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.

III. THE NORTH AMERICAN YEARS

"In 1866 I had little occupation in England, and thought the opportunity good to see the new country, with no fixed intention of remaining. So in November of that year I crossed the ocean to New York, with nothing before me except a commission to write some letters of my American impressions for the *Manchester Examiner*, and with a few introductions from Dr. Wilkinson, Miss Cushman, my old friend Wehnert, and Mazzini. (...) Wehnert's letter took me to Dr. Rimmer, the master of the School of Design at the *Cooper Institute*. This brought me to acquaintance with Mr. Cooper, the philanthropic and venerable founder of the Institute, and with his son-in-law, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, whose goodness I gratefully remember. They induced me to undertake for a time the teaching of the Wood Engraving Class at the Institute. Thought kindly of by the men of my profession, I had a supper given me by the *Society of Wood Engravers*, and was almost immediately taken hold of by Frank Leslie to work for his *Illustrated News*, and afterwards engaged by him to conduct the pictorial portion."

In the spring of 1870, four years after having emigrated to America, Linton left *New York* and moved to a farmhouse called *The Curtis Place*, which he renamed *Appledore*, in the village of *Hamden* outside New Haven/Connecticut. Here he established his second private press with the proceeds from the Brantwood sale, more than twenty years before William Morris started to promote the wave of *auteur* presses. "He was as independent and cantankerous as ever. His poems were often diatribes against politicians or denunciations of current American events. In the *Sioux wars* in the mid 1870s, Linton's sympathies were with the Indians: `God send the Indian luck! / Success to the buck! / May his scalps be many and quick! / Guard his war, O Lord! through the thick / Of his foes! Give him luck!´" (T.B. Smith) In 1871 he saw a chance to realise his vision of a radical democratic republic in the *Wild West*. He became an agent of Edmund Davis, a friendly mining financier with socialist interests, and endeavoured "to procure a purchaser for a hundred thousand acres of land in *Kentucky*, (...) in the *Cumberland Mountains*, where some day may be a great central city. With an artist friend and a

young engineer, I went there to report, especially on the coal, and spent a week or more prospecting the land, camping out where we could. I was led to undertake the agency for Davis from being baulked in a scheme for bringing out an English colony (which I hoped to make a republican nucleus) to *Montana*, - baulked by the failure of Jay Cooke and consequent deferral of the *North Pacific Railroad*." (Memories)

-, Ireland for the Irish. Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism. With a Preface on Fenianism and Republicanism. New York 1867

95 pages, brochure.

Although this pamphlet wasn't published by him but by the *American News Company*, it represents an extraordinarily fine example of Linton's tasteful editing and his progressive art of purist book design. Moreover, he introduced himself with this first American publication as a writer who claims to interfere in the politics of the day. The pamphlet is primarily addressed to the numerous supporters of the *Fenian Brotherhood*, which had been established in America in 1858. He attacked the *physical force* policy of the *Irish Fenians* in America and "especially denounced their call for volunteers to return to fight in the guerilla war then raging in Leinster and Munster. The Fenians prated of Irish nationality and republicanism, Linton declared, but they respected neither. Ireland could have no viable existence outside the brotherhood of English-speaking peoples who inhabited the geographical unity composed by the British Isles. And their republicanism could not be sincere, as long as they neglected land reform and universal suffrage as the two guarantees of republican equality." (T.B. Smith)

The cycle of poems consists of fifty short lyrics and belongs to the most convincing examples of political poetry he brought forth. It was written in the latter part of 1849 to support the scheme of land nationalization, partly in response to Ebenezer Jones´ pamphlet *The Land Monopoly*. Most of Linton's poems against landlordism were published during 1850 in the *Irish Nation*, to which he had been as the sole English author a regular contributor. Shortly afterwards *Rhymes and Reasons* were reprinted in *The English Republic* and appeared in a variety of compilations in Chartist papers such as *The Reasoner*, *The Friend of the People* and *The Republican*. Excerpts were printed in the collection *Claribel (1865)*, in Linton & Stoddard's *English Verse Lyrics of the XIXth Century* (1883) and in Yuri Kovalev's *Anthology of Chartist Literature* (1956).

The poetic concept to approach a socio-political topic in a fragmented, kaleidoscopic way was modelled on Ebenezer Elliott's *Corn-Law Rhymes* and Thomas Wade's *Reform Bill – Hymns,* even though the matters of *Rhymes and Reasons* are more expanded and interconnected. The themes span from origins of feudalism and English occupation to descriptions of the *Great Famine*, of rural uprisings (*Swing riots*), the hardships of estate clearances, the miseries of emigration and depopulation, all the way to a vision of egalitarian distribution of land and direct democracy. "The brilliant sequence of poems (...) has a collective narrative force: each addresses a particular event or issue, but together they make a

narrative succession in which solidarity is first developed, struggle takes place, defeat is suffered, but the contest continues and moves on. (...) The *Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism* presents a genre which solves the problem of both meeting the affective needs of the individual through lyricism, and the narrative aims of the collective struggle." (Anne F. Janowitz) "Taken together, these *Rhymes and Reasons* posit a poetics of linguistic self-evidence, an assertion that the reasons or rational arguments forwarded by republicans are underwritten by the rhymes they employ, that the truths of republicanism are irrefutable because they are stored in the language itself." (Stefanie Kuduk Weiner)

Several issues of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, New York 1867

Shortly after his emigration to America in 1866, Linton became art director of this widespread American illustrated weekly and was responsible for the engraving department. "Frank Leslie, - the name he took in America, - an English engraver, who had come, many years before, to the States, and after hard and persistent effort had succeeded in establishing a weekly illustrated newspaper in rivalry of *Harper's*, was also very kind to me and made me welcome to his house, in which Mr. and Mrs. Squier were living with him. Mrs. Squier, a beautiful and clever woman, was afterwards divorced from Squier, married Leslie, and since his death has conducted the paper. Leslie was a man ill-spoken of because for years he had been struggling and impecunious; but he had his good points, - some love of Art, though not an artist, and much kindness and generosity when he had means. I gave up my position on his paper after a brief holding because he also undertook another paper of a character I did not choose to be connected with." (Memories)

John Greenleaf Whittier: Snow-Bound. A Winter Idyl. Boston 1868

This publication is the first of a series of representative gift-books with illustrated New England poetry, in which Linton was involved as an engraver and later also as an illustrator. These gift-books or *editions de luxe* in Linton's opinion were not illustrated "because the text required it, but merely for the sake of pseudo-adornment and embellishing: a trade endeavour to produce something more attractive than ordinary." (*The History of Wood Engraving in America*)

In this case he had cooperated with A.V. Anthony, whom he called "a brotherly brother engraver." Anthony was more than an engraver buddy. As the director of the engraving department of the important publishing firm *James R. Osgood & Co*, which later merged into *Houghton, Osgood and Company*, he held a position that was characterized by Max Osborn as being "the true founder of the American school of xylography."

In Linton's view, *Snow-Bound* was Whittier's "most perfect" poem and he held the illustrated edition for being "the daintiest gift-book of them all, - some forty small drawings by H. Fenn, his early careful work, a few engraved by me, but most by Anthony and of his best, - subjects and drawing well suited to his graver, - honest while refined." The illustrations of rural sceneries by Harry Fenn consort perfectly with this prime example of romantic *fireside-poetry*, which had been inspired by the likes of Robert Burns and William Wordsworth. Fenn was a British artist, who had emigrated a year before Linton. He had worked for *Harper's Weekly* and became popular in the seventies with his picturesque views of American landscapes. Some of the engravings have this kind of "homely" Bewick-touch, which Linton later criticized in his theories on wood engraving.

-, The Flower and the Star and other Stories for Children, Boston 1868

This collection of children's stories consists of the author's antiauthoritarian interpretations of the traditional fairy tales *Jack and the Beanstalk* and *Jack, the Giant Killer* and of two nonsense pieces. All of them are full of reminiscences of the wild, unrestricted life in Brantwood. Linton's amazing illustrations fuse minute nature observations with fantastic elements. Here he followed the example of William Godwin, the godfather of anarchism, who was successful in the early twenties with his permissive versions of traditional children's stories, which he had published under the penname Edward Baldwin.

J. G. Holland: Kathrina: Her Life and Mine in a Poem. New York 1869

When this tragic ballad romance first appeared in 1868 it proved to be the poetical bestseller of the season. Shortly after the publication of this illustrated version, its author, the rather unavowed journalist and biographer Josiah Gilbert Holland, became one of the founding editors of the literary periodical *Scribner's Monthly*. This journal, which later changed into *The Century Magazine*, would become the most important medium in America to promote wood engraving on an artistic level. The seventy engravings, which Linton executed, show him at his best. As he emphasized in his *History of Wood Engraving in America*, he had followed here the white-line method throughout. The major part of the illustrations were made by the Irish artist William John Hennessy, who "was exactly the type of artist Linton admired. He had romantic antecedents, a flamboyant manner, and a highly finished artistic technique. He specialized in uplifting genre pieces and contemplative landscapes. During Linton's early years in America Hennessy took the place of Duncan, Scott and Wehnert in supplying him with artistic camaraderie and drawings for engravings." (F.B. Smith)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: The Building Of The Ship. Boston 1869

A further collaboration with A.v. Anthony and William John Hennessy. The small sized book with its unpretentious illustrations is one of the best emergences of the illustrated New England poetry series.

S.H. Morse & J.B. Marvin ed.: The Radical. The American Magazine of Natural Religion. Subscribers page. Boston / Mass., n.d.

From a descendant's estate

This promotion leaflet in the possession of the late Linton indicates his close connection with the New England transcendentalism. Since its formation in 1836, the *Transcendentalist Movement* was centred in Boston / Mass. and it was there, where Linton also had published his preceding books. The chief editor of *The Boston Radical* Sidney H. Morse, a sculptor and lay preacher ,was a close friend of Walt Whitman. His cultural periodical, which ran from September 1865 to June 1872, had a strong Unitarian impact and consisted of the blend of religiousness, scepticism and political commitment that is characteristic of Linton's views. The leaflet outlines the magazine's intentions: "*The Radical* furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions that interest earnest minds in every community (...). We are ambitious to fortify individuals in their trust of spiritual laws, and in an unwavering reliance on the protections of heroic character." It featured articles on Confucius, Spinoza, Milton, Swedenbourg, and Blake as well as on Chartism, Afro-American culture and women's liberation. The influence of the rampant spiritism-hype also shows through, but in contrast to the publications of the *Theosophical Society*, which was founded in New York in 1875, *The Radical*

was more dedicated to the ideals of the Enlightenment. Linton contributed two essays, on American plutocracy and his vision of direct democracy in 1869 and on the reception of the proceedings of the *Paris Commune* by the American Press in 1871.

- , The Religion of Organization. An Essay read to Friends in Boston.
New Haven 1869 / 1892

There are two different copies in the collection and in both of them the wood engraved tailpiece is retouched by pencil in the same way. One of them wears the inscription of its previous owner: "Carl P. Rollins, 1922." It is the noted Marxist printer Carl Purington Rollins from New Haven/CT. The late follower of arts & craft had also been a prolific book designer and lecturer on typography. In 1918 he became manager of the manufacturing department of the Yale University Press in New Haven. The library of the Yale University houses an extensive Linton collection - forty-one products of his local "Appledore Press" - which has been gathered from many sources, but the influence of the Appledore Press design on the products of the University's press hasn't been traced sufficiently.

This is a separate print of a lecture Linton held in *The Boston Radical Club* on January 27th, 1869. The club, an association of social reformers, which had been founded in 1867, convened a special meeting "to hear him speak on *republican organization*. The audience included the cream of New England advanced thinkers, John Greenleaf Whittier, Wendell Philipps, Bronson Alcott, Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster, and Robert Dale Owen. They warmly received Linton's impassioned call for a united, brotherly nation of white and black that would transcend the existing faithless American democracy." (T.B. Smith) Linton bemoans the political state of American democracy, which in his view was a democracy in name only, but in fact a corrupt oligarchic system. In a wider context he appeals to transcend the system of selfishness and narrowed nationalism to a global vision of democracy. "The whole shape and framework of society," he said, "needs new modeling." "Linton's political philosophy makes him most like our contemporary communitarians: concerned with the balance of responsibility and right, `liberty and duty´, in which liberty fosters aspiration, and `Aspiration gives birth to Duty´." (Anne F. Janowitz) The essay fuses Chartist agitation with Mazzinean expansiveness of thought, and Lamennaisian emotionality with a rather abstract Unitarian creed. It represents the most consistent manifestation of Linton´s idea of a spiritual revision of Utilitarianism. But, as Shirley Dent & Jason Whittaker state, his "closing remarks to *The Religion of Organization* are shorn of mystical intonation, and the political theory espoused is based on social reality rather than mystical conundrums." Here the Romantic vision of the *Universal Republic* in Dent & Whittacker's view would reach "the apex of articulation."

S.H. Morse & J.B. Marvin ed.: The Radical. Vol. V. Boston. January – June 1869

Linton's address *The Religion of Organization* had been published shortly afterwards in the April issue of *The Radical*. It is perhaps not by chance that the same volume also includes an account of the life and work of Linton's teacher W.J. Fox. It was written by Moncure Daniel Conway, an apostate Unitarian clergyman, who took on a similar, but reciprocal role to Linton as a transmitter between American and British radical culture. At the time, the latter had emigrated to America, the former changed to London to promote abolitionism, Walt Whitman poetry and Transcendentalist literature.

-, : A REPUBLIC. The Meaning of the Word. n.p. / n.d. (ca. 1869)

4-page pamphlet, published anonymously. The text is printed on white cardboard and decorated with two floral vignettes. (From a descendant's estate)

This central statement is a slightly altered passage taken from the preface of the *Ireland for the Irish* pamphlet, in which Linton explicates his principles of republicanism and asks the *Fenians* if they can join in. It is composed like a charter of a supranational democratic constitution, and one can assume that it was published in the context of his lecture *The Religion of Organization,* to spread his vision of *Universal Republic*. Here is the wording:

"A REPUBLIC. THE MEANING OF THE WORD. / THAT one word REPUBLIC means the equal right of all men to well-being and well-doing, and the ordering of all powers and capabilities of society for the bettering of every member toward the perfecting of the whole. / It means that none shall be uneducated, none without means for a wholesome living, or without property, none shut out, by legislative enactment or combination or chance, from the people's land, or from whatever the commonwealth can furnish for their spiritual and material advantage. / It means the abolition of the tyrannies of rank and wealth, of arbitrary distinctions and artificial disabilities calculated to prevent any individual from reaching the full growth and development of his or her nature and righteous capability. It means protection of the weak against the strong. It means assurance each and every member of society from wilful injury or accident. It means equal care of the State that recognizes in every individual a component and essential part of the whole. / It means also that the State shall maintain its right to efficient service from all its members, in peace as well as in war, that each shall be dutiful to all. In the Republic Duty would be no longer a vague and idle word, but would exactly express the relation of part to a whole, that which makes man or a woman a very bond- servant of the actual time or surrounding society, of family, of country, of the world, —bound to help to the utmost in the advancement of the common good , with no limit except the possibilities of individual action. / A REPUBLIC presumes a mode of government and public conduct in which all must take active part, a government not to be entrusted to rulers or ' representatives,' but to be constantly, directly exercised by the free people, originating, judging, and determining their own laws, only deputing officers for the carrying out the popular will, the expression of a people's intellect and conscience. / That word REPUBLIC should also express not only the connection between States, or Nations, and the community of Nations, the all of Humanity. As individuals are component parts of the State or body politic, so Nations are constituents of the body politic of Humanity and consequently bound dutiful toward that for the sake of general progression and for protection of each against injury or encroachment. / For there is one common object and purpose human life, however indistinctly apparent or it may be even lost sight of in various times and by many races of mankind: it is *to progress*, from improvements to improvements, from successive discoveries and applications of the Laws of Life: of which laws every people, and no singulary class whatever, must be the interpreter and orderer. / The duty of all is to help toward this progress. / This is the meaning of the word REPUBLIC."

Elizabeth Barrett Browning: Lady Geraldine's Courtship. New York 1870

With this illustrated edition of Barrett Brownings tragical ballad *Scribner and Company* tried to measure up to the enormous success of Holland's poem *Kathrina* with the same team, William John Hennessy as illustrator and Linton being responsible for the engravings. "In the *Lady Geraldine* I had the help, for almost all the landscape part, of Alfred Harral, my fellow-worker in early years." (*The*

History of Wood Engraving in America) Compared with the precursor the illustrations are rather moderate.

