

## THE ENGLISH IMPRINTS OF DENMARK

BY

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### I

**T**he history of the English imprints of Denmark as a continuing phenomenon dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Anglo-Danish literary forger Charles Julius Bertram, not yet having conceived a plan to dupe the learned world with his pseudo-Richard of Cirencester, had printed in Copenhagen a work appropriately entitled "An Essay on the Excellency and Style of the English Tongue". At first spasmodically, but from about 1797 with regularity, books were printed and published in Denmark in the English language, with English title-pages.

In the twentieth century, when English has become the *lingua franca* of the world, English is an accepted medium of printed expression in Denmark as in other lands where minor languages are the vernacular. Books and articles published in the English language in Denmark since 1900 have with few exceptions been recorded in "Dania polyglotta", Copenhagen 1947 (and subsequent volumes), but English imprints of an earlier date have not yet been investigated systematically or considered synthetically. On the basis of materials assembled in preparing a bibliography of the English imprints of Denmark through the year 1900, we shall in the first part treat of the imprints through the end of the Napoleonic wars and, in the second, discuss the imprints of the nineteenth century.

The English imprints of the eighteenth century and later had a precursor in the era of the Reformation: a translation by John Gau of Christian Pedersen's "Den rette vey til Hiemmerigis Rige" (1531), which was published by Christian Pedersen himself in Malmö (at that time still a part of Denmark) in 1533 under the title, "The richt vay to the Kingdome of heuine is techit heir in the x cōmandis of God And the Creid / and Pater noster / In the quhilk al chrissine mā sal find al thing yat is

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*Et dansk résumé af denne afhandling findes side 223-24.*

neid ful and requirit to onderstand to the saluation of the saul". (Small octavo, 120 leaves, signed A-P. Colophon: "Prentit in Malmw / Be me Ihone Hochstraten the xvi day of October / Anno MD XXXiiii". - Printer's mark on verso of last leaf). This book, which at one time was ascribed to the translator, was republished by the Scottish Text Society in 1888. It was edited by A. F. Mitchell from the unique copy of the book, at that time still privately owned but now in the possession of the Folger Library in Washington, D. C.

Christian Pedersen's book in Gau's translation poses the same questions as many a later English imprint of Denmark. Why was it published in Danish territory? Which audience was it expected to reach? How was it distributed to readers? What has happened to the rest of the edition - for many of the English imprints of Denmark are, if not unica, exceedingly rare today.

Other evidence lacking, one can but hypothesize about the Malmö imprint of 1533. Since it was translated into Scots dialect, we may assume that it was directed primarily at Scottish readers. As but few readers fell into such a category outside of Scotland, we presume that the book was meant for export to and distribution in Scotland. That it was printed in Denmark rather than in Scotland suggests there may have been difficulties about having it published in Scotland, because of the book's Lutheran persuasion. Could this fact also account for the book's rarity? Was it perhaps destroyed for cause upon or after arrival in Scotland? Or did it meet such a prosaic fate as loss at sea between Scania and Scotland?

That a reformational tract appeared in Malmö is not in itself surprising. Malmö was a refuge for supporters of the Reformation. It was to Malmö, and not to Copenhagen, that Christian Pedersen, no longer holding an ecclesiastical office, was permitted to return in 1532. In Malmö Pedersen supported himself by his press and it was from his own press, supervised by Hochstraten, that "The richt vay" was issued.

Malmö was also a city active in international commerce; it was to Scania what Bergen was to Norway. Like other ports in Northern Europe, it had its colonies of foreigners which also included English and Scots merchants and those who ministered to them in one way or another. Gau, who later was to hold a post at the cathedral in Copenhagen, may have been a refugee from Scotland or simply an ecclesiastic serving the English-speaking colony in Malmö. Since the translation is prefaced by a letter from "John Gau to the reader," we conclude that he was not merely a chance translator, but one who was actively interested in dis-

seminating the ferment contained in Pedersen's book, which was itself a synthesis and extension of works by Urbanus Rhegius and Martin Luther. Since Pedersen's publishing business apparently provided him with his only source of income in 1533, the printing of the translation must have been financed by some person or persons desirous of insinuating the new doctrine into the minds of – Scottish – readers of English. As no copy of the book is known ever to have been owned in Denmark, one is led to surmise that the entire edition was exported.

John Gau and Christian Pedersen set no precedent, for it was over two hundred years before another book was published in English in the Kingdom of Denmark. During the seventeenth century, however, there was a small but growing interest in the English language and in English books, as Christian Bruun has demonstrated.<sup>1)</sup> English books were numerous in private Danish collections of the second half of the seventeenth century. Italian, French, and Spanish literature was best represented, but English books frequently outnumbered holdings in German.<sup>2)</sup> Every good library had Bacon and Hobbes, although Ben Jonson, Cowley, and Dryden were infrequent, and Shakespeare as good as unrepresented.

Not irrelevant to the history of Anglo-Danish printing is the fact that two grammars of English were published in Danish in the seventeenth century. The first was by the Norwegian-born Frederich Bolling, who had learned the language "paa det Academi Duplin udi Irland": "Fuldkommen Engelske Grammatica . . ." 1678. It was issued with a separately paged glossary of words which had obvious affinity "neither with Latin nor Danish." The second grammar, by Christian Nyborg, was published in Copenhagen in 1698: "Adresse til Det Engelske Sprogs Læssning." Nyborg, if not Bolling too, took the well-known and widely-used grammar of Wallis (Oxford, 1653, and several later editions) as a model. It should also be borne in mind that no small number of Danish and Norwegian students and scholars also made their way across the English channel in the late seventeenth century. We know, for example, that no fewer than 46 Danes and 14 Norwegians registered in the Bodleian Library between 1683 and 1708.<sup>3)</sup> The cultural associations of Denmark and England were nevertheless not apparent, and cannot be compared to the intercourse between Great Britain and the Netherlands in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for Denmark was neither an international publishing center nor a free port for liberal political and religious ideas as were the Netherlands. In fact, Denmark was not to become such a center until the country had undergone a vigorous orientation toward English culture in our own time.

Charles Julius Bertram (1723-65) was the first of several individuals of different backgrounds each of whom was responsible for several English imprints of Denmark between 1749 and 1815. Bertram was also the first of many teachers of English in Denmark who published grammars and readers for the use of Danes who would learn English, and the first of three teachers of English at the naval academy in Copenhagen to do so. He was himself English-born, but had removed to Denmark at an early age with his parents, and there he spent the rest of his life. Bertram is known to the world of letters not for his efforts to extend a knowledge of the English language abroad but for his brazen forgery of a medieval manuscript purporting to be a description of Britain in Roman times by one Richard of Cirencester. "Splendide Mendax," H. J. Randall calls Bertram,<sup>4</sup>) and the "Dictionary of National Biography" bestows on him the dubious distinction of being the most successful literary impostor of modern times. Bertram duped William Stukeley with his forgery and it was Stukeley who had Bertram elected to membership in the Society of Antiquaries in London, on March 18, 1756.<sup>5</sup>) Some of Bertram's false identifications confounded cartographers and antiquarians for well over a century, since details from his manuscript were integrated into the body of scholarly information about early Britain by innocent scholars.

