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THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN BRITISH WOOD-ENGRAVED ILLUSTRATION

by

IAN ROGERSON

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the Loughborough University of Technology

1984

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Ian Rogerson
Manchester Polytechnic Library,
April 1984
CHAPTER ONE

THE ARTIST AND THE ENGRAVER IN THE 1860's

— AN INVESTIGATION INTO THEIR RELATIONSHIP
Whilst the "1890's" are spoken of as a distinctive period of cultural development which saw a distinct change of direction in book design within a total art movement, the "1860's" are similarly regarded as an epoch, but in book design terms only. There were no comprehensive convulsions in the design of textiles, glass and ceramics, or buildings in the 1860's. There was, however, the coincidental development of the literary magazine and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. Both factors were to have significance in the evolution of the wood engraving as a form of artistic expression.

That the period loosely called the "1860's" is widely regarded as a high point of British book illustration is undeniable. The monographs of Gleeson White and Forrest Reid are but milestones in a flood of literature which has subjected that period of illustration to art criticism and, to a lesser extent, discussed the relationship between writer and illustrator. Equally important was the relationship between artist and engraver. This merits examination because, there being few examples of published work by "artist-engravers" in this period, the role of the craftsman engraver was crucial to the success of the engraving.

Since the 1840's, the success of Punch and The Illustrated London News had seen the rapid growth of the commercial wood-engraving houses to provide the craftsman-engravers needed to cope with the substantial demand for blocks necessary to sustain these and other periodicals. The influence of these commercial houses and the skills of the operatives has been grossly underestimated in relationship to the artist-engravers of the 20th Century. Lindley remarks on "the two paths ..... clearly indicated: the craftsman-engravers serving the printing industry on the one hand and the 'artists' and original printmakers on the other". He implies that 1

1.
the artist-engraver of the 20th Century shows lineal descent from Blake through Palmer and Calvert. In fact, two of the most significant figures to bridge the centuries and ensure the continuity of wood engraving as a form of artistic expression were 2Walter Crane and 3Charles Ricketts, both of whom had been apprenticed wood engravers. Until McLean's *Victorian Book Design*, the study of "1860's" illustration was concentrated on black and white work; the impact of colour printing from wood block was felt to be on the art print than in book work. Such interest in the book from that viewpoint centred on the later books of the 19th Century which were generally child-orientated, notably in the engraved work of Edmund Evans. However, colour printing from wood block was almost entirely the work of the commercial houses and those 20th Century artists such as Hermes and Parker who have used colour must have been influenced by commercially produced examples of the last century, little else being extant. Returning to black and white work, it is worth concentrating on the great problem of the period, often mentioned but not fully dealt with, of what 4James calls "the divorce between mind and hand".

The commencement of what 5Pennell called that "golden decade" is generally agreed to pre-date 1860. 6Bland refers to the "plenty of meritorious books between 1855 and 1875 which are the limits usually imposed on the period". 7James concurs and refers to the galaxy of talent both amongst the artists who drew the designs and the men who cut the blocks. Furthermore, it was this conjunction of inspiration and craftsmanship which gave the "movement" such vitality. This, however, is in contrast to the concept of unity which James maintains could only exist where the originator of the drawing cut the blocks and supervised the presswork - a minority position from the time of Bewick to Morris. This equivocal position scarcely bears scrutiny, yet the problem is complex. Most critical attention has been centred on relatively few books, particularly William Allingham's
Music Master, which was published in 1855 by Routledge, and that title which is widely regarded as the proto-typical book of the period, the Moxon Tennyson 1857. These books inaugurated a period when "illustration", until then a mere copyists' craft, came into its own as an art form. There is the possibility that overemphasis on the artistic merit of the original drawings and the diminution of the cutter's skill, which comes from a study of the literature of these early works, simplifies or even wrongly defines the true situation. There is little doubt that the two above-mentioned works owe their fame, or notoriety, to their association with the Pre-Raphaelite brethren in containing the first book illustrations by certain of those artists. Rossetti and others went on to achieve fame at the easel and ceased to practice illustration, either because of freedom from want or because the discipline of drawing in reverse on the block became too irksome. What is apparent is that there were considerable difficulties between artist and engraver, publisher and author in the production of illustrations for these works, which have been documented. Their subsequent amplification has possibly overshadowed what was, in general, a success story compared to the general low level of hack wood engraved illustration which generally obtained in the 1840's. From the very start of the period, the status of the engraver in the author's eyes becomes manifest in Allingham's letter to Leigh Hunt dated 8 January 1855, in which he refers to Routledge "being under articles to bring me out in a new and handsome shape, with woodcuts by no mean artists - Millais being one, and Rossetti another". In a following letter, 23 February, 1855, to Hunt, Allingham mentions receiving the first proofs, five months after submission of the manuscript, the fault being that of the artists. In this letter and a subsequent one of 25 June 1856 Allingham refers to his friendship with Rossetti and possibly was heavily influenced against engravers as a result. Allingham's correspondence with Arthur Hughes
expresses the poet's concern with appearance of his Day and Night Songs. Quoting from Routledge's letter, he wrote to Hughes on 11 July 1854 that they "will have the volume illustrated with not less than six full page woodcuts and will pay the artist who draws them three guineas for every such design, on his giving in the block .... they hope to have eight such woodcuts .... I hope you like this arrangement? - and that they have sent you the blocks. Another hope is, that they will have them nicely engraved .... " The confusion between woodcut and wood engraving is understandable but the use of the word "nicely" shows a lack of comprehension of the craft skills involved, even in what was meant to be facsimile engraving, the artist quite clearly being required to draw on the block.

In a subsequent letter to Hughes dated 15/16 August 1854, Allingham throws light on the publisher's desire to avoid the expense of printing "by hand instead of in an ordinary press. The eight designs will be printed separately from the letterpress". This extraordinary state of affairs is scarcely believable in view of the accommodating nature of the woodblock. However, as in the case of the literary magazines, the savings on presswork could have been outweighed by the publisher's desire to have the engravings printed on to a better quality of paper. That this was standard practice for the wood-engraved gift books of the period is amply illustrated by a study of the Routledge archive referred to below. For example, the entries for the Routledge reprints of the Moxon Tennyson, Tennyson's Princess (1865), and Willmott's Poets of the Nineteenth Century (1856), in addition to The Music Master, give entries for "paper and print for plates".

13 The Routledge archive shows the accounts for The Music Master. For the 2000 copies, the total was £145-7-6 with the illustrators being paid a total of £26-12-6 for the nine drawings on
the wood and Dalziels £38-11-6 for the engraving. For some reason, Rossetti was paid the sum of £3-10-0, this being shown separately from the amounts paid to Arthur Hughes totalling £18-12-6 for seven designs and a sum of £4-10 (indecipherable) presumably to Millais.

Also to be found in the Archive is a letter from Allingham of 5 July, 1854, to Routledge which sets out the author's condition of publication and throws additional light on certain publishing practices of the period. These included a one volume edition of 2000 copies produced at publisher's expense and risk, with not less than six full-page woodcuts for which Routledge would pay not less than 3 gns. each. In addition, the publisher would pay the author half the profits (if any). This style of letter is not uncommon in its period, perhaps being a formal reply to an earlier response from Routledge to Allingham's initial approach. (Maidment, Editor of Chadwyck-Healey Microfilm, personal conversation with Rogerson, 18 December 1980). It would seem that Hughes was given the job of getting the illustrations in and, in turn, received less for his work than Millais or Rossetti. In writing to Allingham in September 1854, he states that he has "given in and been paid for "Lady Alice" and "Oh Were my Love" and is working on two more". But, moreover, it appeared that he has the unrewarding task of forcing Rossetti to get down to the task in hand. He concludes with the complaint that "doing a book I find rather an onerous matter". Whether that was because of Rossetti's waywardness or because of his dislike of what he quaintly refers to as "wood drawings" is unclear. Most authorities agree that, despite Rossetti's lack of co-operation, The Maids of Elfen-Mere was one of the most striking examples of wood engraved illustration ever produced.

Rossetti's diffidence in respect of his design for Allingham's The Music Master was surprising in view of
his close friendship with the poet. Allingham's Diary cites the poet's chief companions whilst in London in the mid-1850's as being Rossetti and Woolner although the poet was back in his customs post in Ireland by the time Edward Burne-Jones was praising The Maids of Elfen-Mere as the best drawing that has ever appeared in illustration of a book.

William Allingham's general attitude to the craft engravers did not appear to change with further acquaintance. A projected Big Story Book would have illustrations by Burne-Jones with the block cut by Morris and friends. There is a further reference in the Diary to Burne-Jones producing several designs within the space of thirty days, inspired by the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The next occasion was with the appearance of his poem In Fairyland with illustrations by Richard Doyle, engraved and printed in colour by Edmund Evans. As a book, this was a disaster from the design viewpoint. However, the illustrations were magnificent and possibly the greatest example of complete understanding of the nature of the medium by both artist and engraver. The reputation of these illustrations increases with the passage of time and they are commonly regarded as the most perfect examples of the genre. Allingham restricted his comments to the designs "a muddle - no consultation having been made or proposed between artist and poet". The book, which ran to a second edition, was yet another example of the common sixties publishing practice of commissioning verses to accompany pictures. There is no recorded comment by Allingham on the illustrations to Rhymes for the Young Folk which Cassell published in 1886. His Diary, incidentally, throws light on another poet's dismissal of the engravers. Robert Browning "made bold to beg William Rossetti to choose an engraver and overlook his performance". Whichever construction the reader puts on the word "overlook", the comment is equally damning to the engraver.
In contrast to the Moxon Tennyson, The Music Master was generally acknowledged by authorities to be a key to the period although, in the present writer's experience, it is curiously unknown to many students of Victorian book design despite the emphasis on this work by both White and Reid. The Moxon Tennyson is widely known by scholars from a variety of disciplines, the Allingham work regarded as important only by students of illustration, perhaps even in the one illustration, i.e. Rossetti's The Maids of Elfen-Mere. The bibliography of the book is nevertheless of interest:


1860 Day and Night Songs; and the Music Master. A Love Poem. With nine woodcuts (as above). "This little volume comprises, along with the Day and Night Songs of the writer, published in 1854, a second series of short poems, and a narrative composition." Bell and Daldy.

Rossetti's attitude to his engravers is strongly expressed in his correspondence. Before considering this, however, it is worth noting the comments of the Dalziels who, in regard to Rossetti's first design for engraving, i.e. The Maids of Elfen-Mere, stated it to be "a remarkable example of the artist being altogether unacquainted with the necessary requirements in making a drawing in wood for engraving purposes."

The illustrated books of verse which were common during the fifties, and which came to such perfection in the sixties were taken seriously by the critics. Individual illustrations, e.g. "The Fireside Story" received coverage of considerable length in such review journals as The Athenaeum, (August 18, 1855). Rossetti felt sufficiently annoyed at the reviewer's treatment of Millais to write to Allingham on that score. Allingham himself wrote to Millais praising the work and suggesting
that he took up etching - "do not leave us remote and wretched to the Illustrated London News and The Art Journal." In view of the footnote "The wood-cutting of this period was so bad that even the best examples which appeared in these journals were far from satisfactory", written by the artist's son, John Guille Millais, the question posed, and left unanswered, is why. etching and not wood engraving? Had wood engraving become stratified as an occupation not fit for artists? Certainly this was changed in the nineties when the artistic engraver began to appear.

It is known that many of the illustrations for these books, including The Music Master, required the artist to draw on the block and many of Millais' fine black and white drawings were destroyed in the process of cutting-in. However, the highly-finished illustrations, drawn by this artist in pen and ink and finished in sepia-wash or body colour must have required interpretation by an intermediary who put the drawing on wood, so preserving the original in pristine state 23 instead of "being cut to pieces and ruined by the barbarians of the wood-cutting art." According to the younger Millais, his father produced a large number of highly finished illustrations prior to the introduction of the camera into graphic reproduction and therefore the trade of interpretative "draughtsman-on-the-block" must have been not uncommon. The position was therefore even more complex than first appears, as there is an additional, fifth, element to be considered in the relationship between writer, artist, engraver and printer. By the time his work was published in 1902, John Guille Millais was probably writing what time has turned from artists' gossip into hard fact. 29 "Truly the wood-cutters of that day had much to answer for. Except, perhaps, Swain, Dalziel and John Thompson (who cut the Tennyson blocks) not one of them had the faintest conception of how to retain the beautiful and delicate lines of the original drawings, and even the best work of these experts would
make the hair of the engravers of Harper's Magazine stand on end nowadays." Presumably, here the younger Millais is referring to photo-engravers whose skills were likely to be of a different type. However, he strengthens his position by continuing "if they could see as I have done, some of my father's wood blocks before and after the drawings had been cut upon, etc."

By 1860, Millais was writing that John Leech, a close friend, was indicating that Bradbury and Evans would give him (Millais) £500 per year for a regular supply of wood drawings. However, he could not allow illustration to interfere with his painting.

Passing reference has been made to the writings of Burne-Jones in the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine. Burne-Jones believed that The Maids of Elfen-Mere illustration fired the imagination of Edward Burne-Jones and made him an artist. Burne-Jones never swerved from his original estimate of the engraved picture. Whatever, his subsequent experiences at the hands of the wood engravers, Burne-Jones was designing to that end in the 1890's for Morris, at a time when the line block had banished the commercial wood-engraving. It is interesting to note that when Burne-Jones gave up Oxford in order to devote his life to art Rossetti tried to get him a commission to draw the woodblock for an engraving to be made from a picture by Windus. On 4 June, Burne-Jones married Georgiana Macdonald, who after her marriage, practised wood engraving.

No evidence has been found to show Burne-Jones disliked drawing for wood engraving. His close proximity to the craft might have contributed to this understanding of the practical difficulties in both facsimile and interpretive wood engraving. In contrast, Rossetti's association with Siddal produced no sympathy for the craftsman, or craftswoman in this case.

One cannot escape coming to the conclusion from a study of Rossetti's letters that his petulance coupled with
his arrogance must have made grave difficulties for the other parties to this publication and the subsequent Tennyson Poems. He assumed that his conditions would be accepted and in a communication to William Bell Scott in January 1855 stated that "if it (The Maids of Elfen-Mere) is not well cut it shall be cut out." This same letter mentions his being asked by Moxon to contribute to the Tennyson. By 23 January, Rossetti was able to advise Allingham that he had completed the block and that drawing on the wood was trying to the eyes. The purpose of the defensive rampart thrown up during the previous nine months becomes apparent when on 17 March he informed Allingham of his distaste for the finished block, severely criticising the Dalziels but admitting with obvious insincerity that some of the blame could be laid at his own door, by "overelaboration of the parts". He accused the Dalziels of not always following his lines and having preconceptions of the intended severity of his design. In short, it did not carry anything like the "care or skill on the part of the designer". Four days later he was again looking at "the mangled remains of his drawing" but did not further the idea of withdrawing it from the publication.

Further evidence on Rossetti's dislike for drawing on the wood comes to light in a letter dated 22 March 1855 when he attempted to persuade Allingham to accept a drawing on paper as substitute for the vexed woodblock. However, this offer was spurned and Rossetti worked further on the block which then received additional cutting by Dalziel. Rossetti summed up the collaboration "I have supped full the cup of horrors served (out) in three courses .... I wish (Dalziel) only had his desert as a finish." Finally, in a letter to Mrs Gabriele Rossetti dated 1 July, 1855, occurs the much quoted witticism that The Maids of Elfen-Mere "used to be by me till it became the exclusive work of Dalziel, who cut it." In his behaviour towards both Allingham and the firm of Dalziel as illustrated in his letters, it is
apparent that Rossetti's behaviour was cavalier and irresponsible.

The celebrated Moxon Tennyson is a book of poems with illustrations issued in an ornate cloth binding and obviously aimed at the gift book market. It was hardly a masterpiece of book design and yet has come to be regarded most highly of the books of this genre and period printed in black and white. The literature on this book is considerable and there is evidence that Moxon regretted embarking on the venture. It is evident that, as in the case of The Music Master, the irresponsible behaviour of Rossetti was, to a large extent, to blame. Whilst Holman Hunt was steadily fulfilling his undertaking to do "six illustrations and no other work, Moxon complained to him that "his heart was sore about Rossetti, who having promised, had not sent any drawing, and how, when Moxon called, was "not at home", and would not reply to letters. Hunt confirmed Rossetti's financial troubles during this period and mentions that Rossetti negotiated a fee of £5 more per design than any other artist would receive. The disparity in styles between the old established artists and the new Pre-Raphaelites was too great for the public. "Those who liked the work of artists long established ..... felt that the pages on which our designs appeared destroyed the attractiveness of the volume, and the few who approved of our inventions would not give the price." Hunt wryly continued about Rossetti that "so often however did the poor expectant publisher get disappointed ..... when, soon after, Moxon quitted his world .... the book had been the death of him." Rossetti also complained about the conduct of his fellow artist contributors. As with The Allingham book, there were tensions between poet and illustrator. Hunt records Tennyson questioning his interpretation of The Lady of Shalott at their first meeting and was forced to defend himself on technical grounds, "I (Hunt) had only half a page ..... whereas you (Tennyson) use 15 pages to give
expression." However, Tennyson affirmed that the illustrator ought never to add anything to what he finds in the text.

Holman Hunt's conclusion that the book was a financial failure due to the incompatibility of the artists has some merit in that, whilst the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates did not illustrate until the mid-1850's, William Mulready was producing designs for wood engraved illustrations fifty years earlier. In 1805, William Godwin issued The Looking Glass and followed it with Fables Ancient and Modern, also in 1805, both including work by the young Mulready. Two years later his drawings were engraved to illustrate Roscoe's Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast. By the time that he was producing designs for the Tennyson he was a Senior Royal Academician and had taught some of his fellow illustrators at the R.A. Schools. Mulready became a close associate of Henry Cole and produced some drawings on zinc for Cole's Home Treasury Series. Other experiences in book illustration included his highly popular contributions to Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, first published in 1843 with 32 wood engravings by John Thompson to Mulready's designs for each chapter head. This work, reissued several times on both sides of the Atlantic, benefited by the diligence shown by Mulready which contrasts strongly with the behaviour of Rossetti. According to Cole, Mulready said that "an artist was judged of by his works most seen and that therefore he should take as much pains with an illustration ..... as one of his pictures." Mulready's attitude to the Pre-Raphaelites was generally approving although he had had an unfortunate misunderstanding with Hunt whilst he was a Visitor and the latter a student at the Royal Academy.

Unlike Rossetti, John Millais had extensive experience in drawing for reproduction by wood engraving and could settle down during the Winter of 1855/56 at his
Scottish home "taking up first the Tennyson published by Moxon for which he made twelve designs." On these he worked mainly in the evening using a reflector lamp. There is no sign of displeasure with the engravers. Millais was as careful with his illustration as his oil painting and, although it was financial need which kept him at illustration, he would not skimp work which brought poor remuneration. Millais' share of the illustration, in fact, totalled eighteen designs and forms a bridge between the work of the older designers and the more extreme Pre-Raphaelites. Unlike Hunt and Rossetti, Millais continued to illustrate for several years after. His relationship with Trollope was good, probably because of Millais' excellent draughtsmanship and his willingness to work in the medium. In all, Millais produced eighty-seven designs for Trollope's fiction.

As might be expected from his involvement with The Music Master, Rossetti apparently spent more time complaining about his engagement with the Moxon than getting down to the work. His contribution was five designs and his reward, in addition to the five extra pounds he extracted over and above the twenty-five paid to each illustrator for each design, was £41 to have his name and art brought before a wider public. Yet in a letter to Allingham he refers to Dalziel hewing his drawing to pieces and "after taking more pains with one block" (presumably than usual) it came back with Dalziel performing his cannibal jig in one corner (the signature) "and I have really felt like an invalid ever since". In a subsequent letter to Allingham he explained that he was sending a photograph of one of his designs which will be of interest (for comparison presumably) "as (Dalziel) has had the settling of one thing since". However, Rossetti was more pleased with W J Linton's interpretation of his work, telling Moxon that "Mr Linton's proof ...... needs a good deal of enlightenment, though excellent generally." Despite all this, a study of the pen drawing for
St. Cecilia - The Palace of Art, shown in the Exhibition at Birmingham Art Gallery, The Pre-Raphaelites at Work, shows the immense detail and care Rossetti put into the work and helps redress the balance on behalf of the artist.

Whilst interest has focused on the Moxon Tennyson and, to a lesser extent on The Music Master, Joseph Pennell maintained that in the same year as Moxon's Tennyson, an illustrated edition of Willmott's English Sacred Poetry was published, with "an all-round standard of greater merit in design and engraving than in the Tennyson. Although he was in error with the title, this being the same editor's Poets of the Nineteenth Century, he was right in stating that "there were fewer Academicians, and the men knew better how to draw on wood". English Sacred Poetry, the first edition of which appeared in 1861, was the mixture as before with no less than eighty illustrations, mostly indifferent, by sixteen different illustrators, the most prolific being J D Watson, (twenty-eight designs), with four artists limiting their contribution to one drawing. Only five of the designs rose above the ordinary, these being Holman Hunt's frontispiece, Charles Keene's powerful drawing illustrating Wotton's Hymn to my God, Frederick Walker's Child in Prayer and the two contributions by Frederick Sandys, Life's Journey and The Little Mourner, the last being the only illustration probably reproduced elsewhere. The former of Sandys' works, however, was the books artistic tour-de-force, rivalling the Old Chartist in its powerful draughtsmanship. As the quality of the designs varied from outstanding to mediocre, similarly the standard of facsimile engraving varied with the Sandys drawings receiving symbiotic treatment and Harrison Weir's dreary poultry receiving rather mechanical interpretation. The variety of line and texture in Life's Journey was unrivalled, even in the Moxon Tennyson.

The relationship between publication and reading public is difficult to place in considering that this work, in
style similar to the Moxon Tennyson, in poetic content not even fourth division, ran to at least four editions whilst the Moxon was initially accounted a commercial failure.

Of the Poets of the 19th Century, the title to which Pennell really referred, the prolific clergyman anthologist and editor, the Rev. Willmott saw this appear from the House of Routledge in 1857. Of the hundred engravings, no less than twenty were from drawings by Birket Foster with fourteen from Harvey and nine from John Gilbert. In fact, there is scarce support for Pennell's acclaim of the draughtsmanship in view of the fact that no less than nineteen artists are represented. The one contribution of Arthur Hughes was in Dickie Doyle vein; Hughes later displaying much more maturity in illustrating George Macdonald's work. One of T Dalziel's small vignettes to illustrate Taste by Erasmus Darwin was outstanding. Tenniel's six designs, the pair of contributions by Millais, and Ford Madox Brown's single drawing being the other highlights. For both titles, Dalziels did the engraving and the accounts show that Dalziels received £1000 for the engravings for the first edition of Poets of the 19th Century, this presumably covering the artists' fees as well. The editor received a sum of £100 for the copyright. Willmott's preface praised the Dalziels for translating the pencil into "the popular language of their own art."

Although it is impossible to produce a total listing of books in this genre published in the 'fifties and 'sixties, it is apparent that several hundred titles were produced. The four works dealt with in detail here were probably the most outstanding, showing both the superiority of the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers over the competent, pleasing but unadventurous illustration of John Gilbert, Birket Foster and their imitators, and sufficient evidence to establish the
relationships between the various parties to the illustration process.
CHAPTER TWO

THE PLACE OF WOOD-ENGRAVING IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT
The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement upon the rebirth of the artistic wood-engraving may not have been as pronounced as some authorities might have had us believe. The literature of and about The Movement is substantial but its aims and achievements have been admirably summarised by Naylor. On William Morris and his activities there has been considerable reportage and criticism and his Kelmscott Press has generated heavy documentation from its inception to the present. It may well be that the emphasis on Kelmscott has been unduly heavy in the history of the Private Press. Possibly the most popular illustration from Private Press books is a reproduction of a heavily wood-engraved page, complete with "old-fashioned" typeface, from the Kelmscott Chaucer. Yet that ideal of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the wedding of mind and hand, was less evident in the Kelmscott involvement in wood-engraving than in the wood-engravings from the later years of the Aesthetic Movement. According to Pevsner, the Arts and Crafts Movement was born and flourished because of both the decline in standards and the growth of general tastelessness engendered by the effects of the Industrial Revolution and contributed to by the ideas of the Aesthetic Movement. If this was the case then it is paradoxical that it was, by and large, the aesthetes Ricketts and Shannon, Sturge Moore and others of the Vale Circle, more fully dealt with in another chapter, who personally engraved their own designs, not because they worshipped the dignity of labour but because they felt that they were more competent than others would be in that respect.
Notwithstanding, the Arts and Crafts Movement had a significant role to play in the history of wood-engraving. John Ruskin's vision of guilds and the ideas expressed in Fors Clavigera, issued first in parts from 1871 as Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Britain, inspired the founders of The Century Guild and The Art Workers' Guild. These organisations were to enjoy more practical success than Ruskin's own St George's Guild or Working Men's Guild, both of which failed to realise their anticipated utopias. Yet, from the Working Men's Guild was born the Working Men's College. Here, A H Mackmurdo taught with Ruskin subsequent to attending Ruskin's school of drawing at Oxford. Mackmurdo, a practicing architect, along with Selwyn Image who also had attended Ruskin's Oxford classes, were to found The Century Guild.

Whilst the guilds were intended not only to bring art to craft but ultimately to bring about a change in social order and values, the commercial branch of the Arts and Crafts Movement did not envisage men and women living in colonies, but flourished because of a hard-headed realism and desire to succeed. William Morris was compelled to manufacture his own studio furnishings because, quite simply, there was no commercially available product which came up to the desired standard. The realisation that he and his friends could contribute their respective talents to a commercial enterprise enabled Morris to realise his artistic potential through the firm of Morris, Marshall and Faulkner, Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and Metals.
The Century Guild was formed in 1882 to "restore building, decoration, glass painting, pottery, wood-carving and metal to their rightful place beside painting and sculpture". In addition to Mackmurdo and Image, others involved were Herbert Horne, Benjamin Creswick, Clement Heston, George Ealing and Kellock Brown. While influenced by Ruskin and Morris, Mackmurdo was also sensitive to other influences which coalesced and introduced a new design concept with Art-Nouveau. It is generally acknowledged that the sinuous plant-inspired composition, based on William Morris' own fritillary design, for the title page of Mackmurdo's monograph on Wren's City Churches is the first milestone in the long march of Art-Nouveau. Published in 1883 by Ruskin's publisher George Allen of Orpington, this design was also influenced by the Japanese woodcut and the work of William Blake. As a wood-engraver by trade, Allen probably relished the problems posed by Mackmurdo's forms. Enthusiastically following the precepts of Ruskin, Mackmurdo mastered several crafts before founding The Century Guild, although wood-engraving does not appear to have been one of them.

Following the impact of Mackmurdo's title page with its subsequent influence on late nineteenth century book illustration, what evidence of wood-engraving exists in The Guild lies entirely in its periodical publication, The Century Guild Hobby Horse. One of the many avant-garde magazines which flourished in the last twenty years of the Century, it was the first to be art-orientated and to treat printing as a serious art form.
The bibliography of The Century Guild Hobby Horse is confusing in that the "quarterly" journal first appeared in April 1884, edited by Mackmurdo. If, as Naylor suggests, its cover design by Selwyn Image was reproduced by line block and not through the medium of wood-engraving, then this would appear to pre-date by at least a year the first commercial use of line block-in journal illustration; ie, in The English Illustrated Magazine. The second issue of the journal did not appear until the first quarter of 1886. Volume one covers 1886 and there are a further six annual volumes. The periodical then ceased to be sponsored by The Century Guild and the title became The Hobby Horse. Four issues only appeared in the years 1893-94. For these there was a new cover design, this time by Herbert Horne.

The Century Guild Hobby Horse has been the subject of an intensive study by Lorraine Hunt but with special emphasis on its literary and polemic contributions. In the study, the physical qualities of the journal were remarked-upon but require further emphasis. The rich velvety black ink upon hand-made paper surpassed most 19th-century presswork prior to Kelmscott. Balanced design, interesting illustrations from a variety of mechanical and non-mechanical processes with good typography brought new standards to magazine production.

In addition to certain wood-engraved designs, the volume of The Century Guild Hobby Horse for 1886 contained an etching by William Strang and a reproduction in sepia of Ford Madox Brown's Entombment, an "intaglio automatically
produced" by The Typographic Etching Coy. of London. Two sepia reproductions in gravure from designs for stained glass windows did nothing to lighten the general gloom engendered by the subject matter. Important, however, was the first reproduction of a rare broadsheet of Blake, illustrated with two pewter cuts. An explanation of the broadsheet by Herbert-Gilchrist was included together with important notes on the technique. The sole wood-engraved design which is pure illustration occurs on page 2. The Lady of The Rains, drawn and cut by Arthur Burgess. An account of Burgess's work and his unfortunate life was contributed by John Ruskin who employed him as an orthodox reproductive craftsman-engraver. According to Ruskin, he was "such a draughtsman in black and white as I never knew the match of". Working for Ruskin intermittently from 1860 onwards, Burgess produced wood-engravings to illustrate Ruskin's lectures and his writings, eg Proserpina, Ariadne Florentina and Aratra Pentelici. The examples of Burgess's botanical drawing and wood-engraving which accompany the Ruskin essay on Burgess are of the highest quality. As a creative wood-engraving however, The Lady of The Rains belies Ruskin's claim that Burgess had "original faculty".

The art of Burgess probably fits comfortably between on the one hand, the artistic wood-engraving and on the other, interpretative engraving. Burgess drew plants and architectural details for Ruskin, and probably produced better pictures than was possible with photography.
Support for this theory comes from an unusual source, the autobiography of the Shakespearian scholar J Dover Wilson. Writing of his father, Wilson shows that the scientific need for wood-engravers lasted into the 1890's. Edwin Wilson was employed to draw on wood and stone for the volumes of The Cambridge Natural History and "was more accurate than any photography could be since with his mastery of the microscope he has all the planes of an object within his vision". The claim, although probably extravagant, showed that engravers of the calibre of Burgess and Wilson were rare, yet struggled to make a living.

In the third issue for the year 1886, there is another wood-engraved picture from a design by Selwyn Image, here with lettering and thus strongly reminiscent of a bookplate. Within a simple framework of two black lines, the words IN PIAM MEMOR at top, are followed by ARTURI BURGESS QUI OB MENS MAIO DE NON MDCCCLXXXVI. Between the lettering, Image inserted a black line design of a swallow flying into the sun, the technique changing to white line for some bell-like flowers with serrated leaves, and also for the sinuous wavering layers representing the sub-soil.

In volume one, the headpieces and tailpieces, some of which were used repeatedly, seem to be the work of three different designers. The influence of Mackmurdo's design for the title of Wren's City Churches can be felt strongly in the small rectangular engravings on pp 8, 18 and 20. The engraved designs of birds on pp 9, 115 and 120 are in series but by a different hand. Those of birds on pps 68,
122, 154 and 158 were from designs by Selwyn Image. There was also a headpiece of four children's heads and a tailpiece of birds both of which could be used continuously as friezes but have not here been employed as such. In addition, there was a small round engraving of a peacock in a rosebush which appears irregularly throughout the text. The tailpieces in volume two, 1887 were by Selwyn Image and are twelve in number, one of which is a repeat from volume one. These are heavy black line rectangular engravings, less sophisticated than those of Calvert but showing his influence, particularly in the landscape on p 82. This volume benefited from the unity brought by the use of a single designer.

The sole artistic wood-engraved illustration in volume two was drawn on the wood by Image and engraved by C M Padday. A large design surrounded by two black lines, it featured a girl warming herself at a fire whilst leaning against a tree. The swirling lines of early art-nouveau are strikingly present and suggest that Selwyn Image might have made a stronger contribution to the Movement than hitherto acknowledged.

An indication of the Guild's consciousness of the importance of wood-engraving occurs in volume three with a substantial article together with iconography on Frederick Sandys, a short essay by Herbert Horne on the principles of wood-engraving and the reproduction of cuts from Firetti's Quadriregio, printed in Florence in 1508. In addition three of Blake's wood-engravings from Thornton's
Virgil are to be found. Horne's essay attempted to justify the featuring of Selwyn Image's enigmatic wood-engraving referred to above. "To protest against the false standard of art which today entirely perverts the efforts of the wood-engraver ... If they (the critics) were right in expecting naturalistic representation ... our illustration is inadequate". The pomposity of the youthful Horne in using such terms as vigour repeatedly without as much as a mention of the part played by Padday, the actual engraver, belies the aims of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Three initial letters only occur in the first two issues of 1886. The letters O, H and A open three poems and are simpler and of better construction than those which follow. The design and engraving of the decorative initial letters which occur in the third issue for 1886 and subsequent issues suffer from a lack of balance and cohesion. The contents pages for volume two, 1887, state that the initials and tailpieces within that volume were cut by C. M. Padday from designs by Selwyn Image. These initials, six in number, some of which were used more than once, have a runic flavour and suggest the technique of manièrè criblée. Three of the initials also occur towards the end of volume one, preceding others having quite a similarity in style to Mackmurdo's design for the title of Wren's City Churches. Those initials which the present writer attributes to Mackmurdo and those designed by Image were all framed within a single black line. In the case of volume three, 1888, the five decorative initials were designed
by Herbert Horne, but the contents pages in this instance do not trouble to name the engraver. These plant or animal motif initials, larger than initials previously occurring, are simple black-line frameless engravings which in style seem less contrived than those of Mackmurdo or Image. In volume four, new initials are listed as being drawn by H Horne, C W Whall and S Solomon. This last is almost certainly Simeon Solomon, who contributed elsewhere to the journal. Of the six new initials, the F is certainly from a design by Horne, some of whose designs for volume three occur again. The initials which were employed in volume five, 1890, had been used previously, no new letters being cut.

Unlike Morris and Ricketts who designed typefaces which would successfully harmonise with their decorative wood-engraved borders and initial letters, Mackmurdo was content to use Caslon old face for The Century Guild Hobby Horse. In respect of the initials and other decoration, The Hobby Horse artists seemed to have a definite objective. In addition, the mixture of alphabets helped prevent the total achievement of design cohesion. Neither does there appear to have been any attempt to engrave complete alphabets. In five volumes, 1886-1890, the following initials only appear: A (two versions), B, C, D, F, I (two versions), N, O (two versions), P (two versions), R, S (two versions), T (four versions), W (three versions). Overall there was little remarkable about the draughtsmanship nor in the engraving, yet at least Mackmurdo's initials
probably generated considerable interest as being in contrast to what had gone before. Subsequent to the publication of volume three, interest in the wood-engraving as a medium of expression or reproduction seems to have waned in the Century Guild Hobby Horse which was printed under the supervision of Emery Walker at the Chiswick Press. Mackmurdo, who financed the venture until 1893, was probably convinced that line-block printing was by now advantageous for the reproduction work which had become general in the magazine. It was not until 161891 that the journal again took note of the cutting of wood as an art form with Selwyn Image's note on Millet. In this year also, 17 Herbert Horne confirmed the Guild artists' knowledge and interest in Edward Calvert; a brief notice of the painter and engraver.

The influence of Blake pervaded the Century Guild Hobby Horse throughout its existence. Reproductions of Little Tom, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, the wood-engravings for Thornton's Virgil, the first reproduction of the text of The Book of Los with Frederick Shields drawings of Blake's workroom and death-room amply demonstrate his all-powerful influence on Mackmurdo and his fellow artists. In respect of art-nouveau lettering, which is undoubtedly decorative illustration at its most forceful, 18 Schmutzler traced the line from Blake through Rossetti and Whistler to Ricketts on the one hand and through Mackmurdo to Beardsley and art-nouveau on the other. "To aspire to a blend of poetry and painting is characteristic of the territory from which art-nouveau sprang". The
common denominator between these artists and Morris was to be involved in the design and illustration of their own words upon the printed page.

By the time of commencement of publication in 1884, the emphasis of the Arts and Crafts Movement had progressed from industrial design to the synthesis of mind and hand. Despite its literary contributions on this issue, the Hobby Horse failed signally in respect of original wood-engraving. Nevertheless, it achieved a standard of design never before attained in the periodical press. Hunt claimed that the unity of the Hobby Horse extends to the whole as well as the parts. This would seem to be a generous assessment. What can be asserted is that the whole was greater than the sum of the parts. Much of what was included was pretentious and contrived. Horne and Image were neither writers nor artists of the first rank, but firmly behind the whole and despite his withdrawal from active contribution since the first issue was Mackmurdo. Vallance pinpointed his conspicuous individuality not fashioned by influences alone. When Mackmurdo was starting his work Morris was the "dernier-cri" yet Mackmurdo did not succumb to his form, but took from it what he needed. During his studies in Florence, Mackmurdo realised that there was little division between artist and craftsman in the Renaissance, which was very different from the contemporary situation. Unlike Morris however, who had no journal, Mackmurdo was able to infuse a new vital energy into the Movement. The potent influence of the wood-engraving
came through Mackmurdo's powerful design and his knowledge of proportion as an element of beauty. His flame-like writhing shapes anticipated art-nouveau by ten years and were ideally suited to reproduction in black and white, the colours to which wood-engraving is mostly ideally suited. 21Pevsner places Mackmurdo half-way between Morris and Voysey in architecture. In his influence on wood-engraving, Mackmurdo stands between the illustrators of the 'sixties and Ricketts.

The Hobby Horse was eventually eclipsed by more avant-garde magazines which, in certain cases being more outrageous, enjoyed a wider and longer lasting reputation. Certainly Hunt's thesis engendered a new assessment, albeit with no emphasis on the wood-engraving and curiously ignoring The Dial, from 1889 the nearest competitor to The Hobby Horse. The Dial's first issue was damned by faint praise by The Hobby Horse reviewer in the fourth issue of 1889. The literary portion lacked "severity of thought". There is no apparent record of what the editors of The Dial thought of The Hobby Horse although Charles Shannon contributed to The Hobby Horse as well as editing, with Ricketts, its competitor. His lithography for this journal was described by 22John Addington Symonds as "slovenly".

The Century Guild Hobby Horse had considerable impact abroad. In America, 23Walter Crane met a group who were inspired by the English revival in printing and book decoration who worked on similar lines to the Century Guild.
Like the Century Guild Hobby Horse, the cover of their journal had a design of a knight errant (by Goodhue). The journal was printed in Boston at Franklin Watts Lee's Elzevier Press. Additionally, Matthew Arnold made determined efforts to increase its circulation amongst the American literary establishment. On the continent of Europe, the journal was seen by cognoscenti in the Low Countries and influenced Van de Velde's important journal Van nu en Straks.

At home, the journal was seen by both William Morris and Cobden Sanderson as a result of which, it is claimed that the Kelmscott and Doves Presses were founded respectively with their subsequent influence on typography and wood-engraving. In respect of Kelmscott, this has been confirmed by Mackmurdo himself who told Morris to "try his hand with a book".

The wood-engraved design of Mackmurdo for Wren's City Churches was probably the most radical change in design of the printed page since printing from movable type commenced, an innovation so drastic that, if achieving nothing else, Mackmurdo's creativity was established beyond question. Image's design of the cover for The Century Guild Hobby Horse was clearly heavily influenced by its illustrious predecessor and their collective influence on the artistic wood-engravers of the 'nineties and early twentieth century was oblique but of considerable consequence. The most penetrating example of the influence of the designs of Selwyn Image is to be found in J M Dent's magnum opus.

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the Morte d'Arthur where the interwoven brambles frequently employed in that work grew out of the wrapper of the very first issue of The Century Guild Hobby Horse. By the time Beardsley produced his drawings for this work, published in 1893, commercial publishers were directing their artists to the line block. Certainly in his early work Beardsley thought and designed as for wood-engraving, although never privileged to have his work published through this medium of reproduction. As Bland stresses "The Morte d'Arthur seems to ape the woodcut".

Another artist whose pen and ink drawing for the line block was in the tradition of drawing for wood engraving was Walter Crane. However, Crane's career was burgeoning when the craft was at its height and his reluctance to see wider possibilities in the new medium is understandable. Crane's work is at the present time undergoing a revaluation. Primarily regarded as a decorator in the tradition of William Morris, Crane's performance in the field of art education should result eventually in his recognition as the natural successor to Henry Cole. Like Cole, Crane was practically experienced in a number of disciplines, eg. in pottery where Cole, under the pseudonym of Felix Summerly, influenced design at Minton's and elsewhere from 1846 onwards. Walter Crane designed for Wedgwoods and other Staffordshire firms from 1867 onwards and his outstanding painting for Pilkington's Royal Lancastrian Pottery towards the end of the Century epitomises all that is noble in the Arts and Crafts Movement.
Multi-disciplinary figures in the history of art frequently have failed to achieve eminence in any single field. Even in the decorative arts, it could be argued that neither man achieved work of the first rank, unlike Morris, for example in book design, Burne-Jones in drawing, or Watts in sculpture. Yet both had considerable influence in book design, particularly with children's literature. In this field, contributions to the development of wood-engraving were made by both, but particularly by Crane.

Dissatisfied with the general level of publishing for children Cole started Felix Summerly's Home Treasury of Books, Pictures, Toys, etc. According to McLean, this series achieved the most distinguished design treatment ever given to children's books to date. Certain of his Gammer Gurton's Story Books, which followed, were amongst the earliest children's books to have colour from wood blocks. By 1846 with the publication of Traditional Nursery Songs of England in the Home Treasury Series, the wood-engraved colour by Baxter's process (probably Gregory, Collins and Reynolds) was of a high order and there is no doubt that Cole was tremendously influential in maintaining standards in this area when Baxter's patent had been broken. Children's books in the 1840's were but a minor part of the totality of publishing, yet Chapman and Hall and other publishers almost immediately began series in imitation, thus emphasising the impact made by The Home Treasury Series. This experience was to be undergone rather more frequently by Crane a quarter of a century later.
There is no guarantee that books designed to the highest standards will necessarily achieve the greatest sales and it is commonly recognised that the education of the reading public in this respect is a slow and arduous task. The Nonesuch Cygnet titles of Francis Meynell and successor titles at Bodley Head published from 1963 and The OUP Myths and Legends of the 1950's are modern examples of excellence in book design which were hardly in the best-seller class. Yet Cole and Crane both succeeded commercially, largely because both men possessed tremendous resources of energy and were natural salesmen. In responding to Cole's denigration of the Peter Parley titles, the Preface to the 1844 Peter Parley's Annual commented that if Cole pleased the readers as much as he pleased himself, "he would undoubtedly sell a great many of his books." Cole in fact, like Crane, was indefatigable in the pursuit of sales, although Cole's life dictated that involvement with children's books was eventually overtaken by more urgent business whilst Crane was keen enough to buy many of his wood-blocks from Routledge and interest John Lane sufficiently to publish them afresh from Christmas 1895. Both men were activated by a desire to educate in art, to raise standards and increase public awareness of good design. In each case it can be argued that their influence was greater than their own art. In this they were not alone.

