

HENDRIK NICOLAAS WERKMAN AND THE WERKMANIANA IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

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THE city of Groningen, capital of the Dutch province of the same name, lies in the far north-east corner of the country, separated from its main cultural centres by the IJsselmeer and being reached, before the advent of air travel, only by a long journey by road or rail. Before the last war a business visitor from Amsterdam without the use of a car to take him across the Afsluitdijk could not hope to make the return trip in a single day. Luckily this prospect did not deter W. J. H. Sandberg, then keeper, later director of the Municipal Museum of Amsterdam, from undertaking the journey in 1938 for the sole purpose of visiting Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman (fig. 1). He returned full of admiration and carrying with him the first of many acquisitions which were to give the Stedelijk Museum its unequalled Werkman collection.

Outside a small circle of enthusiastic friends the work of Werkman whether as painter or as printer met exceedingly slowly with recognition and acclaim. The reason for this delay must be sought in his character and circumstances as much as in the unconventional, even unique methods he employed in his artistic endeavours.

Hendrik Nicolaas was born in 1882 in the village of Leens near Groningen, the second of three sons of a veterinary surgeon. His father's untimely death plunged the family, which had moved to the provincial capital, into near poverty, and only by great sacrifice could the boys complete their education at the local high school. This equipped them with some knowledge of modern languages which came in useful at a later stage. For Hendrik apprenticeship with a small local bookseller/printer was followed by several years as reporter and columnist on local papers and not until 1907 did he return to printing. With the help of his first wife's family he established a printing office of his own, soon developing an extensive and flourishing business, but after his wife's death, which left him with three young children, and his subsequent remarriage, these loans were suddenly and almost vindictively recalled, forcing him to sell out. He retired to the attic of a tall warehouse which he was to immortalize in his paintings and in the legendary fame of his later printed work. Further misfortune reduced his workshop there to a single old-fashioned handpress made in France in the year 1800 and to the services of two and finally only one workman, this one being the faithful friend who had been the first boy he had ever employed and who was to stay with him to the end. The lessening of his business activities and the stringencies imposed on him in his private

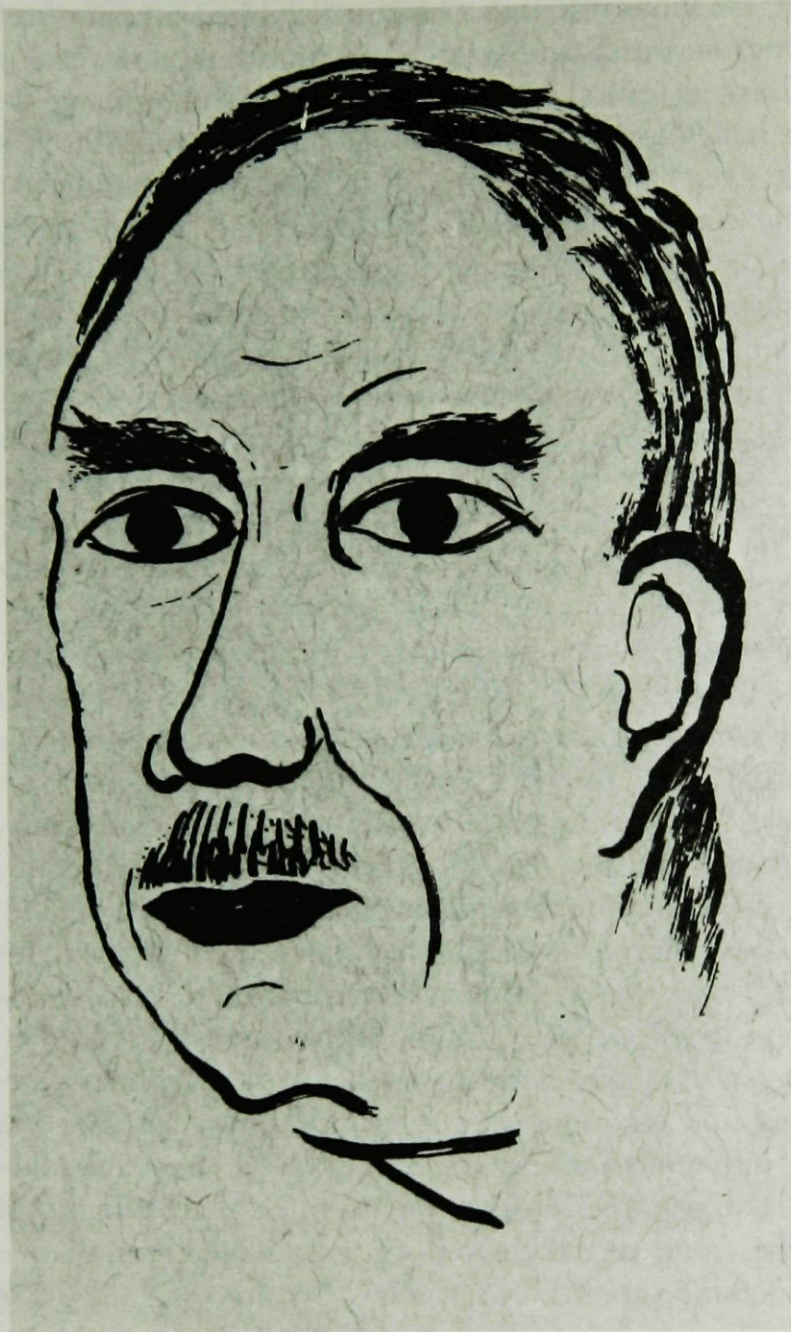


Fig. 1. H. N. Werkman, self-portrait 1938, from Lustrum tentoonstelling van schilderijen . . . van leden van 'De Ploeg', etc. 1938

life brought about what he himself described as a liberation of the spirit and a burst of creativity.

He had taken up painting in 1917, at first under the influence of van Gogh, later that of Kirchner, until he found a complete style of his own. He was a member of the Groningen artists' association, De Ploeg, through which he exhibited his paintings and for which he printed programmes and catalogues (fig. 3). In an attempt to reach a wider public he designed and published several periodicals, all shortlived, among them the *Blad voor kunst* of which six issues appeared between October 1921 and March 1922, and *The next call* of which nine irregular issues preceded by a separate manifesto were sent by him to artists in various countries from 1923 to 1929. They caused hardly any stir, the one important exception being the encouragement he received from Michel Seuphor. Only on very few occasions did he break out of his physical and artistic isolation. He paid rare visits to Amsterdam: for his first one-man show there in 1939; for an exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum called 'The illustrated page' in which some of his own work was shown in April 1941; and again in May of that year for a private visit to Sandberg who then took him to Castricum where the museum's chief treasures of modern art had been stored for safety. He travelled abroad only once, in 1929, when in the company of his fellow Groningen artist, Jan Wieggers, he saw modern art at Essen, Cologne, and Paris. The experience gained on these journeys filled him with excitement and inspired his own work for long periods, not only in paintings but also in what he called his *druksels*, a word impossible to translate, a suffix joined to the word for typographic impression which adds to it a sense of modesty as well as affectionate irony. Perhaps it can best be rendered by 'printlet' rather than by 'booklet'. Some critics deplore the use of this word because of its pejorative tone and prefer to talk of typographic compositions or collages, but these terms are no more adequate to describe either the technique or the result of it. These *druksels* could be quite independent of any text, or they could complement and enrich words to which they related. The technique used to make them – by means of letter types or other pieces from the type case stamped on to the paper by hand, of impressions of colour from stencils or their addition with the ink-roller held evenly or at varying angles – needed much time in preliminary design work, in proof impressions, and finally in the most careful and laborious execution. The most complex *druksels* might have needed up to fifty different handlings in and out of the press and allowed no more than one or at the most two or three copies to be made. Larger editions required simpler and fewer processes, but frequently the copies of one such edition, made at the rate of one a day, show considerable variants. No wonder they are considered works of art in their own right and have become very expensive collectors' items.

