WILLIAM JAMES LINTON - A LIFE IN THE COLLECTIONS

On the Formations of Political Art and Wood Engraving

"Linton - A Life in the collections" can count as the probably most comprehensive monographic source related to the history of political art in the 19th century. She comprises more than two hundred articles and commentaries divided into four parts.

INTRODUCTION

William James Linton has left behind an immense body of artistic work. He executed thousands of commissioned and autonomously conceived engravings, a number of paintings and watercolours; moreover, he served as editor to several journals, ran his own private presses, contributed hundreds of poems and polemics to various newspapers, published five volumes of poetry, one autobiography, four biographies, two histories of wood engraving, several children's books, five anthologies of British and foreign poetry, and on top of all this, he also translated numbrous poems and tracts from the French, Italian and Polish. The authors of his obituaries agreed: he was the busiest man they had ever met.

The reception of this work has to be extremely unclear, since his endeavors had veered off in many different directions which probably only for him happily coexisted, each of which would write forth its own separate bibliography, their subjects often not knowing of each other. For reasons of clarity, it would make sense to distinguish several different Lintons: There is one Linton in the history of private presses, another Linton in the history of Victorian poetry, and yet another in the history of working class culture; then we have a Linton in the more specific scholarly field of research on Romanticism, and a Linton in the history of typography and the graphic arts; and then, we also frequently meet the concept of the *Lintonesque* in the work of a noted historian of photography. It is to be assumed that such a multifaceted artist who managed to create such rich resonances should be a prominent figure; yet, the opposite is the case. As the sum total of all his specifications, we have a personality who is a dark horse to art historians, still left "at the edge of what is remembered of the nineteenth-century world" where his biographer, the social historian Francis Barrymore Smith had sought to pick him up in the early 1970s, irrecognizably in his multiple relations to the Romantic tradition, the early Barbizon realism, and the Aesthetic movement, blurred between high mass of Blake references and the artistic low tide of Victorian xylographic mass production.

The most suitable term to characterise his shifting position and his transitory activities might be „agency." Agency – this was the nature of his basic activities as xylographic interpreter and of his occupations as a literary translator, anthologist, polemicist, and teacher. Politically, he was the agent

of the Chartist movement during the proceedings of the Second Republic in Paris, of the Italian unification in London and New York, and of Edmund Davis´s socialist Utopia in Montana. Culturally, he acted as the early agent of French Christian Socialism in England and as the late agent of British radicalism in America. Artistically, he was the premature agent of *Art Noveau* and of modern purist book design in Historicist times, and a promoter of graphic expressionism in the times of rising Impressionism. Nothing might be more suited to express the prejudice of hieratic high-brow culture against such a catalytic and society-oriented understanding of art such as Thomas Carlyle's verdict: He spoke of Linton's extreme „windiness". And in fact one might say that it was a kind of windiness that left its progressive marks on numerous interdisciplinary joints and that had implemented in the artistic climate of Utilitarianism, a relatively open societal notion of art and authorship.

"There is, unfortunately, no complete bibliography of Linton's artistic productions – nor, I suppose, is one really possible, given his enormously varied jobs and enterprises that included hundreds of unsigned as well as signed engravings." This frustrated diagnosis of the state of reception of Linton´s work that Robert Gleckner, a scholar of British Romanticism, made in 1982 still applies today. The problem lies but less in the variety and amount of commissioned and autonomous engraver's works, but rather in the question what we could conceive of and subsume as his artistic production. There can be little doubt that Linton was the most committed Republican artist of his century, as he was widely renowned for having centered all his efforts, whether as activist or as theorist, around The Cause. The early working class movement had its poets and writers, and it was indeed backed by some professional caricaturists; it even had its sympathizers within academic artistic circles. But as a Chartist artist immediately involved in *The Cause*, Linton held a solitary position. To follow the various strands of his production means to witness the gradual experimental formation of an „interventionist" type of art – to use a contemporary expression. In many respects he can be called the first political artist *sui generis*.

His views were decisively shaped by the respective role models and teachings of William Johnson Fox and Giuseppe Mazzini. The former, a highly influential editor, writer and orator, and spiritus rector of the first British avant-garde movement, stood representative for a fundamental democratisation of culture that also strove to include an authentic working class perspective; the latter, figurehead of the international Republican liberation movement, had vehemently appealed for culture as a means of emancipatory propaganda. Linton most consequentially had followed Mazzini's conception, according to which an art conscious of its political responsibility should be able to reconcile and unite theory and practice / agency. Following the Byronic scheme of the confluence of life, art and political committment, Mazzini had specified the duties of an artist as being „priest of universal life and prophet of high social aim." Departing from this perspective of an expanded conception of art, of a politico-artistic *Gesamtkunstwerk*, it is most appropriate to grasp Linton's whole body of writings as well as his numerous activities in the name of the Chartists and the *International League* as legitimate parts of his artistic production.

Under the conditions of the advanced industrialisation of the mid-19th century such a claim for totality could not be condensed anymore into any coherent form of archaic holism, such as it had been the case with Blake´s body of illuminated poetry. Linton could only justly decry the nostalgic

attempts of the Pre-Raphaelites and the Morris Press as a vain and ridiculous purism. His polemics against the graphic mode of facsimile cut, which had been propagated by both groups, were pinpoint targeted against an ideology of authenticity that could just barely mask its feudal base of slavish dependency. The opposition between the communitarian varieties of Linton's idea of radical democracy and the elitist Tory socialism of the likes of Carlyle and Ruskin that became socially acceptable by the educated middle class after the Chartists' failure of 1848, was a smouldering one, never really outspoken. The latter party succeeded in political as well as in aesthetical respects: Facsimile became the basic signature of the 20th century, the power structure of absolutism hidden under a veil of universal brotherhood and modernist claims of authenticity. Much more complicated from today's point of view is Linton's opposition to his American disciples, who organised themselves as *The New School* of xylography. Their versatile photographic hyperrealism was substantially inspired by Linton's anti-authoritian role model of the artist-artisan as a creative translator, but he mistook their forward-looking efforts to create an egalitarian kind of surface aesthetics for an authoritarian syntax of industrial dehumanization.

Political art, as moulded by Linton, can be structurally defined as an open free-style space which is confined by two limits of dependency and mechanic reproduction: *linearism (Linearity)* as an expression of ancient feudalism on the one side and *pointillism* as a visual manifestation of modern capitalism on the other side; here the slavery of the *facsimile,* there the terror of the halftone. If there ever was something like a characteristic style, a *Lintonesque style*, it could only mean a lively and rather unpredictable mixture of distinctive blackline engraving with stippled and scratchy parts representing blurriness. It had not been pure coincidence that the discipline of modern communication theory with William M. Ivins's fundamental work *Prints and Visual Communication* as a starting point was inflamed by Ivin´s dealing with a widely recognized discussion about graphic structures that was held between Linton and the *New School* in the American press in the early 80s. Linton's life reflects all development steps of wood engraving, that dominant technique of reproduction graphics, from its rather crude beginnings to its final agony in a stage of utmost refinement. And moreover, due to his versality, his biography bears the potential to shed light on the diverse cultural milieus that where involved in this progress of xylography.

In 1866 Linton had emigrated to North America, and this biographic crossroads points to a further problem any comprehensive review of Linton's work inevitably has to deal with. An oeuvre that is extremely sensitive to the particular socio-political conditions and to topical affairs gets splitted into the contrasting circumstances of three epochs and two continents: England in the situation of the early domestic working class movement and that of the post-1848 decade, which was characterized by an increased awareness for foreign affairs, and the conditions of North America in the epoch of the so-called *Gilded Age,* where Linton attended with his biting polemics the establishment of a political system that claimed to be a democracy but bluntly turned out to be a plutocracy.

This commented bibliography of the *Linton Archive* is divided into four parts, according to the major chapters of his biography. Without laying claim to meet Gleckner's request for completeness, it rather represents an attempt to give an effective impression of the richness and intrinsic complexity of an artistic work, which perhaps more than any other reflects the central conflicts of its age and encompasses

through its didactic efforts and its impelling ideal of a democratisation of arts both levels of culture, „high“ and „low“. One might have to search long to find any other 19th century artist whose work is of comparable topicality and relevance today.

The multi-perspectivity and open structure of a bibliography may be the most suitable form to tackle the bewildering variety of Linton's approaches without constricting them by over-generalizing assumptions. It is up to the reader to make his or her way through a maze of interdependencies between radical politics, early illustrated press, fragmented print culture, high-brow Pre-Raphaelism, republican historiographies, conceptions of illustration as cooperation, as well as various kinds of poetry and visions of direct democray.

Listed are not exclusively his own works but also those in which he participated, and also a small selection of those who had a substantial impact on him – and some he influenced. The final section is dedicated to the history of his reception, from the date of his death onwards. The issues are predominantly listed in the chronological order of the first edition's publication dates, but there are some exceptions where they can follow a more biographical logic. The comments represent a multitude of voices. Besides my own comments, one can find repeatedly excerpts from Linton's breathless shorthand style autobiography, from Francis Barrymore Smith's biography whose dense maze of information is less concerned with Linton's artistic production than with his Chartist network, and from works by numerous scholars from various disciplines. They are listed at the end.

The availability of relatively cheap new printing technology had provided the British Radicals in the beginning of the 19th century with better means to communicate with their expanding circles of birds of a feather. Linton with his numerous auteur-journals and private partisan presses was one of the most prolific and enthusiastic exponents of this early prefiguration of today's „bloggerism.“ So what could be a more genuine medium to publish him today than the universal *res republic* of the www?

Alexander Roob, December 2010

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A LIST OF LINTON COLLECTIONS:

The Linton Archive of the Melton Prior Institute, Düsseldorf, seeks to collect Linton's work both in its political and artistic contexts throughout all periods. Beside this Archive, there are several other, more specialized collections of scholarly interest:

- The British Museum, London, holds the most complete record of Linton's writings. In 1895, Linton presented an enormous body of scrapbooks, titled Prose and Verse written in the course of fifty years 1836 – 1886, to the Museum's library. It consists of twenty volumes and includes almost every poem and article of the author's long career. Also in terms of design, this series can be considered as an artwork in its own right.

- The Linton Collection of the Princeton University Manuscripts Division is the richest in terms of reproduction graphic matters. It consists mainly of the author's correspondence with the art historian and curator Sylvester Rosa Koehler, in which he discusses different engraving techniques in detail.

- The Linton Archive of the National Library of Australia, Canberra is part of a large collection on British economy. The Linton section consists of ca. 300 letters of mainly domestic concern, 15 booklets, and 22 pamphlets.

- The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University holds some materials from Linton's Brantwood years, but mainly the correspondence and prints from his American period.

- The Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milan, predominantly holds the political correspondence of the 1840s and 1850s.

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I THE LONDON YEARS

William James Linton was born in London on December 7, 1812 into a middle class family. His father was an accountant of Scottish origin and a sympathizer of the republican movement; his mother is characterised as as a pious housewife of Welsh extraction and a rather loyalist attitude. "Some vague remembrance I still have of the house in which I was born and in which I lived till I was five years old: one of a row of private houses, Ireland's Row in the Mile-End Road, at the east end of London, close to Charrington's brewery, — a brewery I believe still prosperously existing. The house was in the parish of Stepney, the parish for all folk born at sea. My real recollections begin with 1820, the year in which George III. ceased to be nominal king of England. My family was then living at Stratford, some four miles out of what was distinctly London in those days." (W. J. Linton, Memories)

William Hone & George Cruikshank: Facetiae and Miscellanies.
London 1827

This volume comprises all the pictorial pamphlets resulting from the collaboration of radical journalist William Hone and young caricaturist George Cruikshank. They were extremely popular in the early 1920s. One of Linton's earliest recollections is related to them in connection with the *Queen Caroline Case*. After the *Peterloo Massacre* of 1819 – referred to in Hone & Cruikshank's most famous satire *The Political House that Jack Built* – this scandal about the marriage of the Prince Regent, that had stirred up a year later, was the central event uniting all republican forces against the loyalist establishment and substantially questioning monarchy. "I recollect (...) seeing daily the processions of the city companies (the old-time guilds) passing through the streets with banners and bands of music on their way westward to Hammersmith to present their loyal addresses to Queen Caroline, who, denied her place at court, was there living.For her, if only out of censorious disrespect for the royal husband who rejected her, public sympathy was very strongly evoked. (...) The queen's cause was also taken advantage of as an anti-governmental policy, calling forth William Hone's political pasquinades, in illustration of which the genius of George Cruikshank first made its appearance. Shelley's *Œdipus Tyrannus* (Swellfoot the Tyrant, alias Gouty George IV.) had its impulse in the same conflict. My father was what was then called 'a Queen's Man,' and of course took in Hone's pamphlets, – *The House that Jack built, The Man in the Moon, The Political Showman, The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, and several others. Some of them, relics of old days, are before me now; fierce but clever, the cuts by Cruikshank not unworthy of his after fame. I can not charge my memory with any observation of them in that childish period of my life; but I must have seen them whether then interested or not." *(Memories)* Linton's recollections bear witness to the underlying influence of the Regency radicalism on the generation of '48, which became the founding generation of the topical illustrated press. Beside Linton, the likes of Charles Dickens, Henry Mayhew, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were characteristic representatives.

Anon.: The Palace of John Bull, contrasted with the Poor "House that Jack built".
London 1820

The enormous popularity of Hone & Cruikshank's Peterloo pamphlet The Political House that Jack built, which advocated suffrage and freedom of the press, had provoked numerous imitations and adversary mimicries. The *Linton Archive* holds alone six of these, all executed in the rough woodcut manner of the original, and all published in 1820: *The Radical House which Jack would build – The Theatrical House that Jack built– The Real or Constitutional House that Jack built – The Financial House that Jack built – The Loyalist's House that Jack built – The Dorchester Guide or a house that Jack built.*

The most interesting adaption *The Palace of John Bull, contrasted with the Poor "House that Jack built"* refers to the poor printing technique of the original. The wealthy constitution of loyalist England is represented by its rich reproduction consisting of eight hand-coloured copper engravings. The medial message was clear. It was supposed to decry the prospects of radical reform by paralleling it with the cheap appeal of its propaganda. It thus connected the traditional codifications of plebeian relief printing on the one hand and artistocratic intaglio on the other with a pointed political meaning in this Pre-Chartist campaigning for parliamentary reform. Moreover, woodcut had been promoted much earlier by John Baptist Jackson, the first British exponent of this medium in baroque times and an important figure of reference for Linton, by connecting relief printing in his *Essay on the Invention of Engraving and Printing in Chiaro Oscuro (1754)* with the virile virtue of *boldness*, and by setting it against the "effeminate" refinement of copper engraving.

Linton's allergic reactions to xylographic tendencies of imitating intaglio had these codifications as a backdrop. But quite in contrast to someone like William Blake, who with his mode of relief etching had reversed the "effeminate" intaglio into an earthy kind of cut, Linton's point of departure was not the rough appeal of ancient woodblock work, but a rather painterly mode of graphic expression, which was more concerned with tonal gradation than with an expressive way of outlining.