Crane was born into an artistic and publishing family. His grandfather, Thomas Crane, was a bookseller and stationer
in Chester who edited the Chester Courant. Walter's father, also called Thomas, and his three brothers operated a lithographic press in Chester in the 1820's and 1830's which, inter-alia, produced a children's book, The History of Mr Pig and Miss Crane. Thomas Crane the younger's artistic talent was sufficient to gain him entry to the Royal Academy Schools. In the early 1840's, he and his wife moved to Liverpool where Walter was born in 1845. For the sake of his health, the family moved to Torquay. There is much evidence that Walter was subjected to many influences which encouraged a precocious talent.

From the age of six he was used to seeing The Illustrated London News, at that time the largest single consumer of the wood-engravers' output. The crudely illustrated publications of The Religious Tract Society and the more sophisticated work of John Gilbert, the doyen of 'fifties engravers, were also familiar to the household. Crane also mentions the hack wood-engravings in Goldsmith's Animated Nature and the work of Charles Knight as evidence of his childhood interest in reproductive illustration. More significant influences occurred later when bound volumes of The Art Journal appeared in the house. Dürer's Melancholia and The Knight, Death and the Devil were "these amongst my earlier artistic impressions which retained and increased their influence in later days." Impressions from such designs had no doubt an unconscious effect in forming future tendencies and style. The family moving to London enabled Crane to visit South Kensington.
where impressions of Dürer were reinforced further with the additional acquaintance of other South German designers and engravers. Also here, specimens of the work of Bewick, Linton and other 19th Century wood-engravers were displayed and increased his enthusiasm for the medium.

Walter Crane's own art work received praise from Ruskin and W J Linton who was by then at his peak as a master wood-engraver. In January 1859 indentures were signed and Crane entered Linton's establishment "to learn the craft of drawing on wood, at that time necessary for those who sought a career in book-illustrating." Linton at that time was in partnership with Harvey Orrin Smith, son of the wood-engraver Orrin Smith, a member of the Bewick School. Amongst early work allotted to the fifteen-year-old Crane were medical diagrams and trade catalogues together with a little book illustration. Prior to the introduction of photography into the craft, the engraving establishments or publisher, whichever might be the case, had the choice of using employees such as Crane to transfer the design in reverse on to the block, or invite the artist to do the work himself. As a speciality, therefore, Crane was initiated into a trade which would appear to have had a precarious future.

Crane's reading continued to widen. Familiar with Ruskin's Modern Painters and Elements of Drawing prior to starting work, he also purchased the Moxon Tennyson, showing a preference for the work of Holman Hunt, John Millais and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The Pre-Raphaelite influence became an important factor in his future development. Subsequent
to the completion of his apprenticeship, Crane was to join them as an illustrator in his own right in contributing to Once a Week and Good Words. He continued to work on occasions for Linton, working up illustrations from vague sketches for wood-engravings for A J Symington's Faroe and Iceland. This particular practice was, of course, familiar to the staff on The Illustrated London News whose artists regularly redrew spectacular if ill-defined and ill-proportioned sketches from explorers and others engaged in extending the boundaries of Empire.

Crane recorded a most informative account of the disposition of Linton's establishment which clearly delineates how the trade was structured. "Linton himself was almost the last master of white line ... His office was typical ... a row of engravers at work at a fixed bench covered with green baize running the length of the room under the windows with eyeglass stands and rows of engravers. And for nightwork a round table with a gas lamp in the centre, surrounded with a circle of large clear glass globes filled with water to magnify the light and concentrate it on the blocks upon which the engravers worked, resting them upon small circular leather bags or cushions filled with sand, upon which they could easily be held and turned about by the left hand whilst being worked upon with the tool in the right .... The experienced hands in the best light, the 'prentice hands between." Some were deaf and dumb and went by the name of "Dummies" in the office. The boxwood was prepared for drawing with oxide of bismuth mixed with water and
rubbed backwards and forwards on the smooth surface until dry. On this, the design was traced in outline and then drawn with a hard pencil "to get the lines as clear and sharp as possible for the engravers." Crane also stressed the pressure brought about by the deadlines laid down by the illustrated weekly papers which resulted in drawings being split between several engravers. Certain artists presented work in wash, others in line drawing. Some, like Tenniel, worked in both media. At that time, Crane noted, the craft was then entering a mechanical phase with increased specialisation bringing new breeds. The "tint-men" and "facsimile-men" were innovations probably disapproved of by the teenaged Crane, who continued painting in his free time. Amongst other artists with whom he came into contact through Linton were William Harvey, a Bewick man, Ernest Griset and Joseph Wolf and the powerful designer Frederick Sandys, whose designs for the 'sixties magazines rank amongst the greatest wood-engraved illustrations.

In 1862, subsequent to jobbing illustration work for such journals as Entertaining Things and London Society, Crane was offered the task of illustrating a book on The New Forest by J R Wise. Crane's undoubted mastery of the technique of drawing directly on to the block coupled with his innate ability undoubtedly contributed to the success of the work, itself engraved by Linton. In this year also, the International Exhibition at South Kensington included work by the Gothic revivalists in the Ecclesiological Society. Sedding, Pugin, Burges, Webb, Morris and Burne-Jones were all deeply involved here. The following year
brought an introduction to Edmund Evans with work of a marked contrast. At this time Evans was altogether engaged in the printing of covers for cheap "railway" novels, now almost universally known as "Yellowbacks" but then known in the trade as "Mustard plaisters". This meeting with Evans was to result eventually in a totally new approach to the design of children's books and a revolution in the use of colour. Although work in black and white was to continue intermittently, Crane's impact was in the strategic use of colour as the basis of composition. In black and white work Feaver dismisses Crane somewhat disparagingly as "little more than an outer ripple of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement".

The earliest of the children's books in colour resulting from the Evans-Crane collaboration came in 1865 as a result of a commission from publisher Frederick Warne. The first few were printed from wood-engraved key-blocks with red and blue only added by the impressions of two further blocks. Gothic in flavour, tone was added by the use of graver lines. The three titles were The History of Cock Robin and Jenny Wren, Dame Trot and her Comical Cat and The House that Jack Built. Subsequent titles, now known as "Toy Books" were published by Routledge and showed other influences. An encounter with a naval officer returned from The Par East introduced Crane to the art of the Japanese wood-cut. Subsequent to the first few Routledge titles, Japanese influences crept into the Toy Books and the stern Gothic gradually gave way to softer, southern influences as
result of Crane's extensive and repeated travels in Italy. Feaver's notion that the children's books of Walter Crane form a design index is borne out by Crane's own declarations that he did not make much money out of the Toy Books, despite issues of in excess of 50,000 of each of the two titles per annum. He therefore had his fun out of them "by putting in all sorts of subsidiary detail that interested me, and often made them the vehicle for my ideas in furniture and decoration". For someone commonly associated in the public mind with the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts Movement, Crane exhibits many of the obvious trappings of the Aesthetic Movement in anticipation of its full flowering. The last of the Toy Books was issued in 1877 and by that time Crane had featured oriental blue and white in, to name but a few examples, The Forty Thieves, Aladdin, The Yellow Dwarf, Bluebeard and The Baby's Own Alphabet. In Beauty and The Beast, the Japanese fan is held by Beauty, with inevitable Athenian profile, sitting comfortably on a piece of furniture of the French Empire period. Late Italian Renaissance decorative plasterwork is featured in the same story. Certain stories made better vehicles than others for Crane's eclectic meanderings. Aladdin, for example, allowed free reign to Crane's orientalism, although Japanese ladies, complete with kimonos sit adjacent to men of Chinese Arabian and African mien. Peacock feathers appear in Princess Belle Etoile and The Yellow Dwarf.

With the ever increasing preoccupation with decorative detail, the illustrations to the Toy Books became increasingly
crowded and overheated, filling the observer with a sense of being stifled, although the children reading the tales straight from the press were probably accommodated in middle-class houses equally overstuffed with furniture and bric-a-brac. Curiously, three books illustrated by Walter's brother Thomas with J G Sowerby, At Home, At Home Again and Afternoon Tea are similarly furnished with "Aesthetic" paraphernalia.

As the Toy Books progress chronologically so the strength of composition, the sophistication of colour and shade increases until design takes over completely. The first illustration to The Hind in the Wood features two well-endowed bustled fairies, circa 1875, with wings which appear to be singularly deficient in surface area. This lack of understanding of elementary aerodynamics is even more marked in The Yellow Dwarf where the Swan-drawn chariot of the Fairy of the Desert lumbers hopefully into the setting sun. There is no escaping the obvious comparison between this grotesque piece of page decoration and the marvellous and often illustrated example from Doyle's illustration to In Fairyland of the full-page fairy chariot floating gossamer-light as it travels along under equally convincing butterfly power. It seems impossible that Crane could be unaware of Doyle's magnificent paintings, so ably interpreted by Evans only five years earlier.

Despite these criticisms, the Toy Books of Crane and Evans set the scene for a plethora of imitations ranging from the lightweight tinted drawings of Randolph Caldecott to the stilted conventions of Thomas Crane and J G Sowerby,
published by the firm of Marcus Ward. Perhaps rightly, the books of Caldecott and Greenaway currently enjoy more prestige than those of Crane. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note Herkomer's comment that "such imitation as Kate Greenaway and her crew are taking away the masculine tendency you started." Subsequent to the completion of the Toy Books, Crane turned increasingly to other media. Wallpaper in profusion was designed for Jeffrey and Co., taking Crane well into the Arts and Crafts Movement. Two important and successful children's books entirely designed by Crane appeared in 1877 and 1878 respectively. The Baby's Opera and The Baby's Bouquet were probably the most rigorously developed designs in the history of the book up until that time. As Crane relates, "Evans' experience as a printer being most valuable in the practical details of cost and make-up, and he supplied me with a dummy book so that I was enabled to design the volume complete with the pages in relation to each other and in strict accordance with the exigencies of the press and the cost of production." These titles at 5/- each were expensive in comparison with the earlier Toy Books at 9d and 1/-. Nevertheless, a first printing of 10,000 copies of The Baby's Opera was soon followed by successive large impressions. Despite the fact that the major difficulties in rendering photographic images on to the wood block had been successfully overcome by Beechey and Langton some twenty years before, Crane obviously preferred to draw directly on to the block for these works upon which he and Evans placed so much importance.
The Baby's Opera, despite being a best-seller, contained some of the finest examples of colour printing from wood block. Crane's borders, largely pictorial in nature, frame the music naturally without taking the eye from the score. The full page colour pictures are less fussy and more spacious than is common in the Toy Books and, in addition to the use of colour for colour, there is a clever use of colour for light and shade, an effect formerly achieved by the use of the burin. Through his experiments with his earliest Toy Books, Crane almost singlehandedly elevated the child's picture book from the crudely designed chapbook to a distinctive art form. He was, therefore, directly in the line of descent from William Mulready's Butterfly Ball. When Crane was unlucky in failing to persuade Routledge to pay him on a royalty basis, he had discontinued the Toy Books series. Routledge however, in recruiting Randolph Caldecott as his successor, found that Caldecott was able to strike a better bargain for himself as a result of Crane's advice. Both Caldecott and Greenaway's books have distinctive charm and continued the tradition established by Crane without making any new contribution to the development of printing in colour from the woodblock. Both enjoyed great success and Crane despite being the greatest of the triumvirate, acknowledged that the grace and charm of Kate Greenaway's children and her treatment of costume had great appeal. Likewise he argued that Caldecott's success was largely due to catching the popular English taste by introducing the sporting element. Certainly there is more than a trace of Surtees' humour as
characterised forever in the English mind by the etchings of John Leech.

Crane's undoubted belief in the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement is exemplified in the distinctive decorative treatment and style accorded to his children's picture books. Whilst Morris, Burne-Jones and others concentrated on more noble and enduring objects, Crane found no embarrassment in the low artistic merit accorded to the children's book as object. He tried vigorously to adapt his picture books to the conceptions of children and to the conditions of colour printing, a practice which fitted in with his conception of the Arts and Crafts Movement where he believed its success would be due to "the practical nature of the experiment in the revival of certain handicrafts." Whilst wood-engraving in the 1870's was not dead, nor were the crafts of fabric printing and weaving, gesso, pottery or stained glass. Crane gave wood-engraved design a badly-needed shot in the arm, whilst quietly and unspectacularly working across the whole spectrum of design. Whilst Crane might have considered at the time that the Toy Books were ephemeral it is all the more remarkable that he spent as much thought on these objects as on tapestries, pottery and other objects likely to be more carefully preserved.

While Crane never achieved the first rank of England's art establishment, his interest in art and design education made his views sought by Government and others, probably bringing him some financial security. There is no evidence
that Crane had to struggle to make a living. By 1893, he was persuaded to become Visiting Director of Design at The Manchester Municipal School of Art (now the Faculty of Art and Design, Manchester Polytechnic). For attending one week per month Crane received £600 per annum over a three year period. This security probably allowed Crane the freedom to devote his attention to what he himself considered important. At the beginning of the 1890's he turned again to design for monochromatic wood-engraving for book illustration and produced what is probably his most outstanding work in this medium.

Crane had become involved in Macmillan's English Illustrated Magazine from its inception in 1883 when he was invited to design the cover. The journal quickly established a reputation for employing top illustrators and this, coupled with the high quality of its wood engraving, set a pattern which was quickly imitated. Crane went on to contribute illustrated poems and this combination of letter and line continued in the books he designed for Macmillan. The English Illustrated Magazine pioneered the use of the photo-mechanical line block in magazine and book illustration with the second instalment of Days with Sir Roger de Coverley illustrated with line drawings by Hugh Thomson. This serial ran from 1885. Prior to this development, Crane was involved in two titles published by Macmillan. The first, The Necklace of Princess Fiorimonde by Mary De Morgan, featured headings and tailpieces as well as full page illustrations. Two years later, in 1882,
Macmillan published Household Stories, translated from the German of the brothers Grimm by Walter's sister, Lucy Crane. A popular book, written in fluent uncluttered English, the book contains one hundred and seventy-five designs by Crane, ranging from full-page illustrations to decorative initial letters. With the exception of the title-page design, the full-page designs are geometrically arranged with two or four decorative panels to be found at corners. With the descriptive illustration framed in the centre, each of these pages has integrated lettering top and bottom. The pictures themselves are in the South German Renaissance wood-cut tradition and owe much to Dürer. That to The Goose Girl impressed William Morris so much that he wished to have a tapestry woven from the design. These illustrations anticipated the emphasis placed between text and illustration in his writings on education.

Unfortunately, William Morris was carried too far in this direction by his enthusiasm. With the founding of The Kelmscott Press, Morris was able to express his forceful opinions on book design through his own productions. A second version from the press of The Story of the Glittering Plain had initials and borders by Morris and twenty-three drawings on wood by Crane engraved by A and E Leverett. These illustrations have a weakness of line not apparent in The Household Stories and lack the overall Gothic intensity which pervades Morris's work. In comparing the illustrations here with those of Edward Burne-Jones in the Kelmscott Chaucer, the weakness of line becomes further apparent.
Crane's final exercise in this direction was for George Allen of Orpington, Ruskin's publisher. Spenser's Faerie Queen, edited by Thomas Wise, was issued in nineteen parts from 1894 to 1897. Printed photomechanically, the illustrations have less strength than those in The Story of The Glittering Plain and the whole work appears to be a poor pastiche of a Kelmscott Press book. Pulsomally praised by Konody, the work sold poorly. Nevertheless, Crane was well paid, receiving a total of £1398 19s for his drawings and decorations. The illustrations fail to convince primarily because they are imitation wood-engravings.

As Morris's impact on twentieth century artistic wood-engraving has been overestimated so it is difficult to assess the impact of Crane's monochromatic work. Those who appear to be the natural successors in style are Robert Anning Bell and Granville Fell, although much of their work was reproduced by line block. Some artists of the Birmingham School, in particular Arthur Gaskin, have much affinity with Crane. Whilst Crane recognised the significance of the introduction of photo-mechanical methods, his view was archetypical of the Arts and Crafts Movement in that the "substitution of scientific invention and mechanical method for artistic imagination, observation and variety would be a most unfortunate exchange".

Crane's supreme achievement lay in his understanding of and care for the unity of the page. Particularly in the children's picture books, the eye catches page upon page of fine decoration where text and illustration work
in a premeditated harmony. The influence of his wood-engraved designs extended to the United States where his books were pirated and more significantly to the European Continent, where he enjoyed probably greater esteem during his own lifetime than many prominent British easel artists.

Writing in 1896, barely twelve years since the first issue of The Century Guild Hobby Horse, Crane underlined the importance to him of the Arts and Crafts Movement by emphasising how Herbert Horne and Selwyn Image kept true taste alive in book illustration and printing when they were little understood. From 1882 Crane had been involved with 'The Fifteen', a group which in 1884 united with members of the St George's Art Society to found the Art Workers' Guild, of which Crane became Master in 1888. Of all those honours he received, there was probably none which was more treasured than this.
CHAPTER THREE

CHARLES RICKETTS AND THE VALE CIRCLE
Whilst William Morris ensured the continuity of craft wood-engraving into the 1890's, albeit for the non-commercial pursuit of his mediaevalistic ideals, the necessary foundations for the twentieth century development of the creative wood-engraving and its ensuing popularity as a medium of book illustration were laid by Charles Ricketts. As Morris was social reformer, poet, artist and craftsman so also Ricketts was multi-faceted, confining his interests to the arts however. Nevertheless, even within this narrower classification, Ricketts' diversity was considerable. Painting, drawing and sculpture, three-dimensional design and design for the theatre were explored by Ricketts in addition to his deep involvement with wood engraving and other arts of the book.

Interest in the life and works of William Morris has been continuous and vigorous beyond his death to the present time. In the case of Ricketts, the ideals and expressions of the Aesthetic Movement which he epitomised were eclipsed within his own lifetime. Not until very recently has there been a revival of interest and this revival has been without any special emphasis on his wood-engraving. Exhibitions at Cambridge and Twickenham in 1979 followed by the monographs of Calloway and Darracott in 1980 have helped reintroduce Ricketts to a public which more immediately associates the names of Whistler and Wilde with Aestheticism than those of Ricketts and Shannon. Quinn's research on The Dial has been largely concerned with its literary content and influence, rather than on the wood-
engraving and lithography and in this respect, is analogous to recent work on Sturje Moore, detailed subsequently.

From taking rooms together in their late 'teens whilst fellow students, Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon were inseparable until the death of the former in 1931. Their books have, for the most of the century been eclipsed in reputation by those of the Kelmscott Press, to which some bear a superficial resemblance, and by other private press issues which are of more 'modern' appearance. Indifferent plagiarism was also responsible for the decline of interest in the Vale Press. Many books of similar format on hand-made paper with contrived typefaces were produced in the first quarter of the 20th Century. In general they have emphasised the worst features of Ricketts' work whilst ignoring those aspects of design which have had a beneficial influence on commercial book production. The Medici Society, The Florence Press and many smaller presses issued pretentious or abbreviated versions of the classics, in some cases without title-pages, a characteristic of the Vale and Kelmscott Presses. To a large extent, Geoffrey Perkins, through his catalogues of the 1970's for Art Ancien, has been responsible for establishing a new interest in the Vale Books and associated material.

Ricketts and Shannon met at Lambeth in 1882 where both were students of Charles Roberts who, in addition to teaching, was an interpretative wood-engraver for the Illustrated London News. Now the wood-block as a form of expression, as French says, occupies a distinctive position in that the imitative
element must be a slight one. "The visible world does not come before our eyes by means of black mass and white line, but by tone values". What therefore Ricketts and Shannon sought to express in the medium was at total variance with the life work of their tutor. Roberts himself is not remarked upon in the existing works on Ricketts and Shannon except as a surname. Yet he was of some importance to the Illustrated London News as is obvious by a study of its issues in that period. His initials occur on a large number of illustrations, too many probably to have been cut entirely by one man in the time available, and it is likely that he drew guide lines only on some of the smaller blocks and that the full page and double page spread illustrations characteristic of the period were divided probably amongst the lesser craftsmen and apprentices to cut, the individual blocks being assembled, joined and further worked upon by the master craftsman. Two full page examples in one issue alone on an assassination attempt and the Tay Bridge disaster respectively indicate the work of several hands in a race against a publishing deadline.

Kelly lists no less than 266 wood-engravers in its issue of 1880. Whilst this does not indicate precisely how many craft wood-engravers were employed, nevertheless many of the firms listed are known to have employed substantial numbers. Evans for example, himself apprenticed to Ebenezer Landells in 1840, is believed to have employed over thirty at one particular time. Whilst there was a long standing tradition of craftsmanship in
the printing industries, the London Livery Companies were conscious, as a result of the endeavours of Sir Henry Cole and others, of a national need for education and training. The result of this was the formation and incorporation in 1880 of the City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education. Two local trade schools were established quickly and "instruction was being given in applied art among the industrial populations of Finsbury and Lambeth". Ricketts and Shannon, therefore, were amongst the earliest students in an art school which later, incidentally, was to become an important factor in the history of Doulton's Lambeth pottery. The City and Guilds of London Institute was involved in printing education also from its earliest days although there is no evidence of Ricketts or Shannon coming in contact with typography at this stage of their development. By 1887 they had succeeded in "emancipating themselves from that drudgery".

"Drudgery" Sturge Moore might call it but Ricketts himself developed precise views on training. According to William Rothenstein, Ricketts was convinced that one could best learn one's trade by following the practices of proven masters. As teenage students, Ricketts and Shannon amassed a considerable library of reproductions and cheap prints, which during the course of their lifetimes, was constantly replaced by better material until their possessions (and sources of inspiration) became of national importance as can be seen in the Cambridge exhibition of 1979 referred to earlier. The French Symbolist painters, The English
Pre-Raphaelites (Rossetti in particular) and the Italian and North European painters and draughtsmen with their prints were important formative influences. So too were the Japanese colour prints from wood-block. Whilst it is true that much of the original painting and sculpture acquired by the partners was subsequent to the completion of the activities of the Vale Press, nevertheless by practising strict economy they were able to acquire many much prized items before they achieved financial success. At that time it was possible to pick up good engravings cheaply, for their already considerable knowledge helped. Ricketts for example, rediscovered and acquired the important Rossetti drawing Mary Magdelene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee prior to 1890. Moore and others constantly refer to the relevance of this collection to the early artistic development of the partners and, certainly in the early stages of their working lives, the portfolios must have been invaluable to both who, of necessity, turned to hack illustration to supplement their incomes.

Like others before them, notably, the Pre-Raphaelites with The Germ, and together with many of their contemporaries and successors, Ricketts and Shannon found an outlet in starting their own avant-garde journal. There was certainly to be no hack work in The Dial, the first number of which appeared in 1889. As a literary and artistic periodical, The Dial has many of the faults of other short-lived irregular and pretentious journals of the 'Nineties. Certainly The Dial was more irregular than most, its five issues spanning nearly
nine years. Nevertheless, the original lithographs and wood-engravings give the publication an 17artistic distinction which can be claimed by very few "little" magazines of that period. The format of The Dial was anything but little and the astonishing chromolithograph insert of The Great Worm, Ricketts' tour-de-force in this medium and redolent of Moreau at his most exotic, must have appeared to the subscribers as a completely new experience. These first attempts at book illustration and page layout appear primitive in many respects in comparison with their subsequent efforts. Unlike most journals, The Dial had its impressions printed directly from the wood and not from stereos and both illustration and decoration were plentiful, a tradition carried through to the Vale Press books. Although the first issue of The Dial lacked both cohesion and balance between text and illustration, nevertheless it appears less 18contrived than that other journal of significance in wood-engraving, The Century Guild Hobby Horse More avant-garde than the Hobby Horse, the interior of The Dial no. 1 was enhanced by the immaculate velvet black presswork carried out by Ballantynes. It was here that 19Holmes encountered the work of Ricketts and Shannon and became indispensable to them. Unlike Morris, Ricketts did not carry out his own printing and 20Ballantynes, who were to print all the Vale Press books, reserved a press for Ricketts, the printing of whose books was very closely supervised.

21Simon defines the successful printer as a combination of scholar, designer and businessman. Whilst Ricketts and
Shannon possessed the first two attributes in abundance, there is no evidence of real interest in business and it is possible that the great Vale Press enterprise would have failed but for Charles Holmes. If that were so, then the later issues of The Dial and the greater proportion of the eighty or so titles together with their influential wood-engraved illustrations and decorations would never have appeared. Holmes, a member of the Rivington publishing family, whose firm he entered to learn the trade, first encountered the private press whilst a student at Oxford where he made the acquaintance of the Daniel household. Whilst at Brasenose he was influenced by the etchings of William Strang under whose guidance he later experimented with wood-engraving. In December 1889 he was sent to Constable's at Edinburgh where there was real concern for the revival of printing as an art. Subsequent to gaining wide experience in the publishing trade, Holmes went to Ballantynes as a salaried book-keeper in January 1892. From his first encounter with Ricketts and Shannon, their friendship grew, Holmes becoming an important figure in the Vale Circle and from the midsummer of 1896 assuming managerial responsibility for Ricketts' publishing and bookselling affairs. With his wide experience in all aspects of publishing, The Vale Press could hardly do other than prosper. The financial history of the Press is well detailed.

Ricketts' fortune in having as manager a man who later established himself as an artist, art historian and
administrator has been curiously overlooked. Holmes went on to become Director of The National Portrait Gallery and subsequently Director of The National Gallery and was knighted for his services. His knowledge of the Ballantyne Press from the inside was vital to the standard of Vale Press printing, as was his own interest in the wood block, for during his management of The Vale Press he wrote a monograph on Hokusai, published in 1899.

Ricketts' influence, both directly and through Charles Holmes, can be seen in the rising quality of Ballantyne's commercial work during the 1890's for such publishers as J M Dent.

The Dial's first cover was printed black on brown paper from a design by Ricketts engraved on the wood by Shannon. The design, a large sun-dial set amongst sinuous art nouveau plant forms was fairly described as an undistinguished jumble. This issue also contains a number of wood-engraved vignettes by Ricketts which show the influences of Blake and Rossetti. It was nearly three years before the second number appeared. Here, photographic reproduction was entirely discarded and for this issue Ricketts cut nine decorative headpieces and initials in addition to a full page wood-engraving. A new cover, this time both designed and cut by Ricketts, excited more interest. John Rothenstein and Quinn both claim that this cover owes much to Durer's Melencolia I. That Durer had a considerable influence on Ricketts is undoubted
and if he himself owned no impression of this most famous of Durer's copper engravings, the Amand-Durand edition of Durer's works of 1880 had made possible for the first time faithful reproduction of the engravings. Whilst not accepting completely Quinn's persuasive arguments, it is right to concur with his view that "Ricketts transforms Durer's Melancholy into an elusive Pre-Raphaelite representation of Art, a figure whose pensive seriousness perfectly compliments the sobriety of The Dial". The signal importance of Durer's masterpiece in Ricketts' studies lie in the upper right hand portion of the print where, in contrast to the single plate chiaroscuro work in the rest of the plate, the minute detail, symbolism and portrait hammer home the influence of Durer on the Pre-Raphaelites and on Dante Gabriel Rossetti in particular. There is ample evidence that Durer influenced Ricketts both directly and through Rossetti.

Ricketts' writings on Durer leave no doubt of his admiration. In his monograph, The Prado, 1903, Durer's Self-Portrait at the Age of 28 is called "the perfect realisation of one of the world's greatest men". By 1903, Ricketts and Shannon had added to their collection an original Durer landscape of sufficient importance to be reproduced in the folios of The Durer Society and, as Sturge Moore's mentor, he no doubt discussed The Melancholy with him. Moore devoting several pages to the print in his own monograph on Durer.
The influence of Rossetti on the early Ricketts can be identified readily in a comparison between the engraved designs of Rossetti for The Music Master and the Moxon Tennyson, discussed in detail earlier, and Ricketts' pen work for the Poems of Lord de Tabley which was published by Bodley Head in 1893. In their general atmosphere the illustrations of both artists exude a brooding mysterious quality. The arrangement of human figures, the inclusion of symbols, the commonality of facial expression together with considerable emphasis on texture emphasise the similarities. The Ballad of a Shield, also reproduced mechanically but as a serial illustration in The Magazine of Art, 1892, emulates the compact jewel-like use of pictorial space beloved of Rossetti but on this occasion owing a debt also to Burne-Jones. This tightness of design is less apparent in the wood-engraved designs of Ricketts which are much freer, albeit disciplined, probably as a reaction to the drawing and cutting of the initials and borders which took up so much of his time during the last six years of the 'nineties.

The strong link between Rossetti and Ricketts was stressed by W B Yeats who raised the issue with Sturge Moore in 1921 when he wrote that on reading Rossetti's letters he was constantly reminded of Ricketts. "He must, when young, have formed himself on Rossetti ... There is the same apparent lack of philosophy with the same occasional philosophical insight ... but that there is something beyond all that ..." That Yeats was unnervingly accurate in his observation comes out in the very detailed reply in
which Sturge Moore emphasised Ricketts' absorption in Rossetti in the early 1890's. "Ricketts certainly did many first-rate designs entirely founded on Rossetti... a great deal came to us by Herbert Horne and Gleeson White who gathered it from all sorts of artists and others who had known him".

As the influence of Durer came to The Vale both directly and via Rossetti, so also came the influences of William Blake, and the Vale artists were made conscious of the totality of book design through their study of Blake's illustrated books, upon which incidentally Shannon's first handwritten title for the Dial was based.

Ricketts and Shannon first became involved with commercial publishers through Oscar Wilde who was responsible for securing work as a designer for Ricketts first at Osgood and McIlvaine and later at Bodley Head, and it was at Bodley Head where the Italian influences on Ricketts are most apparent in the two titles which he and Shannon produced and which are regarded as "early Vale". Of these, Daphnis and Chloe, 1893, remains probably the most perfect example of black line wood-engraving of modern times. That the artists perfectly understood the art and technique of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of Aldus is manifested in the profound beauty of their engravings for Daphnis and Chloe.

The engraving of the designs and initials for this book took Ricketts and Shannon eleven months. Twenty-two of the pictures were drawn by Ricketts, the remaining fifteen by Shannon. The designs were transferred to the
block by Ricketts for the sake of unity of effect and engraved by both, often working on the same block. In addition to the illustrations there were over one hundred initials, most of which were also engraved by Ricketts. Probably unsurpassed in nineteenth century book illustration, the volume falls short typographically of the total harmony achieved by Aldus in The Hypnerotomachia, a fact understood by Ricketts and which undoubtedly spurred him on to his own experiments in type design.

At this time there was little choice, Ricketts using Caslon. The most recently designed British type available was Miller and Richard's Old Style of 1859 and it was to be a further twenty years before J H Mason and Gerard Meynell were to make Imprint commercially available.

There is evidence that Ricketts intended to follow the early Italian book illustrations but already the sinuous and stylised manner was manifesting itself. The swirling lines, drooping natural forms and elongated human bodies were continued through into the second of the Bodley Head books, Marlowe and Chapman's Hero and Leander.

The signal importance of Daphnis and Chloe was, and is, that it was the first book of modern times with woodcuts by an artist "in a page arranged by himself". Similarly, Hero and Leander was primarily black line in effect with indications of what was to come in abundance from 1896. The frontispiece consisted of an intricate strapwork border with acanthus motif surrounding line of text and illustration.
The elongated Ricketts figures in this work are echoed in Aubrey Beardsley's The Mysterious Rose Garden which appeared in volume 4 of The Yellow Book, published a year later, although Beardsley neither wood-engraved nor drew for wood engraving.

Whilst Daphnis and Chloe was published in an edition of 210 copies and Hero and Leander in an edition of 220, these were in no sense Private Press books, but were published in the ordinary way. In addition to Ricketts wanting total control over his books, possibly a further incentive to found his own imprint was Lane's decision to abandon him leaving Ricketts in a difficult position. With financial support from Llewellyn Hacon, Ricketts henceforth devoted himself to his Vale Press. After leaving The Vale house late in 1894, for new accommodation, Ricketts worked on the block, often for up to 14 hours a day, in a long low gloomy room "lit only by a lamp and a glass reflector needed to increase the light upon my wood block and tools ... my eyes still half-covered by the vizor or guard engravers use". Sturge Moore's description in the unpublished Introduction of Ricketts working methods is perhaps one of the most valuable accounts in the history of book illustration. "A flash of vision ... a thumb nail sketch ... in it he could see the poise of the new arabesque, the relative positions and proportions of the masses and blanks ... during days, weeks, months or sometimes years, there would follow a number of sketches of visiting card size ... discovering the aptest way to convey the spell-bound or
tragic moods that he preferred ... Directly one of these secondary sketches seemed pregnant with the desired burden, he would disentangle with transparent paper the Master lines, and enlarge them to the intended scale ... Both sides of the tracing would be worked on ... till that of the two which least pleased would be pasted down on a Bristol board ... I can see him now with a nearly finished drawing on a wood block before him, moving tiny scraps of white paper over its surface with a pin ... Actual sensuous proportions were in question, however minute."

The immense efforts of Ricketts during 1895 were rewarded with a steady stream of volumes coming from The Vale Press from 1896 onwards, some illustrated, nearly all decorated. Of those with illustrations by Ricketts, Danae and De Cupidinis et Psyches Amoribus highlight his preoccupation with the arrangement of pictorial space. Both show intense Pre-Raphaelite influence. On the other hand, the ten illustrations to The Parables are in the simplest Durer black line tradition and are equally effective. In certain of the Michael Field titles, Ricketts was able to take up the Florentine style and put his own personal and unmistakeable stamp upon 15th Century Italy. In these, and other titles Ricketts combined illustration and decoration in a totally different way to the manner of William Morris. In the frontispieces to The World at Auction, The Bibliography and The Nymphidia of Michael Drayton, (title-pages at The Vale Press were not de rigueur) this is particularly noticeable. Possibly the most striking page in the whole Ricketts corpus
is the frontispiece to Nymphidia, 1896, where the elongated figure of Oberon strides aslant a border of honeysuckle, the engraved title emblazoned across a totally integrated tablet. Using his Vale typeface, Ricketts from this point on moved closer to the spirit of Kelmscott.

Amongst the comparisons between Morris and Ricketts and the attempts at identification of points of contact and the attempts at identification of points of contact 49 Perkins rightly points out there are even more points of divergence. Superficially however, it is the presence of the wood engraved border that indicates the closeness of design. With Morris, however, elaboration is the keynote. In the Kelmscott Chaucer and Kelmscott Godfrey of Boulogne, for example, there is scarcely a white space to be found anywhere within the margins on the decorated paper. Ricketts, on the other hand, handled decoration apart from illustration, eg, in The Parables, as well as enclosing the illustration within the decoration as in Drayton's Nymphidia.

The early Vale Press books follow a basic pattern with the text beginning on page one sometimes opposite an illustration. Most Vale borders were designed from nature and in "conception and execution lighter and more naturalistic" than those of Morris. According to De Vinne, Erhardt Ratdolt was the maker of the earliest book with printed decoration on the title page of The Calendar of Johannes Regiomontanus, Venice, 1476, and it was to Venice Ricketts turned. "Ricketts with his leanings towards the early Italian Renaissance represents the South ... as
opposed to Morris's North," remarked Furst, no doubt with the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in mind. Certainly the borders to the Shakespeare set, Marlowe and certain of the Michael Field books lean towards Northern Italy. Ratdolt's Venetian borders were in the old style of pure outline where the engraver had to cut away the larger part of the wood. This is a common feature of the Ricketts' borders, although, with the plant form designs, Ricketts used both black-line and white-line techniques.

The border to the title-page of Hero and Leander, heavily Celtic in feeling with slightly self-conscious acanthus leaves, moved Sir Charles Holmes to recall that the page exhibited "the blend of rhythmic involution with lively spirit which was to characterise all Ricketts' future work of the same kind." This title shows Ricketts' first serious involvement with the wood-engraved border, the first three issues of The Dial lacking this form of textual adornment. If Holmes was moved by Ricketts initial effort then he must have been profoundly impressed by the steady stream of blocks issuing from Ricketts' burin, for all, with the exception of those employing the laurel motif, are beautiful, austere and technically excellent. The success of Ricketts and Morris in this aspect of book design lay in their unconscious compliance with Steele's maxim that "no book 'should be ornamented except by its designer, and then only because he must do it ... ornament made to a publishers order by a draughtsman who took no part in the design of the book can hardly fail to be undesirable".
While both Morris and Ricketts were concerned with the aesthetic unity of the page, Ricketts' borders, with few exceptions, grace the page rather than fill it. Morris was apologetic about his sometimes over-ornate borders, excusing himself that he was a decorator by profession.

Hero and Leander also included black-line wood-engraved initial letters which had precursors by Ricketts in The Dial. The paragraph mark, in this case a hawthorn leaf, also featured in the book. Perkins has surveyed and listed the alphabets of decorated initials cut by Ricketts in order of their appearance. Extensively used throughout the Vale Press corpus, the initials were normally cut in two sizes, sometimes three with minor variations of detail. In the case of the first alphabet, used in Daphnis and Chloe, the initial initials are closer to illustration than to ornament. The closeness of the collaboration between Ricketts and Shannon on the wood-engravings for Hero and Leander is believed to have extended even to the initial letters of alphabet A2.

The first Vale Press title issued by Hacon and Ricketts had a white line "violet" border which Ricketts did not re-use. The violet motif was used again in Epicurus, Leontion and Ternissa, this time printed in red, a recurring practice. The lyrical intricacies of design characterising the Milton, so praised by French, seem coarsened by red ink, perhaps as a result of page size or type of paper used. The six further volumes which appeared also in 1896 contained
borders of honeysuckle, Christ's Passion motifs, acanthus, violets and laurel respectively. Of these, the laurel appears the least distinguished, and especially so when printed in red.

One of the most distinguished borders appeared in the first book of 1897, Michael Field's play Fair Rosamund. The book was bound in boards covered with two papers designed and printed by Ricketts. A number of Vale titles were bound in boards covered with these wood-engraved patterns; a style subsequently followed by Pissarro and much later by the Curwen Press. This was probably the first example of this type of decorated paper covering in English bookmaking. The border of roses designed and cut in the wood for its namesake is of outstanding beauty.

The honeysuckle motif occurred in white line on the Sacred Poems of Henry Vaughan, although this more commonly occurs as a black line border. The single use of the wild hop border was in The Poems and Sonnets of Henry Constable whilst the briony border first appeared in 1898 with Chatterton's Rowley Poems. Certain borders were in contrast to those using natural forms, ie, those in the Renaissance taste. Occasionally, as in the Keats' Poems, two borders were used in the same work. Vale Press books in 32mo were "toys", but even in these, eg, Rossetti's Hand and Soul, borders were used, in this case with vine motif. A further variation occurs in the Sonnets of Shakespeare where a laurel inner border is surrounded by one of stylised oak leaves. This work also
contains a half-border, common practice in the later books from the Press.

For the most part Ricketts designed and cut the borders entirely. The willow borders for The Poems of Alfred Tennyson, 1900, although designed by Ricketts, were cut by Charles Keates, who also performed the same service on the oak design for The Life of Benvenuto Cellini. As time progressed, Ricketts' border designs were becoming freer and more austere, inviting comparison with Eric Gill's borderwork for the later Golden Cockerel Canterbury Tales. Further cutting by Keates followed with a superb border of pansies used in The Poems of Shelley. Three geometric borders were shared between the penultimate titles of the Vale Press, ie, the Marlowe and the 39 volume Shakespeare. Here also were no less than 28 half borders engraved by Keates from designs by Ricketts. The character of the decoration was kept as light as possible to suit both fount and paper. The influence of these geometric designs can be seen on the designs of Sturge Moore for the books of W B Yeats books, eg, The Tower.

Fire at Ballantyne's destroyed many of the borders, so painstakingly cut. Such work would not be lightly re-undertaken, especially by an artist who was continually developing. It is widely stated that the fire was the principal reason for Ricketts decision to wind up the affairs of the Press. However, it is likely that, even if the border wood-blocks, which each took 3-4 weeks to cut, had escaped the conflagration, Ricketts would have either discontinued
the practice completely, or continued to lighten their effect, a trend discernible since 1900.

The use of hand drawn borders, especially on title pages, passed into commercial usage in the first decade of the twentieth Century, notably in the commercial publishing houses of J M Dent and Fremantle and Co, probably owing as much to Morris as to Ricketts. The use of borders was revived again, but this time typographically by Francis Meynell at The Pelican Press from 1916. However, with typographic decoration there is evidence that wood engraving still had a part to play. In 1958, eg the Lanston Monotype Corporation introduced Elizabeth Friedlander's decorative border units. These interchangeable designs had been engraved on the wood prior to going into production.

Two rather pallid imitations of Vale Press books emanated from Ballantynes in 1902. Of Kings' Treasuries and Of Queens' Gardens have black line wood engraved plant-form borders by Christopher Dean, who was working from 1897 onwards. However, there is no established connection between Ricketts and Dean and it is likely that Ballantynes were merely emulating the Vale Books.