The invasion and occupation of Holland by the Germans in May 1940 and the resulting hardships for the population in general, for the Jews in particular, and for artists and also printers in different ways, caused Werkman a great deal of trouble and anguish. He found an outlet, some relief for his feelings and a positive response to frustration in the work he was asked to do for private and clandestine publishing enterprises. Of these De Blauwe Schuit is deservedly the most famous, but he printed with equal devotion

THE CAMP MAGAZINE.

GRONINGEN, HOLLAND.

Being the periodical of the 1st Royal Naval Brigade,
Interned in Holland.

No. 2.

MAY, 1915.

Price 10 cents.

Editorial.



In our first issue we expressed the hope, that the reception of the magazine would spur us on to better and greater efforts. The success we have been accorded is very gratifying; it was most encouraging to see, on the first day of its publication, copies on almost every mess table in each of the Battalion huts. Judging from reports received from our busy Post Office, large numbers have been sent home, we hope, as a permanent and interesting record of our enforced stay in Holland. It must be remembered that in producing the magazine we work under difficulties. We have to deal with a printer who has the disadvantage of printing in a foreign language, and also adapt ourselves to his requirements. In last month's issue—which was in the nature of a review of past events since our arrival in the huts—we were greatly handicapped by space, and although the articles were necessarily brief we had not sufficient space to mention all the deserving branches of life here.

As we promised last month, the contents of this issue are of a more varied nature, and we hope to improve with every issue. Many suggestions have been made, some of which we have adopted. The new design on the cover is the result of a competition and one that we hope, will be appreciated by friends at home, and also prove of interest to ourselves in the future. Our grateful acknowledgements are due to C. Oakes for assisting us with such an appropriate design and also to the other artists who so kindly sent us drawings, of which the one sent in by T. Martin requires special mention.

For the purpose of any future demand, a further supply of the first issue has been ordered, so that everyone in the camp has an opportunity of obtaining a copy, which can be bound and kept long after our return home.

We must thank—and in doing so we voice the appreciation of the whole camp—Messrs. Gratama Bros., of the Royal Rosaries at Hoogeveen, (Holland) for their kind gift of 450 rose trees, which will in time give a very pleasing finish to our gardens. We also tender our appreciation to the Dutch Committee for providing us with the opportunity of learning French, Italian, Dutch or German.



Fig. 2. First Royal Naval Brigade, *The Camp Magazine*. no. 2, May 1915

for *In Agris Occupatis* and also on occasion for *De Bezige Bij* or on his own account. He had set, printed, and published his own texts at various times, usually poems; in 1944 he produced a small collection of his own nonsense verse as a wedding present for a friend who was one of the publishers and authors of *In Agris Occupatis*, illustrating them with suitably cryptic *druksels*. His earlier output as a typographer gave little indication of the splendours to come, although right from the beginning he made what use he could of ornamental initials and other decorative typographic material at his disposal.

Much of his work has been reproduced in the books and articles given below in list B. The illustrations accompanying this essay have to the best of my knowledge not been published before. It is fitting that an English journal should devote some space to Werkman's early connection with this country through the printing he undertook of *The Camp Magazine* issued by the First Royal Naval Brigade during its internment at Groningen from 1914 to 1918 (fig. 2). The Brigade had been employed in the unsuccessful defence of Antwerp and following its retreat to the Netherlands had, according to the rules of neutrality, found refuge at the price of liberty. Even so, and in spite of the natural unhappiness and at times hardship suffered by them, it was not too grievous an imprisonment as is evident from the pages of this journal, published at monthly intervals between April 1915 and November 1918: a local nursery gave 450 rose trees to cheer up the dismal compound; Dutch artistes came to perform at concerts; ladies visited the sick; the men were allowed to go to town and to walk or cycle in the surroundings, went shopping, and flirted with the 'meisjes'; they played games, acted, went to classes, and of course wrote and drew for the *Magazine*. Although the camp had a duplicator and later received a small printing press suitable for simple notices and news-sheets, the printing of *The Camp Magazine* remained throughout in the care of Werkman. He acquitted himself valiantly, with far fewer misprints in all forty-four issues than we are nowadays accustomed to find in a single daily paper. The printer's difficulties are acknowledged in the editorial of the second issue. From then on the lack of any reference to him implies that all went well and smoothly and his efficiency could be taken for granted.

Werkman also printed in French and German, even during the period of the Occupation. Some of the earlier German texts were his own, others were the work of Dutch friends or were taken from German sources. De Blauwe Schuit published Charles Péguy and Louis Bouilhet in French, Martin Buber, Martin Luther, Georg Trakl in German. The German piece reproduced in the illustration (fig. 3) was written by the Groningen artist Johan Dijkstra for *De Ploeg* in the form of a manifesto included in a small volume of reproductions of works by that society's members. The manner in which it is printed is of course Werkman's own. Johan Dijkstra also illustrated Mrs. Huizenga-Onnekes's collection of Groningen folk tales which Werkman printed in 1928, 30 (fig. 7), while his one-time travelling companion Jan Wiegers made the woodcut for the first publication of *De Blauwe Schuit* and the only one illustrated by anyone but Werkman, Martinus Nijhoff's poem *Het jaar 1572*, printed as an illustrated broadside, a *rijmprent*, in December 1940 (fig. 5). A text and *druksel* made of typographic and stencilled shapes is shown

**Protektion: Krankheit der Kunst.
Akademie: Verderben der Kunst.
PRIX DE ROME: TOD der KUNST.**

In der Heftigkeit von Farben,
der Spontaneität
und im Wagemut
haben wir neue Freude und Kraft gefunden.
Ehrlichkeit, Entschlossenheit,
unerbittlicher Ernst
(auch in Fröhlichkeit)
Selbstzwang, Selbstkenntnis, Selbstkritik
sind Bausteine für die neue Stadt.

GLAS,

EISEN,

BETON.

Alles was das Licht scheut
krank ist oder sentimental oder
verfault, oder tot geboren, oder
alt geboren,
alle Schöntuerei und falsche Trücs
werden wir AUS UNSERER MITTE
FERN HALTEN.

Wir hassen
das Publikum, das keine Neuerung duldet,
keine Experimente, keine Evolution, keine Irrtümer.

Wir hassen
das Publikum, das den Künstler erniedrigt
zu einem Circus Artisten,
die Wiederholung seines Kunststückes fordernd
bis ins Endlose.

Wir hassen das Publikum,
das den Künstler zwingt seinen Geist auszubeuten,
ihn verwirft und ruft um etwas anderes
Wir hassen das Publikum, das Kunst PROTEGIERT.

Die ZEIT spricht!

Ebent

die Strassen und Wege
dass AUTO's durchjagen können
in fliegender Eile!

DRESCHMASCHINEN dröhnen in den Scheunen,
sacht sumsen die DYNAMO's wie Bienen in ihrem Korb,
im Feld klappern MAHMASCHINEN,
die ANTENNE fängt jedes Ersittern des Äthers
auf ihren empfindlichen Saiten,
über uns, in der strahlenden Frühlingsluft
kreist der blinkende AEROPLAN.
AUTO's werfen ihre Lichter zu den Wolken
der Schall der CLAXONS verfolgt uns in der Stille.