Thomas Bewick: A General History of Quadrupeds. *Newcastle 1790 / 1807*
The fifth edition of 1807

It was the trained copper engraver Thomas Bewick from Newcastle who popularized the art of wood engraving in the late 18th century with his groundbreaking animal encyclopaedia illustrations. Most of them were single block engravings, which on the white of the paper preferably opened up in the form of an edgeless oval, comparable with the prints from pinhole photographs of early cameras. Tom Lubbock drew a parallel between the hallucinatory effects of Bewick's vignette art and the projections of a *laterna magica*. By isolating the miniature scenes without a frame on the paper ground, Lubbock stated, Bewick abolished the classical, partial window view of the Renaissance. Although the vignettes of the Bewick School, especially the highly imaginative tailpieces, usually depict lively sceneries full of action, they are characterised by the impression of a distance of time and of static that they convey. They show frozen miniature worlds in the manner of a snowglobe universe.

For Linton, the simplicity and inventiveness of Bewick's white-line technique was an ideal to which any form of an artistic renewal of xylography had to revert, for the works of the early Bewick School were not yet corrupted by the division of labour and mechanisation, but counted as examples of creatively handling the technology. However, the rural idyll that Bewick had evoked in his engravings represented the prettified picture of old paternalistic England that political radicals like Linton used to attack vehemently. Accordingly, Bewick's animal encyclopaedia illustrations were monopolized soon after their publication by feudal romantics in England and abroad, among others, by Weimar privy councillor von Goethe and his artistic advisor, Johann Heinrich Meyer, who in their periodical *Die Propyläen* (1798) recommended Bewick's engravings particularly for their cuteness and pleasantness. In his history of xylography, *The Masters of Wood Engraving*, Linton characterised this loyalist signature with the slightly contemptuous attribute of "homely", and, in doing so, he not only referred to the ideal, old-fashioned world of Bewick's engravings but also to the slightly naive style of drawing and engraving. He countered this with a greater keenness of observation, increased directness in his graphic translation, and a greater variability in his own engraving work.

Thomas Bewick: History of British Birds. 2 Volumes, *Newcastle 1797 / 1804*
The first editions of the most famous production of the Bewick workshop

"In the History of British Birds, we find increasing power and nicer finish, as we look through one hundred and seventeen figures and ninety-one tailpieces of the *Land Birds*, completed in 1797, and the one hundred and one birds and one hundred and thirty-nine tail-pieces of the *Water Birds*, 1804. (...) *The Tame Duck* is Bewick's masterpiece: It absolutely has colour. (...) He has drawn with his graver (not meaning that he had no drawing on the wood, but that he choose his own lines to represent the drawing). Triumphantly manifest is the worth of this white-linework. My concern here is chiefly with the engraving, not less to be admired if the figures are not always quite correct. The scientific naturalist may find fault for some nice point not seen by artists' eyes; but judged only as an artist, designer or engraver, Bewick's work is perfect, to a hair or a feather. (...) His backgrounds to the *Quadrupeds* are mostly but careless adjuncts (...), but in the *Birds* we find abundant proof of advanced study and increase of skill. The mere backgrounds are pictures of themselves, appropriate to the birds, as carefully engraved as truthfully drawn. (....) In these cuts to the two volumes of the Birds we see the best of Bewick's graver-work. Among these tail-pieces also are the best of his designs. There he stands securely, first of all illustrators of English landscape and rustic life and bird-nature." *(Masters of Wood Engraving)*

John Thurston: Religious Emblems. Being a Series of Engravings on Wood by C. Nesbit, Branston, Clennell and Hole. *London 1809 – Leipzig 1818*
In the collection: the rare German edition printed from the original blocks in 1818 and published by Brockhaus under the title:"Sinnbilder der Christen. Erklärt in 21 Dichtungen von Arthur vom Nordstern." This edition had a big impact on the development of German and Austrian wood engraving, namely on Friedrich Wilhelm Gubitz in Berlin and Blasius Höfel in Vienna.

The original edition was published by Rudolf Ackermann, a popular London publisher of pictorial prints, with the intention "to draw into one focus all the talent of the day." The drawings were executed by John Thurston, a trained copper plate engraver, who became the most influential draughtsman on wood. Linton held those ? refined designs, which increasingly sought to imitate the imagery of intaglio, responsible for a decline of the art of wood engraving. Nevertheless, this early issue by Thurston marks in his view a pinnacle as it combines some of the best engravings of his xylographic heroes, of Luke Clennell and Charlton Nesbit, two disciples of Thomas Bewick who were trained in his workshop in Newcastle, and of Robert Branston, a former copper plate engraver, who became the actual founder of the London School of Wood Engraving. Branston was a relative and teacher of George Wilmot Bonner, to whose workshop Linton had been apprenticed in his sixteenth year. In his *Manual of Instruction* from 1884, Linton recommends the study of these twenty-one engravings of the Religious Emblems to all students of xylography: "They are all bold, large cuts, and might be called coarse and mannered, but for their very boldness are the better guides for the student; and they have the one great merit – the line is always intelligent and expressive."

Thomas Bewick: The Fables of Aesop. *Newcastle 1818 / 1823*

The much praised second edition.

Although Linton himself is often counted among the adherents of the Bewick –School, he did not think highly of the capabilities of the popular engraver from Newcastle and was vehemently opposed to his canonisation. Instead, he admired Bewick's disciples Luke Clennell, Charlton Nesbitt, and, with some minor flaws, also John Thompson. Much more than the master himself, these members of Bewick's workshop represented to him "the morning and the full-noon splendour of the art of Wood Engraving." *(Masters of Wood Engraving)* To him, this second illustrated version of Aesop´s fables – a first one had been produced by Bewick in 1784 – represents the "the crowning work of the Bewick School. (...) I know no book, not even the *Birds*, which contains more excellent examples of the Bewick School. (...) This book is unequaled: the greatest yet produced as example of the art of wood engraving in its special sphere, the use of white-line." *(Masters of Wood Engraving)* "Bewick claims the designs, and of course the book was produced under his direction; but both drawing and engraving I take to be nearly all by his pupils, the engraving certainly not inferior, but often superior to his own, and mainly, I believe, by Harvey, some perhaps by Nesbit. This one book is of itself almost sufficient for the student." (A Manual of Instruction) Linton preferred and recommended this second edition, since the imprint of the first one from 1818 was insufficient and Bewick himself had been very disappointed with the result.

Samuel Croxall: Fables of Aesop and others. Newly done into English. With an Application to each Fable. Illustrated with Cuts. ***London 1722 / 1754***
The sixth edition.

This book provides a valuable insight into the very beginnings of the wood engraving technique. Linton in his *Masters of Wood Engraving* praised this Croxall Edition of *Aesop's Fables* as being "our first English book with cuts of noticeable worth, a book in after time to revolutionize the whole method and process of engraving in wood. (...) This book is the fountain-head of the Bewick river and overflow. (...) Sixty years saw the *Fables* unrivaled." Bewick himself had pointed to the seminal example of the illustrated Croxall edition in his preface to his *Fables*. He took the noted copper engraver Elisha Kirkall or his apprentice John Baptist Jackson for the author of the cuts and assumed the material had not been wood, but a soft, lead-like metal. Linton questioned the authorship of Jackson, who later became famous for his chiaroscuro woodcuts, out of biographical reasons, and he stresses the significance of Kirkhall. He even takes Kirkhall for the supposable founder of the white-line technique, the very mode of engraving which had helped to establish Bewick's fame.

James Northcote: One Hundred Fables, Original and Selected.
Embellished with Two Hundred and Eighty Engravings on Wood. ***London 1828***

This late illustration work of the underrated painter and art critic James Northcote was published in the same year in which Linton began his apprenticeship. As an academic painter who originated from a low social rank, Northcote had been quite an exceptional case in the artistic field of the time. The peer of Goya had belonged to the circle of the proto-anarchist William Godwin and had made his mark with a historical painting, which dealt with the *English Peasants' Revolt*. By writing in the style of the enfranchised slave Aesop, Northcote also in his late years had continued to work in a radical tradition, which sought to challenge injust power relations using a fable-like disguise.

Northcote's designs for the headpieces were drawn on wood and prepared for the engravers by William Harvey, who was known as Bewick's favorite pupil.He had engraved a substantial number of blocks for Bewick's second version of Aesop's *Fables*, and in Northcote's version he was also the author of the minuscule ornamental letters at the beginning of the text, as well as of the pictorial tailpieces. When Linton became friends with him in the early forties, Harvey had already abandoned the engraving practice and had become a popular book designer and illustrator.

In Linton's view, Northcote's *Fables* display some of the finest engravings of Charlton Nesbit and John Jackson, both members of the Bewick School, as well as of Robert Branston and of Linton's teacher George Wilmont Bonner. John Jackson would later play a crucial role in the development of xylography, as a pioneering art director of the first illustrated weekly *Penny Magazine* and as the author of *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, the first history of the medium.

James Northcote: The Artist's Book of Fables. Illustrated by Two Hundred and Eighty Wood Engravings by Harvey and Other Eminent Artists. *London 1833/ 1845*
In the collection: The second edition, which was published by the remainder merchant Henry G. Bohn in 1845.

This second volume of fables was edited after the author's death and was produced with the same troupe of engravers. Linton appreciated the first series, but preferred this second one, although in his opinion both showed the marks of a decline: "The second series is that for the student's examination. But we are already nearing a less masterly time, a time of 'finish' rather than the lines of good drawing; we are losing the freshness of the older work." (A Manual of Instruction)

Anon.: The Solace of Song. Short Poems suggested by scenes visited on a Continental Tour, chiefly in Italy. *London 1837*

The collection of religious tourist meditations is attributed to John Antes LaTrobe, a canon of the Church of England and writer on sacred music. The significance of the book lies in William Harvey's illustrations, which in terms of graphic refinement marked a new departure for wood engraving.
Linton reprinted several examples in his *Masters of Wood Engravings*. Half of the total of twelve engravings came from John Orrin Smith. The former architect and investor had been re-trained after his bankruptcy in the xylographic profession by Samuel Williams and William Harvey. The talented engraver soon founded his own workshop and became one of the busiest engravers of his time, whose work was also valued by his numerous foreign clients. He executed commissions for the French workshop of Louis-Henri Brévière and supported the first xylographic workshop in Germany, which was established in 1839 in Munich by a pupil of Brévière, the illustrator Kaspar Braun, who became one of the most important German publishers with his *Münchener Bilderbogen* and with Wilhelm Busch's works.

Linton had occasionally worked for Orrin Smith from 1836 onward, and in 1842 he took him into partnership. The collaboration proved to be a very prolific and friendly one, although the hazy, atmospheric style of Orrin Smith, his characteristic high finish and tonal modulation represented just the opposite of the expressive virile conception of his junior partner. „In landscape John Orrin Smith surpassed every one for tone and refinement: his best instances in the *Solace of Song* (...). They mark the extreme of the imitation of copper, or steele, to which wood engraving had long been tending. Allowing tone to be more important than expressiveness of line or the distinct assertion of form, these cuts may be considered perfect. I look on them as the best of an essentially false style." *(The Masters of Wood Engraving)*

Two of the Solace engravings originate from Orrin Smith's instructor, the former house painter and self-taught engraver Samuel Williams. Williams had been a collaborator of the late William Hone and had executed most of the engravings of his Year Book series. „His manner is peculiarly his own, un-

borrowed and distinct from all others. In his cuts he prefers a brillant effect, the sharp accentuation of blacks with fine grey tints to enhance their brightness; but his line is always thin and meager, without beauty or distinctive character, and he depends for effect too entirely on contrast." *(The Masters of Wood Engraving)*

One of the most impressive *Solace* engravings had been executed by William Henry Powis, a coeval xylographer, in whose workshop Linton had engraved from 1834 until his premature death in 1836. His workshop did many contract works for John Jackson, among them numerous cuts for *The Penny Magazine*. Linton held Powis' landscape engravings for the best „for their size up to that time engraved in wood (...) Most noticeable in Powis' work is that everything has been cut at once. In this he differed notably from Smith, who depended on after-toning." (The Masters of Wood Engraving)

Johann Gottfried Herder: Der Cid nach spanischen Romanzen besungen durch Johann Gottfried von Herder. Mit Randzeichnungen von Eugen Neureuther. ***Stuttgart / Tübingen 1838***

The genesis of this German production, which is rendered in Hanebutt-Benz' *Studien zum deutschen Holzstich im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt / Main 1984) gives an impression of the enormous difficulties, which had to be overcome by its publisher Georg Cotta. After the Munich xylographer Heinrich Neuer had failed to execute the detailed illustrations of Eugen Neureuther, Cotta commissioned a few London engravers, among them Orrin Smith and Linton's teacher George Wilmot Bonner. The plan to provide the English xylographers with original drawings directly executed on the blocks failed as the Germans still did not know the fundamental speciality of the technique to use the end grain of wood. Also the process of printing proved to be an adventure. Only after a long phase of experiments, the Stuttgart printers succeeded to achieve acceptable results. From an artistic point of view however, this early German wood-engraved publication did not meet the expectations, neither of the illustrator nor of the publisher, as the English mode of hasty tonal engraving did not fit in with the linear gothic appeal of Neureuther's drawing.

Thomas Wade: Mundi Et Cordis; De Rebus Sempiternis Et Temporariis: Carmina. Poems and Sonnets. ***London 1835***

A collection of poems. Most of them previously published in Vol. IX of the „Monthly Repository", a politico-cultural periodical of Linton's friend, the radical reformer and Unitarian preacher W.J. Fox

Toward the close of his apprenticeship as a wood engraver in the workshop of George Wilmot Bonner, Linton became acquainted with Thomas Wade, "the author of a volume of thoughtful and imaginative poems, *Mundi et Cordis Carmina*, published in 1835, of a play, *The Jew of Arragon* (...) and of other poems. He should have made a high mark in literature, but under pressure of some money difficulties, betook himself to Jersey, a sort of debtors' Alsatia in those days, and there obtained a living

by editing a weekly newspaper. (...) In 1837, Wade was living, with his mother and sisters, in Great Quebec Street, Montague Square. He had just given up editing the *Bell's New Weekly Messenger*, a liberal newspaper. On Sunday evenings he gave receptions, (...) where I would meet Horne, Douglas Jerrold and W. J. Fox (the eloquent Unitarian preacher)." *(Memories)* Linton's connection with the Wade circle became more and more intimate. The Wade sisters were emancipated followers of Mary Wollstonecraft, and Linton was associated with both of them. Laura Wade died of consumption in the first year of their marriage , just like her sister Emily, with whom Linton had been connected afterwards and who bore him seven children, and died young.

Like most of the radical writers of these days, Linton's mentor and father-in-law had been a devotee of the exuberant interventionist poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Francis Edwin Mineka refers to him in his study on *The Monthly Repository* (1944) actually as "the purest example of direct Shelleyan influence among minor poets.(...) One can perceive, even in the close imitations of Shelley, a genuine and original feeling, a sensitive and passionate nature. But the poetry itself suffers from obscurity, extravagance, turgidity, poor form, and lack of melody." Beside this dominant Shelleyan impact, one can easily trace in some of Wade's explicit political lyrics like his *Reform Bill Hyms* a second decisive influence, that of the working class poetry of Ebenezer Elliott. This popular self-taught poet and pamphleteer who was praised as the Robert Burns of the industrial age had become a kind of cultural figurehead of the Chartist movement.