Charles Holmes, in retrospect and with the confidence of one with his own practical experience with the burin, declared that in one respect Ricketts stood alone, namely as a designer of woodcut borders. "These decorations ... have a sparkling colour and a natural grace".
In respect of his wood engraved pictures there is less agreement. According to Easton, his epicene attenuated forms "at least" had the vigour of the wood from which they were cut and matched the typographic forms. Guthrie, on the other hand allowed that the budding critic could look at the attenuated figures "and reflect, 'I know better than that" but in supposing for an instant that anything but wisdom and knowledge lie behind the pencil, he wilfully contradicts the superabundant evidence of its power." Weber had no reservation whatever about the totality of his book design. "Never in the history of printing have books been made which reflect so completely the inventive genius of one man."

Gleeson White, writing in 1896, correctly forecast that Ricketts would receive complete dispassionate appreciation subsequent to full documentary evidence of the influence of his work on his successors.

There is almost total agreement between all those who have written of Ricketts and Shannon that Ricketts was the dominant personality. It was he who determined that Shannon in all probability had the greater potential as a painter and, with the present renewal of interest in English painting of the early twentieth century, there is likely to be a revaluation of Shannon's art. He is not likely to be remembered primarily for his wood-engraving but for his portraits in oils and his silvery lithographs. Nevertheless, apart from his contributions to Daphnis and Chloe and Hero and Leander discussed earlier, he designed and cut a circular illustration December for the fifth and final issue of The Dial. Shannon's
subsequent experiments in wood-engraving moved away from the spirit of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili towards tonal qualities. By 1904, Guthrie had noted a greater attachment to problems of chiaroscuro in Shannon's work. The exhibition at Van Wisseling's gallery in Brook St, Mayfair comprising the work of Ricketts and Shannon, Sturge Moore, Pissarro and Reginald Savage was notable for a series of twelve wood-engraved roundels by Shannon illustrating in symbolic design idylls of rural life. This series was a conscious attempt at reviving that variety of wood engraving called chiaroscuro, that is printing from two or more blocks in order to add colour and highlights. After its development by Hans Burgkmeyer the Elder (whose work was known to the Vale artists through the publications of the Emperor Maximilian I) and other German artists, notably Wechtlin, chiaroscuro woodcuts were undertaken in Italy by Ugo da Carpi (b. 1486) who reproduced the designs of Raphael and Parmegianino, and Andrea Andreani (b. 1540) who reproduced the work of Titian and Tintoretto. Then the technique apparently was abandoned.

It appears that Shannon was the first to employ the technique in Britain. Strongly composed, they reveal his expert knowledge of the human figure and suggest that, in this respect, he had much influence on Sturge Moore, the illustration by the latter to the Eragny Press Peau d'Ane showing an affinity with The Apple Shower of Shannon's Idylls series. Printed in three tones, dark greenish grey, buff yellow and white (for the high lights), these masterpieces in miniature emphasise The Vale artists' interest in the tondo.
Isolated examples of chiaroscuro wood engraving occur in the Eragny Press canon, first by Lucien Pissarro in Kubla Khan (1904) and by Laurence Binyon in a volume of Binyon's verse, Dream-Come-True (1905). Because of their connection with The Vale, it is likely that they were encouraged to emulate Shannon. There is little evidence to suggest that Shannon wished to continue in this idiom. Like Ricketts, who employed Keates to cut his designs for the later Vale Press titles, the inordinate amount of time demanded by the burin probably made him turn to other media. Both were conscious of the fact that the decline of wood engraving had been caused precisely by the fact that, with few exceptions, designers had never been their own engravers.

With their restless pursuit of excellence in several fields simultaneously, their recognition of the discipline required in wood engraving would allow for no short cuts and it was probably a conscious decision to relegate the medium for possible revival later rather than continue, at least in Ricketts' case, to employ cutters. This would have been a negation of stated principals and, as such, would be totally out of character. Whilst Keates almost certainly was employed as an amanuensis for the Vale Press Shakespeare decorations, it is highly unlikely that other collaborations, eg Shannon and Sturge Moore in The Dial, were regarded other than as experiments. The affinity between the work of Sturge Moore, Shannon and Ricketts suggests that such experiments were cooperative ventures in the time sense and in no way were they producing wood engravings of a reproductive nature.
Writing a quarter of a century after the closure of the Vale Press, John Rothenstein remarked on the lack of interest in the fine poet and wood engraver, Thomas Sturge Moore. Of all those consistently influenced by Ricketts and Shannon, Moore was the most faithful and provides a significant link between the late 19th Century practitioners and the modern wood engravers.

Will Rothenstein described Ricketts' fatal desire for influencing others as Einflusslust and Sturge Moore as the most faithful of his disciples who in his woodcuts "strived for a conscious beauty of form and contrast". Moore's life lasted until 1944 and his wood-engraved work continued intermittently until comparatively late. However, Moore's most important work was carried out in the 1890's where, in addition to writing and engraving for the publications of Ricketts and Shannon, his involvement extended to acting as amanuensis and assisting in all aspects of their print-making.

The lack of public interest in the work of Moore was stressed by Finberg who was writing in 1915 of "the years of coldness and neglect". Finberg, who was a fellow student of Ricketts, Shannon, Moore, Rackham and Reginald Savage at Lambeth, provides important evidence on the formative influences at work there in the 'eighties. The Principal, John Sparkes, liked "carefully rounded contours and subtle curves." Smith, however, who taught painting, hated curves and insisted on emphasising the full difference between the highest light and next lightest plane in a
charcoal drawing which resulted in much black sombre work, perhaps later seen in certain of the "Pan" wood-engravings of Moore. Like Ricketts, Moore was at this time learning wood engraving from Charles Roberts. Finberg contrasted Moore's character, modest, simple-minded and straight-forward, with Ricketts' bitter tongue and capricious temper.

It has been demonstrated that many of the Vale Circle were active in a variety of fields and Moore proved no exception. In his early thirties, he accompanied his engraving and poetry with essays in art criticism and aesthetics. The culmination of his literary work, which resulted in the editing of Ricketts' papers into Self-Portrait, is perhaps that by which he will be most remembered whilst his reputation as a wood-engraver is at present certainly secondary to that of Ricketts.

74 John Rothenstein's assessment as "an artist of real imagination and solid technique" unconsciously assigns Moore to a location likely to be chanced upon only by those who pursue the minor by-ways, rather than follow the mainstream of art history. Moore's closeness to Ricketts for many years was undoubtedly due to both his admiration for Ricketts and his own character. 75 Charles Holmes, called upon by Ricketts to proof-read the Vale Press Shakespeare, edited by Moore, remarked upon Moore's patience in yet another task laid upon him by Ricketts.

In wood-engraving, Moore followed Ricketts in rebelling against the subordination of the craft to a reproductive
role. Both he and Ricketts believed that the most perfect artistic situation was that in which the engraver and designer were synonymous. Neither Durer nor Holbein had cut their own designs but Ricketts and Moore considered that Albrecht Altdorfer had been successful in this respect. Both probably knew Altdorfer's graphic work through the Holbein Society's 1876 facsimile reproduction of the Fall of Man, with an introduction by William Bell Scott, and also the Society's two volume reproduction of the Triumph of Maximilian, 1873-75. Moore's publications on Altdorfer formed the first English evaluation of Altdorfer's art and also brought his graphic work before the general public for the first time, the Holbein Society being a subscription society for the cognoscenti. For this important contribution, Moore is worthy of attention. Further, an insight into Moore's approach to the block can be gained from his writings on this artist who both he and Ricketts thought to be the superior of Durer in respect of the finished wood-engraving. The qualities Moore extols in Altdorfer are those which reflect his own peculiar outlook. Originality, "A scholar of the burin and knife", spontaneity, "an intuitive calculation of the knife's capacities", and experiment without impatience are picked out by Moore as the keynotes of Altdorfer's work on wood. In contrast, Durer's stupendous manual dexterity (in his draughtsmanship?) is apt to become tyrannous and fall into "frigid display".

Moore believed that the wood-engravings of Durer, Holbein and their North European contemporaries had been
conceived as pen drawings and that these by definition were not artistic wood-engravings. On the other hand, Altdorfer, who can reasonably be supposed to have been apprenticed to his father, had a working knowledge of the craft and that essential appreciation of tool and material necessary to create the true original wood-engraving, irrespective of the fact that extra hands may have shared the labour on wood. The core of Moore's aesthetic belief was that works of art can be approached from two viewpoints. Either they present a discovered beauty or are exquisite applications of the means "by which they do us this grace". Where both facets were sought together, the artistic wood engraving was both eminently suitable as a medium and, at the same time, could display the antithesis of these two spirits at work. The intuitive sensitivity of the born craftsman could make the material realise the beauty conceived in the imagination whilst, at the same time, an obsession with performance could degrade the art. Sturge Moore's awareness of this danger enabled his own work to escape criticism on this score. During the wood-engraving "boom" which, in England, followed the cessation of the first world war, French expressed the concern that "it had become fashionable to praise anything done with skill on wood". Moore, however, was of an order to equal Altdorfer or Calvert; his wood engravings so evolved that it was impossible to conceive of them having been made with pen, brush or chalk. As far as French was concerned, the handling was in unison with or subordinate to the invention. Arrogance was noticeably absent.
Certain elements in Altdorfer's engravings have their counterpart in Moore, particularly the overhanging tree and cloud arrangements to be found in the German master's Massacre of the Innocents, St George and the Dragon, Abraham's Sacrifice and the St Christopher. Other accompanying engravings foreshadow the brooding Pan theme of certain of Moore's larger works. No doubt Moore especially appreciated that much of the fine work of Altdorfer was cut on the plank, rather than on the end-grain.

As works of criticism, Moore's early writings showed both penetration and a grasp of fundamental ideas but tended to the emotional and polemic in contrast to the detached stance favoured in the latter part of the 20th Century. Nevertheless, even in his writings on aesthetics there are scattered clues to his attitude to the wood block. Twenty-five years on from his Altdorfer studies, Moore stressed the primacy of surface in graphic art with all other elements remaining subservient to it. In the same work, he reminded his audience that "the origin of graphic art was in writing and remains akin to it". Perhaps most significantly, Moore defines his own location on the parallel historical lines of descent referred to by James and discussed earlier. "Designs can be developed where the craftsman has leisure to be his own designer. Employers who leave no room for such efforts in the conditions of work are veritable devils". The ideals which came to fruition in this book were first summarised in a series of lectures given at Bedales in 1924 and which caused some astonishment at the time.
Moore's closeness to the final flowering of the Aesthetic Movement and his status within the Royal Society of Literature attracted the attention of certain art critics despite the inevitable swamping of the Aesthetics by Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Vorticism and other Movements which followed rapidly upon one another in the first twenty years of this century.

83Easton maintains that Sturge Moore's whole technical approach derived from Ricketts. "There was the identical paring away of inessentials and superimposition of scrap upon scrap of minute re-drawing in order to disengage the master lines." Over the whole tapestry of appraisal, appreciation and anecdote of Ricketts there is a tiresome reiteration that all who came into contact succumbed to his influence. Yet Moore married and showed independence of character on a number of occasions. His studies of Altdorfer were probably by virtue of contract, greater than those devoted to the Renaissance master by Ricketts. It would be unfair to assume that Altdorfer's influence on Moore's engraving came to him purified by Ricketts, although it is conceded that Moore at 84seventeen became Ricketts' pupil in engraving - "probably the most consequential single event in his life". Writing some ten years afterwards, 85Ricketts stressed that Moore's style of wood-engraving showed a thorough understanding of the peculiar conditions of the medium. "They aim at effect brought about by white cutting into black, or by black lines showing the work of the tool in their shaping and we have here no imitation of chalk or wash drawing, or of steel engraving or of photography". 75
Gwynn considered that Ricketts' influence had a stultifying effect on Moore's development as both poet and artist, the verse in particular showing little change in technique over his lifetime. Moore's wood-engraved book illustrations effectively covered a short early period and cannot therefore be subject to this evaluation, although his connection with book design lasted until much later. Whilst there was at times a commonality of subject matter between Ricketts and Moore, the treatment was different. Moore at an early stage established his independence in the craft.

While Moore was a major literary contributor to the Dial, his first illustrations for that journal did not appear until the third issue with one of his inscrutable monolithic versions of Pan, depicted geologically as Pan Mountain, and in contrast, a delightful and carefree borderless cut to illustrate the poem Grecian Girls. This was possibly one of Moore's best designs. In issue no. 4, Ricketts' influence can be seen in the Death of the Dragon, which like the Pan designs, is full of dark monumental masses, the serpent-like beast barely discernable save for the menacing upturned talons. In contrast to Ricketts, there are no sensual overtones; in fact sensuality is noticeable by its absence from Moore's graphic work. Pan Island, Moore's most brooding wood-engraving overshadowed its two accompanying illustrations in the fifth and last issue of The Dial. The Centaur with the Bough possessed the characterless face of all Moore's Centaur cuts, but
on the other hand, The Hare Making Circles was one of Moore's most attractive illustrations, although the Dial's handmade paper, despite the usual damping prior to printing, took away some of the block's refinement. As with much of Moore's work, this refinement only becomes apparent in rice paper proofs. Apart from the isolated example, eg Pan Mountain, Moore's published work is in black to match the printed page. Yet the number of proofs printed in a variety of colours and shades perhaps indicate Moore's involvement with an independent work of art, rather than an integral component of a printed book. Easton also remarks on this phenomenon: "the minimal intrusion of black proofs into the scrapbooks owned by Miss Sturge Moore".

By the time Ricketts and Shannon produced their two "Early Vale" books for John Lane, Moore's standing with Shannon and Ricketts was such that Daphnis and Chloe was dedicated to him. Moore was then 23 years of age. His maturity at this time was shrewdly commented on by Furst who stressed the need to attune oneself to Moore's xylographic language, Moore's engraving being wrought with much glyptic subtlety, before appreciating his variations of mood.

While Furst states that Moore developed the Calvert tradition in a modern sense, he fails to enlarge on this theme. Nevertheless, there are strong Calvert influences in certain elements of Moore's designs. The tree trunks which divide Calvert's Lady with the Rooks wood engraving find their counterpart in Moore, as for example in the use of a tree
to divide the George Harry Milstead bookplate engraving into two sub-frames.

89 Liston claimed that the direct influence of Calvert on the 20th Century revival was small but acknowledges "possible evidence" in the work of Sturge Moore. There is evidence from 90 Liston and 91 Chambers that both artists drew their designs on the blocks in detail before engraving them. Close examination of their respective blocks by these authorities resulted in comment on their capability for making fine incisions. In the case of 92 Calvert, "as if a cobweb had been lightly dropped upon the surface of the wood ... so fine that prints were made from it only with difficulty". An examination of the Sturge Moore blocks deposited at 93 St Bride's revealed large numbers of fine shallow lines, barely distinguishable on the face of large uncut masses. Of the "90 or so" blocks which Chambers has accounted for, 71 are held at St Bride's, some being destroyed in the Ballantyne fire.

Two major books illustrated by Moore were issued by Ricketts from the Vale Press. Poems from Wordsworth came out in 1902 with six wood engravings, one of which, The Hare, had previously appeared in The Dial. Calvert's influence is again apparent in the illustration to As in a Grove I Sat. 94 Two other blocks, Hail Twilight and The Castle of Indolence, have been identified by Chambers as being of the same series but not used in the book. The engraving Nuns Fret Not is in a different idiom to the rest of Moore's wood engravings, the costumed figures evocative of Joan Hassall's work.
Moore's cuts invariably hark back to classical antiquity and rustic bliss and there is usually little evidence of the recent past. Moore's second illustrated volume for the Vale Press, The Centaur and The Bacchante, translated by him from De Guerin continued the classical tradition. Three engravings illustrate the first tale and two, the latter. Again, the rough paper in the book throws up a poorer impression than on the rice-paper proofs. The turgid, mannered prose of The Centaur is in no way enlivened by the gloomy wood engravings. However, the first illustration to The Bacchante, Girl doing Hair, has Blake overtones and radiates light. This is more in tune with Moore's later work for the Yeats family bookplates. The second engraving of a sleeping girl with the crescent moon was surely the result of the influence of Samuel Palmer.

Ricketts' influence on Moore is best seen in the black line engraving for the Unicorn Press imprint which reveals the early interest in the 15th Century Italians, and a book-plate for Campbell Dodgson of a girl with unicorn, this having both Ricketts' preference for strong diagonals and the girl dividing the frame in typical Calvert style. The Ricketts diagonal can be seen again in Moore's Leda and The Swan engraving.

Moore's first illustrations for Pissarro's Eragny Press were the three wood engravings for Perrault's Peau d'Ane, 1902. The book's subject matter is perfectly matched by Peau d'Ane Minding Turkeys and Peau d'Ane bathing, perhaps Moore's most successful interpretation of the female form.
and one of his most beautiful engravings. The second of the Eragny Press books illustrated by Moore was The Little School: a Book of Rhymes penned by Moore himself and issued in 1905. These four wood engravings are amongst the most undistinguished of Moore's output. The female form seemed elusive to the artist, the cut Beautiful Meals showing the artist at his worst in this respect. One of Moore's few unframed black line designs forms the title page vignette. This attempt at fairies, complete with wings, fails completely, its clumsy immortals appearing incapable of flight and a sad contrast to the earlier work of Richard Doyle as engraved by Edmund Evans. The short stubby frames of young creatures crawling over a woman have a Housman-like grotesqueness whilst the frameless tailpiece of a young woman with doves lacks fineness of detail. Whilst Vale and Eragny Press vellum copies are generally breath-taking in their impact, not even the perfectly prepared skin of one of the 10 special copies can make anything of these cuts. The impressions on Arches paper are even less appealing.

Moore's difficulty with children continued, the same chunky squat designs appearing on a Rhyme sheet of 1921. There are indications in the Eragny wood engravings of an influence on Lovat Fraser although Fraser's thick pen and wash drawings have a cheerfulness totally lacking in Moore's output. A contrary view on The Little School is that of Taylor who calls it "probably the most attractive of his books".
To what extent Ricketts was influenced by Sturge Moore is hard to define but it is to Moore that the present generation are able to reconstruct the enigmatic figure of Ricketts through his monograph of 1933 and his masterly editing of Ricketts' papers.

Moore's early work outside the Vale and Eragny Presses was limited. Oldmeadow made use of him for his Unicorn imprint but his blocks for Siegfried, intended for his own contribution to the Little Engravings: Classical and Contemporary Series, did not culminate in a book. These were a tour-de-force, reminiscent of Ricketts' Great Worm, but lacking the sensuality.

To what extent the Ballantyne fire affected Moore's enthusiasm for wood engraving can only be conjectured. The Centaur and The Bacchante blocks were destroyed, together with the type set for two volumes of Moore's Shakespeare. Certainly he was affected by its impact on Ricketts. His friendship with Ricketts and Shannon was complete, one which concealed discord which undoubtedly hurt, manifested by Ricketts' frequent playful assertion that all creative artists should be forbidden marriage by law. The question unanswered is whether or not Moore's art did flower fully under this repeated condescension. Ricketts, however, did rate Moore very highly. In The Pageant he wrote that Moore's engravings were "not merely accidental, as of a trade engraver who is artist at leisure, but in aim they show that directness of all work understood within the peculiar conditions
of the medium. At Ricketts' death Yeats wrote his condolences to Moore. "He was in our tradition its last great representative." All the modern movements passed Moore by, as they had Ricketts. Generally avoiding controversy, Moore could not have avoided being hurt by the scathing assessment of him both as art critic and wood engraver by Bliss, "reminded of Calvert" but not capable, and who "not being dependent upon his art for his daily bread ... can await the genuine promptings to expression". In a recent conversation with the writer, however, Bliss expressed admiration for certain of Moore's engravings, especially those printed other than in black and stated that Moore's blocks demanded exacting standards of printing. The present revival of interest in Ricketts of which in truth the books and their wood engravings form but a secondary part, is paralleled by a similar increase in scholarly interest in Thomas Sturge Moore whose presence has already been identified as crucial to the Vale Press, both as illustrator and chronicler. As in the case of Ricketts, the new scholarly curiosity lies away from the books, in this case towards Sturge Moore the man of letters. Although, like Ricketts his mentor, the wood engraved work with which this study is concerned is mainly of the last decade of the nineteenth century, Sturge Moore continued to design and contribute to the design of books up to 1944. No less than thirteen of W B Yeats' books published between 1916 and 1940 have binding designs and/or wood engravings by Moore.
CHAPTER FOUR

WOOD-ENGRAVED ILLUSTRATION IN THE WEST MIDLANDS
There is no doubt that wood engraving was the dominant medium for book illustration throughout the Arts and Crafts Movement, nor that the path taken by wood-engraving through the Arts and Crafts Movement halted at Hammersmith prior to continuing beyond to Birmingham and Chipping Campden before the forked track finally petered out. It was at Hammersmith where William Morris, in a comparatively short timescale, achieved a richness of decorative effect which the medium never before witnessed. But Morris' real place in the history of the development of total book design is summed up in Buxton Forman's view of the Kelmscott Beowulf: "it is a most vigorous and virile production but can scarcely become popular, being more than ordinarily remote from modern feeling". This was the position with the wood-engravings which were contributed to Kelmscott books.

The Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts, which became municipally controlled from 1884 with E R Taylor in charge, had a close connection with William Morris, Burne-Jones and their associates in the Arts and Crafts Movement. As was to happen in the next decade in the Manchester Municipal School of Art through its association with Walter Crane referred to earlier, the work of the Birmingham School became heavily influenced by Morris. In particular, books and illustrations produced by students tended to be modelled on those from the Kelmscott Press. William Morris was at one time President of the Birmingham Society of Arts, Walter Crane and Morris both lectured in the city and the work of the
Pre-Raphaelites was particularly well-known; a fact reinforced by the comprehensive and rich collections held and esteemed today by the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery. Susceptible to these influences were a number of students and apprentices who became significant in their own right as the "Birmingham School".

Crucial to this study of wood-engraving is the name of Arthur Gaskin, student and later teacher of the School of Arts and Crafts. His first published illustrations were taken up by The English Illustrated Magazine from 1891, and presumably reproduced by line block, this technique known to have been in use for that journal five years earlier. However, in 1893, George Allen published Gaskin's most important work, the two volume Hans Christian Andersen's Stories and Fairy Tales. In addition to the normal trade edition there was a large paper issue of 300 copies printed upon Arnold's unbleached hand-made paper. The one hundred pictures plus decorated initial letters by Gaskin were engraved in the wood by Bernard Sleigh, although as Sleigh himself reports, "process" was in extensive use by that time. This formidable undertaking was successful to such an extent that a second ordinary edition in one volume in 1897 with a further one volume edition in 1905. A fourth edition, this time reverting to two volumes, came out in 1914. According to Breeze, the work was top of the sales list in Bradford and Birmingham in December 1893. An obvious comparison can be made between Gaskin's treatment of fairy tales and Walter Crane's illustration to Grimm's
Household stories published eleven years earlier. Both are in the South German tradition and owe much to Durer.

Integral lettering, which itself had its origin in the Western manuscript book is common to both. Widely reviewed, the Andersen received favourable comment on the successful integration of text and illustration.

Of the hundred engravings, all but five are white line. Of the black line engravings, ten are full page designs incorporating lettering. Some of the smaller designs are more economical of line even than the simplest 15th Century cuts, giving the pictures a chaste appearance. Others are pastoral in flavour and strongly reminiscent of Calvert. None of the white line engraved pictures are exclusively so and the choice of type and inking resulted in a finely balanced book. Breeze's criticism of Gaskin's variable line as a cause of lack of unity seems unjust and particularly finicky when placed in the context of Gaskin's later works.

As an artist, Gaskin was obviously not without humour. Some of his characters are dressed in late Victorian costume, eg, those occurring on pps 219, 271 and 322, the first being a portrait of the artist's mother. Of the mainly white line engravings, that of The Marsh King's Daughter (vol II p200) is a major tour-de-force in the Burne-Jones tradition whilst the black line illustration of mother and infant to accompany The Loveliest Rose in the World (vol II p235) is possibly one of the outstanding wood engraved illustrations of the nineteenth century.
Gaskin, who normally drew in pencil, used ink and Chinese white when drawing for reproduction. The use of photography for transferring the designs enabled him to avoid designing in reverse, although this would have posed no problem for Sleigh, who was a patient, careful draughtsman who had trained in an establishment where photography was only occasionally used to transfer drawings to the block. However, Gaskin's use of reduction was perhaps a contributory factor to the over-refinement of line referred to earlier and revealing inexperience in handling the medium, a problem not encountered by Crane, Ricketts or Shannon with their craft backgrounds.

An attempted follow-up to the Andersen was A Book of Fairy Tales, retold by S Baring-Gould, published by Methuen in 1894. Whilst the designs in themselves were without fault, they lost character in the printing, a not uncommon fault where line-block was used. In comparing two designs of similar weight, eg The Marsh King's Daughter (from Andersen) with Beauty and the Beast (from Baring-Gould), the former appears crisp, the latter pallid. The importance of the book, however, is stressed in a review in The Studio which firmly fixed Birmingham's reputation as a centre for book illustration and decoration.

Indicative of the period, perhaps, and the style of book favoured by the Book Reviews Editor of The Studio, The Book of Fairy Tales was praised: "The massing of black in contrast to the lighter portions of the composition gives an artistic effect that could scarcely be improved".
Smaller in format than the crown 8vo Andersen volumes, Sabine Baring Gould's Book of Fairy Tales is less successful due to the incompatibility of Gaskin's designs with the line block process and the stubby appearance of the book, due also to the use of heavy paper coupled with a heavy typeface. This emphasised the cramped nature of Gaskin's pictures. In effect, these are more in the tradition of Field and Tuer's Leadenhall Press than of the Methuen publishing house. If nothing else, this work proved that Gaskin's true metier lay in drawing for wood engraving and that he was comparatively unsuccessful as a "black and white" artist drawing for process.

Shortly before this substantial work, however, appeared a publication of an entirely different nature. A Book of Pictured Carols was published by George Allen in 1893. Printed on hand-made Van Gelder Zonen paper at the Chiswick Press, there was, in addition to the trade edition, a limited edition of 100 copies of Japanese vellum. Designed by members of The Birmingham School under Gaskin's direction, the thirteen designs were not always cut by the designer although Gaskin's own contribution was self-engraved. A virile, compact composition, Good King Wenceslas was used again many years later to gain entrance to The Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers.

The theme was followed up by Gaskin with an elaborate book of the same title published by Cornish Brothers in 1895 and subsequently handed over to Elkin Mathews. The six illustrations, designed and engraved by Gaskin, received
favourable reviews. The limited edition of 125 copies on Arnold's unbleached hand-made paper plus six vellum copies were printed on the press of The Birmingham Guild of Handicraft by Gaskin. The unlimited standard edition was printed from photozincotypes by R and R Clark and is a much inferior production.

Arthur, his wife Georgie and Bernard Sleigh were amongst contributors to The Yellow Book, volumes IX. This was entirely illustrated by Birmingham artists and reproduced photo-mechanically in the Bodley Head manner.

In October 1896, the Kelmscott Press brought out Spenser's Shepheardes Calender with Twelve full-page illustrations by Arthur Gaskin reproduced photo-mechanically. Whilst Gaskin had, by joining the select few who were chosen to illustrate the Kelmscott books, achieved the highest recognition, he may have felt disappointment in not having the benefit of reproductive wood-engraving accorded to Burne-Jones for the Kelmscott Chaucer published earlier that year.

Gaskin certainly suffered deep disappointment in his second and final venture with the Kelmscott Press. He was to have provided a large number of illustrations for Morris's The Well at the World's End. The book was in hand in 1893 but was not completed until 1896 when it appeared with four frontispieces to the four "books" of the romance by Burne-Jones. Gaskin's unused designs brought him the sum of £250, although with the knowledge of rejection. Breeze
claims that the designs are amongst Gaskin's best work, showing the great importance which he attached to the commission.

Gaskin’s book illustration was but a minor byway of his work. Painting, drawing jewellery and other metalwork were other disciplines in which both he and his wife were involved, but it is probably as a teacher where he became most influential, not least in establishing a fifty-year old tradition of wood-engraved illustration in Birmingham. According to his colleague, the painter Joseph Southall, Gaskin was by far the most inspiring figure upon the staff of the Birmingham School of Art. Southall, who distinguished himself in tempera painting, illustrated one book only. This, The Story of Blue Beard, published in 1895 by Lawrence and Bullen, contained seven whole page illustrations within Italianate borders. These illustrations are in the mediaeval tradition, prepared as for wood-engraving, but probably reproduced photo-mechanically. Southall's talent lay outside book illustration and wood-engraving he appears to have left alone.

A pupil at the Birmingham School of Art, Georgie Cave France was married to Arthur Gaskin in March 1894. She had by that time contributed the title-page border for A Book of Pictured Carols and followed this with designing the wood-cut borders used in A Book of Nursery Songs and Rhymes, published by Methuen in 1895. Her popularity lay in her considerable ability to draw wide-eyed children in the Kate Greenaway tradition. Unlike her husband, Georgie Gaskin managed to move from work inspired by and designed for
wood-engraving towards pen drawing for process. However, two charming items published in 1898 were engraved and printed in colour by Edmund Evans. The first, a quarto entitled The Travellers and other Stories was published by James Bowden whilst the second, a 12mo came from J M Dent. The spirit of these illustrations is far removed from the heavy student work of The Four Seasons. These four designs, having taken prizes in a competition in The Studio, were selected to illustrate The History of The Horn Book by Andrew Tuer. As examples of heavy, plant-inspired design of incredible naivety, they can scarcely be related to the airy line of the children's books listed above, or even with the vignette initials found in the same work, but produced at a date nearer to publication.

A further prize-winner to have his work illustrate The History of the Horn Book was Charles M Gere, later to find fame as a painter in oils. Exhibiting frequently at the New English Art Club, Gere admitted to being heavily influenced by Edmund Calvert and Samuel Palmer and receiving valuable training whilst producing designs for William Morris. As with other members of the Birmingham "School", Gere's work appears to have remained immune from contemporary continental influences. In common with other Birmingham artists, there is an emphatic Englishness in his paintings, also present in his designs for book illustration and exemplified in the Kelmscott Press News from Nowhere published in 1892. In this book, Gere's drawing of William Morris's home, Kelmscott Manor, surrounded by an
unexceptional border designed by Morris, was cut "in broad line on wood" by W H Hooper and used again subsequently in a further Kelmscott title, Gossip about an old House on the Upper Thames which was published in 1895. Here it was accompanied by two more wood-engravings from designs prepared by E H New, another Birmingham "school" draughtsman. Gere designed and cut the cover design for A Book of Pictured Carols and also contributed a further black-line design to that book. Although in later years his designs were usually cut by others, Gere was, and remained, a competent wood-cutter. However, his finest work was for St John Hornby's Ashendene Press, where as at the Kelmscott Press, no expense was spared in producing the "book beautiful". Of the five books illustrated by Gere for the press, two were editions of the Fioretti di S Francesco, the first of which was published in 1904 with ten designs cut by W H Hooper who, having been pulled out of retirement thirteen years earlier by William Morris, was to carry on with reproductive wood-engraving until his death in 1910. The second version published in 1922, carried fifty-three wood engravings after Gere which were cut by J Swain.

Two of the finest examples of the private press book came from Hornby's Press. Le Morte d'Arthur rivalled the Kelmscott Chaucer in the sheer size of the enterprise and, as an example of integration in book design, can scarcely be equalled. To this work, two full-page and twenty-seven other wood-engraved designs were cut by Swain, with three of the illustrations prepared by Margaret Gere, the remainder by
her brother Charles. In 1909 the Press published Tutte le
Opere di Dante Alighieri. This contains the much reproduced
portrait frontispiece plus five other designs which merge
impeccably into the page. The vellum copies of these books
are breathtakingly handsome. Hornby's paper copies from the
Ashendene Press in general escape the slight rippling common
to many Kelmscott books, thus the wood-engraved illustrations
appear without the distortion of line occurring subsequent
to printing.

Gere's work by this time had become lighter, although
he remained a proponent of the "thick black line" school of
draughtsmen. In his work for the Ashendene Press, he was
again back in mediaeval times. The artistic and literary
preoccupation with mediaevalism, which appeared to hang
on in Birmingham rather longer than elsewhere, had its
foundations in a curious book by Kenelm Harry Digby,
The Broad Stone of Honour, first published anonymously
in 1822 and much admired by the Pre-Raphaelites and by
certain of the nineteenth century poets. That the book
illustration of the Birmingham "school" was "heavy in spirit,
too rigid for development" seems to stem from the inability
to shed the stiff morality and conventionality which
seemed to envelop and suffocate the whole of this strange
19th Century revival. Technically, Gere was able to convey
more with less line than many of his fellow draughtsmen.
In many of his designs, he successfully used a multitude of
closely radiating, almost parallel black lines to convey
light. There is little attempt to convey tone or colour
cross hatching is absent and the effect above all is clean. Disappointment lies in his inability to create movement, noticeable for example in the Morte d’Arthur designs illustrating first The Sword in the Stone, p 3, and in a positively “Uccello style” horse on p 125. Gere’s sister shares this inability, demonstrating it with the white hart being chased at the wedding feast, p 45, a hunting scene without motion. That Gere’s pictures appear as a series of tableaux does not seem to affect the Dante to the same degree, although very obvious in a work when Gere was offered an opportunity to rival Crane and Gaskin as an illustrator of fairy tales. Bain’s Russian Fairy Tales, first published in 1893 by Lawrence and Bullen, contained six full page designs, drawn as for wood-engraving although possibly reproduced photomechanically. As with much Birmingham work, some of the designs contain ornamental titles, set on open scrolls. This tradition, fostered by Gaskin and loosened up by Gere, was to be fully developed by F L Griggs.

Gere’s reputation at the Ashendene Press is underlined by his work for the last great book to be issued by Hornby. The Descriptive Bibliography, published in 1935, contains three wood engravings by R A Maynard, two from designs by Charles Gere. The frontispiece, an unsigned portrait of Hornby, bears similarity to work designed by Maynard for the Gregynog and Raven Press and is not likely to have been drawn by Gere. This book probably contains the last examples of reproductive wood engraving in the history of English book illustration and thus marks the end of an era.
Gere's style would have well suited Macmillan's Highways and Byways series, an immensely popular collection of topographical meanderings which started in 1897 with Highways and Byways in Devon and Cornwall, written by A H Norway and illustrated by Joseph Pennell. In addition to employing Hugh Thomson and others of the new "black and white" school of pen draughtsmen whose strength lay in knowing how to extract the best from process, Macmillan's also accommodated those artists such as Edmund H New and F L Griggs whose art lay in the Birmingham tradition or in the Arts and Crafts Movement generally. The series offers an important study in contrasts. Griggs, who was primarily an etcher, produced one major work for wood-engraving. Twenty-five large drawings which he prepared were engraved by Clemence Housman, W M R Quick and Bernard Sleigh in 1932, although the book, Chipping Campden, was not published until 1940 by the Shakespeare Head Press, and then without text. Prior to this Sleigh cut Griggs' designs for the Gimson Memorial volume, published in 1924.

W M R Quick's remarkable career covered a considerable time-span. In the nineteenth century, he was employed by The Illustrated London News as a wood-engraver and some forty years later found himself cutting designs for the Nonesuch Press. Francis Meynell published Mother Goose in 1925 with wood-cuts recut by Quick from the 1617 edition and coloured by stencil. The book incidentally, was immediately plagiarised by the Fortune Press who employed...
Victor Stuyvaert to recut illustrations from the edition of 1802. Quick also engraved numerous eighteenth century ornaments for Peter Warlock's Songs of the Gardens, published by Meynell in the same year.

A third book from the Nonesuch Press, the controversial novel Irene Iddesleigh by Amanda Ros, was illustrated by three full page "period" wood-engravings, "predictably craftsmanlike and effective". These three wood engravings are unique in that they are the creations of an artist of the burin yet deliberately evocative of the kind of reproductive engraving for the magazine serials of the eighteen-eighties upon which Quick had worked as a craftsman translating the designs of "artists" onto the blocks.

Francis Meynell remembered Quick at this time as being "an ancient man" with a hand palsied in conversation and firm as could be when it held a graver". Exactly when Quick commenced engraving is uncertain but the Boys Own Volume for Midsummer 1865 has a wood-engraved frontispiece signed W M R Quick. It is likely that this engraver and the engraver of the Nonesuch Press books were one and the same person, in which case Quick must have been at a very advanced age when he cut the initials and borders for the Ashendene Press Don Quixote, published 1927-28.

Quick designed and cut initial letters for John Lane's important journal Form: a quarterly of the arts, published between 1916 and 1922. This journal carried much original work, plus Austin Spare drawings cut by Quick and was printed
by The Morland Press which also published in 1916 Twelve Poems by John Squire with Spare's designs engraved by Quick.

Within an indifferent binding, this slight work has great charm, anticipates Nonesuch Press influences and has amusing initial letters brilliantly executed by Quick. In addition, the publisher's statement preceding the title-page carries a superb wood-engraving signed by Quick showing the influence of Charles Ricketts. A further book by Squire, The Gold Tree, was published by Secker in 1927, again with wood-engravings by Quick from designs by Spare. Here the initials are larger but are less effective.

A most important figure in the continuity of modern wood-engraved illustration is Bernard Sleigh, who was born in Flamborough, Yorkshire, in 1872. Unlike Gaskin, Sleigh has not yet been accorded the recognition given to other artists of the Birmingham School, yet his influence there was extensive and profound. Sleigh was one of the very few major reproductive engravers who carried this type of work well into the twentieth century, yet before the turn of the century he had become also a creative engraver of great merit. Making significant contributions to art education in Birmingham over a long period, Sleigh also took part in the full flowering of creative wood-engraving which occurred in the years following the 1914-18 war.

26 Campbell Dodgson draws attention to the strength of his influence by being "at the very heart of that particular school of post Pre-Raphaelitism whose home is Birmingham and says, although somewhat exaggeratedly that "till 1910
(might one say 1915) there was hardly another wood-engraver."

Forced to leave school at fourteen as a result of his father's early death, Sleigh became apprenticed in the trade wood-engraving establishment of a German, Herr Bluch, who had premises in Lincoln's Inn Fields, near to the commercial centre of Birmingham. In company with two other apprentices, Sleigh received a thorough training, becoming accurate with tools and at the same time taking care on his own initiative to become a painstaking draughtsman. Whilst in this situation, Sleigh was unaware of the revolution about to take place as a result of the introduction of photomechanical processes. Like Sturge Moore, Sleigh referred to this period of his life as "a daily drudgery and mechanical torture" which he relieved by studying lettering and constantly improving his technique. His autobiography refers to the teutonic thoroughness in "clearing out the white spaces with meticulous care and the delicate finish which would open the eyes of a modern slap-dash engraver". Whatever slack periods occurred were filled with the study of the history of art and the cutting of practice blocks. The technical skill which Sleigh developed at this time is amply illustrated by two blocks, the first being an exercise in trompe l'oeil of two men in Tudor costume on a plinth, the second a masterpiece of line engraving reproducing graduating washes from a painting of Guy's Cliffe, Warwick. That Sleigh rated this training highly is underlined by his rhetoric question "Could I have cut The March (sic) King's Daughter for Gaskin's Hans Andersen without all that training?"
Sleigh became aware at an early stage of his apprenticeship of the likelihood of spending his life undertaking third-rate commercial work. At the age of twenty, however, he was able to terminate his apprenticeship as a result of impressing Arthur Gaskin with work produced whilst attending the Birmingham Central School of Art on a part-time basis, so much so that Gaskin arranged for him to engrave on wood the one hundred designs which Gaskin was preparing for the Hans Andersen. During Spring and Summer 1892, Sleigh stayed at Flamborough, Yorkshire where he carried out the engraving, having met and agreed with George Allen, the Orpington publisher, on terms which included a regular monthly delivery of blocks.

Returning to Birmingham in the Autumn, Sleigh was able to take up a part-time teaching post promised him by Gaskin. The Central School of Art was at that time under the direction of E R Taylor where, in addition to teaching, Sleigh could study without cost to himself. The appearance of the Andersen edition enhanced Sleigh's reputation, although there is no acknowledgement of his contribution in the book. Sleigh's disappointment was ameliorated by his association with Allen, Ruskin's publisher. Aware of Ruskin's ideals through his father's subscription to the issues of Fors Clavigera, Sleigh was developing socialist sympathies which made him ready to take part in the Guild movement when it reached Birmingham. There are many parallels in the lives of Sleigh and Walter Crane, amongst which involvement in the Arts and Crafts Movement ranks high.
The Birmingham Guild of Handicraft was founded in 1890 and became a limited company in 1895 with Montagu Fordham as its first director. An enthusiastic member, Sleigh summed up its strength as familiarising the craftsman with the principles of design whilst familiarising the designer with the principles of manufacture and at the same time giving them freedom in carrying out these free from the industrial system.

Amongst his early work, Sleigh cut two engravings for Gaskin's Book of Pictured Carols, A fine black-line engraving Our Saviour Christ and his Ladye was designed by Sleigh for the carol I Saw Three Ships. The second, also for this carol, was from a design by Henry Payne. Sleigh stressed the importance here of Payne's own practical knowledge of the craft in that the illustration was made with Chinese white on black paper, using a brush. "I recommend this ... for it is thinking in the right way, in light on dark instead of dark on light".

Sleigh's memory is at fault with the details of the Guild's Magazine, The Quest. There were six issues, not five as he states and his claim to have been entirely responsible for the wood-engraving in this journal must be suspect, particularly as the wrapper of the first issue was from a design by Henry Payne, although cut by Sleigh. The first issue appeared in November 1894 and included contributions by William Morris and W. R. Lethaby. Unlike The Hobby Horse or The Dial, The Quest was not intended to be in the forefront of innovation but rather to display the work
of the Birmingham "school" and ensure unity and completeness of decorative effect by ensuring that, as far as was practicable "the designer shall personally supervise the printing of the pages he has to decorate".