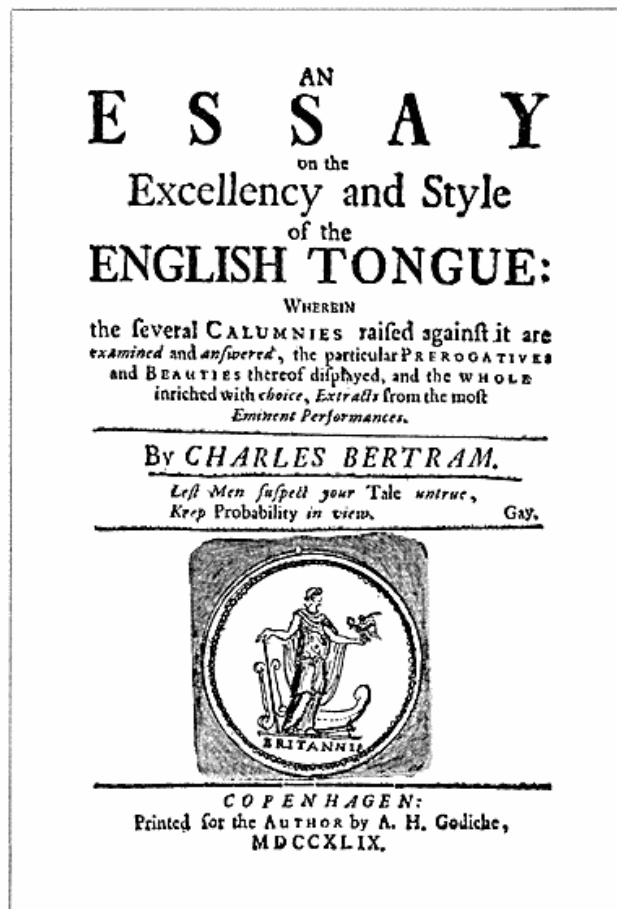
"An Essay on the Excellency and Style of the English Tongue: Wherein the several Calumnies raised against it are examined and answered, the particular Prerogatives and Beauties thereof displayed, and the whole enriched with choice Extracts from the most Eminent Performances" (Pp. (9) + 42 + XXVII) was printed for the author by A.H. Godiche in 1749, but was not published until 1750, when it appeared at the same time as Bertram's "Rudimenta grammaticae anglicanae," and carried a dedication to King Frederick V of Denmark. The "Essay" was reissued in 1750, also with the "Rudimenta." The "Essay" dated 1750 differs from the edition of 1749 in that it has a new title-page and a two-page supplement appended including some quotations about the English language, and in that it transposes the order of the two sections of the book. That part of the book paged with Arabic numerals contains "choice pieces on divers subjects," including selections from Pope, Addison, Phillips, Gay, and Cowley. The actual essay on the language, entitled "The English tongue defended," is paged with Roman numerals.

In 1751, the energetic Bertram published "Ethics from Séveral Authors, the words accented to rénder the English Pronuntiation éasy to Fóreigners" (Printed by L. H. Lillie in the "Office of the late Mr. Berling." Pp. (9)+70), identified on the title-page as "The like néver hithertó

attépted." This book, which was dedicated to the English-born Queen of Denmark, Louisa, is the first of many readers published in the English language in Denmark. At the death of the queen the following year, Bertram published an occasional poem, "To the immortal Memory of Her Most Excellent Majesty Lovisa, Queen of Denmark . . ." (n.p., n.d. Pp. 4) and identified himself on the title-page as the late queen's "subject and countryman."

In 1753 Bertram published his most ambitious work, "The royal English-Danish Grammar," in three volumes. Volumes I-II have Danish title-pages, except for the superscription "The royal English-Danish Grammar," and are therefore not technically English imprints. The first volume is a new edition of the "Rudimenta" of three years before. The second is a vocabulary, phrase book, and elementary reader. The third volume bears the title "The royal English-Danish Grammar Volume the Third. Or a View of the English tongue and style set forth in exquisite Pieces of Divinity, History, Poetry &c. from the best English Authors." Copenhagen, Printed for the Author, by L. H. Lillie. (Pp. (3)+206). The book did not belie its title, for it contains passages from Addison, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke, Dryden, Gay, Locke, Phillips, Pope, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Swift, Temple, Tillotson, and Wicherly as well as translations into English from several languages. It includes a partial translation of the Danish poet C. F. Wadskiær's "Poetisk Skueplads," from 1741, and an English translation of the beginning of Holberg's introduction to his Danish version of Herodian. While it is probable that Bertram leaned heavily on English models for most of his text, the translations from the Danish are original and are not found elsewhere. Curiously enough, there is on p. 200, "Baron Holberg's Approbation," which states, "I find that the Translator has truly followed the Original, and penetrated by [sic] Thoughts. Lewis Holberg." The recommendation must be taken to be valid, for it appeared in the year prior to Holberg's death. The approbation can, however, not be taken as a criticism of Bertram's book, but solely of the translation from Holberg's introduction. Bertram's final contribution to the body of English imprints was a translation in 1758 of "The Charter given unto the Royal Danish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in Copenhagen" (unpaged, 23 leaves and 1 placard).

Bertram's successor as teacher of English to the cadets at the naval academy was the Swedish-born Charles Mannercrantz, who, like Bertram, was the author of an English grammar written in Danish, but his book (1764) was so full of errors that he himself acknowledged in a post-



Originalens størrelse: 17,8 × 10,3 cm.

cript that it would be futile to try to list them all. His only publication in English was an occasional poem, "To His Highness Prince-Royal Christian, hereditary prince of Denmark, Norway, Sleswigh and Holstein &c. on his royal highness's birthday, January 29th 1763 . . . Printed by Nicolas Moller," (Pp. 3).

An English imprint of the Duchies which made a new and ambitious attempt to provide reading material in English appeared in two volumes in Flensburg in 1780: "The Student's Miscellany: a new select collection of various pieces in prose and verse, for instruction and entertainment in general, chiefly for the use of students at colleges and universities, printed for Korte and Iessen," (Pp. (18)+314+1, (15)+584). The dedication

to "Owe Hogh Guldbergh," and the foreword are in German. Volume I contains selections from Richardson's "Clarissa Harlow," Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" and "Tristram Shandy," Hume's "History of England," Robertson's "History of America," Shaftesbury, James Harris, Adam Smith, William Richardson (on Shakespeare), and Gray; volume II., i. a., from Prior, Pope, James Thomson, Ambrose Phillips, Milton, John Langhorne, Young, Gray, Collins, Percy's "Reliques," Gay, Marlow, Goldsmith, Akenside, and Dryden.

The same year the Flensburg reader was published, the Reverend James Johnstone, M. A., then chaplain to Morton Eden, envoy extraordinary of Great Britain in Copenhagen, published his first antiquarian contribution, in an effort to publicize Old Norse literature. This, the first of several English imprints for which Johnstone was responsible, was the "Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man, and the Hebridian princes of the Somerled family, to which are added XVIII. Eulogies on Haco King of Norway, by Snorro Sturlson poet to that monarch, now first published in the original Icelandic from the Flateyan and other manuscripts; with a literal version, and notes. Printed for the Author 1780." (Pp. (5)+48). It contains translations of extracts from Hákonar saga gamla and selections from the Háttatal of Snorri. About Johnstone little is known for a man who was a member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and whose collection of forty-nine Icelandic manuscripts is now preserved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin.<sup>6</sup>) While he seems to have left Denmark temporarily in 1783 he probably returned the same year. In 1786 he identifies himself as the rector of Magheracross in Ireland and dedicates a work to the Bishop of Clogher. It seems probable that he went to Ireland some time in 1785 for institution. A letter to the "Gentleman's Magazine," purporting to be from a friend, states that in July of 1787 Johnstone was then in Denmark. The minutes of the Royal Danish Academy indicate that he was present at a meeting in November 1788 but identify him as the British chargé d'affaires, a position which he relinquished in June of 1790. Johnstone apparently died in Ireland in 1798 as a prebend of Clogher. His books were sold at auction in 1810.<sup>7</sup>)

Johnstone's antiquarian efforts did not go unnoticed in England despite the fact that they were privately published in Copenhagen, but the nature of their English reception varied. His first book was reviewed harshly in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1781.<sup>8</sup>) "The Monthly Review," on the other hand, found the "Anecdotes" to be "a most acceptable present to the antiquary" in which "the critic in philology will find some amusement

from the little poetical Eulogies of the Icelandic Bard.”<sup>9</sup>) The reviewer urged Johnstone to “pursue his researches into the Norwegian and Icelandic records, in order to illustrate Scottish history.”

That Johnstone did, and in 1782 there appeared “The Norwegian account of Haco’s expedition against Scotland: A. D. MDCCLXIII. now first published, in the original Islandic from the Flateyan and Frisian mss. with a literal English version and notes. Printed for the Author 1782.” (Pp. XV+(1)+143+(16)). This work did not win over the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” however, which again passed unfavorable judgment on Johnstone’s efforts.<sup>10</sup>) True to the taste of the times, the “Gentleman’s Magazine”<sup>11</sup>) was more kindly disposed towards another publication by Johnstone from the same year, the “Lodbrokar-Quida; or the death-song of Lodbroc; now first correctly printed from various manuscripts, with a free English translation. To which are added, the various readings; a literal Latin version; an Islando-Latino glossary; and explanatory notes. Printed for the Author . . . 1782.” (Pp. 111). It was termed “interesting and curious” to those “who are versed in Islandic lore and fond of Northern literature.”