Ebenezer Elliott: The Poetical Works of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-Law Rhymer.
Edinburgh 1840

This popular volume of selected poems is based on the complete edition, which had appeared in 1835. Included is his famous cycle against the protectionist corn laws, the so-called bread tax, which had caused famine among the lower classes and had enhanced the profits of the landlords. As Mark Storey states in his preface to a recent selection of Elliott's poems, the iron trader, who had married rich, can neither be comprehended as being uneducated nor as really belonging to the working class. Elliott's unerring political commitment was shaped by an extensive reading of republican literature of the likes of Milton, Swift, Burns, and Paine. His work marks a crucial watershed, where the tradition of Romantic communitarian writing starts to face the economic realities of the industrial revolution. Elliott prepared the grounds on which those ambitious poetic projects like Thomas Cooper´s *Prison-Rhyme* and Linton's body of interventionist hymnody could unfold.

Richard Garnett: The Life of W.J. Fox, Public Teacher & Reformer 1786-1864. *London 1910*

The author of this valuable biography, which was finished by his son and published posthumously, was a prolific biographer of the literary traditions of radicalism, among them works on Milton, Blake, and Shelley.

William Johnson Fox was a charismatic minister of the Unitarians, of that section of Dissenters, which had become a decisive formative force in the development of British radicalism in the 18th century, with exponents like Joseph Priestley and Jeremy Bentham. Fox had achieved considerable fame as a stirring orator and a prolific journalist and pamphleteer. He had been one of the very few middle-class "honorary" members of the *London Working Men's Association*, an early and rather intellectual labour organisation, which had been founded in 1836 in order "to draw into one bond of unity the intelligent and influential portion of the working classes in town and country. To seek by every legal means to place all classes of society in possession of the equal political and social rights." His position as the owner and editor of *The Monthly Repository,* an advanced magazine of literary and political concerns, had enabled Fox to become one of the leading advocates of increasing educational prospects for the lower classes and to promote working-class literature in a most effective way. In her *Introduction to working class literature in Great Britain*, Phyllis Mary Ahsraf asserts that the recognition of the progressive role of working class culture by Fox differed very much from the patronizing views of the liberal press.

Before Fox took over, *The Monthly Repository* had been a sectarian religious organ of the Unitarians. He changed it into "a more overtly political journal with the aim of forging a Utilitarian, Benthamite aesthetic. (...) His reading of Benthamism meant in the first place the dissemination of *pleasure* in its widest sense, the democratisation of literature and the exploration of the links between literature and politics. These links were not simply between the *Zeitgeist* or a loosely defined 'spirit of the age' but involve the conceptualising of what we would now call an ideological relation between literature and the power structure of society." (Isobel Armstrong) Democratic literature should deal with social concerns; and it should include a kind of poetry, which not only topically deals with poverty, but which is an authentic organ of the poor, because "poetry *for* the poor or *about* the poor would be different from poetry by the poor, because the history of the working class is formed in different circumstances. (...) Fox is not advocating social realism (which would be the patronising poetry of the gentleman looker-on) but the passionate poetry which returns to `the sorrowing or joyous cry of the intellect´, which was the possession of popular culture before the `distinct articulation of science´, and, he might have added, of class, restricted the nature of poetry." (Isobel Armstrong)

In his cottage in Craven Hill Gardens, Fox surrounded himself from the early Thirties on with a group of intellectuals, which had been characterized by the Unitarian philosopher James Martineau as a "free-thinking and free-living clique." Among them were writers, artists, and social reformers like Robert Browning, Eliza Flowers, Margaret Gillies, Douglas Jerrold, Harriet Martineau, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Southwood Smith, Harriet Taylor, Thomas Wade, Egerton Webbe and later also young Linton, a formation, that conceived itself "as avant-garde, experimenting with the new in political, theological and aesthetic matters, defing new categories and defamiliarising the old." (Isobel Armstrong) Fox' function as a literary nodal point was only matched in the Forties by Charles Dickens, but Dickens represented prose, the new victorious mode of literature, whereas Fox embodied that rather outdated form, that had been conveived by Shelley in his *Defence of Poetry* as being the true legislative, the literary representative of the framework of society.

To Linton, Fox was of vital importance as a campaigner for a democratic culture, and as a lively and powerful example of Republican committment. In him he found "a model of the self-made prophet,

able to speak both to middle-class intellectuals and to working-class radicals." (F. B. Smith) In his biography of the radical publisher James Watson, Linton refers to Fox as "the virtual founder of that new school of English radicalism, which looked beyond the established traditions of French revolution, and more poetical, escaped the narrowness of Utilitarianism." This kind of expanded Utilitarianism, uniting individual and social concerns, art and life on a poetical level, had also prepared the ground for the *Secularist Movement*, which in fact had been a direction of highly spiritual concerns. It was W.J. Fox, who had defended the founder of the Secular Movement, George Holyoake, in 1842 against a blasphemy conviction, and in many respects he had paved the way for the last and most consistent followers of the Bentham–Shelley atheism, of Charles Bradlaugh and his ingenious poetic mouthpiece James B.V. Thompson.

The connection with Fox' *Craven Hill* circle provided Linton with an international network of free thinkers and social campaigners, among them also exponents of the American transcendentalist movement like Margaret Fuller, who became one of the most decided supporters of Mazzini's cause in 1848. Since Ralph Waldo Emerson, the mastermind of the Transcendentalists, had visited London in 1832, the contact to the London Unitarians had been a close one. After Linton's emigration, this Unitarian network proved to be of increasing worth to him.

William Johnson Fox (ed.:) The Monthly Repository for 1832, New Series, vol. VI,
London 1832 / 2010
(bound copies)

In his influential study on the Unitarian periodical *The Dissidence of Dissent. The Monthly Repository 1806- 1838* (1944), Francis Edward Mineka discusses the influence of Jeremy Bentham's *Utilitarianism* and of the Comte de Saint-Simon´s New Christianity on Fox´editorial conception. The pugnacious Unitarian minister had been "tremendously attracted" by the Saint Simonians' social gospel, but unlike the Tory socialist Thomas Carlyle, he always kept a very critical distance to their hierarchical system of privileged aristocracy. Mineka points out that the *Repository* under Fox was "a rare instance of a magazine maintained on a high level of excellence over an appreciable period of time by voluntary, unpaid contributors."

This volume, the first one under Fox' sole editorship, "initiated a policy of active political engagement that extended the journal's intellectual and cultural reach, making it an avant-garde production often far ahead of its time." (Isobel Armstrong, *The Monthly Repository* in ncse, online edition 2008) Of major significance is an article titled *On the Character and Philosophy of the late Jeremy Bentham,* which gives a short account on the public dissection of the philosopher's corpse and an abridged version of the oration „delivered over the remains of this most illustrious man, by Dr. Southwood Smith." This dissection and the following mummification of Bentham's corpse, which were ordered by will, can be considered as a kind of informal constitutional act of the 19th century secular movement and has had a far-reaching impact on members of the Fox circle like Linton.Young Linton must have encountered Bentham's stuffed corpse quite often at the dinners in the home of his fatherly friend

and family doctor, Thomas Southwood Smith, where the deceased sat dressed in his everyday clothes in a glass case, on view for anyone "who takes an interest in the writings and character of Jeremy Bentham." (Richard Hengist Horne: A New Spirit of the Age. Vol. I, 1844) Southwood Smith had been one of the closest friends of Bentham, to many the most important philosophical proponent of early British radicalism. For Goethe, who was of the same age, the thoughts of the founder of Utilitarianism marked the "peak of madness," and even a commentator such as William Hazlitt, who was politically well disposed towards Bentham, criticised him for his "barbarous philosophical jargon" and was astonishedhe had not yet been "prosecuted for the boldness and severity of some of his invectives." (The Spirit of the Age or Contemporary Portraits, 1825) Benthamism is often understood as an expression of a narrow-minded, puritan trader's ethics that philosophically indulges in a pure cost-benefit calculation. But this would mean to disregard the explosiveness that Bentham's philosophy unfolded, particularly in England. It mainly consisted in the fact that he had shaken and challenged puritan ethics through the pronounced hedonistic approach of his "greatest happiness" principle. But also the accusation of propagating an unrestricted "swinish" egotism did not gain traction, because, in his view, from the perspective of society as a whole, the principle of maximising happiness necessarily resulted in the coinciding of self-interest and duty as service to the community. Through an increased individualistic interpretation, Bentham's theories have later been reduced to a mere doctrine of economic *laissez-faire*, a development that the ideological split of radicalism into liberalism and socialism had reflected. But as opposed to latter-day interpretations, early, inconsistent Benthamism was both individualistic and communitarian. It can be regarded as the open attempt to create a vital societal set of rules based on neither the authority of conventions, nor on transcendent entities.

In 1824 the committed physician Southwood Smith, in his essay *The Use of the Dead to the Living*, had called for allowing anatomical gifts, and Bentham, radically demonstrating his utilitarian principles, had not only made his own body available, but also written in his will that it be preserved "in the manner of the New Zealanders for the purpose of commemorating the Founder." As the article reported, the public dissection along with the funeral address had been performed by Southwood Smith himself, in the charged atmosphere of a sudden thunderstorm. Besides, *the Monthly Repository* provides a longer excerpt from the funeral oration, but not a word was said about his second testation. Bentham's followers avoided going into detail and discussing his mummification in public. After all, one did not want to fall into disrepute as a neo-heathen sect that, in blasphemous reversal of Christian myths, gathered around the stuffed corpse of its master, who had even been preserved in the manner of Stone Age savages. However, it can be assumed that most artists of the *Craven Hill* circle were familiar with all the details of this spectacular matter, certainly including the detailed proposals to revolutionise the culture of commemoration that Bentham had presented in this context. Although he wrote them down only shortly before his death in an unpublished manuscript, he must have dealt with this set of ideas for quite some time – for he had carried the glass eyes, which were meant to one day lend his mummified skull a lively expression, in his waistcoat pocket for twenty years.

In Bentham's view, the human corpse benefited society in two ways, possessing an "anatomical, or dissectional" as well as a "conservative, or statuary" value. He attributes the term auto-icon to the latter. These body sculptures would "supersede the necessity of sculpture", for it is after all evident that "identity [is] preferable to similitude". In Bentham's vision of the future, which suffices entirely

without the mimetic services of art, the auto-icons populate not only public buildings and private, ancestral portrait galleries, but also – after having been made weatherproof through the impregnation with rubber – outdoor spaces, parks and alleys. What he does not elaborate is the consequence of his playful and capricious proposals, which, however, is obvious and lies in radically levelling and democratising the cult of commemoration shaped by feudal patterns, i.e., the cultural segment that, in Bentham's eyes, formed the ideological backdrop of a reduced and irrational understanding of the nation. Bentham's mummification can be regarded as the background of Linton's late American didactic piece *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley* (1880), which deals with colonialism and memorial cult. In his early publications, Linton had granted a lot of space to Benthamism. From the very start, the austere doctrine of maximising use, even if it was hedonistically founded, had hardly been in line with his idealistic altruism. From the mid-1840s onward, Linton, like many other fellow travellers, replaced Fox's expanded spiritual Benthamism with a theologically underpinned nationalism in the style of Mazzini, which gave expression to the democratic liberation movements in Europe. It was evident, however, that Mazzini's vision of a Republican Europe and his foundation of a *People's International League* was firmly rooted in Bentham's work on intergovernmental legislation, a state of affairs which he described using the neologism *internationality*. And it is an open question whether Linton's anthropomorphous vision of a *universal republic*, which he had explicated in his central political treatise, *The Religion of Organization*, adhered to an afterimage of the cadaver of the father of supranationality. For had not Bentham organically manifested his idea of communitarian responsibility with the act of his dissection and, with his mummification, also given an impressive example suitable for lending his highly abstract atomistic theories a corporeal presence?

Junius Redivivus: On the State of Fine Arts in England, in: The Monthly Repository for 1833, New Series Vol. VII, *London 1833*

The volume starts with the debut of an author who would prove to be one of the most colourful characters of British radicalism. William Bridges Adams was the son of a manufacturer of coaches and a son-in-law of Francis Place, a leading member of the legendary *London Corresponding Society* and co-founder of the Chartist movement. Besides his activities as an employer and inventive locomotive engineer, Adams became one of the most prolific authors of the *Craven Hill* circle. He signed his numerous articles for The *Monthly Repository* with the pen name Junius Redivivus. Altogether he contributed somewhat over three hundred pages to Fox' magazine on a wide variety of topics: political and technical matters, poetry, social and dramatic criticism. Linton had met him in the late Thirties, when he was a frequent visitor in Fox' house. In his *Memories* he calls Adams a most „intimate and dearest" friend and refers to him as a man who had been held „in high esteem in his profession, and also for his most unselfish and wide philanthropy." In 1847 he joined Mazzini's *The People's International League*.

His debut article "On the State of the Fine Arts in England," which appeared in January 1833, was obviously of major significance for the young Linton. It phrases the philosophical radicals' point of view regarding the fine and applied arts in a concise and decisive manner, and thus was able to provide

an apprentice of the xylographic business with an advanced kind of self-confidence and a moral sense of mission, which helped him to shape his self conception as an artist of *The Cause*.

Adams bemoans „the lamentable condition" of the fine arts in England and accuses especially the painters of being driven by incestuous professional jealousy and gross ignorance. According to him, especially the crowning genre of historical painting suffered from a lack of education. To improve the situation he recommends the establishment of national galleries in all cities for educational purposes. With this suggestion he followed the footsteps of the godfather of British radicalism, John Wilkes, who had strongly avocated for a popular accessibility of the works of arts. A friend of Diderot, he was the first British politician to have pleaded, in a famous parliamentary speech of 1777, for the establishment of a National Gallery. But whereas Wilkes argued that the improvement of the fine arts and the national taste for painting in England would also benefit the commerce, especially the engraving business, Adams, under the leading sign of Utilitarianism, went a decisive step further as he preferred the improvement of the commerial craft of engraving as the virtual epitome of a democratic mode of art and a most effective means of popular pictorial education to those of the elitist painting schools.

Historical painters, he argued, „were they highly educated, they would not at this time be painters ; they would become writers, if their object were the desire of fame and profit. For one person who looks upon a successful painting, perhaps one thousand look upon a successful book. The painting cannot be multiplied; the book may, and may be sent to the ends of the earth, riveting the link of connexion, perhaps, amongst millions of minds, all dwelling with pleasure on their mutual thoughts of the author. It is not in human nature to resist a temptation like unto this; (...) A man will not waste his life for posthumous fame in one branch of art, who has it in his power to discount it for ready enjoyment in another. There is another branch of design in which this is practicable. John Martin found that his paintings, beautiful as they were, were not a profitable trade, and he became an engraver. This is to paintings what printing is to manuscripts. For one man who can or will give a thousand guineas for a painting, there are thousands who will give a guinea for an engraving. By the method of steel rollers, engravings on a small scale may be multiplied almost without limit; and the smaller engravings, by their extensive circulation, are becoming already a most powerful instrument in civilization. (....) Time was that engravings were mere daubs, wretched wooden- looking things (...). I could wish that the art of painter and engraver were always combined, as those of physician and chemist should ever be. The editor of the Black Dwarf, the radical Thomas Wooler, used to set his types direct from his brain, without the intervention of a MS.; and engravers, being endowed with the genius of poetry, starting into design, might strike out many felicitous things by those flashes of the spirit, designated sudden inspiration ; and, at any rate, their hands would thus acquire greater freedom of execution." This new generation of expressive engravers, that Adams envisioned, working both with a socio-political ethos and a poetic spirit, was exactly the kind Linton eagerly sought to belong to, and very soon he would become their prime example and only survivor.

