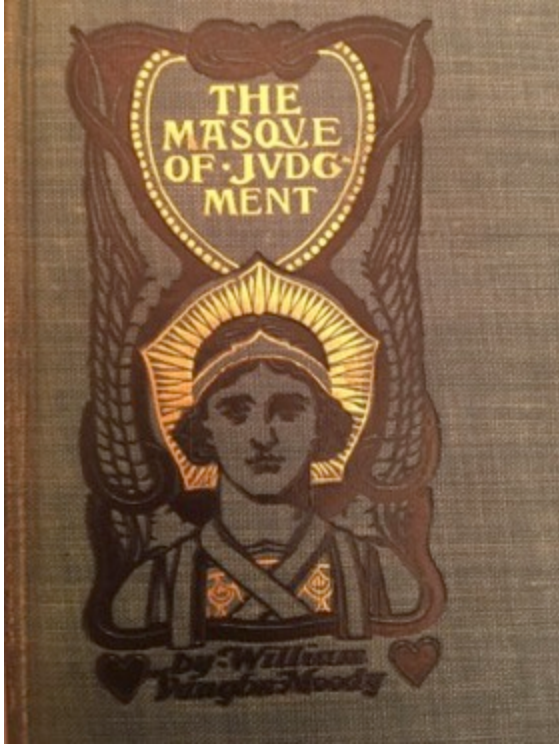


Fig. 3.17, William Vaughn Moody, *The Masque of Judgment* (1900), Boston: Small, Maynard, and Co., Cover, Columbia University Avery Library



Fig. 3.18, William Vaughn Moody, *The Masque of Judgment*, Spine design, Columbia University Avery Library

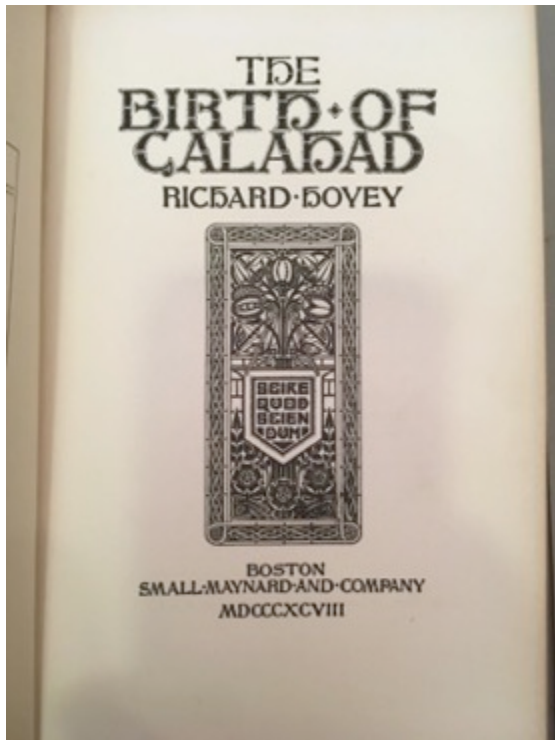


Fig. 3.19, Richard Hovey, *The Birth of Galahad* (1898), Frontispiece and Cover, Columbia University Avery Library

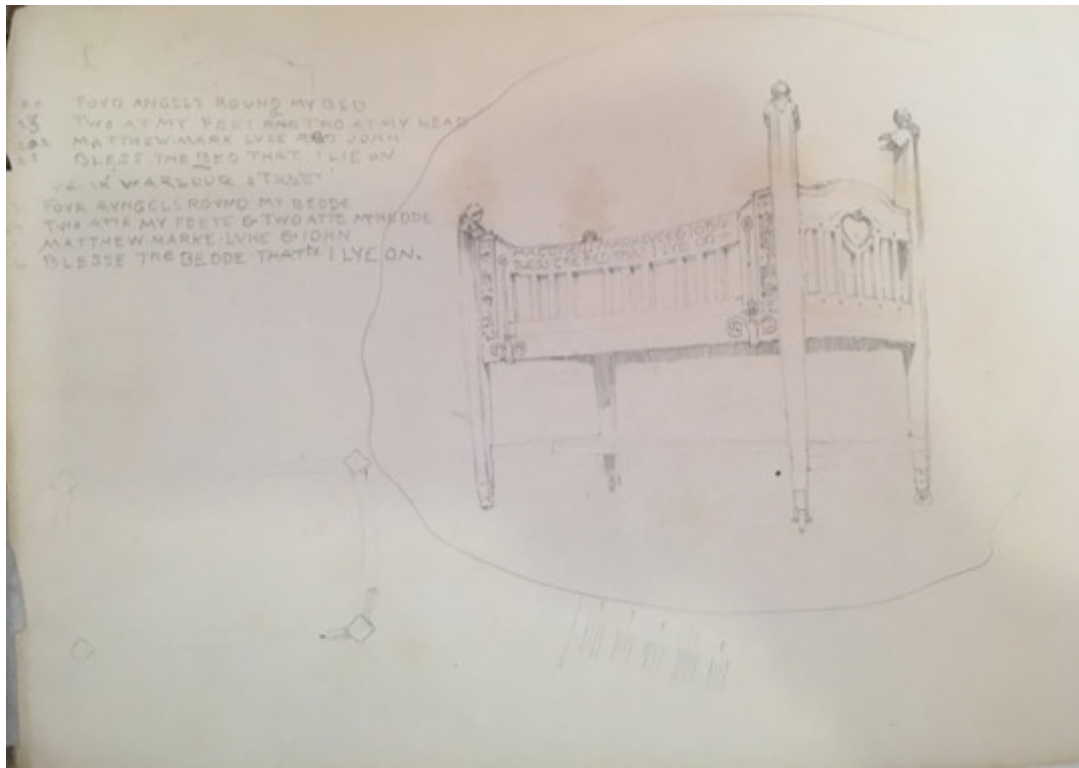


Fig. 3. 20, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue sketch, cradle, Goodhue collection, Columbia University Avery Library