Nachtstädte, Lichtstädte!
Helle, neue Dörfer,
Fabriken, Kanäle, eisenklingende Werften,
wogende Drähte fliegender Signale,
die SONNE strahlt LEBEN in die Kupferdrähte,
der Wind singt in den Saiten.

Fort

mit den alten dumpfen Häusern,
wo der Staub von Jahrhunderten ruht
Malt die Wände rot, gelb oder orange
Lasst die Häuser brennen
von Farbe und Wärme!

Fig. 3. De Ploeg Groningen Holland 1927. Part of the manifesto written by Johan Dijkstra for the artists of De Ploeg. 1927

**Soldat libre, van Louis Bouilhet werd gedrukt en ver-
lucht door H. N. Werkman in een oplage van 75 exem-
plaren, die tegen Paschen 1943 verdeeld werden onder
de vrienden van De Blauwe Schuit die dit hooge
feest niet thuis konden vieren.**



Fig. 4. L. H. Bouilhet, *Soldat libre*. Colophon. 1943



Het jaar 1572

Het had dien winter tot in Maart gevoren.
 Eloys van Trealong rekende zich verloren
 Bij Wieringen op 't ingevroren schip.
 Men kon te Medemblik en te Stavoren,
 Waar thans de afsluitdijk wacht op nieuw koren,
 Hem uit het ijs zien steken als een stip.

De vijand, achter de besnoeuwde dijken,
 Lag, met van tijd tot tijd een schot, stil toe de kijken,
 Of hij aan hongerdood of ijsang sou bezwijken.
 Maar hij schoot niet weerom.
 Hij hield het kanon
 Om voor het schip een vaargeul vrij te bijten.
 Men zag hem langzaam naar de Noordzee wijken.

Zoo is het wonderlijke jaar begonnen
 Toen alles anders liep dan werd verwacht.
 Wie reeds gewonnen had werd overwonnen —
 Wie zon en weer bezon, heeft, eindelijk onbezonnen,
 Een volk verwekt waar hij het graf te delven dacht.

Op eenmaal rolt de kaart van Holland voor mij open.
 Den Briel Ik zie een vloot den Maasmond binnenloopen,
 Den ongezouten Geus met de eerste, soete, vlag.
 Ik zie ze in Vlissingen het Spaansche fort gaan sloopen.
 Ik zie een streep rook heel het land doorloopen:
 Mechelen, Zutphen, Naarden, aschhoopen, aschhoopen.
 Maar midden in teer groen, ligt Gouda toch te hopen.
 Te Dordrecht staakt de koopman koopen en verkoopen.
 Wie spreekt het woord? Het jaar wordt als één dag.

Prinses, kijk Noordwaarts, kijk voorbij Enkhuizen.
 Luister. De zee zuigt weg door hooge sluisen.
 Hoor wat de straks te planten boomen suizen
 Binnen een straks door U te noemen stad.
 Zuster, zoo zeggen ze, geeft niet om huizen
 Die hun naam weten en niet meer dan dat.
 Geen broeder kon zijn broeder ooit verguizen
 Terwijl hun zuster in hun midden zat.
 „O zeldzaam volk, waar hoop en wanhoop kruisen,
 Zegt zij, „ik handhaaf wat gij reeds bevat“.



Gedicht van M. Nijhoff, opdragen aan Prinses Juliana ter gelegenheid van haar 25en verjaardag in het jaar 1934.
 Houtsnede van Jan Wiegers. Gedrukt in de donkere dagen voor Kerstmis van het jaar 1940 door H. N. Werkman.

Fig. 5. Martinus Nijhoff, *Het jaar 1572*. 1940

De Staten-Generael der Geunieerde
Nederlanden, allen dengenen die dese
sullen sien ofte hooren lesen, Saluyt.

Alsoo een yegelijk kennelick is, dat een Prince van den Lande van Gode
ghesteldt is Hooft over sijne Oudersaten, om deselve te bewaren ende
beschermen van alle ongelick, overlast ende geweldt, gelijk een Herder
tot bewarenisse van sijn Schapen. Ende dat d' Oudersaten niet en sijn
van Gode geschapen tot behoef van den Prince, om hem in alles wat hij
beveelt, weder het goddelick oft ongoddelick, recht ofte onrecht is, on-
derdanich te wesen ende als slaven te dienen; maer den Prince om d'
Oudersaten wille, sonder dewelcke hij gheen Prince en is, om deselve
met recht ende redenen te regeren, voor te staen ende lief te hebben
als een Vader sijne Kinderen, ende een Herder sijne Schapen, die sijn
lijf ende leven setten om deselve te bewaren. Ende soo, wanneer hij
sulcx niet en doet, moer in stede van sijne Oudersaten te beschermen,
deselve soeckt te verdrukken, t' overlatten, heere oude vrijheit, Privile-
gien ende oude herkomen te benemen, ende heur gesiden ende gebrui-
cken als slaven, moet gehouden worden niet als een Prince, maer als een
Tyrant ende voor sulcx nae recht ende reden mach ten minste van sijne
Oudersaten, besonder bij deliberatie vande Staten vanden Lande, voor
geen Prince meer bekent, maer verlaten, ende een ander in sijn stede
tot beschermnisse van henleden, voor over-hooft, sonder misbruycken,
gekozen werden. Te meer so wanneer d' Oudersaten met ootmoedige
verhooninghe niet en hebben heuren voorz. Prince konnen vernorven,
noch van sijn tyrantich opset gheveeren, ende alsoe geen ander middel en
hebben om heure eygenen, heurer Huisvrouwen, Kinderen ende Nakome-
lingen aenbehooren vrijheit (daer se nae de Wet der Natueren goet ende
bloedt schuldigh sijn voor op te setten) ende beschermen
t' Welck principaelick in dese voorz. Landen behoort plaetse te hebben
en staet te grijpen, die van allen tijden sijn geregeert geweest, ende heb-
ben oock moeten geregeert worden, naevolgende den Eedt bij heure Prin-
cen t' heuren aenkomen gedaen, na uytwijzen heurer Privilegien, Con-
stituten ende oude herkomen, hebbende oock maer alle de voorz. Landen
haere Prince ontfangen op Conditie, Contracten ende Accoorden, de welcke
brekende, oock naer recht den Prince vande heerschappij vanden Landen
is vervallen. . . .

Uit het Plakkaat van verlaten
van 26 Juli 1581.

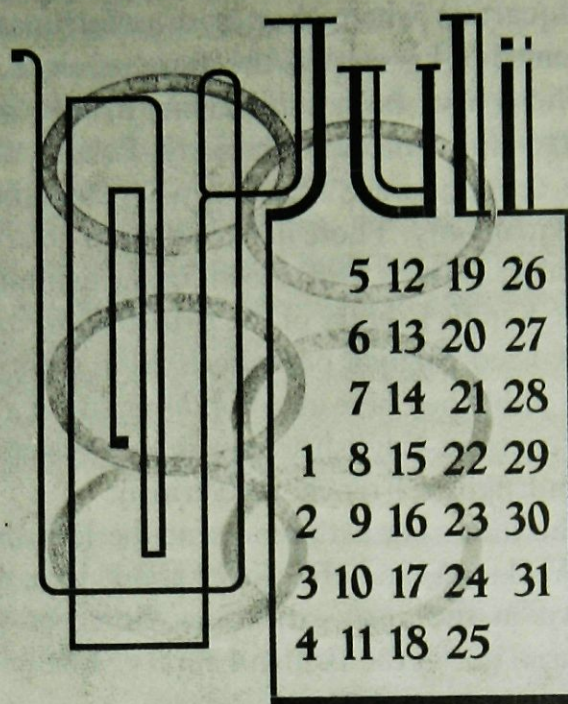


Fig. 6. *Turkenkalender 1942*. The opening for July 1941

in the opening from the *Turkenkalender 1942* (fig. 6): only colour printing could give any indication of the quality of Werkman's *druksels*, but in this instance it is hoped to convey at least something of his design. The text on the left-hand page is that of the declaration of independence of the United Provinces of 1581. The device used by De Blauwe Schuit is part of the colophon of *Soldat libre* by Bouilhet shown in my illustration (fig. 4).