„In vain shall we be preached to of the decline of the arts in England," while such artistic and affordable mode of engraving is done. „May they increase till they cease to be numbered, and not a poor man's cottage or chamber be devoid of them! They are amongst the silent workers of civilization, and will, in due time, bring forth good fruit. We can afford to let the higher walks of painting lie in abey-

ance, till these admirable instructors shall have prepared a public to appreciate them." The strong self-confidence that Linton had always displayed regarding academically trained painter acquaintances like William Bell Scott or Dante Gabriel Rossetti apparently owes a lot to those Republican views on the fine arts.

William Bridges Adams a.k.a. "Junius Redivivus": The Producing Man's Companion. An Essay on the present State of Society & The Political Unionist's Catechism. A Manual of Political Instruction for the People. *London 1833*

The combined edition was published by the noted Benthamite bookseller Effingham Wilson and is illustrated with two political cartoons by Robert Seymour, Cruikshank's serious rival as in the competition for the leading political cartoonist. In this case, he signed only with his initials R.S.

The two essays of of this combined volume are mainly concerned with the substantial insufficiencies of the Reform Act of the preceding year. William Bridges Adams pleads for further extensions of the suffrage, for a reform of the Poor Laws, the abolition of all monopolies, especially the Corn Laws and the establishment of a national system of education. The first tract deals with an extremely wide range of issues and can be taken as a prime example of the author's characteristic meandering writing style, to which his friend, the distinguished Utilitarian philosopher John Stuart Mill referred in his preface of a revised edition of the *The Producing Man's Companion*: „A connected or systematic treatise we cannot call it: the wonder is, how with so little apparent order or concatenation in his ideas, the author has contrived always to think consistently with himself. (...) But all his opinions are so nicely adjusted to one another; they seem mutually to receive and give so exactly the proper, and none but the proper modifications. Our author is a most minute observer, both of things and men; the extent of his miscellaneous information is truly surprising: and most of it has evidently been acquired by himself, not derived from books. He appears to be well versed in experimental physics, and familiar with the processes of very many branches of practical industry. His sagacity and ingenuity display themselves here also in numerous contrivances, and a still greater number of prophecies of contrivances, which will probably some time or other be fulfilled."

Anon.: Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers Excluding Men of Genius from the Public. *London 1833*

Linton characterized this extraordinary pamphlet in his *Memories* as "a fierce onslaught on the publishers' Reader and the Reviewers" that hadnot helped its author's first work "to a too friendly critical appreciation." The book was of such importance to him that had dedicated one of the late American publications to "The Author of the *An Exposition of the False Medium*, in token of admiration as well as of personal regard." The publisher of this raging attack against the whole cultural sector was Effingham Wilson, an established bookseller, who had become famous by issueing some of the most explosive works of Jeremy Bentham like his *Plan of Parliamentary Reform* in 1819. Wilson was a

continous challenger of British institutions in that he published statistics and revealed their negative consequences in "blackbooks". The exposition of the vainness of "false mediums" like the *Royal Academy* and their characterization as "a pompous body of pretentions that confute themselves" must have been quite to his taste. The author of *the Exposition* comes to the conclusion that "false mediums" like professional editorial work or institutional instruction only perpetuate inbred mediocrity. Beyond the educational rudiments "no man is ever taught to do any thing great; he must *teach himself*. You may learn the grammar without going to college, and it is best for you *not* to go there." And to make it even clearer he states with reference to the example of Shelley: "One of the highest honours that can attend a youth's outset in life, is to be expelled from college, for manifesting a resistance to servile ignorance and brutal tyranny." The author here tuned into Jeremy Bentham´s plea for a reform of the educational system, and he managed it to combine pragmatic Utilitarian approaches in an most unique and bizarre way with their contrary, the high-flying cult of genius of German idealism.

It is evident that such a decided vote for self-organized learning and the author's disgust about the institutions' mechanical coinage was capable to shape Linton's self-conciousness as an unlearned poet, painter, researcher and historian of his craft substantially. And an analysis like this, saying that "the progress in the fine arts has been most conspicuous in those branches which have not been subjected to the care or instructions of the Academy," may have contributed to his understanding of popular design and political propaganda as a natural field of artistic activity, equal to the traditional territories of high-brow culture, and maybe even more progressive. Moreover, the author's penetrating reasoning against the grading system of publishers' Readers, being lectors and editors, may have encouraged Linton's efforts to run his own independent press and to try out ways of direct marketing.

Linton became acquainted with the anonymous author two years after the publishing of his poorly received work. He met Richard Hengist Horne at the close of his apprenticeship in the company of Thomas Wade and remained connected to him all his life. He published Horne's essays in his journals *The National and The Illuminated Magazine* and enclosed examples of his poems in his anthology *English verse: The Nineteenth century*. As a politically committed artist with an eagerness to experiment Horne was an important role model for Linton. His literary versality included criticism, investigative journalism – he had worked for some time as a reporter for Dicken´s *Household Words* - and a variety of poetry ranging from blunt didactic pieces to almost spasmodic self-adulation.

Richard Hengist Horne aka "The Author Of 'The Exposition Of The False Medium'": Spirit Of Peers and People. A National Tragic-Comedy. *London 1834*
Published by Effingham Wilson. With a satirical intaglio print by the political cartoonist Robert Seymour as frontispiece.

The framework of this biting burlesque on the corrupt state of politics under the reign of King William IV fuses the traditions of caustic Swiftian satire with the stirring imagery of the Hone's & Cruikshank lampoons. As the author of this political parable, Richard Hengist Horne, states in his preface, the play is "addressed rather to the understanding than the passions: its unity is in its general priciples

or spirit, rather than in action." But these prepending words of appeasement can hardly neutralize the downright aggressive character of that play, which predominantly consists of a series of rough Brechtian sceneries depicting the bitter living conditions of the working class in their members' raging voices. Horne wrote this play with its central demand for a substantial political reform that would participate the working class, only a few months after having been introduced to W.J. Fox´ *Craven Hill* – circle. In his review in *The Monthly Repository* Fox characterized the execution of the play as being "as bold as the conception. Dramatic interest there is none (...) but of poetry, character, eloquence, satire and humour, both broad and delicate, there is abundance (...). We have to do with a writer of originality and genius."

This so called *National Tragic-Comedy* was followed only a few months later by a challenging play of the same typ, the *Political Oratorio*, whose expressive content in the words of Isobel Armstrong also „reaches a savage, Brechtian intensity." The *Political Oratorio* was published in 1835. *The Monthly Repository*, whose editorship Horne would take over from Fox in the following year, however rather unsucessful; like his predecessor, Horne was very ambitious as a theorist and published a few essays on the problems of drama in the Repository; he also became involved in the translation of August Wilhelm Schlegel's *„Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur" (A course of Dramatic Art and Literature)*.

Ann Blainey: The Farthing Poet. A Biography of Richard Hengist Horne, 1802 - 1884. A lesser Literary Lion. *London 1968*

Although Anne Blainey's views on Horne´s very heterogenous work are often blocked by canonical prejudice, this well researched biography on the neglected author is still worth reading as it provides a lot of informations about those radical circles of „angry young men" that had also shaped Linton's cultural and political views; it thus adds another valuable perspective to a deeper understanding of Victorian radical culture to Francis Barrymore Smith's Linton biography that followed only five years later.

Horne's adventurous life offers abundant material for a compelling biography. In his *Memories* Linton gives a short survey: "Horne, in 1835, had already published (...) works with more of the vigorous character and high poetic quality of the Elizabethan dramatists than anything that has been written since the Elizabethan days. (...) His work was very unequal. *A Life of Napoleon* was hardly more than a wordy enlargement of that by Hazlitt; and an imaginary *Life of Van Amburg, the Lion-Tamer*, and papers unsigned in *the Monthly Repository* under the editorship of W. J. Fox, and for a short time of Leigh Hunt, only showed his clever versatility. (...) A remarkable man also in other respects; small in stature, but with a grand head, beautiful in young days when he was a cadet at Woolwich, serving afterwards in the war for Mexican independence, for which service he, up to the time of his death, drew a small annuity; he was also one of the sub-commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of women and children in our mines, horrible enough to demand inquiry; he lectured, in 1847, on Italy, when, with Mazzini's aid, *the People's International League* strove to stir the public mind in favour

of Italian freedom; had command later, when in Australia (where he went with William Howitt), of the escort of gold from the mines; and also sat in the Australian legislature. Coming back to England after several years, he continued to write, sometimes with his old vigour; his last work, *Sithron the Star-stricken*, worthy of his best days. He was a musician, played well on the guitar, and sang well. (...) I always think of Horne as one who ought to have been great, he came so near it in his work, in the greatness and nobility of his best writings." *(Memories)*

–, James Watson. A Memoir of the Days of the Fight for a Free Press in England and the Agitation for the People's Charter, *Manchester 1880*

Linton wrote this biography of his former publisher in his 67th year and printed a first brochure edition on his private press in America. A second hardcover version, tastefully designed and furnished with a photo of Watson as frontispice, was published one year later for the British market.

His publisher James Watson, also member of the *London Workingmen's Association*, had played a crucial role in Linton's political career: „Passing to the city from the Lower Road, Islington, where, the days of pupilage over, I was living in 1835-6, I would look into a bookseller's shop (...) to buy Roebuck's Pamphlets (parliamentary critiques), or Volney's *Ruins of Empire and Lectures on History*, or Frances Wright's Few Days at Athens, or the works of Godwin, Paine, or Robert Dale Owen: all of them the neat and cheap publications of James Watson, in 1835 just out of prison for selling an unstamped newspaper, – a man whose evident sincerity and quiet earnestness led me into conversation concerning the books he sold, and on other matters also. With him began my first acquaintance with *Chartism*, a movement of no small importance, however little now is thought or known of it. In 1831, and after, with the 'reforming' Whigs in power, it still remained illegal to give political knowledge to the people. There was a four-penny stamp on every periodical publication that gave news. Caution money was required before a newspaper could be issued, in order that, in case of conviction for anything which could be construed as offensive to the government, the fine might be at hand. (...) Watson, the son of a Yorkshire day-labourer, had his three prison services. (...) Such had been English freedom under the infamous Castlereagh administration in the reign of George IV., and such it remained under liberal Whig rule after the passing of the Reform Bill, a measure only meaned, in later words of Richard Cobden, to 'garrison our present institutions' against the rising democracy." (Linton)

Colonel W. Reid: An Attempt to Develop the Law of Storms. *London. 1838 / 1846*

After having engraved a few years, employed in the workshops of William Henry Powis and John Thompson, Linton started in 1838 to work as a freelance engraver. For a certain "Colonel Reid, a gaunt Scotchman, the author of the *Law of Storms* (...) I did the first engraving on my own account, cuts of wrecks and wind-driven ships, designed by Duncan." *(Memories)* He executed these images of a wild, unleashed nature in a very stormy year. In 1838, the *Six Points of the People's Charta* were put forth, a document which gave name to the first organized working-class mass movement in history.

During the following decade, political activities for the Chartists – speeches, pamphleteering, charity activities etc. - would absorb the better part of Linton's energy.
The storm engravings are the first presentable examples of Linton's technique of white line engraving in which he followed the tradition of Thomas Bewick. Most influential were the works of the admired Bewick disciples Luke Clennell, Charlton Nesbitt and John Thomson. Much more than the master himself, these members of the Bewick workshop represented to him "the morning and the full-noon splendour of the art of Wood Engraving" *(Masters of Wood Engraving)*

– (ed.): The National, A Library for the People, *London 1839*

The well-preserved bound volume of the journal (368pp) wears a handwritten inscription: W.E. Adams, Newcastle 1875. William Edwin Adams, the editor of the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, was a prominent Chartist and supporter of women's suffrage. He had forwarded this copy to the Public Library Newcastle, where it was withdrawn on February 11, 2001.

Linton's short-lived magazine belongs to the most brilliant achievements of 19th century press culture, as well in literary as in pictorial respects; it represents an inspired shaping of expanded Utilitarianism or Foxite aesthetics and the model for all his forthcoming auteur journals. Together with his illustrated Land reform epic *Bob-Thin* that followed six years later, *The National* can be regarded as his major work. It was launched in the founding year of Chartism, the most popular and most influential British working class movement initiated by the *London Workingmen's Association*. The subtitle reflects the enthusiasm for education of the largely self-taught circles of Chartist activists, which predominantly consisted of artisans and workers. But whereas other Chartist papers with their rather sensationalist journalism paved the way for the mass Sunday newspapers, Linton never really reached the public taste with his high didacticist ambitions, and accodingly all his journals had only a very limited dissemination.

"In 1838 I was a reader in the old Reading Room at the *British Museum*, for several months a close student while preparing for the issue of a cheap weekly publication, which, as *A Library for the People*, I hoped might supply the working classes with political and other information not open to them with their limited means for purchase and time for study, and scarcely to be printed under the laws then gagging the press. I asked Watson to publish for me, at my own expense. At first he tried to dissuade me from it, as likely to lead me into trouble personally as well as pecuniarily; but when he found me determined, he accepted and heartily helped." *(Memories)*

The concept of Linton's *Library for the People* can be conceived as an educational counterdraft to the rather loyalist efforts of the *Whiggish Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* with their most popular commmodity, the cosy *Penny Magazine*. What Linton was addressing was the usefulness of stirring emancipatory knowledge, and accordingly he provides his readers with an extensive body of radical literature, collecting excerpts from treatises and poems mainly from the period of the French Revolution, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Comte de Volney, Maximilien de Robespierre, Jean-Paul Marat, Thomas Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Gracchus Ba-

beuf, William Wordsworth or Samuel Taylor Coleridge, as well as by some contemporaries, mainly from the Wade-Fox circle, like Douglas Jerrold, Richard Hengist Horne and Harriet Martineau. Especially the continous contributions by Linton's paternal friend, the physician and former Unitarian preacher Thomas Southwood Smith about ethical, educational, religious and medical concerns have to be pointed out. Southwood Smith was a very unique character, who was inspired by such contrary characters like William Blake and Jeremy Bentham. He embodied a unison of mysticism and scientific facticity that played an important role in the shift from poetry to prose as the trend-setting Victorian medium, that occurrred in the late Thirties. With his early moral teachings, Southwood Smith had considerable impact on Romantic poets like William Wordsworth and Lord Byron, and with his campaigns for sanitary reforms he had attracted the attention of the young Charles Dickens.

Unlike previous radical compilers like Thomas Spence in his *Pig's Meat* or Thomas Wooler in his *Black Dwarf*, who used to arrange their materials rather shambolic in the mode of radical *bricolage,* Linton had grouped them thematically. Amongst the weekly topics of *The National* were themes like universal suffrage, slavery, colonialism, atheism, marriage and divorce, woman's liberation, education or punishment. The predominant part of the contributions came from the editor himself. Under various pen names like *Spartacus, Gracchus or One of the People*, Linton created a rather ingenious choir of disparate voices. He was the author of three series, which ran through several issues: *Records of the World's Justice, Hymns for the Unenfranchised and Revelations of Truth*.