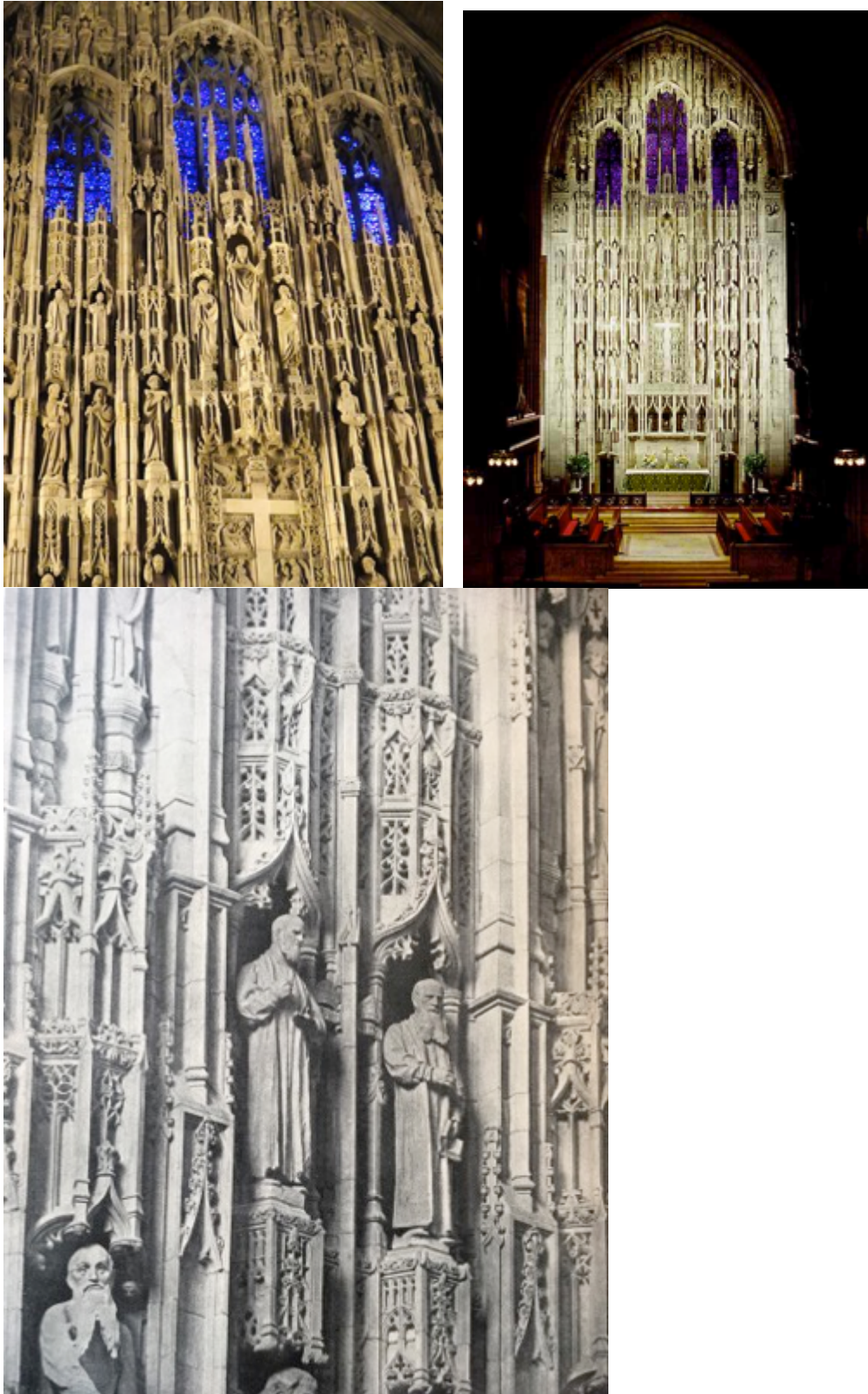


Fig. 3.21, Church of St. Thomas, New York City (1913), Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue designs and Lee Lawrie's reredos

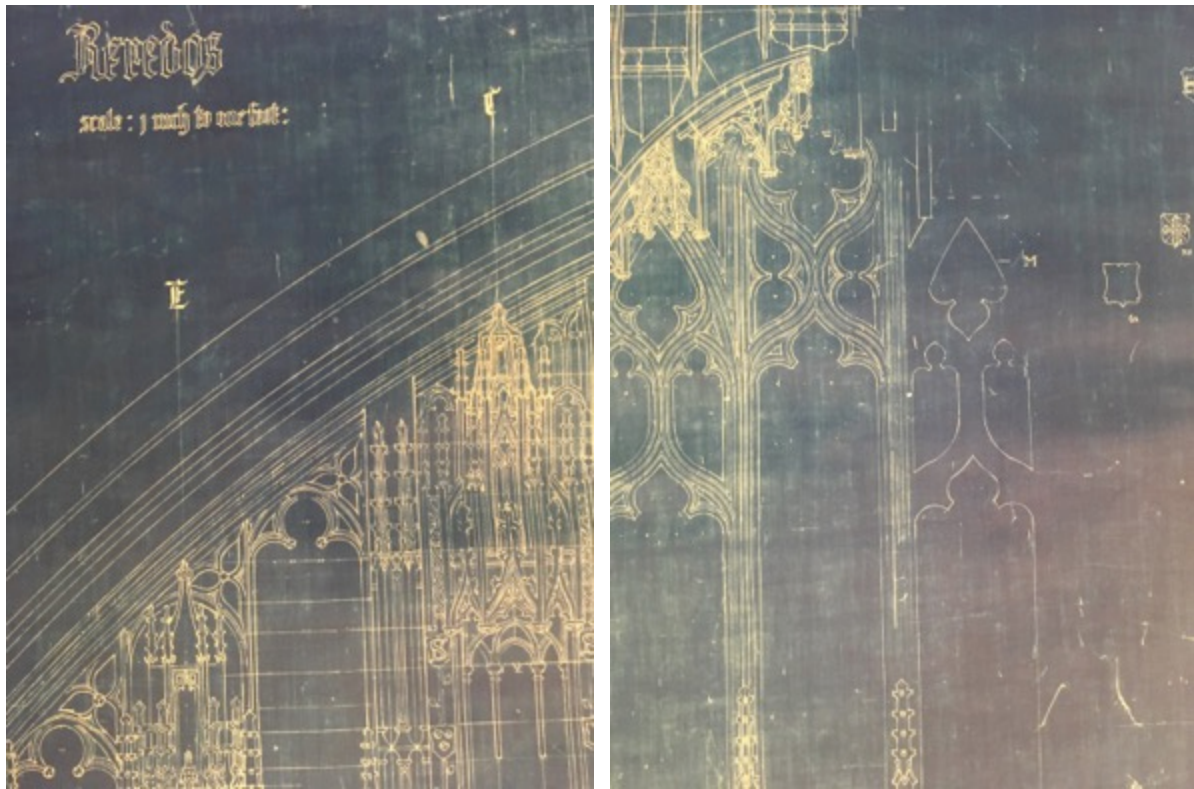


Fig. 3.22, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, blueprint for St. Thomas reredos (1913)

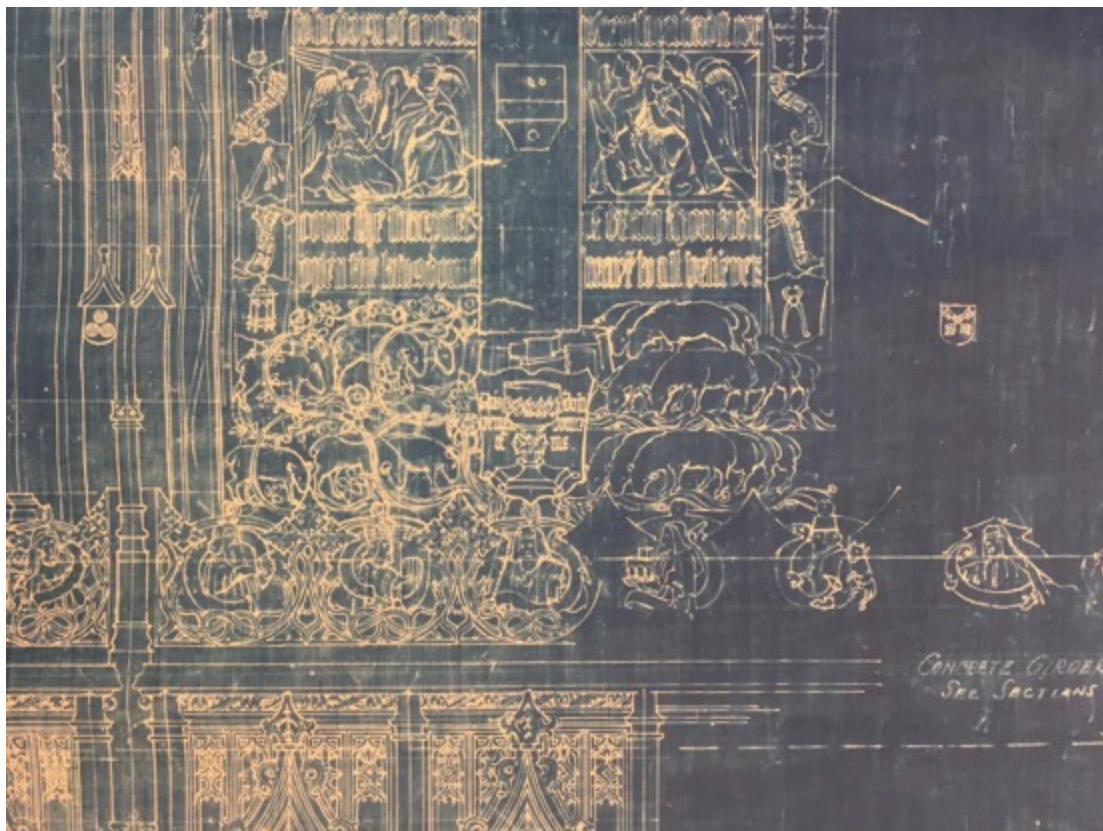


Fig. 3.23, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, blueprint for St. Thomas reredos (1913), detail