Perhaps Sleigh was fortunate in being in the right place at the right time. In its considerable \(^{38}\) review of the 1893 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, The Studio drew the attention of its readers to the artists of the Birmingham school and followed this up later in the year with \(^{39}\) an extensive survey of the illustration work of the Birmingham Municipal School of Art (sic). At that time, due largely to the efforts of Joseph Chamberlain, the city of Birmingham was a notable example of outstanding municipal administration, a fact reflected in the organisation of its art education.

An artisan could attend five evenings per week in one of twelve branch schools for five shillings per year, a figure so low as to virtually exclude none. The Studio critique of the Birmingham School of Art acknowledged that the city fathers believed that rate-aided art education had a direct bearing upon the value and prosperity of the manufacturers of the district. In the case of wood-engraving, stress was laid upon practical working, "not theoretically by means of lectures". In its assessment of the Birmingham style of illustration, "peculiarly English", the Studio was coy ... "There is a place in the wide world of books for illustrations by Vierge and Walter Crane and whether a lecture by Walter Crane or an exhibition of Pre-Raphaelite works ... caused its headmaster to develop it along chosen
There is no doubt that Sleigh was thoroughly at home in this environment. The Studio returned to the subject again "That the art of pen drawing in the modern style is not a limitation peculiar to its school". The journal evidently recognised the excellence of its craftsmanship and the solid virtues which were a fair reflection of a hard-working manufacturing community, but its unspoken question was that drawing for photomechanical reproduction demanded a fresh approach which Gaskin and some of his pupils lacked. Much of the work of the Birmingham wood-engravers and designers was not creative and as a result, many wood-engraved reproductions give an impression of déjà-vu. Sleigh was able to transcend this level of sensible down-to-earth competence, which Morris recognised, was out of its time. Birmingham's problem, in a nutshell, was that it was drawing for process whilst drawing as for wood-engraving with Sleigh a notable exception.

Few of the Birmingham School of artists were able to cope with the new techniques and in this they were not alone, although some artists who previously drew for wood-engraving flourished because of their understanding and adaptability to the challenge offered. Whilst drawing attention to the worthy qualities of the Birmingham style "whose nuances follow the early days of woodcutting", The Studio, perhaps with unconscious irony, juxtaposed the article with a piece by Joseph Pennell on Drawing for Reproduction by Process. Whilst Sleigh recognised the many
advantages of process in the reproduction of drawings, he maintained that the skill and quality of line made possible by wood-engraving could not be equalled by "modern methods", citing the standards of reproduction obtaining in his monograph Wood Engraving Since Eighteen-Ninety, published by Pitman in 1932, as something with which he was ashamed of being associated.

One of Sleigh's 'trademarks' was the inclusion in the Birmingham tradition of lettering within the illustration; a technique which flowered fully with the publication in 1895 of The Sea King's Daughter. All the designs for the illustrations were by Sleigh, who shared the cutting with L A Talbot. This slim volume printed at the Guild of Handicraft contains three poems by Amy Mark and is made up of forty pages of text, text and illustration integrated and illustration with integral caption. The book displays a remarkable assortment of derivative styles, the most prominent influence being art-nouveau. Sleigh was not afraid of including the nude in his engravings, this at a time when the nude was acceptable in high art, but less so in book illustration. It was about this time that Sleigh began to have doubts about the mediaevalism of Morris, the Knight-errantry of Tennyson and Burne-Jones which in retrospect he referred to as "mediaeval Nazism".

Sleigh's undoubted competence achieved wide recognition through Charles Ricketts, whose design for a title-page of the Vale Press Keats was engraved by Sleigh. One of a number of curious errors of memory in his autobiography is

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that Sleigh refers to his single engraving for Ricketts as being for Campion's Poems. This is certainly not the case. The turn of the century saw Sleigh also in demand for work at the Essex House Press (q.v.) of C R Ashbee. Some strange and unattractive designs by William Strang were cut, first for the publication in 1901 of The Praise of Folie (sic) of Erasmus and secondly, The Doings of Death, a series of twelve cuts on the plank, also from designs by Strang. Two blocks were used for each illustration which was 11½" square. Sleigh also claims to have cut a design for the Kelmscott Press which was unused; a not uncommon occurrence. Sleigh's art matured rapidly and he began to move away from the traditional black line engraving. A new dimension occurred with his experiments in chiaroscuro which Sleigh termed "woodcuts in tone", one of which was included in The Artist Engraver, published by Macmillan in 1910. Such techniques learnt by Sleigh as lowering skies by rubbing down the surface of the block so that it would take less ink and pressure resulting in greyness came into full play during this period. Probably none of these superb engravings were used as book illustrations prior to the 1930's. However, their importance cannot be overlooked. Fortunately, Sleigh maintained a file of his wood-engraved designs and was equally careful with his sketches and original artwork.

Although by this time it was likely that Sleigh was the most proficient artist-engraver in England, he was, in retrospect, generous in his praise of certain of his colleagues, yet damning of the vulgar hacks. He praised Strang's own
innate skill with the burin and called Gaskin "almost the
equal of Gill". A slip in the same work has the Golden
Cockerel Canterbury Tales attributed to the Nonesuch Press,
a strange error considering that the wood engraving was not
favoured to the same extent by Francis Meynell.

Sleigh's emphasis on drawing in the correct manner for
wood-engraving, mentioned earlier in respect of Henry Payne,
was not merely a principle expressed but not followed. In
1914 he produced eighty drawings as a result of a visit to
Spain. Some survive in Sleigh's unpublished autobiographical
manuscript, drawn on grey paper in black, and heightened
with white. These were probably intended to be engraved
for a book but the out-break of war induced conditions which
would make such a venture difficult. In any case, Sleigh
was soon involved in cycling around the city of Birmingham
as a peripatetic teacher of art in schools where he was able
to develop further his ideas on art education which he later
expressed in his Handbook of Elementary Design, published by
Pitman in 1930. In 1916 Sleigh met and formed a lifelong
attachment to Ivy Ellis and together they produced A Faery
Calendar. Although allegedly written and drawn by Sleigh
with engraving by Ellis, the illustrations are uneven, some
strong in design, some weak, as if from two hands. This was
published by Heath Cranton in 1920.

Sleigh's autobiography, referred to earlier, is dominated
by two themes. First his obsessive dislike of the money
system, and some of his wood-engravings are concerned with
this theme and secondly, a deep interest and belief in fairies.
Curiously, a large 4 colour lithograph, a Map of Fairyland, was published and reprinted many times by Frank Sidgwick, with a guide to the map also published. The map was also reproduced as a textile, which in itself led Sleigh into a new field of activity. Sleigh's financial situation was helped here. Earlier he had survived a dismissal by Catterson Smith, Taylor's successor as Head of the Birmingham School of Art. Sleigh attributed this to hostility towards himself from Catterson Smith's wife, although it is possible that professional jealousy was involved, Catterson Smith having made his own reputation by preparing Burne-Jones's designs for wood-engraving by Hooper for the Kelmscott Chaucer. A useful explanation of the exact methods used is in a note in the Pierpoint Morgan Library. Catterson Smith later redrew the woodcut designs from the 1497 Venetian edition of Dante's Divine Comedy which were then cut by C Keates from the Ashendene Press. Uninspired designs by Catterson Smith cut on the wood by others can be found in the Girls Own Paper and other late 19th Century journals. In the event, Arthur Gaskin managed to get Sleigh reinstated at the School.

Also on the subject of the supernatural, Sleigh wrote stories under the title The Gates of Horn published by J M Dent in 1936. A two colour wood-engraved frontispiece design in fawn and green of fairies is especially interesting as the original water colour drawing is in lemon, white and black. Unfortunately, a further superb colour wood engraved illustration prepared for this was not used. One of the
finest of Sleigh's book illustrations, it was used twice subsequently. In the first instance in two tones of green as a frontispiece to the sequel of one of the stories contained in The Gates of Horn. The Dryad's Child, published in 1936 by what had now become the City of Birmingham School of Printing, a department of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, also contains two of Sleigh's erotic vignettes of high quality. The title-page figure of a nude girl against a tree in black line has Ricketts overtones, whilst the head piece on page 3 is a masterpiece of black line engraving, achieving great effect with comparatively little cutting. This 32 page item, printed in Linotype Granjon under the direction of Leonard Jay, far outstrips most private press work in quality. The second occasion was when the two block print was used for the Necromancy of Jasper Crane, published at the private press of Joseph Ishill in New Jersey. In this instance different colours were employed. The original design for this print, together with that for the frontispiece of Verses Grave and Gay, published by the Birmingham School of Printing in 1933, show much Ricketts influence and are preserved at Birmingham Public Library.

By this time, it appeared that Sleigh had thrown off all the staid heavy black line traditional style identified with the Birmingham School of wood-engravers. Curiously however, two late efforts appear to have Sleigh going back to his roots. The Song of Songs, printed in 1937 after Sleigh's retirement from the School of Printing, has a
very slight title-page vignette where the usual strength of line is absent. A title beloved of the private press movement, this particular piece from the Birmingham School of Printing is not successful. Sleigh's large (135 mm x 105 mm) black-line engraving on p. v is in the Gaskin style and could well have been engraved in the 19th Century. The five black-line headings to the acts, this edition being in dramatic form, have no impact and give the impression that they have been engraved solely with the intention of balancing the text, which is in 16 pt Aldine Bembo.

Like his teacher, Arthur Gaskin, Sleigh had moved to Chipping Campden upon his retirement hoping to find companionship in fellow craftsmen. Unfortunately, those involved with the Essex House Press had by that time dispersed.

Perhaps Sleigh's triumph was in retaining his belief in guilds whilst being able to transcend the sound uninspired craftsmanship which was their level. His involvement with the Bromsgrove Guild led him into stained glass work and he became chief designer for the St George's Guild of Applied Arts. Unlike many of the tedious practitioners of wood-engraving within the guilds, whose work was competent if uninspired, Sleigh's design work was uneven, although much of it was exciting and little of it dull.

Probably through his association with the Bromsgrove Guild, Sleigh cut a superb series of engravings in black and white to the designs of Herbert Payne illustrating the
mural decorations in tempera and the paintings upon glass in the Chapel at Madresfield Court which was published privately by the Earl Beauchamp in 1924 and printed at the Chiswick Press. Sleigh claimed their importance to be that "they do not come within the meaning of facsimile engraving, nor are they the creative work of one hand, they are half-way between these", Sleigh having a free hand in expression by line engraving and maintaining that they were a link between the early Birmingham days and the "new" wood-engraving, i.e., that of the post-first world war period.

A number of books illustrated with wood-engraving by Sleigh alone or with Ivy Ellis appeared under West Midland imprints during the 1920's and 1930's. Apart from the productions of the Birmingham School of Printing, however, some of his best book illustrations to be found in two books from the Oriole Press of New Jersey, a private press operated by Joseph Ishill and rated as one of the finest of amateur presses. The first, Witchcraft by Bernard Sleigh, 1934, contains a frontispiece in black and white, which like much of Sleigh's engraving, is vastly superior to the original design in water-colour or inks. The second, Kanga Creek by Havelock Ellis, published in 1938, contains ten wood-engravings by Sleigh and seven by Ivy Ellis. Sleigh's work here has moved considerably from the staid Birmingham tradition and is in the style of Clare Leighton (q.v.), who although of a different generation was by this time well established and had written a textbook on
wood-engraving. Certain of Sleigh's illustrations here also tend to be erotic in the Golden Cockerel Press tradition. Curiously, that press also had published an 59 edition of Kanga Creek.

During the 1930's the reputation of the Birmingham School of Printing under the direction of Leonard Jay was enhanced by the high standard of its publications, which became known world-wide amongst collectors of fine printing. Sleigh's work was featured, notably in Tennyson's Crossing the Bar, produced at the request of H M Queen Mary in 1932. Sleigh's strong seascape frontispiece was cut by Ivy Ellis and is one of the darkest of his designs. Jay also edited the first issue of The School of Printings journal, The Torch, 1933. This possibly the finest piece of printing from a British school, contained a larger version of Sleigh's frontispiece for his book Wood Engraving since Eighteen-Ninety showing the superlative detailing of this two-colour engraving. Accompanying examples from Sleigh's pupils of that time show modern tendencies far removed from the style of the "Birmingham school".

Like 60 Timothy Cole, the American illustrator, whose technical dexterity is generally acknowledged to be without equal, Sleigh possessed craft skills in abundance coupled with genuine creativity and as eventual head of a wood-engraving department in the Birmingham School, had enormous influence on successive generations of students.
Much of the work of the guilds was indifferent, none more so than that typified by the Birmingham Guild's Sonnets of William Shakespeare, printed at their press in 1895, with decorations by Ernest Treglown cut on the wood by Charles Carr. Here, enormous effort was expended in producing thirteen creeper-inspired half borders together with 17 initial letters of which three versions, two in two, and the remainder singly. All are black line and in strapwork, with none of the celtic genius of design associated with that technique. The "worthy" craftsmen brought doom to many ventures of this nature, even to The Guild of Handicraft, which for many years appeared to be unassailable. 61 Eric Gill, perhaps the doyen of twentieth century wood-engravers, commented dryly "The Arts and Crafts movements, the various Guilds and Handicrafts ... are bound to failure. All they succeed in doing is whitewashing the sepulchre - they make the world look better than it is".

The close connection between the local guilds and art education in Birmingham perhaps emphasised caution at the expense of development and experiment. An 66 article in The Studio on the future of wood-engraving gives a detailed account of training at the Birmingham School of Art. Students were first taught white line engraving with preparatory drawings made in white ink on black paper. The lines were to be drawn so as to be freely engraved with no cross-hatching and without unnecessary complication. Whilst this step-by-step approach enabled students to grasp the
fundamental principles easily, it is worth remarking that a comparatively small part of the Birmingham artists' output at this period was white-line, Gaskin and his pupils preferring the old ways.

Although wood-engraving continued to be taught in a separate department at the School into the 1940's, its decline set in with the retirement of Sleigh in 1935. Wood engraved illustration in the second issue of Torch, 1938, has a coarseness of quality. Sleigh stated that it made his heart ache to see it. Birmingham's influence on the national scene soon declined and has never recovered.

Of the original wood-engraving pupils of Gaskin who successfully crossed the bridge to successfully illustrate for process reproduction, Edmund H New was by far the most successful, and with Sleigh, formed the link between Birmingham and the Essex House Press. Examples of New's wood engraved book plates of the 1890's are in the true Birmingham "mediaeval" tradition, although Gleeson White maintains that certain of them were cut on the wood by the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft. Towards the end of the decade, New was designing for process, apparently as for wood-engraving yet unlike his Birmingham contemporaries such as Arthur Gaskin whose work was entirely wrong when reproduced by line block, New succeeded. He was the only Birmingham illustrator whose work was entirely suited to both media. Two of his most successful works, appearing from Bodley Head first as part-publications, amply
demonstrate this outstanding attribute. The Compleat Angler and White's Selborne both received refreshing treatment, the latter receiving fulsome praise from 66 the Studio's reviewer who, in praising New's skill, pinpointed with accuracy that quality needed for process to succeed over wood-engraving. "In these days of process blocks it is rarely the case that illustrations are so limned that they can be reproduced and printed satisfactorily on rough paper. The wood-blocks of a few years ago had an advantage in this respect over the class at present in use. But Mr New's drawings are simply admirable for reproduction from the point of view of both block-maker and printer ... The best is that which is most adapted to the purpose intended."

New's best book illustration occurs in The Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, from the Parentalia by his son, Christopher. This was published in 1903 by the Essex House Press. Although the designs could be printed from wood-block, it is more likely that process was used. 67 The Essex House bibliography covering 1899 to 1904 lacks standard description although in most, but not all cases where wood-engravings occur, the terms drawn and engraved, or, designed and cut, are used. Certainly New cut one wood-block for the Press in 1904 as a cover illustration for Gerald Bishop's May-Day Interlude, a children's play performed in Chipping Campden and a number of blocks for The Last Records of a Cotswold Community, published in the same year.
Much has been written on the Guild of Handicraft, founded in 1888, and the Essex House Press which was one of its multifarious activities, yet little attention had been paid to the wood-engraved illustrations, many of which added lustre to, or were the only notable parts of the books which contained them. When Morris's trustees decided to close the Kelmscott Press, the Guild of Handicraft took over stock, plant and some of the staff. The Guild's founder and director, C R Ashbee, at first regretted that the types and wood-blocks were unavailable but later rejoiced in that "fresh effort ... has since resulted in the designing and production of two new types". These, the Endeavour type and the King's Prayer Book type, are without doubt two of the most idiosyncratic and unsuitable typefaces produced for bookwork in modern times and amply justify Cave's allegation that the Press was representative of "arty craftiness of the worst sort". However, Cave's dismissive "there is little that is good can be said about it" ignores the quality of much of the illustration and also the good overall design of certain of the titles, in particular Wren's Parentalia where illustrations and text harmonise to satisfy the most demanding of design critics.

As with much of the work emanating from Birmingham, designs were both drawn and cut by the artist or, designed by the artist and cut by an engraver, or by an artist-engraver such as Sleigh. Prior to moving to Campden in 1902, the Press was accommodated in Essex House, Mile End, Bow and its present image as a poor follower of the Kelmscott Press
is epitomised in a comparison between Charles Gere's strikingly beautiful wood-engraving of the Old House by the Thames, originally featured in 70 News from Nowhere and the cut by George Thomson of old Essex House which first appeared in March 1904 in an Essex House Press reprint of an article by 71 F Allen Whiting and later that year in the 72 Bibliography. Thomson's wood-engraving is a competent cut, a moderate design which could have come from the hand of any schoolboy. Ashbee's own designs, which frequently occur throughout the corpus, show an understanding of the medium although invariably cut by W H Hooper. The Essex House pink, a flower device reminiscent of the Hobby Horse, was probably from his hand and this cut frequently occurs in the colophon of the books.

Certain of the early works, for example, the second and third from the Press, The Hymn of Bardaisan and Pilgrim's Progress are too chunky to be attractive, the thick paper detracting from Reginald Savage's wood-engraved frontispiece to the latter, "Christina in the Slough of Despond". Savage's black-line work, which was a feature of the Essex House Press is both strong and vigorous. Unlike much contemporary work, Savage's illustrations are full of movement and not merely tableaux. Similarly, his wood-engraved frontispiece to the Journals of the Life and Travels of John Woolman, published by the Press in 1901, suffered because of the format and paper. Savage's wood-engravings, which he both designed and cut, flowered in Ashbee's Great Poems series. What Cave defines as "unnecessary books" feature the outstanding wood-
engravings printed at the Essex House Press. Printed solely on vellum in small editions, these little known works show the work of the Press at its best with good use of Caslon type and handsome rubricated, gilded or coloured initials.

The importance of printing on vellum cannot be overstressed in the enhancement of the wood-engraving. Although Ashbee states that he had four hundred applications for the fifty copies printed of Shelley's Adonais, it could be argued that these reprints were not commercial nor a contribution to the development of book design. Yet, like the Ashendene Press copies on vellum, the wood-engravings have a rare beauty impossible to achieve on paper and, in the case of the Essex House Press, for example, the contrast between Savage's frontispiece for Pilgrim's Progress, 91 mm x 65 mm, printed on thick paper on page size 145 mm x 105 mm in a 16mo vellum bound volume 450 mm thick and his equally striking frontispiece on vellum for the second Great Poem, Keats' Eve of St Agnes. Here the slim easily opened volume emphasises the need for cohesion in total book design.

The influence of Rossetti is apparent in Savage's hand-coloured wood-engraving of a girl in an elaborately embroidered dress, otherwise the illustration owes nothing to others, notwithstanding the popularity of the poem with Victorian illustrators. One of Savage's most lively and crowded compositions was that which he engraved for Spenser's Epithalamion, the fifth of the series with 150 vellum copies issued in 1901 at two guineas. Here the design and weight
of the male and female figures provide a perfect balance to the facing page of text with it velvety black Caslon type enhanced by the gilt initial and red paragraph marks. Care has been taken to ensure that the delicate tinting of the engraving does not detract from the total effect of the opening. Savage's treatment of Comus and his revellers, the frontispiece for Milton's Comus again demonstrates his skill with movement, notoriously hard to achieve in this medium. Here, the hand-tinting is in pink, ochre, lavender and slate blue, the last being echoed in the printing ink chosen for the stage directions to the masque.

Dryden's Alexander's Feast shows Savage's black-line engraving at its very best. The central figure of this powerfully drawn composition owes much to Rossetti, yet the crouching girl in the foreground appears to have strayed from a Laurence Housman (q.v.) illustration. Both influences combine mellifluently in this work published in 1904. The last of the series influenced by Savage was Tennyson's Maud, published in an edition of 125 copies. Possibly Ashbee sensed that time was running out and that demand had peaked. As with The Eve of St Agnes, the full-page frontispiece features a girl of obvious pre-Raphaelite origins. As with Maud, however, certain art-nouveau influences can be seen, notably in the flowers, bottom left and in the hat, bottom right. This is hardly surprising in that the colophon states that in this case the Savage illustration is from a Laurence Housman design and cut by his sister Clemence Housman. Why Savage, one of the most gifted
of the artist engravers should have been involved in such a tripartite venture is puzzling unless it was in the nature of an experiment. Also, this generates speculation as to whether Laurence Housman had a hand in the illustration to Tennyson’s Maud.

Savage’s other works for the Essex House Press include a wood-engraving to the Poems of William Shakespeare, 1900, and a frontispiece of Ausgewahlte Lieder Heine’s (not seen). Ashbee’s terminological vagueness in descriptive bibliography echoes the uneven standard of book production at the Guild of Handicraft. Three less worthy Savage compositions illustrate Tom Hood’s poem, Miss Kilmansegg and her Precious Leg, one of the Press’s poorer productions.

Savage was able to work easily with both wood and line block. A genuine "black and white" pen draughtsman who contributed extensively to journals, for example in Atalanta both on his own account and working jointly with Charles Ricketts. An excellent if bloodthirsty full-page wood-engraving in the issue of 11 April 1891 is typical of his work for the journal Black and White, and nothing could be further removed from his Essex House Press work than the earlier "Wild West" illustration reproduced in process in the Ludgate Monthly. That this predates some of his wood-engraving for Ashbee by eight years emphasises the out-of-dateness of the activities at Chipping Campden. Possibly his finest process work was for a much later work, Ashbee’s fanciful history of Campden, scarcely concealed under the
title Peckover and published by the Astolat Press. Printed at the Curwen Press with pochoir colouring, the five fine pen drawings are free of wood-engraving influences.

In addition to producing designs for The Praise of Folie of Erasmus, engraved by Sleigh, William Strang produced a wood-engraved frontispiece for Burns' Tam O'Shanter, the seventh of the Great Poems and also for Coleridge's Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner the tenth book in the series. Strang and Ashbee were both members of the Art Workers Guild, Strang joining in 1895 and Ashbee two years later. Ashbee admired Strang and they became friends. Other commissions more important came from the Press. Undoubtedly a disappointment, however, was the decision not to proceed with the projected Essex House Bible for which Strang was to design two hundred wood block illustrations.

Prior to this work for the Essex House Press, Strang had illustrated a number of books with etchings or process being the media with one notable exception. A strange work, A Book of Giants published by the Unicorn Press in 1898 carried a number of wood-engraved illustrations in the style of Lucien Pissarro. Strang was on good terms with many of the Vale Circle and shared an important exhibition with Ricketts, Shannon and Holmes at Manchester in 1909. Prior to the turn of the Century he was thoroughly familiar with the wood-engraved experimentation that engrossed the Vale associates. He was mentioned in the first issue of The Dial as someone to watch. A Book of Giants was retailed for half-a-crown, although Twenty-Five copies printed from the Original Blocks.
will be hand coloured by Mr Strang. Particulars of this Edition may be obtained from the Publishers”.

In 1903, Ashbee published his great work The Prayer Book of King Edward VII to sell at 12 guineas bound in oak boards with leather plaited hinges and iron clasps in the popular issue of four hundred copies. This unusual artefact was decorated with one hundred and fifty wood-engraved illustrations and borders designed by Ashbee, assisted in some of the designs by Catterson Smith with the engraving carried out by W H Hooper and Clemence Housman. Catterson Smith thus completed a series of unique involvements with the most ambitious works of three significant English Private presses. Simultaneously with the publication of the Prayer Book however, the Press was in trouble due to difficulty in selling to the United States, largely due, in all probability to unsuitable titles. In the same year, Ashbee's wife was complaining that the Guild's hand-crafted silver was being jeopardized by the partly-machine made jewellery marketed by Liberty's under the name 'Cymric' and manufactured by A H Haseler of Birmingham. Ironically, 1903 saw Arthur Gaskin succeed Catterson Smith as Head Master of the Vittoria Street School for Jewellers and Silversmiths and it was from his colleagues that Haseler commissioned designs. Whether Gaskin himself or his wife were directly involved is open to doubt but certainly and with sad irony, members of the Birmingham Guild were jeopardising their Chipping Campden brethren through their involvement with capitalist Arthur Liberty.
Book production at Campden ceased in 1906, three of the Great Poems series being the only noteworthy items published in the last three years and the printers having been on part-time working since 1904. Of the other illustrators associated with the Essex House Press, Paul Woodroffe lived in the village. His most notable contribution was the fine Italianate wood-engraved frontispiece to the Flight of the Duchess by Robert Browning in the Great Poems series, drawn from a design of Lawrence Housman and engraved by Houseman's sister Clemence, both of whom were born in Bromsgrove and at least by virtue of that fact, "West-Midlanders".

Laurence Housman played a major part in the evolution of the twentieth century book. During the Eighteen Nineties and early years of the twentieth century he was active in both design and illustration. That he appreciated the need for total harmony in book design is brought out strongly in his introductory essay to the selection of Boyd Houghton's work published in 1896. Sardonic in tone, but nevertheless perceptive, Housman opens his essay by describing the terrible shadow of the Great Exhibition which lay nowhere more heavily than on the books of that period. And yet in the midst of "bad art and cheerful depravity", which he claims is the result of state-fostered art, arose the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. From that Movement came "the instinct for decorative fitness", although in book production its influence was limited to the wood blocks on which its work appeared. "It had not, as since, disciplined printer,
binder and publisher to its demands", an obvious reference to Morris and Ricketts. Housman at this date appeared to nail his colours to the mast-heads of both the respective masters of the Arts and Crafts book and the Aesthetic Movement book.

Probably one of the first critics to successfully pinpoint the essential differences between the Pre-Raphaelite illustrators and their forerunners in the Moxon Tennyson (q.v.), Housman shows a deep awareness of the experiment and discovery of Rossetti and Millais and he places Houghton next to them in accomplishment of ideas and master of invention and technique. The influence of Houghton on Housman can perhaps be encapsulated in Housman's own words, "a mastery of style", for of all the wood-engraved illustrators, Housman had style in abundance. Christina Rossetti's Goblin Market illustrated with wood engravings by Clemence Housman from designs by Laurence Housman was, on publication, a significant event in book design. Appearing from Macmillan in 1893, the external appearance of the book bears superficial comparison with John Gray's Silverpoints which was designed by Charles Ricketts and published by Elkin Mathews and John Lane in the same year. At this time Laurence Housman was intimate with Ricketts and Shannon, Clemence and he having gone to live in Kennington, South London so as to be near the Lambeth School where she could learn wood-engraving and where she found herself in the company of Ricketts and Shannon.

Both also enrolled at the nearby Miller's Lane School, where Laurence studied drawing and admits to being heavily
influenced by William Blake. Although Housman is curiously coy about his student years in both Lambeth and South Kensington, it is highly unlikely that he learnt wood-engraving as claimed in the Houghton Library Catalogue. Indeed, Bernard Sleigh stated unequivocally that Laurence Housman would have learnt much if "he had tried to cut even one block himself". Sleigh put this in the context of Housman's production of drawings unsuitable for wood engraving - "cruelty to Clemence".

Whether the narrow 8vo format of both titles, "saddleback" as Ricketts termed it and the sinewy patterns on the cloth bindings were the idea of Ricketts or Housman, or independently arrived at is unknown. Both books made their mark, although the issue of Silverpoints was limited to 275 copies and, moreover, unillustrated. In contrast, this edition of Goblin Market is packed with the exciting designs of Laurence Housman, beautifully executed on the wood by Clemence. The pictures did not please Christina Rossetti whose poem had first been illustrated by D G Rossetti. Yet it is acknowledged that there is considerable D G Rossetti influence in Housman's designs. In addition to a half-title vignette and decorative title-page with manuscript lettering incorporated into the design there are thirty three illustrations and decorations in the text, one of which is a repeat of the half-title vignette. Especially significant are the four full page engravings and what are described by Hodgkins as four double-page illustrations. Unusually, the latter designs were drawn as two separate blocks, the designs within frames
suitably margined and yet undoubtedly making a single picture across the opening despite the fact that the inner edges of the design do not match nor were intended to do so. The technique is successful and possibly unique. These, and the four full-page designs are amongst the most powerful and frightening illustrations ever conceived. In black-line with strong textured involvement, which however, is not allowed to dominate, Housman comes as close as any illustrator to matching the visual imagery manifested by the poet. The astonishing closeness to the text is shown, for example, in the right-hand block of the double-page illustration on pps 8/9. The anthropomorphic goblins in the foreground are respectively cat and rat - "cat-faced purred and ratface spoke a word" in the text. Whilst Arthur Rackham's treatment of the same poem also differentiates between cat goblin and rat goblin, yet his illustrations convey no sense of the weirdness nor cruelty which pervades the poem. Indeed, Rackham's colour process frontispiece of the girl enticed appears almost as a romantic illustration in comparison with that of Housman on page 20 in the 1893 edition. The comparison throws up an interesting commentary on the extent of Housman's "grotesque", when Rackham's acknowledged eye for the grotesque appears so mild in comparison. A unique specimen of the book, with Housman's illustrations hand-coloured throughout by Dorothy Cardew of the Guild of Women Binders foreshadows the technique used in the Essex House Great Poems Series.

Much of Housman's illustration was reproduced by process and it is fair to say that such work appears in no way inferior
to that engraved on the wood by his sister. Of these, three were published by Bodley Head and have considerable merit as examples of total book design. Taylor argues convincingly that the art nouveau book owes more to Laurence Housman than to Ricketts or Beardley and Clemence Housman's story The Werewolf, designed and illustrated by her brother and published by John Lane in 1896, well demonstrated this. The illustrations are reproduced by process in the usual Bodley Head manner of this date, although of the books in which Laurence and Clemence were jointly involved, one would expect that wood-engraving would have been the chosen medium. After all, scarcely two years had elapsed since Bodley Head had published Ricketts' and Shannon's Hero and Leander.

After leaving art school, Clemence had obtained employment in a studio producing work for The Graphic and other illustrated papers at a time when the "commercial world of a noble craft was being slowly strangled to death". Housman continues that it was from then that his own work benefited from her skill and most of his illustrations from that time were "of her engraving". An examination of his output shows this to be dubious, half-tone reproduction being frequently in evidence.

Of the other early wood-engraved work from designs by Housman, The Field of Clover, written by Laurence and engraved by Clemence shows extensive Pre-Raphaelite influence. Published by Kegan Paul in 1898 and dedicated to "my dear wood-engraver", the title-page and frontispiece have panelled illustrations within deep borders crammed full of most
intricate Celtic inspired strapwork which must have taken a considerable time to engrave. In both panels, lettering is integral and there is a considerable area in each and in the subsequent illustrations given over to rich textured treatment. The fairy stories are accompanied by illustrations which menace or at least do not comfort the reader. The Fire Eaters (facing p 3) is an arrangement of figures showing no overt influences, but its immediate successor shows the mad figure of Noodle riding the galloping plough (f.p. 13) with unmistakable Rossetti origins. Similar attribution can be accorded to The Thirsty Well (facing p 23). Another striking example of Rossetti's influence occurs in The Blue Moon, a further group of Housman's fairy tales, published by John Murray in 1904. The illustration facing p 113 shows a soldier with spear in the bottom left hand corner in a composition highly reminiscent of Rossetti's acclaimed St Cecilia - The Palace of Art from Moxon's Tennyson. Indeed Housman subjected Rossetti's picture to considerable analysis. This title also made plenty of work for Clemence with strapwork borders to the frontispiece and title page, this time with vine motif and offering an interesting comparison with that of Charles Ricketts (q.v.). The engravings for The Blue Moon show a delicate arrangement of closely set parallel continuous and broken lines giving light differing from Clemence's previous output. The treatment of grass and plants is as fine as any example of technique found in published wood engraved illustration, although as Sleigh indicated, Housman drew without full understanding of the medium and his sister was therefore unduly laboured.

In film proof form the four engravings from Laurence Housman's designs are fine examples of simple uncluttered black line work. The work also includes a white on black engraved title-page border with violet motif again showing an interesting comparison with the "violet" border of Charles Ricketts. The border was also used on the title page of the Confessions of St Augustine, with illustrations by Woodroffe engraved by Clemence. The film proofs however do nothing to enhance the engraved frontispiece and three other illustrations to The Little Land, published by Grant Richards in 1899. These unbordered cuts in black line are slight in comparison to the rest of Housman's designs.

Housman claimed that he gradually discontinued illustration work because of deteriorating eyesight and no longer being capable of the fine line which characterised his work, although the financial success emanating from his anonymously published An Englishwomen's Love Letters probably encouraged him more towards writing, in which he realised his true vocation. Nevertheless, Housman continued to take a close interest in book illustration and held decided views on the state's role in art education. Like Morris and Crane, Housman was a guest speaker at important events in the calendars of provincial schools of art. As late as 1911 he was proclaiming his debt to Millais, Rossetti and Houghton. "We have killed
... one of the most beautiful national schools of popular art ... the illustrators of the 'sixties ... because of our haste to get something new". Housman obviously had in mind the almost total replacement of the pencil by the camera in respect of the chronicling of events in the pictorial periodicals and that the introduction of process brought with it much indifferent art, although Housman himself could have no complaints regarding the reproduction of his own drawings by photo-mechanical methods. If he was regretting the downfall of reproductive wood-engraving, it must be remembered that, by the Eighteen-Nineties, competent craftsmen and craftswomen were few in number besides which, according to a contemporary view of the time when Housman was active as an illustrator, its downfall was caused by publishers' greed which demanded factory methods where some craftsmen were only capable of cutting certain parts of a block, eg, skies or trees. The same correspondent to the editor of The Studio also offered the opinion that the gradual introduction of American techniques to get tone and colour effects rather than line put the public off wood-engraving and made it all the readier to accept half-tone work.

Most contemporary critics were keen to describe Housman's work as derivative, mainly however in praiseworthy terms. In 1893, The Studio's reviewer described him as "redolent of the Once-A-Week school" and compared him with Ricketts. In the following year "Housman had obviously studied D G Rossetti through the medium of Ricketts and Shannon" and in the same journal for 1885, Housman is "so entirely swayed
by a single model", ie Ricketts, and he swears "fealty to
the Once-A-Week school." Yet the Housman illustration,
whether from the earliest to the latest book title, is
instantly recognisable as from his hand. The monogram
on Housman's pictures is as unnecessary as that of his more
famous contemporary, Aubrey Beardsley. Unlike Beardsley
however whose art declined with his physical and moral
disintegration, Housman's art was in general of a uniformly
high order throughout and moreover, has stood the test of
time. What criticism can be offered towards Housman is
in respect of his sister's position. "Minuteness in tool
work is not our job. To enforce it is to falsify the
very qualities which make a woodcut unique", 106 wrote his
friend Sleigh. That Clemence Housman was a master of the
burin is without doubt. As an interpreter of her brother's
designs, her blocks were, as 107 Guthrie states "a
marvel of
sympathy". As a critic, Guthrie speaks from strength as
an artist-engraver when 108 he states "that the artist-
engraver who welded art and craft into one theoretically
abolished those with no executive graphic talent of their own."

Where then is Clemence Housman's place in the canon of
wood-engraving? As Guthrie states, she was unambitious and
modest about her accomplishments. As a black line reprographic
engraver, she was probably without equal. Whether or not she
would have flowered as a creative artist without her deliberate
subservience to her brother's art is a question which might
never be answered satisfactorily.
Clemence was also involved with the art of Paul Woodroffe beyond The Essex House Maud. Woodroffe, an austere Roman Catholic who became friendly with Ashbee, never became involved with the spirit of the Guild, despite setting up a studio in Campden. Like Sleigh, he subsequently turned to working with glass with which he achieved an international reputation. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, he produced some interesting designs for wood-engraving. A cousin of Joseph Moorat, the composer, Woodroffe's first two books were of nursery rhymes set to Moorat's music with cover designs, title pages, endpapers and musical notation by Woodroffe, reproduced by process. This led to other ventures in which the design of musical notation played a part, not least the highly idiosyncratic Essex House Song Book, and leading to commercial work for the Curwen Press. Unlike the Housmans, however, Woodroffe's interest in book design and illustration was sustained at least into the nineteen-thirties. According to Peter Cormack who was responsible for putting on the first retrospective exhibition, Woodroffe (1875-1954), pupil at the Slade School of Art, became known to the Housmans through work for the avant garde magazines of the 'nineties such as The Pageant and The Dome.

In 1900 Woodroffe produced four illustrations which were engraved by Clemence Housman for The Confessions of St Augustine, published by Kegan Paul. Of the four, only the first, an austere noble black-line design of a woman kissing Christ's feet, has real impact, the others being Birmingham or Campden Arts and Crafts work. Three larger designs, in proof form...
show Woodroffe's partnership with Clemence at its very best. The Annunciation, Nativity and Adoration are strong black-line designs produced by an illustrator completely in sympathy with his subject matter.

A fine piece of total book design came from Woodroffe's hand in 1902. An original translation of Of Aucassín and Nicolette by Laurence Housman was published by John Murray in 1902 with binding, endpapers and decorations by Woodroffe who also produced four illustrations which were engraved by Clemence. Unfortunately, Woodroffe here excelled Laurence in producing designs full of masses of minute detail which contrast unfavourably with his work more austere designs. Nevertheless, the fourth illustration depicting Aucassin setting about the King's enemies is a fine Dueresque composition. Curiously, a second edition published by Chatto and Windus appeared in 1925, with type reset at the Shakespeare Head Press by Bernard Newdigate, for whom Woodroffe produced some exciting work, although wood-engraving was not the chosen medium. One of the most spectacular books of the twentieth century, the Shakespeare Head Froissart, has marginal coats of arms and heraldic decoration elsewhere drawn by Woodroffe and hand coloured at Chipping Campden. Published in 1927-1928, this was followed by the famous eight volume edition of Chaucer, for which Arthur and Georgie Gaskin's daughter Joscelyne produced the lettering for headlines and title.

The Guild tradition in the West Midlands enabled an outdated school of illustration to flourish outside the
mainstream of illustration, aided by a municipal school of art maintained by a city council sympathetic to applied art. The black line wood-engraving was almost alien to twentieth century wood-engraving outside the West Midlands, with one or two notable exceptions. Birmingham, in time, was to make its contribution to the post-World War One revival in the white-line school of artistic engraving, although the pioneering of this revival was almost entirely centred on London.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHAPBOOK TRADITION AND THE TRANSITIONAL ENGRAVERS
The County of Northumberland occupies a unique situation in the history of the woodcut illustration. Evidence of local knowledge of and pride in this exists in the preservation of the tools of Thomas Bewick together with his books and examples of his blocks and those of some of his pupils. The founder of the English "white-line" school, Bewick effectively introduced the method of cutting on the end grain of hard woods, thus enabling the artist to produce finer work. The facility of rotating the block whilst using the burin allowed a degree of sophistication not possible in the traditional black line cut on the plank. An examination of that most refined illustrated book of the Renaissance, the Hypnerotomachia, shows that despite the quality of line achieved, the use of circles as decoration in certain of the illustrations reveals the limitations of the medium where two facing arcs of variable width have to suffice.

As was the case with William Blake and Robert Branston, Bewick's London based contemporaries, Thomas Bewick had been apprentice metal engraver, teaching himself the art of engraving on wood. From Branston's workshop came George Bonner who taught W J Linton, and John Thompson who engraved many of the designs for Yarrell's History of British Birds and who was, according to Linton "entitled to rank above all the men who have engraved on the wood". Linton, however, showed his respect for the Northumbrian by declaring himself the white-line "successor to Bewick". Bewick's innovation placed wood-engraving in a position where it was the favoured medium when the number of pictorial periodicals began to grow in
the Eighteen-thirties and forties. Many of those who developed and controlled the mushrooming wood-engraving "factories" had Northumbrian connections, being pupils of, or pupils of pupils of Thomas Bewick.

5 De Mare illuminates one crucial fact relative to the efficient production of the multitudinous illustrated periodicals of the Eighteen-fifties and sixties, ie, how small and interconnected the wood-engraving fraternity was at that time. Of the Dalziels, who were to build up the most renowned establishment and who hailed from Newcastle, both George and Alexander had Bewick connections. Ebenezer Landells, a founder of Punch, that insatiable consumer of wood engravings for fifty years, and master of Edmund Evans, had been apprenticed to Bewick. The Bewick connection with the firm of Linton and Smith was through Smith's father. Only the House of Swain seems remote from a Newcastle connection.

That such a rapidly developing industry should be dominated by hard-headed technically able men from the North-East of England is not surprising when placed in the context of another technological development with a curiously parallel rate of expansion, that of the steam locomotive. Inseparable from that which rivals the invention of Gutenberg in its impact upon human society, is the name of another Northumbrian, George Stephenson, the "most famous engineer who ever lived". The expansion of the railway network in itself created a demand for books, well documented elsewhere and not the concern of this thesis save in that the various
railway "libraries" which were displayed colourfully on the bookstalls had. covers printed from woodblock by Edmund Evans and others.

But apart from the mainstream of wood-engraved book illustration, Northumbrians principally were responsible for continuing and carrying forward a tradition in illustration more in common with the Fifteenth Century block book than with the delicate white-line vignettes of Bewick. After London, Newcastle was the earliest centre for the production of chapbooks and these, together with illustrated broadsides and songsheets which frequently emanated from the same printer/publisher, were to have a significant influence on certain Twentieth Century artists. The graphic work of William Nicholson and James Pryde, Edward Gordon Craig, Claud Lovat Fraser and their followers clearly demonstrates this.