The prose cycle *Records of the World's Justice*, consisting of twelve political parables, seeks to undermine the genre of the moral treatise, this popular instrument of loyalist propaganda, with free-thinking contents inspired by William Godwin's anti-statist tract An *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*. The extremely individualistic and egalitarian approach of Godwin's theories had made them especially attractive for artists of a lower social rank, such as William Blake or James Northcote, but his closest and most influential follower had been his son-in-law Percy Bysshe Shelley. Although Linton later had distanced himself from the Utilitarian and atheist views of the Jacobine Godwin circle, he remained tied to Godwin's thoughts all his life in his conceptions of radical democracy.

The twenty-two political sonnets *Hymns for the Unenfranchised* „represent Linton's conscious use of the hymn tradition, widely spread through Methodist chapels, as a secularised mode of poetic-political intervention. These poems mimic oral hymnody, but have been invented and produced within a print-culture pedagogy for the working person." Anne F. Janowitz considers this cycle of sonnets to be a forerunner of William Morris' *Chants for Socialists*, bringing together the oral "ballad tradition and the depth psychology of the inward lyric." His long prose poem *Revelations of Truth*, published in *The National* as a sequel, „is written in the same loose prophetic line as Blake"s, and it carries the biblical line forward in counter-cultural poetics to Walt Whitman and Allen Ginsberg." (Anne F. Janowitz)

In their pictorial expressivity, the series of stirring scenarios that he created for the title pages of *The National*, reveal him as a contemporary of Théodore Rousseau, the founder of the French Barbizon school, and his dramatised landscape ideal. Several of the localities that Linton presented, for example, Tintern Abbey, the Castle of Chillon or the Chapel of Wilhelm Tell, were combined – correspond-

ing with the didactic claim of his periodical – with poems of revolutionary Romanticism. The sense of directness that the engravings conveyed, however, was not caused by a direct impression of nature but, reproduction graphically, by the impulsive style of the hatchings and the expressive *chiaroscuro* into which Linton had translated the graphic model. This mode of a pressing temporality, unparalleled in the landscape graphics of his times, was in line with the script on which the series was based. Viewed individually, one could regard the depictions of destructive forces of nature and ancient ruins, such as the Sun Temple of Baalbek, the Colosseum in Rome, or Puerto Rico devastated by an earthquake, as manifestations of Edmund Burke's picturesque definition of the horrific and sublime. Only viewed in sequence does it become evident that they follow the models of the Comte de Volney's anti-imperialistic treatise, *The Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires* (1791), from which Linton repeatedly cited in the periodical. For De Volney, the unleashed forces of nature and imperial relics presented the regulating forces of a nature that in an entropic way strove for a state of perfect equality as the ultimate aim of creation. The eschatological grounding of Linton's image sequence is superimposed by a second line of argumentation that uses the rousing dynamism of the cataracts, storms, waterfalls, and earthquakes overwhelming the viewer as a symbol of the revolutionary power of accumulation. In his poem *The Gathering of the People*, also written in 1839, Linton gave this vision of the propellant power of creating swarms a highly suggestive expression. Under the title Storm Song, it became a central hymn of the early English workers' movement during the uprisings of 1848, where it was sung by a choir and with musical accompaniment at Chartist assemblies – to the music of Beethoven. In a much more concrete and precise manner than many other republican-minded artists of the day, Linton interpreted the image of boundless nature as a reflection of revolutionary forces in that he additionally understood it, beyond the aspect of energetics, in process-related terms as an historical image. Forty years later, in his illustrations for William Cullen Bryant's poems, *Thanatopsis* and *The Flood of Years*, he returned to this complex and dynamic concept of his early years.

In the xylography of its time, the expressivity of *The National* engravings has no parallel. As Linton later revealed in his theories of wood engraving, he had considered the demands of the rising illustrated press as a productive challenge in order to break the codes of an artificial kind of xylography which meticulously sought to imitate the structures of copper engraving. By that time the Bewick succession was to get split into two factions, the followers of William Harvey and John Thurston who sought to give wood engraving the precious artistocratic appeal of *intaglio*, and the likes of John Jackson and Ebenezer Landells, who were, rather pragmatically, as "art directors" of the early journals, just developing the pictorial syntax of the popular press. To grasp Linton's achievement of turning wood engraving into the medium of an utmost intense expression, it may be instructive to realise the stereotype and coarse manner of John Jackson's cover engravings for the *Penny Magazine* on the one side, defined by the requirements and confinements of the mass medium, and to envision on the other hand the freedom of expression which Luke Clennell had achieved in his Bewick workshop engravings, a coarse yet unpredictable style, a similar kind of boldness and frankness in graphic terms as it is represented in Elliott's *Corn Law Rhymes* or in Horne's proto-Brechtian plays, but on a literary scale.

When Linton engraved the twenty-six cover plates for *The National*, his artistic hero Luke Clennell had been locked away for the preceding decade in a lunatic's asylum after having thrown his painting materials on the canvas in order to come to the utmost proper expression. The proper expression that

Linton had created in his National engravings lay in his ability to turn the stereotypical results of the rough and hasty production conditions of press imagery into a fresh and nervous mode of notation, into a psychologically charged variety of the *Penny Magazine* cuts; a strategy almost congruent to his editorial conception of undermining the contents of this main organ of loyalist education by translating its remote and generalized mode of communication into a direct and urgent way of addressing its audience. The nervousness of graphic expression which Linton had developed here became a kind of trademark, which was relatively easy to decode for his peers. In her fundamental work *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts* (1974), Estelle Jussim had decried the late *The Lintonesque* as being a monotonous and predictable kind of graphic syntax, though without having taken in account that even her favourite engraver-artist Elbridge Kinsley from the opponent *New School* had been substantially influenced by this seismographic engraving manner typical for Linton.

-, a.k.a. "The editor of the National": Life of Thomas Paine, *London 1839 / New York 1892*

In the collection: The late American edition of Linton's Paine biography had been published five years before his death of its author. It was amended by Peter Eckler by the addition of a preface, some notes and short biographies of the main persons described.

Linton's biography of the most influential and popular exponent of British radicalism was a result of his critical examination of Thomas Carlyle's *French Revolution: A History* (1837). He wrote it to compensate his publisher James Watson for his selfless commitment in the editing of *the National*: „Settling with him, I noticed that he had not charged for folding the weekly sheets, or for folding and stitching a considerable number of monthly parts, the circulation having been much more than I had reason to expect, though not covering cost. No! he told me, he had been sure that I could only be a loser by the publication; and he and his wife had 'done the whole of the work,' a generous service not to be forgotten. In return I wrote for him a Life of Paine, which for a number of years had a continuous sale."

Abbé de Lamennais (translated by W.J. Linton): Modern Slavery. *London 1840*

Abbé de Lamennais' *De l'esclavage moderne* belongs to the few literary works that had decisive and life-long impact on Linton's political views. „Though but a pamphlet, *Modern Slavery* should command the attention of whoever cares to understand the struggle between Capital and Labour", as Linton commented on this work of the influential Catholic writer in his late reminiscences, *European Republicans*, in1893. Although Lamennais took a critical view of contemporary proto-socialistic movements like the Saint Simonistes, his socio-critical writings had major impact on the rise of Christian Socialism and the Roman Catholic Revival on both sides of the Channel.

Shortly after the original edition of *De l'esclavage moderne* had been launched in France in 1839 Linton's translation appeared in Watson's series of republican classics. „The translation is a fine per-

formance for a man of Linton's limited schooling; *Modern Slavery* catches Lamennais's rhetoric and is embellished with notes explaining references to French history and politics." (F. B. Smith) He had been introduced to Lamennais' writings in 1837 by Thomas Wade and „immediately found a soulmate in the visionary abbé. Lamennais' faith in the sacred unity of mankind, his oratory cadences and fervid apocalyptic sense matched Linton's yearnings. (...) Linton was fired by Lamennais´s projection of sanctified communities as the end of political endeavour. Such communities would enable individuals to perfect themselves in a righteous general will (...) In this dimension, political action partook of prophecy and those engaged in it became martyr-souls. Henceforth Linton saw his duty in teaching fellow Chartists to lift their vision beyond the six points." (F. B. Smith) To Lamennais, equality and social unity represented the realisation of God's will. *Modern Slavery* drafts a rough blueprint of a teleological conception of history as a constant progression of freedom. Although the human conditions have improved since the times of ancient systems of slavery and serfdom, the esssence of slavery, which is „the destruction of human individuality" would still prevail and the interdependency from master to slave only have gradually changed to a new form of dependency between capitalist and proletarian. The real duty of each Chrisitian is, in the Abbé´s view, to act against „this impious rebellion against God and his law, this insolent, this criminal violation of the vital right of humanity (...). Your interest and your duty, both impel you to accomplish the holy work of social regeneration." The ultimate aim is „that the poor man (...) shall cease woefully to drag his hereditary chains, to be a mere machine (...)." Lamennais's plea for a socialist struggle of liberation and a fundamental change of society was of a much more challenging kind than the paternalistic variation of Christian socialism the likes of Carlyle or Ruskin professed. It is revealing not only to study Linton's political writings in terms of his reading of Lamennais but also his art theoretical polemics. The diction and tone of his various tracts on xylography from the 1880s, which equal the industrial mechanized labour of the process engravers with a machine-like state of slavery, is much rather due to the Abbé's appeal than to Ruskin's writings.

Lamennais' vision of the liberated social body as the realized spiritual form of God stood at the core of Linton's communitarian philosophy, most genuinely it came to expressed in a lecture he held in 1869 in Boston: *The Religion of Organization*. Linton's favourite pen name Spartacus, which he used in numerous articles in the Chartist press, also derives from his reading of De l'esclavage moderne. According to Lamennais, the duty of the modern Spartacus will not be a physical one, „to hunt with brute force an uncertain success", but a rhetorical, intellectual one, to arm the modern slaves „with their right, with their acknowledged right; and therewith shall conquer." Consistently Linton's Chartist agitation was not only targeted to the exterior forces of exploitation and oppression, but also the interior faction, who advocated physical force as a means of revolution.

Denis Mack Smith: Mazzini, *New Haven and London, 1994*

Although the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini constantly failed during his lifetime with his guerrilla tactics and attempted coups in his homeland he can be considered, in a wider historical perspective, as one of the most influential and successful ideologists of the 19th century. He was not only the architect and *spiritus rector* of the Italian unification, but also one of the driving ideological

forces of the Republican insurgencies of 1848, which had changed the Eurasian map effectively, and in the end also his central vision of a Europe of democratic Republican nations became reality. Though he was one of the most prolific authors of the time, writing thousands of letters, political instructions and articles for his various Republican journals, mainly on ethical, economical, and aesthetical matters, he never developed a consistent political theory. His characteristic blend of theocratic, patriotic and liberal democratic views developed from the opposition to the autocratic system of the dawning restauration and the narrowed nationalism of the rising age of imperialism, and moreover in conflict with the materialistic system of his adversary Karl Marx. „Mazzini referred to Marx for the first time in an article of 1852, but before then there were dozens of uncomplimentary references to the 'ultra-reactionary' Mazzini in the correspondence between Marx and Friedrich Engels. This correspondence condescendingly referred to the 'platitudinous parodies of his cosmopolitan-neo-Catholic-ideological manifestos.' (...) Mazzini had invited this opposition by his own perceptive criticism of communism between 1846 and 1851. (...) He knew that there were differences of opinion and emphasis inside communism, but basically it stood for government being 'at once proprietor, possessor and distributor of all that exists', organizing society 'after the manner of beavers.' Communism, he wrote, (...) precisely reproduced 'the position of the masters of slaves in olden times,' because ambitious and unscrupulous people would realise how to exploit communist ideas and use the gullibility of the masses to create another dictatorship as illiberal, cruel and inefficient as the *ancient regime*." (Denis M. Smith)

After a series of failed insurgencies and after being exiled from his refuges in Switzerland and France, he lived, from January 1837 onwards and for the rest of his life, predominantly in London, from where he organized his further conspiratory activities. The fascination he held for many representatives of the cultural elite like Dickens or Carlyle, but also for political activists like Linton or Holyoake, originates in no small part from his deep ties with the radical heritage of British puritanism and romanticism. „As a boy he had (...) copied out poems by Milton, Pope and Shelley. He was among the first Italians to appreciate Burns and Wordsworth, whom he took as exemplars of a new liberal romanticism that would replace the sometimes authoritarian stereotypes of the previous century." In later years „a friend remembered that 'he could never forgive England for her neglect and misappreciation of Byron,' a writer he placed 'far above Wordsworth and Coleridge whom he calls contemplative poets only, living remote from action amid their mountains and lakes'." (Denis M. Smith) With the exiled Mazzini, England had another romantic champion for liberty and freedom of the type of Byron, but without his aristocratic and egomanic deficiencies.

Denis Mack Smith mentions Linton repeatedly in his authoritative biography of Mazzini as a friend and follower. In his own autobiography, Linton specifies that he first met him around 1841 in his free secular school „for poor Italians in London, most of them the wretched organ-grinders and hawkers of plaster casts." The school of which Linton became a patron was just around the block of his own engraving workshop. „Mazzini, he believed, was a man born to level emperors and raise nations to their duty. He ranged Mazzini with Lamennais: the abbé as his rhetorical social inspiration, the Italian as the active protagonist of his apocalyptic hopes." (F.B. Smith) Indeed there had been some connections between the dissident French priest and the mastermind of Italian guerilla war, not only in their impassionate solemn diction. At the request of Lamennais, Mazzini had, between March and June 1837, anonymously written a series of articles for *Le Monde* in Paris, about class conflicts in

England. Although Linton subordinated his political activities for the next two decades almost completely to the Mazzinean cause, their socio-political conceptions differed substantially. The model of society, which Linton drafted in the early 1850s in his journal *The English Republic* was much less hieratical and authoritarian than Mazzini's scheme. Instead, Linton's societal ideal comes closer to the self-organizing grass roots conception of Robert Owen's cooperative movement.

Kenny Meadows: Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English. *London 1840/41*
Two volumes, comprising a series of literary character sketches by Douglas Jerrold, William Makepeace Thackeray, Laman Blanchard, Leigh Hunt, William Howitt, and others.