Johnstone’s next publication, in 1783, was a tiny pamphlet of 12 pages, measuring 3¼ by 5¼ inches, said to have been issued in only 20 copies: “A Fragment of Antient History,” which has neither Johnstone’s name, nor the place or date of publication on the title-page. It contains extracts from Magnús saga lagabætr, with an English translation facing the text through page 9 and Icelandic text only pp. 10–12.

After a hiatus of three years, Johnstone published three works in Copenhagen, only two of which are strictly speaking English imprints: the polyglot “Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ, containing the chronicle of Man and the Isles, abridged by Camden, and now first published, complete, from the original MS. in the British Musæum with an English translation, and notes. . . Printed by Aug. Frid. Stein at Copenhagen . . . 1786” (Pp. (2)+152) and “The Robbing of the Nunnery; or the abbess out-witted. A Danish ballad, translated into English in the style of the sixteenth century . . . 1786” (Pp. 46). We note that the former book, the text of which is in English and Latin, and which has a ten-page supplemental table in Greek and Latin, makes use of Bertram’s invention, “Richard of Cirencester,” as well as more responsible sources. The latter publication, which, like the earlier “Fragment,” gives neither Johnstone’s name nor the place of publication nor the publisher on the title-page, is a translation of the Danish “Klosterranet.” The Danish text and the English translation appear on opposite pages; there are introductory and



concluding poems in Latin. The third book published by Johnstone in Copenhagen in 1786 has a Latin title page but contains selections from Old Norse-Icelandic literature in the original with English translations printed in parallel columns: "Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ; sive series gestarum inter nationes Britannicarum insularum et gentes Septentrionales . . ."

It was not until after the turn of the century that a considerable number of English imprints again began to appear in Denmark, and then principally because of the initiative of two men, Christian Frederik Schneider and Gerhard Bonnier. In the interim there did appear three literary works in English, however. All three were edited anonymously, but it is possible that Schneider was responsible for the publication of at least one of them. The first of the three was Alexander Pope's "Essay on Man and Universal Prayer With Notes. Copenhagen, Printed for F. C. Pelt by N. Möller printer to the Court and Son. 1789." (Pp. 79) "My intention," wrote the anonymous editor, "was to procure a cheap edition of this master-piece of didactic poetry." He himself continues in a more didactic fashion, "I should be sensible of the greatest satisfaction and be highly rewarded, if my endeavours may serve to promote the inclination to the british [sic] Language." The notes were added by the editor, "to elucidate some of the most difficult passages." The second was an English translation of "Robinson the Younger by Mr. Campe. Illustrated with Danish notes. I-II. Copenhagen, printed for P. M. Liunge, 1795" (Pp. (1)+211; (1)+223). While this edition does not identify the editor, a so-called second edition, printed in 1802 "for Arntzen & Hartier by Sebastian Popp" (Pp. (1)+XVI+414+(1)+156), states on the title page "The Vocabulary by Mr. Friderick Schneider, Instructor at the Royal Military Academy for the Navy and Translator." The differences in the editions are nevertheless so great that Schneider cannot for certain be assumed to have prepared the first edition. The third literary work of European stature published in English in Copenhagen prior to the end of the century was Oliver Goldsmith's "The Vicar of Wakefield. A Tale Supposed to be written by himself. Copenhagen, Printed for J. Tikiöb, 1797." (Pp. (3)+198). Unlike the two other titles just mentioned, there is no indication in the book that it was intended to be used as a reader.<sup>12</sup>

Christian Frederik Schneider (1772-1825), like Bertram and Mannercrantz before him, was a teacher of English at the naval academy in Copenhagen. It is not surprising then that his first publications in English, in 1798 and 1800, were translations of two tracts on navigation. These will be discussed below with other works, by several hands, of a

maritime nature. The other publications for which Schneider was responsible manifest his interests as a teacher and an advocate of English language and literature. He translated articles and plays from English into Danish, and wrote articles about the study and teaching of English. In 1800 he published an English grammar and reader.

In 1802 or 1803 appeared Schneider's "Danish Grammar, adapted to The Use of Englishmen, to which are added, A short historical description of Copenhagen, and various Extracts from Danish Authors. . . Copenhagen printed for F. Brummer by S. Popp" (n.d., Pp. (1)+324), and the next year he had issued the bilingual "English and Danish Dialogues, Originally written in English and German by Mr. J. Marston. Adapted to the Use of Danes. . . Copenhagen, 1804. Printed for F. Brummer, by E. M. Cohen." (Pp. (2)+236). The Dialogues, which also had a Danish title page, appeared in a second edition, printed by J. P. Mandra, in 1812. In 1805 Friedrich Brummer published an English chrestomathy for Schneider with selections from Lord Chesterfield, Gillies, Blair, Franklin, Addison, Locke, Pitt (Speech against Walpole), Robertson, Hume, Fielding, Goldsmith, Smollett, Burnet, Gibbon, Ferguson, Brydone, Harris, Paley, Sheridan, Kelly, Ossian, Beattie, Mallet, and Wolcott, as well as a piece, "Of Columbus and the discovery of America." While it cannot be classified as an English imprint, since the title page and the introduction to the book are in Danish, the entire text of the volume, pp. 1-338, is in English. Two years later Schneider edited the first volume of a "Collection of English plays with explanatory notes in the Danish language," which was "Printed for G. Bonnier No. 11. F. Kronprindsensgaden." (Pp. (2)+228+78). This was the initial book in a series of unprepossessing small volumes issued by Bonnier in the English language. It contains Frederick Pilon's "The Good Son" and "The deaf Lover," and Sheridan's "The School for Scandal." This first volume of the "Collection" is bibliographically complex and suggests the speculative nature of Bonnier's business. There is another, undated edition of the volume which seems also to have been issued in 1807. It omits pp. 1-2 and has instead a two-leaved "Forerindring" pasted in. The text in the undated edition is the same as the first edition through p. 203; thereafter the book has been reset, pp. 204-235, with less text on each page. The notes are the same in both cases, but are not from the same setting. What is more, Pilon's "The Deaf Lover" was extracted from the first volume of the "Collection," and separately issued by Bonnier the same year, without mention of Schneider's name, without notes, and without new pagination. The second volume of the "Collection," which did not appear until

1812, and which contains Goldsmith's "The Mistakes of a Night" and Colman's "John Bull," was also issued twice. One issue describes itself as "with explanatory notes in the Danish language. By Fredk. Schneider Captain, Assessor and Instructor at the Royal Naval Academy" (Pp. (2) + 138 + VI + 150), while the other is "By Fredk. Schneider . . . Continued by P.J. Lænström" (Pp. (6) + 138 + VI + 150 + 122 + (1 p. errata)). The issue without Lænström's name omits the Danish-English glossary. In the "Advertisement," i. e., preface, of his issue, Lænström states, "Captain Schneider has intrusted me with writing the Notes to this Second Volume. . ." Volume III, containing George Colman's "The Jealous Wife" and "The Clandestine Marriage," was published in 1815, but in the only edition or issue known there is mention neither of Schneider nor Lænström. The title page states "Selected for the use of those who like to cultivate that language," and "Copenhagen, 1815. Printed for G. Bonnier," but no printer is mentioned. Each play has separate pagination and its own signatures. (Pp. 168, A-G, and 172, A-I<sup>2</sup> respectively). It may have been Bonnier's intent also to issue the plays separately, but if he did so there is no evidence of it. The same year the third volume of the "Collection" appeared, Schneider issued three more English imprints. The first was "A short Introduction to the Danish Language for Englishmen. . . Printed for Fredr. Schneider by J. Irgens. . ." (Pp. 22). The second was apparently an attempt at a periodical publication: "English miscellanies extracted from different authors. . .", of which there are three undated numbers (Pp. 16, pp. 20, pp. 20), the last two of which contain English-Danish glossaries. Schneider's final contribution was again the result of collaboration with Bonnier: a partial reprint or issue of a book of anecdotes entitled "The Encyclopedia of Wit," several editions of which had appeared in England between about 1801 and 1812: "The Encyclopedia of Wit abridged. . . Copenhagen. Printed for Gerard Bonnier" (Pp. 1 + 168 + 64). The volume is undated and Schneider's name does not appear on the title page, but he is identified as the editor in Nyerup's "Almindeligt Litteraturrexikon," and the Royal Library's copy of the book bears a handwritten dedication by Schneider to the well-known Danish actor Frederik Schwartz, whose wife was half English. The 64 pages of notes constitute a glossary by Schneider. Otherwise the book either reproduces or is itself the partial Copenhagen issue of an English edition. The latter possibility is suggested by the fact that the text bears the signature A-O, whereas the notes have the signature 1-6<sup>2</sup>. Like the English edition of c. 1803 (London, Printed for R. Phillips . . .), which has the same format and, through page 168, the same

signatures as the Copenhagen imprint, Bonnier's edition reproduces Hogarth's engraving, "A Laughing Audience," on the title page, and the quotation "Let those laugh now who never laugh'd before / And those who always laugh'd now laugh the more," but without the quotation from Peter Pindar which appears above the engraving in the aforementioned English edition.