Of the Northumbrians working in this older tradition, two were paramount. The first of these, James Catnach was born at Alnwick in 1792, the son of John Catnach, a printer whose skill and imagination enabled him to print the occasional ambitious work which could readily hold its own with the products of the capital. His masterpiece, Bishop Percy's poem The Hermit of Warkworth was published in 1806 with Bewick cuts of substantial size. Save that the illustrations appear at right angles to the text, the work compares not too unfavourably with those productions of William Bulmer with Bewick connections, ie, Somervile's
Chace and the Poems of Goldsmith and Parnell. In 1807 John Catnach entered into partnership with William Davison and an ambitious two volume edition of Burns appeared in 1808, again with Bewick cuts. These items, of course, were exceptional for printers whose book production activities rarely ventured beyond the chapbook or similar small item. Leaving the partnership and moving first to Newcastle and then to London, John Catnach's fortunes changed and sharply declined. After his death in 1813, his son James, who was formerly apprenticed to him, arrived in London and moved into the business and subsequently transferred it to 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials. Here his energies took him into frenzies of popular publishing scarcely equalled except by his arch-rival and neighbour, John Pitts. Until his retirement in 1838, "Jemmy" Catnach, "who was printer, publisher, toy-book manufacturer, dying-speech merchant and ballad-monger", issued a continuous welter of street literature, at first making his own cuts on pewter but subsequently amassing a substantial library of cuts on the plank which, being mainly crude but lively and somewhat short on facial detail, could be searched profitably to produce a suitable match for the latest murder or execution scene.

A special feature of Catnach's publishing was the production of children's farthing or penny books of a standard superior to that of his rivals. Charles Knight, whose knowledge of and interest in popular publishing... sets his place in printing history by Catnach's elevation of the street ballad from something "blotched with
lamp-black and oil on excrable (sic) tea paper to a standard comparable with the old broadside and ballad printed on good white paper with real printer's ink". After his retirement, Catnach's successors continued publishing the same timeless material.

In contrast to many of the chapbook publishers who appear to have used black line woodcuts which were not only lacking in detail but extremely sparing of line, Catnach's productions are typified by their bold lines, heavy use of black and vigorous style. His eight page Toads and Diamonds for example carries a full page woodcut on the front cover/title page with two further cuts each occupying the greater part of their respective pages. In each picture there is a wealth of detail and Catnach's popularity is easily understood when comparing the quality of his productions with the prevailing standards of chapbook production.

Of the wealth of Victorian broadsheets reproduced by Charles Hindley, the most striking woodcuts are those decorating the sheets of H Such, printer and publisher, of 177 Union Street, Boro' (sic) London, SE. These have style and vitality, some carrying the unidentified artist's initials. Expertly cut, the engraver has used broad, sweeping strokes of the tool, a technique not commonly found in Britain until the years following the Second World War where the style reappears with certain of the Folio Society artist-engravers. (q.v.) Such was active from 1860 to 1890. The standard of his typography was also well above average for that particular period.
The essential link in the chain between the chapbook artists and the twentieth century revival of this spirited and amusing facet of the woodcut illustration is Joseph Crawhall the second, born into a wealthy Newcastle family in 1821. His father, a self made man and amateur artist almost certainly knew Thomas Bewick and commissioned an initial block from him. However, the second Joseph Crawhall was born too late to have studied with Bewick, although it is possible that he picked up the rudiments of wood-engraving from one of Bewick's pupils. By 1859, he and his brothers were so successfully involved in the family business that he was able to find the time to express himself through the woodcut and, in The Compleatest Angling Booke, a Crawhall family compilation, Joseph II commenced imitating the chapbook style of illustration, although the intense black vigour of the cuts show a latent sophistication common in Twentieth Century German Expressionist prints. Crawhall's father had died in 1853 leaving him a solid foundation for both business and art. In 1864 he published The Newcastle Fisher's Garlands, also entitled A Collection of Right Merrie Garlands for North Country Anglers. As his first book, etchings dominated but Crawhall's predilection for bold woodcuts is evident in small vignettes demonstrating further maturity in cutting the block. By this time, it had become clear that Crawhall was deliberately steering towards 'wood carving' than wood-engraving. Although certain North-Eastern chapbooks of the early Nineteenth Century had refined wood-engravings, and in this respect it is hardly likely that Crawhall was not familiar with the seven natural history.
chapbooks with vignettes by Thomas Bewick published by William Davison from c 1820- c 1830. Crawhall had made a conscious decision to express his own art directly through the wood and not to use it as a medium to reproduce through imitation sketches in watercolour. Ironically, however, Crawhall himself became involved at third-hand with the reproductive wood-engravers from 1872 onwards in that he is estimated to have supplied his friend Charles Keene, the Punch artist, with over two hundred and fifty sketches with ideas which later found expression in the highly finished drawings Keene produced for periodicals.

Crawhall's greatest and most fecund period began on his retirement at sixty and his introduction to Andrew Tuer, the London publisher and historian of popular literature. A fruitful relationship developed resulting in two books being published in 1883. The first, Chap-Book Chaplets consisted of a number of individual ballads paginated separately. By now, his cutting was so forceful that he was correct in calling them sculptures, as examples in the collection at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne demonstrate. The friendship which came about between Crawhall and Tuer produced books which "breathed new life" into book production, according to Francis Meynell whose father admired Tuer. As a result of Francis Meynell's early introduction to these chap-book revivals, it is likely that the Nonesuch Press essay in this field, Mother Goose, was conceived early in the history of that enterprise.
Chap-books usually measured 6" x 4" but as the Nineteenth Century progressed they often came out in smaller format. There was nothing small about the first two titles of the Crawhall/Tuer partnership however and the large coloured cuts in the "Chaplets" have enormous visual impact, not least because of their size. This commensurate growth of impact with enlargement was later taken further by William Nicholson and James Pryde in their "Beggarstaff" period. Curiously, whilst ostensibly avoiding Bewick’s white line, Crawhall displayed considerable knowledge of Bewick iconography. He was not above copying the style of the German Fifteenth Century masters. Examples of his cutting imitate the maniere criiblee in reverse and he owned prints by Durer and Schongauer.

One of the great attractions held out by Tuer to Crawhall was the offer to print directly from Crawhall's blocks which were often cut without any copy. Cutting into the wood with great strength, Crawhall’s own definition of his blocks as sculptures is apposite, the blocks having a deep bas-relief quality entirely at odds with those of Bewick and his pupils, where, for example, typical block, ie Robert Johnson’s Memorial Cut which was engraved by Charlton Nesbit, has the fine quality of an intaglio jewel. Garrett's suggestion that Crawhall was a creative engraver and sophisticated designer who had deliberately not developed his talent is partially justified through a study of the blocks. Certainly if Crawhall had wanted finer results he would have used more appropriate materials. However, there
is little doubt of the success of his technique with Chap-Book Chaplets, originally issued as eight separate publications then as a bound volume in 1883. Those with hand-coloured plates were particularly successful and worthy of the 1976 Scolar Press reprint. This, and the simultaneous publication, Old Tayles Newly Relayted, was not simply a rehash of an old chapbook with illustrations recut as was the case with the Twentieth Century Nonesuch Press and Fortune Press pastiches referred to earlier. The new Crawhall cuts have a surreptitious mockery particularly evident with the illustration to the Babes in the Wood, a chapbook title notorious for its poor cuts, irrespective of whether the publisher was Catnach or Pitts, or of a lesser breed.

Of Olde FFренdes wyth newe Faces, an advertisement claims that the volume, is "a'dorn'd with suitable sculptures ... the illustrations will provoke smiles from the gravest". Two years later, Crawhall produced Izaak Walton: his Wallet Booke, in two issues. These songs from the Compleat Angler were on "hand-made paper, vellum bound with inside humorously lettered silk-sewn pockets." The limited edition-de-luxe was hand-coloured with one of Crawhall's boxwood blocks attached to a silk bookmark in each copy. This bold dispersal of original cuts was probably unrepeated until the notorious Nonesuch Dickens distribution in 1936.

Tuer's pocket size issue of his own Old London Street Cries has six Crawhall cuts including a crudely hand-coloured
frontispiece. Appropriately, the subject of two of the cuts is the Chapman selling ballads. Where, as on pp 92 and 93, the Crawhall print faces a small fine cut of a cucumber vendor, it becomes apparent that Crawhall was more at home with publications in larger format.

Crawhall's last major work was A Beuk O'Newcassel Sangs, published in Newcastle by Mawson, Swan and Morgan in 1888. At this late stage of his life he managed to compress over 140 cuts into 140 pages. Within ten years, Crawhall's efforts had been absorbed by and merged with continental influences to affect the first of the books of William Nicholson. Crawhall's unique position of businessman and graphic artist enabled him to express his views on advertising to an audience which listened with respect and when the firm of Robert Holden and Co decided to reissue the Jane Austen's "Horrid Novels" as pastiche Yellowbacks, the back cover of each was adorned with Crawhall's famous cuts for Pears Soap.

At best, Crawhall's cuts surpass most of the Nineteenth Century in inventiveness and the hand-coloured pictures in Chap-Book Chaplets have the quality of stained glass. The hand-coloured pedlar on its cover is half-way stage between Hogarth and Nicholson. Although Crawhall's influence on major Twentieth-Century book illustrators is both discernible and documented, yet of the major chapbook producers, only Catnach and Davison can be identified as influences upon him. It has been claimed that the Londoner, John Pitts, Catnach's contemporary was a more interesting printer than Catnach whilst the firm of James Lumsden of Glasgow employed a high standard
of illustration although conscious that fine engraving would not take on the quality of paper which was used for the production of cheap literature.

Crawhall's recognition of the importance of street literature and particularly that of its illustrations in reflecting the raw vitality of the newly literate sectors of society was acknowledged by his followers who took its essential elements as refined by Crawhall and used it in other contexts. Nicholson's London Types descend from the chapbooks and cries via Crawhall but are presented for a sophisticated audience wealthy enough to buy the book in its various forms. Lovat Fraser's rhymesheets are from broadsides through Crawhall but for smart admirers of Georgian poetry rather than for the working classes. Craig's world was far removed from the streets, and again the Crawhall style was adapted to other needs.

Crawhall's work is easily thought of as being of a generation or more before the advent of William Nicholson. Yet Nicholson and Pryde were embarking upon their great Beggarstaff posters within five years of the publication of Crawhall's last book, and Nicholson's own woodcut folios and books were eagerly sought after before another decade had elapsed. Nicholson, like Crawhall, was able to use "quaintness", simplicity and directness in such ways as to avoid "kitsch", and lest it be thought that his quaintness was without aesthetic value, it is worth noting that Ruskin was attracted to the work of the Leadenhall Press.
The story of the Beggarstaff Brothers and their colossal impact on British and continental advertising art despite their lack of commercial success is well documented. The posters, whilst not from wood, were a key factor in formulating Nicholson's future success with that medium. Nicholson had received some art training at Hubert von Herkomer's School from which he was expelled for "Whistlerian impudence". In France he became aware of the posters of Toulouse Lautrec and the graphic work of Felix Vallotton. Certainly, there are close affinities between Nicholson's first published woodcut book illustration, The Cabriolet, which had stencil colouring, and a contemporary print by Vallotton which also appeared in The Studio. The broad, flat areas of colour here have the strength of Nicholson's designs, yet lacking the important peripheral form which was the outstanding feature of Nicholson's work with wood.

Although Nicholson's wood-engraved illustrations followed the Beggarstaff period, nevertheless he was experimenting with the medium immediately upon his return from Paris, and prior to his marriage to Mabel Pryde, which took place in 1893. Nicholson's association with his brother-in-law on the posters dates from this time where, like Ricketts and Shannon before them, a conscious decision was taken to become involved in commercial art to bring in money whilst developing their painting styles. Between August 1894 and December 1895, ten designs were produced, to which Pryde brought imagination and originality and Nicholson practicality.
although a reasoned assumption based upon a very large proportion of the written evidence leads an impartial observer to the conclusion that much of the creative element was also that of Nicholson. Nevertheless, Nicholson gained greatly from this collaboration. These posters constructed from overlays of coloured paper had Pryde's mastery of spacing made concrete by Nicholson's cutting and pasting. Both gained "knowledge of composition, balance of masses and economy and means" by these exercises. Four were exhibited at the Royal Aquarium, Westminster where they were seen by their peers and had influence beyond their use. Most who commissioned the posters lost their nerve in the rejection of sweetness and conformity. However, an enormous poster for Rowntrees Cocoa echoed that firm's earlier use of Crawhall.

The knowledge gained of pattern through paper coupled with Nicholson's stated belief that it was the primitive quality of wood-engraving which appealed, the "balance between dark and light", enabled Nicholson to introduce a new element into the medium, simple in concept yet utterly demanding in artistic perception in order to get it right.

Although the posters were montage, the distinctive "xylo" style possibly had its origin in an important and well-known advertisement cut on wood from Frederick Walker's design of 1871 advertising Wilkie Collins' Woman in White. Unlike most wood-engraved illustrations of that date, it was in no way photographic and in following this lay much of the Beggarstaff's impact. Nicholson's forceful wood-engravings
continued this tradition, thus being entirely at variance with his contemporaries. The Don Quixote poster, probably the most reproduced of all Beggarstaff productions was pure silhouette in four colours, i.e., The Knight's Body in pale brown with ochre head on white background with the lettering and windmill in black. The use of woodblock and stencil gives the same effect as is obvious from a study of The Cabriole.

In 1895 Nicholson produced a hand-coloured wood-engraving of Persimmon, the Derby winner, which was greatly admired by Whistler. "Delineated on a block of wood, crossgrained be it noted, cut, printed and coloured", this was hung at the 'Fine Art Society. Whistler suggested to his publisher William Heinemann that he should employ Nicholson who in due course suggested an Alphabet to the publisher, thus commencing one of the most outstanding if short-lived collaborations in nineteenth-century publishing. Browse claims that within a four year period, Nicholson became established as the foremost exponent of wood-engraving, this at a time when Ricketts was at his zenith.

The contract for An Alphabet was on 27 November 1896 and was for Nicholson to receive £5 per block and 6d per sheet hand-coloured. This afforded Nicholson both satisfaction and security; a contrast to the miserable reception accorded the Persimmon print which sold but one copy and that was later returned.
There is considerable confusion over the methods used by Nicholson and the printers of An Alphabet, which was published in 1898, because of the variety of processes involved. Although Nicholson's pictures appear to be woodcuts on the plank because of the use of the broadest possible forms, Nicholson's technique was to work on the endgrain of several blocks joined together. Like Branston, Bewick and Blake, Nicholson was self-taught and found his own way with the medium. Although technically wood-engravings, in practice the pictures are from cuts, hence their frequent description as such.

An Alphabet appeared in three states. The De Luxe Edition had the woodcuts on large paper, water-coloured by hand, mounted and laid on card within a vellum portfolio with printed design on the front. This was sold on publication at £21. The Library Edition at 12/6d was printed on hand-made paper from lithographic plates produced from Nicholson's cuts, which he printed and water-coloured by hand for transfer to litho. Each colour required a separate plate, in turn necessitating a hand coloured cut from the artist. The popular edition was lithographed on to cream laid wove paper for sale at 5/-.

In the case of the Library and Popular Editions, the illustrations E for Executioner and T for Topers were replaced by E for Earl and T for Trumpeter in order, presumably, to avoid offending middle-class morality. Acknowledgement to Crawhall is in the form of the "Printseller" design on the portfolio. The letter A for Artist is a self-portrait whilst B for Beggar
is a portrait of his former Beggarstaff partner, James Pryde.

48 Bliss points out that the critics drew attention to the Japanese influences in his work, the Aesthetic Movement only lately having passed its peak, but there were none. This point was also picked up by Frederick Whyte, Heinemann's biographer, who agreed with Bliss that comparison with the Japanese was erroneous "as the Japanese go out of their way to create technical difficulty". Nicholson's way was the simplest he could find. He did not observe a wood-engraver at work until he himself had become established as such.

50 Heinemann gave encouragement to Nicholson "when such qualities were not general". His discernment and forecasting of the success of An Alphabet allowed for two further books to appear in 1898. An additional bonus in 1898 for Nicholson was the first exhibition of original wood-engraving to be held in England which occurred in December at the Dutch Gallery. Here Nicholson found himself in the company of Ricketts and the other Dial artists.

An Almanac of Twelve Sports had the De Luxe Edition printed on sheets 17"x14". It consisted of twelve prints with verses by Kipling continuing the tradition of heavy black lettering which he modelled on Crawhall's Old FFrendes wyth Newe Faces, according to Berthold Wolpe. The portfolio was again in vellum and sold as £12. The Library Edition was sold out almost immediately and the Popular Edition was reissued the following year. There was also a French edition.
The third of the publications for 1898 was London Types, which preceded the Almanac. For each of the thirteen blocks and the cover design, Nicholson received 10 guineas. A further 3 guineas was paid for a set of hand-coloured copies for the printer's guidance. Forty sets of the water-coloured prints were issued at £21 in a cloth coloured portfolio with the usual cheaper lithographed editions.

In 1899 Heinemann issued Twelve Portraits in similar states as the publications of the previous year. Unlike these, the prints for Twelve Portraits were not originally conceived as a set. Curiously, Nicholson's most celebrated wood-engraving, the portrait of Queen Victoria, had its origins in an unpublished design for a Beggarstaff poster. Nicholson's cut was first published in The New Review, June 1897, as a litho and excited enormous demand. Further portraits appeared before Heinemann negotiated with Nicholson for 20 hand-coloured sets plus other fees and royalties. A second series followed in 1902 with the Square Book of Animals intervening in 1900.

Nicholson's work in wood was over and done with to all intents and purposes within a period of five years. In this time, a period of revolution in English Art, Nicholson transformed the face of the woodblock from the linear concepts of Bewick and his white-line successors, paving the way for the cuts of Edward Gordon Craig, Frank Brangwyn and the designs of Lovat Fraser. The clear preference for the flat areas of colour with peripheral design in black was probably the reason why no evidence exists of Nicholson printing in colours.
from wood block. During his highly successful career as a painter, Nicholson illustrated books from time to time, notably Siegfried Sassoon's Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man, which appeared as the first English illustrated edition in 1929 with drawings reproduced by line block. Nicholson's affection for drawing horses, first with the unfortunate Persimmon print, again found expression in pen and ink in a book of poems by W H Davies, The Hour of Magic, printed by George W Jones for Jonathan Cape in 1922. Here the drawing of a shire horse facing page 27 is quite clearly based upon the Shire Horse, an original wood-engraving in black from 1899. Another version appeared in the Artist Engraver, 1904.

Amongst Nicholson's best known cuts, and one which relates to the chapbook era is the Windmill cut as a device for publisher William Heinemann and carrying Nicholson's anonymous message into thousands of homes. At least three versions of this device exist, the first with shaded base, the second with lined base and initials W.H. and thirdly, a more solid mill on an unshaded mound. Examples of the first two occur in E F Benson's Paul and the third in London Types. Nicholson also at this time designed the wrappers for a novel by Heinemann's wife, Magada Sindici. The Heinemann device began to feature heavily on the publisher's cloth bindings, influencing others and setting a trend. The Crawhall derived lettering appeared on Heinemann books, in particular a striking Nicholson woodcut inspired example being E F Benson's novel The Image in the 149.
Sand with a blue figure heavily outlined in black on buff cloth and matching lettering signed Simpson: this of 1905. A further Benson novel, Paul, was issued in series in 1905. Two years earlier Nelson were using similar bindings for children's books. Mrs Henry Clarke's novel A Trusty Rebel has a figure on the front cover in gold and black on brown cloth with bold lettering clearly derived from the Beggarstaff Robespierre poster whilst again, with Mother Maud by Mrs Arthur, large flat areas of blue and red delineated by broad black outline clearly derive from Nicholson.

Like Ricketts, Nicholson became involved with the theatre and as early as 1904 was asked by J M Barrie to design the costumes for Peter Pan through the playwright's admiration for his prints. However, Nicholson's most exciting and colourful venture was in the 'twenties where "his beautiful designs for John Gay's Polly recall poor Lovat Fraser". In truth, they recalled his woodcuts which long preceded the designs of Lovat Fraser for the Beggars' Opera.

Perhaps the most notable feature of Nicholson's work with wood was the speed with which his art matured. Whilst the Crawhall influence is paramount in his first book, An Alphabet, and exemplified by the front cover design, the cover illustration of a Coachman for London Types shows a degree of sophistication both in design and execution beyond Crawhall's reach. Throughout the wood-cutting period, Nicholson's colours remain sombre and show nothing of the
translucency beloved of the Japanese. The sheer strength of his design work is characterised by the newspaper boy illustrating *The City in London Types*, where the power in the lad's hands is made abundantly clear by the peripheral line rather than by anatomical detail. It is interesting to note that Nicholson was equally able to dispense with the thick black line. In the illustration *E* for *Earl* in *An Alphabet*, for example, there is daring use of flat areas of buff and violet in juxtaposition. This technique was later to be developed to perfection by Claud Lovat Fraser.

Whilst Nicholson went on to develop an outstandingly successful career in fine art, Fraser, equally indebted to the Nineteenth Century street 'literature tradition, was making an important contribution to book illustration and decoration. Fraser's career was brief but had enormous impact. His involvement with wood-engraving was minimal, yet his work was in the woodcut tradition. He was an essential link between the chapbooks and broadsides of the previous centuries and those wood-engravers of the mid-twentieth century who sought to recapture atmosphere through style. When it was claimed that Claud Lovat Fraser was in no movement but his own, Macfall retorted "what about Crawhall, Pryde, Craig or Brangwyn?".

It is certain that Fraser at one period of his life handled the burin but came to prefer the reed pen above all other tools with which to express his restless and
enormously creative personality. He was introduced to Crawhall's work through Macfall's article which appeared in the last issue of Gordon Craig's journal, The Page. Fraser's familiarity with the products of the ballad-mongers of Seven Dials is known through his inscribed copy of Hindley's biography of Catnach. Of all those who strove to recreate the rhymesheet or broadside in the present century, Fraser was the most successful. Not only did he recreate them but he also wrote on their history with enthusiasm. In an important article, Holbrook Jackson stresses the impact made on Fraser by Hindley's books.

Whilst Fraser's first published book illustrations were from zinc blocks, coloured by hand, evidence for his wood-engraving comes from his letter to John Drinkwater concerning a bookstamp which he would ask Robert Gibbings to cut as "I have not cut since the war and I fear that neither my hand nor eye would be up to the mark at the moment". Furst, on the other hand, whilst praising Fraser's designs for the sets and costumes of The Beggar's Opera, declaimed "Claud Lovat Fraser did not cut in wood". Correspondence with American scholars concerning Fraser's involvement with wood has failed to throw any light on the subject. This curious lack of precision with regard to Fraser's use of media highlights the difficulties in distinguishing between prints from zinc block or wood. Often it is only the artist's line which enables a correct identification to be made. In addition, there is a tendency to use the term "cuts" loosely, more particularly in relation
to Fraser's work than any other illustrator encountered, this probably because of Fraser's prolific output of illustrated rhymesheets and broadsides.

It is possible, in view of its early date in the Fraser corpus, to accept provisionally that Pirates, a quarto reprint of a 1735 chapbook as having a "number of cuts of ships and seamen" and a work for Everard Meynell "with two or three Fraser cuts in the text". This information from Holbrook Jackson, a partner in Fraser's enterprise The Flying Fame, which initiated the broadsides, should be entirely reliable, yet writing in 1923, Jackson asserted that Fraser's illustrations to The Beggar's Opera, published in 1921, included "a few cuts". Again, J C Squire, editor of the London Mercury, writing in 1921 referred to Fraser as "a fertile designer of plain and coloured cuts". Having established however that Fraser did cut with the knife or burin before the end of the first world war, it is likely that some at least of the early broadsides had woodcut illustrations, a view reinforced by the research of Grant on the Poetry Bookshop who refers to the broadside illustrations as being "cut and heedlessly coloured".

Nevertheless, Fraser's overwhelming preference was for the reed pen with which he was able to copy and improve upon Crawhall's work, ultimately developing an instantly recognisable style of his own. In many instances, the drawings and decorations for Housman's Shropshire Lad, which the author rejected, are clearly pen drawings, the line being impossibly fast and free for wood-engraving.
Likewise, the designs for simple toys which were drawn on Italian hand-made paper, a gift from Gordon Craig, whilst in true Crawhall style and with Crawhall-inspired lettering, could never have been done in wood.

Fraser's determination to revive the broadside in the form of "songs" with decorations successfully came to fruition in 1913 with the publication of the first series of broadsides in 1913. The first series of Chapbooks also appeared in that year. Amongst these was the Almondsbury Garland. Like chapbook, the word "garland" denotes a type of publication of earlier times, and one again used formerly by Joseph Crawhall. As was the case with Crawhall, Fraser was interested in advertising and worked, inter alia, for Heal's. He wrote passionately that "beyond the Beggarstaff Brothers, Craig, Crawhall, there have been no good advertisements in England".

Fraser moved a long way from his early style as typified by the charwoman print of 1911, which was cut on the wood for Art Chronicle by H G Webb, to his final explosion of line and colour in his work for the theatre. This, as for his friend Craig, was to be his chief destiny. His deceptively simple use of mass and line in black led to many imitators and also influenced a whole generation of artists including John Nash. That Fraser succeeded where his imitators failed was because he  avoided producing antique fakes. Within a short time of his death, pastiches of his work appeared, notably by Elizabeth Mackinstry and
Cecil Lawson, the latter's Naval Ballads being rather more successful. Generally, Fraser's influence upon wood-engraved book illustration seems to be stronger amongst those engraving after the second world war than in the 'twenties and 'thirties, largely due to a freer, less formal approach to the medium as typified by John Lawrence and Derrick Harris. Amongst his contemporaries, he was both influenced by and influenced in turn a highly idiosyncratic wood-engraver, his friend Edward Gordon Craig.

In addition to originating in excess of five hundred wood blocks of various kinds, Craig wrote voluminously, mostly on the theatre but not least on wood-engraving. Craig's writings are boldly assertive, self-opinionated and difficult to take seriously because of suspicion of his writing for effect. The wariness engendered therefore makes the reader doubt Craig's statement that he engraved on wood "to teach myself how to design scenes for the drama". In developing this theme, Craig advanced two reasons why wood-engraving aided his theatre design. The first, that wood-engraving is a discipline and is a tough craft, therefore it "cools the ardour". The second, that its reprographic usefulness enabled Craig to experiment with colour without having to redraw each design, was probably secondary to the first, although more practical at first sight. In this connection, Craig wanted Claud Lovat Fraser to cut his Beggar's Opera scene on wood, "print six to ten copies and fill in the changes of light and colour as the play progressed".
As was the case with Nicholson and Fraser, Craig was interested in the work of Joseph Crawhall and published an article on him by Haldane Macfall in his little journal, The Page. This was reissued in chapbook form as The Cornhill Booklet. Craig commenced wood-engraving in about 1895, the technique being introduced to him by William Nicholson. In their early married life, the Nicholsons and Craigs were intimate and there was an inevitable cross-fertilisation of ideas. Unlike Nicholson, however, Craig's interest in wood-engraving was lifelong, although his most productive periods with the medium were between 1898 and 1901 and 1908 to 1914.

According to Campbell Dodgson, a leading authority on wood-engraving in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, Craig's early prints featured bold masses of black and white in contrast, using the boxwood to produce perfect harmony and proportion. Craig was strong in his condemnation of cross-hatching and was therefore little influenced if at all by the Victorian reprographic engravers. Many of Craig's smaller blocks are superficially similar to Lovat Fraser's work, lacking borders and featuring strong black line, with any suggestion of white line totally absent. Yet, in contrast, Craig's prints have an austerity and authority lacking in Fraser's output. Unlike Crawhall, Craig drew on the block before cutting and used a variety of techniques to produce light and shade, some from the Renaissance masters, for example, *manière criblée* in
D'Artagnan's Man of 1898. On the other hand, the influence of Nicholson's massive cuts can clearly be distinguished with the use of large masses of black in the Duc D'Anjou print of 1898. However, it is in the use of close parallel black line engraving that Craig became supreme, cleverly alternating this with dots of white or black and the individualistic use of woolly line for outlines of clouds, for example. Like Ricketts, certain of Craig's cuts show the influence of the artist of the Hypnerotomachia of 1499. The Troy cut of 1908 clearly demonstrates this although art-nouveau influences were clearly at work in addition. It was, however, in Craig's magnum opus, the Cranach Press Hamlet, that the influence of the Hypnerotomachia becomes most apparent with Craig appearing to derive much from the elements in the illustration on page 82. Other elements in Craig's work owe their origins to Blake, Caldecott, Crane and Daniel Maclise. These were childhood influences, later to become useful in his bookplate designs, a necessary source of income. Craig's interest in what he termed Crane's "coloured magic" probably led him also to experiment with colour, a notable example, Henry Irving, being featured in The Studio, whilst others appeared in Craig's own journal, The Page, which commenced publication in 1898. Like some other artists and writers both before and since, Craig originated his own publishing ventures in order to further his own views and expose his own cuts. No less than 230 boxwood blocks were cut by Craig for the short-lived "Page". Originally a monthly, this became a quarterly in 1899 and despite a plea for support from the Studio
magazine which stated that the prints alone were each "worth more than the nominal cost of the magazine", it failed.

All Craig's wood-engraved work was creative. He belonged to that small band of engravers working at the turn of the century whom Garrett, in an otherwise imperceptive book, excellently pinpoints as "transitional", carrying the aesthetics of the time and the changing order in art into wood-engraving.

Although Craig liked small engravings, "a large bookplate is an absurdity", and the numerous black-line townscape headpieces are amongst his most beautiful engravings, he was fully justified in tackling larger pictures, as his Hamlet demonstrated. The Hamlet was no mere picture book. Craig's interest in typography and harmony in book design stemmed from The Page of 1898 where he selected type from commercially available founts setting his woodcuts within the printed page to produce "one of the most beautiful magazines of the 'nineties" in contrast to "William Morris's elaborately costly dead things".

Craig's second intensive period of wood-engraving started with the first issue, in March 1908, of his folio monthly magazine The Mask. The early years of this journal contain many of Craig's best wood-engravings. Later issues had the impressions printed from metal and after 1911 the magazine continued in small quarto format for a further two years. Macfall maintains that Craig's wood engravings for
the Mask were "little masterpieces". Notwithstanding, the wood engravings themselves were insufficient to sustain the self-laudatory periodical. Nevertheless, the issue of October 1911 covered the return of Craig to England and leaves doubt of Craig's high status in international stage design. Significantly, therefore, Craig's major piece of book production welded the two arts in a truly magnificent book, the Cranach Press Hamlet.

Craig admitted to an obsession with Hamlet dating back to "long before 1894". Shortly after this he was influenced by Nicholson's poster of Hamlet "stencilled time after time on brown paper" and in 1900-1901 his involvement with stage design brought him into contact with Harry Kessler, a German Count, later to found the Cranach Press and give Craig his big opportunity. Twenty-two years prior to this however, Craig's first practical involvement with the Shakespearian tragedy had its genesis in some model stages and puppets which he developed in order to experiment with Greek drama. From this he moved to Hamlet, testing models of his new scenery and envisaging the results being printed in "a fine book". Advertised in The Mask in July 1908, the project was never developed. About this time, Craig first inked one of his simple "two-dimensional" wooden puppets, producing the first of his unique prints in this idiom. At the invitation of Stanislavsky, Craig visited Moscow to help the Moscow Art Theatre stage Hamlet, a production which was not shown to the public until 1912. In Russia, more model figures
were made, this time for Hamlet, to demonstrate movement and placement to the actors. These figures were seen by Kessler whose enthusiasm is well remembered by Gordon Craig's son Edward, later as Edward Carrick to become an eminent wood engraver in his own right. Looking at the figures of two fencers, Kessler remarked that they would look fine on opposite pages of a book as Hamlet and Laertes fighting. From these beginnings was to emerge what Frankin described as the Cranach Hamlet being "truly a theatre without voice" with Craig's illustrations being extensions to rather than illustrations of the text. Kessler arranged for Craig to have type with which to experiment. The long gestation of the project has been dealt with in considerable detail by Edward Craig. When the project finally matured, with both German and English editions in 1929 and 1930 respectively, the outcome was one of printings' finest achievements. A total of 75 wooden blocks were used to complement Edward Johnston's type designs, which like Craig's blocks, had taken over fifteen years to perfect, one of the longest book production programmes since the invention of movable type.

This masterpiece of integrated book design lacks excitement only in the binding which was in grey paper boards with linen buckram spine and paper label. In addition to the involvement of Kessler in the typographical arrangement, a galaxy of famous artists and printers were involved. Eric Gill cut the title with Edward Prince cutting
the type designs of Johnston, followed by G T Friend after Prince's death. The paper was made of pure hemp fibre and linen by a process devised by Aristide and Gaspard Maillol in conjunction with Kessler. Amongst the presswork supervisors was J H Mason.

Craig was certainly capable of following his own written precepts in respect of his art for this book. "The illustrator should avoid all the swell moments of whatever book he is to illustrate and should do his best to supplement ... just those things and just those moments not mentioned by the author." Other projects planned by Craig and Kessler for the Cranach Press included A Midsummer Night's Dream, which never materialised, and Robinson Crusoe, which eventually came to fruition under other auspices fifty years later. Of Kessler, Craig in later years said that "he was the only man who helped me - he never failed me".

Possibly more than any other book of modern times, the Cranach Hamlet approaches total harmony between text, paper and illustration. Whilst the Nonesuch Genesis is held up as a perfect example of balance, this was achieved simplistically by Francis Meynell five years prior to Kessler's masterpiece by using Koch's Neuland typeface to match Paul Nash's intense black wood-engravings. A far greater number of elements had to be brought together by Kessler and Craig in order to obtain the same balance,
amongst which were two typefaces, one of which in two sizes, and the use of black ink for the text, etc, with red ink for each page heading. Unlike the Genesis, with its text on verso and illustration on recto of the double-page spread or opening, the Hamlet's illustrations never occupy the full page; only occasionally are matched and are printed in differing weights of ink on the page. Yet there is not a single opening that is imperfect in colour.

Much of Craig's work is printed other than in dense black and yet this harmonises perfectly with Johnston's black letter which was based upon that of Fust and Schoeffer as used in the Mainz Psalter. Many of the illustrations are from the flat wooden figures Craig was so fond of producing, either printed in light or heavy black with slight whiteline detailing; perhaps the outline of an arm being delineated in this manner. The confidence of the designers is well demonstrated by the first illustrated double-page spread with black-line and white-line "puppets" facing and providing a perfect match. Those illustrations demonstrating the theatrical sets are generally made up of horizontal and vertical lines laid down from sticks derived from 'printers' furniture. Possibly the ultimate is black and white wood engraving technique demonstrated by the set on page 94 which is printed almost in grey rather than black with the two principals inserted into the set in black. This is an astonishing manifestation of imagination and dexterity.
Like Ricketts and Shannon, Craig was fond of the tondo and a number of examples occur in Hamlet, one, on page 68, being an intelligent use of the broken tondo to introduce variation. The use of colour occurs twice only and then so slightly as not disturb the balance but to amuse. A pale blue panel occurs within the design on p 126 and the firmament on p 169 contains the occasional red star. Many of Craig's pictures are made up of separate elements, echoing the use of printer's ornaments to construct pictures as, e.g., in the Nonesuch Press Iliad and Odyssey.

More than most, Craig possessed great subtlety and sensitivity, these qualities turning John Buckland Wright towards engraving. In addition to influencing a number of generations of engravers through his long involvement, and forming a link in the chain of creative engraver draughtsmen between Blake on the one hand, and Gill, the Nash brothers and David Jones on the other, Craig founded a dynasty. His son, Edward Carrick, became a distinguished wood-engraver and illustrator with grandson John currently having engravings printed at the Whittington Press.

Gordon Craig's Robinson Crusoe engravings were not published in book form until 1979 when they appeared in an expensive limited edition. As with Hamlet, this project occupied Craig over many years, and like Wilkie Collins, Craig found Defoe's work to contain a homespun philosophy particularly suited to his own needs. He discussed the
project with Max Beerbohm who encouraged him to write about Robinson Crusoe and then illustrate his own writings rather than merely illustrate Defoe's descriptive writing. In the end he did both. Whilst Crawhall influences are not discernible in Hamlet, they reappear in the Crusoe, notably in the large group of "mask cuts", which were intended to "mirror Crusoe's feelings during his twenty-eight lonely years on the island". The remainder of the engravings, which range in size from 16.5 x 11.5 cm down to cuts of a few millimetres square, are in the theatrical tradition of Hamlet, although less abstract. The cave scenes are both extremely fine and Craig's highly original initials are good examples of creative design. The letter A for example is a simple tent formed by a piece of cloth slung over a horizontal pole, the letter being an integral part of the composition rather than a superimposition. The initials themselves are evidence of Craig's idiosyncratic behaviour as the text forms one continuous narrative.

Considering Craig's enthusiasm for the text, the illustrations are surprisingly restrained in contrast with the ebullience of those of John Lawrence for the Folio Society version of 1972. Here Lawrence's broad sweeping linocuts carry on Crawhall's work in the Broadside tradition of illustration. Surprising too, is that having commenced the series in 1924, he was unable to bring the work to a conclusion, as is obvious from a study of the 1979 edition. Designed by Bernard Roberts using J H Mason's
Imprint typeface, this impressive posthumous monument to Craig fails principally because the illustrations are insufficient in number to make any impression on the text and whilst it is known that Craig had a say in the total design of Hamlet, his influence here is unavoidably absent. Would Craig have allowed, for example, the block of Crusoe's footprint, so obviously cut to fit the right hand lower corner of a recto, to be placed one-quarter of the way down the left hand column of a double column page? Nevertheless, Craig's blocks have been an important contribution to the development of twentieth century wood-engraving and it is helpful to have them assembled as such, the book being printed from line blocks as Craig intended. Impressions were taken from wood-blocks by Craig and sold as individual prints long before the book was published and examples of these are mounted into the copies of the limited edition.

Of the artists involved in this transitional movement in wood-engraving, Frank Brangwyn's contribution is the most enigmatic. Not only was he a prolific designer and engraver but he was also an experimenter with both woodcut and wood-engraving. By the time his wood-engravings were being published in such journals as The Venture and the Dome, Brangwyn, together with his fellow Celtic romanticist Augustus John, was dominating English painting. A master-craftsman who was prolific in many media, Brangwyn both cut his own designs and employed others to engrave, although a study of H G Webb's cut from Brangwyn's design, the
Printing Press, shows a technique of sure, sharp, wedge-shape cuts indistinguishable from the work of Brangwyn's own hand. Like Nicholson, Brangwyn's work was generally large, and in common with Nicholson, worked broadly on the endgrain of the wood, although the flat areas noticeable in Nicholson's work are absent. In common with Fraser, it is often difficult to distinguish between pen drawing and engravings in Brangwyn's work, this is highlighted by the Seaside Sketch, which appears to be a rapid sketch with the reed-pen when reproduced in book form, yet is clearly a wood-engraving when studied as a proof.

The characteristic of a Brangwyn wood-engraving is that of releasing light from the dark block. Whether his work is large or small, the qualities of strength, fertility and harmony are always present and, in releasing light, Brangwyn used his enormous power to bring out a light of such intensity as to be almost blinding in certain of his prints. Often the light source is the sun, positioned in various places, high and low in the designs, which even if small, give an impression of immensity. Like Sleigh, Brangwyn printed some of his cuts both in black and white and with one additional colour, as for example Reapers. Brangwyn's experiments with shapes included squares, circles and rectangles, some of the latter taken to extremes. Certain of these cul-de-lamps are in excess of 15 cm in breadth whilst barely 1 cm high.

Like Craig, Brangwyn was evidently fascinated by masks, although his are less mysterious and more obviously terrifying.
More reassuring are the prints of Bruges, Brangwyn's birthplace.

Again like Gordon Craig, Brangwyn was a prolific bookplate designer and many of these were printed direct from the wood, some of the seventy or more designs being put together as a book. Yet Brangwyn was obviously happier when working on a larger scale. A superb woodcut for the first issue of Form, a scene from the Stations of the Cross, measured 19 x 32 cm, although "reduced to 5" for J O'L (John O'London's). Brangwyn later tackled this delicate subject in depth, his technique avoiding the "crystalline severity" of others. Equally large, and cut also for Form, was Exodus. Like many similar magazines devoted to the arts, Form started brilliantly, faded after a few issues and eventually failed totally after a second start, probably due to the fact that there was more bad writing and illustration than good.

Furst recognised Brangwyn's affinity with Craig and Nicholson: "The concatenation is via James Pryde", at the same time pointing out the similarity of technique between Brangwyn the painter and Brangwyn the wood-engraver in that the short nervous stabs of the burin were analogous to the short stabbing touches of his brushes on huge canvases.

The illustrations for Belgium, published by Kegan Paul in 1916, were cut by H G Webb and C W Moore, probably because
Brangwyn was much in demand and short of time. As a creative wood-engraver Brangwyn could engrave with the best, although Laver confused his wood-engravings with woodcuts because "they have none of the finicky work of some wood-engravings". Brangwyn's true woodcuts were done on the plank by Urushibara from the master's watercolour drawings, using up to fifty separate printings to produce true facsimile.

Although Brangwyn's greatest influence on graphic art was through his famous and colourful lithographed posters, especially for the railway companies, nevertheless his wood-engraving was formidable and popular. With Nicholson, Pryde and Craig, he was able to act as a necessary counterweight to the pretty and delicate work beginning to appear in some of the art schools.
CHAPTER SIX

WOOD-ENGRAVING - THE MODERN MOVEMENT AND BEYOND
David Jones, whose early wood-engravings owe much to the chapbook style, was, as an artist, in the great English tradition of Blake and Rossetti. With the widespread acclamation of his long poems In Parenthesis and Anathemata, Jones is now regarded as one of the major figures in modern English art and letters. Like his friend Eric Gill, Jones had skills in many arts. Both were eminent in wood-engraving and lettering, although in differing styles. Jones came into contact with wood-engraving shortly after the end of the 1914-18 War in which he had served with the army. He joined the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic at Ditchling in Sussex where he was to live with Eric Gill and his family. Jones was taught the craft by Desmond Chute whilst also having the benefit of John Beedham's monograph on the subject which was published by the Guild's St Dominic's Press in 1920 with an introduction by Gill.