From his own letters published in 1968 and from the accounts of his friends one learns much about the ebb and flow of Werkman's creative life. Again and again, after periods of darkness due to winter and bad weather or to the depressing events in private and public affairs, he would rise to the challenge and infuse his work with courage and humour, deep human sympathy, and an affirmation of life. In the end he paid for these expressions of personal freedom with his own life. On 13 March 1945, as the idea of a German defeat became inescapable even to themselves, the police garrison of Groningen arrested a large number of local people, among them Werkman. On 10 April 1945, three days before Canadian liberators entered the jubilant if battered city, ten of the prisoners, among them Werkman, were taken to a near-by common at Bakkeveen and unceremoniously shot. There had not even been a semblance of charges or trial, the pretence for his arrest had been the incomprehensible, decadent nature, as his captors saw it, of his art, his obvious Jewish sympathies and the suspected unauthorized use of paper. His home and

workshop were ransacked at the time and many paintings and *druksels* removed to Gestapo headquarters where they were unfortunately burnt in the ensuing fighting. What has remained of his work is the more precious.

There have been exhibitions, mainly in the Netherlands, but also in France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Poland, and the United States, sometimes in company with contemporary Dutch artists, sometimes with other Dutch printers, sometimes of Werkman only. There has as yet been no art exhibition devoted to his work in this country although *druksels* were shown in the exhibition of Dutch clandestine printing 1940-5 held in the King's Library of the British Museum in the spring of 1970.† So far, two articles in specialized English periodicals have mentioned him and one book about Werkman has been published here as a London issue of a Swiss original. There are, however, also some references in English language art encyclopedias, and some of the foreign publications are in English, French, or German.

The following lists represent the British Library's holdings at this time of (A) works by Werkman, and (B) works about him. Items marked with an asterisk in list A were shown in the 1970 exhibition. Some of the bibliographies in books in list B contain material not in the British Library. The books and articles in list B have also been drawn upon in the writing of this essay.

List A: Works written, printed, illustrated by Werkman or reprinted from Werkman originals, now in the British Library, in chronological order.

- 1913 LOUIS A. BÄHLER. *Getuigenissen van den kansel*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman, 1913. The cover design of this collection of sermons consists of severely straight lines forming a pulpit, printed in black on grey paper. The title-page contains a small ornament of three open books. The printing is conventional throughout. Apart from the other book by Bähler to be found under the date 1917 in this list Werkman printed at least four other books by this writer on comparative religion between 1913 and 1918, one of them on Tolstoy. None are listed in the standard Werkman bibliographies.
- 1914 F. G. SCHELTEMA. *Toelichting tot de maskerade te houden op 1 Juli 1914, bij gelegenheid van het 60ste lustrum van het Groningsch Studentencorps 'Vindicat atque Polit'*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman, 1914. Letterpress and decorations do not depart from the traditional. Plates and illustrations relating to the Peace of Westphalia which was the theme of the student society's fancy dress parade described in this book were not designed by Werkman. The title on the cover by which it is sometimes quoted is *Maskerade 1 Juli 1914*.
- 1915/18 FIRST ROYAL NAVAL BRIGADE. *The Camp Magazine*. Interneeringsdepot Groningen, printed by H. N. Werkman, 1915-18. (Fig. 2.)
- 1917 LOUIS A. BÄHLER. *De mythologie als gepopulariseerde mysteriekennis, in 't bijzonder verduidelijkt aan de Odyssee van Homerus*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman, 1917. The symbolical cover illustration from a design by the author is printed in gold, beige, and

† After this article was set in type an exhibition 'H. N. Werkman, Typographies and Poems' was announced by the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, for 4 November-21 December 1975.

- green on cream paper. The title-page shows a leaf ornament. This book is not listed in the Dutch annual bibliography, *Brinkman's Catalogus van boeken, etc.*
- 1917 M. H. WERKMAN. *Inleiding tot de poëzie*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman, 1917. The title on the cover is printed in display letters within a typographic border incorporating a lyre. The title-page includes a device in the form of an owl perched on books. The author of this book on poetry is one of Werkman's brothers, himself a poet.
- 1927 *De Ploeg Groningen Holland 1927*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman, 1927. Reproductions of works by the members of the society, including a detail from one of Werkman's paintings, precede and follow the text in German of a manifesto of their aims and position. The unnamed author is Johan Dijkstra. Editions in other languages were originally intended but could not be published for lack of money. The text is printed in red and black throughout on one side of the leaf only. There is a colophon: *Typografie H. N. Werkman*. The copy in the British Library bears a manuscript dedication to E. L. Kirchner from Jan Wiegers. (Fig. 3.)
- 1928/30 E. J. HUIZENGA-ONNEKES. *Groninger volksvertellingen . . . Met prenten en initialen in hout gesneden door Johan Dijkstra*. Groningen, P. Noordhoff, 1928, 30. dl. 1: *Het boek van Trijntje Soldaats*. dl. 2: *Het boek van Minne Koning*. Each part has a colophon: 'set in Égyptienne and printed by H. N. Werkman'. dl. 1 has an introduction by the Groningen writer Herman Poort who was also a member of De Ploeg. The initials and decorative panels are printed in two colours, i.e. black with green, red or purple, but the full-page woodcuts are in black and white only. A limited issue was published with these woodcuts handcoloured. (Fig. 7.)
- 1930 J. C. NOORDSTAR. *De zwanen en andere gedichten*. Groningen, Ebenhaëzer, 1930. The author's name is the pseudonym of A. J. P. Tammes. Ebenhaëzer is a name adopted by Werkman whose true name is given in the colophon as that of the printer. The title-page has a typographic border.
- 1933 N. E. M. PAREAU. *Mengelingen. Eerste stukje*. Groningen, Eben Haëzer, 1933. The author's name is the pseudonym of Herman Jan Scheltema. Eben Haëzer is the pseudonym of H. N. Werkman. This very small book of poems and sketches has a grey cover with a conventional decorative border. Neither this nor any additional issues, if they were published, are listed in *Brinkman's Catalogus van boeken, etc.* The author used the pseudonym for other books of verse and for contributions to anthologies, but the entry in the Dutch Who's Who describes him only in his capacity as professor of Roman law at Groningen University and is silent on his creative writings. Not listed in the standard bibliographies of Werkman.
- 1938 *Lustrum tentoonstelling van schilderijen en zwart-wit werken van leden van 'De Ploeg' in de zalen van 'Pictura' van 25 Sept. tot 10 Oct. 1938*. Groningen, H. N. Werkman. A catalogue of the exhibition of works by members of De Ploeg, printed on rough pink paper, with self-portrait drawings of the exhibitors facing the lists of their works, including one of Werkman. The cover shows a large P over a small 20. (Fig. 1.)
- 1940 * MARTINUS NIJHOFF. *Het jaar 1572*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1940. The first publication of De Blauwe Schuit. 100 copies printed. (Fig. 5.)
- 1941 * VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV. *Een Moscovitische legende*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1941. Anonymous. Freely adapted by F. R. A. Henkels from Fritz Lieb's paraphrase of a story by Soloviev, published in Switzerland in 1934. 120 copies printed.