Fig. 3.24, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, bookplate for M.A. de Wolfe Howe

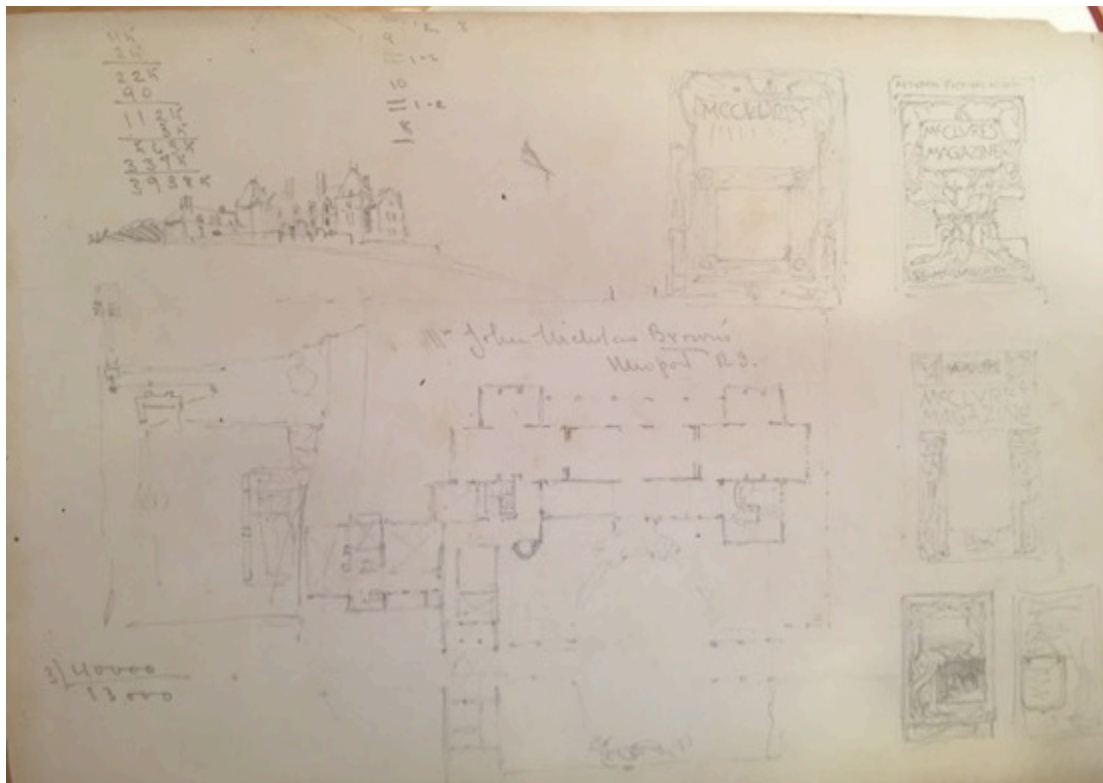


Fig. 3.25, Goodhue, plans for John Nicholas Brown's house in Newport (1903), Columbia University Avery Library

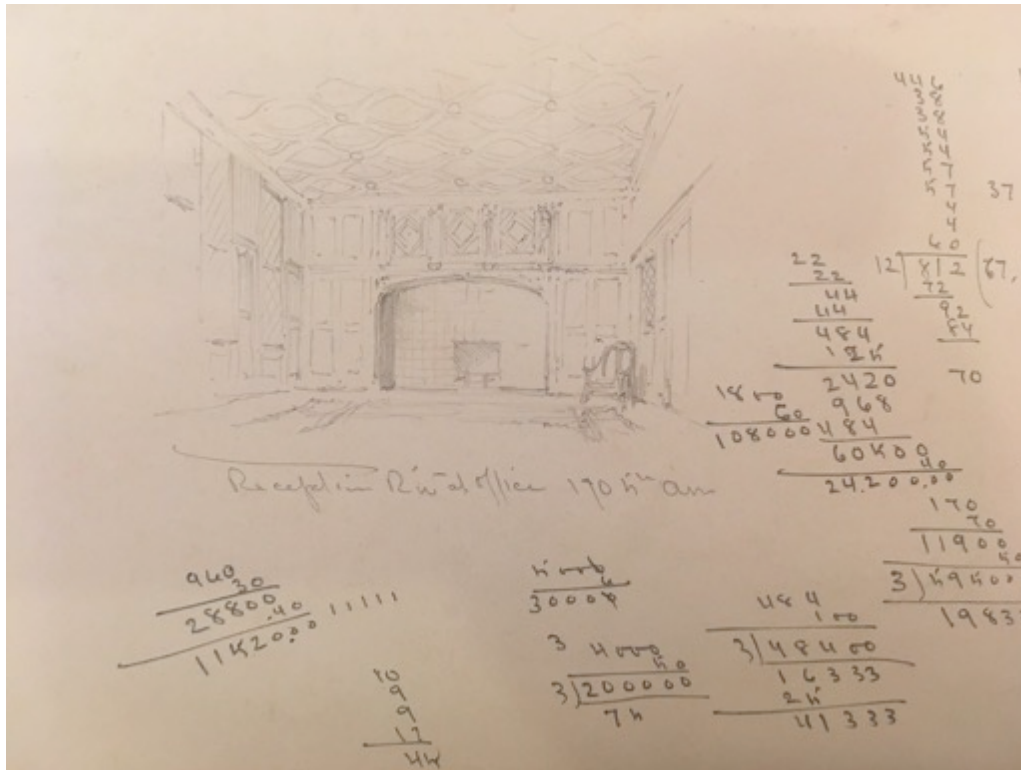


Fig. 3.26, Goodhue, sketch of Goodhue's office (1903), Columbia University Avery Library