Of the minor private presses operating during the Depression years of the 1920's, the St Dominic's was "the most private and at the same time the most commercial (and certainly the most individual)". It was natural therefore that the obvious method of providing illustrations for the Press without the use of mechanical processes was wood-engraving. Amongst its early work was a periodical, The Game, to which Jones was soon contributing engravings. When Gill left for Capel-y-ffin in 1924, Jones accompanied him. The engravings which Jones cut at Ditchling continued.
to be used long after his departure from Ditchling. An early chunky cut of a Dominican monk appeared respectively on the title pages of Pilate, a passion play, 1928, St Dominic, a play, 1929, and Le Boeuf et l’Ane, a marionette play published in 1930. Perhaps this was because many of the wood-engravings prepared for the press were less than distinguished.

Jones' wood-engraving was created almost entirely within the 1920's and this early heavily-bordered example has the vigour of Crawhall although more refined. That Jones was familiar with the broadside and chapbook tradition was certain as he provided drawings for Poetry Bookshop publications which included at least one broadside. Also, throughout the 1920's, Hilary Pepler, who founded the St Dominic's Press, issued a steady stream of broadsides and penny tracts, although the Small Rhyme Sheet series, of which the anonymous poem On the Lawyer is an example, is in extreme contrast to the ebullient efforts of Claud Lovat Fraser and obviously intended for less worldly patrons.

Within a comparatively short timescale, David Jones' wood-engravings developed from apparently simple, uncontrived pictures to the full flowering of his art in this medium demonstrated through the cycle of engravings to the Chester Play of the Deluge, published by Robert Gibbings at the Golden Cockerel Press in 1927. This was his last major essay in the craft. His painting continued and increasingly
he turned his attention to lettering of which Philip Lowery said that "it holds together in the most solid yet most precarious of ways". This statement equally applies to the Deluge wood-engravings. As the Anathemata is regarded as the apotheosis of Jones' poetry, so the Deluge illustrations have established themselves as the highest development of his wood-engraving. The climb to this point can be traced through his earlier involvements with the Golden Cockerel Press. The first of these was with the edition of Gulliver's Travels which appeared in December 1925. Many of the cuts are full of wit and humour, echoing the chapbook style but demonstrating great incisiveness. In particular, those of Gulliver after Shipwreck and The Woman Pickpocket are outstandingly successful.

Prior to the publication of the second of his Golden Cockerel titles, The Book of Jonah, Jones went to stay with the Benedictine monks of Caldy, off the Pembrokeshire coast and Hills suggests that Jones' engravings and paintings gained much from the understanding of light which he gained there. He was able to repeat this visit prior to the publication of the Deluge, also a Biblical sea story. Traces of the chapbook style are still apparent in the Book of Jonah, particularly in the Whale engraving.

Up to the publication of the Chester Play of the Deluge, Jones' wood-engravings were, in the main, contained within borders. He does not appear to have attempted to take a design into the text. The Deluge cycle is no
exception, although borders are not present. These ten engravings have great power and were totally different from contemporary work. Their importance was quickly recognised despite the indifferent impressions caused by a decision not to dampen the hand-made paper due to shortage of time. Writing nine years later, Christopher Sandford emphasised the controversial nature of the engravings which "in the opinion of some ... are the greatest achievement of the Press." The opportunity to see these engravings in their full majesty occurred fifty years after the publication of the Golden Cockerel edition with a new version from Douglas Cleverdon's Clover Hill Editions which adequately refuted Sandford's claim that "owing to his shallow engraving of the wood, these blocks are virtually unprintable. Artists please mark my words - when engraving for publishers, scrap your thinnest tools and cut deep". The Clover Hill Editions production of 1977 was printed by Will Carter at the Rampant Lions Press using the Golden Cockerel typeface on a different version of the text. This had not been available in 1927, the first use of Gill's typeface being at the Golden Cockerel Press in 1931. Prior to that date, Caslon Old Face was used invariably by Gibbings.

The cycle of engravings for the Chester Play of the Deluge tells the story of Noah graphically enough for the text to be dispensed with. Comparison with the Nonesuch Press Genesis of three years earlier, illustrated by Paul
Nash, is inevitable. Where Francis Meynell exactly balanced Nash's picture with a page of text in Rudolph Koch's heavy Neuland type, Cleverdon has picture opposite type, picture and type on the same page and also two illustrations facing each other. Each of the ten illustrations contains a wealth of detail with several different activities taking place simultaneously and conveys a tremendous sense of movement. As would be expected from a deeply religious artist, there is a wealth of symbolism which, in the 9th illustration, the Exploration of the Dove, has been encapsulated by Nicolette Gray as "growth, newness, stability, movement". In this engraving also, David Jones' technique in engraving the waves manages at the same time to show the emerging mountain. The treatment here is in sharp contrast to that in the 7th engraving, where the engulfing waves remind one of the colour woodcuts of Hokusai.

Published almost simultaneously with the Chester Play of the Deluge was Llyfr y Pregeth-wr (the Book of Ecclesiastes) at the Gregynog Press, with frontispiece and title page engravings by Jones. The large wood-engraved frontispiece is a complex design with obvious imagery and symbolism. Harrop condemns it as "competent but dull, heavy and ill-suited to the remainder of the book".

As with other members of the Guild, Jones and Gill were against limited editions of engravings which resulted frequently in the defacement or destruction of the block or plate. Yet Jones, unlike Gill, found his wood-engraved
book illustration work almost entirely within the Private Press sector. As a result, his work in this medium was seen mainly by collectors and he was, therefore, less influential than would have otherwise been the case. The output of the Private Presses, then as now, was ignored by all but a few of the public library systems. Certainly the limited editions of the Golden Cockerel and Gregynog Presses were beyond the pocket of all but the students with independent means.

Nevertheless, the Golden Cockerel Press, from the time of its purchase in 1924 by Robert Gibbings from its founder Harold Taylor, was responsible for underpinning the continuance of the English wood-engraved tradition. The heavy emphasis on wood-engraved illustration was sustained when Gibbings sold the Press to Newbery, Sandford and Rutter in 1933, although the printing was carried out from this time at the Chiswick Press as the maintenance of its own equipment and employment of skilled men had become impossible. In addition to the contribution made to its reputation by David Jones, that of Jones' "master", Eric Gill, was formidable. At the Press, the "harmonious marriage of wood-engravings to type counted for so much" and Gill more than anyone as both letterer and illustrator understood this. In addition to creating the Golden Cockerel typeface, a derivative from his successful Monotype Perpetua, Gill illustrated some of its finest books.
Robert Gibbings and Eric Gill were the unquestioned leaders in black line wood-engraving subsequent to the end of World War One. Gill's sureness with the burin and purity of line set him apart from his competitors in this idiom. As with the wood-engravings of the Deluge, however, Gill's work in black-line is controversial, the decorative borderwork being particularly provocative. The apparent naivety in much of Gill's wood-engraving owes more to primitive Christian imagery than to street literature, although one of his earlier published wood-engravings, Dumb Driven Cattle, from the title-page of The Devil's Devices, published in 1915 by the Hampshire House Workshops is firmly rooted in the chapbook tradition. A further happy example, Parlers, appeared on page 27 of God and the Dragon, a little book of rhymes by H D C Pepler in 1917 and again two years later in Aspidistras and Parlers, one of the Rhyme Booklets of the St Dominic's Press. During his nine years at Ditchling, Gill produced over two hundred engravings, many being used on more than one occasion by the Press.

By 1920 commercial publishers were beginning to use creative wood-engraved illustration in their books but this development moved slowly. It was no idle boast of Christopher Sandford that "it is an undying satisfaction to the Golden Cockerel to be able to encourage and advise talented engravers, and, by displaying their work to best advantage, to build up for them the reputations they deserve."
In its decade under the direction of Robert Gibbings, Eric Ravilious, Blair Hughes-Stanton, Agnes Miller Parker and John Nash along with Jones and Gill became known through the commissions which they received from the Press. Gill's move to the remote Capel-y-ffin was sustained chiefly by wood-engraving. "It was during that period that the Golden Cockerel Press came to the fore and gave me a lot of work".

As a wood-engraver, Gill's impeccable technique and understanding of typography and lettering contributed considerably to the success of his major books for the Golden Cockerel. John Nash and David Jones were better artists, but as can be seen from the Chester Play of the Deluge, this in itself was no guarantee of a fine book. In addition to the design of the Golden Cockerel typeface, Gill contributed text, initials, decorations or illustrations to nineteen Golden Cockerel Press books, plus additional material for its ephemeral publications. Amongst his early successes were Enid Clay's Sonnets and Verses with eight wood-engravings, which was "crowned" by the Double Crown Club in 1925 and the Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi of 1926, with wood-engravings and initials, which was chosen by the British Museum for its Exhibition of Books Illustrating British and Foreign Painting, 1919-1929.

During his ownership of the Press, Gibbings considered four of his books sufficiently important to justify printing
a few copies of each on vellum. Each of these was illustrated by Gill. The first, Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, of which 225 copies were issued, 6 on vellum, contained 70 wood-engraved letters, borders and illustrations and was also issued in the United States by Random House with illustrations slightly reduced in size photomechanically. Speaight pointed out that the etiolated borders do not match the earthy nature of the text and Rothenstein further demonstrated the incongruity of "rich women of flesh and blood reclining upon the formal leaves of almost heraldic plants". Nevertheless, it was Golden Cockerel's most ambitious work to that date, and a tour-de-force. The second title, Keats' Lamia was illustrated by the proprietor and had seventeen initials by Gill. This was published in 1928 and was followed by Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in four volumes, published between February 1929 and August 1930. This, by far the most substantial production of the Golden Cockerel Press so far, contained some three hundred and sixty engraved pieces by Gill. This was shown alongside the Passion in the British Museum exhibition. This, possibly the most publicised of the Golden Cockerel books, was surpassed with the appearance of The Four Gospels in November 1931. As with the Canterbury Tales, the presence of Gill's idiosyncratic borders irritates and in some cases detracts from the illustration. The major problem appears to be that the sinewy leaves lack form and are too heavy for the stem. Nevertheless the integration of letter and illustration as, for example, in Christ at Emmaus has never
been surpassed. Altogether, this book took the greater part of Gill's time in 1931. Unlike the Canterbury Tales, it had the advantage of the availability of Gill's 18 pt Golden Cockerel typeface to accompany the sixty blocks.

Cleverdon considered the Four Gospels to be Gill's masterpiece with "type, lettering, text and illustration totally integrated. Gibbons' successor, Christopher Sandford, considered that "thanks to Eric Gill, the book among all books in which roman type has been best mated with any kind of illustration." In suggesting that this is the Golden Cockerel Book "usually compared with the Doves Bible and Kelmscott Chaucer" he thus carefully avoids any suggestion of ranking. Sandford's extravagant claim that Gill's Golden Cockerel typeface "for dignity and virile beauty ... has no peer" does not obtain universal agreement.

After four years at Capel-y-ffin, Gill removed with his family to Pigott's, near High Wycombe where he set up a Press with his son-in-law René Hague. The Monotype Recorder described this as a Private Press although Gill was quick to refute this by saying "it was not true". They had started a printing business. The real distinction between a Private Press and others is "not in the typographic quality of the work it does or in the typographical enthusiasm of the proprietors but simply in the fact that a private press prints solely what it chooses to print, whereas a 'public' press prints what its customers demand.
of it". Gill went on to observe that many business houses had not failed to benefit from the pioneering work of some of the private presses and in the growing use of creative wood-engraving by commercial publishers, the example set by the Golden Cockerel Press was being emulated.

The firm of Hague and Gill produced a wide range of work, from the modest type specimen book Three Book Types to the sumptuous examples of Gill's book design for George Macy's Limited Editions Club of New York, founded in 1929 to reissue the world's great classics using the ablest designers, illustrators, printers and builders. The Club was a true book club insofar as it regarded the book as an end in and for itself and, unlike a printing society, its texts were not provided on which to build scholarly progress. The first of Gill's books for George Macy was Hamlet. This was designed and illustrated with wood-engravings by Gill and hand-set and hand-printed in Joanna, one of three typefaces named by Gill after his daughters. Bound in pigskin by McKibbin of New York, the volume, at 8" x 5", is modest by Limited Edition Club standards. The wood-engraved title-page contains six vignettes of the play interwoven with the title and Gill's swirling oak leaf pattern. In addition to the title-page and initial letters there are five text wood-engravings, the first two of which are in contrast. The opening of the play is illustrated by a black line
engraving dominated by Gill's elongated figure of the King. A predominantly white line engraving at Act II, Scene I is the least stylised illustration, although the figure of Ophelia is again elongated. The third picture is a tableau of the Dumb-show in Act III, Scene II and shows Gill's white-line work at its very best. The opening to Act IV Scene I is illustrated in black-line, this time showing Hamlet, in the King's words "mad as the sea and the wind" and the illustrations conclude with the final death scene. Unlike the Cranach Press Hamlet, this edition is readable and the sequence of cuts is logical and satisfying. The book is one of the Club's more pleasing examples of total design for its productions leant heavily towards illustration at the expense of other equally important elements. In a letter to Barnett Freedman whose autolithography in colour enhanced many Limited Edition Club titles, Frances Meynell wrote that Macy never understood that illustration is part of the fabric. The illustrations of his books stand out "like advertisement hoardings in a field".

Three years later, in 1936, Gill designed an edition of Sterne's A Sentimental Journey for the Club, illustrated with etchings by another son-in-law, Denis Tegetmeier and printed and bound by Hague and Gill. The third Limited Editions Club book with which he was associated was Henry VIII, a volume in the Club's set of Shakespeare plays designed by Bruce Rogers. Whilst the text was printed in New York,
Gill's illustrations were printed direct from the wood-engravings by R and R Clark of Edinburgh. Here Gill employs the device of dressing the women as twentieth Century whores whilst the male characters are in Tudor costume, the designs freely intertwined with Gill's foliage which is much less formal than usual.

For J M Dent and Co., Gill executed a number of tasks in the nineteen-thirties. Of these, the forty volumes of the New Temple Shakespeare each had individual wood-engraved designs by Gill. Five inches by four inches in format, the set successfully updated the original Temple Shakespeare which had been decorated by Walter Crane. The Aldine Bible which, like the New Temple Shakespeare, was published between 1934 and 1936, was in reality the New Testament only. In four volumes, the book was printed at the Temple Press in Joanna types set by Hague and Gill. Each of the volumes has two full page black line engravings, stylised and full of imagery. In addition, there is a substantial engraving of Christ touching the eyes of the blind man, this printed in a different colour on each of the four dust-wrappers. This production, sold at 5/- per volume in cloth or 7/6d in leather, far surpasses many of the Golden Cockerel books in quality of total book design.

A third book for Dent proved to be one of his most successful exercises in white line engraving. Twenty-Five Nudes, published in 1938 proved to be an outstanding series
of studies in white line. Here, Gill demonstrated the maximum of effect with the minimum use of the burin. The initial letter to the introduction indicates Gill's influence over total design. Similarly, his monograph on Clothes, published by Cape and printed at the Cambridge University Press in 1931 is a finely designed book with an outstanding wood-engraved title-page.

As was the case with Gordon Craig, Eric Gill had a considerable involvement with Harry Kessler and his Cranach Press, providing both initials and illustrations, the latter for one of the three great books of the Press. Canticum Canticorum was published in 1931 with wood-engravings which have much affinity of spirit with those of David Jones for The Chester Play of the Deluge. At least six other Cranach Press titles were planned but abandoned because of Kessler's forced emigration, thus effectively ending Gill's contribution to a press of international nature.

Gill's engravings for Canticum Canticorum are part of the book's perfect harmony as exemplified in the pages ten and eleven. The two columns, each with headings in red have great dignity enhanced by Gill's illustration at the head of the recto with engraved initial beneath. The format, 258 mm x 135 mm, is of the saddleback style used earlier by Ricketts, although not forming a perfect square. The illustrations for the most part appear to be printed from two blocks as a yellow tint shows through certain of the dense engravings. The fine white lines and dots give a
stipple effect and the soft and hard edges of the white line bring strong light into the illustrations.

Both David Jones and Gill were interested in extending the boundaries of wood-engraving. Both men tried their hand at taking intaglio impressions from blocks. In a letter to Desmond Chute, Gill wrote that he was experimenting to see what depth of black he could obtain using this difficult technique. He was sufficiently enthusiastic to contribute an article to The Woodcut entirely devoted to the subject in which he stated that there was no difficulty about the engraving but that especial care must be taken with the inking and the especial disadvantage of an intaglio print was that its size was limited to that of a single block as joints "however tight and close will print".

Gill had been involved with Kessler since 1904 at Insel Verlag. Also working with Kessler at that time were Emery Walker and Edward Johnston, who taught Gill lettering. A fellow pupil of Johnston was Noel Rooke who was to become one of the most influential of all teachers of art. Rooke found drawing for process reproduction to be unsatisfactory and, as a result of discussions with Johnston, turned to wood-engraving. In 1905 he was appointed teacher of book illustration at the Central School of Arts and Crafts and, in 1912, introduced creative wood-engraving into the curriculum against considerable opposition. As a teacher, Rooke was able to influence a whole generation of wood-engravers where Gill, making a living from creative art,
was able only to cope with a limited number of pupils.

Rooke was eminently successful. Amongst his first pupils were Robert Gibbings, Vivien Gribble and Rachel Marshall (Garnett). His part in the creation of what became known as the Modern Movement in wood-engraving was the major one. In tracing the origins of its success Rooke named three major factors. The first was illustrators' dissatisfaction with reprographic wood-engraving where much indifferent craft engraving ruined the illustrators' original conceptions. The second, "of no great account at first, but later became as strong as the first, and finally much stronger" was enthusiasm. This came from the increasing study of early books by students of typography, which in turn brought early woodcuts under the notice of serious artists. The third point was a growing dislike of the "Zinco" photomechanical process. For some illustrators, drawing for process was unsatisfactory and disheartening, not least because bad process work was common and as bad for the artist as the worst commercial reprographic wood-engraving. Rooke's technical knowledge of the principles of wood-engraving was comprehensive and played a great part in creating a generation of outstanding creative wood-engravers who, as a result of the training they received, were technically well-equipped. Rooke's obsession with the defects of line block and half-tone photomechanical processes extended to offset colour reproductions which "are the last word in incompatibility and unsuitability ... it is always better to cut them out of the book."
Rooke's own wood-engraving was competent, pleasant and uneventful. An unusual example of wood-engraving is found in The Old Vicarage, Grantchester, Brooke's Poem published by Sidgwick and Jackson in 1916 where the illustration is made up of two bordered woodblocks on facing pages almost, but not quite, meeting. Both black line and white line techniques are in evidence but as in much of Rooke's work, visual pyrotechnics are absent. However, Rooke demonstrated that lack of texture could be effective and the apparent simplicity of his wood-engravings for the Golden Cockerel Press Nativity masks a thorough understanding of the medium and its best employment in art.

Rooke was invited to contribute wood-engravings for St John Hornby's Ashendene Press. An illustration of the Virgin and Child for a projected edition of Milton's Hymn of the Nativity demonstrates again the homely uneventful interpretation of his subject matter, Christian imagery being entirely absent. Possibly the most forceful example of Rooke's wood-engraving is The Royal Coat-of-arms which he cut for the Central School's war memorial scroll. Concurrently, Rooke produced large coloured prints of great charm from cuts on the plank. Examples of his work were included in Imprint, the first twentieth Century British journal devoted to the raising of standards in printing. Rooke's diagnosis of 'process' as a principal cause of bad book illustration echoed that of Eric Gill, save Gill was even more strongly "revolted by the degradation to which the art of formal drawing has been brought by
photographic 'process' reproduction." Whether or not Rooke agreed with Gill's theory that it was impossible to "stem this commercial degradation until Poverty, Chastity and Obedience take the place of Riches, Pleasure and Laisser-Faire" is not known. Throughout the literature, repeated reference is made to the excellence of Rooke's teaching and the influence he had upon an impressive array of students. Rooke's early experiments succeeded in establishing a new wood-engraving language which revived and revitalised Bewick's white line technique. Rooke's pupils in turn were able to create works of great beauty as they explored this technique to its limits. The growth of creative wood-engraving through the efforts of Rooke was such that, by 1920, there was sufficient interest and motivation amongst certain of those involved to come together in a society. At its fourth meeting, the membership, which included Rooke, Gibbings, Pissarro, Philip Hagreen, Gill, Craig, Sturge Moore, John Nash and Gwen Raverat, agreed that they should be styled The Society of Wood Engravers. The Society's first exhibition was held in November of that year. In that and subsequent equally successful exhibitions, book illustration formed a small part of the whole as there had been considerable growth of artists' proofs as free-standing prints. The prime mover behind the formation of the Society was Robert Gibbings, probably Rooke's foremost pupil who in his own right became a great teacher.

A person of great vigour, Gibbings was yet another example of a wood-engraver of many talents. Printing,
publishing and engraving on the block were preliminaries to a stream of creative writing which resulted in an immensely popular series of travel books in which natural history and the observation of the eccentricities of the human condition were expertly delineated, accompanied by Gibbings' brilliant black and white engravings. The very size of Gibbings' output of blocks, over 1500 being recorded, masks his very real contribution to the opening up of the block to creative art as Gibbings, more than any artist of the twentieth century, brought wood-engraving before the general public. In no way could Gibbings' popularity be attributed to lack of excellence in any respect. Not only did his Golden Cockerel Press provide a platform from which many excellent engravers took off after a successful stay but his work there as a printer led the cataloguer of the 1963 Printing and the Mind of Man Exhibition to describe his greatest achievement as "his successful disciplining of cuts and type into an evenly coloured page". Gibbings was engraving from 1913 until the publication of his last book in 1957.

In his early days, first under Rooke and then after his military service, Gibbings experimented first with pure silhouette and then with pattern. Like Rooke his engravings owed little to drawing, being burin-designed. By 1920 Gibbings had introduced the vanishing line technique where two adjoining white masses lack a distinguishing black line. This can be seen in the large engravings of Malta where the tiers of houses in Melleha and Hamrun have been reduced to 41.
to horizontal, vertical and diagonal shapes of colour and black. In an article on the Society of Wood Engravers (1940) Gibbings firmly stated that the rapid growth of interest in the modern wood-engraving revival was due to artists appreciating the straightforward uncompromising technique which, properly applied, could bring "rich blacks, clear cut whites and sparkling 'half tones'" out of the wood to express precision of thought. Throughout his long career, Gibbings engravings manifested these qualities, avoiding the pitfalls of over exuberance and over elaboration caused by the studied use of white line work involving the multiple graver, a tool much favoured by members of the English Wood-engraving Society. This was a society formed largely from the followers of Leon Underwood who ran a private school of art in the nineteen-twenties.

The power of the wood-engraving as executed by Gibbings led to early commercial recognition. The Imperial Tobacco Company commissioned work in 1920 followed by Messrs Findlater in 1921 for whom Gibbings produced four large (7 1/4" x 5 1/2" approx) illustrations of London's bridges. A series of fourteen engravings for an Orient Line publicity booklet published in 1932, which in proof form are superb examples of Gibbings' direct style, demonstrated his ability to perform top class work for advertising whilst having book work in hand.
Prior to his involvement with the Golden Cockerel Press, which was to keep him busy for a decade, Gibbings was commissioned by Jonathan Cape to produce wood-engraved illustrations to Samuel Butler's Erewhon. In contrast to his later books for commercial publishers, these are often little more than silhouette and Gibbings in retrospect regretted that his desire to produce excellence "put a brake on my ability to do so".

Prior to Gibbings taking over, the Golden Cockerel Press had one wood-engraved book only, this being The Wedding Songs of Edmund Spenser, illustrated by Ethelbert White. Taylor asked Gibbings to illustrate the mildly erotic Lives of Gallant Ladies, the ten engravings to be completed for a fee of one hundred guineas. Almost immediately however, Taylor fell seriously ill and Gibbings purchased the Press in order that his work could be undertaken and the project seen through. In all, Gibbings provided illustrations for twenty-four Golden Cockerel Press books, some of his finest wood-engraved illustrations being published subsequent to his relinquishment of the Press. Not all his book illustration was successful, particularly in the early years of his ownership. Gibbings himself criticised the 1925 publication Samson and Delilah for uneven match of colour. Rather more successful were the engravings to the volumes of the simple short stories by Coppard, The Hundredth Story, published in 1931 and Crotty Shinkwin, 1932. An earlier publication with text and engraving in perfect position and balance was The True Historie of
of Lucian published in 1927. Concurrently with his Golden Cockerel Press work, Gibbings was receiving requests from commercial publishers. Two titles by Viscount Grey, The Fallodon Papers and The Charm of Birds were published by Constable and Hodder respectively, the latter especially successful. Increasingly Gibbings was focusing on nature and travel. Iorana was a happy accident in that Gibbings was commissioned to illustrate a book on the South Seas for Houghton Mifflin to be written by James Norman Hall. Gibbings journey enabled him to produce the required drawings and also others for a story which he himself wrote. This, The Seventh Man, was published by the Golden Cockerel Press in 1930. Subsequently, Hall withdrew from the project leaving Gibbings to write the book. Although this first serious attempt to write failed to satisfy Gibbings - "I hope it will never be reprinted", the present writer considers it a well written and enjoyable book which undoubtedly played a great part in paving the way for the great series of titles he was to write and illustrate for J M Dent. From this point on, the sea or the river is a recurrent theme with Gibbings, enabling him to produce a steady flow of immaculate, crisp, black and white wood-engraved illustrations of great economy of line. Cocoanut Island, another tale of the South Seas, was published by Faber and Faber in 1936. John Graham Convict was also written and illustrated by Gibbings and issued by the same publisher in the following year. In 1938, Penguin Books produced an edition of 50,000 copies of Blue Angels and Whales.
with wood-engravings and other illustrations and text by Gibbings which was issued as a "Special". Not since Victorian times had wood-engraved monographs been issued in such large editions. Gibbings at this time was Art Director of the Penguin Illustrated Classics, a series of volumes illustrated by himself, J R Biggs, Douglas Percy Bliss, Ethelbert White, Clare Leighton, Gertrude Hermes, Gwen Raverat and others. This was one of the two publishing events of the nineteen-thirties which turned the attention of the ordinary reading public on to the wood-engraved illustration. Unfortunately, the quality of paper used in these books did nothing to enhance the reputation of the wood-engraving. The fine white-line engraving of Gertrude Hermes was lost in the crude surface, although Gibbings, who illustrated Herman Melville's Typee, with his bold and simple designs fared better than most. Blue Angels and Whales is an account of Gibbings' underwater sketching of marine life in various parts of the world. Although creative in a way not generally found with the nineteenth century style of wood-engraved natural history illustration, nevertheless there are echoes, particularly in the cuts of seaweed (pps 60-61) and the cross-section of coral (p 105), of the engravings of Edmund Evans for J G Wood's Common Objects of the Seashore and Common Objects of the Microscope, published in 1861 and 1857 respectively. A striking feature of this Penguin Special and also of some of the Penguin Illustrated Classics was the title-page engraving, generally including each artist's version of the Penguin
device. By this time, Gibbings had taken up a teaching appointment at Reading University, laying the foundations for the future development of that institution as a centre of excellence in publishing education.

One of the most notable of the Penguin Illustrated Classics was Poe's Tales of Mystery and Imagination with wood-engravings of great originality by Douglas Percy Bliss, who had made his reputation with The Devil in Scotland, published by Maclehose in 1934. The illustrations in both books stand out in their period for their violence. These are cuts of great power, not seen since the cuts of Brangwyn made some twenty years previously. Bliss, who engraved illustrations for five books only, wrote the definitive history of wood-engraving published by Dent in 1928. This is still a seminal work. Like Gibbings, Bliss went into teaching and enjoys a distinguished reputation as a former Principal of Glasgow College of Art. Whilst Gibbings wrote and illustrated his own books, Bliss illustrated and wrote extensively on the work of other artists. Still, exhibiting as recently as 1980, Bliss had an early encounter with wood-engraved book illustration whilst a student at the Royal College of Art. He was approached by Francis Meynell to hand colour the master copy of Histories or Tales of Past Times told by Mother Goose, the engravings for which were hand-stencilled in water colour at the Curwen Press. For this he received £5. A further commission for the Nonesuch Press followed. Bliss was called upon to design
the title-page border and other arabesque ornaments for
the two-volume edition of Milton's Poems which Meynell
published in 1926. Bliss's first book, Border Ballads,
which he selected and decorated with woodcuts, was
published by Oxford University Press in 1925. This ambitious
work, carried out whilst still a student, has two wood-
engravings printed in red, the remaining thirty-four in
black. Again there is great movement and a restlessness
about the engravings which is generally redolent of twentieth
Century continental wood-cutting rather than wood-engraving.
There is no trace of the gentle British painter/engraver
tradition in wood-engraving which so often finds its
inspiration in the countryside. Border Ballads was printed
by Gerard Meynell's Westminster Press with the text and
illustrations, which are head-and tail-pieces, receiving
fairly even colour, although Bliss eventually gave up
wood-engraved illustration and "made them only for sale
as prints - I was often disgusted to see my blocks over-
inked." Both the Devil in Scotland and Border Ballads
were prepared in dummy form by Bliss without contract in sight.
On completion, he "sallied forth to look for a publisher".
The sequence of letters written to the present writer by
Douglas Bliss throw a great deal of illumination upon the
difficulties of wood-engravers working for commercial
publishers and thus distanced from the printers. On the
matter of over-inking, Bliss writes "my dear friend Eric
Ravilious felt much the same." Gibbings (of all people)
"thought he was doing Ravilious a favour no doubt but they
nearly always over-inked his blocks in the Golden Cockerel books. At the end of his career he was turning to lithography. Had he not died he would have given up wood-engraving."

The strength and spirit of Bliss's wood-engraving is also most apparent in Samuel Johnson's History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia which Dent published in 1926. In addition to the title-page vignette there are nine full-page illustrations and a further sixteen head-and tail-pieces which, in general, are more successful than the larger pictures. Of the full-page engravings, however, that of the author in the character of Imlac the sage (p 33) is particularly imaginative. A sly touch of the artist's wit can be found in the tombstone inscription on p 118, 'ALL BLISS LIES HERE'.

His last wood-engraving for book illustration was carried out in 1951 for the neo-gothic novel The Memoirs of Prince Alexy Haimatoff which the Folio Society published in 1952. The eight full-page wood-engravings here are unexceptional and gain nothing from the saddle-back format of the book. Altogether, Bliss was dissatisfied with his wood-engraving for book illustration, largely because he did not have total control and his magnum opus, Painter's Palace of Pleasure, published by the Cresset Press had 54 line drawings "perfectly wedded to the types, ... but tame." These partially coloured drawings were stencilled with water-colour at the Curwen Press, an effect introduced to
England by Albert Rutherston. Bliss's "dexterous and scholarly treatment" of the subject was not surprising in that, in addition to his art education at Edinburgh under Baldwin Brown and his year at the Royal College of Art under William Rothenstein, he had an Honours degree in English and Rhetoric. Not only is Bliss able to wood-engrave but probably more than any other engraver, is able to express that understanding in the written word as through the block. The key to successful wood-engraving is light. "The artist begins with a juicy black and with every incision brings more light into his world ... Broken dashes and dots suggest the splintering force of light". Bliss believes that the Impressionists' preoccupation with light is shared by perceptive wood-engravers. In a review of ten years work in wood-engraving published in 1934, he vigorously condemned those impressed by the blacks of wood-engraving, especially Sir John Squire who published wood-engravings in the London Mercury over a lengthy period. "The problem of wood-engraving is to get away from the original ground of black as best one may ... progress in the art ... has been away from funereal grimness."

The importance of commercial publishing to the development and technical progress of the wood-engraving was repeatedly stressed by Bliss who pointed out that there was no living to be made from prints, only one London dealer in 1934 dealt in wood-engravings. Technical progress was not obtained from 'occasional' engravers for mastery of the tools occurs only from constant employment. Those with
the talent for book illustration found work and it is from them that technical developments emanated. Amongst publishers who championed the wood-engraved illustration that of Duckworth was notable for being one of the earliest commercial firms to become interested in this form of illustration. This was probably due to Thomas Balston becoming a partner in the firm in 1923. Examples seen are not especially attractive. A typical production was the slim quarto volume of Richard Rowley's poems, *Workers*, with fairly elementary wood-engraved designs by E M O R Dickey, a founder member of the Society of Wood Engravers. The illustrations do little to enhance the indifferent verse. However, Vivien Gribble, Eric Ravilious, Ethelbert White, Robert Gibbings and Clare Leighton were amongst others to whom Duckworth's adventurousness must have been of great encouragement. Paul Nash was also included and Gwen Raverat who, twenty years later was to provide a new device for the firm.

Nash, who was apparently self-taught, had a temporary interest in wood-engraved illustration which, however, was very influential. He commenced wood engraving in 1919 and was elected to the Society of Wood Engravers in 1921. His last dated wood engraved print was in 1930. In those nine years he illustrated a small number of highly significant books. More than any other English wood-engraver of the Modern Movement, Paul Nash was innovative. Influenced by Cubism and Post-Impressionism, his experiences in the first World War profoundly affected his art and these factors
coalesced in both his painting and engraving to give him a highly distinctive style. His early practical training at Bolt Court, the London school which he attended part-time from 1905 led to a respect for and understanding of craftsmanship which stayed with him. During the two years he studied there he fell under the spell of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Paul Nash's work found favour with a number of discerning critics, one of whom was John Drinkwater, the poet and playwright who was then enjoying great popularity. Nash's first book illustrations were wood-engraved for Cotswold Characters, a slight book which had its origins in Drinkwater's stay near Stroud during the 1914-18 War. Of the five wood-engravings, only that of Simon Rodd the fisherman gives any indication of the strength of Nash's engravings yet to come. Cotswold Characters was published in the United States by Yale University Press in 1921. The probable reason for publication in America was the huge popularity there of Drinkwater due to the staging of his play Abraham Lincoln.

In 1922, Heinemann published Places, 7 Prints Reproduced from Woodblocks. This pretentious volume in fact has eight wood-engraved illustrations accompanied by his own prose poems. These engravings are on the grand scale and are amongst the foremost creative cuts of the decade. Perhaps the presence of the human figure is the least successful feature of the pictures and contributes
little, although to state that "they are no more than observers of the natural mysteries surrounding them ... their presence or their absence neither increases nor diminishes its self sufficient existence" is to romanticise beyond credibility. The book has considerable importance for two reasons. The first is that amongst Nash's prose accompaniment there are substantial indications that Nash knew precisely what wood-engraving was all about. The engraving Black Poplar Pond is described "... Blunt shards of pine absorb the falling beams which polished leaf and rounded bole reflect in myriad facets of fierce light." In the second piece, Garden Pond, "light mutilates the trees ... the waters flash", and further to the engraving Winter, Nash wrote "A pallied gleam falls across metal spears". The descriptions are of light and no artist was to surpass Nash at bringing light out of the boxwood block. Secondly, the book was important in that it can be regarded as a model for Genesis, one of the most remarkable books of the inter-war years. Places was a lamentable piece of book design which Postan wrongly criticises for its typographical shortcomings. There is no type in evidence, only a slovenly reproduction script. Yet the power of Paul Nash's engravings, face to face with this heavy black script, probably inspired Francis Meynell to design Genesis, famous for the progressive series of twelve cuts which describe the story of the Creation. These abstract wood-engravings commencing with the black mass of the void with upper corners removed, progressively light up the book and are amongst the most profound examples of the creative
The designs were first conceived as pencil studies with appropriate notes which indicate the tremendous importance which Nash attached to the work. Meynell was considered to have had considerable courage in launching a completely unmarked block, ie The Void, on to a public who were paying handsomely for twelve engravings but who could argue that they only received eleven.

For Duckworth he cut ten wood-engravings for the text and a cover design for Ford Madox Ford's Mr Bosphorus and the Muses, published in 1923. Preceding the Genesis by twelve months, these are slight in comparison. Four illustrations to L A Leroy's Wagner's Music Drama of the Ring, published in 1925, although small in scale, are large in conception and amply reflect the grandeur of the subject. Two books issued in limited editions followed in 1925 and 1928 respectively. Robert Graves' Welchman's Hose was issued by The Fleuron and Tellier's Abd-er-Rahman in Paradise was printed by Robert Gibbings at his Golden Cockerel Press. As with Douglas Percy Bliss, Paul Nash found his greatest opportunity in book illustration with the Curwen's Press's pochoir process. Sir Thomas Brown's Urne Buriall and the Garden of Cyrus was published in 1932 and, although slowly taken up, is now regarded as a milestone in the history of book illustration. Edited and with an introduction by John Carter, the typography was by Oliver Simon and Nash's illustrations were printed from
the artist's hand coloured master set. Nash obviously left
wood-engraved book illustration without regret. "I am just
starting a glorious task . . . Urn Burial . . . 30 drawings
and a cover design." This enthusiasm was communicated
to Gordon Bottomley, the poet, whose admiration for
Paul Nash's art was exemplified by his reception of Genesis.
"Nobody has ever beaten you at it . . . Blake and Rossetti
would have loved them as I do." Although not universally
liked, for many aficionados of the wood-engraving prefer
the pastoral or horticultural scene, it is hard to dispute
the claim that the engravings "raised the art of wood-
cutting to a new artistic level." Nash was probably the
only British wood-engraver of the nineteen-twenties to
achieve success with abstract art.

In one of the few references to the craft of wood-
engraving in his writings, Paul Nash rationalised the
processes of illustration. There are two methods, direct,
(i.e. autographic), and indirect, i.e., involving photography.
The processes can be divided another way, i.e., economic and
less economic. The economic easily combine with type
whilst the less economic incur complications or require
separate printing. "There is only one process that is both
direct and economic, i.e., wood-engraving." What Nash failed
to say was that the printing of wood-engraving along with
the text was difficult to do really well. Much care was
needed in the inking, there was constant danger of the
block breaking under pressure, electros were safer for
long runs and there was a long tradition through the nineteenth-century serial publications of wood-engraved illustrations being printed on better quality paper and inserted as plates.

Four years younger than his brother Paul who encouraged him to take up wood-engraving, John Nash was born in 1893 and had no formal art training. Gaining quick recognition as a painter, he was elected in 1914 to the London Group and in 1921 to the New English Art Club. His early London acquaintances included Frederick Etchells, a member of the Vorticist Group, who was to play a significant role in John's most important wood-engraved book. His early work included a steady output of line drawing of a comic nature and contributions to the Chapbooks and Rhymesheet Series of the Poetry Bookshop. It is hardly surprising therefore that his wood-engraved illustrations to the Golden Cockerel Press Directions to Servants are in the chapbook tradition. In the same year, 1925, came his first work for Frederick Etchells. This was a series of nine wood-engravings for an edition of Ovid's Elegies. These are in the same tradition, "produced with the rough vigour of the sixteenth-seventeenth century woodcuts." The second of his books for Etchells and Macdonald appeared in 1927, also in the Haslewood Books series. In themselves unremarkable, if slightly pretentious, examples of book production, nevertheless Poisonous Plants Deadly Dangerous and Suspect contained twenty full page
botanical illustrations of great power and beauty which are unsurpassed in twentieth-century wood-engraving. The cover design, a headpiece and a tailpiece were also wood-engraved by Nash who was also responsible for the introduction. Totally different in conception and execution to Genesis, both books invariably feature in any major exhibition of wood-engraved illustration, and notably in the National Book League Exhibition of 1949 and in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts/Harvard College Library Exhibition of 1961.

John Nash turned increasingly towards the English garden and countryside in his illustration, although he was moving steadily away from wood-engraving. In 1930 he provided six full-page engravings for Celeste, a book of poems by Sidney Schiff, pseudonym Stephen Hudson, published by the Blackamore Press.

As with Bliss and his brother Paul, he found himself involved with the Curwen Press stencil process, although in his case, Spenser's Shepheards Calender was printed on a grey hand-made paper which resulted in a poor book. Two books for the Golden Cockerel Press published in 1931 and 1935 respectively were his last major contributions to wood-engraved book illustration. T F Powys's short story When Thou was Naked was followed by H E Bates' Flowers and Faces. Although, still powerful, the flower pictures in Celeste and Flowers and Faces are less dynamic than in Poisonous Plants and his subsequent line drawings of
botanical subjects show a more gentle approach, as for example in the Limited Editions Club Natural History of Selborne, issued in 1972. This was printed in 1972 by W S Cowell of Ipswich and is a majestic book.