As an intellectual who was engaged in emancipatory causes, the Victorian poet was held in high esteem in the circles of the New England republicans. Although there had been many overlappings in their interests and also in their circle of acquaintances, Linton doesn't mention Barrett Browning in his *Memoirs*. *Lady Geraldine's Courtship* was her most popular poem. Originally published in 1844, the violent romance was much admired by Thomas Carlyle, Harriet Martineau and the Rossetti brothers. It was Edgar Allan Poe, who had promoted this piece of poetry in North America. He had dedicated his 1845 edition of poems to Barrett Browning, and it was widely known that he had borrowed the complex rhythm and meter of his gothic ballad *The Raven* from her juvenile poem.

-, The House that Tweed built, Cambridge / Mass. Nov. 1871

Brochure, 22 pages.

This pamphlet is targeted at New York's infamous major William "Boss" Tweed and his unscrupulous *Tammany Ring*. "*The Citizen's Association of New York*, centered in the *Cooper Union*, took a leading part in organizing the great Anti-Tweed meeting of 4 September, which had helped settle the fate of the Ring in the elections. The story of greed and depravity would have interested Linton for its own sake, but probably his associations with the Cooper Union deepened his involvement to the extent of writing and issuing the pamphlet." (F.B. Smith)

Next to *Bob-Thin*, the illustrated *Tweed* pamphlet represents a further stage of Linton's examination of radical pictorial culture. It combines the early broadsheet tradition of British radical satire - namely Hone & Cruikshank's *Political house that Jack built* - with the comparably popular cartoon campaigns of Thomas Nast and the satires of David Ross Locke. Locke was the most popular American political humorist of the era. Most of his books, which he wrote under the penname Petroleum V. Nasby, were illustrated with the rather refined cartoons by his friend Thomas Nast, but he also published pictorial pamphlets in a rough broadsheet manner, such as *Swingin' Round the Cirkle, or Andy's trip to the West* (1866), in which he lampooned a disastrous speaking campaign undertaken by President Andrew Johnson.

Albert Bigelow Paine: Thomas Nast, his Periode and his Pictures, New York 1904

On Page 176 of his voluminous biography Paine quotes extensively from Linton´s pamphlet *The House that Tweed Built* without mentioning the author. Thomas Nast and Linton had much in common. They both were engaged in the Risorgimento and they had similar radical republican views. But whereas Nast became a devoted follower of president Ulysses Grant, Linton supported whose opponents, who critized Grant´s mismanagement, his imperialistic ambitions and his nepotism. Concerning their appraisals of the labour movement, of trade unions and especially the events of the Paris Commune, Nast and Linton were intransigent opponents.

William Cullen Bryant: The Song of the Sower. New York , 1871

William Cullen Bryant had been presumably the most respected literary figure in New York in this time; as a journalist and editor he was a nodal point of communication, and as an author of ecstatic

patriotic hymns a national arch-symbol; besides his early poetry had been regarded as a forerunner of the progressive outpourings of Walt Whitman. "Bryant was President of the *Century Club*, the best of clubs in New York (...), of which I had the honour and gratification of becoming a member almost immediately after my arrival in New York. So many artists were members of the *Century Club* that I soon had a wide artistic acquaintance. A closer brotherhood among artists appears to me to obtain in New York than in London" (Memories). Bryant's *Song of the Sower* can be understood as a poetic call for national unity and the effort of reconstruction after an area of civil disparateness. Two of the illustrators where already well known to Linton, W.J. Hennessy and Harry Fenn. A new acquaintance was Winslow Homer, an approved illustrator of *Harper's Weekly*, who was just starting his career as one of the foremost American painters. Linton was only one of a crew of seven engravers. As it turned out a few years later, the whole enterprise had been a kind of test run for Bryant's popular *Picturesque America* series.

-, The Paris Commune. In Answer to the Calumnies of the "New York Tribune." Reprinted from "The Radical" for September. Boston 1871/2010

Bound copies, 29 pages

During the tumultuous events of the *Paris Commune* and the hysterical debates around Linton remained "one of the handful of people in the United States courageous enough to speak out and informed enough to understand." (F.B. Smith) Although he recognized a decisive weakness in the activities of the Commune, which he saw caused by the Communard's anarchic individualism and isolation, he did welcome it as a dawning of radical democratism. In this remarkable essay, he accuses the venerable *New York Tribune*, which would preen itself of its accurate coverage, of having loaded their columns "with infamous rumours and malignant insinuations." Linton provides detailed evidence of a tactics of slander by the popular press. His *Answer to the Calumnies of the "New York Tribune"* thus provides a profound analysis of a crucial case of constructed history, a topic with which dealt with six years later in his conversation piece *Voices of the Dead*.

Eliza Lynn Linton: The True History of Joshua Davidson - Christian And Communist. London 1872 / New York 1916

A late American edition of this literary blockbuster, that went through three editions within three months of publication.

Linton had married the noted novelist Eliza Lynn shortly after the death of his partner Emily Wade. They lived in permanent separation. Eliza Lynn's "great literary success came with the revelation, that she was the author of *Joshua Davidson*, an agnostic retelling of the story of Christ, updated into the nineteenth century. Josuah's character, which has much of Linton in it, caused a furore." (F.B. Smith) The scheme of the historical Jesus as a transgressor and rebel was a common one among the British radicals with their long Dissenter tradition, especially among those of the Unitarian direction, which departed from Christ's simple humanity. Eliza Lynn was the first writer who established a secular Jesus as the hero of a novel. He is grasped here as an artisan with egalitarian ideals, who preaches in the slums of London against the evils of capitalism and landlordism. In the proceedings Linton's fictional alias ends up in the turmoil of the *Paris Commune* and dies as a martyr in the final bloody abatement. The real Linton had indeed been attendant in a Paris revolution, but decades before, in 1848 as a member of an official Chartist delegation.

John Ruskin: Ariadne Florentina - Six Lectures on Wood and Metal Engraving with an Appendix. Given before the University of Oxford, in Michaelmas Term, 1872. 1872 / 1890

A late edition, published by Ruskin's assistant George Allen.

One should study these lectures, which Ruskin had held on the decline of the art of engraving at the *University of Oxford* before adjudicating upon the originality of Linton's xylographic theories. Linton's historiography of this craft and his polemics against the new trends of process engraving did not simply follow Ruskin's considerations, as often supposed, but was over long passages antithetical to them. It was Ruskin's merit to have established an aesthetics on the terms and base of Abbé Lamennais' and Thomas Carlyle's socio-political theses, especially on the former's vision of a new culture, which would be conceived as a "holy work of social regeneration" from the workman's present state of slavery. Linton's translation of Lamennais´ *De l´esclavage moderne* (1840) may have contributed in no small measure to the shaping of Ruskin's views.

Concerning the technique, Ruskin's lecture on wood engraving is scarcely instructive as he confuses woodcut with wood engraving and hence erroneously takes simplification for the main virtue of the art and the economy of the thick line for its general law. When he discusses the limitations of the technique and its incapability to "take the place of a serene and accomplished line engraving," he speaks in the first instance about the older mode of cutting along the grain of the wood. In his *The Masters of Wood Engraving*, Linton would stress the fundamental difference between these techniques by dividing them in a most distinctive way into the separate categories of *knife work* and *graver-work*. The former one, in his opinion, marks an inferior stage of imitative facsimile work, and even an example of an extremely skilful use of *knife-work*, as it is displayed in Holbein's *Dance of Death*, which Ruskin takes for the crowning achievement of the technique, symbolizes for Linton a state of slavish accomplishment, where the artisan is forced only to imitate the artist's prescriptions instead of translating them in a creative way.

Without having grasped the fundamental achievement of Thomas Bewick' s white line manner, Ruskin agrees to the general acclaim of the engraver from Newcastle, whose work had been recommended to him by Thomas Carlyle. He retells the romantic Bewick legend of the untaught country boy, who "could draw a pig, but not an Aphrodite" and was nevertheless "Holbein's equal," an artisan of "magnificent artistic power" and "flawless virtue." Linton was sceptical about this common tale of Bewick's ethnic originality and ingenuity. Also in this respect he simply turned Ruskin's judgement upside down by stressing the cooperative character of Bewick's prints and preferring the artistic capabilities of some of his pupils to those of the master. Linton's artisan perspective, which emphasized the communitarian aspects of graphic production, differed substantially from the views of the popular art historian, whose litanies about the decline of modern illustration were characterised by elitist bumptiousness: "These wood cuts, for *Barnaby Rudge* and the *Cornhill Magazine*, are favourably representative of the entire illustrative art industry of the modern press, - industry enslaved to the ghastly service of catching the last gleams in the glued eyes of the daily more bestial English mob, - railroad born and bred, which drags itself about the black world it has withered under its breath, in one eternal grind and shriek, - gobbling, -staring, - chattering, - giggling, - trampling out every vestige of national honour and domestic peace, wherever it sets the staggering hoof of it; incapable of reading, of hearing, of thinking, of looking, - capable only of greed for money, lust for food, pride of dress,

and the prurient itch of momentary curiosity for the politics last announced by the newsmonger, and the religion last rolled by the chemist into electuary for the dead. In the miserably competitive labour of finding new stimulus for the appetite - daily more gross - of this tyrannous mob, we may count as lost, beyond any hope, the artists who are dull, docile, or distressed enough to submit to its demands."

Whereas Ruskin evaluated wood engraving in the context of his condemnation of the entire business of illustration, Linton had welcomed the demands of the modern illustrated press as a stimulating challenge. Unlike Ruskin's judgement, Linton´s criticism was not a general cultural-pessimistic one, but was targeted to certain modes of imitation and reproductive refinement. Ruskin's criticism led to the stilted nostalgic facsimile manners of the *arts & craft* illustrations. Linton's polemics provoked a lively discussion about the interdependency between manual reproductive graphics and the new technical media, a conflict of major significance that stimulated the early communication theories of William M. Ivins and Marshall McLuhan.

Bryant, William Cullen: The Story of the Fountain.
Illustrated with Forty-two Engravings on Wood. New York 1872

The *Story of the Fountain* is a production very similar to the preceding illustrated Bryant edition *The Song of the Sower*, but with an expanded cast of illustrators and engravers. As a consequence, the book lacks the consistency of the former illustrated gift-books of New England poetry. Linton this time engraved only a single plate, the final one.

Bryant, William Cullen ed.: Picturesque America or, the Land we Live in. A Delineation by Pen and Pencil. (2 Vol.) New York 1872

The two magnificent folio volumes of *Picturesque America* were edited and introduced by Linton's friend William Cullen Bryant. They consist of numerous essays and of a total of nine hundred wood engravings and fifty steel engravings, which are considered to have had a profound influence on the rise of tourism in the United States. The engravings are based on the watercolours of various American landscape artists such as Thomas Moran, Robert Swain Gifford, Thomas Cole and Granville Perkins, but the predominant part of the illustrations were executed by Harry Fenn. Fenn was also the leading illustrator of the subsequent tourist publications *Picturesque Europe* (1875) and *Picturesque Palestine* (1881).

"The imperial quarto size of the page gave scope to the engraver; and there was no more need for either weakening refinement of small book-work or for the haste of newspaper requiring. The best landscapes in this country (and nothing of later years in England will equal them) are to be found here. (...) In landscape subjects the drawings are usually worked in with Indian ink or sepia, and the engraver has to find the lines most appropriate to the same. (...) The fault of which I accuse almost all work of later days is that the engraver seems to care only for color, for the general effect of his cut, neglecting the making out of forms and the expression of different substances, letting two or three sets of unmeaning lines serve for everything. I hold that, on the contrary, the engraver should be always aware of the many differences of form and substance, texture, nearness, distance, etc., and use his graver as he would a pencil in distinctly and accurately rendering them." (Linton, *The History of Wood Engraving in America*)

In her scholarly work *Creating Picturesque America*, Sue Rainey characterizes this project "as the first publication to celebrate the entire continental nation, it enabled Americans, after the trauma of the Civil War, to construct a national self-image based on reconciliation between North and South and incorporation of the West." She detects "many excellent examples of primarily white-line engraving" in these folios "which meet Linton's criteria for good engraving: careful gradation and wide range of black-to-white shading, firm cuts and `meaningful lines`." Linton contributed twenty-three excellent full-page engravings. They show those dramatic views of poetic sublimity, which are characteristic of him, with torrential cataracts and troubled skies.

Div.: Edwin Booth In Twelve Dramatic Characters. The Portraits By W. J. Hennessy. The Engraving by W. J. Linton. Boston 1872

For his assassination of President Lincoln, actor John Wilkes Booth won such a degree of postumous fame that even outshined those of his brother Edwin Booth, who is regarded by some theatrical historians as the greatest male American actor of the 19th century. Linton had "the honour and pleasure of seeing him occasionally both on and off the stage, free of his theatre during his first performances in the one built by him in New York, free to speak with him behind the scenes, and meeting him sometimes at the *Century Club* in New York; a fine actor, a worthy gentleman." (Memories) Linton's xylographic free-style and his self-confidence as an artist-engraver obviously were considered as being genuine means to grasp Booth's progressive, unaffected acting style. The engraver had been satisfied with the quality of his work to such a degree, that he reproduced a full-page example in his *History of American Wood Engraving*.

William John Hennessy del. / William James Linton sc.: Infant Bacchus. n.p., ca. 1871

Proofprint on Chinapaper, 20 x 30 cm, (From a descendant's estate)

In 1870 Linton launched a new risky project, the editing of a sumptuous magazine with the title *American Enterprise*, which combined political cartooning with illustrated advertisments. The second and last issue came out in January 1872 and included a large advertisment for a wine company. The print *Bacchus in America* was engraved by Linton after a drawing by William John Hennessy. The engraving *Infant Bacchus* , which was reproduced 1889 in Linton´s *Masters of Wood Engraving*, was probably created in the same context.

Div.: The Aldine, A Typographic Art Journal. Volume V. New York 1873

"In 1872 *The Aldine Press* (...) developed into *The Aldine, The Art Journal of America*. The early numbers may be spoken of as tentative (..) and the importion of French and German engravings was certainly useful for educational comparison." (Linton, *The History of Wood Engraving in America*)
This volume contains two engravings, which Linton counted among his very best: *The Pines of the Racquette* after John A. Hows (p. 121) and *Blood Money* after Victor Nehlig (p. 191). It also includes a very early engraving by Frederic Juengling, an engraver from Leipzig / Germany, who would later become the most radical exponent of the *New School*, Linton´s chief opponent.

Div.: The Aldine, A Typographic Art Journal. Volume VI. New York 1873

This volume includes another two engravings, which Linton counted among his very best: *White Birches of the Saranak* after John A. Hows (p. 59) and *Tower Creek, below the Falls* after T. Moran

(p. 70). Like in *Picturesque America* Linton here proves himself as a congenial graphic interpreter of the wild landscape paintings of the *Hudson River School*, the group that had established the '48 aesthetics in the New World.

J. G. Holland ed.: Illustrated Library of Favorite Song Based upon Folksongs. New York 1873

The book includes 125 engravings and is divided into four sections: Songs of The Heart, Songs of Home, Songs of Life, and Songs of Nature

This collection of poems was in the words of its editor Josiah Gilbert Holland intended to work "as a fireside companion, as a book to be taken up in broken hours, as a corrective of the influence of the trash poured out by the periodical press, as a minister to pure tastes, refined pleasures, and the love of home, country, man and God." The influential editor of *Scribner's Monthly* gathered some of the the most distinguished illustrators to decorate his compilation, among them Thomas Nast, Thomas Moran, William John Hennessy, Mary Hallock, Alfred Parsons, Alfred Kappes and Harry Fenn. Linton contributed ten rather uninspired engravings. One of the few excellent engravings in the book was executed by the deserving Alexander Wilson Drake. Drake was director of the art department of *Scribner's Magazine* since 1870 and thereafter held a similar position on the *Century Magazine*. He was one of the main promoters of the *New School of American Wood Engraving* and one of the founders of the influential *Grolier Club* of bibliophiles.

James BV Thomson: The City of Dreadful Night and Other Poems.
London (1874) 1880 / 1888

Second edition of this first collection of Thomson's poems.

The first edition of this anthology appeared two years before the death of its author, who is regarded by the critics as the bleakest poet of the Victorian era. Linton held the Scottish writer, who had been raised in an orphanage, in high esteem. In 1883 he published some examples of his work in the anthology *English verse of the 19th Century.* Thomson was even as a literary critic quite suitable to Linton's taste. In 1860 he had written an inspired essay on Shelley's poetry and in 1866 on Blake's work. Both articles were published in the *National Reformer*, the atheistic journal of Thomson´s mentor, the publicist and political performer Charles Bradlaugh, who had succeeded George Holyoake as the leader of the *Secular Society*. Thomson's central work, *The City of Dreadful Night,* was also first published in Bradlaugh's magazine, in 1874. It became a source of inspiration for Linton.