Apparently without the assistance of Schneider, Bonnier, who might be termed the Danish Sir Richard Phillips, published several other books in English in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1813 he issued a title edition of James Johnstone's "Lodbrokar-Quida" of 1782, and identified it as "A new edition." In 1815 Bonnier was the acknowledged publisher of two English imprints and in addition was the publisher of two more. The first is "Yorick's sentimental Journey by Laurence Sterne. A new edition. For the use of Schools. Copenhagen [sic] Printed for G. Bonnier. 1815." (Pp. 299+(1)) The identification as "a new edition" makes the book suspect as a possible title edition. The second is a "New Spelling-Book or: an easy introduction to the Knowledge of the english Language. After the method of Entick, Enfield, Mrs. Barbaud etc. Copenhagen. Printed for G. Bonnier. 1815." (Pp. (1)+VIII+76), a second edition of which Bonnier published in 1818 (Pp. VI+80+LXVII). The spelling-book looks suspiciously like a reprint, or at best a revision, of one of the many textbooks published by Phillips in London.

The two other works published by Bonnier each bears only the date, 1815, and neither the publisher's nor printer's name nor the place of publication: "The Minstrel or The Progress of Genius by James Beattie" (t.p.+pp. 52) and "The farmers-boy a rural Poem by Rt. Bloomfield" (t.p.+pp. 5-70; pages 3-4 wanting). The two duodecimo books were printed and bound together so that leaf C<sup>r</sup> of the latter is conjugate with leaf A<sup>10</sup> of the former. These two items are found in the Danish division of the Royal Library in Copenhagen,<sup>13</sup>) but are apparently unknown elsewhere. Both lend themselves to the kind of speculative publishing to which Bonnier seems to have been given, for they were among the popular literary works of the later eighteenth century. It has been suggested by Mr. Aleks. Frøland to the present writer that Bonnier may have issued these and other books in the major languages primarily as a means of exchange for books which he wanted to obtain in Leipzig.

In 1816 Bonnier published "Collection of English and Danish Dialogues calculated for Use of both Nations." Copenhagen. Printed for Gerard Bonnier. (Pp. (1)+139+(3)+pp.141-212). A pasted-in Danish title page states the compiler to be "J. Bartels," a pseudonym for Bonnier.

Erslew, "Forfatter-Lexikon," drawing upon information furnished by Bonnier himself, ascribes an English imprint to Bonnier of which no trace can be found in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, the Royal Library of Stockholm, the archives of the Bonnier publishing company, or through the efforts of the National Central Library in London or the Library of Congress (Union Catalogue) in Washington. Erslew gives the title as "The English Reader" I-II, 1814-18. Circumstantial evidence would indicate that the title never was published, but as yet it has not been possible to ascertain on what basis Erslew lists it.<sup>14</sup>)

The course of war in Denmark at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the conflict with England in 1801 evoked that same year a commentary from the pen of the printer and publisher K. H. Seidelin, of which German, French, and English editions appeared. The English title is "Events of the War between Denmark and England from the 30th of March 1801 til the cessation of hostilities on the 2d. April s.y. From official reports and ocular witnesses..." (Pp. 31 + (1) + (1 map) + (1 table)). The booklet was republished the same year as the first of two pamphlets entitled, "War for the Liberty of the Seas, No. I [No. II]. or events of war between Denmark and England . . ." the complete subtitles of which vary (Pp. 32 + (1 table); 40 + (2 maps)).<sup>15</sup>) After the English attack upon Copenhagen, six years later, a similar publication appeared: "Account of the Siege, Bombardment and Capitulation of Copenhagen in the year 1807. By F. L. Sommer. Copenhagen. Printed for the Author by E. M. Cohen" (Pp. 48), a pamphlet which was continued anonymously by the publication, in four numbered parts, of documents by several hands who participated in the battle. All parts were entitled "Continuation of the Account of the Siege, Bombardment and Capitulation of Copenhagen. Copenhagen. Printed by N. Christensen." (Pp. 63). According to Ehrencron-Müller's "Forfatterlexikon" (but not according to his "Anonym- og Pseudonymlexikon"), "F. L. Sommer" is a pseudonym for K. H. Seidelin. This identification is incorrect; according to Nyerup's "Litteraturlexikon" Seidelin was the anonymous author of "An Admonition upon the "Account of the bombardement of Copenhagen by F. L. Sommer." Cph. 1807," a work which is not preserved in the Royal Library and not otherwise known. The possibility cannot be ruled out that an F. L. Sommer may have written the "Account" and the "Continuation," and that Seidelin published only a corrective thereof.

Another product of war was a "Translation of the bulletins issued out from the head quarters of H.M. the King of Denmark in the year 1808."

Copenhagen, 1811. (Pp. 82), which above the English also bore a French title.<sup>16</sup>) The volume contained parallel French and English text.

A few English imprints of Denmark attest the maritime interests of the country as well as the preëminence of English as the language of the sea. The first of these seems to have been a "Copy of the Instructions to Captains of Privateers &c. Extracted from the Registry of His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of England . . ." printed in English and Danish at Copenhagen in 1778<sup>17</sup>) (Pp. 18). In 1781 a similar pamphlet with both English and Danish title and text, was issued in Copenhagen by the "General-Land-Oeconomie- og Commerce Collegium" and contained "Instructions for the Commanders of such Merchant Ships and Vessels, who shall have letters of marque and reprizals. London the 21. of December 1780." (Pp. 32+ (3)). It is difficult to speak authoritatively of ordinances and instructions which may have been issued in foreign languages in Denmark, for it is probable that some of them no longer are preserved. One wonders why "Translation of the danish Ordinance published at Copenhagen the 18th of April 1787" (Pp. 14) and not others of a similar nature should have been published in English.<sup>18</sup>)

Two maritime works translated by C. F. Schneider have been mentioned above. The one was apparently an attempt to make known abroad the theory of navigation propounded by Christian Carl Lous;<sup>19</sup>) a German translation of the same work had been published three years previously, in Kiel. The other, by the distinguished naval officer Poul Løvenørn, was of a practical nature, "Sailing Directions for The Kattegat..." Copenhagen 1800 (Pp. 68+ (9 plates)), and also appeared in Danish and German editions. In 1801 and 1806 schedules of duties payable on goods imported into the United States of America and passing through the Sound at Elsinore, respectively, appeared in English. The former,<sup>20</sup>) which was published at Elsinore, is simply a reprint, with a slightly different pagination, of the same schedule printed in New York by James Oram the previous year; its reprinting indicates that the demand for the American schedule was greater than the supply. The latter, by one John White, was the second edition of a schedule originally published in Hull in 1795.<sup>21</sup>)

There remain to be mentioned three anomalous imprints of the Napoleonic era: one a curious tour de force, the second a serious theological study, and the third a piece of hack work. In 1811, the expatriate English adventurer Levett Hanson (1754-1814), who lived in Copenhagen from 1811 until his death there, published his "Miscellaneous Compositions in Verse. Illustrated by occasional prefatory introductions, and copious

explanatory notes. . . ." (Pp. XXXII+ 296). The title page identifies the pompous author, who to be sure had hobnobbed with many crowned heads in his lifetime, as "Sir Levett Hanson, K. M. H. Chamberlain to H. S. H. Hercules-Rinaldo, late Duke of Modena, and a Member of the Royal Academy of Parma."