The graver-work for Kenny Meadow's *Heads of the People*, executed in blackline facsimile manner, was Linton's most extensive collaboration with John Orrin Smith, before they became partners in 1842. As Linton states in his *Masters of Wood Engraving*, most of the work had been executed by Orrin Smith's best pupil Alfred Harral, a very prolific engraver with whom Linton would collaborate even in his late American years. "My connection with Smith brought me among the artists whose drawings, with the help of a dozen or so of pupils and journeymen, we engraved. Chief of these artists, still retaining the popularity he had gained almost immediately when Bewick's favourite pupil, he came to London from Newcastle, was William Harvey, most prolific of draftsmen, most amiable of men. (...) Through Smith I knew Kenny Meadows, then completing an *Illustrated Shakespeare*, and also drawing the Heads of the People, a clever series of character heads for which the letter-press was written by Douglas Jerrold, Horne, Laman Blanchard, Dickens, and others. (...) With Meadows I had much association (...) a witty man, with some inventive talent, but a poor draughtsman, having had little artistic eduction." *(Memories)*

Herbert Ingram ed.: The Illustrated London News. *voll. 1842, I – 1846, I +II, 1847, II.*

Between January 1843 and the end of 1847, the workshop of Linton and his partner John Orrin Smith executed a large part of the engravings of this first illustrated magazine with topics of everyday politics. The founding of *The Illustrated London News* had been inspired by the success of the radical satire magazine *Punch*. Ebenezer Landells, an engraver who had been trained in the Bewick workshop, became the art director of both papers. „For *the Illustrated London News*, after its first year, Smith & Linton did a great amount of work, from drawings by Harvey, Meadows, Gilbert, Duncan, Dodgson, Leitch, and other artists; and copies of pictures by the old masters, and paintings in the annual exhibitions of the *Royal Academy* and the two Water-Colour Galleries. A very remarkable man was the proprietor of the News, Herbert Ingram, a Lincolnshire printer, who, (...) came to London and met with a projector named Marriott, from whom he obtained the idea of an illustrated paper. Ingram was a curious character: uneducated, without literary ability or knowledge or appreciation of Art, he seemed about the last man to be the conductor of an illustrated paper; but he had a kind of intuitive faculty of judging what would please the ordinary public, a perception of that which seemed never to fail. And he was enterprising and liberal." *(Memories)*

S. C. Hall (ed.): The Book Of British Ballads. Series 1 & 2, bound in one book, *London 1842/1844*

Some of the leading artists and illustrators, such as Richard Dadd, William Powell Frith, John Gilbert, Kenny Meadows and John Tenniel, were involved in this comprehensiv project; so was a number of noted wood engravers like John Jackson, George Dalziel, Henry Vizetelly, John Orrin Smith, and Linton. "The *Book of Ballads* was an unfortunate investment, as the publication was not successful, and the failure left some of us unpaid. Smith & Linton lost largely." *(Memories)* Linton here predominantly translated the drawings of two artists who would turn out to become important cooperators and close friends: William Bell Scott and Thomas Sibson. William Bell Scott, a history painter and poet from Edinburgh, would expose him to the Pre-Raphaelites' circle of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It is to be assumed that Linton had already received an impression of the high reputation in which the painter-poet William Blake was held in some radical intellectual circles from his paternal friend Thomas Southwood Smith, who had known Blake personally. But it was most probably Bell Scott who introduced Linton to the poetical and pictorial works of Blake. Scott came from a family with a long standing tradition of artist-artisanry. In his *Autobiographical Notes* he confesses: "I suffered under a family mania for Blake." His elder brother David was also a history painter, his father Robert a noted engraver of topographical subjects, who looked upon his Blake prints "as almost sacred, and we all followed him in this."

The other artist, Thomas Sibson, was a promising young illustrator who also had ambitions as a history painter. The lively vignettes that Sibson and Linton created for the Ballad *Johnie of Breadislee* are among the best in this otherwise rather clumsy and careless mass production. Nevertheless, this inspired collaboration between Sibson and Linton served as a model for the making of the image-text composite of Linton's socio-critical poem *Bob-Thin or The Poorhouse Fugitive*.

Thomas Sibson: Illustrations of Master Humphrey's Clock, in Seventy Plates, Designed and Etched on Steel. The Old Curiosity Shop. Barnaby Rudge. *London 1842*
Sibson's illustrations, consisting of seventy-two etched plates, were originally published in installments. The bound volume has two extra plates.

The reception of Dickens' work in the Chartist press had been very ambivalent from the start. Some praised his social committment and held him for a great advocat of the lower classes, while others, like Linton, criticized him for exploiting the miseries of the poor by exposing the "Great Unwashed" as caricatures for the comic relief of the Victorian upper class. "I have always thought that his real vocation was as an actor of low comedy, much as the world might have lost by such a change. Warmhearted and sentimental, but not unselfish, he was not the gentleman. There was no grace of manner, no soul of nobility in him" *(Memories)*

Although Dickens' work had been illustrated by a number of the most able and prominent illustrators of the time, such as Robert Seymour, George Cruikshank or Hablot K. Browne, it was the rather

unknown Thomas Sibson, "a young man of great promise and some excellent performance," who in Linton's opinion had executed "by a long way the best illustrations of Dickens' Works." A number of Sibson's very lively etchings have peripheral vignettes and demonstrate his fondness of developing graphic sublevels, a preference that was to have further effect in his collaboration with Linton.

Feargus O'Connor: A Practical Work on the Management of Small Farms.
Manchester 1843/1847
The sixth edition, published by Abel Heywood, a Chartist activist, who later had been twice elected Mayor of Manchester, in 1862 and 1876. He also brought forth Feargus O'Connor's "Northern Star," the best selling and most influential Chartist paper.

After his release from prison in 1841, the Irish orator Feargus O'Connor had proved in the disputes about political directions to be the most assertive leader of the Chartist Movement. With his brilliant and incessant political platform performances he had managed to transform the formerly rather elitist Chartism into a real mass movement which was to become the People's Tribune of the crowded industrial North.

O'Connor's repeated threats of physical force had led to a fatal split of the *National Charter Association*, most notably with those sections of the *London Workingmen's Association* which had conceived themselves as the intellectual avant-garde of the movement. Linton held O'Connor responsible for the final failure of the Chartists' cause. He accused him for having broken up "the coherence and the morale of the party and, aided by arbitrary arrests and imprisonments for 'seditious' speaking, much of it provoked by government spies, caused at last an insane attempt at insurrection in South Wales. After that came disheartening lukewarmness, with intermittent bluster, indifference, and so an end to all hopes of popular success." *(Memories)*

O'Connor had written his manual on farming to back his *Land Plan*, which he had introduced to the public in the course of the Chartist convention in Birmingham in 1843. The scheme was to found a company, to set up a fund, sell shares to the workers and to invest the profit in buying estates. These would then be parcelled into small allotments and distributed to the investors by a system of lottery. The Plan was finally launched in 1845, but proved disastrous. By 1850, the company was bankrupt and the few settlers, industrial workers, who were inexperienced as farmers, got evicted. Linton thought of O'Connor's *Plan* as impractical for the large majority. Instead, he and his circle of friends of the *Moral Force* faction favoured an alternative conception on a much larger but also much more idealistic scale – the general nationalization of land. Such a reform, which was based on a general expropriation, was fundamentally opposed to O'Connor's pragmatic approach to distribute small properties. Nevertheless, his farming manual was also widely read in Linton's circle and was distributed in London by his publisher James Watson.

Thomas Carlyle: Past and Present and Chartism. *New York, 1847*

The first American Edition of both tracts

The edition combines two of Carlyle's most influential essays as American first editions. *Chartism,* first published in 1840, attacks reinless *laissez-faire* capitalism, this "disorganic Manchester", which "afflicts us with its Chartisms." He asks for questioning the bitter discontent of the labourers, which has "grown fierce and mad." The working class, in his view, needed "real guidance". He felt "the wish and the prayer of all human hearts" for true leadership, a Platonic goverment of the wisest and the bravest, which would be capable to soar above the turmoils of democracy and to provide the workingman with conditions under which he can "honour his craftsmanship," and to protect him against the "huge demon of mechanism." If their affairs would remain unregulated, "these Twenty-four million labouring men (...) will burn ricks and mills; reduce us, themselves and the world into ashes and ruin." The succeeding tract *Past and Present*, first published in 1843, is, in cultural respects, of even major significance. It inspired Marx and Engels and not only served as a blueprint for John Ruskin's theories, but, moreover, as an ideological framework for the aesthetics of the *Pre-Raphaelites´* – and the *Arts & Craft* movements. Seer Carlyle here positions himself as the Anti-Benthamite by contrasting the unguided condition of contemporary politics with its mechanistic gospel of "enlightened selfishness" with the inspired organism of a hierarchical medieval past. In haunting images he describes "the hell in England" with workers condemned to poverty and starvation and forced to produce "cheap and nasty products." Instead he advocates for a new organic conception of work: "Labour must become a seeing rational giant, with a soul in the body of him, and take his place on he throne of things," meaning that "the Organisation of labour must be taken out of the hands of absurd windy persons and put into the hands of wise, laborious, modest and valiant men (...) for there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness in work."

The extremely influential Scottish historian and polemicist can be considered as the most ambivalent figure in British radical culture. Accordingly, Linton felt compelled to dedicate a whole section of his autobiography to a discussion of Carlyle's worth. Carlyle's main point of departure had been the feudal socio-political views, which his master Goethe had developed in his late works. With his writings, Carlyle had infused a new authoritarian tone and a pseudo-religious emphasis into the conceptions of early socialism; moreover, he had contributed much to the final bifurcation of the radical tradition into socialist and liberal fractions, which irreconcilably confronted each other. As in the case of his disciple Ruskin, Carlyle's variation of a chivalrous socialism always remained committed to his Tory heritage with an emphasis on social hierarchy. In the late 1840s, his increasing anti-democratic agitation mixed with committed racism made his views more and more intolerable, especially for his former followers in the Republican camp.

Although Carlyle used to look down disdainfully on Linton as an "extremely windy creature, of the Louis Blanc, George Sand, etc., species" (Letter to Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of the Irish Nation), the despised preserved a special predilection for this bad-tempered sage's writing all his life. Linton critized Carlyle's main historiographic work on the *French Revolution* repeatetly holding it to be polemic and unreliable. On the other hand, his heroic views of the *Puritan Revolution* were substantially inspired by Carlyle's commented edition of *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches* (1845). Even after

Carlyle had disqualified himself in Republican circles with his stern conservatism, he remained to Linton the central moral institution in England, and he sent him each number of his *English Republic*. The adressed "would sometimes acknowledge the copies of the *Republic* with a not unfriendly characteristic growl, which did not disconcert but rather amused me from a man so averse to windiness, so ready to preach the worthlessness of words. Why waste my energy in useless speech? – was the one burden of his remonstrances, and he would not have cared had I pleaded the influence of his example." *(Memories)* In Linton's eyes, Carlyle had succeeded where he himself had bitterly failed – in his effort to address the young generation with his journal and to stir it up in order to found a national Republican party comparable to Mazzini´s *Young Italy* and *Young Germany* movements. Unfortunately the party which sprouted from the seeds sown by Carlyle went into a very different direction of social Toryism, one that wished itself back to medieval feudalism.

"On Carlyle's Worth: Untrustworthy as historian or as a judge of men, the man who can find no more descriptive epithet for Robespierre than *sea-green*, or for Marat than *dog-leech*, and who could defend Governor Eyre's Jamaica Massacre, and (quoting his own words, incorrect as regards Mazzini) 'utterly unacquainted with the true relation of things in this world,' I still regard admiringly the author of *Sartor Resartus*, of *Past and Present,* and of *Hero-Worship*: books which did immense good, coming at a time in which they were expressly wanted, stirring young souls with higher aims than were deducible from socialistic materialisms, or from the Manchester morality of a generation of Whig utilitarians.Very great, I take it, was the service done by Carlyle's earlier books to the young men of that day, giving to them an ennobling gospel, for which England may well hold the Sage of Chelsea in continued reverence. He led the young aristocracy to a clearer perception of the condition of the country and to some recognition of their duties as an aristocracy. He was really the founder of the Disraelitish Young England party, a party I would not discredit, though it was not the young England I hoped to see." *(Memories)*

-, The Jubilee of Trade. A Vision of the Nineteenth Century after Christ. *London 1843 / 1850*

*Linton dated the formulation of the poem to 1843, but it was not published before 1850. There are two different versions in the collection: A single, undated pamphlet with uncut pages that run from pp. 63– 78. The two illustrations are taken from the "*Bob-Thin*" poem and were probably engraved in 1845. The initial vignette, an image of a coin symbolizing "Mammon, the least erected spirit, that fell", was also used on the cover of the "Bob Thin"edition of 1845, and on p. 15. The tailpiece of the poem "The Jubilee" is taken from an image in "Bob Thin" (p. 23). It was a habit of the late Linton to re-shuffle his works in such an economic way. The second version of the poem is included in a compilation, which is definitely a product of his late Appledore Press and was printed by himself around 1897. It was published in a limited edition of fifty copies and exists only in unbound and untrimmed state.*

In a delirium of hellish visions, the poem pictures the devastations caused by a blood-thirsty monster named the "Spirit of Trade." Linton here presents himself as a people's poet in the manner of Shelley. In his prophetic rage against the insanities of commerce and the tyranny of unfeeling Utilitarianism

and free trade he anticipates Ezra Pound's *Usura* litanies. In 1898, Burton J. Hendrick called i "a palpable imitation of Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*. He had not yet outgrown Shelley's influence when he published, in 1848, *The Dirge of the Nations*, and *To the Future*. The tone of these poems was still didactic, but was pitched upon a somewhat higher key."

Ebenezer Jones: Studies of Sensation and Event. Poems. *London 1843/1879*

This second edition from 1879 was prefaced and annotated by Richard Herne Shepherd, with memorial notices by his brother Sumner Jones and by his friend William James Linton.

The noted Pre-Raphaelite scholar William Fredemann counts the tragically neglected Chartist poet Ebenezer Jones together with William Blake, David Scott and Charles Jeremiah Wells among "that group of painters and poets worth remembering who were the objects of Dante Rossetti's early enthusiasm." Rossetti himself praised Jones in a magazine article for his "vivid disorderly power," and of whose best known poem *When the world is burning*, which is included in this selection, the artist is reported to have said: "Had it been the writing of Edgar Poe, it would have enjoyed world-wide celebrity."

Jones was a literary follower of Shelley and Carlyle and a close friend of Linton's. He was introduced to him in 1842 by his fellow engraver Alfred Harral. Linton recollects their joint walking tours through the *Lake District* in the early 1840s: "I had fallen in love with our beautiful mountain land in a hasty ramble with a poet friend, Ebenezer Jones, a clerk in a tea-dealer's house, who had ventured to indulge in dreams of poetic fame. A true poet he was, if not a great one, the author of a volume, *Studies of Sensation and Event*, published in 1843, very characteristic of the young man's impressionable nature, his impulsiveness and sense of beauty, but which utterly failed of public appreciation." *(Memories)*

Mary Phyllis Ashraf developed in her *Introduction to the English Working Class Literature* a rather contrary view to Linton's appraisal of the relevance of Jones' poetry. She refers to him as "the most interesting of the poetic renovators in the midth of the century" and, moreover, as "the most eminent pioneer of urban poetry," who managed to update the contents of Victorian lyrics and enhance them to gain a new level of realism.

Richard Hengist Horne: Orion. An Epic Poem in Three Books. *London 1843*

This First Edition bears the evidence of its legendary concept of distribution on the title page, the imprint: "Price One Farthing."