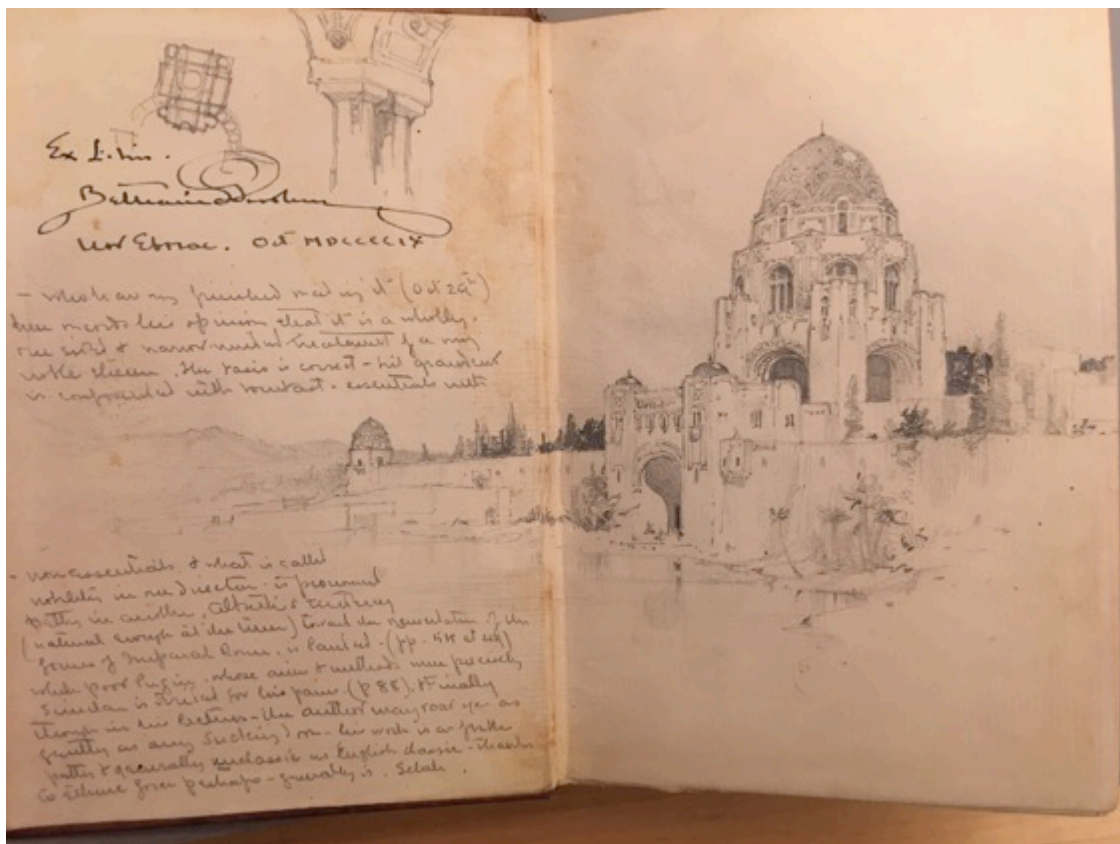


Fig. 3.27, Goodhue, drawings and annotations in Reginald Blomfield's *The Mistress Art* (1908)

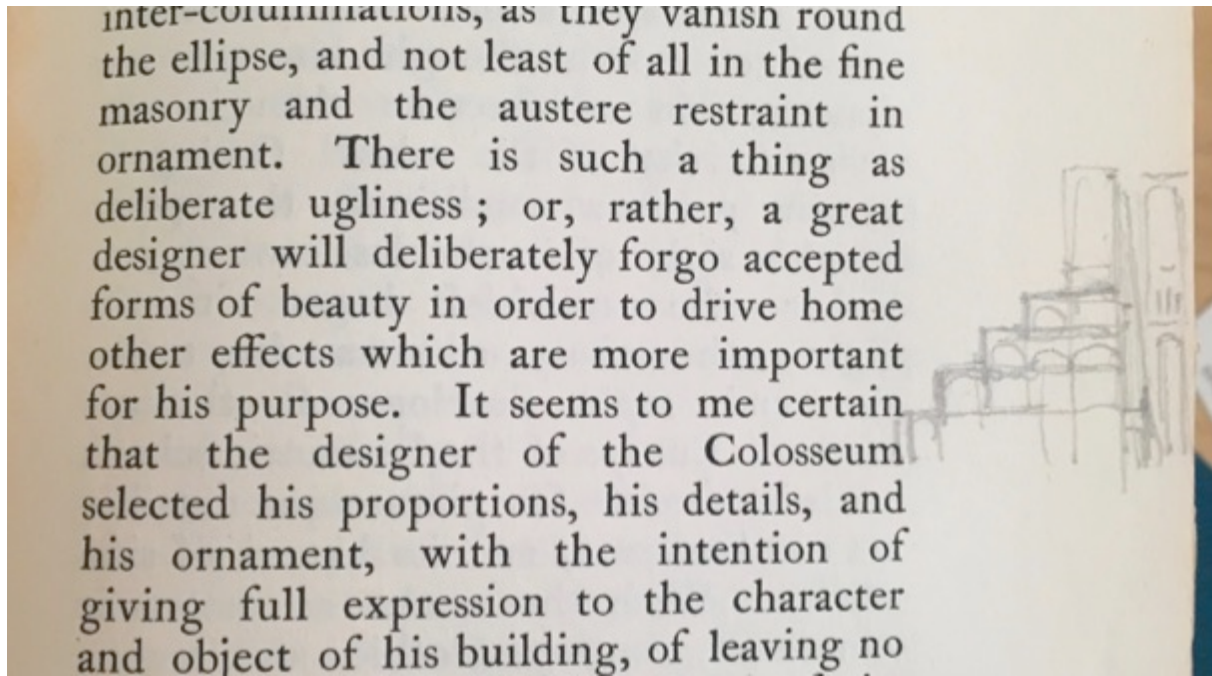


Fig. 3.28, Goodhue, drawings and annotations in Reginald Blomfield's *The Mistress Art* (1908), Colosseum

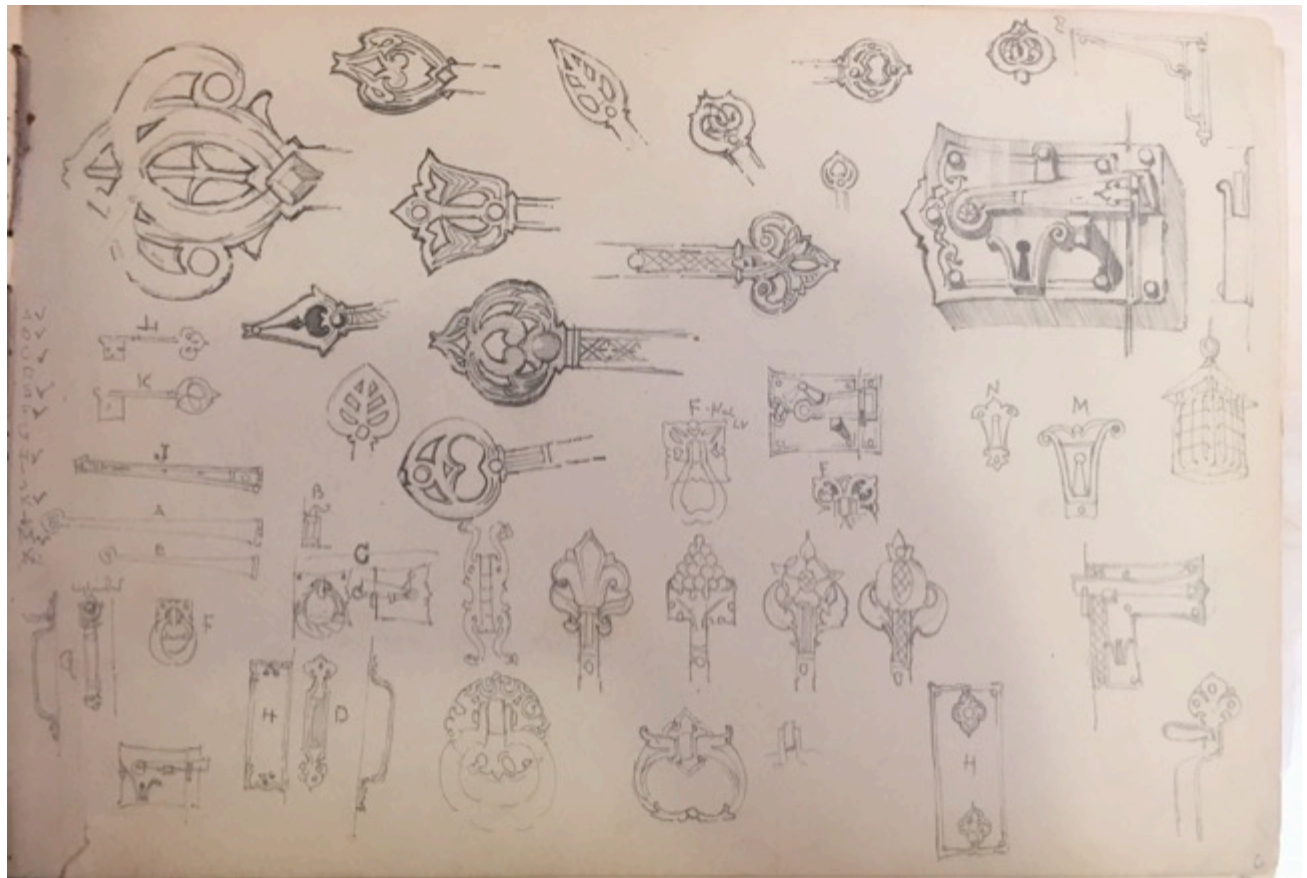


Fig. 3.29, Goodhue, sketchbook, Locks and Keys



Fig. 3.30, F. Holland Day, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (1892)