Ebenezer Henderson (1784-1858), the Congregational missionary, had begun proselytizing in Denmark in 1805 and had subsequently also taught English (at Elsinore) prior to his removal to Sweden in 1807 because of political exigency. By 1813 he was again in Denmark, engaged in the translation of the New Testament into Icelandic. It was at this time and as a result of his editorial labors that he published "A Dissertation on Hans Mikkelsen's (or, the first Danish) translation of the New Testament . . ." showing, as the subtitle indicates, that the Danish translation was made "not from the Vulgate, as has hitherto been believed, but from the Latin version of Erasmus, and the earlier editions of Luther's Testament" (Pp. (3)+ 26+ (1)).

In 1815, finally, the enterprising bookseller Christian Steen published "A Collection of Notable English Sentences selected to The Use of Remembrance-Books" (Pp. 24) by the academic journalist N. H. S. Bloch. Steen published similar collections in Danish, German and Swedish. The booklet in English contains quotations from Young, Pope, Swift, Thomson, Akenside, Churchill, and others. Although not in itself significant, it suggests that the efforts of the several propagandists for the English language in Denmark had met with some success in the small maritime nation. Books published in English were no longer privately printed *curiosa* but a part of the regular flow of publications from the country's presses. They fulfilled either a demand for English texts at home or a need to disseminate information among speakers of English abroad.

## II

A tradition of printing and publishing in English was established in Denmark by the end of the Napoleonic wars. There was a flurry of English imprints in 1815-16, when, through the efforts of Gerhard Bonnier, no fewer than twelve appeared. Nevertheless, there were ten years between 1815 and 1855 for which no separate English imprints have been found: 1817, 1822-24, 1826, 1832, 1838, 1843, 1846, and 1849. From 1855 until the end of the century the number of English imprints averaged three a year, and only twice, in 1870 and in 1873, did none appear. The year 1855 may be viewed as a new departure; it was then the mercurial

Professor George Stephens issued the first of his many publications in Denmark.

The English imprints of the nineteenth century fall into several categories, the largest of which comprises textbooks. Notable was the increasing use of English as a language of scholarship, by individuals and by learned societies. Perhaps contrary to expectation, there were only a few maritime publications. There was a growing number of books issued for tourists in Denmark. Some imprints served the cause of political and social propaganda. Toward the end of the century some books were published in order to disseminate information about Denmark abroad.

Between 1815 and 1900 some twenty-five grammars and readers were published with English title-pages. The champions of the English language in Denmark were, quite naturally, teachers of the language in the nation's capital. They carried on a tradition dating from the infamous Charles Bertram in the middle of the eighteenth century. J. A. Hillebrandt (1828), Richard Jones (1829), Carl Mariboe (1830—31), G. Gordon McDougall (1833), Thorleifur Repp (1842 ff.), Frederick Bresemann and William Jones (1844), Svend Rosing (1844), Gustav Fistaine (1860), Cecil Hornbeck (1863), Maria Bojesen (1863), Peter Jürgensen (1845), E. E. Ancker (1851), H. Berthelsen (1855) — these are names associated with readers and grammars of the English language published in English in Copenhagen in the forty years after the Napoleonic Wars. Indicative of the expanding interest in the English language is the fact that some English imprints also were published by provincial presses. The earliest, an English grammar, appeared in Slagelse in 1816; its author, the Rev. N. S. Fuglsang, was an orientalist who had spent ten years in Tranquebar.<sup>22</sup>)

Prior to the emergence of George Stephens, the most notable figure among the apostles of English was Carl R. F. Mariboe (1800—1860). Mariboe was a distinguished pædagog and a well-known teacher of the English language, who compiled several textbooks, and who in 1856 received a state pension of 1200 daler, ca. \$ 640) annually for "his services in teaching and his contribution to the dissemination of the knowledge of English." From November 1830 to April 1831 Mariboe, with G. Gordon McDougall, had published a periodical in English: "The Portfolio or Tea-Table Miscellany," ("Printed by Fabritius de Tengnagel. Quarterly subscription 9 Mk. Silver"), in all twelve numbers, totalling 192 pp. Among other contributions, which include Bryant's "To the West Wind," it contains an English translation of Jens Baggesen's "Emma," and an English paraphrase of B. S. Ingemann's "Beileren."<sup>23</sup>) Incidentally, McDougall (1798—1835), who had come from the Danish West Indies and



was at the time of his death (in Scotland) librarian of a Copenhagen library, republished his poetry from "The Portfolio," together with other verse, in a volume entitled "Nugæ canoræ," in 1833 (127 + VIII pp.).

As the interest in English increased in the second half of the century, the number of English grammars, readers, and glossaries also increased, although progressively fewer of them may be classified as English imprints. While the publication of textbooks as English imprints at the beginning of the century still had had exemplary or intrinsic significance, in the second half of the century it was soon a matter of accident or personal taste whether elementary books of instruction bore English title-pages.

Related to the other teachers of English, yet an anomaly, stands the man who is responsible for the largest number of English imprints of Denmark through 1900: George Stephens (1813-1895), eccentric and enthusiast, dilettante and scholar, who wrote no fewer than twenty books or pamphlets (and translated others) which were published in English in Denmark. Stephens came to Denmark via Sweden in 1851 to be lecturer in English at the University of Copenhagen; by 1855 he had acquired the title of professor. He worked untiringly as an antiquary and as an advocate of his own philological and linguistic theories. Stephens' initial publication in Copenhagen was an outline of Shakespeare's "The Tempest." Identified as the "Third Edition," it had previously been published in Stockholm in 1836 with the descriptive and speculative sub-title "intended for University classes, family reading, and the private student." Stephens had started publishing in English in Stockholm, Sweden, as early as 1835, and several other English imprints of Sweden are the results of his efforts. The Copenhagen "Tempest" was the first of a series entitled "The Shakespear Story-Teller." Numbers 2-5 also appeared in 1855 and summarized "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "Twelfth Night," and "Measure for Measure," respectively. Number 6, "Much Ado about Nothing," is dated 1856. The title-page in each case also lists a London agent, J. R. Smith.

An early curiosum is the poem "Gange Rolf," written "as a Welcome to Norwegian Students on their visit to Copenhagen," June 19, 1856, which was "Printed as MS. and distributed to the students in Scandinavia." One wonders not only whether Norwegian students found it strange to be greeted in Denmark by English verse but what Stephens expected to accomplish with another poem entitled "June 5, 1857," which was directed against the concept of the Danish "whole state." Of Stephens' other separately published occasional poems, the most

notable is his centenary poem in 1859, "The rescue of Robert Burns" (8° 22 + 1 pp.).

In addition to occasional poetry, Stephens also wrote a melodrama in five acts entitled "Revenge, or Woman's Love," Copenhagen, 1857 (99 pp.) and dedicated to Bulwer Lytton. Complementary to the play were "Seventeen Songs" by Stephens, but composed by a Swedish musician, B. V. Hallberg (2° 20 pp.). Both drama and music bear the double imprint Copenhagen: C. G. Iversen, and London: John Russell Smith.

In 1860 Stephens began his serious antiquarian publications with "Two leaves of King Waldere's lay," described as "now first published from the originals of the 9th century." Stephens undertook to reform English spelling and translate Danish place names; thus, he henceforth identifies himself as a professor in "the University of Cheapinghaven." "Two leaves" has the imprint Cheapinghaven: Michaelsen and Tillge, and London: John Russell Smith. Also in 1860 he published "Ghost-Thanks or the grateful unburied, a mythic tale in its oldest European form. Sir Amadace a middle-north-English metrical romance of the thirteenth century," with the imprint "Cheapinghaven," (74 pp.). These works were followed by pamphlets on "Queen Dagmar's Cross," in 1863 (16 pp.), and "The Ruthwell Cross," in 1866 ((2) + 46 pp. + 2 plates), both with double imprints.