- 1941 * MARTIN LUTHER. *Sendbrief an die Christen im Nederland*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1941. 90 copies printed.
- 1941 MARTINUS NIJHOFF. *Het jaar 1572*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1941. Second edition of the one of 1940. 100 copies printed.
- 1941 * *Turkenkalender 1942*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1941. A calendar for 1942 with an anthology of poetry and prose pieces from the Dutch wars against Spain compiled anonymously by Adriana Buning. 120 copies printed. (Fig. 6.)
- 1942 * F. R. A. HENKELS and SIMON VESTDIJK. *Ascensus ad inferos*. [Groningen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Anonymous. 50 copies printed.
- 1942 * F. R. A. HENKELS. *Gesprek*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Anonymous. A description of a painting by Werkman entitled 'Conversation'. c. 125 copies printed.
- 1942 * MARTIN LUTHER. *Das Windlicht Gottes*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Text compiled by F. R. A. Henkels from passages of one of Luther's sermons. 100 copies printed.
- 1942 HENDRIK MARSMAN. *Paul Robeson zingt*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. The author of this poem was drowned in 1940 when the boat in which he was hoping to flee to England was torpedoed. 20 copies printed.
- 1942 MARTINUS NIJHOFF. *Bij het graf van den Nederlandschen onbekenden soldaat gevallen in de meidagen 1940*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Anonymous. c. 150 copies printed.
- 1942 MARTINUS NIJHOFF. *Holland. In plaats van foto*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Anonymous. 120 copies printed.
- 1942 * [*Psalms*.] [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. Without a title. Martin Buber's German translation of Psalms 130, 43, 94, and 12. 75 copies printed.
- 1942 HENDRIK DE VRIES. *Walhalla*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1942. With an illustration by the author. 75 copies printed.
- 1943 * L. H. BOUILHET. *Soldat libre*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. 75 copies printed. (Fig. 4.)
- 1943 * CHARLES D'ORLÉANS. *Gebed om vrede*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. A translation by Martinus Nijhoff of the poem *Priex pour paix, douce vierge Marie*. 75 copies printed.
- 1943 * A. MARJA. *Blauw, rose en grijs*. [Yerseke, the Author,] 1943. The author's name is the pseudonym of A. Th. Mooij. 50 copies printed.
- 1943 * F. R. A. HENKELS. *Ballade voor een gevangen dichter*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. The 'imprisoned poet' is Simon Vestdijk. 30 copies printed.
- 1943 F. R. A. HENKELS. *Kerstmis in Friesland*. [Groningen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. Anonymous. 250 copies printed.
- 1943 F. R. A. HENKELS. *Nieuwjaarsbrief 1944*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. Anonymous. 30 copies printed.
- 1943 * MARTIN LUTHER. *Ein Gebet wider den Türken*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. Edited by F. R. A. Henkels from *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türken*. 75 copies printed.
- 1943 * MARTINUS NIJHOFF. *Des Heilands tuin. Een Pinksterhymne*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1943. Anonymous. 75 copies printed.
- 1944 W. H. NAGEL. *Een suite van de zee*. [Groningen,] In *Agris Occupatis*, 1944. Volièrereeks. no. 1. Anonymous. 75 copies printed.

- 1944 GERRIT ACHTERBERG. *Meisje*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 2. 110 copies printed.
- 1944 MARTEN DROSSAARD. *Ter kennismaking*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 3. The author's name is the pseudonym of W. H. Overbeek. 110 copies printed.
- 1944 KOOS SCHUUR. *De 7 vloeken*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 4. Anonymous. 110 copies printed.
- 1944 * SIMON VESTDIJK. *Allegretto innocente*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 5. 110 copies printed. [No. 6 of the Volière-reeks was not printed by Werkman.]
- 1944 EDUARD VERKADE. *Shakespeare's Hamlet als leesdrama*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 7. 200 copies printed.
- 1944 * E. DEN TEX. *In memoriam patriae*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 8. 110 copies printed.
- 1944 * HENRY MILLER. *Het heelal van de dood*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 9/10. A translation by Jacques den Haan of *The universe of death*. 200 copies printed.
- 1944 MARTIN LEOPOLD. *De roos van Jericho*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 11. The author's name is the pseudonym of Martin Kloostra. 110 copies printed.
- 1944 AB VISSER. *Bos-idylle*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Volière-reeks. no. 12. With an illustration by C. A. B. Bantzinger. Offered by In Agris Occupatis to De Bezige Bij, a secret publishing house which gave its profits to the Resistance. 310 copies printed of which 132 were discovered and confiscated by the Germans.
- 1944 EDDY EVENHUIS. *De leerling Alexander*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Portefeuille-serie. no. 1. 200 copies printed.
- 1944 MARTIN LEOPOLD. *Gedichten 1930-1944*. [Groningen,] In Agris Occupatis, 1944. Portefeuille-serie. no. 2. 200 copies printed.
- 1944 W. H. NAGEL. *Terzinen van de Mei*. [Utrecht,] De Bezige Bij, 1944. Anonymous. 200 copies printed.
- 1944 * H. N. WERKMAN. *3 syllabijnen, 2 vocaletten*. [Groningen, H. N. Werkman,] 1944. Anonymous. A wedding present for A. Marja. 25 copies printed.
- 1944 * P. C. BOUTENS. *Reizang van burgers, terugkeerend uit de ballingschap*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. 90 copies printed.
- 1944 K. H. HEEROMA. '*Zo dikwijls . . .*' [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. Anonymous and without title, later reprinted as *Het doopvont*. 60 copies printed.
- 1944 * F. R. A. HENKELS. *De dichter en zijn dag*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. Anonymous. The poet here celebrated on his birthday is Martinus Nijhoff whose portrait is part of the cover design. 15 copies printed.
- 1944 * F. R. A. HENKELS and SIMON VESTDIJK. *De houtdiefstal*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. Anonymous. 30 copies printed.
- 1944 JACOBUS REVIUS. *Volherdinge*. [Heerenveen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. 60 copies printed.
- 1944 *'t Spuigat*. [Amsterdam, Gerard den Brabander,] 1944. The first issue of a literary periodical the second and last of which was printed by Meijer's Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij, Wormerveer, and was published after the liberation. 1,000 copies printed.
- 1944 * GEORG TRAKL. *Menschheit*. [Groningen,] De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. 45 copies printed.
- 1944 * SIMON VESTDIJK. *De doode zwanen*. Heerenveen, De Blauwe Schuit, 1944. Anonymous.

- Written by Vestdijk during internment to commemorate the first five hostages executed by the Germans. 60 copies printed.
- 1946 REINOLD KUIPERS. *Op losse schroeven*. Groningen, Uitgeverij De Vuurslag, 1946. Designed and set by Werkman in 1944 but not published in his lifetime. 100 copies printed.
- 1967 MARTIN BUBER. *Chassidische Legenden*. Haarlem, J. H. Henkes Grafische Bedrijven, 1967. A facsimile edition of Werkman's original of 1942/3 consisting of two sequences of ten loose *druksels* each with a textbook of the passages from Buber's *Die Legenden des Baalschem* from the edition published in Berlin, 1932, in German, with Henkels's commentary in Dutch. This new edition has an introduction by Jan Martinet and reprints Henkels's poetic evocation of Werkman in his attic workshop, *De legende van den zolder*, which precedes the text of the second suite. The designs for the first suite were exhibited by Henkels in the hostages internment camp at St. Michielsgestel in 1942. The emotional power of these works has been compared to that of Goya's 'Desastros de la guerra' or Picasso's 'Guernica'.
- 1968 *Brieven van H. N. Werkman 1940-1945*. Amsterdam, Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 1968. Privé-domein. no. 10. Letters, edited by Jan Martinet. The front-cover illustration is based on a photograph of the warehouse in which Werkman had his workshop from 1923 to 1945. The photograph of Werkman on the back cover was shown in the 1970 exhibition.