Isobel Armstrong considers Thomson as being "the most Shelleyan poet of the nineteenth century (...), for his project is to construct single-handed a new symbolic language and a wholly new mythological system. It is not the same myth as Shelley's because it is the mythos of atheism. There is nothing utopian about it. But it shares with Shelley's poetry the attempt to break cultural forms and to construct a new imaginative and ideological world, redefining history and consciousness. But this reconstructed modern myth had to be made out of existing forms of thought, images and language, above all Christian language and the cosmology of Dante's Inferno. The shock of *The City of Dreadful Night* (...) is its use of the traditional language of spiritual experience to overturn it by its own oppressive weight. The extremity of Thomson's experiment places him quite outside any of the radical poetry written in the century, not to speak of the conservative tradition."

Jane G. Austin: Moonfolk: A True Account of the Home of the Fairy Tales. New York 1874

The author of this cycle of fairy tales, Jane Goodwin Austin, comes from the context of the Boston transcendentalists. The sixty-five illustrations, all drawn and engraved by Linton, belong in terms of technique to the finest examples of his free mode of engraving, in terms of their inventiveness they certainly rank among the most imaginative children's book illustrations of the era, on a par with JohnTenniel's *Alice in Wonderland* imagery.

William Cullen Bryant / W.J. Linton: Thanatopsis.
Various editions: New York 1874 - 1877 – 1878 – 1879

Bryant's poetic debut feature was first published in 1817 and had founded his fame as a literary prodigy. The illustrated version first appeared in 187, a second edition in 1877. Combined versions together with its complement, the illustrated edition of his final wor,k "The Flood of years", followed in 1878, the year of Bryant's death and in 1879. The Linton-Archive also had an undated edition, which combines both poems together with a third one, "Among the Tree,", whichwas illustrated by J. J. McEntee in 1874.

The publishing of these illustrated gift-book editions marked a peak in the careers of both Cullen Bryant as a poet and Linton as an illustrator and engraver. Linton's illustration work is a quintessential achievement, comprising the best moments of the previous illustrated series of New England poetry and of his expressive *Lake District* graphics. There is much Turner in it and also two pictorial Blake references: *Death Door* - the famous image is once more used as a frontispiece – and a rather free adaptation of a motif taken from Blake's poem *Jerusalem*. In his preface, Linton acknowledges his indebtedness to the painter–poet, and to David Scott and Isaac Taylor, the author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm* and *The Physical Theory of Another Life*, who had been an accomplished engraver, "almost unknown as an artist."

The sequence of Linton's illustrations develops an extraordinary film-like dynamic. Together with the almost abstract qualities of the stirred-up nature sceneries he depicts, this intrinsic motor-function creates an impression of intoxicating vertigo. Although Linton's images follow Bryant´' poems in their succession step by step, they function also independently as an autonomous work of art. There was rarely a more convincing pictorial manifestation of American transcendentalism in the 19th century than these two connected cycles of illustrations, *Thanatopsis* and *The Flood of Years*. And there is hardly a work of art that demonstrates in a better way the continuity between the 19th-century American cult of delimitation and its modernist artistic extensions. "Abstract Expressionism," says Donald Kuspit in his *Critical History of 20th-Century Art*, "seems to be a throwback to 19th-century American *Transcendentalism* (...) a nostalgic holdover from an older America, an esthetic reminiscence of the spiritual vitality that once was, American idealism kept alive in the amber of abstract form."

Henry W. Longfellow: The Hanging of the Crane, Boston 1875

Another cooperation with the engraver A.V. Anthony. This time the illustrations were provided by a very unequal team. Thomas Moran, one of most prominent painters of the *Hudson River School*, was responsible for the landscapes, whereas Mary Hallock (later: Mary Hallock-Foote), who designed the genre scenes, had just finished her studies at the *Cooper Institute School of Design*. Linton, who had

taught her at the *Cooper's* boosted her career as a very successful artist-writer by recommending her for this project.

-, aka Abel Reid: Pot-Pourri. New York 1875

The small publication collects eleven Poe parodies by Linton. He didn't think much of Poe's poems, whose posthumous fame had reached its climax by that time. "In Poe we see the admireable result of much study of words, rhymes, and assonances, mellifluous, meaningless jingles, pleasant to musical ears, this and but little else." (Linton, Life of Whittier) "Linton believed that poetry, like every other form of human endeavor, should be subservient to life itself and could never speak too severely of the *art for art's sake* enthusiast. Mere jugglers with words, aiming to set forth no ideal of life, found harsh consideration at his hands. The one poet whom he especially abhorred on these grounds was Edgar Allan Poe, whom he ridiculed in several rather clever parodies—ghoul poems, he called them - collected and published in 1876 under the significant title, *Pot Pourri*. Mr. Linton admired Poe's marvelous technical skill, but to his mind, the author of *The Bells* and *Israfel* was not a poet, but merely one of the curiosities of literature. His attitude towards Poe, together with his admiration for Milton and Shelley, give the key to his own poetic aspiration. The *art-for-art's-sake* advocates, however, might make a telling point against Mr. Linton in his own career." (Hendrik Burton)

Various: The Art Journal. New Series volume 1. New York 1875

The publisher of the *Art Journal*, *D. Appleton and Company*, was one of the biggest firms in the American book trade. Having issued most of the illustrated gift-books of Fireside poetry and also the *Picturesque America* series they were Linton's central employer. Six of the total of eleven full-page wood engravings were executed by Linton. They belong to the last examples of interpretative graver-work, he would make. Compared to his preceding reproductions of paintings for *The London Illustrated News* or *The Aldine* they appear rather restrained, undecided between sketchiness and elaborateness, undecided how to meet the rising demand for accurate reproduction, which had been ignited by photo-xylography. The objects of Linton's engravings were pictures of academic painters such as Jean-Leon Geromé or Jean Georges Vibert, who mainly referred to a historical or contemporary narrative. The objects of those engravings of the *New School*, which would revolutionize the xylographic business only two years later, were works of American impressionists, who mainly referred to representation itself.

-, Famine: a Masque, New Haven 1875 / ca. 1887

Linton apparently printed three editions of this short play. One with an engraved title page, which is dated 1875 and limited to 25 copies, another, which was bound together with his "Catoninetales", as hardcover, and one with a printed title page on grey wrappers. The latter version, with most scholars attributing it to 1887, is the one in the collection.

This Shelleyan masque, which consists of the litanies of eight symbolic incorporations, analyzes the correlations between labour, trade and famine, and between waste and usury. It was written in the midst of the *Long Depression* with its high rates of unemployment. The fact that the prices of grain fell by nearly seventy percent imposed great hardships on farmers and planters in Europe and North America.

For his illustration, Linton fell back again on a design by William Blake, but this time he did not credit him. The ornamental drawing he used as an exposition was taken from a kerography, which he had made for Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* (Vol. I, p. 127). It shows two angels from Blake's prophecy *Europe* pouring out the blight from their horns, which adulates the harvest. "The title page of *Famine: A Masque* is a synthesis of conventional typographic reproduction and the design for plate 9 of Blake's *Europe*. This synthesis forms one of the most spectacular examples of radical textual transmission in the history of Blake in the nineteenth century." (Shirley Dent & Jason Whittaker)

Linton had "added the word FAMINE to the block in his distinctive, spiky, slightly curved lettering, giving the design an immediate resemblance to a fully developed *art nouveau* page of the 1890s. It precedes by almost a decade Arthur Mackmurdo's famous title-page for his book of *Wren´s city churches*, normally accepted as the earliest *art nouveau* page composition and a landmark in the evolution of the style. (..) A leading student of art nouveau, Dr. Robert Schmutzler, has recently postulated that the style derives from Blake. Linton, whom Dr. Schmutzler does not mention, would seem to be an important link. Given Linton's detailed knowledge of Blake's design, his connections with Walter Crane, and the interest which the late-nineteenth-century design group took in his work, there is a reasonable possibility that Mackmurdo had seen the *Famine* engraving before making his own. However, as so often with Linton's activities and associations, conclusive evidence is lacking. (...) Yet the very existence of the engraving, together with the quality of his other printings, suggests that his printing activities have more importance than students of the craft have recognized. In England Bullen and Emery Walker knew his work, while the great men in the history of fine printing in America, Theodore De Vinne, Walter Gilliss, and D.B. Updike, must all have been acquainted with his press-work through their links with the magazine publishing-houses and the *Century* and *Grolier Clubs*. Linton's private press at Appledore is contemporary with the *Gilliss Press* and predates by nearly twenty years Updike's *Merrymount Press* of 1893." (F.B. Smith)

"The very presence of Blake's visual art in such innovative and unexpected settings is a silent testimony to artisan volition and the political power of the made (and remade) symbol. Linton's *Blakes* are not dead but resurrected: they are the *choir invisible* of hope beyond nation. (...) Linton's use of Blake's designs in his work creates a continuum of political symbolism, which has specific meaning of the secular, particularly Republican politics of the 1870s. In Linton's work, the material presence of the book recognises the indivisibility of art from politics." (Shirley Dent & Jason Whittaker, Radical Blake)

William Bell Scott: Poems. Ballads, Studies from Nature, Sonnets, &c., illustrated by seventeen Etchings by the Author and L. Alma Tadema. London 1875

Four of the seventeen illustrations were made by the noted historical painter Lawrence Alma – Tadema,, the rest by Scott himself.

Although William Bell Scott had started to publish his own lyrics very early, it was only with this illustrated collection that he gained considerable approval as a poet. The earliest poem in this revised selection, *To the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* dates back to 1831 and was originally published in Edinburgh in 1838. Linton had dedicated his first issue of lyrics, *Claribel and other poems* (1865), to Scott and it is to be assumed that his ambitions as a poet would have never proceeded so far without

the example of the Scottish painter-poet and the friendly rivalry between them. But whereas the lyrics and imagery of Scott predominantly remained in the patterns of the Pre-Raphaelites' chivalrous romanticism, Linton's poetry draws its specific friction from very heterogeneous conceptions. Of special interest are some of Scott's etchings, in which he anticipated a morbid kind of symbolism a la Félicien Rops.

-, England To America 1876 A New -Years Greeting. Cambridge, MA 1876

This 8 pp. – pamphlet was printed and published in Cambridge, MA by Welch, Bigelow & Co, University Press.

Linton's festive poem is decorated with two engravings of his Claribel stock. It is dedicated to the influential poet and editor William Cullen Bryant and the "Members of 'The Century,' in acknowledgement of hospitality and many courtesies received by an English Member." The *Century Club* was founded by Bryant in New York in 1826. He provided Linton with a substantial network of useful relationships without whose support his social advancement in America would have been unconceivable. On the occasion of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence of the former English colonies Linton meditates on the relationships between the two nations, calling them brother lands, united in their shared Protestant heritage of the likes of Wycliff and Milton. Linton here also mentions his early influence by Bryant.

-, Wind-Falls, Two Hundred And Odd. Hamden /Appledore Press, ca. 1876

16-page brochure. First Edition. Limited to 50 copies. Signed in pencil by Linton on the cover, and inscribed in ink on the end-paper: 'F.R. Lees with the Editor's best regards. 1883'. F.R. Lees was a voluminous pamphleteer whose magazine "The Present Age", a radical temperance paper that back in 1851 was distributed in Leeds together with Linton's periodical, "The English Republic."

The dating of this rare publication is unclear. Most scholars date it before 1879. R. Malcolm Sills in his *Check List of the Appledore Private Press* refers to it as "the first ambitious issue of the press." Linton announced this collection of aphorisms and short inner monologues as a compilation of historical quotations "from characters in various dramas," which allegedly were issued anonymously, and were assembled and printed by himself. Obviously, all of these fictional excerpts had poured out of his own pen. Some of them give autobiographical information, some are excited political statements especially against the genocide on the Native Americans, and most of them are petty pieces of wisdom, windfalls.

It is to be assumed that Walter Savage Landor's late miscellanies had been an examlel for this loose mix of various literary pieces, and moreover, most likely it had been Landor's legendary anthology, *Poems from the Arabic and Persian*, published in 1800, that had inspired him to this kind of well-intentioned fake. If he hadn't been familiar with this scarce publication first-hand, he certainly became acquainted with the case through Richard Hengist Horne's account, in whose miscellany of literary portraits, *The New spirit of the Age* (1844), he could read that Landor's *Poems from the Arabic and Persian* "pretended to be translations, but were written by Landor for the pleasure of misleading certain orientalists, and other learned men. In this he succeeded, and for the first time in the known history of such hoaxes, not to the discredit of the credulous, for the poems are extremely beautiful, and breathe the oriental spirit throughout. (...) In writing which, the author, no doubt,

laughed very much to himself at the critical labour and searching they would excite." "Mr. Linton was so fond of literary hoaxes—one of the first publications of the Appledore press was a little book called *Windfalls*, comprising two hundred passages from imaginary plays—that it is surprising that he did not issue his *Love-Lore* as the work of a forgotten seventeenth century poet. It would have been difficult to have detected the fraud. The little volume was not only written, but printed, by Mr. Linton himself." (Burton J. Hendrick, 1898) What Hendrick did not recognize was the fact that Linton had produced a much more serious version of such a hoax a few years later with his *Heart Easings*.

-, Coverdesign for *Wind-Falls.* Original preparatory drawing (pencil /watercolour). N.d. / n. p. (probably Hamden/ Connecticut, ca. 1875)

The draft (11x 15 cm) was executed in the same size and on the same grey paper as the wrapper of the booklet.

The spiky lettering of this drawing, which is very similar to the character of the *Famine* cover, suggests that the undated *Wind-falls* publication was produced around the same time, in the mid seventies.

-, aka Abel Reid: *Broadway Ballads. Collected for the Centennial Commemoration of the Republic.* 1876 / 2010

A reprint of the British Library.

This cycle of poems, which escaped even the notice of Linton scholar F.B. Smith, belongs to Linton's strongest literary moments and shows him from a rare side of social reporting. *Broadway Ballads* was written on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of American independence and is composed of a series of caustic sketches dealing with the human misery of mass unemployment and the disintegration of solidarity in the plutocratic metropolis of New York: portraits of homeless children, young prostitutes, immigrants driven into suicide, scenes of mass unemployment, and a series of short cuts from the central slum quarter *Five Points*. Poetic case studies such as *Frozen to Death, Jan.10, 1875* about "Two men lying, stiff and stark / Frozen to death in Central Park," which were related to newspaper announcements and police reports, anticipate the bleakness of a literary realism that started in the nineties with authors such as Stephen Crane and was continued by the investigative journalism of Jack London and Upton Sinclair.

The social realism of the coeval Charles Dickens has to be conceived as a forerunner, especially his American travelogue from 1842. But whereas Dickens's prose always remained stuck in Victorian sentimentality, entertaining and noncommittal, Linton's lyrics had an analyzing, often undigestible, but always challenging Brechtian impulse. The idea to create such a hellish vision of urban reality was considerably influenced by the example of James BV Thomson, whose bleak poem *City of Dreadful Night* had caused a literary stir two years before. In 1866 Thomson had published an inspired essay on Blake in the *National Reformer*, the atheistic organ of his mentor Charles Bradlaugh. The double-page 110 -111 in *Broadway Ballads* can be considered in a strict sense as a response to the usage of Blake in the context of secularism or, in a wider sense, as a Lamennaisian objection against the threads of a narrowed Utilitarianism. This spread shows a graphic depiction of a *Descent into Hell* on the left side, which was taken from Blake's *America*, and an engraving by Linton with the inscription *God is not dead* on the right. It is less challenging but rather entertaining to view this pictorial confrontation

in the context of Thomson's hymn to atheism, *Address on the Opening of the New Hall of the Leicester Secular Society*, that was published anonymously a few years later - illustrated with Linton's translations of William Blake's *Job*, - and to consider all probable and improbable correlations.

-, aka Abel Reid and A.N. Broome: *The American Odyssey. Adventures of Ulysses. exposed, in modest Hudibrastic Measure*, Washington in our centennial year 1876

Non-pictorial leaflet, 24 pages.

The civil rights politics of President Ulysses Grant, which were in favour of Afro-Americans and Native Indians, should have suited Linton's taste. But the two terms of his presidency were overshadowed by a series of corruption scandals, which had revealed the political constitution of the so-called *Gilded Age* as an unscrupulous oligarchic system. The old Chartist was also increasingly disappointed by Grant's imperialistic foreign policies. This Hudibrastic satire on Grant's presidency, though dry, cryptic and completely unfunny, is full of numerous allusions to various affairs, in which Linton was mentally or physically involved. Grant's first name, Ulysses, had enticed him to use Homer's epos as a formula.