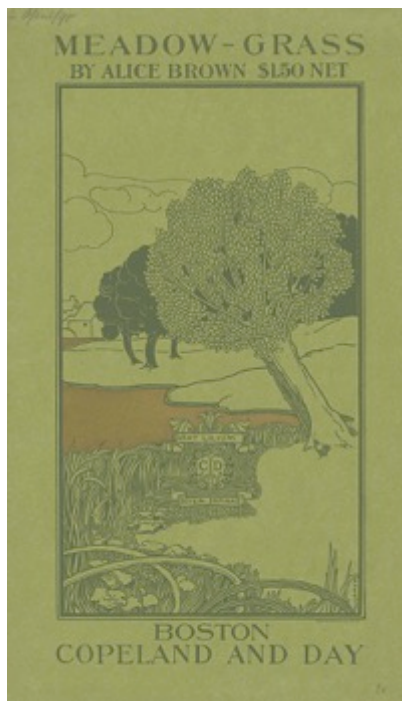


Fig. 3.31, Printer's mark, Copeland and Day, as seen on the cover of Alice Brown's *Meadow-Grass* (1895)

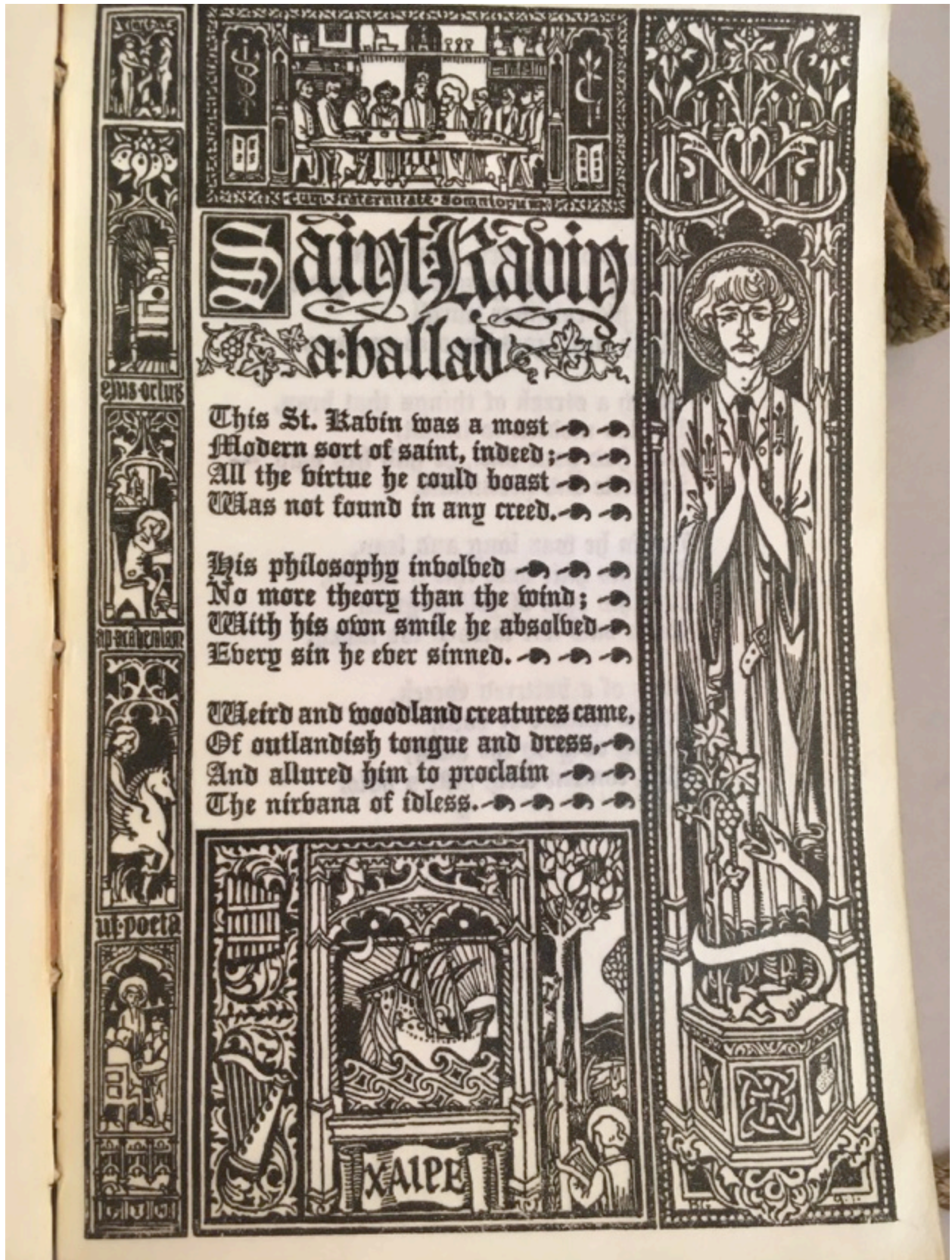


Fig. 3.32, Bliss Carman, *Saint Kavin, a Ballad* (1894), Boston: John Wilson, opening page