Stephens' most ambitious and meaningful undertaking was in the field of runology. The first of three volumes on "The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England" bore the imprint, London: John Russell Smith, and København: Michaelsen and Tillge, 1866-67 ((1) + LXX + 501 pp. + 2 plates). The second volume appeared in 1867-68 (continuing the pagination through p. 1038 + 13 plates). A third volume, with the imprint London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, and Cheapinghaven: H. H. J. Lyngé, followed in 1884 (VIII + 508 pp.). The series was completed after Stephens' death by a fourth volume, edited by S. O. M. Söderberg and published with the imprint London, Edinburgh, and Lund - but not Copenhagen.<sup>24</sup>) In 1884 Stephens published a condensed version of his three folio volumes on the runes as "Handbook of the Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, and "Cheapinghaven (Kjøbenhavn, Copenhagen): H. H. J. Lyngé" (XXIV + 281 pp. + 1 plate). His last work, also with a double imprint, was "The Runes, whence came they," (4° (5) + 95 pp.). Although many of these books carry two imprints, apparently to facilitate their sale, all were printed in Denmark.<sup>25</sup>)

Although Stephens was a member of the Royal Society of Northern

Antiquaries (Kgl. Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab) which had been founded by C. C. Rafn and Rasmus Rask in 1825, he was not responsible for the several reports and announcements which that organization issued in English between 1836 and 1863. The most important of these publications was the "Report addressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members," Copenhagen, 1836 (pp. XIV+(i)+188+6 plates), translated by George McDougall and John M'Caul. Of the nine articles the report includes, one, on the older Icelandic and Norwegian accounts of Ireland, is by N.M. Petersen and one, on runes, is by Finn Magnussen, while the other contributions are presumably all by C. C. Rafn.

The report of the annual meeting of January 31, 1839, summarized communications from Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts; Dr. Thomas H. Webb, Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society; John R. Bartlett of New York; and Dr. Jerome V. C. Smith of Boston. An eight-page announcement of the "American Section of the Society" in 1839 lists among the members Martin van Buren — then president of the United States, Charles Lowell, Noah Webster, P. S. Duponceau, Alexander Humboldt, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, G. P. Marsh, Josiah Quincy, Jerad Sparks, and Henry Wheaton, and therewith testifies to the founder-secretary C. C. Rafn's organizational ability.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1858 and 1872 the somewhat older Icelandic Literary Society (Hið íslenska bókmenntafjelag, founded in 1816 by Rasmus Rask), then under the energetic leadership of the Icelandic patriot Jón Sigurðsson, issued three reports in English, the first (pp. 8) with the imprint Reykjavik and Copenhagen, the second (pp. 8) n.p., n.d. (1860, also published in French and German), the third (pp. 16) with a Copenhagen imprint only.

Still another, earlier, publication presaged the rôle of an international language of learned communication and scholarship which English assumed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The distinguished astronomer H. C. Schumacher (1780-1850), director of the observatory at Altona, had, in 1820, issued his "Ephemeris of the Distance of the four Planets Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn from the Moon's Center for 1822 . . ." (Copenhagen, printed for the Royal Danish Sea-Chart-Office, VIII+(1)+45 pp.). He published a similar calendar for the years 1822 and 1823 in 1821 and again for the years 1829-1833, from 1827 through 1831. The work was continued as "Distances of the sun and the four planets, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, from the Moon, calculated according to Mr. Bessel's method . . . printed for the Royal

Hydrographic Office, Copenhagen, 1834, (XXVI+280+91 pp.). There were similar volumes for the years 1836, 1837, and 1838.<sup>27</sup>)

Together with Schumacher's tables, "Zendavesta or the religious books of the Zoroastrians" by N. L. Westergaard, Professor of Oriental languages at the University of Copenhagen, represents the beginning of serious scholarly work published in English in Denmark (Copenhagen, 1852-54, 486+26 pp., "Printed by Berling brothers. Sold by Gyldendal"). Westergaard's book, designated as volume one, also marks the advent of significant orientological publication in Copenhagen, even though no further volumes appeared. In 1861 Viggo Fausböll started his publication of various *Játaskas* in the original Páli with English translations and notes. Further volumes appeared in 1871 and 1872. Finally, in 1877, he started what was to be a seven-volume edition of the *Játaskas*. The first octavo volume ((10)+511 pp.) bore the imprint London: Trübner & Co., Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, Kopenhagen: H. Hagerup. Like all subsequent volumes, it was printed by Nielsen & Lydiche in Copenhagen, although volumes V-VII were published in London only, a fact which suggests the difficulties of distributing books published in English in Denmark.

The notable learned contributions which appeared as English imprints in the last fifteen years of the century frequently either had the double imprint Copenhagen and London or were in series. The first of such contributions in a series was the well-known geographer H. J. Rink's "The Eskimo Tribes. Their distribution and characteristics, especially in regard to language," 1887-91, which in its separately reprinted form bore the imprint of C. A. Reitzel in Copenhagen, and Longmans, Green & Co. in London, but which constituted volume XI of the Danish series of "Meddelelser om Grønland." Of greater significance is the fact that the reports of the Danish Biological Station began to be published in English as well as in Danish from the second volume of the series (1891-92). These reports constituted annual quarto volumes all of which were written or edited by C. G. J. Petersen, the director of the Danish Biological Station. They dealt with various aspects of fishing and fish breeding in Danish waters. In 1899 there began to appear the reports, in several volumes, of the oceanographic and ichthyological Ingolf-expedition, written by C. F. Wandel, Martin Knudsen, O. B. Bøggild and others, and "Published at the cost of the government by the direction of the zoological museum of the university." Incidentally, a plan for an earlier hydrographic and biological expedition (The *Dijmphna Expedition*, 1882-83), by its leader, Lt. Andreas Hovgaard, had been published in English as well as in Danish, in 1882.

In contrast to the many articles and books published in the field of medicine in Denmark today, medical contributions were non-existent until the very end of the nineteenth century, when in 1898 two of Dr. Thorkild Roving's contributions to the "British Medical Journal" were reprinted in Copenhagen for private distribution – one of which originally had appeared in German, and the other, a lecture to the British Medical Association, also appeared in Danish and German periodicals—and J. H. Chievitz, the Professor of Anatomy at the University of Copenhagen, published "A Research on the Topographical Anatomy of the Full-term Human Fœtus in Situ," in 1899 with the support of the Carlsberg Fund.<sup>28</sup>)

While the astronomical tables of Schumacher could be considered of maritime importance, there were relatively few distinctly maritime publications in English. The reasons are not obvious for the issuance of the first item in this category after the Napoleonic wars, "Directions for the navigation of the two harbours of Alexandria in Egypt to serve as a guide to the chart laid down in 1817," (Copenhagen, Printed by A. Seidelin, 1819, 8 pp.). The pamphlet, which also appeared in French, was compiled by the versatile Lt. Christian Falbe (1791–1849), who had served with the French navy, 1808–10.

Up to the abolition of the Sound duties in 1857, tariffs on goods passing through the Sound occasionally were published. The first tariff in English, compiled by John Atkinson, had appeared in Glasgow in 1770; the next, by John White, originally published in Hull in 1795, had been reprinted in Copenhagen in 1806. A new tariff by Frederik Thaarup and Hans Andersen Martensen (the latter of whom had spent some time in English captivity during the Napoleonic wars) was published in English as well as in Danish, German, and French in 1821. Each version had as an appendix the Dutch tariff of 1645, "Voor d'Onderdanen der Geunieerde Nederlandsche Provintien," representing the great revision in duties made in the seventeenth century, when the majority of ships passing the Sound were from the Netherlands. The last tariff in English was compiled by the British Consul in Denmark, Francis C. MacGregor, and published in Copenhagen in 1842. In 1867 laws were published in English, "relating to the Measurement of Ships in Denmark" (13 pp.) and on "the Registration of Danish Ships" (16 pp.), and in 1883 the Ministry of Maritime Affairs had printed "Examples of ship's papers. . ." ((2) + 60 pp.). Finally, in 1893, appeared a manual of Danish "Maritime Law, sanctioned by H.M. Christian IX. . . April 1892," in codified form (131 pp.). Incidentally, the government also issued English instructions to Danish consuls in both 1868 and 1893.

Descriptive literature in English for travellers is really a product of the second half of the century, although the first book of this kind appeared in Copenhagen in 1829, compiled by Richard Jones, noted above as the author of a textbook in English. It was "Copenhagen and its Environs. Compiled after the best Authors . . . Printed by Jacob Behrend."<sup>29</sup>) Not until 1853 did the progression of literature for tourists start, with the publication of an anonymous guide to Thorvaldsen's Museum (reprinted in 1869 and 1880 and later superseded by other guides). The same year the long-time (1834-83) clergyman of the British Embassy in Copenhagen, the Rev. Robert Stevenson Ellis, writing under the pseudonym "Anglicanus," issued "The Travellers' Hand-Book to Copenhagen and its Environs." The book bore the imprint Copenhagen: Chr. Steen; and London: J. Russell Smith.