The first chapter refers to the *Cyclops episode* and, according to the wording of the preface, is meant to symbolize "the partial blindness of the law." It is peppered with allusions to the *Cuban and Santo Domingo affairs*: "General Ben Butler and the great Massachusetts Senator, Charles Sumner, I saw and spoke with at sundry times. Cespedes' brave attempt for the freedom of Cuba, for its deliverance from Spain and for the emancipation of the slaves, had a promise of success. (note: *Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a Cuban planter, who had freed his slaves, made the declaration of Cuban independence in 1868 which started a ten-years guerilla war*) And perhaps had not failed had Grant conceded belligerent rights, as he had promised to Rawlings. (note: *General Rawlings, the Secretary for War, had introduced Linton to President Grant in 1867, in order to persuade him to support the Italian republicans*.) Rawlings dead, the promise was not kept. This was but a little while after my arrival in America. I was led to interest myself in the Cuban struggle by Cluseret and another republican friend, Dr. Basora, a physician practising in New York. (...) He was active in the Cuban cause. Strongly sympathising, I gave what help I could by writing for it; and when they wanted an American General, I was asked to see General Butler and get him to name a man good for the purpose. Butler gave me an introduction to one whom he recommended as a brave and daring and capable man, who had served under him. I called upon the man in Boston, and found him to be, instead of the expected fierce, grim warrior, a quiet-looking, smooth-faced, gentlemanly man, who regretted, and seemed sincerely to regret, that he had settled down since the war as a man of peace, begun business as a lawyer, and could not be disturbed again." (Memories) "Butler's nominee was the gallant former Brigadier-General Sumner Curruth. The Cubans needed better generalship and Carruth's *Civil War* record suggests that he would have supplied it. His acceptance of the post might have tipped the balance of the war in Cuba. (...) Linton's public role in the Cuban affair was a tireless campaign to swing the Anti-Slavery Society into backing the revolt. (...) The Americans' attitude to the abolition of slavery was parochial, their greed did prevent them from playing a liberating role in the Caribbean, but Linton's bombastic self-righteousness made him a poor persuader. (...) His latent hostility to America that informed his political pronouncements surfaced in his opposition to the American annexation of *Santo Domingo*, agreed informally by the rulers of the two countries during 1868. According to Linton, President Grant had no right to claim that the Dominican Republic would be better off under their suzerainty,

while their own republic was tainted down with Klansmen in the countryside and Tammanymen in the town. Moreover President Baéz of *Santo Domingo*, chosen without universal suffrage, had no mandate to sell his people. Americans professed to believe in national independence and democracy, but where were their protests now? Was the only protest to be `that of the stranger ´?" (F.B. Smith).

The theme of the second chapter, the *Circe-episode*, is the hog-stall of Grant's cronyism. The third one represents the descent into the Tartarus, where Grant – Ulysses meets all the shadows of his rascality, namely robber barons like the stock broker James Fisk and the major William "Boss" Tweed. In the concluding episode, the *Sirens* appear and the *children of the sun*. The latter eat their cattle and should represent the native Indians.

When Grant tried to apply for a third term, Linton sent copies of his indigestible satire "to the headquarters of Grant's democrat opponent, Samuel Tilden, hoping, that the democrats would buy it for their campaign. Headquarters politely rejected it: the committee feared that the style was `too much above the average intelligence of the People they desire to influence´. `American Democracy!´ Linton scrawled across the letter." (F.B. Smith)

William Cullen Bryant / W.J. Linton: *The Flood of Years*. Various editions: New York 1877 – 1878 – 1879 *Flood of years,* the final work of the aged poet, written in 1876, was a kind of complement to his debut feature *Thanatopsis* and illustrated in the same mode. It was published separately in 1877 and in combined versions together with *Thanatopsis* in 1877, in 1878, the year of Bryant's death, and in 1879. The collection has also an undated edition that combines both poems together with a third one by Bryant, *Among the Trees,* which was illustrated by J. J. McEntee in 1874.

Daniel Defoe: *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner, As Related By Himself.* London. 1877 / 1993

A recent reprint with 52 engraved full-page plates and 49 text illustrations.

Linton contributed five full-page engravings to this classic of Defoe, who belonged to the traditional canon of British republicanism. All of them were depictions of shipwrecks, the pictorial subject that had stood at the beginning of his career as an engraver in Colonel Reid's *An Attempt to develop the Law of Storm.*

-, aka Hattie Brown: *Catoninetales. A domestic epic.*
Hamden, CT 1877 / London - New York 1891

The Linton-Archive holds signed and numbered copies of both editions, the original one, which was published with an inserted photo of Linton by the Appledore Press in 1877 in a limited edition of 25 and of the book market version, that was published by Laurence & Bullen in London and New York in 1891 in a much wider circulation of 330 copies.

Like its predecessors *Bob-Thin* and *The American Odyssey*, this large illustrated mock-epic also substantially lacks narrative movement. Its Sterneian structure is a rather stagnant one consisting of endlessly interlaced annotations and nonsensical interpretations that mimic scientific analyses and twit academic pretension. But beside this absurd body of hermeneutical subtexts, the *Catoninetales* has a quite serious and disturbing subject. The domestic affair, to which the subtitle alludes, is the

problem of apartheid and racial violence in the Southern States, which wasn't settled by far with the ending of the *Civil War*. The main title is a pun that refers to a main symbol of racist claim to superiority. *Cat o' nine tails* is the name of a dreaded multi-tailed whip, that was used by slaveholders and also as an instrument for judicial punishment. The author states that the stripes of the American flag originated from the constant usage of this instrument.

Linton plays in his rather unfunny satire with different interpretations of the proverbial *nine lives of the cat* and the *curiosity that killed the cat* and connects them with variations of the popular nursery rhyme *Who killed Cock Robin*. The text says that *cat Robyn*, before he turned red by violent death, had been black. By undermining nursery rhymes with topical contents, Linton reverts to a common technique of radical satire, which he had already used in his *House that Tweed built*. Only piecemeal, what falls into place is that the decisive parts of this innocent nonsense allude to various ways of racist lynch law: drowning, hanging and shooting. Although it wasn't by far as effective as Abel Meeropol's and Billie Holiday's *Strange Fruit*, Linton's verse satire represents a first disturbing attempt to cope with this theme in metaphorical terms.

Cat o' nine tails provides further evidence that Linton's poetry was much more a conceptual than an entertaining matter. The method of the overtone language as well as the basic plot of the ninefold death and the repeated burials and resurrections of cat *Kok Robyn* additionally reminds one of Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* and its basic plot of the death and resurrection of the drunken Irish mason. And like Joyce, Linton repeats this event in endless mythological interpretations and linguistic variations. Whereas Joyce had Giambattista Vico's theory of historical cycles as a theoretical framework, the *Catonine* satire emanated from Darwin's idea of evolution, which in Linton's view in a last consequence would enable endless metamorphosis from "squash to cat." Linton had experienced Darwin's evolutionism as an instrument to justify racist claims to dominion. The levels of criticism, of which this nonsensical epic consista, do not only refer to socio-political and institutional dimensions (racism and academicism), but also explicitly to those predominant cultural doctrines of the epoch, self-referentiality and mysticism, which were the main signatures of the *Aesthetic Movement*.

-, Engraving Block for *Catoninetales*. Hamden, CT
(From a descendant's estate. 3 x 3,5 x 2,5 cm)
The block was engraved for an illustration on page 18, titled: "From an ancient monument in Pussé Church, Gironde."

-. : Temperance Tracts. A new Issue. „The Prayer of the Saloon-Keeper." n.p / n.d.
A rare single-page leaflet, from a descendant's estate.
This witty prayer of an imaginary saloon keeper from Atchinson, Kansas was written and published by Linton probably in the late seventies when the obtrusive activities of the *Woman's Christian Temperance Union* finally led to the prohibition of alcoholic beverages in Kansas in 1881. The tract is a biased attack against puritan bigotry and the hypocrisy of influential upper-class women, whose extravagances would lead their husbands "to bankruptcy, robbing them of all this world's pleasures, driving them even to suicide."

William Luson Thomas ed.: ***The Graphic Portfolio. A Selection From The Admired Engravings which have appeared in The Graphic and a Description of The Art of Wood Engraving with Fifty Engravings.*** **London 1877**

William Luson Thomas, the editor and owner of the illustrated weekly *The Graphic*, was a professional engraver, who had been trained in the workshop of Linton. He had founded this magazine, which proved to be the only one which was able to rival the *Illustrated London News* over long distances, in 1869 with the intention to enhance the artistic quality of the illustrated press. As Luson Thomas explains in his preface to this Best of – selection, his basic idea was to eliminate the professional draughtsmen on wood, who served as middlemen between the originals and the engraver, and to encourage artists from all directions to draw directly on wood. He says that these had introduced a variety of new methods like, for example, drawing on wood with broad charcoals, which had not only vitalized the appearance of the journal but also challenged and stimulated the work of the engravers. Each of the fifty selected engravings, which were finely printed on thick paper, is annotated by the editor. Attached is a short history of the profession, which proves to be an abridged version of Chatto & Jackson's *Treatise on Wood Engraving*. Some prominent examples of exponents of the *School of Social Realism* are included such as Luke Fildes' *Houseless and Hungry* or Hubert Herkomer's *Lodging Hose St. Giles*. "I have taken apart the *Graphic Portfolio* and inserted the items among my loose sheets," wrote Vincent van Gogh to his friend Anthon van Rappard in March 1883. He considered these prints from the *Portfolio* as being of specific worth as he held them not for ordinary impressions from "clichés, but impressions of the original blocks." Those images formed the basis of his print collection, which served him as a kind of pattern book.

One wonders why Linton never mentioned his former assistant Luson Thomas and his concept of artistic press illustration in one of his tracts on wood engraving. There was hardly anyone in the business, who could claim to have rendered more outstanding services to the enhancement of woodengraving and its artistic reputation. Besides a good measure of professional jealousy, two reasons for this could be proposed. Linton did not think much of Dickensian social realism, which the *Graphic* artistically promoted. And in terms of the craft it could be argued that it was not the engraver whom Luson Thomas had granted more freedom of expression in his editorial concept, but the artist. One could say that by having the original drawing directly on the block, the degree of imitative slavery would only increase. Notwithstanding those objections, one can hardly deny that Luson Thomas had established a new mode of expression in the field of popular graphics of such intensity that it had been able to attract someone like Van Gogh and make him want to become a member of staff.

Div.: ***Scribner's Monthly Magazine*** **Vol. 14, New York 1877**

This volume contains the first section of a sensational series of wood engravings after the illustrations of James E. Kelly, initiating the fame of a group of young engravers, which later became known as The *New School*. The responsible art director Alexander Wilson Drake was a trained engraver himself and an ambitious artist. In 1884 he became a founding member of the *Grolier Club*, the legendary society of bibliophiles, whose activities had substantially supported the artistic reputation of the *New School*. Together with William Mackay Laffan, the art editor of *Harper & Brothers*, and Sylvester Rosa Koehler, the first curator of prints at the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, Drake was one of the main wire-pullers of the international success of this early variation of American hyperrealism.

"Late in the seventies came that new movement in wood-engraving, emphasized with especial éclat in Juengling's cuts after James E. Kelly's remarkably free drawings for *Scribner's*. In these Kelly designs, the line was absent; it was painted illustration, which we see in preponderance today, and it set problems for the engravers which were quite in line with the tendency to insist on tones and masses. (...) Timothy Cole in 1906 wrote James E. Kelly that *The Gillie Boy* from a drawing by Kelly, was the first thing of this kind which he engraved and the first ever done, and that he `will always regret. . . that his modesty prevented him from signing it.´ This appeared in *Scribner*'s for August, 1877. But the illustrations engraved by Frederick Juengling (the `boldest and most inconsiderate experimenter among the pioneers of the new school,´ says Koehler) for articles dealing with the New York police force, the New York aquarium, *A Railroad in the Clouds*, etc., appearing in *Scribner's Monthly* for 1877, made the first obvious, continued assertion of the new point of view. The drawings for these illustrations were executed by James E. Kelly, slapped down in broad brush-marks, blocked in with a disdain of finish. (...) In this series of Kelly-Juengling cuts, designer and engraver absolutely coincided; here was the opportunity to state the newly discovered possibilities of the boxwood and graver in straightforward, unmistakable terms. They came as a shrill trumpet blast to gather adherents to the banner of the new dispensation. Artists, engravers, art editors and the public were fairly caught in the intoxication of this delight in astonishing achievement. One strong voice was raised in warning, that of W. J. Linton. He laid down his principles in an article on *Art in Engraving on Wood*, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and for which he was denounced with some acrimony."
(F. Weitenkampf, American Graphic Art, 1912)

Div.: *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* Vol. 16, New York 1878

This volume contains the third section of the challenging series of Kelly-engravings, most of them executed by Frederick Juengling. It also includes a long article by Linton, *The Engraver. His Function and Status*, where he enfolds his open and anti-hierarchical view on art. This contribution is of major interest as it was the prelude to a protracted media debate, which took place in the foremost American journals. Linton´s leading figures of reference in terms of an artistic level of engraving were Albrecht Dürer, William Hogarth and, with top priority, William Blake. In his article he counters a statement in *The New York Evening Post* saying that „*Wood-Engravers, properly speaking, are not artists, nor do artists, as a rule, recognize them as such*." Referring to this Linton asks: „Is an engraver an Artist? And I have to answer - Not necessarily so. Which, as an excellent painter and critic observes, is true of painters and of sculptors likewise." He points out that the praised woodcuts by Dürer or Holbein can be called art only in terms of the designs, whereas „the cutting was done by mechanics. There is no Art in the cutting. (...) The poorest Chinaman could not mistake the firm-drawn lines." The particular tool would not affect the question of artist or mechanic. „The sort of work that carries the names of the brothers Dalziel is, I believe, done mainly with the graver; but is as mechanical, and very far from as mechanically perfect, as the Durer and Holbein knife-work of between three and four centuries ago. The graver- work of the London *Graphic* (not always, but the exceptions expose the rule, and I name the *Graphic*, not as notably bad, but as easy for reference) is for the most part merely mechanical. That in *Punch* is the same, though the practiced hand of Tenniel has led to a pleasant delicacy in his cutters. All these works, and much other work likewise, may be set down as mechanism,but seldom of Japanese ability. The poor mechanic - Chinese-like, not Japanese - carves out laboriously the white spots left for his dull, monotonous hand-practice, and has no pretension to be called an Artist. (...) The

copper-engravers work is precisely that of the draughtsman on wood or paper. Is the artists hand less traceable in Dürers engravings than in his paintings? And his drawings on wood were only less finished because he left them to mechanics, on account of the material and the purpose for which they were required. Of Hogarth we may say the same. Painter or engraver, he is never less than Artist. (...) The first (*of the wood-engravers*), in time and talent, was Thomas Bewick. Not known as a painter: a mere wood-engraver, and but an experimenter at that. Nevertheless, if there is room at the table (not in any Royal Academy, of course) where Blake has so lately taken his seat beside Hogarth, set a third plate, or only a wooden platter, for the Engraver of the British Birds! (....) He who works in Art, artfully, artistically, is an Artist, whatever his subject, whatever his material, whatever his tools. The relative grandeur and importance of this or that branch of Art is altogether beside the question. Great as was Blake for his power as a designer, unrivaled as he is as a colorist, he had been not less than an Artist had he been only an engraver. (...) Art is the truthful representation of the Beautiful. The question of the Grotesque seems to contradict this; but, I believe, only seems. The Tragic and the Comic, High Art and Caricature, all are under the same law. (...) Art, I repeat, is the truthful representation of the Beautiful. He who can see beauty and truthfully render it, is an Artist, whatever tools he may use, and in whatever material he may work. It is altogether a most false and invidious distinction which would shut out the engraver, the worker in metal, or the wood-carver from the Guild of Art. For me, I would admit the photographer also, whenever his work gave evidence of an artistic spirit. The boundaries of Art are well enough defined; but within them should be no division into castes."

Div.: The Atlantic Monthly Vol. 43 , Boston 1879

Linton's response to the hype of *new engraving* was vehement and extensive. He felt
provoked to unfold his view on in an 11-page article in America's leading literary magazine. The account of the development of the technique, which he gives in *Art in Engraving on Wood*, can be conceived as a preliminary stage to his following historiographies. The effect of his partisan attacks against the new wave was, in art-historical respects, a remarkable and far-reaching one. Only in their cohesive endeavour to resist Linton's arguments and refute them, these rather scattered artisans managed to form up as a group. And moreover, the expansive debate that followed and in which the leading cultural magazines were involved during the next month proved to be the first public discussion on the originality of American art and the challenges of the new media. Linton, with his commitment to an expressive artistic attitude, had to play the role of the die-hard in this heated debate and was labelled *Old School*. But it has been overlooked that his rejection of graphic substitutes and imitations of photography was connected with an appreciation of photography as an autonomous art form.