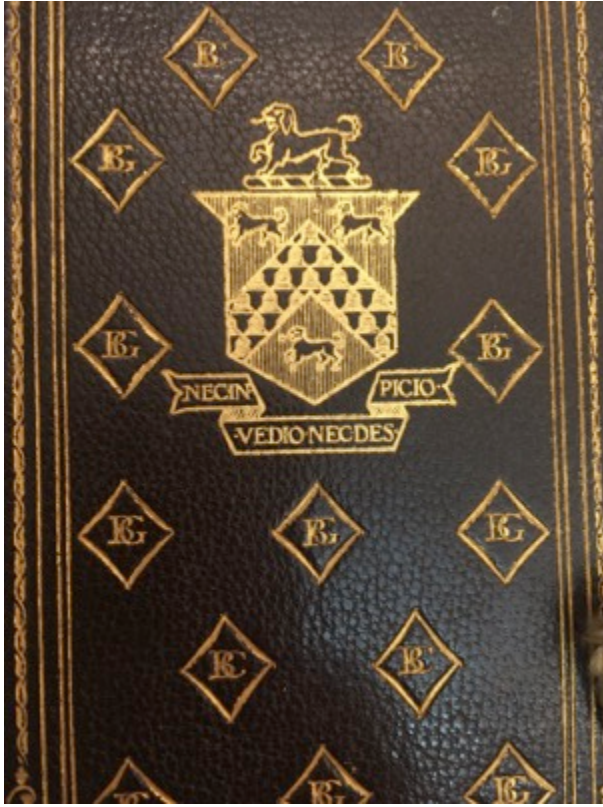


Fig. 3.33, Bliss Carman, *Saint Kavin, a Ballad*, Cover



Fig. 3.34, Goodhue, *The Treasury, Saint Kavin's Traumburg*, sketchbook



Fig. 3.35, Goodhue, Sketch of the exterior of Saint Kavin's, sketchbook

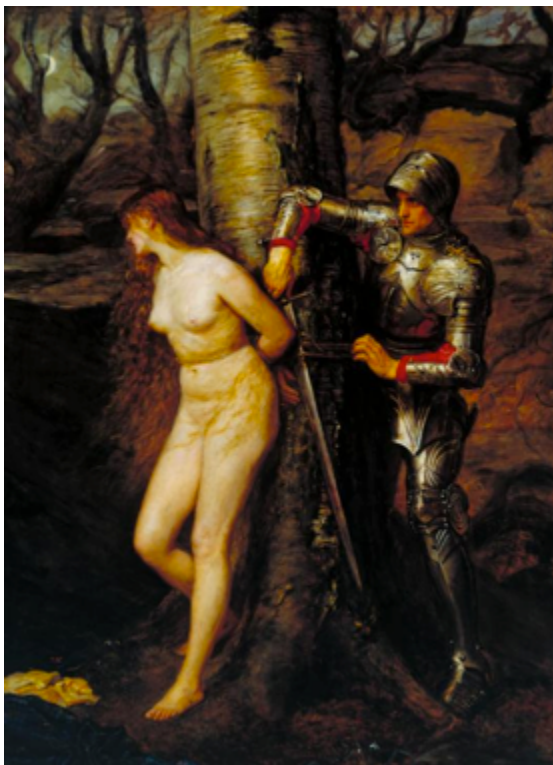


Fig. 3.36, John Everett Millais, *The Knight Errant* (1870), Tate Britain



Fig. 3.37, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, BASA fête (1896)



Fig. 3.38, Medieval themed costume party at Fred Holland Day's estate (1894)



Fig. 3.39, F. Holland Day, *Crucifixion* (1898)

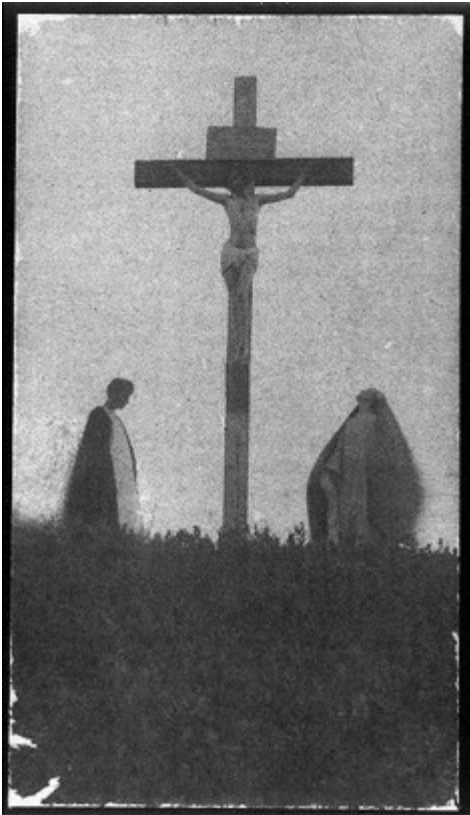


Fig. 3.40, F. Holland Day, *Crucifixion* (c. 1898)



Fig. 3.41, F. Holland Day, *Crucifixion* (1898)

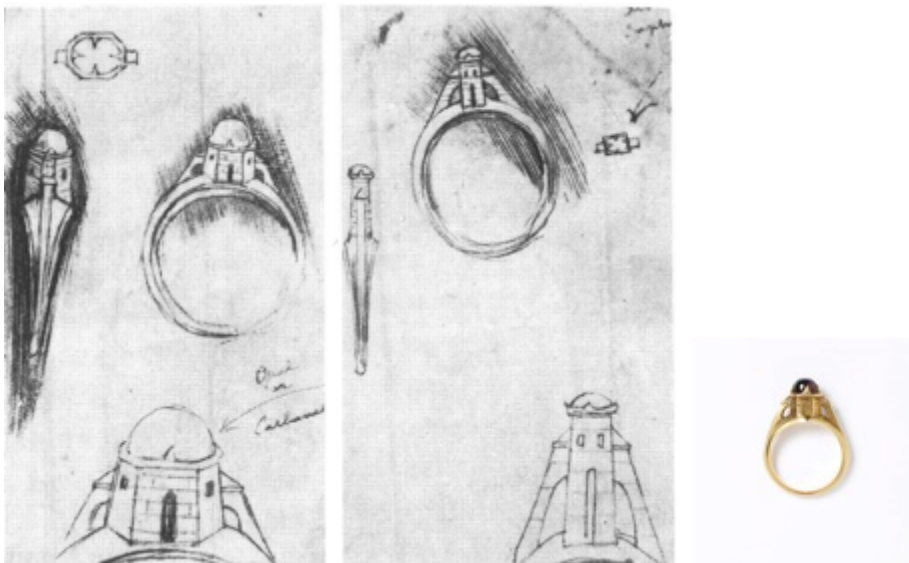


Fig. 3.42, Charles Ricketts, Ring for May Morris (c. 1899-1903)



Fig. 3.43, Charles Ricketts and May Morris, *Bishop's Gloves* (c. 1907), Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 3.44, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, sketch and annotation in J.O.P. Bland's *Houseboat Days in China* (1919), captioned "Today and Tomorrow," Columbia University Avery Library

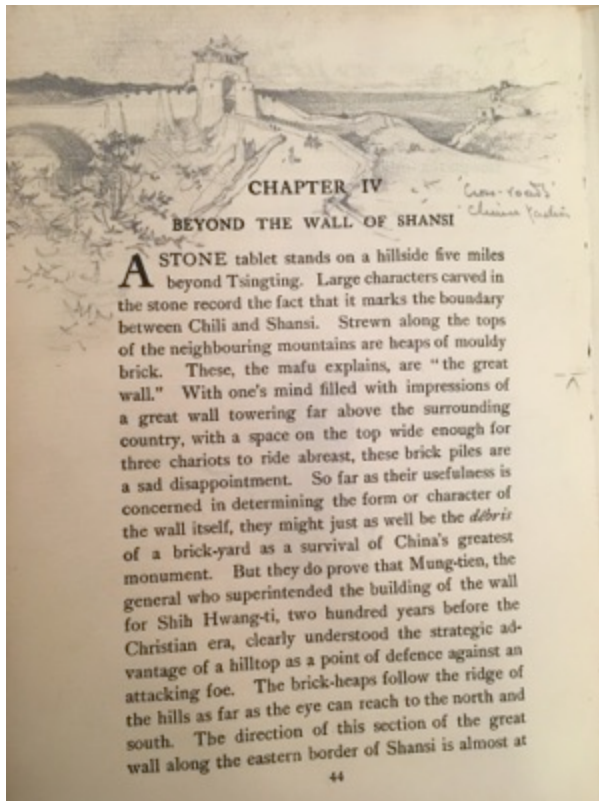


Fig. 3.45, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, sketch and annotation in Francis Nichols's *Through Hidden Shensi* (1905), the "Wall of Shansi," Columbia University Avery Library

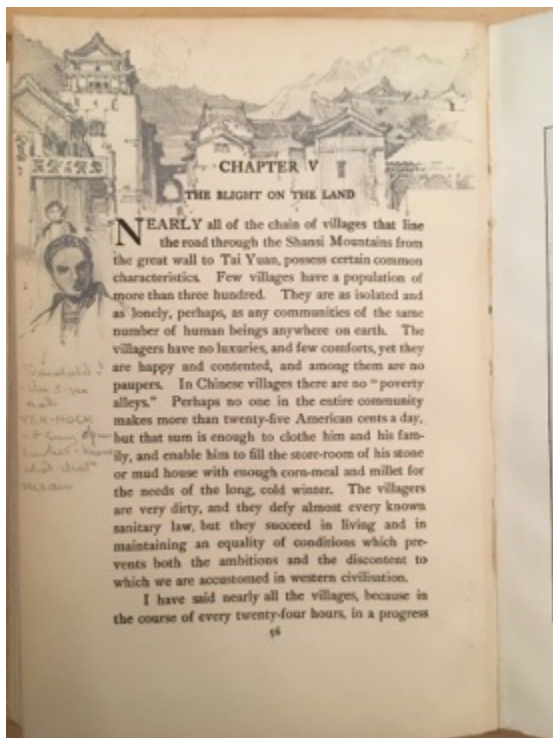


Fig. 3.46, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, sketch and annotation in Francis Nichols's *Through Hidden Shensi*, "The Blight," Columbia University Avery Library