In 1868 there was a new guide to "Copenhagen and its Environs" (Copenhagen: P. G. Philipsen; London: A. Asher & Co.) as well as a guide to Rosenborg Castle, the latter written by Carl Andersen, inspector of the castle's collections. Both books had been translated from the Danish. The guide to Rosenborg is curious insofar as it was bound with the original Danish version and has references in the English text to the illustrations of the Danish edition. In the 'nineties there appeared three guide books to Copenhagen in English as well as two editions of a new guide to Rosenborg Castle (by Dr. Peter Brock, Carl Andersen's successor). It is noteworthy that two of the guides from the year 1898 - "Copenhagen the Capital of Denmark" and "Copenhagen and its environs" - were issued for the Danish Tourist Society (founded 1888). The former, edited by Franz von Jessen, bore only a Copenhagen imprint and was distributed by G. E. C. Gad. The latter was distributed in Copenhagen by H. Hagerup and in London by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Literature for English-speaking tourists had now become a stock-in-trade.

A synthesis of tourist literature and political propaganda produced at the end of the nineteenth century a new type of publication which was to assume great significance in the twentieth century: "Kulturpropaganda," i. e., a type of publication issued officially or semi-officially by one country for the double purpose of disseminating information of a general cultural nature and therewith influencing public opinion in another country.

"Kulturpropaganda" makes its appearance in the last decade of the century in Denmark with the publication, in 1891, of two books, "Denmark. Its history and topography. Language, literature, fine-arts, social life and finance" ((5) + 269 pp. + 1 map), and "Denmark. Its medical

organization hygiene and demography," ((10) + 474 pp. + 5 maps + 8 charts + (4) pp.). The latter, which was edited by three well-known Danish physicians and "Published with subvention of the Danish government" was "presented at the Seventh International Congress of Hygiene and Demography" in London; it bears the imprint of Julius Gjellerup in Copenhagen and J. & A. Churchill in London. The former, edited by Harald Weitemeyer, "with the help of Danish scientists," had already appeared in French and German in 1889. Other publications in this category were evoked by the Columbian Exposition in 1893: a guide book to the Danish exhibit at the exposition and the two publications of the Danish Sloyd Association (the shorter of which was reprinted from the guide book). The Danish Press Club issued a twenty-page pamphlet, "Where Denmark Leads," on the occasion of the visit of members of the foreign press to Copenhagen in June 1895. The following year the direction of the Copenhagen free port published a descriptive pamphlet about the port. Finally, the Danish Export Association published a monthly or semi-monthly periodical entitled "The Danish Export Review," from January 1896 through December 1922. The first number of the review stated the aim of the association, which was to be aided by the periodical: "to enable the Danish Nation to participate in the trade of the world at large."

The use of English as a means of disseminating social and political propaganda, one of the major functions of English as an international language today, was very limited in nineteenth-century Denmark. An early publication of this type was the English version of the German-born Danish official C. F. Schmidt-Phiseldeck's prophetic "Europe and America or the relative state of the civilized world at a future period," 1820, translated by the Anglo-Danish merchant Joseph Owen from the German original ("Europa und Amerika, oder die künftigen Verhältnisse der civilisirten Welt"). A Swedish translation appeared in Stockholm, and a Dutch in Amsterdam; but both the French and English versions, as well as the Danish, appeared in Copenhagen. Owen says in his introduction, "Animated with the desire of being the humble instrument of imparting to the American nation, that picture of future grandeur and happiness, which the author of the present work holds out to them, I have been induced to undertake the translation of it."

There were two further pamphlets which attempted to agitate for social and economic schemes. The first, by Edward Carstensen ("From 1842 to 1850 governor of the Danish settlements on the coast of Africa" and in 1867-68 "Commissioner extraordinary to the Danish West Indies")

was "Propositions for the organisation of an African emigration and immigration," Copenhagen, printed by H. H. Thiele, 1869, (18 pp.). Carstensen's pamphlet, which aimed to abolish the slave trade, was also printed and published in French in France. The other, by the Danish idealist Peter Frederik Lunde (who had spent five years in England in the 'sixties), was "Contributions to the solution of the prize-questions brought forward in the news-paper 'Liberté' by the French financier Mr. I. Pereire [i. e., Isaac Péreire], concerning the most powerful means of conquering poverty," Copenhagen, 1881, (31 pp.). There was a single publication engendered by the Prussian-Danish conflict of 1848, "On Nationality and Language in The Duchy of Sleswick or South Jutland," issued anonymously by Carl Ferdinand Allen in Copenhagen in 1848, (8° 162 pp. + 1 map). The conflict regarding the succession to the Danish throne brought forth the English translation of a pamphlet by C. F. Wegener, "Defence for the full hereditary right, according to the *lex regia* of the kings and royal house of Denmark, especially Prince Christian and his spouse," Copenhagen, 1853, (23 pp.), the original of which caused the author to be haled before the Danish supreme court. The Danish-German conflict of 1864 also called forth a publication in English, to wit "Cruel conduct of the Prussian military to me and my family," by a Danish patriot, M. F. Blaunfeldt, Copenhagen, 1864, (8° 43 pp.). It is worth passing notice that the Copenhagen newspaper "Danmark" carried a "Weekly Review" in English for some time in 1863.<sup>30</sup>)

The next effort to employ English for purposes of propaganda was not by a Dane but by the American Minister to Denmark, George H. Yeaman (1829-1908), who in 1867 published in Copenhagen "Some observations upon international prize law and the abolition of maritime captures," (83 pp.), and "Some observations upon Alabama questions," (35 pp.), and finally "Allegiance and citizenship. An inquiry into the claims of European Governments to exact military service of naturalized citizens of the United States," (50 pp.). There was no comparable effort on the part of the British government to state a case by publishing in English in Denmark.<sup>31</sup>)

Four times various religious groups had occasion to publish in English in Copenhagen and therewith accentuate their association with or dependence on their English co-religionists. In 1841 a three-page protest was issued in Danish and English by two English Baptists on the imprisonment of the leading Danish Baptist spokesman, the frequently arrested and often-interned Peter Mönster and his brother Adolph.<sup>32</sup>) In 1884 there appeared a sixteen-page "Memorial respecting Mr. W. Wins-



low's Ordination . . ." in 1883 as a pastor of the New Church. In 1889 the Jewish congregation published the sermon delivered in October, 1888, by the Chief Rabbi of Copenhagen, A. A. Wolff, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of his assuming office. Furthermore, from 1892 through 1898 the president of the Danish Missionary Society, Jens Vahl (1828-98), published a statistical review in English on „Missions to the Heathen," in all seven numbers, averaging twenty-five pages each.

Publications in English in Denmark for export to the Danish West Indies were minimal: two collections of hymns, one in 1850 and one in 1872 (of which there was a second edition in 1880), an English translation, published in 1868, of H. J. Birch's late eighteenth-century epitome of Biblical history,<sup>33</sup>) in addition to a "Collection of the most important Laws, Ordinances, Publications etc., valid in or referring to the Danish West India Islands, "Copenhagen, 1884, ((1) + 265 + XVII pp.). To be sure, books, newspapers, and ordinances in English appearing in the Danish West Indies themselves were fairly numerous,<sup>34</sup>) but one might expect more to have been published in Copenhagen for West-Indian readers of English.

A few belletristic publications in English after the Napoleonic Era have yet to be mentioned. In 1827 John Heath, A. M. (1788-1862), son of a headmaster of Eton and "Fellow of King's College, Cambridge," published a translation of a work by Adam Oehlenschläger, "The little shepherd-boy. An idyll", but to what end is not apparent. Still more puzzling was the appearance in 1874 of a volume of poetry by a Welsh lady, Myfanwy Fenton, otherwise known in Denmark only as the translator of a volume of travels in Iceland by the above-mentioned Carl Andersen.<sup>35</sup>) Her book was entitled "St. Lawrence Orphanage, or The Story of Three Lives, with Other Poems and Tales. Original and Translated," ((4) + 183 pp.). The book, which was published by C. A. Reitzel, was dedicated to Baroness de Mohrenheim, wife of the Russian envoy in Copenhagen. Also equivocal was an English translation, by one Robert Wintle, of a play by Otto Benzon ("A Regular Scandal") that appeared without the imprint of a publisher in 1886. It was a contemporary comedy, which had been a great success at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen.

In 1890 C. Conway Thornton, who, like James Johnstone a century before, was a member of the British diplomatic service in Copenhagen, published a volume of poetry under the title "'Bold Burgundy' and other verses" (30 pp.), of which there is also an "Original edition enlarged" ((1) + 54) and a so-called "Second edition," containing a tipped-in dedication to the Princess of Wales, both 1890.