***-, Some practical Hints on Wood Engraving,* Boston 1879**

What comes in the guise of an amiable decorated instruction book is in fact a first means of fortification against the wave of indignation, which his polemics in *The Atlantic Monthly* had stirred. In his preface he declares, that "the object of the following treatise is to help the general public toward some accuracy of judgment as to what is good and what is bad in Engraving on Wood. (...) The remarks interspersed for the special benefit of Reviewers whose ignorance evaded the *Atlantic* teaching will not perhaps acquire for me their spontaneous thanks." The batch of bitter polemics is dedicated to his old friend Richard Hengist Horne, whose first work, *An Exposition of the False Medium*, a legendary reckoning with literary criticism, seems to have served as a primary example.

-, Slanderers. Hamden / CT 1879

8-page pamphlet with printed self-wrappers.

Linton's feud with slandering reviewers also took place in the political field. He had published this pamphlet on his private press in January 1879 as a resonse to George Howell and James Knowles of the *International Working - Men Association* in London and in defence of Gustave Paul Cluseret. Linton had been in cahoots with the adventurous General in 1869 in New York, where they sought ways to back the guerrila war of Céspedes in Cuba. Linton knew him as a military supporter of Garibaldi, who had also fought in the rank of a Union General in the American Civil War. Shortly afterwards he had made his mark as an associate of Mikail Bakunin during the events of the *Paris Commune*. Linton thought of him as "a brave, earnest, chivalrous, and perhaps somewhat too hot-headed and self-opinionated republican, true to his party, if not always what I might think wise in his course." (Memories) Although it had been widely known that Cluseret had also participated in the Fenian insurrection in Ireland in 1866 (he was therefore sentenced to death in his absence) and that he moreover had been involved in the American Fenians'plan to raid Canada, Linton "could never believe Cluseret low enough to have been a Fenian. When he was named one in 1876 by George Howell, the English radical artisan leader, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, Linton rushed to deny the slur. The editor of the journal rightly refused Linton's wild rebuttal, leaving Linton to hate him and Howell for ever. Cluseret, who lived till 1900, if he ever learned of Linton's valiant defence, never disabused him. The General had small sense of irony, but he loved mysteries." (F.B. Smith)

-,: *Voices of the Dead: Charlotte Corday and Marat. Mazzini and the Countess Ossoli. Delescluze on the Barricade*. n.p. / n.d (Hamden, 1879)

Unbound leaflet,14 pages.

Like its counterpart, the following *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley* dialogue, these three connected blank-verse poems represent an attempt to express complex political correlations in the scheme of Walter Savage Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*; though the distance between Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* and Linton's adaptations is remarkable. Landor had already employed an alienation technique in his conversations, strongly abstracting the gestures of speech vis-à-vis the naturalistic expectations of the audience. But Linton went a step further in this respect. He largely abandoned the classical idiom that characterised Landor's prose and employed a sober and reduced language. Linton concentrated on the structural frame of the dialogues, on the exemplariness of the situation. He turns Landor's free-floating speech into acutely composed political didactic pieces. Already in 1839, he had dealt with a form of parable in the twelve-part series, *Records of the World's Justice*, which filled the loyalist propaganda instrument of moral fables with a new, radically political content. Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* now paved the way for him to shift the political didactic piece from the indirect narrative mode to the presence of the theatrical.

The voices of five dead republicans are raised to resist the historical falsifications of the conservative press and reactionary historians. They represent different phases of revolutionary uprising and each of them - Jean Paul Marat, Charlotte Corday, Margaret Fuller, Guiseppe Mazzini and Charles Delescluze - mark another layer in a progress of increasing frustration. Whereas the decline of the Great French Revolution and the fall of the second Roman Republic in 1849 are represented as dialogues, the lonely voice of the republican journalist Charles Delescluze, who died during the events of the Paris

Commune, marks the ultimate isolation of egalitarian ideals. But Linton's three poems are much more than a depressing retrospect. The dead Marat doesn't attack his assassin Charlotte Corday, but the historian Thomas Carlyle for his biased depictions of the proceedings of the French Revolution. Delescluze mourns the discrediting of the Communist ideals. And the conversation between Mazzini and his follower, the American Unitarian teacher and journalist Margaret Fuller (she is represented here with her Italian family name Countess Ossoli), gives Linton the opportunity to attack the merely trade-based politics of the American democracy. Both of Linton's dialogue pieces, *Voices of the Dead* as well as the following *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley* dialogue, share a common theme, the construction of history.

-, *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley.* Hamden / CT 1880

8 pages, brochure, non-pictorial, untrimmed

In summer 1879 Cetshwayo kaMpande, called Cetewayo, former King of the Zulus, visited London as an exile; actually the chief of the recently defeated African nation, he was nothing but a prisoner of war, exposed to the public of the victorious Empire. The discussion between the African priest king and the Dean of Westminster unfolds on the British commemoration of the French Prince Imperial Louis Napoléon, who was killed and ritually disembowelled by the African warriors. Cetewayo's biting questions reveal the absurdities of nationalistic hero-worships and memorial cult. This short but pensive play about one of the most bizarre incidents in the era of New Imperialism has previously been disregarded. Linton adapts Landor's interview scheme, but turns his displayed sophistication into less pretentious didactics.

Bertolt Brecht's teaching plays are not so far away.

While the preceding dialogue piece takes a look back in the sense of an historical rehabilitation, *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley* captures current voices of the contemporary imperialistic epoch. As with many productions of his private *Appledore Press* it appeared without any indication of the author. Although it ranks among the very rare examples of anti-colonial literature written in the early phase of high imperialism, it has hitherto not been registered by academic research. The subject of the fictive dialogue taking place in London between Cetshwayo kaMpande, the King of the Zulus who is a prisoner of war, and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, is a bizarre incident that occurred in 1879 during the final phase of the war between the Zulu Nation and the British Empire: During a patrol on horseback, Louis Napoleon, the Bonapartist heir to the throne who, as a volunteer of the British army, was in Cetshwayo's dominion, was surprised and executed by Zulu warriors. Only under the protection of Queen Victoria did the laurel-hungry prince, who since the collapse of the Second Empire had been living in British exile, succeed in advancing into the war region in the first place. It was also Queen Victoria who with her proposal to erect a monument for the Prince Imperial in Westminster Abbey had caused quite a stir in the British public. She and Dean Stanley, who supported her in this, were accused of committing national sacrilege by placing a member of the Napoleonic dynasty as a foreign body at the traditional burial place of British monarchs. In his piece, Linton didn't share the xenophobic resentment of the English public. The Mazzini-style democratic nationalism that he propagated understood itself as a cosmopolitan counter-model to the "narrowed" nationalism of imperial competition. To what extent Mazzinism was indeed in line with the prevailing jingoistic sentiment at the time is underscored by the ethical imperative of patriotically fulfilling one's

duties, which Linton in this case raised to the predominant yardstick of his assessments and which he, fully in the sense of Mazzini's political mysticism, sets off against a tyranny of dynastic arbitrariness.

It is above all the role of the Christian state church as an instrument of hegemonic power politics that is attacked in the piece. However, Linton's main interest lies less in the causes and effects of colonial aggression, which is soberly acknowledged as a fact, than in the construction of history. The piece suggests that only such an historical perspective is sustainable that relativizes or reverses the Eurocentric point of view, thus allowing an African ruler like Cetshwayo kaMpande to be perceived on an equal footing to a Napoleon I. What is hinted at here is a postcolonial historiography. In his anthology, *Poetry of America*, published a few years later in 1887, Linton made it clear that this must be grasped not only in political but also in cultural-historical terms.

The ending of this conversation piece is but a strange one. What did Linton actually mean when he had the defeated Zulu chief say: "But do not put me in your Abbey, Mr. Dean, along with this boy (...)!" ? Why did Cetewayo speak about himself and the *Prince Imperial* here, where the real issue was their monuments? Did the author merely seek to express a reducing, linguistic awkwardness, or rather a naive animism that mistakes the sculptural simulacrum for the original, similarity for identity? An explanation is given in an essay by Walter Savage Landor, from which Linton had already cited in the introductory motto of his piece. In *Sir Robert Peel and Monuments to Public Men*, which is included in his late anthology *The Last Fruit off an old Tree*, Landor reflected on adequate possibilities to "commemorate the great worthies of our country." He called for making a fundamental difference between famous persons from public-political and cultural life, and allocating public space accordingly. According to Landor, the higher status of political persons to cultural representatives is represented in public outdoor space, "in the streets, in squares", the classical location of the *res publica*. Landor's conception of the monument was less an idealistic cult of paying homage than a utilitarian teaching lesson that transformed urban space into a three-dimensional history atlas. Excluded from this representation, however, were theologians, because their images would only excite dogmatic discord. Equally, placing worldly monuments in a sacred realm would also amount to disfigurement and desecration. By rejecting Westminster Abbey as a site of secular commemoration, Linton's King of the Zulus agrees with Landor's conception.

However, Cetewayo also follows a totally different line of argument that calls into question the use of Anglican service. He doesn't comprehend the meaning of a specialised state priesthood that holds services only periodically at certain hours. He counters these regularly arranged services with a "right" service which his men rendered to the "pretty boy", the *Prince Imperial*. "He was rightly served by my men" could be unsuspiciously interpreted as: It served him right the way Cetewayo's men treated him. It was indeed known that the way in which the Zulu warriors dealt with Louis Napoleon also possessed a ritual aspect. As the *New York Times* reported on July 3, 1879, with reference to the English daily press, the Zulu warriors had disembowelled all of the dead on the battlefield "through a superstitious creed of battle." The corpse of the *Prince Imperial* had not been spared either and had been "snatched from the sacriligeous and mutilating hands of the savages who had murdered him", to the great grief of his mother. The information that the corpse had also been partially scalped most likely owed to the specific imagination of the American press to further stir up feelings. This short-circuiting of the British Zulu war and the genocide of the indigenous population of North America

certainly had the opposite effect on Linton, possibly also inspiring him to write the conversation piece in distant Connecticut.

Most products of his American private press were addressed with specific allusions to a relatively small circle; the *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley* piece, of course, particularly to his acquaintances in London. There, the allusion to the "rightly" disembowelled body of the prince, especially because it was connected to the cult of monuments, had to inevitably trigger associations to a ceremonial, public dissection at the outcome of which stood the origin of a memorial sculpture. Although this ceremony had taken place almost thirty years beforehand, the memory of it must have been extremely present among Linton's circle of acquaintances, especially at the time the piece was written, for it had been no less than an informal foundation act of the secular movement that made an appearance at the time with audience-grabbing actions and became the topic of fierce controversies.

The corpse which had been subjected to this procedure of dissecting disembowelment belonged to Jeremy Bentham, the most important philosophical proponent of early British radicalism and the most fundamental critic of colonialism and Anglicism in the 19th century. 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.

Linton's Cetewayo partially appears as a revenant of Bentham. Equipped with disarming practical intelligence, something Bentham had termed "savage ingenuity", he called into question the foundations of the Anglican state church, to finally abruptly declare that he would withdraw from not only the ideological co-optation by a hypocritical, two-faced imperial religion but also the chaotic ambivalence of historical ancestor worship. But the categorical consequence also quite clearly expresses the aversion of the reproduction graphic artist Linton towards the mechanised logic of Benthamism, which no longer left any room for mimetic difference. In the end, it is the dissolution of this difference in an automated icon that Cetewayo shies away from here, at the same time as his author was involved in a fundamental dispute with the photographic hyperrealism of young American xylography. Linton's Cetewayo is Bentham, as far as the colonial-political perspective is concerned. In regard to the ethical and aesthetic perspective, he is anti-Bentham. There is hardly a comparable document that expresses the ambivalence of British radicalism regarding its utilitarian foundation as suggestively and incisively as this inconspicuous conversation piece.

Richard Hengist Horne: *Laura Dibalzo Or The Patriot Martyrs. A Tragedy.* London 1880

From a descendant's estate. This copy, hand signed by the author, had been in Linton's possession.

Horne had dedicated this late play "to the Illustrious Memory of Washington, and to the equally

pure patriotic Names of Kosciusko, Kossuth, Mazzini and Garibaldi." In his preface he called it "my only work that can be designated as of direct political bearing. (...) These scenes were written, for the most part, during the lifetime of Joseph Mazzini, from whom I derived much information; availing myself also of what is contained in his published writings, and in the narratives of Silvio Pellico, Baron Carlo Poerio, and other Italian martyrs to political liberty." Furthermore he states that several of the characters of this tragedy, which is set in Sicily during the despotic reign of Ferdinand II., are portraits. "The faithfulness of which will easily be recognized by those readers who are conversant with the history of Naples during the time in question." As a leading member of Mazzini's People's International League, who had lectured there on the Italian cause, he was indeed well informed, and thus his play not only reflects the brutality of Ferdinand's autocratic police state and "the herioc fortitude of resistance," but also the inner dividedness and the resulting failure of Mazzini's republican movement.

Although such a subject matter must have been quite to Linton's taste, he did not refer to this work in his reminiscences on Horne. Maybe he had agreed with Robert Browning's critique, who held the piece for outdated. In a letter to his old friend Horne, Browning had stated that the play should have appeared "at the time", that is twenty years beforehand, whereupon the recipient had replied: "I'm sure if you give this a second thought you will admit that while no tragedy (...) can be too old it may easily be too young." Concerning the lacking readiness to a differentiated dealing with the *Giovane Italia* movement, Horne's Risorgimento tragedy in fact came rather too prematurely. The reviews were accordingly and Horne's special liking for theatrical bang effects may have contributed to the slating. Whereas Ann Blainey perpetuated this critical reception, characterizing the play as being "as poor as all his later offerings," Cyril Pearl in 1960 admitted, though "*Laura Dibalzo* is not the best of Horne's tragedies, it is certainly the one that has dated least. Much of it is peculiarly topical today. The discussions of `ends and means´, of the justification of terror, of the value of individual life, of personal versus political loyalities, are in the spirit of Koestler and Orwell. There are scenes that prefigure *Darkness at Noon* and *1984*."

Like most of Horne's plays it had never been performed on stage, although he had emphasized in his preface that "the present tragedy, like all my previous dramas, is systematically constructed for stage representation." One can only regret this, not least because *Laura Dibalzio* is most likely the first and only play, before Albert Camus' *Le Malentendu,* that ended with a most decided and haunting exclamation of negation.

-,: 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 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 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." (W.J. Linton)

Div.: *A Symposium of Wood Engravers*. in: Harper's New Monthly Magazine, February 1880
Bound copies.
Harper's New Monthly had invited seven of the most distinguished exponents of American wood engraving to respond to Linton's criticism in a 12-page article: A.V.S. Anthony, Timothy Cole, John Parke Davis, Frederick Juengling, Richard Mueller, John Tinkney and Henry Wolf . With the exception of his old buddy A.V.S. Anthony, all of Linton's colleagues countered with a heavy load of harsh criticism of his own idiosyncratic engraving style. "Mr. Linton has done a great deal for wood-engraving. For a long time I have constantly referred to him in my work. (...) But I wouldn't take the liberty he does with an artists design. (...) Mr. Linton is incapable of getting an artists spirit and outlines. Fine work he has done, but that is not to say that he has represented the artist in it. You can not tell how much finer the artists work was than the engraving. Mr. Linton has failed so many times, in so many things that I have seen, to get the feeling of the artist. There is too much mannerism in his work, his engravings all look alike. That's what I call mannerism." (Timothy Cole) "Mr. Linton's engravings always suggest Mr. Linton. They do not remind you of the original artists." (Henry Wolf) "Instead of losing himself, as every true engraver should, he preserves and protrudes himself." (Frederick Juengling)

The whole debate resulted in an ideological matter of principle. Whereas Linton considered the artisan in his position equal to the artist as a cooperator and translator of his work, the members of the *New School* regarded it either subordinate, like Timothy Cole, or completely null, like Frederick Juengling. "The engraver, you see, holds a secondary position to the artist, does he not? Well, it would seem natural that when seeing an engraving of a drawing you should recognize the artist first and not the engraver: Drawn by So-and-so, engraved by So-and-so. But when looking at an engraving of Mr. Lintons you say instinctively, Engraved by So-and-so, drawn by So-and-so, just reversing the order." (Timothy Cole) "It is neither the duty nor the right of the engraver to make any change in the work that he has set himself to reproduce. He is not to be the critic of that work; he is neither to improve nor to alter it. (...) I do not say *translate*, because *translate* is too elastic a term. What I mean by *reproducing* is bringing the original work (...) as close to the spectator's eye as possible. (...) The method of the *Old School* is to adapt the original to the means; the method of the *New School* is to adapt the means to the original. With the *New School* nothing is theoretically impossible, and no means are illegitimate." (Frederick Juengling)

- , *The Princes´ Noses. A Modern Idyll.* n.d. / n.p. (Hamden, ca. 1880)

Folded leaflet, 4 pages, signed : A. Tennyson. (Sills states in his "Checklist of the Appledore Press" that the edition was limited to 20 copies. Kineton Parkes attributes it to 1880)

Another literary jab by Linton, this time mocking the bombastic historicism of poet laureate Alfred Tennyson, especially his lyric cycle *Idylls of the King*. Tennyson had provided the Pre-Raphaelites with a lot of literary models. Linton disdained Tennyson's pretentiousness and his outspoken racism. Besides Carlyle, Dickens and Ruskin he had belonged to the most prominent defenders of Edward John Eyre's Jamaica Massacre of 1865.