John Nash's attraction to wood-engraving was neatly summarised in a review which he wrote of Bliss's History of Wood Engraving. In declaring that spontaneity was incompatible with wood-engraving he said "the graver cannot be handled loosely. Engraving demands a tight control ... and the engraver should know exactly what he is about to do ... Here Chance .. happy or otherwise, are the last elements to depend upon." Like Gibbings, Nash saw there were no 'happy accidents' in wood-engraving, where the graver and not the brush was the artist's tool. Lewis offers an interesting theory that he gave up wood-engraving for books when the private presses ran out of steam, although by 1935 a number of commercial publishers were following the example set by Duckworth twelve years previously. Whilst the Golden Cockerel, Ashendene, Gregynog and, to a lesser extent, the Nonesuch Presses had issued a steady but comparatively small number of wood-engraved books which must have had considerable influence, another major factor in bringing the importance of creative wood-engraving before a wider audience was Duckworth's publication of Campbell Dodgson's review, Contemporary English Woodcuts. This drew particular attention to the work of Noel Rooke and his pupils. Many had a brief flirtation with the book
although continuing to engrave boxwood for single prints for a lifetime. One such was Mabel Annesley whose illustrations to Songs from Robert Burns, published by Gibbings at the Golden Cockerel in 1925 and for Richard Rowley's Apollo in Mourne, Duckworth, 1926, are amongst her best work. Another of Rooke's early pupils was Rachel Marshall who later married David Garnett, one of the three founding partners of the Nonesuch Press. The story of David Garnett's Lady into Fox, published in 1921 by Chatto and Windus has been told elsewhere. Prior to her marriage, Rachel Marshall had three modest children's books to her credit at Chatto, so that she was a natural choice to illustrate the novella. The book was illustrated as Garnett wrote the story, his wife offering encouragement and advice as she worked with the burin. This arrangement was probably unique since the lapse of the nineteenth century serial where the illustrator often worked one instalment behind another. Over 500,000 copies were sold subsequent to the first impression appearing in October 1922, thus easily making Rachel (Ray) Garnett the best selling creative wood-engraver of the Modern Movement. The twelve illustrations are deliberately rudimentary, some evocative of the chapbook, others more formal. The frontispiece, for example, is a full page arrangement of man and wife flanking the fireplace. Even here, however, the textures produced by the burin are deliberately crude. That of the vixen carrying her cub (p 82) could equally be the work of Joseph Crawhall. It is arguable that the success of this book
must have contributed considerably to the expansion of creative wood-engraving in the nineteen-twenties, although the general trend was by then towards more sophisticated work with the burin. Indeed J Lawrence Mitchell goes further and writes that it "certainly contributed as much to the revival ... as the efforts of the private presses." The successful formula was repeated for Garnett's second book Man at the Zoo, this time with six illustrations by his wife. The Sailor's Return, published in 1925, carried only a wood-engraved frontispiece. The head and shoulder of HRH Princess Gundemey is a cut of broad black and white areas, with scant detail indicated by tentative white line.

In 1931 Chatto published David Garnett's story The Grasshoppers Come with six wood-engravings by his wife. None particularly distinguished and the locust on the title-page lacks the finesse and beauty that a similar black line Gibbings cut would possess. In addition to illustrating her husband's work, she cut five blocks for T F Powys's book Black Bryony, which was published in 1923. For Powys's Mr Tasker's Gods she cut one block and the title page vignette for his White Paternoster appeared in 1930. All were published by Chatto. For other publishers she produced line drawings, with the exception of William Jackson whose first title in the Furnival Books series, The Key of the Field by T F Powys, has a fine full-page wood-engraved frontispiece, with the broad black line delineating broad
areas of black and white, a late book illustration which was probably her best. Unlike another of Rooke's early pupils Robert Gibbings, her technique did not develop greatly and in this she was paralleled by a fellow student and friend.

In addition to Rachel Marshall and Lady Mabel Annesley, another well-bred young lady who became a pupil of Rooke was Vivien Gribble who was a member of his original wood-engraving class in 1912. Also teaching at the Central School at that time was J H Mason for whom she drew and cut five blocks for Three Psalms, a student production published by the Day Technical School of Book Production of the LCC Central School of Arts and Crafts in 1912. Compared with her fellow students, Vivien Gribble's output of wood-engravings was small, but nevertheless unique. Of all twentieth century wood-engravers, her work is instantly identifiable. From 1912 until her death in 1932 her style did not change.

Three of her books were published by Duckworth in 1922, 1923 and 1924 respectively. Sixe Idillia of Theocritus was the first of these. The background to this, and the remainder of these early books published by Duckworth was that in 1922, when the firm was investigating the viability of the wood-engraved illustrated book, artists were invited to submit examples from which Campbell Dodgson made a selection. These were published in Contemporary English Woodcuts and for some, commissions followed. In the case
of Vivien Gribble, Duckworth took over thirty wood-engravings for her first book. Butler states that Miss Gribble, who by this time was married to an affluent barrister, was suspected of assisting with the financing of the publication of her work, which might have resulted in a lack of invitation to join the Society of Wood Engravers. The early wood-engravings are characterised by white space, the dominant factor in all her engravings, and a thick uniform black line, firmly cut. With these sparing elements, Vivien Gribble conveyed a sense of the pastoral life at least equal to those engravers whose skill with tone gave their illustrations far greater versatility.

Sixe Idillia was the first edition-de-luxe issued by Duckworth and was devised by Thomas Balston, reprinting the Elizabethan translation first printed at Oxford in 1588. The cuts were matched by the use of an American typeface based upon a Venetian model and of the issue of 380 copies, twenty-five were hand-coloured by the artist. It was printed at the Cloister Press, Heaton Mersey at a time when Stanley Morison was typographical adviser and Walter Lewis, later Printer at Cambridge University Press, was in charge.

Her second title, The Odes of Keats, was printed at the Curwen Press in a limited edition of one hundred and seventy copies on handmade unbleached Arnold paper and also in an unlimited edition. Because of her style, Vivien Gribble's wood-engravings reproduced brilliantly on machine-
made paper, demonstrating the real practicability of wood-engraving as cheap illustration, ie, the engraving could be printed within the forme alongside or integrated into the type without special treatment. Although dismissed as "delightful decorations" by John Squire, editor of the London Mercury, there is considerable sensitivity in these stylised pictures, adequately conveying the moods of the poems. A Grecian urn decorates the title page and cover. The engravings for the most part can be identified with lines of the text. For example, page 6 of the text, Ode on a Grecian Urn is headed by an illustration to the line "Leads't thou that heifer lowing at the skies." The seated female figure with head dropped on knees which is the tondo head-piece to Ode to a Nightingale (page 8) perfectly illustrates the commencement of that poem. Two of Vivien Gribble's nudes accompany the Ode to Psyche, the full-page engraving on page 12 having tone on the body introduced by sparse but close parallel lines. Dancing figures occur in the illustrations to Keats, as in the Six Idillia.

Tennyson's Songs from The Princess again drew from the reviewers the term 'decorator'. As Vivien Gribble, though thoroughly conservative in her subject matter, stayed with the simple black line illustration in the tradition of the artist of the Hypnerotomachia and Charles Ricketts, so she became further estranged from the mainstream of wood-engraving which, by the mid-nineteen-twenties, was
in full spate. The illustrations offer an interesting contrast to those of Daniel Maclise for the same book published sixty years previously. By this time, although Vivien Gribble's work was well-known, the most that the reviewers could find to say was summed up in the Bookman's Journal. "The work on the wood is confident and effective, for while the designs are classical in their simplicity they are full of feeling." Despite the extreme rigour of her designs, there is no lack of fluency in Vivien Gribble's work. The line appears to grow naturally from her tools whereas the line of certain other illustrators working in the same vein appears contrived.

Also published in 1924 was the East Anglian novelist R H Mottram's best-selling novel The Spanish Farm, which carried a splendid wood-engraved wrapper by Vivien Gribble, featuring a milkmaid in the farm courtyard. Published by Chatto and Windus, this put her work before a far wider public than the small or limited editions of Duckworth and Co. This successful design was featured in a contemporary Studio review. The milkmaid was a subject also engraved for Campbell Dodgson's review and presaged its use again in her greatest illustrated book, Hardy's Tess of the D'Urbervilles (qv).

A book with a curious bibliographical history is an edition of Cupid and Psyche, translated from the Latin of Apuleius by J H Mason, on which he had been engaged from 209.
1910. In 1916 he asked Vivien Gribble to design and engrave the blocks. For various reasons, Mason was unable to complete the work and it was 1935 before he was able to publish it privately in a small limited edition. The long colophon details the book's history, which rivals Cranach Press titles in the length of its gestation. Compared with her work for Duckworth, the twelve wood-engravings are ordered, geometric arrangements of no great artistic merit. There is little or no movement in the pictures. What is evident, however, is that the artist has been obsessed with the necessity of having perfect symmetry or balance in the designs. The publication of the book was delayed until the November 1935, Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, three years after her death. Whatever it did for Mason's reputation as a typographer or his son's as a bookbinder, it added nothing at all to Vivien Gribble's reputation, simply showing her first hesitant steps in a difficult medium. The book was entirely superfluous and like The Song of Songs or Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Sonnets from the Portugüese, its subject matter was printed by private presses and book clubs ad nauseam.

Sixe Idillia and Songs from the Princess were featured in the National Book League exhibition of 1949 where Thomas Balston demonstrated the calligraphic nature of some of her wood-engravings by using the Shepherd and Sheep block from Sixe Idillia as a perfect tailpiece to the acknowledgements in
in the Catalogue. The engraving at first sight has the appearance of a signature and is so drawn as to be able to comfortably match the width of the text. Of all the wood-engravers of the Modern Movement, Vivien Gribble's remained the simplest. From the Cupid and Psyche illustrations of 1916 to those of Tess, 1926, the only development of her technique was in the gradual unstiffening and refinement of line and an ultimate but sparing use of white-line technique alongside her traditional black line. In no way was her work in the mould of Gill, or indeed of any twentieth-century artist. In the history of wood-engraving, Gribble was a true, if minor, original.

A friend and early student in Rooke's class was Margaret Pilkington of the great family of Lancashire industrialists. Like Vivien Gribble, she was of independent means and thus not susceptible to commercial pressures. Although primarily a creator of prints, her occasional ventures into book illustration produced fourteen wood-engravings for An Alpine Valley and Other Poems by Lawrence Pilkington which was published by Longmans in 1924. This was printed at Lawrence Hobson's Cloister Press on the outskirts of Manchester during its outstanding period with Stanley Morison. Margaret Pilkington exhibited at the first exhibition of the Society of Wood Engravers and ultimately became its Secretary. Indefatigable in championing the cause of other wood-engravers, she made many important gifts to the Whitworth
Art Gallery of the University of Manchester of which she was Honorary Director for many years. Amongst wood-engravers, whose work she collected and deposited in the Whitworth Art Gallery, were Lady Mabel Annesley, Helen Binyon, Edward Gordon Craig, Eric Dağlish, John Farleigh, Gibbings, Gill, Hagreen, Joan Hassall, Gertrude Hermes, Hughes-Stanton, David Jones, Sydney-Lee, John and Paul Nash, John O'Connor, Agnes Miller Parker, Claughton Pellew, Gwen Raverat, Eric Ravilious, Rooke, Leon Underwood, Nora Unwin, Clifford Webb and Ethelbert White.

Like Vivien Gribble, Margaret Pilkington was uncompromisingly direct in the use of the block, large areas of black and white predominating with thick black line taking precedence over white line, the use of which was sparing and generally restricted to the portrayal of foliage. In 1928 she provided twenty-three wood-engravings to illustrate Katherine Chorley's Hills and Highways, published by Dent, who were to become staunch supporters of the wood-engraved book, not least because of their production of Douglas Bliss's superb history of the craft. Hills and Highways shows Pilkington to be less austere than Gribble and less amusing than Gill.

Subsequent to the end of the first World War, Rooke had a number of pupils who became distinguished wood-engravers, two of whom made massive contributions to the illustrated book. John Farleigh, who was born in 1900,
served an all-round apprenticeship at the firm of Artists Illustrators in South London. Commencing in 1914, he was involved in many crafts which he had to assimilate quickly and utilise due to the absence of men at the Front. Not least of what he learnt were economical habits and a sense of order, qualities to prove of value in his creative wood-engraving which came later. He was encouraged to attend evening classes at Bolt Court where he studied drawing. After a short period of army service he became a student of painting at the Central School where he was encouraged by Rooke. Farleigh also had a sustained interest in old books and their engravings which greatly influenced much of his own work, and in particular his early commissions for wood-engraved book illustration. Although much of this work is attractive and entirely immaculate in execution, in retrospect Farleigh believed that this interest led to black line work and lost freedom. It is "a mistake for any young engraver ... to look at anything in the nature of a cut."

Farleigh's first opportunity in book illustration was provided by Robert Gibbings within a few months of the latter's acquisition of the Golden Cockerel Press. He was commissioned to provide blocks, for the Select Essays of Swift, for which he was paid the then generous figure of four guineas each. Six years later the Gregynog Press was paying Agnes Miller Parker barely one pound more for blocks four times as large. In the event, Farleigh
produced fourteen blocks for what was to be the first volume. Owing to the destruction of most of the copies through water damage, it was felt that a second volume limited to one hundred and ninety copies would not be viable and the project did not produce as much work therefore as Farleigh had expected. In his autobiographical work Graven Image in which Farleigh concentrates on wood-engraving almost exclusively, he relates how his knowledge of Hogarth's prints provided background and his awareness of Bewick's technique contributed to the making of the blocks, which got better as he progressed through the book. Graven Image is a crucial work in the history of wood-engraving for, in addition to relating Farleigh's own philosophy and approach, it demonstrates both his technique and those of others in considerable detail. Particularly valuable are the photographs of the hands and positions of Rooke, Beedham, Hermes, Webb, Hughes-Stanton, McNab and Lamb. In addition, the photographs of blocks in various styles of completion afford an insight into his work. That Farleigh was photographing his work in 1925 shows the importance he attached to his own development both as a craftsman and a teacher. By then he was again at the Central School, this time on the academic staff in a part-time capacity. In the three years which passed before he obtained his next commission for a book, Farleigh experimented with cutting on the plank.
His extensive knowledge of Greek art came in useful when Rooke brought him to the attention of B H Newdigate and Basil Blackwell at the Shakespeare Head Press. For the Odes of Victory of Pindar Farleigh produced drawings from which he produced austere formalised black line cuts which were used as headings to the facing pages carrying parallel Greek and English text. These wood-engravings harmonise perfectly with the Monotype Hellenic and Monotype Poliphilus typefaces. Two hundred and fifty copies on Portal Handmade paper were complemented by seven on vellum. The Two volumes were published in 1928 and 1930. He was also given a small commission to copy original woodcut illustrations from an edition of 1565 of Bede's History of the Church of England where the copy available was too poorly printed for line blocks to be prepared. The designs were photographed on to boxwood and Farleigh, although having permission to attempt a free translation, produced blocks practically identical with the original. Again Farleigh was careful to record early stages of his engraving for this work which is one of the finest of a series of noble books issued by the Press between 1927 and 1935. Farleigh's illustrations fitted unobtrusively into the pages which were set in 18 pt Cloister, the whole being bound in English calf.

Of the three works of the press with which Farleigh was connected, Chapman's Homer was the most ambitious and least successful in terms of book design. Bruce Rogers'
Centaur typeface was not the best typeface to set against wood-engraving, even if the engravings were full page and not set in the type. For this monumental work Farleigh produced a full page illustration for each book of the text and two double title-pages. As the work progressed over the two year period in which he cut the blocks so the pictures became richer and his experimentation grew bolder. The very magnitude of the work eventually quietened his enthusiasm for black line. The five volumes were printed on Batchelor handmade paper and half-bound in extremely perishable crushed morocco. Despite Farleigh's marathon effort the set offers a poor contrast to the Nonesuch Iliad and Odyssey in Pope's translation which have Rudolf Koch's splendid ornaments and whose niger morocco bindings are so skilfully done as to withstand opening through the $180^\circ$ maximum without ill-effect. Despite ending his work for the Press on this note, nevertheless Farleigh gained much from his association with a man of rare merit as a scholar printer and one of the "most under-rated of typographers."

Probably more than any engraver of the Modern School, Farleigh studied and learnt from the techniques used by Bewick, Blake and also the nineteenth century craft engravers. His analysis of the 'Fable' illustrations cut by Bewick revealed the importance of the wiggle in the use of the first tool, a device which gave the work of Bewick its particular attractiveness. Farleigh was able
also to decipher the particular codes used by the factory engravers, not hesitating to employ and extend those techniques in his own engraving. However, the austerity and gravity of his interpretations of the stories limited his use of the tint tool. Nevertheless, in the double-spread title-page for the Iliad and Odyssey, Farleigh experimented with rocking a multiple tool which by that time had acquired the status of a bygone.

Farleigh's next opportunity was to bring him forcefully before the general public. Whilst Ray Garnett's wood-engravings for Lady into Fox were circulated amongst a massive readership it is doubtful whether more than a minute fraction of that readership realised that the black line pictures were from engravings on wood and not pen drawings mechanically reproduced, a medium more readily identifiable. The wide audience reached by Farleigh through George Bernard Shaw's Adventures of the Black Girl in her Search for God, on the other hand, were for the most part confronted with a completely new form of picture making. Farleigh's elegant black-line engravings largely featuring a nubile and very naked African played no small part in the immediate success of Shaw's allegory. Despite numerous protestations from Shaw, insisting that Farleigh had a free hand, nevertheless, he sent Farleigh sketches and offered comment on drawings sent by Farleigh, even suggesting the idea of endpapers featuring a wood-engraved repeat pattern. Designed and engraved by Farleigh, the eighty page octavo volume was
bound in paper boards with wood-engraved all-over designs in white line. In addition to endpapers and engraved title-page there were nineteen other blocks, most of which were substantial. Farleigh was responsible also for the design of the book, working closely with Shaw and the printers, R and R Clark of Edinburgh. The first impression of 25,000 copies was sold out to booksellers before publication and six further impressions appeared within the month of publication.

The astonishing success of the 'Black Girl' was the major factor in convincing commercial publishers of the attractiveness of wood-engraving, at least in the early nineteenthirties. As with many runaway bestsellers, whether in books, pictures or music, the 'Black Girl' typed Farleigh, identifying him with one specific item to the exclusion of the rest. Also it must be remembered that, in the context of its period, the portrayal of a white girl in such a frank manner would certainly have brought the laws of censorship into action. Unlike the nudes of the private presses, Shaw's black girl was real flesh and blood but acceptable because of the prevailing anthropological hypocrisy. Farleigh achieved a kind of envied notoriety. The ubiquitousness of the title also prevented many admirers of the wood-engraved book from appreciating in full the greatness of the book which lies in Farleigh's awareness of total book design. The wood-engravings are splendid illustrations which demonstrate fully Farleigh's mastery of the tools. The title-page is a
strong composition showing a variety of techniques including stipple, cross-hatching, parallel lines both with and without Bewick's 'wiggle' with Shaw's portrait cleverly introduced amongst the carved idols. The first of the illustrations with the Black Girl and God shows the introduction of strong mathematical shapes whilst echoes of the Homer appear on page 15 with the strongly engraved white line of the Greek which contrasts with the slender white line of the Girl. Other engravings, for example, p 19 and p 13 are strong arrangements of black and white areas with the minimum of tone. This small book shows the extent to which Farleigh's creative art and skill had developed in the seven years since he engraved his first block for Gibbings. Nevertheless, Farleigh was perturbed to find himself regarded as a wood-engraver subsequent to the publication of the Black Girl, rather than "an ordinary artist anxious to experiment in any medium and on any subject".

Prior to the commencement of the Second World War Farleigh illustrated a large number of books and wrappers in a variety of mediums. Often working on several titles at once, Farleigh produced wood-engravings for three further Shaw titles. Twenty-six illustrations were provided for Short Stories, Scraps and Shavings, published in 1933 and a title-page for The Prefaces in 1934. The Short Stories contain a cross-section of Farleigh's work, ranging from the Caricature in black-line (p 143) which is the heading to A
Glimpse of the Domesticity of Franklyn Barnabas to the satirical but life-like portrayal of G. K. Chesterton and Virginia Woolf, (p. 177) to illustrate a particular incident in Shaw's story. Another contrast is between the devotion of a block to a single incident as for example in the head-piece to the first story, Aerial Football and the incorporation of several incidents on one block in composite form, as in the same story on p5. The same pair also offer a contrast between the rectangular full-page illustration and the superbly conceived and executed shapes which add variety and interest to the book. For this work, as with the Black Girl, Shaw sent drawings to Farleigh which portrayed certain subject matter. In no way did this interference seem to affect Farleigh's creativity. The Shaw-Farleigh collaboration was renewed a few years later for the Limited Editions Club edition of Back to Methuselah which appeared in 1938. In this, Farleigh gave full rein to his imaginative powers, producing a series of large engravings. This project originated with George Macy wishing to include a Shaw play and with Shaw succeeding with his suggestion of Back to Methuselah, also advising Macy to invite Farleigh to wood-engrave the twenty-five illustrations. The engravings to the first part of the book "In the Beginning" obviously invite comparison with Paul Nash's Genesis. The influence of William Blake is apparent and in the picture of Eve Brooding (p. 6), the monumentalism of the figure is evocative of the archetypal
Henry Moore drawing, a remembrance enhanced by the enigmatic seated figure (pl38) swathed in a spiral of fine white line. Again the Shavian device of introducing real faces into imaginary dialogue occurs with Lloyd George and Napoleon prominent. However, the subject matter of some of the engravings is obscure and the illustrations are neither titled in the text nor in the preliminaries. That this is noticeable is indicative of their lack of success as book illustrations, their occasional obscurity not carrying out the basic function of illuminating the text. Farleigh himself was in no doubt as to what he was illustrating, an exhibition catalogue of 1941 listing twenty-three of the original drawings, mainly with titles extracted from the text in the style of the nineteenth century literary magazine. Like many Macy productions, the book is pretentious with overgenerous spacing between the lines of Linotype Scotch Roman. Certainly it is a poor piece of book production in contrast to the civilised and pleasing books which Constable published for the playwright. By this time also, Farleigh's art was becoming more abstract, although using natural form and weaving his intricate arabesques around the recognisable human figure placed in a series of recessive planes.

Of the other prewar titles, only one was for a private press, the remainder being published by Dent, Faber, Black, Athenaeum Press, Heinemann, Barker and Penguin Books, thus demonstrating the influence of Farleigh in taking the wood-
engraving into commercial publishing. Whether or not
the later visionary work was as popular as his more homely
illustrations is open to question, although the prosaic
engravings to Samuel Butler's The Way or All Flesh
represent a missed opportunity with Collins providing
unduly wide margins which succeeded in reducing the size
of typeface to a degree beyond that expected, given the
page size. However, Shaw called the engravings uncommonly
good. He acknowledged that Butler's novel was difficult
to illustrate and Farleigh himself had to apply a strict
methodology in order to execute the work.

Farleigh's second book of 1934 was for A and C Black,
a traditional commercial publishing house, whose idea for
a series of stories based upon the Bible was developed as
far as the issue of The Story of David. Whilst the book
was beautifully designed by Farleigh and printed with care
by R and R Clark, Farleigh's uncompromising illustrations
caused "general consternation" in the firm. There is none
of the light-heartedness and humour of the Black Girl in
the dour unappealing wood-engravings and although there is
no lack of nudity, any erotic attraction lies solely in the
illustration of Bath-Sheba. The book was outside the
experience of Black's salesmen and it is likely that their
lack of enthusiasm made the title a commercial failure.
Ill-luck pursued Farleigh in his wood-engraved illustration
although work in other media was more successful. For
J M Dent he executed three wood-engravings for a gloomy
first novel, The World Ends, by William Lamb. Although brilliantly executed with their violence accurately amplifying the moods of the book, they were unlikely to enhance Farleigh's reputation with the general public. A feature of these cuts is the broad sweeping white line which frequently cuts across his more delicate textures.

Farleigh's preoccupation with abstract design growing out of natural form continued in T Brown's The Gods had Wings, issued by Shaw's publisher, Constable. In the same year, 1936, he was engaged by Noel Carrington, at that time with Country Life, to produce wood-engravings for A Country Garden by Ethel Armitage. The large number of illustrations fall into two groups. There is a small number of structured scenes such as The Down and Birch Trees where pattern seems more important than natural form. However, the majority of the engravings are of flowers and other vegetation, drawn carefully and lovingly cut, although curiously old-fashioned. Both black-line and white-line engravings are included, demonstrating Farleigh's competence in each.

Although Farleigh was to work increasingly in lithography and mixed media, his primary interest as evidenced by his writings remained wood-engraving. He alone seemed to understand that from the earliest blocks up to the end of the nineteenth century there was an "uneven struggle between technique and drawing" followed by the final triumph of the
woodblock as a creative medium - creative engraving being "the complete fusion of the art". Farleigh believed that the greatest engravings occur when the drawing defies all craft tradition and created its own engraving technique and that the wood engraving had no more limit to its possibilities than painting or sculpture. In his writings he was able to analyse the qualities of the block far more succinctly and deeply than any other writer and without any of the mawkishness which often invades the writings of craftsmen. By the mid-thirties, Farleigh was technically outstanding and advanced in his approach compared with most of his contemporaries. Unfortunately, his way with flowers had somehow lost its edge since the famous Hemlock print of 1929 and the illustrations to Country Garden do not come alive in the same way as those of Gertrude Hermes, for example.

After the 1939-1945 War during which Farleigh found work scarce, he was able to wood-engrave for two more successful ventures. For the Sylvan Press which had published his Fifteen Craftsmen on Their Crafts, he illustrated The Spotted Dog by Reginald Turnor. In this slight history of English inn signs Farleigh resisted the temptation to imitate the style of the inn sign. Instead, he wood-engraved the subject matter in a free calligraphic manner, frequently in chapbook style. These are amongst his most effective and witty engravings. In 1958 he engraved the illustrations to the Heritage Press volume of Shakespeare's
Histories. This book club was a less elaborate partner to George Macy's Limited Editions Club of New York. Here, in what was probably Farleigh's last major wood-engraved work, he was able to express himself to the full. In the titlepage vignette, full of the impediments of the Wars of the Roses, Farleigh succeeded in creating an explosive picture which suitably heralds the pageantry which follows. Each play has a full page wood-engraving in black plus one other colour. These are portraits of the Kings in white line, recognisable but scarcely derivative. Their settings are evocative, natural and less contrived than much of Farleigh's earlier work 99 and "summarise the essence of the play". Tailpieces in black and white presage the next play, ending with a portrait of Elizabeth the First. 100 Macy himself considered that Farleigh's aspirations for the series of wood-engravings "had been triumphantly and beautifully fulfilled."

Curiously, Macy had not employed Farleigh to illustrate one of the thirty-seven volumes of the Limited Editions Club Shakespeare published in 1929-40. Farleigh's last book illustrations, however, were published by the Limited Editions Club in 1960. There, to enhance Prometheus Bound and Prometheus Unbound, were line and wash drawings. Farleigh's earlier experiment with two block work was for Heinemann in 1935 when he successfully completed D H Lawrence's The Man who Died. Here Farleigh used red and black, the red 102 being employed so that it 'ebbed and flowed as the story sank into passivity or increased in intensity'.

225.
Printed by John Lewis at the Cambridge University Press with typographic design by J H Mason, the book did not capture the public imagination despite being a splendid piece of book design. Farleigh's reputation suffered through his early success with the Black Girl and a re-appraisal of his work should eventually establish him as a significant artist and profound thinker in the medium. Not the least of his achievements was the small handbook on the subject published by the Craft suppliers Dryad which was probably the first serious attempt to take wood-engraving into primary schools.
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CHAPTER SEVEN

WOOD - ENGRAVING - THE MODERN MOVEMENT AND BEYOND

(continued)
Evidence of the growing popularity of the wood-engraving was supplied in 1927 by the appearance of the initial volume of The Woodcut, an annual edited by Herbert Furst, whose large monograph on "the state of the art" had appeared in 1924. This first issue contained important articles by Paul Nash and Robert Gibbings with examples of paper patterned from wood-engravings in use at the Curwen Press.

Newdigate expressed the hope that, as the Fleuron had achieved such distinction and acclaim in sustaining the English typographical revival, so The Woodcut would perform the same excellent service in its own sphere. Unfortunately, The Woodcut did not have the same impact as it lacked the thrust possessed by The Fleuron's editorial board which included several men of genius who could combine business knowledge, design skill, technological understanding and scholarship without apparent difficulty. Work shown by The Woodcut was mainly that of "less conventional craftsmen", but Newdigate approved of the fine engraving of Eric F Daglish, whose good natural history engravings had, by 1925, earned him the soubriquet the "Modern Bewick".

Some of the earliest examples of his work appeared in the 1921 new series of Form (q.v.) where the work of the transitional engravers and the rising stars of creative white-line engraving appeared cheek-by-jowl. Of these early efforts The Toucan (p 17) and The Spider (p 65) were particularly successful whilst The Bison (p 42) and The Vulture (p 64) were much less so. This beginning led
to a remarkably steady stream of text and wood-engraving for commercial publishers over a period of twenty-five years. From Benn in 1925 came Woodcuts of British Birds with twenty "crisp character studies ... emphasised by masterly white-line wood-engraving". Early major undertakings were an edition of The Compleat Angler for Thornton Butterworth and Thoreau's Walden for Chapman and Hall, both published in 1927 with tipped-in engravings. It was shortly after this time that Bliss condemned Daglish for sacrificing form for pattern, evidently a heresy in natural history illustration.

Taking the pike as an example and using the fine engravings from Major's edition of The Compleat Angler (Robert Branston) and Yarrell's British Fishes (probably Ebenezer Landells) as perfect models of both accurate and attractive natural history representation, it is easy to understand Bliss's reservations concerning Daglish's thin scratched luminous outline. Yet Daglish did not indulge in the "baroque exuberance" of Gertrude Hermes, over whose work Bliss enthused, although what Bliss thought of her interpretation of the fish in the Penguin Illustrated Classic Compleat Angler published eleven years later can only be conjectured. Curiously, the early Victorian Bewick style was carried through faithfully into the Nonesuch Press Walton, although T Poulton's drawings were here reproduced by line-block and stencilled in colour at Curwen Press.

228.
Daglish probably pleased the purchasers of his books more than he pleased the critics. Kirby, in looking at his engravings to The Natural History of Selborne, confessed his preference for Gibbings who "has the Bewick knack of making a duck look like a duck. Daglish (with far less economy) does not achieve the same result." On the other hand, the Times Literary Supplement reviewer praised the book for "its greatest detail which was never fussy ..."

Daglish produced his finest work in both writing and engraving his Birds of the British Isles. A sensitive piece of book production by Dent, twenty-five of the forty-eight engravings were hand-coloured, generally obtaining a pleasing transparency, somewhat reminiscent of Benjamin Fawcett's colour printing of Lydon's illustrations to Adams' Smaller British Birds (1874). The apparent naivity of the colouring did not suit all the critics, the anonymous reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement finding it "too simplified". This was originally conceived as a four volume work which was to have contained over two hundred engravings. The project was not completed.

The success of the Daglish books encouraged publishers to jump on the bandwagon with a plethora of "countryside" books. Competent but uninspiring engraving was published by Jonathan Cape, (Hilda Quick) and Nicholson and Watson (J E Maunton). Even Dent was capable of using wood-engravers not of the first rank in their desire to capitalise on the
popularity of the genre. Better than average were the books produced by the engraver Barbara Greg in partnership with E L Grant Watson. Enigmas of Natural History was published by Cresset Press in 1936, to be followed in 1937 by More Enigmas of Natural History. A further title, Wonders of Natural History, was published by Pleiades Press in 1938 (reprinted 1947). The idiosyncratic style of the author obviously made more impact with the reviewers of the Times Literary Supplement than the illustrations, which were described in passing as "accomplished" and "decorative". Equally popular were The Poacher's Handbook, Fresh Woods and Pastures New, written by Ian Niall and published by 16 Heinemann, 1951-52. Here the anonymous reviewer noticed the continuous text and the use of the "delightful" wood-engravings to break up the text into digestible lengths. Nevertheless, she was luckier than the more talented C F Tunnicliffe, whose considerable wood-engraved contribution to Mary Priestley's A Book of Birds, published by Gollancz in 1937, was not even mentioned in a substantial review in that journal.

Whilst perhaps not in the first rank of natural history engravers alongside Parker and Leighton, her thirty-eight head-pieces and three full page illustrations to Wonders of Natural History are characterised by strong design and a sturdy line, perhaps lacking the delicacy of the fine white-line engravers. Greg's work is best on a larger scale, as for example in the four full-page engravings to Pastures
New, whilst, amongst the twenty-five smaller cuts, a few, eg the rabbit (p 113) indicate her apparent discomfort with the small block.

Bliss's reservations concerning Daglish stemmed from the superficial attraction of what he termed "amazing blacks". In blasting Furst's The Modern Woodcut, he criticises the author for including reproductions of some of the "blackest and grisliest" cuts and creating a new "bunk" aesthetic around the medium. More to his taste were the artists in the English Wood Engraving Society which formed around Leon Underwood, and which included Blair Hughes-Stanton, Gertrude Hermes, Edward Gordon Craig and Ethelbert White. Of these, the inspirer, although by no means the best engraver, was Underwood who ran a private art school where, from 1923, wood engraving was in vogue. Sculptor, painter, printmaker and teacher, Underwood's contribution still requires proper evaluation. A short novel written by him with accompanying cuts was published in 1928 in New York and received a prize for the best designed book of the year. His engravings appeared in Human Proclivities, (1925), Art for Heaven's Sake (1934) and Hsiao Ch'ien's The Dragon Beards versus the Blueprints, (Pilot Press, 1944). Probably his best known book illustration, however, is that in the Cresset Press Apocrypha. Printed in 14 pt. Baskerville at the Curwen Press, the book was an ambitious attempt to have fourteen of the greatest contemporary wood-engravers of Europe each interpret "a personal vision", the variety being "qualified by uniformity of size and tone". A handsome
volume, and like the Kelmscott Chaucer probably unread, the book is a picture gallery, interesting only from the point of comparing the work of some major figures at a particular point in time. The Cresset Press was one of a small number of commercial publishers producing fine limited editions which were riding high on the back of the private press movement shortly before the "Wall Street crash" brought the boom to an end. Before this event, however, two of Underwood's students, probably self-taught as wood-engravers, were to enjoy illustrating its two volume Pilgrim's Progress, which also appeared in 1928. The work contained four wood-engravings by Gertrude Hermes and six by Hughes-Stanton, all full-page. In addition, each list of illustrations carries an unsigned engraving. Printed by Bernard Newdigate at the Shakespeare Head Press and set in 18 pt Cloister, the illustrations complement exactly the opposing text pages and display the outstanding control of form and texture which both artists had obtained by this time. This success, together with their growing reputation as creative print-makers, paved the way for their move to the Gregynog Press.

To the present day, the belief persists that creative wood engraved illustration has been almost exclusive to the private presses. Garrett, for example in what purports to be the definitive history of the "British School" of wood-engraving states that "Agnes Miller Parker is an engraving phenomenon who worked almost solely for private press productions". Parker's contribution to private press production
illustration was in fact limited to two titles each for the Gregynog and Golden Cockerel Presses. Otherwise she illustrated over twenty titles for commercial publishers and ten books for Macy's book clubs.

Whilst, in the final analysis, Parker's reputation probably will be determined by her substantial contribution to fiction illustration through the medium of Thomas Hardy (q.v.) she, together with Clare Leighton was able to share in an exciting venture with H E Bates and Victor Gollancz which brought the creative wood-engraved illustration before a new and wider public. Two gently written but perceptive books on the countryside by H E Bates, Through the Woods (1936) and Down the River (1937) gave Parker the opportunity to cut over one hundred and fifty blocks of outstanding merit. Clare Leighton both wrote and cut the blocks for her books. Four Hedges (1935) and Country Matters (1937) were distinguished in their illustrations from Parker's by a greater reliance on line and mass than tone, although Leighton was not averse to cross-hatching where necessary, as for example in Horseshoes (Country Matters, p 18). A similar example of investing minutiae with life is the Abandoned Boot (p 16), although Leighton's forte is characterisation, ranging from the Southern European peasant women of the London Mercury engravings to the typically English tramps and village women of Country Matters. It is in this book, as exemplified by the engraving of mother and child carrying their produce to the Harvest Festival (p 101), where is revealed Leighton's major
preoccupation, the figure of the great earth-mother which dominates much of her work.

An interesting contrast is offered between Parker and Leighton by these Gollancz titles in their respective styles and treatment of subject matter, eg. a running hare (Leighton: Country Matters, p 27, Parker: Through the Woods, p 91).

At the time of publication of these outstanding books, Victor Gollancz was amongst the most vigorous publishers in Great Britain. Whilst working at Ernest Benn, Gollancz became aware of Stanley Morison’s work both written and designed for the firm. When Gollancz set up independently, Morison became one of his directors "and for ten years advised it on design and production". The formula of striking dust-wrappers, plain binding and sound content which Gollancz applied to his yellow-jacketed octavos was carried through to the Parker and Leighton books which were published in larger format. As with the title-pages of the Agnes Miller Parker Gregynog Press books, the title-pages of her Gollancz books bear evidence of a masterhand. In the case of The Fables of Esope and XXI Welsh Gypsy Folk Tales published by Gregynog in 1932 and 1933 respectively, it was that of her husband William McCance who used her wood-engraved titles together with Monotype Bembo set around the two wood-engravings which she produced for each title-page. The formula of Bembo set around two wood-engravings, although without

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separate wood-engraved title, used on the title-page of Down the River immediately reveals its derivation whilst the use of Perpetua and a single engraving on the title-page of Through the Woods is still Gregynog orientated. This is more than a superficial resemblance, for Morison was "informal consultant" to Gregynog and engaged in friendly correspondence with McCance. The Leighton title-pages have smaller vignettes, less type and therefore more large areas of white space and make less impact, although the wrappers to Country Matters carry a perfectly balanced design of type and wood-engraving on the front cover.

Perhaps endeavouring to emulate this success of Gollancz, the Lutterworth Press engaged Agnes Miller Parker to provide numerous wood-engraved illustrations to five volumes of the nature writings of Richard Jefferies, edited by Samuel J Looker. Appearing between 1946 and 1948 on paper of war economy standard, these were well received at the time of publication and are increasingly appreciated. Parker's engravings provided a perfect foil for the author's natural history observations. By this time Parker could do no wrong. Even with one of the dullest pieces of book production with which she was associated, H Clark's Country Commentary, (1940), her "woodcuts" were acclaimed as "technically and artistically perfect".

In 1928, Clare Leighton joined the Society of Wood Engravers and became a full member of the Royal Society of
Painter-Etchers and Engravers in 1934. Primarily a printmaker rather than book illustrator, a collection of her work was published by Longman's in 1930 under the title Woodcuts.

Leighton's career, post-war, continued in the United States, to which she had emigrated in 1939, having left her mark on English wood-engraved book illustration with such outstanding fiction illustration as Hardy's Return of the Native (q.v.) and Emily Bronte's Wuthering Heights.

Leighton's engravings are immediately identifiable for their large structures, which are abstracted from nature and perfectly balanced. They never descend into mere sentimentality, although infinitely more realistic than the cuts of most other engravers of the country scene.

Like Parker and McCance, Gertrude Hermes and her husband, Blair Hughes-Stanton, who had been instrumental in bringing the McCances to Gregynog, had a difficult time there. Hermes, probably the most creative artist ever to wood-engrave, saw none of her engraving for Gregynog achieve publication. Hughes-Stanton, however, despite his differences with the Board which directed the affairs of the Press, was able to bring a number of projects to fruition, notably The Revelation of St John the Divine (1932) and the Lamentations of Jeremiah (1934). Although his work was not universally liked by the Board, Harrop is in no doubt that Gregynog was fortunate in having Hughes-Stanton at "the height of his powers" when he left.
an enviable legacy, not least through the skill of the pressman, Herbert Hodgson. Whilst both books were "superb folios" and of the first rank of private press productions, whether they were ever meant to be read is open to question. A Natural History of Selborne, for which blocks had been commissioned from Hermes, was abandoned due to "the continuing decline in the fine book trade".

Amongst outstanding examples of her very limited involvement in book illustration were the nineteen large engravings of plants to A Florilege, published by the Swan Press in 1931 and brought out in a new edition in 1981 to mark the occasion of the Hermes exhibition at the Royal Academy, at the time of which she was a full member.

In 1934, four wood-engravings were produced to accompany R H Mottram's Short Stories, Strawberry Time and The Banquet, which the Golden Cockerel published.

Although her output for commercial publishers was small, she produced an outstanding wood-engraving, Traveller's Joy, for an anthology, Harvest volume one, published by the Castle Press in 1948. An amusing frontispiece and title-page decoration were engraved for The Fourth Pig, a work by her friend Naomi Mitchison, published by Constable in 1936. Hermes, however, was equally important as a teacher at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, influencing a whole presentation of artists subsequent to the Second World War. Possibly her comparative lack of

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involvement in book illustration stemmed from the wish
to engrave free of constraint, for her large free-standing
engravings have immense vitality. Almost always based on
natural form, with strong calligraphic elements, she was
masterly at concentrating the complex into an abstract
form and presenting the finished engraving with great
eloquence. As was the case with Parker, Hermes experimented
with colour, a useful example being the three colour wood-
engraving which accompanied T S Eliot's poem, Animula,
which Faber published in its Ariel Poems series, together
with a wood-engraving in black and white on front cover.
This series also featured the black and white engravings
of Hughes-Stanton with the De La Mare Poems Alone and
Self to Self, published in 1927 and 1928 respectively.

Subsequent to leaving Gregynog and the termination of
his marriage with Hermes, Hughes-Stanton married Ida Graves
and illustrated her poem, Epithalamion, with twenty-three
large erotic wood-engravings which, although supreme
to examples of his art, would scarcely have drawn approval
from the strait-laced Board of the Gregynog Press. For
this hymn to marriage, Hughes-Stanton cut the blocks,
set the type and printed 300 copies, of which 150 copies
were bound and sold from his Gemini Press in 1934. It
was not until 1980 that the remaining sheets became
available and were issued through the Basilisk Press,
thus bringing some of his finest work before another
generation, albeit one concerned with wood-engraved
illustration. Little of his engraving was done for
commercial publishers. Even the wood-engravings for the Folio Society's edition of De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater (1948) had been engraved originally for an aborted edition which was to have been published by the Fanfrolico Press in the early nineteen-thirties.