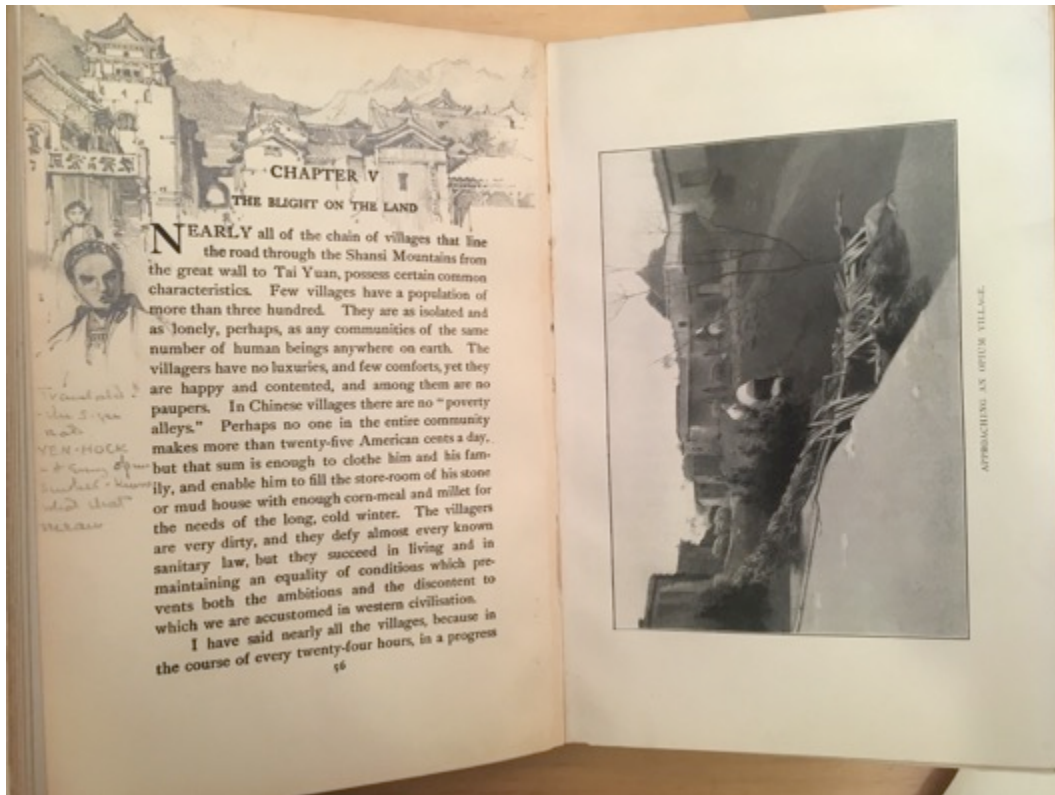


Fig. 3.47, Francis Nichols, *Through Hidden Shensi*, photogravure, "Approaching an Opium Village," Columbia University Avery Library

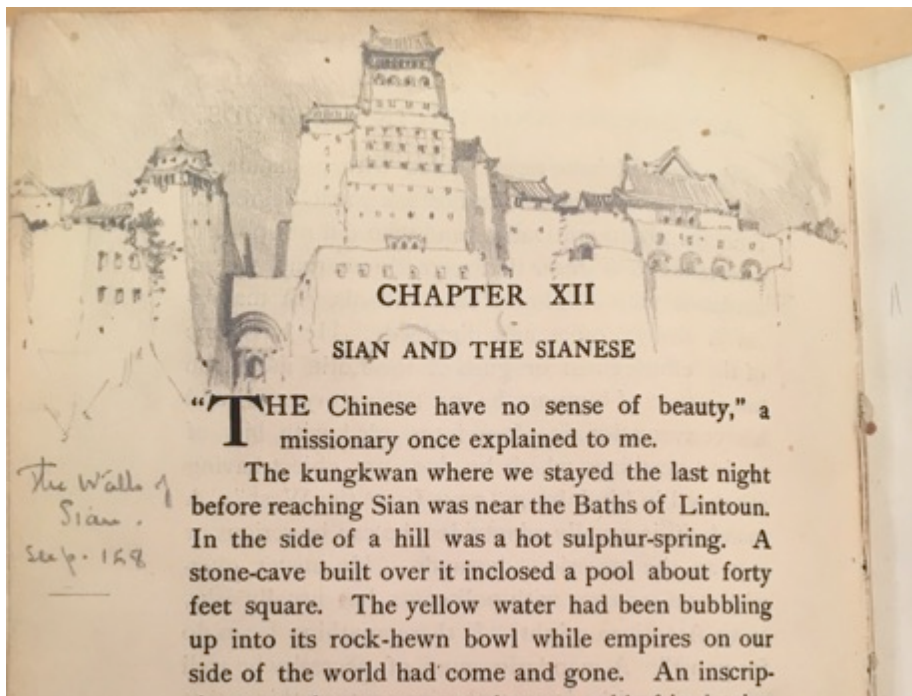


Fig. 3.48, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, sketch and annotation in Francis Nichols's *Through Hidden Shensi*, "The Walls of Sian," Columbia University Avery Library



Fig. 3.49, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, sketch and annotation in F.L. Hawks Pott's *A Sketch of Chinese History* (1913), "Fall of the Ch'in Dynasty," Columbia University Avery Library

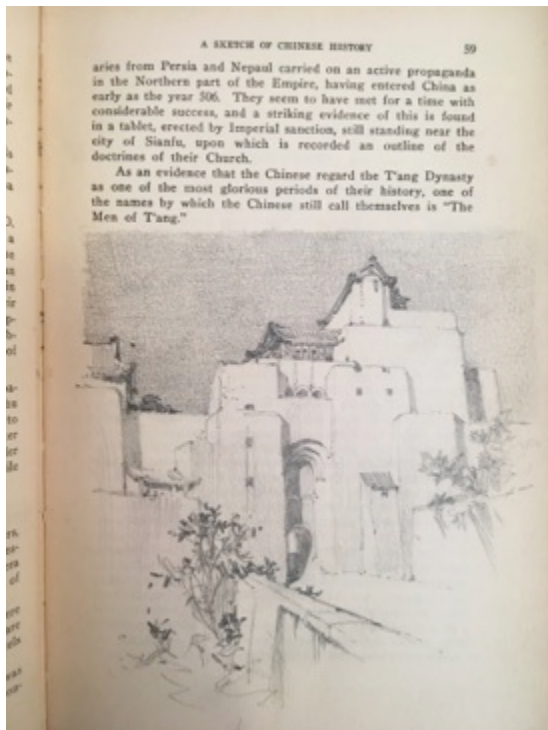


Fig. 3.50, Goodhue, Sketch and annotation in F.L. Hawks Pott's *A Sketch of Chinese History*, "Tang dynasty," Columbia University Avery Library



Fig. 3.51, Goodhue, Sketch and annotation in F.L. Hawks Pott's *A Sketch of Chinese History*, "What Do You Think," Columbia University Avery Library