Div.: *Proofs from Scribner's Monthly and St. Nicholas: A Portfolio of Proof Impressions Selected from Scribner's Monthly and St. Nicholas.* New York 1880

With this choice of engravings, art director Alexander Drake had followed the example of William Luson Thomas' *Graphic Portfolio*. Scibner's first proof portfolio includes examples of those engravings that became notorious for having stirred up the *New School* controversy, among them the famous *Gillie-Boy* reproduction by Timothy Cole and his engravings after Wyatt Eaton, which Linton had predominantly attacked. Two rather moderate engravings of the *Old School* fossil Linton, interpreting a landscape and a historical illustration by his disciple Mary Hallock-Foote, stand against an amount of twenty-six engravings of his adversary Cole, which demonstrates the striking variety of his art. In the second series of the proof edition, which appeared in the following year, Linton's work was completely absent. In the concluding Best of - compilation, *Selected Proofs*, which was also published in 1881, Linton is only represented with a very mediocre example of an old-fashioned facsimile style.

James BV Thomson: *Address on the Opening of the New Hall of the Leicester Secular Society Delivered by Mrs. Theodore Wright.* n.p. / n.d. (Leicester, ca. 1881)

This copy of the scarce and enigmatic announcement concerning the opening of the New Hall of the Secular Society in Leicester (8vo. pp.) has a bookplate by its previous owner Lord Esher, formerly Oliver Brett.

The address consists of a long hymn on secularism by John Thomson BV, decorated with vignettes which were taken from works of William Blake. Thomson's hymn includes the famous atheistic credo: "We now dare, / Taught by milleniums of barren prayer, / Of mutual scorn and hate and bloody strife / With which these dreams have poisoned our poor life, / To build our temples on another plan, / Devoting them to god's creator, MAN; / Not to MAN's creature, god. And thus, indeed, / All men and women, of whatever creed, / We welcome gladly if they love our kind; / No other test of valid worth we find." The poem lists some secular progenitors. Four of them – Jesus, Socrates, Paine and Voltaire – are still represented nowadays as busts on the exterior façade of the *New Hall*.

What's puzzling is the question of who had been responsible for the graphics of this announcement, for the editing and appropriation of some of Linton's kerographies of Blake's *Job* - and *Jerusalem* – designs. From a cultural perspective, the pamphlet "exhibits the flexibility, inclusiveness and downright idiosyncrasy of the British Secularist movement in writing its own history. From a production perspective it is a wonderful ´sham´, an exact copy, but not a facsimile, not entirely truthful as to its origins but not a forgery, back-flipping between mirrors of production and reproduction. What we have is a fake." Shirley Dent and Jason Whittacker have fun tracing the anonymous author of the graphics, who had

used “cut-up techniques to breakdown aesthetic hierarchies.” Linton is a possible candidate, but in 1881, the date of the opening of the Secular Hall, he was absent, in America. But in the period 1882-84 he had returned to England. “James Thomson died in 1882. It is possible, that the *Job/Jerusalem*-Illustrations in the Secular Hall pamphlet may, more than anything, be Linton’s memorial to Thomson, created after his death while Linton was still in England.” Another solution is that the pamphlet celebrates George William Foote, a collaborator of George Holyoake, who became a secular martyr in 1883, when he was charged with blasphemy and imprisoned for one year. Also in this case it is possible that Linton had a part in it. “He was in England for the whole of 1883, and although he was not a secularist, he had a great liking for Charles Bradlaugh, who particularly supported Foote.” Dent and Whittacker also consider a participation of Linton’s friend Harry Buxton Forman possible, who earned dubious posthumous fame for being the most successful literary forger of the age. He used the same photolithographic technique, which had replaced Linton’s creative reproduction technique of Blakes *Job* designs in the second edition of Gilchris´s *Life of William Blake*. These mechanical reproductions of the second edition were the models for the marginals of the Secular Society pamphlet. “Would Linton, however, have used those cuts that ousted his own work from the *Life*? Are we in fact getting an agitprop director’s cut of Job in the Secular Hall pamphlet, a cut-it-up and spew-it-out commentary on both socio-political and technological censorship?” (Dent & Whittacker: Radical Blake. pp. 187 -194) Two aspects speak against an involvement of Linton. Firstly: Although he respected Secularists like Thomson and Bradslaugh, the foundation and the activities of the Secular Society in Leicester were much too connected to his arch-rival George Holyoake and thus contaminated. Secondly: The whole unbalanced patchwork layout of the pamphlet and the unproportional enlargement of minute details is contrary to Linton’s sense of composition, to his refined art of design.

-, *Who Were The Chartists*? in: *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*. Vol. 23, No 3. November 1881, to April 1882. New York

“Who were the Chartists? - a question to be first answered by saying what *Chartism* was. A word of fear in England, from 1837, for ten to fifteen years onward, of its sound scarcely an echo now remains.” Thus begins Linton’s melancholy reminiscence and defence of the political movement, which had formed him. He picked his “men for praise, the best I knew, the leaders of the earlier movement” and provides short portraits of James Watson, William Lovett, Thomas Cooper and John Frost. But by only taking into account members of the rather intellectual circles of the London *Working-men’s Association* and omitting the then much more popular and effective Manchester faction of Feargus O´Connor he gives a rather biased account of the movement.

Joseph Mazzini: Essays: *Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political, and Religious*. Newcastle, London, New York 1882

This selection of essays, which were compiled from the six-volume edition of Mazzini’s *Life and Writings* (London, 1864 -70) appeared ten years after the author’s death. Linton esteemed Mazzini’s literary criticisms: “As a literary man he must take high rank. His comments on Dante, his criticisms of Goethe, Carlyle, and others, may be read for their purely literary merit as well as for their profound thought and critical perception. (...) His style, peculiarly his own, is vigorous, of the purest Italian (...), passionately earnest, yet ever the words well chosen and well marshaled, reminding the reader in their sustained lenght of sentence and vehemence of argument, intreaty or invective, of the mighty prose of

Milton." (Linton, European Republicans)

The selection includes his clear-sighted warnings against the threats of Carlyle's self-centred antidemocratic heroism, which he viewed as being inspired by "the evil genius of Goethe." He held the German poet together with his great role model Byron for being the last representatives of a declining age of individuality, both being "noble monuments of feudal times." In his article *Byron and Goethe*, which first appeared in the *Monthly Chronicle* in 1839, he characterizes the two as complementary poetic forces, which are united in their fatalism and egotism. Through their artistic excellence, they have exhausted in the author's view "both forms of the poetry of individuality," the more subjective, represented by Byron and the more objective, represented by Goethe, and have thus "completed the cycle of its poets, thereby reducing all followers in the same sphere to the subaltern position of imitators, and creating the necessity of a new order of poetry," a poetry, which would no longer "teach us inactive contemplation."

Anon.: *Giuseppe Mazzini.* n.p., ca 1872

Proofprint on Chinapaper, 13 x 17 cm (From a descendant's estate)

This fine engraving of the godfather of the Risorgimento was kept in Linon´s private collection in Hamden / CT. Deduced from the versatile style one can assume that the print was engraved by Linton himself.

- , *The History of Wood Engraving in America*, Boston, 1882

Signed and numbered copy;

While writing his polemic *Some practical Hints*, Linton began to assemble material for a history of American xylography. Linton asked his fellow engravers to name their best works and to submit specimens for his project. The respect for the old engraver was apparently so great that even his most acrimonious adversaries replied. The history first appeared in 1880 as a succession of eight articles in Sylvester Rosa Koehler's new journal *The American Art Review*. While the first three chapters display the development of American xylography, beginning with its initial practitioner Alexander Anderson, a follower of Bewick, in the following four chapters he increasingly shifts to a criticism of the methods and views of the New School. His intention was "not merely to supply a dry chronicle" but to write "in praise or blame as seemed just to me, distinctly from a desire to help the advance of wood-engraving in America." In allusion to Linton's personal history, a reviewer of *The American Architect* found reasons enough to question the even-handedness of the publication: "The History of wood-engraving in America remains to be written by someone who shall really be a historian, and not a partisan pamphleteer." A defence of the work was provided in 1912 by Frank Weitenkampf in his survey on *American Graphic Art* from the perspective of the twentieth century's understanding of expressiveness in art: "The critical and historical account of the development of the art, particularly during 1840-70, will always make this an indispensable book of reference. The portion relating to the work of the *New School* is of interest and value on account of the comments on the numerous examples given. Linton, while evidently striving to be fair, protested vehemently against an undue and slavish devotion to textures and tones, to ultra-refinement. He found, too often, the essential sacrificed to the unessential, while at the same time the very distinction of substance aimed at was missed. It was the tendency to render substance rather than spirit, to imitate brush-marks rather than to imitate essentials, to which he objected."

- ed., *Golden Apples of Hesperus (Poems not in the Collections),* New Haven 1882

Limited edition of 225 copies, hand signed.

Linton had dedicated this anthology of British poems from the Elizabethan Age to the present to his friend, the American critic and poet Richard Henry Stoddard. Stoddard had supported him in his research work and had inspired him with his edition of *Melodies and Madrigals*. In the following year they would jointly publish their five-volume anthology of *English Verse*. The editions feature Linton's favourite periods, the early seventeenth and early nineteenth century. "Poems not in the collections: meaning such general selections as are in vogue and accessible to ordinary readers of poetry (...) Most of the poems here printed I have not been able to find in any popular anthology." The historical part has lyrics by John Donne, Philip Sidney and Robert Herrick, and the 19th century section compiles, among others, his whole circle of literary friends and acquaintances: Walter Savage Landor, Charles Wells, Ebenezer Elliott, Harriet Martineau, Thomas Wade, Richard Hengist Horne, Sarah Flower Adams, William Bell Scott, Ebenezer Jones and Gabriel Dante Rossetti. For illustration he mostly fell back on his *Claribel* emblems, but added a few new ones. "Of the wood-cuts I may confess that I have but cared to adorn my pages with something less monotonous and less impertinent than printer's furniture, while yet avoiding the imposition of what it has been the custom to call illustrations."

-, aka A.W., of the Middle Temple, Gent: *Heart Easings. Gent. (1595). reprinted liberatim from a copy, supposed unique, in the British Museum, London: T. and J. Allmann, Princes Street, Hanover Square, 1824.* Hamden / CT 1882

A very rare booklet. R. Malcolm Sills states in his "Check List of the Appledore Private Press" that only six copies were printed.

Whereas *Wind-Falls* was a hoax easy to see through, something like a trial balloon, this small collection of madrigals and epigrams, allegedly dating back to be 17th century, represents a serious attempt of the literary amateur to dupe his professional colleagues, the literary critics and Anglicists, and to test their punditry. Although he was a real aficionado of ancient lyrics and crafts, he was also very sceptical about the excesses of Medievalism. Francis Barrymore Smith connects Linton's inventive fraud in a very conclusive way with the most famous case of literary forgery in the 19th century: "Very likely Linton regarded this pamphlet (..) as a literary jape. His tart comments in *Rare Poems* on the identity of A.W. show that he envied established students of literature, and may well have a residual hope that his pamphlets might deceive some of them. This motive shows in his (...) attempt, to use Stoddard to plant his forgeries:` Have you seen the little book by A.W: which I mail to you with this? I guess it is scarce, as I have never seen another copy. I send it to you as it strikes me you might care to make an article out of it (...)´ Stoddard appears to have seen through the verses and the plethora of enthusiastic hypotheses and ignored Linton's request. The fact that he made no attempt to sell the pamphlet widely and later included *Heart Easings* in his *Collected Poems* (1895) strengthens the impression, that he was innocent of any intention to profit by the fraud. Yet we know, that he was in correspondence with Harry Buxton Forman and sent him copies of nearly all of his works. Another of Linton's admirers, A.H. Bullen, a friend of Buxton Forman and T.J. Wise, also had a copy of *Heart Easings* at least before 1890. Linton probably distributed his booklets personally during his visit to England in 1882-4."

Harry Buxton Forman was an antiquarian bookseller and one of the most respected literary scholars and critics, specialized on bibliographies of Shelley, Keats, Morris and Ruskin. He was friends with

Dante Gabriel Rossetti and wrote a number of articles about lesser poets from Linton's surroundings such as Charles Jeremiah Wells, Richard Hengist Horne and Thomas Wade. He also had a special predilection for Linton's poetry, but he preferred the non-political ones, such as the *Heart Easings*. In the acknowledged *Gentlemen's Magazine* he wrote in 1897: "His (*Linton's*) practical, active, aggressive republicanism is among the principal factors in keeping him from that fullness of poetic attainment for which he has the capacity."

The huge amount of faked *rare private editions* and *pre-first pamphlets,* which he had produced in collaboration with the commodity broker and book collector Thomas James Wise, were only detected in 1934. The first of their forgeries appeared on the market after 1886. These forgeries were quite inventive in that they were not copies of existing works but were presented as works that could or should have existed. "Linton's pamphlet, purporting to be a rare nineteenth-century imprint of existing material, with its virtually unknown publisher and likely bogus printer's imprint, shares the attributes of Wise's and Buxton Forman's deliberately dishonest productions. (...) Linton's booklet may well have provided the inspiration to create rarities with spurious imprints. It would hardly have pleased Linton, but A.W.'s collection of songs may yet win an adventitious fame as the *modus operandi* for the `most ingeniously conceived, the best executed, and the most successful fraud in the history of book-collecting.´" (T.B. Smith)

George Edward Woodberry: *A History of Wood – Engraving.* New York 1883

George Edward Woodberry, an influential American literary scholar and art critic, supported Linton's views in his conflict with the *New School*. He agrees with him in considering the white-line technique being superior and in diagnosing a decline of the craft in the early thirties. He calls the works of the *New School* "the product of ignorance or carelessness or caprice. In it wood-engraving ceases to be an art of expression." In terms of future prospects, Woodberry is quite optimistic. He regards wood engraving as a "democratic art," that "has shared in the great social movements, which transformed medieval into modern civilisation. (...) It may yet crown its career by making this country an art-loving as well as a book-reading Republic."

W. J. Linton and R. H. Stoddard: *English Verse. From Chaucer to Burns.* New York 1883

In the collection: the London edition from 1884

This "golden treasury" volume is the basis of the very successful five-volume edition of *English Verse*, which Linton put forth in association with his friend Richard Henry Stoddard. The series was first published in New York and appeared a year later in London for the British market. Favourites of Linton such as Robert Herrick and John Milton are extensively represented. William Blake is granted five poems, among them the famous "Tyger". The selection closes, in the phrase of the editors, "with a sweet, wild cry, a deep, loud shout – the long triumphant song of the Master Singer – Burns". The Scottish poet Robert Burns, son of a tenant farmer and pioneer of the Romantic movement, was the hero of all radical self-taught poets in the 19th century.

W. J. Linton and R. H. Stoddard: *English Verse. Lyrics of the XIXth Century.* New York 1883

The 19th century section starts with the first generation of Romantic poets, with Wordsworth and Coleridge. Linton's whole circle of literary models, friends and acquaintances is represented: Percy

Byshee Shelley, Ebenezer Elliott, Walter Savage Landor, Harriet Martineau, Charles Wells, Thomas Wade, Richard Hengist Horne, William Bell Scott, Dante Rossetti, Ebenezer Jones, James BV Thomson and William Morris. Also, the editors are represented with a small choice of their own work. Interestingly Linton is introduced in the annotations as an "engraver and political writer", whereas Rossetti, for example, is noted as a "painter and poet."

W. J. Linton and R. H. Stoddard: *English Verse. Translations.* New York 1883

This volume contains an adventurously wide range of international poetry, from Finland to India and China. Most of the translations of Victor Hugo's and Pierre de Béranger's poetry came from Linton himself, also the examples of the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz. "As a translator Mr. Linton has few equals. His renderings in the original metres of old and modern French poems are always faithful and spirited." (A.H. Bullen, 1892) Linton may also have been responsible for the choice of some of the firing interventionist poems. "The *Translations* and the *Lyrics of the XIXth* century still usefully contain a lot of poetry not easily found elsewhere. In its day *English Verse* constituted a lively unusually carefully edited collection." (F.B. Smith)

-ed.: *Rare Poems of the 16th and 17th Century. A supplement to the Anthologies. Collected and edited with notes.* Boston, 1883

"Under the title *Golden Apples of Hesperus* I lately printed a limited edition of *Poems not in the collections*, meaning the general selections accessible to the ordinary readers. The present book is but in part a reprint of that. Half the wood-cuts omitted, some new ones are given; and instead of poems of the 19th century, additional poems of the 16th and 17th centuries, with a selection from the anonymous writings of the same period, out of early miscellanies." Among the better known authors are John Donne, Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, Robert Burton and Linton's favourite Robert Herrick; John Dowland's songbook is also included. Although F. B. Smith praises this carefully produced collection "as the first scholarly edition in the field," subsequent compilers of English Renaissance and Restoration poetry neglected Linton's editorial merits and didn't even mention him.