Once more emphasizing the responsibility of teachers of English for English imprints in Denmark were the translations and the publication of four plays by Danish and Norwegian authors in the 'eighties by T(horvald) Weber, the irascible proprietor of a school of languages in Copenhagen and a protégé of George Stephens. Although the books do not indicate such an intent, the translations were intended to be used as textbooks for students of English. Ibsen's "Doll's House" appeared in Weber's translation in 1880 as "Nora" and, unexpectedly, bears a dedication to the Princess Alexandra of Wales. The following year Weber published a translation of Jens Christian Hostrup's "Eva", with a dedication to George Stephens. In 1885, shortly after the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ludvig Holberg, appeared Weber's translations of „Den politiske Kandestøber“ (as "The blue-apron statesman") and „Erasmus Montanus.“<sup>36)</sup>

There is no clear pattern to be discerned among the 240-odd English imprints of Denmark in the nineteenth century which I have examined, although the initiative of teachers of English in encouraging publishing in English must be acknowledged. The preëminent position of English as the language for scholarly publication, especially in the fields of the medical, natural, and physical sciences, so apparent when one examines the first volume of *Dania polyglotta* (covering the years 1901-44) had not yet fully evolved at the turn of the century. Although, to be sure, a trend toward English as the primary medium for learning, publicity, and enlightenment is apparent, not a few of the imprints seem to be casual and even factitious publications; unapprised of the authors' and editors' personal motives and reasons we are at a loss to account for their appearance.

NOTER

<sup>1)</sup> In "Det store kgl. Biblioteks Stiftelse," 1873, p. 50 ff. - <sup>2)</sup> Bruun notes that in 1663 the Royal Library owned 1049 volumes in French, 901 in German, 683 in Italian, 678 in Spanish, and 356 in English. Carl S. Petersen's detailed analysis of Joachim Gersdorff's library, c. 1660, in "Afhandlinger til Bog- og Bibliotekshistorie," Copenhagen, 1949, shows that of Gersdorff's 7,700 volumes, 343 were in English. Two other articles in the same volume, "Christian IV's Boggave 1605 til Københavns Universitet" and "Peder Juul til Hundsbæk," demonstrate unfamiliarity on the part of Danes with English books in the sixteenth century. In Henny Glarbo: "Danske i England," Copenhagen, 1956, the author brings evidence of ignorance of the English language on the part of the two Danish kings, Christian IV and Christian VII, who visited England in the early seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries respectively. Christian IV's visit nevertheless encouraged Danish noblemen and courtiers to go to England in the seven-

teenth century. — 3) Cf. Th. A. Müller, "Den unge Ludvig Holberg," 1942, p. 99. — 4) "Antiquity," 1938, pp. 49-60. — 5) Not the Royal Society, as Bertram's biography in both Worm's "Lexicon" and Suhm's "Nye Samlinger," IV, 1795, would seem to indicate. — 6) Johnstone was one of the three members proposed to the Royal Danish Academy by P.F.Suhm in the many years of that eminent Danish historian's active membership in the Academy. — 7) He may be the same James Johnstone who published an English version of Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm" in London in 1786, a book which was reprinted in Dublin the same year. — 8) Vol. 51, p. 522. — 9) 1781, vol. 65, pp. 95-99. — 10) 1783, vol. 53, p. 603. — 11) Ibid. — 12) In 1786-87 a bilingual edition of Richard Glover's "Leonidas" appeared, with Danish title page, in Copenhagen. The translator was Hans West. — 13) Catalogue Nr. 54, p. 313. Erslew identifies the two titles as constituting "British Poets," vol. I, published by Bonnier. There is no evidence that the Beattie-Bloomfield volume preserved in the Royal Library ever bore such a title, nor is there elsewhere recorded a "British Poets" published by Bonnier. — 14) Erslew also lists "The French and English Primer . . . by the Abbé Bossut" (i.e. Richard Phillips) as published by Bonnier, but with the nominal place of publication as London. The book is not recorded elsewhere. — 15) No. II has the descriptive sub-title, "According to the Reports of Lord St. Vincent, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Vice-Admiral Nelson, Mr. Addington and others." — 16) "Traduction des bulletins du Quartier général de S. M. Danoise pour L'année 1808." — 17) "Trykt hos Hofbogtrykker Nicolaus Møller." — 18) In 1809 there was published at Kiel and Christiansand "Translation of the Law for the Government of Privateers & Prize-Courts in the Dominion of Denmark. Rendsburg 14 September 1808." (Pp. 8). The translator was Peter Frellsen. — 19) "Several essays and discoveries intending to improve the theory of navigation and to render it a more perfect guide for mariners by Christian Charles Lous professor of mathematicks and navigation translated from the Danish by Christian Frederick Schneider. Copenhagen 1798. Printed for C.F.Schneider by K.H.Seidelin" (Pp. 68 + (2 plates)). — 20) "Duties payable on goods, wares, And merchandize, imported into the United States of America, from and after the 30th June 1800. The duties of tonnage; also, rates of coins, by which the duties are to be received and estimated: rates of fees, drawbacks, etc. Also the Mode of transacting Business at the Custom-House for the Port of New-York, with extracts from the revenue laws, and Sundry forms For the Direction of Merchants, Masters of Vessels, and others concerned. Revised by Edward I. Ball, clerk of exports. Elsinore: printed by Elias L. Grüner & Comp. 1801" (Pp. 49 + (1) + (6)). — 21) "A new and correct tariff or book of rates & duties on goods passing the sound at Elsenore in Denmark. By John White. Copenhagen 1806. Printed by director John Fr. Schultz, royal and universitys printer." (Pp. 47). — 22) A reader with an English title-page was published in Helsingør in 1848 and another at Randers in 1856. — 23) The translations from Baggesen and Ingemann are not listed in Elias Bredsdorff, "Danish Literature in English Translation," Copenhagen, 1950. — 24) Complementary to Stephens' other contributions on runes was a pamphlet on "The Runic Hall in the Danish Old-Northern Museum," in 1868 (4° VI + 25 pp. + 13 plates). — 25) Two other publications by Stephens bearing the imprints both of Williams & Norgate in London and of Lyngbe in Copenhagen were "Macbeth, Earl Siward and Dundee. A contribution to Scottish history from the rune-finds of Scandinavia," 1876 (4° 27 pp.) and "Thunor the thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian font of about the year 1000," 1878 (58 pp.). — 26) In 1841 the society issued a supplement by Rafn to the "Antiquitates Americanae" (pp. 27 + 9 plates), which contains an account of the Newport Tower by Dr. Webb. —

27) Schumacher also published a series of "Astronomische Hülftafeln" in German in Copenhagen, 1821-29. - 28) The Danish apothecary H. P. Madsen issued "Investigations on Succus Glycyrrhizae" in 1881 (23 pp.). - 29) Pp. X+(2)+160+VIII+(1)+4 plates+1 map. - 30) In 1900 there appeared two propagandistic publications, one by A. D. Jørgensen on "The Dano-German Question" (19 pp.), an essay which originally had appeared in "The Nineteenth Century" in reply to an article by Professor Max Müller; and the other by P. Dorph, "Until 1864 Master at the Classical School of Haderslev," on "Prussian rule in Slesvig," a pendant to Jørgensen's article (n. p., n. d., 14 pp.). - 31) There was, however, an official publication in English at the jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887: "A Form of Thanksgiving and Prayer to Almighty God upon the Completion of Fifty Years of Her Majesty's Reign." - 32) "An Address to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sealand and the Rt. Rev. Bishops and Reverend Clergy of Denmark, respecting the recent Persecutions of Baptists and attempts to suppress their opinions in Denmark, from the Delegates of that Denomination in Great-Britain." - 33) The translation had been made over twenty years earlier by John G. Stridiron. - 34) Cf. Reid, Charles F., *ed., et al.*, "Bibliography of the Virgin Islands of the United States," New York, 1941. Colonial imprints have not been considered in the present study. - 35) Mr. E. D. Jones, Keeper of MSS. and Records, The National Library of Wales, identifies her as the daughter of Samuel Fenton, vicar of Fishguard from 1825 to 1851. - 36) While the other plays bore the imprint of "Weber's Academy" as publisher, "The blue-apron statesman" was published by Emil Flensborg.