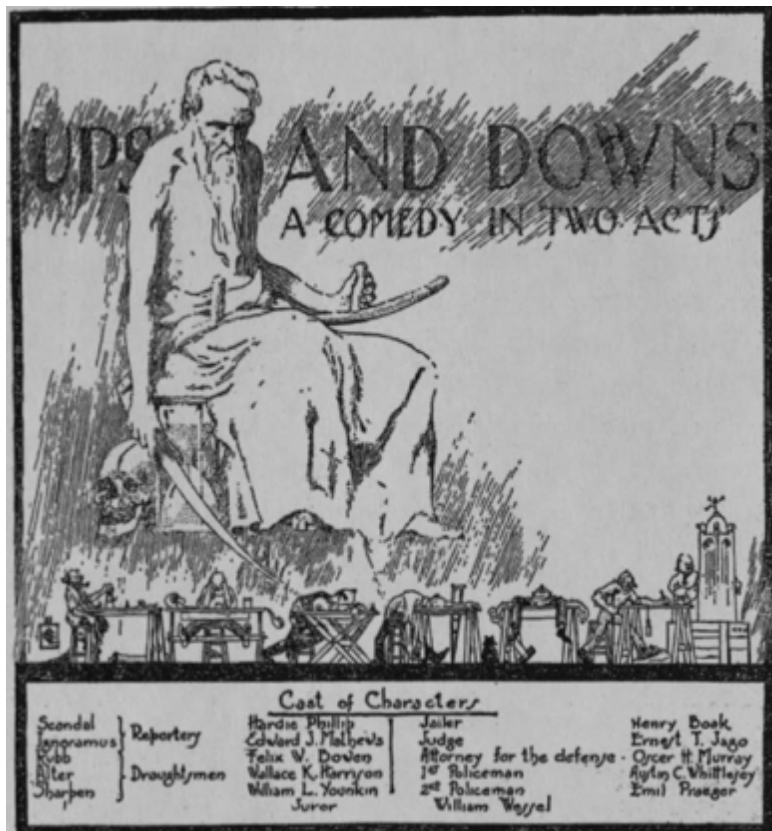


Fig. 3.52, Goodhue's Architectural Firm, Twelfth-Night Revels, "Ups and Downs" (1922)

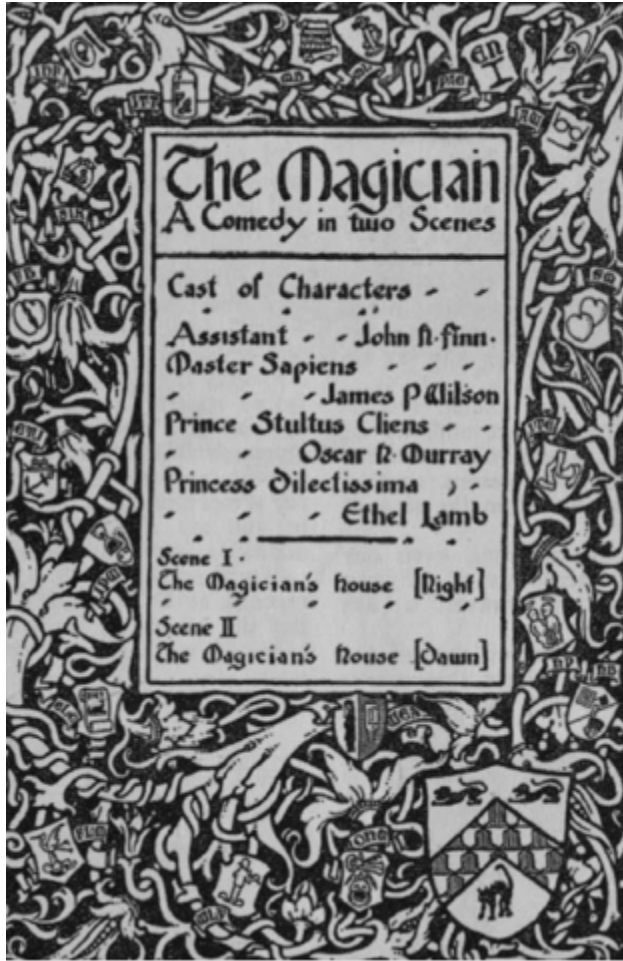


Fig. 3.53, Goodhue's Architectural Firm, Twelfth-Night Revels, "The Magician: A Comedy in Two Scenes" (1919)



Fig. 3.54, Lee Lawrie, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Grottesque* (1903), West Point Chapel



Fig. 3.55, Lee Lawrie, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Tomb* (1924), Church of the Intercession



Fig. 3.56, Lee Lawrie, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Memorial*, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, University of Chicago

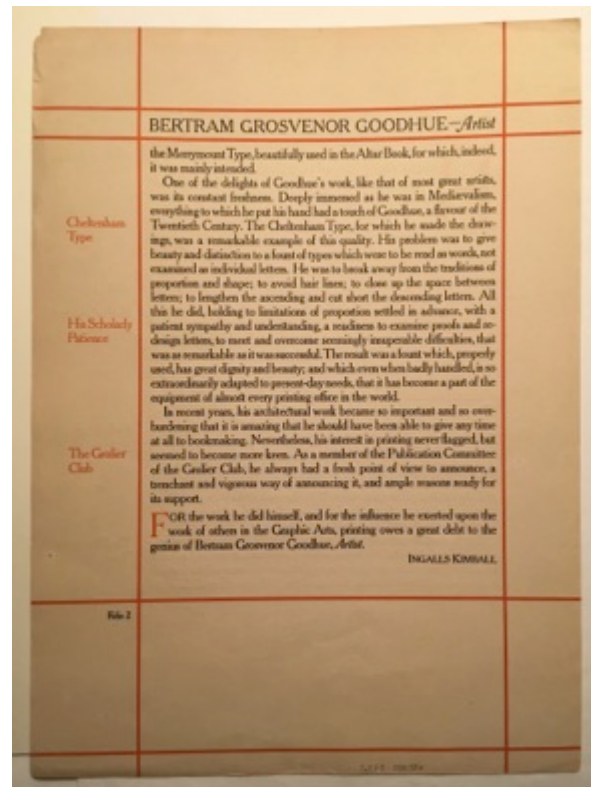
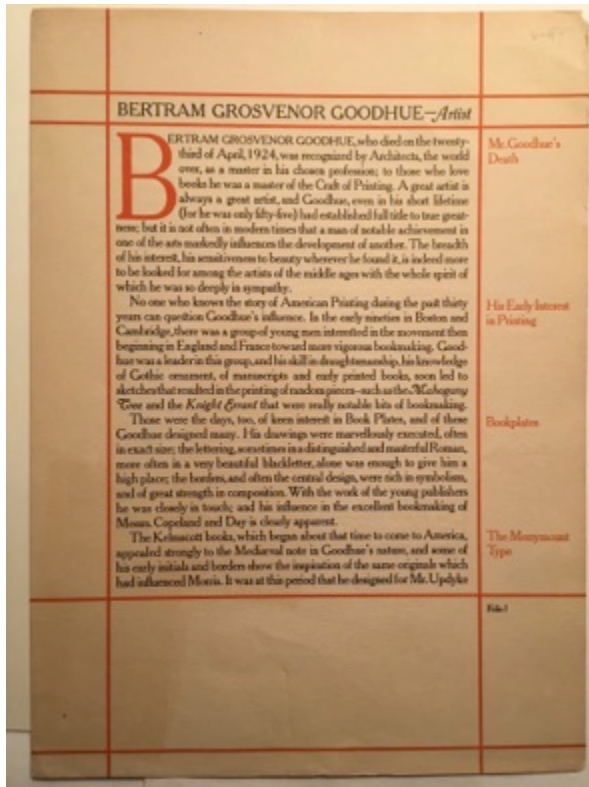


Fig. 3.57, Ingalls Kimball, "Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue—Artist" (1924)



Fig. 3.58, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Bookplate

CONCLUSION



Fig. 1, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Altar, Church of the Intercession (1912-15)