Bertram Dobell ed.: James BV Thomson: *Shelley, a poem, with other writings relating to Shelley, to which is added an essay on the poems of William Blake*, London 1884

The small book was published in a numbered and limited edition of 190 copies by the famous Chiswick Press. In 1889 they would publish Linton's "Masters of Wood Engraving"

This posthumous edition of Thomson's early poem on Shelley (1861) was edited and introduced by the bookseller and Shelley specialist Bertram Dobell. Thomson's essays on Shelley (1860) and Blake (1865), which are appended, belong to the most perceptive analyses on these subjects. Also in regard to his strong views on the *poet laureate* Alfred Tennyson, the central literary reference of the Pre-Raphaelites, as a weak and vain "pensioner of the thought of his age," Thomson's views are rather congruent with Linton's mindset.

-, *Wood- Engraving. A Manual of Instruction*, New Haven, 1884

Linton advocated in his book of instruction a predominance of the line and an expressive use of the graver: "For the mechanic-engraver days are numbered. Only the artist-engraver (...) can assure the future of engraving. Beware of photography!"

John Greenleaf Whittier: *Poems of Nature. Illustrated from Nature by Elbridge Kingsley.* Boston and New York 1886

If Linton's commitment to expressiveness in xylography has ever fallen on fertile artistic ground, it was in the work of Elbridge Kingsley, an American engraver who was nearly thirty years his junior. Kingsley had a similar interest in theorizing and in technical experimentation. He had studied Linton's Lake Country engravings and his Cullen Bryant illustrations closely and had followed him in his impressionistic approach to engrave *en plein air*. Moreover he developed a kind of mediumistic notion of a "nerve power" which has to be translated as directly as possible from the mind onto the wood block.

He was also interested in photographic processes as a means of a direct transformation of light. The sketching cart which he established as a moveable studio to work in the woods was both an engraving workshop and a photographic darkroom. According to the noted photography historian Estelle Jussim, Kingsley belongs to a group of unjustly "forgotten and neglected artist-engravers of the last century. However neglected, his career provides a fascinating insight into the transformation of the ancient art of wood-engraving into a plein air art of illusionism, with photography and photographic processes as the prime movers in the transformation."

Kingsley's illustrations for Whittier's *Poems of Nature* with his first originals after nature caused a sensation. Here he had developed his unique style of light-writing, which oscillated strangely between photographic naturalism and nervous *écriture automatique*. Kingsley's revolutionary effort was to turn photography into a vital medium by fusing photo-power with nerve-power, and the impression of his landscapes was a rather spiritistic or aural one. Unquestionable Kingsley's method of manual photo-gravure was the most inventive variation of Linton's expressive use of white line. It came too late to be accounted for in Linton's *History of American Wood Engraving*, and also in his *Masters of Wood Engraving*, which followed three years later, Kingsley isn't mentioned. Linton may have counted his work among the dispensable eccentricities of the *New School*. With the exception of the short essay *Originality in Wood-Engraving*, which was published in 1889 in *The Century Magazine*, Kingsley's extensive writings on reproduction and xylography unfortunately never came into circulation.

Carl von Lützow ed.: *Der Holzschnitt der Gegenwart in Europa und Nord-Amerika.* Vienna 1887

This heavy folio provides a range of brilliant reproductions and offers the best insight into the international development of xylography in the second half of the 19th century. The art historian and archaeologist Carl von Lützow commissioned specialists from all over Europe, often members of the craft themselves, to write essays on the various national specifics of this printing technique. The article on British xylography was written by Moritz Klinkicht, a German engraver, who had worked for some years for the London *Graphic*. He counts Linton among the Bewick disciples. The contribution on American wood engraving was written by Sylvester Rosa Koehler. The curator of prints at the *Museum of Fine Arts Boston* was one of the most influential advocates and theorists of the extreme surface realism of the *New School* and his article a revealing document not only on their controversy with Linton but also on the forward-looking mode of American reproduction graphics at the end of the century.

William M. Laffan and Members of the Society of American Wood-Engravers: *Engravings on Wood by Members of the Society of American Wood-Engravers.* New York 1887

The sumptuous folio consists of twenty-five full-page engravings by members of the *Society of American Wood-Engravers* (SAWE), among them noted exponents of the *New School* such as Timothy Cole, Gustav Kruell and Henry Wolf and all the members of the *Original Workers in Wood* (OWW): Elbridge Kingsley, Frank French, John P. Davis and W. B. Closson. However, the co-founder and first secretary of the organisation, Frederick Juengling, was missing. The most radical exponent of xylographic hyperrealism and its best theorist had resigned shortly before, and his absence becomes painfully evident.

The introduction and the descriptive texts were written by William Mackay Laffan. Laffan belongs to the most dazzling personalities of the American Aesthetic Movement. His versatile and unconventional activities were of invaluable worth for the rise of the *New School*. Laffan was an educated artist and illustrator, and became the chief ideologist of the legendary *Tile Club*. He had worked his way up from investigative journalism and theatre criticism to being one of the most successful publishers of the era. In his preface, he connects the surprising development of American wood engraving since the Civil War with the expansion of the publishing industry in the phase of the Gilded Age. He maintains that American engravers have developed a distinctive style that distinguishes them from their European counterparts, a style characterized by "its simplicity, its sincerity of purpose, and the cheerful self-effacement of the engraver." In response to Linton's attacks, Laffan states that the American engraver wouldn't care about traditional rules, or about "his line", - that he woudn't even know that he has a line of his own, but would simply strive with all available means to come with his engraving as close as possible to the original.

Louise Reid Estes ed.: *Nature and Art, Poems and Pictures from the best Authors and Artists.* Boston 1887

This selection of nature poetry by English Romantics and American Fireside Poets is illustrated with etchings and wood engravings. Members of the *New School* such as Gustav Kruell, J.P. Davis and W.B. Closson were involved, and Linton is represented with three full-page engravings of illustrations by Charles S. Reinhart and Granville Perkins. Despite the sumptuous production, the result is rather modest.

William James Linton: *Harvest Scene.* n.p., 1887

Proofprint on Chinapaper, 13,5 x 8,5 cm (From a descendant's estate)

The small print was kept in Linton´s private collection in Hamnde /CT. The circumstances of its creation are not known.

Walter Crane and W.J. Linton: *The baby's own Aesop. Being the Fables condensed in Rhyme with portable morals pictorially pointed.* London 1887

An illustrated children's book with a series of sixty-six limericks. The coloured drawings by Crane were reproduced by Edmund Evans as photo-etchings.

"In 1886 I added another little book to the *Baby's Opera* series. (...) For the Text I was indebted to my old friend and master, W.J. Linton. He has treated the Fables in verse, compressing them into

very succinct lines with still shorter morals, `for the use of railway travellers and others´ as he said" (W. Crane, An Artist's Reminiscences). In fact, Crane could fall back on an Aesop edition, which Linton had published six years before in a limited edition of ten copies under the pseudonym P.J.: *The Wisdom of Aesop condensed. Fables in familiar verse: with delightfully short morals: for the use and amuse of railroad-travellers and others.*

Legend has it that Aesop, the author of a canon of subversive fables, was an enfranchised slave. Crane's illustrations stress Linton's republican interpretations of the fables through certain pictorial applications like the red bonnets of the protagonists.

-, ed.: *Poetry of America. Selections from One Hundred Poets from 1776 to 1876. With an introductory Review of Colonial Poetry and some Specimens of Negro Melody.* London 1887
with a portrait of Walt Whitman as frontispiece, engraved by Linton.
The collection starts with examples of the poetry of the New England Colonists and is comprised, amongst others, of poems by William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Edgar Allan Poe, Margret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Herman Melville, Richard Henry Stoddard and Francis Bret Harte. Walt Whitman praised Linton's anthology as "a capital compilation & condensation – the best thing of its sort & size." In 1872 Whitman's European promoter and editor William Michael Rossetti, the brother of Dante Gabriel, had published a much smaller and less accurate anthology of American poetry.

Linton here reinforces and amplifies the postcolonial view, which he had taken in 1880 in his conversation piece *Cetewayo and Dean Stanley*, by making it clear that this view must be grasped not only in political but also in cultural-historical terms. As a prospect for the future, *Poetry of America* ends as probably the most radical abolitionist consequence of the day with songs of African-American plantation workers. He had reprinted these examples of African-American gospels with their notations from the groundbreaking collection *Slave Songs of the United States*, which had been edited by W. F. Allen, Charles P. Ware and Lucy M.Garrison in 1867. Linton held these gospels for "rude and unformed", but they would "come from the heart, the true source of poetic inspiration."

William Luson Thomas / Harry Quilter: *The Making of the Graphic.* in: Universal Review, London 1.9. 1888
William Luson Thomas, the editor of *The Graphic*, the enterprise that would advance modern expressive xylography like no other, gives an account here of his own engraving practice "under the teaching of W.J. Linton." He refers to the influence of the works of "Branston, Thomson and W.J. Linton" on the development of the craft in France and how he conceived the idea of founding the *Graphic*. "The originality of the scheme consisted in establishing a weekly illustrated journal open to all artists, whatever their method, instead of confining my staff to draughtsmen on wood as had been hitherto the general custom." Although he doesn't specify Linton's teachings and views, it is obvious that his demand for artistic graver work and his method of freely drawing with the graver had a major impact on Luson Thomas's conception. Van Gogh did not realise his initial intentions to become an engraver and to work for the *Graphic*, but he would tune into this by using the pen like a graver. His preference for the reed pen had to do with its likeliness to xylographic tools.

-, *The Masters Of Wood Engraving. Now Ready, - for Subscribers only.* (subscribers page) n.d. / n.p. (ca. 1889)
Leaflet, announcing the two versions of the anthology.

Promotional Leaflet by the publisher of Lintons masters of Wood Engraving: *Some Publications issued by B.F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C. 1895.* London 1895
With excerpts of reviews on Linton's *Masters of Wood Engraving*.

-,: *The Masters of Wood Engraving*, Hamden / London, 1889
Two signed and numbered copies in the collection. One of them, No. 1 / 100, had been in the possession of Eliza Lynn Linton. According to the inscription, the book was later donated by Mrs. Lynn Linton to her biographer George Somes Layard.
The literary scholar Arthur Henry Bullen on the genesis of this large folio, which is considered as representing Linton's main achievement in terms of printing: "In the summer of 1890, Mr. Linton issued the magnum opus on which he has been so long engaged, *The Masters of Wood-Engraving*, folio, the sole authoritative treatise on that art. He spent 1883 and part of 1884 in London, writing in the Print Room of the *British Museum*. The Trustees allowed him to take photographs of choice engravings; and he had some two hundred photographs taken, of the same size as the originals. Returning with his notes and photographs to New Haven, he began to write his book. When the scheme and plan of his work had been arranged, when the whole book was ready in rough MS., and a great portion had been fairly written, he began printing. He had a press, three sets of photographs, paper enough for three copies, and type enough for three pages, short royal folio. So he set three pages; worked off pages 2 and 3, distributed them, and then set up page 4 to complete the sheet, with page I for the other side of the sheet. The composition and printing of the 229 folio pages was the work of his own hands. Add to this that he mounted all the photographs himself, in two out of the three copies. For more than two years he was hard at work writing, printing, and mounting photographs." Many of the reproductions of the xylographic images were printed on India paper from electrotypes of the original blocks. The three copies he had produced on his private press served as the model for the 100 elephant folio and 500 small paper copies which were printed at the *Chiswick Press*.

This time the medium itself was the message. Rarely before had craftwork been presented in such a sumptuous conditioning. A comparable pompous getup was usually left to the presentation of fine arts or at most to a general survey of a luxurious kind of handicraft, but never to promote specific artisans. And this was, as the title already indicated, exactly Linton's intention: to highlight certain engravers and to equate them in their rank with some of the most established artists in history. Whereas former art historians had treated *formschneider* like Hieronymus Andreae or Hans Lützelburger as subordinates of an Albrecht Dürer or a Hans Holbein worth neglecting, Linton took pains to find out biographical details in order to give them individual shaping.

The Masters of Wood Engraving was Linton's concluding effort to write a history from below, this time in art historical respects. Graphic reproduction, especially press charts, meant to him not simply a means for the distribution of decorative and picturesque products, but a means to subvert and to corrode authoritarian structures and to promote the democratisation of society. He discusses the

revolutionary potential of popular graphics using the example of its function during the Protestant Revolt and contrasts its republican signature to the absolutist grounding of classic fine art: "While the Papacy adorned the seat of power with the choiciest treasures of the Renaissance, and the rich maturity of Italian art, formed upon an antique ideal, was subservient to its commands, the unsightly wood-cuts and the copper-engravings of Germany attacked and undermined its exalted position: appealing as it did everywhere, even in the public streets, to the hearts of hundreds of thousands, and especially to the poor ignorant minds to which writings and books were as yet sealed treasures." It is obvious that William M. Ivins´ theories on the communicative modes of prints benefited not only from Linton's discussions on graphic structures, but also from his rudimentary examination of the societal role of prints.

His favourite master of the woodcut era was Hieronymus Andreae or *Jerome of Nurnberg*, who had executed the enormous *Triumphal Arch* woodcut for Maximilian I, consisting of 192 blocks. From Albert von Zahn´s *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft* he had learned that Andreae was "a restless man, constantly in opposition to the Council, and considerably mixed up with the religious and political troubles of the time." The fact that he had been involved in the peasants' rebellion, and was convicted and banished because of "sinful words" made him a perfect role model for Linton. But also refined woodblock cutters like Andreae or Lützelburger, who were held in high esteem by earlier art-historians such as Adam von Bartsch, would from Linton´s point of view not go beyond the limitations of their medium. Linton was the first historian to distinguish relief printing techniques clearly and to classify them into the realms of wood-cut and wood-engraving. The former is treated in the first part of the folio under the term *knife-work*, the latter was labelled *graver-work*. According to Linton, the gap between these variations of relief printing was huge. Whereas knife-work would confine the activity of the artisan to pure rendering, the white line technique of graverwork would disclose the possibility of creative translation. This creative space was utilized only by very few engravers and only for a very short period. Pre-eminent among the few was Luke Clennell, "our most consummate workman," or "the genius of the group of Bewick's Scholars. Bewick had no vigour or line like this: the painter's large mind informs the graver here." Next to him was Charlton Nesbit, whose "painter's boldness" equalled him to Clennell.

A.H. Bullen: *The Masters of Wood-Engraving. From "The Library", London.*
Promotion booklet. n.d. / n. p. (London / Hamden ca. 1889)

The four-page prospectus reproduces a review of Linton's xylographic anthology by Arthur Henry Bullen, taken from his literary magazine *The Library*. Bullen describes the content accurately and comes to the conclusion that Linton "writes strongly, but fairly and without harshness, of the faults he finds in late English work, in the French Doré engravings, and in the *new departure* in America. His strictures should command attention, and will doubtless provoke criticism."

William James Linton sc.: *Narcissus.* n.p. / n.d.

Proofprint on Chinapaper, 17,5 x 22,5 *(From a descendant's estate)*

„The figure of Narcissus, in which I have followed Nesbit´s treatment of his Rinaldo and Armida, may serve to farther indicate the value of pure white line for flesh. Water, it hardly need be said, could not be rendered tolerably in wood except with the white line. And in every thing except imitation-

etching a line drawn by the graver is the true procedure."
The proof was printed by Linton for his *Masters of Wood Engraving* (New Haven and London, 1889).

Henri Roussau de. / L. Seriakoff sc.: Portrait of Eugene Delacroix. n.p. ca. 1880
Proofprint on Chinapaper, 18 x 23 cm *(From a descendant's estate)*
The proof was printed from the original block for Linton´s *Masters of Wood Engraving* (New Haven and London, 1889). Linton´s criticism of the enraving was mixed: „The coat is nought; but the head is excellent, - both in modeling and in colour, though I object to the black cross-lines on the cheek, chin, and eyebrows, as a waste of labour and as out of harmony with other white line."

-, *Poems and Translations*, London / New York 1889
Hand signed copy, limited edition: 780, with a heliogravure portrait of Linton as frontispiece.
As in the case of his first collection, this final un-imaged edition of Linton's poems was also dedicated to his friend William Bell Scott. It was edited in a very tasteful conditioning by the *Chiswick Press*. The first section consists of Linton's own poetry, including parts of his late lyric cycle *Love-Lore*, and a small selection of early works like "Henry Marten's Dungeon thoughts". The second part compiles translations from the French from medieval times to Romanticism, including numerous examples by Pierre Jean de Béranger, Victor Hugo and Theophile Gautier.