List B: Werkman literature available in the British Library, in chronological order.

- 1938 HENDRIK DE VRIES and JOHAN DIJKSTRA. *De Ploeg 20 jaar*. Den Haag, 1938. De vrije bladen. jaarg. 15. schrift 3. Johan Dijkstra's article, *Kaleidoscoop van De Ploeg*, refers to Werkman without naming him in connection with the reproduction of his painting 'The village street', calling him the 'most obstinately modern of painters, painting from his memory the home of his childhood . . . Damals als meine Mutter noch sang' – a line quoted from one of Werkman's poems which begins 'Damals als die Erde noch nicht rund war [At the time when the earth was not yet round]' and ends with the line quoted by Dijkstra, 'At the time when my mother still sang'.
- 1938 F. G. WALLER. *Biographisch woordenboek van Noord-Nederlandsche graveurs*. 's-Gravenhage, 1938. The entry for Werkman is short and refers only to woodcuts and lithographs.
- 1942 U. THIEME and F. BECKER. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*. Leipzig, 1907-50. Bd. 35. 1942. The entry for Werkman is no more than a translation of Waller's. The editor Hans Vollmer has, however, made amends in his 1961 dictionary of twentieth-century artists.
- 1945 JAN WIEGERS. *H. N. Werkman*. Amsterdam, 1945. In: *Kroniek van kunst en kultuur*. jaarg. 7. no. 1. 1 Nov. 1945. A short commemorative article with an illustration of a Werkman drawing.
- 1945 J. VAN ZWEDEN. *H. N. Werkman, de Groningsche dichter-schilder*. Den Haag, 1945. In: *Apollo*. Maandschrift voor literatuur en beeldende kunsten. vol. 1. no. 1/2. On Werkman's place in the artistic life of Groningen in the 1920s, his own development, and his importance beyond that city. With illustrations and quotations from Werkman's work and with photographs of a portrait of Werkman painted by Jan Wiegiers and of a portrait bust also by Wiegiers of 1929.

- 1945 *Tentoonstelling: In het verborgene gedrukt*. Rotterdam, 1945. The catalogue of an exhibition of secretly printed books at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam. The introductory essay by A. Kossmann mentions Werkman as master printer for De Blauwe Schuit and Volière editions and describes his work as unusual. The anonymous article *A tour around the exhibition* also refers to him briefly, stating that his coloured book wrappers were produced 'on the printer's roller [*sic*]'. There are two illustrations from editions of De Blauwe Schuit.
- 1945 F. R. A. HENKELS. *In memoriam H. N. Werkman. Doodsoorzaak van een kunstenaar*. 's-Gravenhage, 1945. In: *Critisch bulletin*. Herdenkingsnummer. December 1945. An appreciation of Werkman's character as man and friend, contrasting the artist's simplicity and goodness with the ignorance and vileness of his executioners, the devotion of the mentally retarded household help who braved the Gestapo to claim a few paintings by Werkman as her property and thus saved them, with the arrogance and philistinism of most people whose failure to understand the artist and whose unfounded contempt range them at the side of the murderers. With a portrait and a reproduction of a painting.
- 1946 G. H. 's-GRAVESANDE. *Onze letterkunde in bezettingstijd*. Tweede, verbeterde druk. 's-Gravenhage, 1946. Mentions Volière and De Blauwe Schuit editions which are described as 'printed in a bizarre style'.
- 1946 A. GLAVIMANS. *H. N. Werkman, schilder en drukker*. Delft, 1946. In: *Die Constghesellen*. jaarg. 1. no. 2. A commemorative article reviewing the paintings more than the printed work. The author assigns to Werkman a place on a level with Braque and contrasts the crowds at a recent Braque exhibition in Amsterdam with the emptiness at the following Werkman exhibition.
- 1946 F. R. A. HENKELS. *Logboek van De Blauwe Schuit*. Amsterdam, 1946. A chronological list of all works published under this imprint with detailed accounts of their genesis and with numerous reproductions. Henkels was not only publisher of De Blauwe Schuit, but also a close friend of Werkman, who discussed his work with him in long talks and letters.
- 1946 J. B. BRAAKSMA. *Drucker gegen Unterdrücker*. Bern, 1946. An essay, published anonymously, to accompany an exhibition of the same title held in Switzerland. Werkman receives praise especially for the De Blauwe Schuit editions and for his general European interests. A Werkman colour illustration is used at the beginning of the text while black and white plates illustrating work by other printers of the war years in Holland follow it.
- 1946 *H. N. Werkman*. 's-Gravenhage, 1946. In: *Boekcier*. reeks 2. no. 2. An unsigned obituary notice which mentions one ex-libris. The journal is mainly concerned with bookplates.
- 1946 M. B. VAN DE WERK. *De drukker Werkman*. Amsterdam, 1946. In: *Kroniek van kunst en cultuur*. jaarg. 7. no. 7. A critical assessment, mainly of the Volière and De Blauwe Schuit editions, noting the close coherence present or absent between text, illustration, and typography.
- 1947 DIRK DE JONG. *Bibliographie des éditions françaises clandestines imprimées aux Pays-Bas pendant l'occupation allemande 1940-1945*. La Haye et Paris, 1947. Mentions the editions by De Blauwe Schuit of Péguy and Bouilhet, with a French translation of their colophons.

- 1947 JAN WIEGERS. *H. N. Werkman*. 's-Gravenhage, 1947. In: Pen en penseel. Critisch bulletin. Special issue 1947. A short personal commemoration.
- 1949 H. VAN HALL. *Repertorium voor de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche schilder- en graveer-kunst*. 's-Gravenhage, 1936, 49. The Werkman bibliography occurs in vol. 2, with works about him only.
- 1949 *Werkman*. Arnhem, [1949.] 3 a's: art, applied art, architecture, Netherlands Informative Art editions. Consists mainly of reproductions, many in colour and including a self-portrait, with articles in both English and Dutch by Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, Hendrik de Vries, and H. L. C. Jaffé. The full imprint of this issue is S. Gouda Quint & D. Brouwer & Son, Arnhem, which is repeated on the title-page of the part with the texts in Dutch. This is the edition listed in *Brinkman's Catalogus van boeken, etc.*
- 1949? *Werkman*. New York, Museum Books, [1949?] Another issue of the preceding with the different imprint and without the Dutch text.
- 1949? *werkman*. [1949?] Yet another issue of the preceding, this time with Werkman's name on the title-page printed with a lower case initial and without any imprint as well as without the Dutch text, but with an additional leaf at the end bearing on the recto a note on Werkman's technique signed 'V.G.', i.e. Vordemberge-Gildewart, and a list of contents and on the verso the statement 'Printed in the Netherlands'.
- c. 1950 *Onderdrukking en verzet*. Edited by J. J. van Bolhuis, C. D. J. Brandt, H. M. van Randwijk, and B. C. Slotemaker. Arnhem, Amsterdam, 1947-54. Issued in parts. In vol. 2. afl. 20 the following chapters occur:
 TH. WINK. *De uitgeverij en de boekhandel*. Mentions De Blauwe Schuit and In Agris Occupatis/Volière-reeks;
 K. HEEROMA. *Onderdrukking en verzet in de literatuur*. Mentions the Resistance character of texts published by De Blauwe Schuit. With two illustrations.
- 1952 REINOLD KUIPERS. *De kunstenaar en de drukker*. Amsterdam, 1952. In: Drukkers-weekblad en autolijn. Kerstnummer 1952. Describes Werkman as 'the Vincent of our time who used printer's ink as his foremost means of artistic expression'. With two colour reproductions.
- 1952 *Graphic art. Introduction by W. Jos. de Gruyter*. Amsterdam, 1952. In the series *Dutch Art Today*, published for the Dutch Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences. A short reference to Werkman is made in the introduction and plates 1-3 are reproductions in black and white of Werkman *druksels*.
- 1956 HERBERT SPENCER. *H. N. Werkman, printer-painter*. London, Lund Humphries, 1956. In: *Typographica*. no. 11. Mainly concerned with Werkman's technique. With a portrait and 17 illustrations, including several from editions of De Blauwe Schuit. With a summary in French.
- 1957 MICHEL SEUPHOR. *Dictionnaire de la peinture abstraite*. Paris, 1957. Gives Werkman a concise but useful entry with the reproduction in colour of a 1928 *druksel* in Seuphor's possession.
- 1957 P. T. A. SWILLENS. *Prisma schilderslexicon*. Utrecht, Antwerpen, 1957. The Werkman notice is brief and somewhat vague, not illustrated.
- 1957/8 *Hommage à Werkman*. Stuttgart; New York, 1957/8. A volume produced by H. A. P. Grieshaber consisting of tributes in words, in German, and illustrations in various techniques by German and other writers and artists, preceded by excellent reproduc-