In a letter to his friend Leigh Hunt from June 1843, Horne exposed his revolutionary concept of distribution, by which he sought to prove evidence of the public disdain of poetry: "Anybody who ought to have the poem can buy it for a farthing. (...) The book is refused, in numbers, to the trade and to unlikely messengers; and no friend can obtain two copies for his halfpenny. Other things I have

ordained as check to rapacity. You see, this was necessary, for as the book is published at less than the price of waste paper, I had to protect myself from people sending five shillings and a sack, with an eye to trunks and pie-bottom. But as I said, any proper person can have a copy for a farthing." "Even Horne was unprepared for the furore that followed. (...) The poem appeared at the beginning of June: by the start of the third week the first two editions of 500 copies each were sold and a third edition was coming from the presses. (...) The price went on and still the sales went on as extraordinarily as ever." (Anne Blainey)

The poem represents a success that was to remain unique in Horne's career which moreover was marked by permanent frustration and fierce criticism. *Orion* was highly praised by the likes of Thomas Carlyle, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Charlotte Bronté, and Harriet Martineau. Though the most enthusiastic eulogy came from across the Atlantic. "It is our deliberate opinion," wrote Edgar Allan Poe in *Graham's Magazine*, "that, in all that regards the loftiest and holiest attributes of the true Poetry, 'Orion' has never been excelled. Indeed we feel strongly inclined to say that it has never been equaled." In Poe´s view, *Orion* was "one of the noblest, if not the very noblest poetical work of the age." The critics couldn't decide if Horne's opus represented a spiritual epic – Barrett Browning advanced this view – or rather a social one. The latter had been the tenor of Douglas Jerrold's review in *The Illuminated Magazine*. Isobel Armstrong considers Horne's poem to be obeying W.J. Fox' aesthetic principles "in the sense that it portrays a series of powerful conflicts which can be, as Horne's preface remarks, 'perfectly intelligible to all classes of readers.' (...) Effectively, Horne's epic is about 'the principles of action.' *Orion* the giant who represents the unchained energies of the oppressed, goes through a series of experiences (and mistresses) which include orgy, famine, revolution, blindness and social reconstruction, though he is doomed to hope rather than achievement. The poem is an attack on mindless labour and exploitation." The whole framework of the poem can be considered as a result of Horne's encounter with the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and his theory of the Master/Slave dialectic. The impact of Horne's farthing opus on the conceptions of radical or emancipatory epic poems to follow, like Cooper's *The Purgatory of Suicides* or Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* can hardly be ignored.

Anon.: Whist. Its History and Practice. By an Amateur. *London 1843*

The funny illustrations of this nice little book of game instructions come from Kenny Meadows and were engraved by the workshop of John Orrin Smith and Linton.

Ferdinand Freiligrath: Ein Glaubensbekenntniß. *Mainz 1844*

First edition.

Besides Georg Büchner, who died at a very early age, Ferdinand Freiligrath can be esteemed the most influential German poet of Linton´s generation 48. This small collection of poems marks the initial state of his career as a political writer and democratic activist. It includes translations of authors of

the traditions of British radicalism and American abolitionism and transcendentalism such as Robert Burns, Ebenezer Elliott and William Cullen Bryant. Through the agency of the befriended litterarily couple Mary and William Howitt the German poet was also well informed about the discussions and editorial experiments of William Johnson Fox´ literary circle. Due to this major intersection of influences Freiligrath´s political poems have a diction very similar to those of Linton´s writings. Moreover, as one of the most prolific translators of the works of British romanticism in German, Freiligrath "epitomizes the link that exisits between the reception of English language poetry in Germany and the evolution of German Nationalism." (John Williams, Wordsworth translated. A case study in the reception of British Romantic, London 2009) Consequently he was the only German representative of his generation who was included by Linton and Richard Henry Stoddard in their anthology of international poetry in English translations, which appeared 1884 as Vol. V of English Verse.

Strange enough there is no scholary biography of this eminent German editor, translator and writer, nor any scholary edition of his works.

John Leech & W.J. Linton: The Anti-Graham Envelope. ***1844 / ca. 1890***

A second reprint of the popular illustrated envelope by J.B. Moens. It was printed in facsimile manner on woven paper.

"The politician who suffered most from Punch (...) was the most unpopular of a long line of unpopular Home secretaries, Sir James Graham. (...) His capital offence was directing the opening of certain of Mazzini's letters in consequence of the statements made to our Government by that of Naples, to the effect that plots were being carried out – of which the brilliant and popular Italian refugee was the centre – to excite an insurrection in Italy. 'The British Government,' reported the House of Commons Committee of Inquiry afterwards appointed, 'issued a warrant to open and detain M. Mazzini's letters. Such informations deduced from these letters as appeared to the British Government calculated to frustrate this attempt was communicated to a foreign Power.´ Thereupon Mr. Duncombe, M.P., upon the complaints of Mazzini, W.J. Linton and others, that their letters had been secretly opened, charged Sir James Graham with the violation of correspondence (June 14th, 1844), and though not at first eliciting much information, succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a Committee, though a 'secret' one; and Lord Radnor effected the same object in the Lords. The result was favourable to the Minister; but the popular feeling roused by it was intense, and *Punch*, up in arms at once at this supposed violation of the rights of the subject, fanned the excitement he shared. He immediately published, on July 6th, the most offensive attack he could devise. This consisted in the famous *Anti-Graham Envelope* (...) drawn by John Leech – a sort of burlesque of the Mulready envelope – and (...) afterwards appropriately engraved by Mr. W.J. Linton, whose share in the agitation was a considerable one. The circulation attained by this envelope was very wide, and although I have not ascertained that many were actually passed through the General Post Office, it certainly brought a flood of bitter ridicule on the unfortunate Minister." (M. H. Spielmann, *The History of Punch*, 1895)

The original prepaid *Mulready envelope* was the world's first postal stationery, issued in 1840, at the same time as the first postage stamp. It had been decorated by the painter William Mulready with a representation of Britannia at the centre top, sending out her winged emissaries to all corners of the British Empire. Leech and Linton turned this document of Imperial pride into the vision of a total surveillance state with the detested minister as "Big Brother" Britannia, who sends out his winged flock of clerks to violate people's privacy. *The Anti-Graham envelope* followed a favoured radical strategy of using fake documents and bogus money as means of criticism and propaganda with the coinage of Thomas Spence and the *Bank Restriction Note* of George Cruikshank as the most popular examples. For Linton, it was a first encounter with the art of creative forgery.

Joseph Mazzini: Italien, Österreich und der Papst. Ein Brief an Sir James Graham. *Bern 1847*
The original version appeared in London in 1845 under the title: "Italy, Austria, and the Pope. A letter to Sir James Graham, Bart."

In 1844 a group of members of La Giovine Italia were encouraged by Giuseppe Mazzini in his London exile to make a raid on the Calabrian coast, but they walked into a trap and were executed by a firing squad. Mazzini, who was blamed for this betrayal, knew that his correspondence was being read by foreign governments, but he took it for granted „that the British never interfered with private letters, until an article in *The Times* led him to suspect that his own were read and informations were being leaked to the press. With the help of two Chartist friends, William Linton and William Lovett, he confirmed this, checking that two letters posted simultaneously to his address always arrived at different times, if only one of them bore his name, and also that the seals and postmarks had been altered. After receiving corroboration from a friend in the Post Office, he took legal advice and made a formal protest to parliament against what he called this 'disgraceful un-English behaviour.' The resulting furore, as he hoped and intended, gave enormous publicity to the cause of Italian patriotism and to his own name as a victim of political persecution." (Denis M. Smith).

As this German translation indicates, this scandal spread far beyond the British border. Moreover it proved to be a clever move to try to publish Mazzini´' response in the states of the German Confederation as it revealed the much more restricted civil liberties in continental Europe. As expected, German censors prohibited the printing and it was finally published two years later in liberal Switzerland on the eve of the Europe-wide insurgencies. Berne, the place of publishing, had been a center of Mazzini's conspiratory activities early on. From 1834 until 1836 it was the headquarter of his secret societies *Junges Deutschland* and *Giovine Europa*. In his letter to James Graham, the English Home secretary who had been responsible for this violation of privacy, Mazzini extensively discloses the lamentable conditions of human rights under the despotic regimes of the Austrians and the Pope, which Graham both had supplied with his indiscretions.

Douglas Jerrold (ed.): The Illuminated Magazine. voll. I– IV, London, *May 1843 – April 1845*

The Illuminated Magazine was edited by Linton's friend, the Republican journalist and playwright Douglas Jerrold, a member of the *Craven Hill* circle. He belonged to the cadre of the socio-critical satirical magazine Punch, after whose example this new journal was modelled. He announced it as „a periodical in which our social abuses and social follies might be commented on with boldness (...) and by an earnest desire for their speedy, yet withal, their most charitable amendment." The magazine was known for its special mixture of light fiction and serious social reportage, among them articles about the conditions in prisons and mental asylums and a rather eloborate report about child labour in the coal mines by Richard Hengist Horne, who was one of the members of a parliamentary children's employment commission. Most of the illustrators like John Leech, Kenny Meadows, John Gilbert or H.G. Hine were recruited from the *Punch* staff, and Ebenezer Landells, the initiator of Punch magazine was the one who held „the superintendence over the whole of engraving." Although Linton never mentioned Landells in any of his publications about wood engraving, he owed a lot to this most influential of Bewick disciples. Linton here engraved the illustrations for Mark Lemon's report about *„The Boys of London"*, a documentary about street vendors that anticipated Henry Mayhew's Street Life Reports by years.

-, (ed.): The Illuminated Magazine. New series, nos. I-II, *May–June 1845*

The inconspicuous New Series had only a small print run, and, accordingly, copies are very rare. The copy in the collection has a bookplate of novelist John Fowles.

In the final volume of the magazine that Jerrold had edited, he had announced "a change in the management" and a new start "with more numerous engravings." Linton was the one who took over the editorship, and he changed the bulky quarto format of the first series into a size "that could scarcely incommode a gentleman's waistcoat pocket". Due to the few assets he was able to invest, he devoted the new series "more to the power of the pen than to the productions of the pencil," in other words: he not only considerably reduced the size of the journal, but also the number of illustrations. He continued to engage some of the best authors from the former series, like Charles Whitehead or Angus B. Reach, but he was forced to write a good deal of the articles by himself. "Another facet of Linton's individualistic, undiscriminating editorial courage is his publication in *the Illuminated Magazine* of several then forgotten works by Charles Wells. (...) Their mutual admiration of Wells´ poetry was later to bring Linton and Rossetti into close aquaintance. Rossetti introduced Wells´ work to Swinburne and William Morris, and his chivalric rhetoric and loose rhythmic form were to have an important influence on English poetry in the 1870s and 1880s." (F.B. Smith)

Charles Wells (with an introduction by W.J. Linton): Stories After Nature. *London 1822/1891*
This revised reprint by the Chiswick Press from 1891 includes a preface by Linton.

The Stories after Nature of the mysterious Charles Jeremiah Wells, who became a kind of godfather of Pre-Raphaelite poetry in the 1870s, were originally published in 1822, more than twenty years before they were rediscovered by Thomas Wade and Linton, and nearly seventy years before they were reprinted by the *Chiswick Press*. One can assume that it was Richard Hengist Horne, a close school day friend of Wells, that had called Linton's attention to him. "I had become acquainted with Wells in 1845 through reprinting some of his Stories after Nature, a little book I had picked up at a book-stall in 1842, and which had charmed me with its originality and freshness. In 1845 I was editing the I*llustrated Family Journal*, a weekly melange of Tales, Essays, and Verse, and in the latter half of the same year, I succeeded Douglas Jerrold as editor of *the Illuminated Magazine*, a monthly issue of the same character. In both these magazines I printed some of Wells' Stories. How he, then living in Brittany, got sight of the reprint, must, I think, have been through the younger Hazlitt, with whom he was in some way connected by marriage. He (Wells) wrote to me, thanking me for having used them, and sent me two other stories in manuscript. One, *Claribel*, I printed; the second I returned, and have ever since regretted that I did so. (...) when in England he came to see me, and was very friendly, giving me a copy of the *Joseph and his Brethren*, published, if unsuccessful bringing out can be called publishing, two years after the death of Keats, under the pseudonym of H. L. Howard. (...) Both of Wells' books I lent to Dante Rossetti, who much admired them and talked of illustrating the Stories for my engraving; the project, however, fell through. Except for the reprints of the few Stories in the two magazines, until the republication of Joseph and his Brethren, with a preface by Swinburne, in 1876, Wells remained unknown; his name again, followed by a line, 'whose genius sleeps for its applause,' and an admiring note to justify the line, in Wade's *Contention of Death and Love*, in 1837, and some later praiseful words by Rossetti in a supplementary chapter to Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*. So buried in neglect was the work of one who, in the words of so capable a critic as Swinburne, 'will some day be acknowledged among the memorable men of the second great period in our poetry.' A strange fight against oblivion has been the fate of Wells. I dare to claim some share in the endeavours at an honourable rescue. I lost sight of the man when, after a short stay in London, he returned to Brittany." *(Memories)*

-, Bob-Thin or Poorhouse Fugitive. London & Hamden, CT. 1845/1897
The Linton Archive holds four different copies and an original woodblock of Linton's groundbreaking social poem, in which he accuses the afflictions caused by the inhuman legislation for the poor. The four copies represent various stages of publication.

- A: The complete version (40 pages), with all pictorial side notes. Original hardcover binding. First edition. London 1845:
(consists of two parts: 1) Bob Thin (illustrated by T. Sibson) 2) The Poorhouse Fugitive. (illustrated by Edward Duncan, William Bell Scott and Linton. This part is divided into three sections: Morning – Hymn To The Sun - Song Of The Stream.) This is a special presentation copy that Linton had

dedicated to his second wife Emily Wade Linton in 1846. The cover has a handpainted design and the following lettering: BOB-THIN 1845.

- B: Same as A. New binding. First edition, London 1845:
hand-signed: "The Editor of the 'Morning Herald.' With the author's compliments."

- C: The Life and Adventures of Bob Thin. A Poor - Law Tale. With thirty odd cuts. pub. by James Watson, London. n.d.:
Brochure, 32 pages. This edition with an abridged choice of the pictorial side notes consists only of the first part, without the following "Fugitive" section.

- D: The Poor-House Fugitive. Being The Life And Adventure Of Bob Thin. 1840. First printed in 1845. n.d./ n.p.:
This non-pictorial version in the form of untrimmed printed sheets is part of a large selection of Linton's political poems, ranging from 1840 to1870. It was printed on his private press in New Hamden in 1897.

- E: Original block of Initial M of the Human Alphabet in "Bob Thin" (version A, p. 15):
The initial was designed by Thomas Sibson and engraved by Linton. Linton kept parts of the blocks in his home in Hamden, CT.

"This poem established Linton as a people's poet and became part of the repertoire of radical reticers. It narrates the bloody history of the rise of private property and feudalism and then concentrates on the story of a starving weaver of Bethnal Green and his final degradation and death in a workhouse." (T.B. Smith) A first draft of the mock-epic was written in 1840, but its central idea, to parallelize the social decline of an individual member of the working class with a fallen state of history, seems to be an outcome of his collaboration with Thomas Sibson. In 1842 they planned to produce an illustrated history of England "in which the social life of the English people should be dominant, and its epochs so distinguished, instead of by the reigns of Kings". *(Memories)* This plan for a pictorial history "seen from below" eventually failed due to Sibson's poor health, but its remnants can be found in the doggerel rhymes and the images of this poor-law tale. In his concept of illustration, Linton seems to respond to William Blake's idea of the *Illuminated Books* by establishing a kind of multi-layered, storyboard-like pictorial comment. Moreover, Shirley Dent and Jason Whittaker detected also topical parallels between *Bob-Thin* and Blake's poem *London*, „both in geographical location and in displaying a tapestry of social injustice (...). Linton's and Blake's poems correspond to each other. Blake's published *London* is manifested in metaphysical definition, the very streets configured by imagination ensnared. Linton's poem is politically defined, almost to the point of satire. Yet both *London* and *Bob-Thin* create a symbolic context that is recognisably the same. They are almost inversions of each other. Symbolic inversions in which the general in the one is the particular in the other; (...) Linton and Sibson take Blake's metaphor and apply it to the page of the text, printing visual representations of the social and metaphysical enslavement of humanity. It is literally Blake's visionary London turned upside down."