-,: *Mr. Richard Clark. Material for History.* Hamden /CT n.d. (probably 1890)
A very rare single-page leaflet, unsigned. From a descendant's estate
A completely faulty newspaper report on an accident, which Linton had witnessed in his neighbourhood in Hamden in the summer of 1890, gave him the opportunity to meditate about the construction of history and the foundation of Christian creed. As it turned out, the main character of the press notice, a certain Richard Clark, was fictitious and probably based on a misunderstanding of the reporter. "The question is suggested as to how much of what is called history, perhaps even sacred history, may have been built upon such foundations or whether reports before the use of printing might be equally trust-worthy. And yet another question seems not altogether impertinent – whether 1890 years hence it will be considered wicked to be not quite certain of the existence of MR. RICHARD CLARKE."

Kineton Parkes ed.: William James Linton. *The English Republic.* London 1891
This valuable abridged version of Linton's republican journal was provided together with a biographical sketch by Kineton Parkes, the young co-editor of the Journal of the *Ruskin-Society*. The publishing firm, Swan Sonnenschein, was specialised in social sciences. The book appeared in a series together with introductions to Karl Marx' *Capital* and Owens' *Co-operative Movement*.

George Jacob Holyoake: *Sixty Years Of An Agitator's Life*. London 1892 / 1906
6th impression, third edition.
Holyoake's autobiography, which appeared two years before Linton published his *Memories*, is much more instructive in terms of the history of the Chartist movement. Holyoake only mentions Linton in the context of a rather embarrassing aspersion affair. Linton struck back in his autobiography with a

rather derogative characterisation of his rival. They "were both histrionic men, eager for fame. With comparable journalistic abilities they were locked in ill-concealed rivalry. Holyoake was a smoother, less impetuous being than Linton, readier to ingratiate himself with influential personages." (Smith)

Alfred H. Miles ed.: *The Poets and the Poetry of the 19th Century. Vol. IV.* London 1892 /1905

In the collection a late edition of 1905

The complete series of 19th-century British poetry, edited by the prolific compiler Alfred Henry Miles, consists of ten volumes that were arranged in chronological order. The choice of poems by Linton was selected from the late collection of *Poems and Translations* (1889). It favours his lyrical side, mainly poems of the *Love-Lore* cycle and two examples of translations after Beránger. The introductory essay by the noted literary critic and editor Arthur Henry Bullen provides a valuable short biography of Linton. The volume also includes works by the coeval William Bell Scott and by John Ruskin.

-, *Heliconundrums*, Hamden / CT 1892 / 2010

Reprint of the British Library London. 91 pages with engraved vignettes. Limited to 25 copies

The set of atmospheric misty vignettes, the last he would engrave, reflects the motto of the collection: "Parodies are the shadows of words." Among Linton's playful lyric sketches are mockeries of the Romantics, of Wordsworth and of Tennyson and also of two childish poems from William Blake's cycle *Songs of Experience*: *The Tyger* and *The Fly*.

-, *Darwiniads Selected*, Hamden / CT 1892

8-page pamphlet with printed stiff wrappers. Limited edition of 25 copies.

The collection of poetic squibs is aimed at Darwin's theories about the origin of man. It is illustrated with some funny vignettes including a bat as symbol of Darwin's baneful theories. Linton's editorial occupation with evolutionism would last the next four years. In 1895 he published the Darwinian poem *Of a Mollusc* and in 1896 he wrote a review on Darwin's *Descent Of Man.*

-, *Life of John Greenleaf Whittier*, London 1893

The small book provides not only a condensed biography of the popular self-educated Quaker poet, who was inspired by Robert Burns, but also a short history of the American abolitionist movement and a critical examination of the New England poetry and American transcendentalism. "Linton gives unusual emphasis to Whittier's political views and illumines elements in Whittier's verse, which earlier commentators had underplayed." (F.B. Smith)

-, *European Republicans. Recollections of Mazzini and his Friends.* London 1893

Nearly half of the book is dedicated to Guiseppe Mazzini, the founder of the *Young Italy* and *Young Europe* movements. An excerpt from Mazzini's *Foi et Avenir* (1835) serves as the motto of the publication: "The Republican party is not a political party: it is a party essentially religious." The subsequent chapter is about some of Mazzini's Italian followers, who became early martyrs of the *Risorgimento*, Jacobo Ruffini, a close friend of Linton, and the Brothers Bandieras. Next comes Linton's recollections of the French communitarian theorist Abbé Lamennais, then an account of the Russian revolutionary Colonel Pavel Pestel and his follower Lieutnant Ryléieff, who were involved the

Decembrist revolt of 1825, and a portrayal of the Russian anarchist Alexander Herzen, who wrote for Linton's *English Republic*. The last chapter is dedicated to four exponents of the Polish Liberation movement: Simon Konarski, Albert Daraz and Linton's close friends Charles Stolzman and Stanislas Worcell. Appended is an excerpt from the Manifesto of Mazzini's *Central European Democratic Committee* which was drafted in London in 1850, signed by Ledru Rollin, Guiseppe Mazzini, Albert Daraz and Arnold Ruge.

Anon.: ***Martyrs of the Decembrist revolt.*** **n.p. / n.d.**

Proofprint on Chinapaper, 11,2, x 16,2, (From a descendant's estate)

The print represents commemorative medals with the portraits of various European revolutionaries. The lower engraving shows the heads of the Republican martyrs of the Russian Decembrist revolt. Pavel Pestel, Kondraty Ryleyev, Sergey Muravyov-Apostol, Kakhovsky and Mikhail Bestuzhev-Ryumin were executed by the Czarist regime in January 1826.

-, ***Threescore and Ten Years, 1820 to 1890. Recollections.*** **New York, 1894**

The English edition of his autobiography was published in the following year in London under the title "Memories".

The expectations of friends and critics like A.H. Bullen were high, but when Linton's autobiography finally appeared it revealed first and foremost that he was unwilling and perhaps also incapable to envision and dramatize his recollections. His reminiscences poured forth from his pen like a fast-paced cataract of unstructured information, as a kind of automatic writing, uncontrolled and apparently without having been proof-read. Twice he felt the need to interrupt his continuous shorthand report to confess to the reader that he feels incapable of bringing his recollections into a correct chronological order.

-, ***Times and Seasons*****, Hamden / CT 1894**

8-page booklet, hand signed by Linton : x-mas 1894

A nice example of Linton's late series of *Appledore* booklets, which excel through their artless grace. They may have served as models for some of Ian Hamilton Finlay's *Wild Hawthorne* publications. The lyric observations about the changing of the seasons are illustrated with a few minute emblems.

-, ***Ultima Verba.*** **Hamden 1895**

8-page booklet with printed stiff wrappers.

Of the same kind as *Times and Seasons*. These meditations in the face of death include some disarming self-awareness.

-, ***Love-Lore and other, early and late Poems*****, New Haven / CT 1895**

Includes a hand-written dedication and an embedded letter by Linton.

The collection is illustrated with an enlarged stock of minute *Claribel* emblems and compiles three lyrical cylces: *Love-Lore,* a batch of one hundred short poems, which was first published by the *Appledore Press* in 1887 in a limited edition of 50, *Heart Easings,* first published in 1881, and the Catullus variations *In Dispraise of a Woman*, first published in 1886 in a limited edition of 25. "Some of the poems are playful and whimsical, others pensive and tender; but all are free and unconstrained.

The collection consists entirely of the poet's latest work, but Mr. Linton is one of those who never grow old. His notes are sweeter and clearer to-day than they were fifty years ago. He has closely studied the Elizabethan poets; and in *Love-Lore* the traces of this study are clearly noticeable. Noticeable is the influence of Landor. It is not surprisingly that Mr. Linton's imitative faculty has been quickened; for he is a wood-engraver and a poet afterwards." (Arthur Henry Bullen)

The variety of thirty translations, which he had made of a single poem by Catullus *No. 70: In Dispraise of a Woman* is praised by Francis Barrymore Smith: "The best of them are at least as sprightly and effective as the handful of better-known recent translations. The collection is one more instance of Linton's quirkiness. Few Victorians admitted to an acquaintance with Catullus´ ribaldries. Fewer still admitted to translating them."

-, *Love - Lore and other poems.* For subscribers only (with order-form) Hamden / CT 1895
From a descendant's estate
The rare prospectus bears the imprint of a vignette and an order-form

-, *Untitled (Political Poems, 1840-70),* n.d. / n. p. (Hamden / CT. ca. 1895)
Two author's proof copies, 176 pages. A newly bound one and another in the form of folded, untrimmed sheets. A further author's proof copy is evidenced in the Rare Books Collection of the National Library of Australia.$
Linton apparently had planned to publish this selection of his political poems as a counterpart to his lyrical collection *Love-Lore and other, early and late Poems.* It was printed in the same size, with the same type and in the same type area. It was only sparsely, but nevertheless very effectively illustrated with a few vignettes of the *Claribel* stock. He had printed this substantial collection in a small edition of fifty copies, but unfortunately he did not manage to finish the production process and it never came into circulation. The *Linton-Archive* holds two copies. One remained in the original loose and untrimmed state and one was newly bound with a binding and imprinting similar to the *Love Lore* collection.

The undistributed printed matter can be considered as the most comprehensive collection of 19th-century interventionist poetry by a single author. It deals with the following topics: The New Poor Law (*The Life of Bob-Thin, 1840*), The Chartist Land Plan (*The Adventure of Bob-Thin, 1840*), Economic Deregulation or Manchesterism (*The Jubilee of Trade, 1843*), The February Revolution and the foundation of the French Second Republic (*To The Future, April 1848*), The European counter-revolutions (*The Dirge of the Nations, Nov. 1848*), The Irish Famine and the Nationalisation of Land (*Rhymes and reasons against Landlordism, 1847 - 1850*) The Crimean War and the rise of New Imperialism (*Carmen Triumphale, 1856*), Italian unification (*To Victor Emmanuel, ca. 1865*), The Third Italian War of Independence and the cession of Venetia (*Italy's Answer, 1866*), The ambivalent role of French international politics (*The Great Arbiter, 1866*), A Europe of Republican Nations (*Yet shall it come, 1866*), The Franco-Prussian War (*Achan, 15.08. 1870*).

-, To The Future / The Dirge Of The Nations. 1848. n.d. / n. p. (Hamden / CT ca.1895)
The copy is signed on the cover by its former owner Ulric B. Mather. The Mather family from Thomaston, Connecticut traces its lineage back to the Puritan minister Richard Mather. They were

the owners of the Appledore property in Hamden, which Linton had rented. Linton's friend, the Irish painter and illustrator W.J. Hennessy, was married to one of the Mather sisters.
The 16-page pamphlet combines his two complementary Shelleyan hymns of revolutionary hope and failure, written in April and November 1848. The title is printed in colour. For illustration he reused vignettes of the *Claribel* stock and a *Bob Thin* engraving. The emblem on the back shows of a coat of arms in the style of a medieval seal with the inscription: *Semper fidelis*. The booklet can serve as a prime example of his tasteful re-editing of early works. "A stream of neatly printed books and pamphlets, nearly all of his authorship, issued from the press. It was not *fine printing* in special type-faces in the manner of the great private presses beginning in England in the 1880s, but the work is distinctive in its uncluttered setting and elegant distribution on the page. Linton's printing style echoes the unpretentious grace of his engraving exemplar, Bewick, whose books he studied closely." (F.B. Smith)

Joseph Cundall: *A Brief History of Wood-Engraving, from its Invention.* London 1895
This book provides a concise survey on the development of the medium and on the various English engraving schools. It predominantly follows the tracks of Chatto and Jackson's *Treatise* and Linton's *Masters*, calling the latter "the modern prince of wood-engravers." It was published in the year of its author's death, the noted publisher, photographer and book designer Joseph Cundall.

Walter Crane: *Cartoons for the Cause - Designs and verses for the Socialist and Labour Movement 1886-1896.* London 1896 / 1976
A facsimile reprint of the edition of 1896 with a preface by the popular English publicist John Betjeman. It was limited to 500 copies.
"The designs here collected (...) cover the period from summer 1885 (...) to the present year (1896), marked by the International Socialist and Trade Union congress, which is commemorated in the opening Cartoon. The Cartoons therefore are associated with the movement during the last ten years – a period of remarkable progress in the knowledge and spread of Socialistic ideas." (Walter Crane) This selection of Crane's interventionist designs, which would prove to be influential for the development of socialist art worldwide, was assembled from various socialist journals, mainly "Justice" and "The Commonweal". The latter was the magazine of the *Socialist League*, which was formed in 1884 by William Morris, Walter Crane, Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling. In Germany Crane's cartoons had been reprinted in the socialist satire magazine *Der wahre Jacob*. They had an immediate impact on Martin Anderson's biting *Cartoons Social and Political* and also on the designs of Art Young, the famous American cartoonist of *The Masses* and *The Liberator*.

"The origins of Crane´s style can be found in the designs that Linton contributed to late Chartist publications such as Harney's *Red Republican* and his own English *Republic*, a linear style that combined a Blakean sinuosity with the French influences of 1848." (Anne F. Janowitz) Moreover, the verses which accompany most of the designs reveal Crane's close examination of Linton's interventionist prose and poetry.

William James Linton: *Bookplate of James Terry.* Hamden / CT, 1896
Proofprints on Chinapaper, 11,5 x 15 cm. Three Copies. (From a descendant's estate)
The bookplate of James Terry was signed and dated by Linton. It represents a fine example of his late

graver work.

-, *Bicycling*. n.p. (Hamden /CT) 1896

Original manuscript of an unpublished poem, unsigned, but dated. (From a descendant's estate)

A gender-related meditation on the new means of transportation. Interestingly the old advocate of women's lib tunes here in his late days into the argumentation of his ex-wife Eliza Lynn, who criticized feminism for its unwomanly conditioning. "(...) And woman should be graceful, as of old. / But, tired of the sewing practice and indoor work, / she mounts the outdoor machine and wears the fork / Appropriate, for street laughter to behold. Men are so faulty, she must imitate / Their foolishness, but herein comes the sting: / making herself more manlike is one thing, / but would she womanship quite abdicate?"

-, *Darwin's Probabilities. A Review Of His "Descent Of Man."* Hamden / CT 1896

The small 16-page booklet is bound in stiff grey wrappers with a paper label bearing the title and an engraving of a flying bat, suggesting the baneful quality of its subject.

Linton had preserved his sense for crucial current issues and his readiness to quixotic combat to the very end. His tract is an effort to detect that Darwin´s theory of the origins of species lacks real evidence and could therefore only be considered as an assumption. "From the *Descent of Man* I gather a vast number of observations showing the wonderful variety, and no less wonderful unity of life; but of Man's descent, or ascent, from any other animal I find nothing but conjectures to show that it might be so. Nor can I find in the whole book evidence of any one species changing or developing into another."

Linton's polemics were not such much targeted against Darwin's biological theses, but against *evolutionism* as the most prominent scheme of thought and its moral consequences. He had been concerned with Edward Caird's evolutionist interpretations of the histories of philosophy and religion and in 1866 he had met Herbert Spencer along with the opportunity to be instructed by him. Spencer's extension of Darwinism to the fields of sociology and ethics had been extremely popular, especially in North America, where it became the ideological substantiation of predatory capitalism in the *Gilded Age*. In fact the organic mechanism of *Social Darwinism* had been just another variation of narrowed Utilitarianism backing the politics of laissez faire economy.

Moreover Linton was quite aware of the menace of a Darwinian justification of racism. In his *Memories* he refers to the *Negro Bones* theory, which circulated in the Southern states and which sought to prove that in Darwinian terms African Americans would be of inferior origin. Darwinian metamorphosis had been the linguistic background of Linton's anti-apartheid piece *Catoninetales*, where he pleas for humanity as the grounding of societal relations. In his view the calamities of Darwinism were twofold: It would replace the Christian gospel of Universal Humanity as a societal ideal with a brute struggle for dominion, and beyond that it could be considered as a fundamental assault on man's freedom of choice. In consideration of the devastating impact of Darwinism on 20th-century politics, one can hardly take Linton's final conflict for marginal.

As Linton's biographer Francis Barrymore Smith noticed, his resistance both to Darwinism and orthodox Christian determinism had finally taken on the form of a stoic agnosticism, fearing neither

reward nor punishment “accrue to me or await me in any future, beyond the natural consequences of my own acts.”
He died on New Year’s Eve 1897.

-, Set of five of Linton´s Wood Engraving tools and two unidentified engraving blocks

(From a descendant’s estate)

Linton kept this set of tools and engraving blocks in his late home in Hamden. The tools include an engraving needle, a spitsticker, a gouge, a compass and a ruler.