tions of works by Werkman and followed by a selection of Werkman's letters in Dutch with a German translation. The reproductions of Werkman *druksels* of the years 1940-5 are separated by photographs on transparent paper showing German troops in an Amsterdam street. The book contains a photograph of Werkman and the facsimile of part of a letter. Special importance is given to the commemorative texts by Henkels and Sandberg.

- 1958 DIRK DE JONG. *Het vrije boek in onvrije tijd. Bibliografie van illegale en clandestiene belletrie, etc.* Leiden, 1958. A nearly complete catalogue of all unauthorized editions other than newspapers and political pamphlets produced in the Netherlands during the period of occupation by the Germans. All Werkman's editions of this period are listed.
- 1958 B. MAJORICK. *We zeiden tegen elkaar: dit laten we drukken.* Amsterdam, 1958. In: *Drukkersweekblad en autolijn*. Kerstnummer 1958. On Werkman's technique in 'occasional' printing and especially his work for De Blauwe Schuit. With colour reproductions and with an English summary. The title is a quotation from Henkels's account of the foundation of De Blauwe Schuit, 'We said to each other: we shall have this printed', 'this' being the poem by Nijhoff, *Het jaar 1572*.
- 1958 MICHEL SEUPHOR. *A dictionary of abstract painting.* London, 1958. Reissued 1965. A straight translation of the 1957 French edition listed above, with the same illustration.
- 1959 W. JOS. DE GRUYTER. *H. N. Werkman, printer of the unknown paradise.* In: *Delta*. A review of arts, life and thought in the Netherlands. vol. 2. no. 4. Winter 1959-60. A comprehensive article about Werkman in English, with four colour illustrations and with the complete text of his poem 'Damals als die Erde noch nicht rund war', in Dutch and English.
- 1959 W. R. JUYNBOLL and VALENTIN DEINS. *Winkler Prins van de kunst.* Amsterdam, Brussels, 1958, 59. The entry for Werkman in this encyclopedia is in vol. 3. It gives some bibliography. A portrait of Werkman can be found under Wieggers, Jan.
- 1960 DICK DOOIJES. *Typography for today.* Amsterdam, 1960. In: *Delta*. vol. 4. no. 1. Spring 1960. With a paragraph on Werkman's technique and two illustrations.
- 1960 *Gedrukt in Nederland. Vijf eeuwen letter, beeld & band, etc.* Amsterdam, 1960. The catalogue, compiled by G. J. Brouwer, of an exhibition of Dutch printing at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Six Werkman items are described.
- 1960 *Handdruck in unserer Zeit. HAP Grieshaber und Hendrik Werkman.* Darmstadt, 1960. Ariel. Hft. 12. Articles by various authors. Werkman is commemorated by Walter Euler in the essay *Handdruck in unserer Zeit*, by Grieshaber himself in *Das Märchen von den deutschen Pressen*, and by K. Leonhard in *The next call - Hommage à Werkman* which describes the book of that title published 1957/8 and listed above.
- 1960 HANS JAFFÉ. *Dutch commercial art.* Zürich, 1960. In: *Graphis*. vol. 6. The author calls Werkman 'the Mondriaan of commercial art', and ascribes to him the new impetus which has raised this art form in the Netherlands to its successful position in the post-war years. With illustrations of theatre posters and other *druksels* by Werkman.
- 1961 *Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman.* Bochum, 1961. The catalogue of an exhibition at the Städtische Kunstgalerie. The introduction is by Peter Leo, other articles, in German,

- are by F. R. A. Henkels and J. Martinet. All pieces shown in the exhibition are illustrated, many in colour. With portraits, a facsimile and extracts from letters, translated into German. One of Werkman's nonsense poems is printed. There is a bibliography of thirty-two items.
- 1961 HANS VOLLMER. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1953-62. The entry for Werkman is in Bd. 5 and supplies a reasonable factual account of dates and works.
- 1962 H. N. Werkman 1882-1945. Amsterdam, 1962. The catalogue of an exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, the second this museum devoted to Werkman, the first having taken place in 1946. The catalogue entries are related to the Bochum catalogue of 1961 mentioned above and to Jan Martinet's catalogue 'Hot printing' to be published in 1963 and listed below. With reproductions in colour.
- 1962 MICHEL SEUPHOR. *Abstract painting*. London, 1962. Translated from *La Peinture abstraite*. Contains two colour reproductions of works by Werkman in the possession of Seuphor.
- 1963 JAN MARTINET. *Hot printing*. Amsterdam, 1963. A catalogue of Werkman's printed *œuvre*, fully illustrated and annotated. With a self-portrait of Werkman, colour plates, a biographical sketch, and exhaustive bibliography. The title chosen by the author is one used by Werkman before the war for an irregular series of *druksels* sent by him in envelopes thus marked to individual artists. It reflects his interest in jazz.
- 1963 HANS VAN STRATEN. *Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman. De drukker van het paradijs*. Amsterdam, 1963. The only full-length biography of Werkman. With a portrait and many colour reproductions as well as numerous texts by Werkman in prose or verse in Dutch, French, German, or his invented nonsense language. With a full bibliography.
- 1964 W. JOS. DE GRUYTER. *Beeld en interpretatie*. Den Haag, 1964. A collection of the author's essays and lectures presented to him on his retirement after eight years from the directorship of the Groningen Museum. One of the essays, entitled *35 jaar moderne kunst in Groningen*, deals with the artists' association De Ploeg, with special reference to Werkman. The only illustration with this essay is the reproduction of a portrait of Werkman by J. Altink.
- 1965 MICHEL SEUPHOR. *A dictionary of abstract painting*. London, 1965. A reissue of the edition of 1958 listed above.
- 1965 MICHEL SEUPHOR. *Le Style et le cri*. Paris, 1965. Contains several short references to Werkman in relation to *avant-garde* movements in Paris.
- 1967 H. J. PRAKKE. *Der zweite Türkenkalender, 1942, Groningen: Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman*. Mainz, Assen, 1967. Kleiner Druck der Gutenberggesellschaft. no. 80. Münsteraner Marginalien zur Publizistik. no. 9. This paper relates the purpose, choice of title, and contents of Werkman's *Türkenkalender 1942* to the 1454 exhortation to the fight against the Turks which has sometimes been ascribed to the press of Gutenberg. With an analysis of the composition and typography of Werkman's piece by G. W. Ovink.
- 1967 H. N. Werkman. London, Alec Tiranti, 1967. *Dokumente visueller Gestaltung*. Bd. 2. Reproductions, including colour plates, compiled by Fridolin Müller, with an introduction by Peter F. Althaus and a biographical sketch by Jan Martinet. The text is