Whereas the first part, *Bob-Thin*, reflects a reality of urban misery, the second one, *The Poorhouse Fugitive,* evolves a *Queen Mab*-like vision of a communitarian Utopia, which is settled in the rural paradise of an Owenite cooperative. Obviously, the whole framework of the poem has to be conceived as a contribution to the debates on land reform that circulated in the radical circles since the times of Thomas Spence. But with the launching of Feargus O'Connor's *Land Plan* in 1845, who started to distribute small rural allotments to industrial workers, the theme became of topical priority.
In fact Linton's vision does not reflect O'Connor's idea of separated properties, but a more communitarian system that may result from his idea of a nationalization of land. But in complete accordance with O'Connor's scheme, Linton's poem suggests that the problems of industrialisation and urban miseries might be solveable by a regression to a rural economy, an idea that proved to be utterly wrong.

The drawings of the complete version were executed by four different artists, representing an ideal of cooperation of a very unique heterogeneity and individuality. Besides Linton himself and his friend Sibson, the history painter-poet William Bell Scott was involved, and Edward Duncan, a painter of seascapes. As Iain Haywood has stated, each of the graphic parts appropriates another genre: The children's pictorial alphabet, the 'floriculture' of urban gardening, the radical Utopia, and the 'Condition of England' fable.

-, Harry Marten's Dungeon-Thoughts. n.d. / n.p. *(London, ca. 1845)*
Folded leaflet. First edition. Signed: W.J. L.

Henry Marten was a prominent member of the puritan *Long Parliament* that had signed the death warrant of King Charles I. After the restoration he was found guilty of regicide and had to spent the remaining twenty years of his life in prison. Linton lets him bemoan the cowardice of his fellow countrymen and envision a bright Republican future. In 1855, Linton published a literary portrait of Henry Marten in his journal *The English Republic*, and in 1865 he reproduced the *Dungeon-Thoughts in Claribel*, his first selection of poems.

Thomas Cooper: The Purgatory of Suicides. A Prison-Ryhme. *London 1845/1847*
This second edition of Cooper´s large epic poem was revised by the author and amended with historical notes. It was published by Linton's mentor James Watson in the form of a cheap workingman's edition.

"Thomas Cooper, the poet-shoemaker, was (...) impulsive, hot-headed, and, I doubt not, in his early utterances, sufficiently careless of his words to be considered 'seditious,' and so promoted to two years in prison, where in Spenserian stanzas he wrote his 'prison rhyme,' the *Purgatory of Suicides*, a long poem, remarkable if only for being produced under prison difficulties, but also as evincing much thoughtful reading, and not without passages of true poetic beauty. When he came out of prison, the rarity of such a performance gave him a certain notoriety and importance. He came to London, and

there took an active part in the Chartist movement, more especially in the endeavour at its revival, when new hopes arose with the February days of France. Chartism at an end, he became an itinerant preacher, I think in the Baptist connection. A simple-hearted, good man, quick-tempered and enthusiastic, he was an eloquent orator and a good writer." *(Memories)*

The publication of Cooper's ambitious *Prison-Rhyme* was launched with the support of Douglas Jerrold and Thomas Carlyle, to whom the book is also dedicated. In over nine hundred verses, Cooper embodies the various radical concepts of the period and discusses the possibilities of a democratic change in Victorian politics. The basic plot, – Cooper travels through the limbo, guided by the spirit of Milton –, follows the example of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. "Given the importance of poets to the cross-fertilization of organization and ideology that made republican politics a viable platform in the short term and that made democratic ideas successful in the longer term, *Purgatory of Suicides* and Linton's definitional poems are the most influential Chartist poems of all." (Stefanie Kuduk Weiner)

John Fisher Murray: A Picturesque Tour Of The River Thames. *London 1845/1849*

The second edition, with engravings by Linton & Smith, John Branston, Ebenezer Landells, etc.

Linton and Smith engraved the main part of the more than one hundred wood engravings for this illustrated variation of Murray's travelogue. The publication followed the model of the successful picturesque Thames Edition of William Westall and Robert Owen published in 1828 by Rudolph Ackermann. The publisher of this new edition, Henry George Bohn, played an important role in Linton's career as a xylographer, as he exposed his work in an updated edition of Chatto & Jackson's *A Treatise On Wood Engraving* (1861). Three engravings by Linton and Smith from *A Picturesque Tour* were reused by Bohn in his revised edition of Ezaak Waltons' *Angler* (1856) .

Div.: Poems and Pictures: A Collection of Ballads, Songs and other Poems, Illustrated by English Artists. *London 1846*

A second edition of the "Ballads" was published in the early 1860s, followed in 1867 by a smaller selection with only sixteen of the original fifty engravings called: "Jewels Gathered from Painter and Poet. A Selection of Poems illustrated by the First Artists."

This example of a mass-produced picture book for the inflationary Victorian book market contains utterly uninspired illustration work and lots of merely mechanical engraver-work. Linton was responsible for the predominant part of the hasty engravings. When he critized the slavery of facsimile reproduction work in his tracts on xylography, he knew what he was talking about.

Edward Duncan and W.J. Linton: Agricultural Pictures. in: The Illustrated London News. Vol. VIII, 1846 Vol. I & II

These volumes of *The Illustrated London News* contain some of Linton's best editorial graphics,

among them freestyle reproductions of paintings and an extraordinary piece of Hogarthian comic realism, the very lively pictorial sequence *The Break of Gauge at Gloucester*, published on June 6, which depicts the tumultuary events during a railway stop. But particularly noteworthy is a series of six images of rural scenery after sketches of Linton's friend Edward Duncan. Linton remembers him as a "talented water-colour painter, at that time an aquatint engraver, engraving portraits of horses and of ships." *(Memories)*

Duncan's and Linton's series *Agricultural Pictures*, which depicts farming activities like lambing, trashing, unstacking wheat and harvesting possesses an extraordinary realism. As the accompanying text emphasizes, all the pictures showed "scenes of actual life – not painter's compositions." The commentator links them to the famous accounts of rural life by the radical William Cobbett, which were published in the 1820s in whose own periodical *The Weekly Political Register* under the title *Rural Rides*. Like Cobbett's perceptive literary sketches, the *Agricultural Pictures* communicate a rather authentic prospect of rural life, a no-holds-barred view on the trials and tribulations of agricultural existence and its late-feudal dependencies.

The depiction of actual rural conditions in the *Agricultural Pictures* can be read as a kind of supplement to the communitarian utopia of the second part of the *Bob Thin* poem, on which Linton and Duncan had collaborated the year before. Both works were created against the background of demands by leading members of the *London Working Men's Association* to nationalize land ownership. Linton was one of the main propagandists of this dispossession campaign. He also supported, albeit with many reservations, the *Chartist Land Plan* from 1845, which was to distribute collectively acquired, agricultural land to the impoverished industrial proletariat. Their large-scale re-training to small-scale farmers proved to be an almost unsolvable problem. The realistic descriptions of agricultural activities in Linton's and Duncan's series of illustrations served a dual function. They were both instructions to and a critique of feudal romanticism dominant at the time.

Mary & William Howitt, ed.: Howitt's Journal. (3 vol.) *1847–48*

The three volumes of the short-lived socio-cultural magazine were published by the legendary William Lovett, one of the prominent founders of the early Chartist movement. They were edited by the poet couple William and Mary Howitt. „Howitt was a square, sturdily built, but not large, Quaker, who, when out, generally carried a big stick (...). I think he was not a quarrelsome man, though quick-tempered, and he could be angry at opposition. Mrs. Howitt was the gentle, primitive Quakeress, a comely woman, good, and very kindly. Her writings seem to reflect her nature." *(Memories)* The couple was assisted by a number of members of the Wade–Fox circle. Contributions also came fromprominent republicans from abroad, like the Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini, the American Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier and the Unitarian philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson. The magazine provides valuable insights into the cultural activities of the international Republican circles on the eve of the revolutions. The Howitts had lived in Germany for some years; in a series of articles they decribe the customs of the German students' fraternities, students and the intellectual climate

in this so-called *Vormärz* phase. Very notable are the illustrations. They provide a kind of portrait gallery of prominent republicans like Abbé Lamenais, George Sand, and Ferdinand Freilingrath, and of working-class poets like Thomas Cooper and Ebenezer Elliott. There are also illustrated articles about Thomas Bewick and William Blake, including a reproduction of Blake's *Death Door*. It is to be assumed that Linton was involved in the pictorial editing. The engravings were executed by the brothers George and William Measom and by Linton and his fellow engraver Alfred Harrall, who would later become one of the most prolific xylographers of the *Graphic* magazine.

Div.: The Family Jo Miller. A Drawing Room Jest Book. *London 1848*

This edition of a historical joke-book consists of a biography of Joseph Miller, a famous comedic actor of the 17th century and a posthumous compilation of jests, titled *Wit's Vade-Mecum* (1739), which had been attributed to Miller by its author, the dramatist John Mottley. The popular pocket book is decorated with an engraving after Miller's friend William Hogarth and is depicting Miller's favourite stage, *The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, furthermore with a title illustration by Kenny Meadows and a portrait engraving of Miller by Linton.

John Milton: L'Allegro and Il Penseroso by John Milton. With Thirty Illustrations Designed Expressly For the Art-Union of London. *London 1848*

Illustrations by John Tenniel, Hablot K. Browne, John Gilbert, Henry Wehnert, Edward Duncan, Kenny Meadows etc. / Engravers: John Thurston, George Dalziel, John Thomson, John Jackson, W.J. Linton etc.

John Milton was, next to Shakespeare, the most frequently illustrated British poet. To capture the complementary moods of these two early poems by him, which symbolize the levels of the cheerful sanguine and the dark melancholic temperaments, was a challenge in illustratory respects. Unfortunately this number of artists, who were mainly known for their Punch and Dickens illustrations, were not able to meet it. Linton, who in 1848 was mainly occupied with interventionist concerns, only engraved two pastoral landscape drawings, one by his friend, the marine painter Edward Duncan.

-, For Italy: Ora e Sempre. (To the Future). n.p. (London) *April 1848*

The 16-page pamphlet has been published anonymously.

The poem praises the prospects of European Republican insurgencies. The influence of Shelley is obvious, but also an impact from the high dictions of Walter Savage Landor's revolutionary odes *The Italics* (1848) can be traced. Linton would later republish this promising hymn several times, but always together with its complement *The Dirge of the Nations*, which he wrote in November 1848 after the failure of the revolutions and the experience of bitter frustration. The Mazzinian motto on the cover

Ora e Sempre would become the battle cry of the Italian anti-fascist *Resistenza* a century later. Linton used this slogan in the masthead of his journal *The Cause of the People* and painted it on the wall of his house in Brantwood in the Lake District, where it was smeared by the following owner.

The Italian cause had been of utmost symbolic significance for the Republican movement worldwide. The shaping of an Italian nation out of the fragments of the old Habsburgean empire was not only connected with the expectation of a final decline of monarchy, but also of a resurgence of the ancient Roman republicanism. This time it would be constituted on an even larger level as a global empire of democratic Republican nations. The theorist of the *Risorgimento* Giuseppe Mazzini, who had to spend long distances of his life in his London exile, had the appeal of a religious leader. After the fall of the second *Roman Republic* his position turned from being a salvator of the republican movement into a martyr and he thus was even more effectiv. Mazzini's impact on 19th century culture has not been researched sufficiently. The predominant part of the painterly efforts of his dedicated follower Linton can be considered as Mazzinian propaganda, Italian landscapes evocative of a boundless expanse.

It is to be assumed that this pamphlet had been launched in the context of the activities of Mazzini's *Peoples' International League* and his congratulatory address to the Republican Government of France: "In London, in 1847, at the instigation of Mazzini, and informed by him, the Peoples' International League was founded, with the following objects: *To enlighten the British public as to the political condition and relations of foreign countries; To disseminate the principles of national freedom and progress; To embody and manifest an efficient public opinion in favour of the right of every people to self-government and the maintenance of their own nationality;"To promote a good understanding between the peoples of all countries.* (...) So much good work was accomplished by the League, and the work continued until the revolutionary events in Europe beginning with the February days in Paris, and the departure of Mazzini (the informing spirit of the League) for Italy, stayed proceedings. The last action was a congratulatory address to the Provisional Government of France. (...) Returning from Paris, with hope of reviving our chartist agitation, I began the publishing of the *Cause of the People*, a weekly newspaper, nominally edited by myself and G. J. Holyoake, but for which Holyoake did nothing."

C.G. Harding, ed.: The Republican. A Magazine Advocating the Sovereignty of the People. Vol. I-II. *London 1848-49/2010*

A recent reprint of this Chartist paper, which ceased to be printed early in 1849 due to the frailed health and the pecunary difficulties of its editor.

The predominant part of the contributions for Harding's Chartist journal came from Linton and most of them were taken over from *The Cause of the People*, a paper which he had launched together with George Holyoake in May 1848 and which had survived only two months. Outstanding among them is *The Dirge of the Nations*, a prophetic vision of the massacres and the failed hopes of '48. Through its numerous reprints, it gained considerable popularity. Remarkable as well is *Our Tricolor*, Linton's

poetic invention and visualization of a Republican flag to-be. This illustrated poem turned out to be a representative cornerstone of his central editorial project in the Fifties, *The English Republic*.

George Jacob Holyoake: Sixty Years Of An Agitator's Life. ***London 1892/1906***
6th impression, third edition.

With his journal *The Reasoner*, which he published over fifteen years from 1848 onward, George J. Holyoake, was to become the most popular journalist of the Chartists' moral force fraction. Of major historic significance is his foundation of the Secular movement. Holyoake was seven years Linton's junior and a follower of Robert Owen's co-operative movement. After the failure of their journal *The Cause of the People* in July 1848, Linton and Holyoake continued to join together in the editing of the Chartist paper, *The Leader*, which Kineton Parkes calls "one of the most notable of all the journalistic enterprises of the century. (...) When Mr. Linton devoted his energies to this matter, it was with the hope and intention of establishing a paper which should be at once the organ and nucleus of a republican party in England, and be open also for truthful accounts of republican views and republican doings throughout Europe." After a dispute on the political directions of this paper with other co-editors Linton retreated. But the struggle for control of the *Leader* also damaged the friendship between Linton and Holyoake. "They were both histrionic men, eager for fame. With comparable journalistic abilities they were locked in ill-concealed rivalry. Holyoake was a smoother, less impetous being than Linton, readier to ingratiate himself with influential personages." (Smith)

Ebenezer Jones: The Land Monopoly; The Suffering and Demoralization caused by It, and the Justice & Expediency of its Abolition. ***London 1849/2010***
Bound copies.

Ebenezer Jones, the self-educated poet and close friend of Linton, wrote this vigorous pamphlet, that supports Linton´s plea for a nationalization of land, during the era of the Great Famine in Irland. Right from the start he puts it straight, that he does not want his argumentations to be confused with such an ephemeral phenomenon like Communism, but the existing monopoly would only cause famine and desaster. A nationalization of land would not only ensure the labouring classes plentious and certain subsistence, but would also "terminate the moral evils, which their present slavish dependence necessitates, not only for themselves, but for all members of society." Linton wrote his poem cycle *Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism* at the end of the year partly apparently in correspondence with Jones' s argumentations.