- printed in parallel columns in German, English, and French. The work was originally published in Switzerland in the same year and is printed there.
- 1967 *Clandestiene drukken op letterkundig gebied tijdens de Duitse bezetting in Nederland gedrukt*. Amsterdam, 1967. Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam. Speciale catalogi. nieuwe serie. no. 2. A catalogue, compiled by E. W. Theissen, of that library's collection of clandestinely printed books of the Occupation period. With descriptions of a number of Werkman items. There is no printers' index, but a concordance with the catalogue by Dirk de Jong of 1958 listed above.
- 1969 HERBERT SPENCER. *Pioneers of modern typography*. London, 1969. With a biography, a portrait and nine reproductions of works by Werkman.
- 1969 G. W. OVINK. *Anderthalb Jahrhunderte Buchtypographie in den Niederlanden*. In: *Internationale Buchkunst im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Herausgegeben von Georg Kurt Schauer. Ravensburg, 1969. Gives Werkman a paragraph with useful information and one plate with a reproduction of an opening from *Het boek van Trijntje Soldaats* (List A. 1928/30).
- 1970 PIETER A. SCHEEN. *Lexicon Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars 1750-1950*. 's-Gravenhage, 1969, 70. The entry for Werkman is in vol. 2. It gives locations for Werkman paintings and the more recent bibliography.
- 1970 W. SANDBERG. *Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman, 1882-1945*. In: *Harvard Library Bulletin*. vol. 18. no. 4. A biography and appreciation written in English and printed in Sandberg's typographical design, divided into strophes, best summed up in the line '... he created a world of his own, warm, vivid and vital'. With four plates containing five illustrations.
- 1971 RODERICK CAVE. *The private press*. London, 1971. Werkman's work is described in the chapter on 'Clandestine presses I: Moral' and bibliographical references are given to De Jong, *Het vrije boek, etc.* and Martinet, *Catalogue of 'drucksel' [sic] prints*, Amsterdam, 1963, which may be a description of his *Hot printing*. Cave's book was reviewed by this writer in *Museums Journal*, vol. 72. no. 1, June 1972, with an expression of regret for the absence of any Werkman illustrations.
- 1972 A. E. C. SIMONI. *Dutch clandestine printing, 1940-1945*. London, 1972. In: *The Library*. ser. 5. vol. 27. no. 1. With references to Werkman and De Blauwe Schuit and one reproduction from the *Turkenkalender 1942*.
- 1974 F. G. WALLER. *Biographisch woordenboek van Noord-Nederlandsche graveurs*. Amsterdam, 1974. An unchanged reprint of the original edition listed above under 1938.
- 1975 A. E. C. SIMONI. *Publish and be free*. The Hague, 1975. A catalogue of Dutch clandestinely printed works 1940-5 in the British Museum Library. Published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, for the British Library, London. With more detailed descriptions of the relevant works from list A.
- 1975 *H. N. Werkman. Typographies and poems*. London, 1975. The catalogue of an exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, from 4 November to 21 December 1975. With Sandberg's text taken from *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 1970, and with biographical data, a bibliography and list of exhibitions, and with illustrations, including portraits. The bibliography contains many of the items listed and some not listed above, but as the catalogue arrived when this article was already in the press it could not be fully utilized.

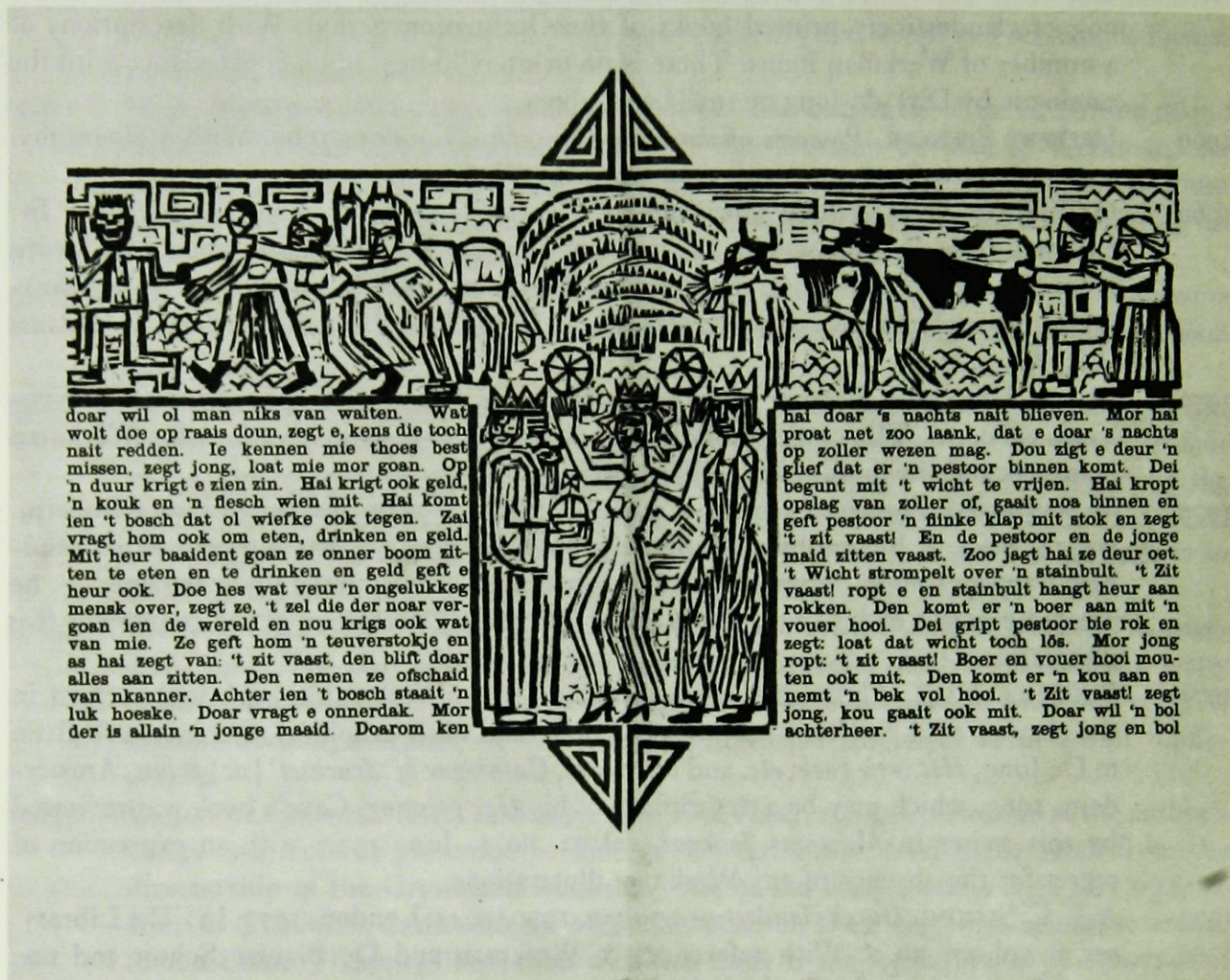


Fig. 7. E. J. Huizenga-Onnekes, *Groninger volksvertellingen*. dl. 2. *Het boek van Minne Koning*. pp. 88, 89. 1930

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