At his best, Hughes-Stanton's work compares with the best of creative engraving. At worst "it is as if he spoke platitudes". Like John Buckland-Wright, a New Zealander much of whose engraving was for Golden Cockerel, there is a pervasive eroticism in his work, not an uncommon phenomenon in the private press movement and particularly noticeable in the books of the Golden Cockerel Press, for which he illustrated Maya in 1930, Ecclesiastes and A crime against Cania, both 1934. This, coupled with an ability "to be embarrassed by the very richness of the means at his disposal" sometimes resulted in work of great complexity and skill but with a certain sameness of subject and treatment. This for example, in his first two wood-engravings to the Cresset Press Pilgrim's Progress. There is also a similarity between some of the engravings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and those of the Epithalamion. But above all, Hughes-Stanton was the engraver's engraver. To the layman, however, many illustrations, as for example those to D H Lawrence's Ship of Death, published by Martin Secker, seem "extravagantly melodramatic or wilfully distorted."
In contrast to the exploratory engraving of Hermes and Hughes-Stanton was the direct narrative manner employed by John Greenwood, Tirzah Garwood and Geoffrey Miller. Greenwood (1885-1953) learnt the craft informally from Charles W Taylor, a former apprentice wood-engraver who was a fellow student at the Royal College of Art. As an exhibitor with the Society of Wood Engravers in 1921, Greenwood was amongst the first of the modern movement. His belief that "the first concern of an illustrator is to express, with all the intensity of which he is capable, his own emotional reaction to things" is reflected in his robust engravings of Yorkshire Dales scenery, best seen, in book form, in his autobiography The Dales are Mine, (Skeffington, 1952). Greenwood's engravings are characterised by strong shapes in which verticals, horizontals and diagonals predominate, the curve so beloved of Hermes and Hughes-Stanton playing little or no part in his work.

Tirzah Garwood's forthright engravings were wryly humorous snapshots of social realism. The Crocodile, which first appeared in The London Mercury, 1929-30, (p 407) was the most successful of four, although The Dog Show (p 305) ran it close. Despite appearing alongside the text on fairly rough paper, the London Mercury engravings were printed with a surprising degree of sensitivity, this being identifiable through a comparison with the same illustrations in Image, Autumn 1950, no 5 (pp 58 and 59). In both journals, these illustrations were printed probably from electros.
Curiously, the same engravings were reproduced yet again in an appallingly printed book of 1979, Betty Clark's Shall We Join the Ladies. Here the reproduction is obviously by offset-litho. The plate for The Crocodile has been so badly made as to lose most of the engraving's texture, so printing large areas in solid black. Little of Garwood's engraving was for books, a solitary example of fiction illustration being for L A Strong's The Big Man, (1931).

Geoffrey Miller's wood-engravings also narrate, but appear almost naive in comparison with those of Garwood and Greenwood, yet are in the same idiom. Of his eighteen cuts which illustrate Christopher Whitfield's country essays, A World of Ones Own, (Country Life, 1938), The Branch Line (p 45) and The Arcade (p 63) were the most successful. Where he tried to emulate Bewick with small tailpieces, as for example, Coursing (p 125), the results were less pleasing.

Possibly the greatest bird illustrator of the twentieth century, C F Tunnicliffe, RA, produced wood-engravings of outstanding quality from the late 1920's when his fine representational graphic art was much in demand by "manufacturers of cattle food, seed dressings, fertilisers, veterinary products and so on." Included in this category was a series of fine wood engravings of dogs for the Bob Martin Company.

Of at least forty-nine books illustrated by Charles Tunnicliffe only 8 were wood-engraved. Some half-dozen
of these are of signal importance in the history of natural history illustration. The famous partnership with Henry Williamson came about through Tunnicliffe's admiration for Tarka the Otter, for which he made specimen aquatints which he offered to the publisher. From this beginning came a short but fruitful relationship where Tunnicliffe brilliantly illustrated five of Williamson's books with which he was in complete sympathy and one which was "fantastic" and outside his experience. This, The Star Born, did not get good reviews. The Times Literary Supplement had reservations "about his being able to cope with difficult subject matter", this after the same journal had acclaimed his wood engravings for Tarka - "Tunnicliffe is the only interpreter possible" and for The Old Stag, both published in 1932. Of the latter, the Times Literary Supplement shrewdly pointed out that it "was not so much a man providing illustrations for another man's writing as of two men collaborating to produce a work of art in two forms". Although continuing to produce superb large wood-engravings of birds into the late 1950's, Tunnicliffe turned to line drawing and scraperboard as media for black and white book illustration due to eyestrain, using scraperboard as an honest vehicle in its own right, rather than as cheap imitation wood-engraving. His last wood-engraved book illustrations appeared in 1937. Mary Priestley's Book of Birds was published by Gollancz with eighty-one engravings whilst another bird book, Kenneth Williamson's The Sky's their Highway had eight full size wood-engravings
and came from Putnam, Henry Williamson's former publisher. Like Daglish, Tunnicliffe was no mean writer and like Daglish, he too had a complete morphological understanding of this subject matter. The influence of Eastern art is apparent in his painting, but in his wood engraving there is no trace of the broad flat areas to be found in the Japanese woodcut.

For the first three Williamson books, Tunnicliffe produced no less than twenty-four full-page wood-engravings for each and it is possible to discern the technical development which occurred as a result of this heavy involvement with the medium. Although the full-page engravings in the fourth title, The Star Born, failed due to the fantastic nature of the subject matter, nevertheless the numerous vignettes include examples of the technique which produced the prodigious prints of the 1950's. The superb perched owl on the title-page is nicely set into a perfectly designed title-page composed in Baskerville and published by Faber and Faber whose book production was generally of a higher standard than that of Putnam. Nevertheless, The Peregrine's Saga, a book of short stories by Williamson, was published by Putnam in 1934 and contained Tunnicliffe's best engravings to that date, printed well with matching density of type. Of these, the falcon taking food from the falconer (p 189) ranks with the finest of his engraved prints, at the same time balancing the text page. For Salar the Salmon, published in 1935, he engraved two vignettes only, a fully illustrated edition with colour.
plates and scraperboards being prepared by him for publication in the following year.

Despite the outstanding quality of his wood-engraving and the fact that, in company with Hermes he was one of the few full Royal Academicians who were skilled in the craft, Tunnicliffe has been largely ignored by the wood-engraving establishment. His work was not mentioned in Garrett's recent History of British Wood Engraving nor in that author's British Wood Engraving of the Twentieth Century. Further evidence of this curious neglect is supplied by the absence of his work from the 1983 Portsmouth Exhibition of British Wood Engraving of the 20's and 30's.

Tirzah Garwood, whilst studying at Eastbourne College of Art, was a pupil of Eric Ravilious whom she later married. Ravilious had also studied at Eastbourne prior to moving to the Design School of the Royal College of Art where he was a fellow student of Edward Bawden and Douglas Percy Bliss. Ravilious was influenced by Paul Nash who introduced him to the Society of Wood Engravers where he met Gibbings who was to employ him for certain Golden Cockerel titles. Prior to this, however, Ravilious produced wood-engravings for Martin Armstrong's Desert, a novel published by Jonathan Cape in 1926. Whilst revealing a new wood-engraving personality, Sandford noted that Ravilious at that time still had to learn how "to adapt his craft to the limitations of machine reproduction". The Golden Cockerel Press books published the following year established his reputation.
Sir John Suckling's seventeenth century Ballad Upon a Wedding was illustrated with seven small engravings in fairly broad chapbook style whilst Nicholas Breton's The Twelve Moneths, first published in 1626, was elegantly produced by Gibbings as a twenty-eight year calendar with twenty-four engravings of twentieth century objects and dress as head-and tailpieces respectively for each month. The Batchelor hand-made paper was not particularly suited to the fine-line work here used plentifully by Ravilious. Nevertheless, this is a striking book, the text page for each month commencing with the initial letter I printed in red. Also in 1927, his work found a place in The Woodcut, this annual also featuring his work in 1928 and 1930.

In addition to providing one of the engravings for the Cresset Press Apocrypha in 1929, Ravilious was happy to cut ten blocks for a further Golden Cockerel Press book, Aaron Smith's Atrocities of the Pirates. Sparingly illustrated, for three of the engravings are small vignettes, the illustrations owe nothing to Claud Lovat Fraser, whose Pirates had been reprinted as recently as 1922. Ravilious by this time had mastered texture and his apparently simple technique concealed a remarkable facility, particularly with the wavy line. This is well demonstrated by the treatment of blankets in the attempted seduction (p 108).

Probably as a result of seeing and approving of Ravilious's engravings for Golden Cockerel, Stanley Morison requested the artist to produce twelve blocks to illustrate
a Lanston Monotype Almanack for 1929. Set in Monotype Fournier, this substantial piece of ephemera contained an essay by Morison, Good and Beautiful Printing, and an important preface by Ravilious concerning the subject matter of his engravings. Binyon noted a step forward showing "a new mastery of technique with more variety in the range of greys and in the use of stipplings and hatchings." Although Morison had intended that there should be an engraving relating to a sign of the zodiac for each month, Ravilious had no hesitation in substituting "more interesting constellations" where appropriate. His affection for the Sussex landscape found expression in these engravings with the inclusion of a typical East Sussex church (January), chalk downland (February and September), The Long Man of Wilmington (April and May) and an oast house (November). The blocks were most carefully printed and undue emphasis of blacks was avoided. The Lanston Monotype Corporation's appreciation of the value of the wood-engraved illustration was amplified by the appearance of the anniversaries of George Baxter and Benjamin Fawcett opposite the engraving for January. By this time, Ravilious's work was becoming known internationally. Beatrice Warde's translation of Six Eighteenth-Century Bergerettes was issued in 1928 by E R Weiss with a vignette cut by Ravilious on the cover of a special edition. This was used as a vehicle to publicise the firm's Antiqua typeface. Although commonly stated to be found as an insert to Fleuron, no. 6, 1928, it is likely that this only occurred in the special copies, for the vignette is absent in the regular copies examined.
A further important trade recognition was in Herbert Simon's commission for the Kynoch Press Notebook for 1933. Here Ravilious was at his most brilliant with forty small vignettes. Probably more than any modern engraver, he could rightly claim the mantle of Bewick with these illustrations. Both the Lanston Monotype Almanack and the Kynoch Press Notebook had his engravings "enhanced by superb press work on smooth machine-made wove paper ... eminently suitable for printing the most delicate line." The stiff hand-made papers favoured by the private presses did not help Ravilious, or many other wood-engravers for that matter. More commercial work followed for Kynoch and also for the Curwen Press. Designs were cut for the dust-wrappers of Duckworth and Co but most important and certainly the most widely reproduced were the thirteen title page motifs for J M Dent and Co's Everyman Library, the design of which had been more or less unchanged since the inception of the series in 1906. From 1935 the books acquired a freshness and vitality which endured for another twenty years, although the change was not universally welcomed in the firm.

In the first half of the nineteen-thirties, Ravilious carried out a considerable amount of engraving for the Golden Cockerel Press. From 1930 to 1935 he contributed work to the prospectuses. That for 1930 shows clearly that Ravilious was ill-at-ease with very large engraved designs, although the Cockerel device on the first page is
one of his more successful large engravings with a daring lateral division of the block into halves of black and white. A title-page engraving for Consequences (1932) is mere decoration and, for the Press's contribution to the Silver Jubilee celebrations of 1935; he inserted an element of modern technological ugliness with his "Transport" engraving on page 5 of L A G Strong's essay The Hansom Cab and the Pigeons. Nevertheless the engravings to this work demonstrate his complete mastery of texture. The simple but rigorous cutting of Ravilious produced a variety of texture uniquely identifiable, throwing out light in a manner totally different from that of the Gregynog artists, Parker, Hermes and Hughes Stanton.

For Golden Cockerel Ravilious engraved Twelfth Night, which he at the time regarded as his "magnum opus". A decision was taken to print the illustrations in purple-brown or in blue-grey as a contrast to the black text. Ravilious was not party to this and was disappointed by the result. Nevertheless, Twelfth Night, of which only 275 copies were produced, is one of the most important Golden Cockerel books, for Ravilious introduced a modern spirit into the Press with his gay decorative approach to the subject. The illustrations are stage settings with marionettes rather than real people. Trellis-work and chequerboard pavements are much in evidence, as are cross-hatched shadows, all of which provide substantial but simply textured large areas of the blocks. The stylised figures are witty and failings, if any, are to be found in the heavy borders whose foliage when compared with that of Gill's in the Cockerel Canterbury 248.
Tales, is unconvincing. During the period when he was working for the Press, Ravilious was never happy with its hand-made paper and "would have preferred to illustrate modern literature." In fact, he was given the chance of the best of both worlds by Harry Carter, then at the Nonesuch Press, who invited him to illustrate a two-volume edition of White's Selborne. Published in 1938 whilst the Nonesuch Press was under the effective control of George Macy, this outstanding title altogether escaped the American flavour discernible, for example, in the Nonesuch Dickens. The witty style developed by Ravilious for Twelfth Night and the clever use of pattern brought a sense of completeness to this classic, exactly matching the light, crisp text. The sophisticated simplicity of Ravilious was, for the Times Literary Supplement, "quite in the spirit of the book" but the anonymous reviewer warned "This convention if extremely fashionable and what is enjoyable now could in a few years become quite the reverse."

One of his last wood-engravings was the title-page vignette for English Wits, published by Hutchinson in 1941, shortly before his death on active service. This book summed up the gaiety of his engraving with a miscellany of appropriate emblems woven into the design, dice and mask for example. The varying textures of the block surround an engraved "handwritten title" and, as with the engraved words in the title-pages of White's Selborne, these highlight what Harling described as his one weakness, the
inability to successfully integrate letter-forms into a wood-engraved design. However, with all faults, the Selborne title-pages set the scene for a series of outstanding pictures which brought a freshness to a book too often treated with undue reverence.

Prolific as an industrial designer, Ravilious as a teacher often seemed remote, probably not enjoying the role he had to assume as a part-time lecturer at the Royal College of Art. His paintings echo the freshness of the wood-engraving and in spirit Ravilious anticipated the 1951-54 Festival of Britain by fifteen years. Gray called him "the most perfect of modern wood-engravers."

The biographer of Ravilious, Helen Binyon, was herself no mean engraver. Daughter of Lawrence Binyon, one-time keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, she was a fellow-student at the Royal College of Art and life-long friend. Her involvement with wood-engraved book illustration was short, although later in life she illustrated children's books in other media. With her father, she was responsible for one of the more charming Golden Cockerel books. Brief Candles was printed in Caslon Old Face type, her six small wood-engravings were entirely sympathetic to this playlet concerning Richard III and the Princes in the Tower. The two symbolic candles appear in the title-page vignette and also in the engraving of Richard with his mother (p 39). Binyon's direct representational engraving is skilfully dramatic and at
first glance derives from the chapbook. However, her use of texture denies the emphasis on solid black and white areas. Like Ravilious, Binyon employed wall and floor surfaces as vehicles for her textures. Chequerboard flooring is cleverly indicated by alternate squares of black line and white line work set at right angles. Whi- line and dot work on masonry (p 39) is intelligently overlaid with diagonal white-line "rays of sunshine". Her tailpiece on the last page of text indicated that she could have illustrated country life books to good effect.

Helen Binyon's sole excursion into commercial wood-engraved book illustration was in Penguin's Illustrated Classics series. Pride and Prejudice appeared in 1938 with stylised frontispiece and decoration on the title-page. The line text engravings show little sense of movement and she appeared to suffer more from the indifferent paper used by the publishers than other engravers who contributed to the series. Binyon was undoubtedly aware of the difficulties she might encounter in this assignment for her textures are simpler and broader here than in Brief Candles. Nevertheless the book is a disappointment. Unlike Ravilious, whose teaching duties at the Royal College of Art did not appear to be an enjoyable experience, Helen Binyon after the Second World War established a major reputation in that field, although concentrating on other media.

The number of women who, in the twentieth century, have excelled in creative wood-engraving has often been
the subject of informed discussion and in 1979 an
exhibition of the work of twenty-seven of the leading
female figures was held in Oxford. The greater number
of these illustrated mainly for the private presses and
this work has received attention from other writers.
Prominent amongst those engraving for the Golden Cockerel
Press were Lettice Sandford, Mary Groom, Gwenda Morgan
and Dorothea Braby, the last of whom produced highly
idiosyncratic and disturbing work to illustrate the
Mabinogion and Gilgamesh, both of which were published
in 1948. Like Clare Leighton, Braby proved to be an
intelligent writer and produced, inter alia, a popular
treatise on wood-engraving. Her own satisfaction in
working in the medium stemmed from "a fundamental
satisfaction in beginning with utter blackness."

Gwen Raverat's book illustration, in contrast, was
with one exception carried out for commercial publishers.
In her comfortable Cambridge childhood she "discovered
Bewick". Her autobiographical account, Period Piece,
relates how "if I ... mended his clothes and minded his
children - surely he would ... let me draw and engrave a
little tailpiece for him." Raverat's first published
engraving was carried out in 1909 and she continued using
the medium until 1950 although illustrating in other media
as well. The majority of Raverat's blocks survived, unlike
those of Ravilious whose wood-engravings were gathered
together and published by the Lion and Unicorn Press from

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reproductions. In a similar exercise, Reynolds Stone was able to have the Raverat engravings printed by Cambridge University Press mainly from the original blocks and probably under his personal supervision.

Raverat was unique in that of the early twentieth-century creative wood-engravers, she was not part of any group or school. Receiving some instruction from her cousin, Mrs Bernard Darwin, Raverat had cut some sixty blocks by 1914. In the following year appeared two of the first titles to be illustrated with "modern" wood-engravings. These were The Devil's Devices with wood-engravings by Eric Gill (q.v.) and Raverat's cuts for Frances Cornford's Spring Morning (Poetry Bookshop). At that time she was almost unique in expressing tonal change through shades of grey, in contrast to the black and white engravers who were pupils or ex-pupils of Rooke. According to Garrett, Cornford's book was the first to be illustrated with white-line creative engraving. There was no lack of sympathy between author and engraver for they were cousins, and "deeply attached to each other". Whilst her earliest prints were fairly crude and in some respects reminiscent of those of Brangwyn, the engravings for Spring Morning were masterly expressions of tonal light and shade, perhaps owing a little to Blake and Calvert. In this tradition also were the engravings for the Ashendene Press edition of The Pastoral Loves of Daphnis and Chloe (1933) where the influences of Charles Ricketts and Thomas Sturge Moore are clearly evident.
However, unlike many engravers who chose to work in a particular style, eg Robert Gibbings, Raverat's methods were astonishingly diverse. Her vignettes for The Cambridge Book of Poetry for Children, published by C.U.P. in 1932 range from black-line vignettes in the Richard Doyle idiom through the moonlit pastoral scenes redolent of Blake's cuts for Thornton's Virgil to little cuts in the chapbook style.

Raverat's wood-engravings for a further Cornford book of poetry, Mountains and Molehills, published by Cambridge University Press in 1934 were generally less successful, Mountain Path (p 1) in particular being an abortive exercise in texture. On the other hand, she produced an outstanding series of engravings for The Runaway by Elizabeth Ann Hart which Macmillan published in 1936. Her narrative pictures for this tale were excellent in their dramatic appeal, although the scourge of Victorian reproductive engraving, the "boiled lobster" effect, appears on the child's face at the writing table. The individual silhouette figures are superb character studies and are almost unique in the history of modern wood-engraved illustration.

For A G Street's popular narrative of agricultural life, Farmer's Glory, published in 1934 by Faber and Faber, Raverat produced another series of wood-engravings, rich in diversity. These give some indication of the probable success which she would have enjoyed had she been chosen to
illustrate Thomas Hardy, not least for her outstanding ability to convey the actions of the story's characters in small text-width head- and tailpieces. Raverat's outstanding ability to bring light out of the block with "effortless control" was most simply and effectively demonstrated by the "stampeding cows" vignette (p.253) where the animals have a white-line profile, reflecting the light from the lanterns held by the farmers at either side of the picture.

It is hard to imagine that Raverat's illustrations to Four Tales from Hans Andersen (C.U.P., 1935) had great child appeal, although they possess both wit and beauty. However, Raverat's engravings for the Penguin Illustrated Classic edition of Lawrence Sterne's Sentimental Journey published in 1938 were exactly right for that titillating story. As with her engravings for The London Mercury, also printed on rough surfaced paper, Raverat's broad treatment led to success where others failed. In only one of the twelve engravings, (p.85) did she attempt large areas of solid black and this was her least successful illustration.

Like Gertrude Hermes and Agnes Miller Parker, Gwen Raverat experimented with colour printing from wood block and her eight illustrations to The Bird Talisman by Harry Wedgwood were printed from four blocks or three, but without using the graduated printing common in Victorian printing.
Probably the most popular of the twentieth-century book illustrators working in the medium is Joan Hassall, daughter of poster artist and book illustrator John Hassall. Born in 1906, she was educated at a teacher training institution and initially assisted her father at his private art school. In contrast to her father, whose illustration was typified by the use of large flat areas of colour surrounded by thick black line and reminiscent of William Nicholson's London Types (q.v.), Joan Hassall's generally small wood-engravings are incredibly detailed and full of light and shade. Of all the wood-engravers perhaps she is the most complete.

Whilst studying at the Royal Academy Schools, she chanced upon a wood-engraving class at the School of Photo-engraving at Bolt Court run by R J Beedham and found that she had a natural aptitude for the medium. She was also influenced by Bewick's pupil John Jackson, whose Treatise on Wood Engraving of 1839 remains a standard work for the serious student or historian. As with Raverat, Bewick became "an intoxicating and vital influence."

It is commonly alleged that her first piece of published illustration, the title-page to her brother Christopher's poems Devil's Dyke was paid for by Heinemann whilst deducting an equivalent amount from his royalties. However, this niggardly quality did not prevent the publishers from recognising the all-round quality of the cut, its strength of composition, varying greys and quality
of letter-cutting. The last was especially promising, despite some slight misalignment. For publication in the following year, she produced for Heinemann seventeen engravings for Francis Brett Young's Portrait of a Village. This gentle description of Worcestershire village life by the best-selling novelist was a popular success and made Joan Hassall's work widely known. Although not as large as the wood-engraved title-page for Devil's Dyke, nevertheless the three full-page squared-up illustrations measuring 6" x 4½" are substantial pieces of work taking into account that Hassall's illustration is almost entirely tonal and therefore almost all the surface has to be worked by the engraver. In respect of these and the seven further text-width engravings, Gray pointed out the influence of Pinwell and North. However, whilst these pictures have "a strong flavour of the '60's", the effect of Birket Foster's water-colours as interpreted by Edmund Evans (q.v.) is more readily discernible. Bewick's influence is clear in the seven tailpieces. The Times Literary Supplement acknowledged the "handsomely produced volume over which the sombre brilliance of Miss Joan Hassall's wood-engravings broods agreeably elegiac".

Hassall's next important commission was for Harrap and the commission to carry out twenty-four engravings for Mrs Gaskell's Cranford forwarded her talent as an illustrator of fiction. Here it became apparent that in her drawing and engraving of faces there was an exceptional gift, many
leading engravers having difficulty in this area of illustration. The title-page carried a fine portrait of Mrs Gaskell and the free outline and squared-up engravings showed Hassall's flair for costume and "period". This triumph would probably had led to other similar work but for the intervention of the war and it was not until 1946 that a further opportunity occurred with Mary Russell Mitford's sketches of Berkshire village life, published as Our Village. With a title-page in series with Cranford, the remaining twenty-five illustrations fall into three categories. Eight are squared-up on three sides and seven on all four sides whilst the remaining engravings are tailpieces, mainly in outline. Unfortunately, the press work by R and R Clark left a great deal to be desired, with solid blacks of spotty appearance, especially noticeable in the interiors on pages 135 and 207. In some instances, Hassall's fine-line work filled with ink and failed to print, eg pps 25 and 87. McLean noted the huge difference between the artist's proofs and the poor reproduction in the book and suggests that she gave up a project to illustrate The Vicar of Wakefield as a result. Notwithstanding these criticisms, there are superb examples of Hassall's work in Our Village, especially The Slide (p 33) which equals the best work of Thomas Bewick.

Between Cranford and Our Village, Joan Hassall taught at Edinburgh College of Art and as a result, became engaged on a number of items of Scottish interest. Reminiscent of the Lovat Fraser chapbooks, albeit decidely
modern in typographic design, were the Saltire Chapbooks which she designed and to which she contributed some of the illustration. Four anthologies of Scottish history entitled Scottish Pageant were published by Oliver and Boyd at the behest of The Saltire Society between 1946 and 1950 with title-page vignettes by Hassall. These followed the first five chapbooks, all of which contained her engravings. Set in Scotch Roman typeface, these are outstanding pieces of book design in a format 5½" x 3½".

Number 4, The Marriage of Robin Redbreast and The Wren contains a title-page vignette repeated in black and red on the front cover and six bordered headpieces of fine quality with two outline vignettes on the last page. Only the few chapbooks which Fraser produced for Everard Meynell’s bookshop (q.v.) offer any comparison in this genre. For an edition of Robert Louis Stevenson’s A Child’s Garden of Verses published by the Hopetoun Press in 1946 and reissued by Blackie in 1958, Hassall produced no less than forty-five engravings.

Joan Hassall’s successful evasion of private presses meant that she was not generally exposed to stiff hand-made paper. Words by Request, a book of poems by her brother with title-page vignette, was published by Barker in a limited edition of five hundred copies on hand-made paper. Hassall’s fine-line work was lost in the inking.

In 1949, Joan Hassall engraved seventeen blocks for the Folio Society’s compilation, The Parson’s Daughter and
Other Stories by Anthony Trollope. Each of the five stories was accompanied by one text-width squared-up engraving and two vignettes which considerably enhance the narrative. The final story, Alice Dugdale, first appeared in the Christmas 1878 issue of Good Words with wood-engravings cut by Dalziel from designs by G G Kilburne. Curiously, Hassall chose the same "moments" to illustrate. Although technically and in composition brilliant, as for example in The Swing (p 159), yet Kilburne's mundane and contrived picture (p 24) conveys the mid-Victorian scene more realistically. Similarly, The Proposal (frontispiece) of Hassall, although more romantic, is less convincing than Kilburne's more prosaic work (p 31) Alice's dress, in both proposal scenes, is almost identical.

A similar collection followed in 1951. Trollope's Mary Gresley and Other Stories. Here the five stories have two engravings each, save Katchen's Caprices which also claims the frontispiece. This large engraving falls below Hassall's usual high standard and the book generally is disappointing. With Mary Webb's poems, however, she was clearly more comfortable and the vignette head and tailpieces are jewel-like, although printed on unsympathetic paper. Fifty-one Poems was published by Cape in 1946.

Few of Hassall's compositions were experimental. However, the title-page design for Ruth Pitter's Urania published by the Cresset Press in 1950 and the title-page vignette for Walter De La Mare's Winged Chariot, published a year later, were clearly movements into the area dominated
by Hughes-Stanton and Hermes. Generally however, Hassall confined her illustration to those subjects in which she excelled, a landscape derived from Bewick with people garbed in costume fashionable between 1800 and 1850. Whilst there are superb townscapes of Edinburgh to be found in Eric Linklater's Sealskin Trousers and Other Stories, published in 1947, the overwhelming impression gained from this book is of the disturbing full page engravings which accompany the story of the title (p 106) and The Goose Girl (frontispiece). Significantly, the Times Literary Supplement ignored the engravings in its review.

By 1950, Joan Hassall was making a wider contribution to printing. Amongst her achievements was the not inconsiderable part her engravings played in the high standards of design which made National Book League publications so "consistently agreeable and admirable". A diversion into scraperboard was the Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book in 1955. It's editors stated that their "ideal collaborator's... art was born out of the very chapbook literature she now accompanies". This claim was stretching the Bewick connection for Hassall's Bewick was the Bewick of the Quadruped's tailpieces rather than he of the chapbook cuts.

From Cranford onwards, Hassall had been moving to a position where she was predominant in her own subject field and it was inevitable that she should come eventually to illustrate Jane Austen's novels.
The normal problems facing an illustrator were compounded in the case of Austen. As with potential illustrators of Alice in Wonderland, the reading public identified the author with existing and well-known illustration. With Austen, two major illustrators were prominent. These were Hugh Thomson (1860-1920) and Charles E Brock (1870-1938). Both, along with others, became active in illustrating Austen in the 1890's.

There does not appear to be any logical reason for the upsurge of illustrated editions of Austen in that decade. In 1894 Macmillan and Co issued Pride and Prejudice in its Illustrated Standard Novels series with forty line drawings by C E Brock. This title was followed by the publication in 1896 of Sense and Sensibility and Emma with Northanger Abbey and Persuasion (one vol) and Mansfield Park appearing in 1897, all illustrated in line by Hugh Thomson. It seems likely that Thomson would have been employed from the first but for the fact that he had been engaged by George Allen to illustrate Pride and Prejudice with one hundred and one pen drawings for that publisher's open plagiarism of Macmillan's Cranford series. On coming to Macmillan, Thomson contributed a total of two hundred and sixty-one drawings to the Austen titles. Meanwhile, George Allen remained in furious competition, issuing Emma in 1898 and Sense and Sensibility in "Cranford green" cloth but with gold decoration far superior to that on the genuine article. Both volumes were illustrated by Chris Hammond who, although more than
competent, could not match Thomson's exquisite line.

By 1898, the firm of J M Dent and Co had been in existence for ten years and had, from its inception in 1888 been heavily involved in series publication. The Works of Jane Austen were issued in ten volumes each with three undistinguished collotype plates by W Cubitt Cooke. Dent, who was a master at exploiting his editors' work, brought out a further edition, each of the ten volumes having three illustrations by H M Brock and three by C E Brock, all printed in flat lithographic colour. This edition remained in print for over fifty years. Dent used the same text, reset, for the six Jane Austen titles printed between 1907 and 1909 in the superb English Idylls series. In this instance, the Brock watercolours were superbly interpreted through the colour halftone process. Not to be outdone Macmillan reissued its illustrated Austen titles in the Illustrated Pocket Classics series where they remained in print for many years.

By 1957, when the Folio Society issued Pride and Prejudice, Joan Hassall had built up a following amongst the many collectors of the wood-engraved illustration. Additionally, wood-engraving was a heavily used medium in the Folio Society's programme and its membership must have accepted this otherwise its commercial viability could have been doubtful. Using the definitive text of R W Chapman with Fournier type, The Folio Society began a series of great distinction. In addition to providing
eleven wood-block illustrations, Hassall provided decorations for the endpapers and paper sides on the binding. A further six volumes were issued in similar format between 1958 and 1963. The novels are printed by Butler and Tanner in the dense, black, almost glossy ink characteristic of Christopher Sandford's books. Nevertheless, this barely detracts from Hassall's tour de force. The success of the venture prompted the reissue of the volumes as a set in 1975 with additional engravings, Pride and Prejudice for example having an additional six text illustrations.

Hassall's approach to the illustration of the novels was firstly to engage upon systematic research into the period, with particular reference to architecture, furniture and dress, using contemporary paintings and prints where possible. This was accompanied by visits to relevant locations such as Bath and Lyme Regis prior to illustrating Persuasion. In reading the novels, she tried to understand their "inner moods and probabilities" and was fortunate in caring "passionately" about the books.

Next came a critical study carried out at the British Museum of all available illustrated editions of Austen, finding W Cubitt Cooke and Chris Hammond unsatisfactory whilst "knowing and loving" the editions of Hugh Thomson and C E Brock. In executing the designs, Hassall felt that the incidents in the text should be "specific portrayals of people, places and things" whilst chapter headings and tailpieces were "in the nature of comment".
allowing more latitude. Hassall's insistence of making 76 real characters in her engravings led to much work for
"To fuss about a face may seem over-anxious, but to cut a face at all in the intractable material of box-wood is a chancey thing. A shave of wood can alter an expression or a slip of a tool can cause a squint."

It is not possible for Thomson or Brock to be compared with Hassall for their sketchiest of pen drawings were deliberately drawn for reproduction by line block whilst Hassall's approach was to extract the maximum amount of tone from the block using squared up illustrations for both frontispiece and insertion into the text page. Yet, despite the formality and richness of her engravings, as for example in the frontispiece to Pride and Prejudice, she managed to convey life, and movement also as in the "father - what news?" incident (p 226) where the girls appear to run just as urgently as in Brock's sketch on p 272 of the Macmillan Illustrated Standard Novels edition. A lover of Austen would find nothing amiss in accommodating the Macmillan, English Idylls and Folio Society sets side by side, for they are complementary rather than contradictory in illustration.

Amongst her later work, the blocks which she cut for the Limited Editions Club Poems of Robert Burns stand out for their diversity. This, one of a series of ten on British poets designed by John Dreyfus, has two vignettes of flowers on the title-page printed in full colour from 265.
wood-block and a substantial number of illustrations and decorations in the text, some in the chapbook tradition, others reminiscent of the engravings of Bliss for The Devil in Scotland (q.v.). Hassall described her considerable technique in detail in a lecture to the Bookplate Society.

Of the two remaining major wood-engravers active in illustration before the commencement of the Second World War, John Buckland-Wright's work is found almost entirely in the publications of the private presses and has been well documented elsewhere. Unlike most wood-engravers, Buckland Wright was equally at home engraving in copper and in both media he held technical mastery. His sensuous illustrations depended upon an underlying abstract rhythm with the curved line dominating to such an extent that there appears to be a certain degree of repetition in his work.

Taking a degree in another discipline prior to his introduction to craft Buckland Wright, like Bliss, was able to write perceptively and his textbook on printmaking deals lucidly and succinctly with both theory and practice. Teaching at the Slade School and Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts, Buckland Wright in contrast to Ravilious excelled as a teacher. A superb interpreter of the female figure, he was less happy where the human body was absent. The persistent popularity of his books on the rare book market suggests that his subject matter had much to do with the continuing success of the Golden Cockerel Press long after
its competitors had failed. Buckland Wright leaves us in no doubt as to the major influences upon his work for, compared with Blake and Calvert, Bewick was just "a little master".

81 John Piper similarly provided what Reynolds Stone termed "a true estimate" of Bewick's stature as an artist. "His (Bewick's) sight was not second sight like Blake's ... he did not project into natural scenes a mass of poetic and religious experiences ... he had ... normal unclouded vision." Stone, the last of the wood-engravers of the first rank to practice commercial book illustration prior to the second world war, was entirely sympathetic to this view of Bewick in whose tradition he was firmly grounded.

Reynolds Stone was equally adept at book illustration and decoration. With a Cambridge degree in history, he was fortunate in learning the rudiments of printing at first hand at the Cambridge University Press and had some instruction in wood-engraving from Gill, whose lettering he admired. In time, Stone was to succeed Gill as the foremost letterer on wood block and stone. Initially, however, he worked for a printing house in Taunton, engraving privately at night and getting commissions through Beatrice Warde, Stanley Morison and Francis Meynell for letterheadings and similar work. His early books, which include A Butler's Recipe Book by Philip James published by Cambridge University Press in 1936, contain a number of decorations showing Stone's feeling for natural form and

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at the same time showing his experimentation with various techniques. Cross-hatching, used in De La Mare's Ding Dong Bell, new ed. 1936, was later to be largely discarded with concentration upon gaining effect from line.

In 1938, Stone's title-page vignette of a plough for De Guevara's The Praise and Happinesse of the Countrie-Life introduced a series of head- and tailpieces of great beauty for the Gregynog Press, the final example incorporating lettering upon a stone, a favourite device of Bewick, and a ploy which Stone had used previously in Ding Dong Bell.

Following his work on the Nonesuch Shakespeare Anthology, where his fine line calligraphic engraving was not always printed to best advantage, a further commission to provide a dozen chapter headings for Rousseau's Confessions proved more successful. Printed in red-brown, these designs show a full flowering of Stone's lettering together with natural history illustration of great power. At times, Stone was able to vary his illustration with more open textures as for example in the headpiece to Book IX (vol. 2, p 71).

Subsequent to the second world war, Stone's work for commercial publishers continued with engravings in the same tradition for The Living Hedge by Leslie Paul, 1946, Apostate by Forrest Reid, 1947 and The Open Air by Adrian Bell, 1949. All published by Faber and Faber, the least pleasing is The Living Hedge. The full-page engravings which appear to have been printed separately from the text,
show that Stone's forte was the vignette. In Apostate, Stone demonstrated his skill in incorporating lettering into the headings whilst the combination of his vignettes with Adrian Bell's invigorating prose proved highly popular with the reading public.

Book illustration formed but a small part of Stone's work as the 1982 Retrospective Exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum demonstrated. Amongst books decorated rather than illustrated were titles by Freya Stark for John Murray and Shakespeare's Sonnets and Sonnets from the Portuguese for the Folio Society.

One of Stone's last major commissions was to illustrate a volume in the series of British poets designed by Dreyfus for the Limited Editions Club. Although approaching sixty-five years of age, Stone's engraving of lettering remained perfect, as demonstrated by the title-page vignette. His mastery of portraiture is also clearly seen in the three-quarter view of Tennyson which is the subject of the headpiece to the Introduction (p vii). The volume is a showcase for the diverse talents of Stone. Interiors, landscapes, birds and boats received sure and loving treatment. Less successful were the engravings of female figures. Stone also illustrated Schuster's St Thomas Aquinas for the Limited Editions Club.

What should have been a fitting climax to Stone's career was the Compton Press publication A Year of Birds, twelve poems by Iris Murdoch, each for a month of the year
These engravings are printed too heavily to bear comparison with earlier more airy engravings. Not even the proof engravings issued with the special limited edition help alleviate the general gloom of the book. Equally unsatisfactory are the illustrations in the Compton Press edition of W H Hudson's A Shepherd's Life, also published in 1978.

Along with Joan Hassall, Stone tried his hand at illustrating Linklater, in this case A Sociable Plover and Other Stories, published by Rupert Hart-Davis. Like Hassall, he appears to have found it difficult to find a rapport between text and engraving. However, for Hart-Davis he produced beautiful devices and a successful wrapper design for the Reynard Library, a series of anthologies modelled upon the Nonesuch Press Compendious series, in which his "Bear" device was used for the John Milton volume.

As a letterer, Stone remained supreme until his death. His last published work was the engraved title, printed in blue, for Sacheverell Sitwell's Valse des Fleurs, published posthumously by the Fairfax Press. It displays that quality which distinguishes Stone's work, that which Muir terms "being signed all over". This quality of personal style may be readily identifiable in a painting but for it to be achieved in lettering cut into the block is an outstanding achievement.

Stone's early training allowed him to place his illustration on the printed page without allowing it to dominate the text. In addition to his much-loved vignettes,
Stone was known internationally for the power of his heraldic wood-engravings where he proved beyond all doubt the supremacy of the medium for work in this area of illustration. That his skills were in constant demand by institutions and individuals for this kind of work enabled him to avoid largely the "oversweetening" influence of the private press. This in itself was an almost impossible feat for a major twentieth-century wood-engraver. Others turned away from wood-engraving possibly for this very reason. Lynton Lamb ceased to engrave after working on three books for the Golden Cockerel Press. Shortly afterwards, he wrote "to insist that the artist should execute figure eights is absurd. Too often, discouraged, engravers cease to draw, they engrave textures". Lamb's sole excursion into wood-engraved illustration after that time was to provide some small blocks to illustrate Thomas Hardy's short story Our Exploits at West Poley which was published by Oxford University Press in 1952.
CHAPTER EIGHT

19th AND 20th CENTURY WOOD-ENGRAVED ILLUSTRATION

AND THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY
The novels of Thomas Hardy provide a fertile ground for the comparative study of nineteenth and twentieth century wood engraved illustration. Curiously, no other nineteenth century English novelist whose work was serialised with accompanying wood-engraved illustrations appears to have attracted the attention of the twentieth century artist-engravers to the same extent. George Eliot and Anthony Trollope are other major figures whose work appeared in serial form and whose continued popularity is such that publishers have been willing to undertake illustrated editions. In these and other cases, the use of wood engraving is rare, although Joan Hassall illustrated two of Trollope’s minor works for the Folio Society in this medium.

The nineteenth century tradition of illustrating stories, first in part-publication, latterly in the literary periodical, has produced certain associations of artist and illustrator in the minds of readers. Ainsworth and Cruikshank; Dickens and 'Phiz', and Trollope and Millais are amongst the best known examples. As noted in Chapter One, that relationship could have a significant effect on the published illustrations. There are notable cases of author preferences with regard to illustrators. Trollope, for example, was offered £1000 by George Smith for the three-decker Framley Parsonage, first to be serialised in the Cornhill Magazine. He wrote "Should I see my story illustrated by Millais, no body would be able to
hold me". In addition to the signalling the start of this remarkable collaboration, Trollope found that he was allowed to select subjects for the illustrator. Prior to recognition and subsequent serialisation, Trollope had received "pocket money" for novels published by Newby. Hardy, whose first two novels appeared in book form and were unillustrated, received even worse treatment at the hands of Tinsley and unlike Trollope, when established, did not have the opportunity to make an enduring relationship with any illustrator. J A Pasquier, Helen Paterson, George Du Maurier, Arthur Hopkins, John Collier, Robert Barnes, Hubert von Herkomer and his pupils, Wal Paget and W Hatherell followed each other, only Du Maurier having a second opportunity.

Hardy's novel writing encompassed a period of twenty-five years, from 1871 to 1896. The heyday of "Sixties" illustration was passed and photomechanical process was well established by the eighteen-nineties. Yet, in comparison with other writers of the period, Hardy was comparatively well served and apparently satisfied with his illustrators. Whether he would have had illustrators at all if there was a choice is not clear. Certainly, there was no unanimity about the desirability of illustration. In writing about one of Hardy's illustrators Henry James objected to book illustration, "a positive comfort to be left alone with the text." Whilst James obviously preferred to conjure up his own visions of Tess or Bathsheba rather
than look at the creations of Herkomer or Allingham, the fact that the majority liked their stories with pictures was proved by the circulation figures.

Unlike the Moxon Tennyson and certain other examples of 'sixties' illustration, these serial pictures cannot be judged as free standing works of art incidentally accompanying poems. These are illustrations which faithfully depict incidents in imaginative literature and which were required to help to sell forthcoming instalments. As such they cannot be separated from their text and should be criticised accordingly, although in the present writer's view, this restriction does not apply so strictly in respect of the creative engraving of the modern editions.

Hodnett, who was probably the first to systematise the criteria for the evaluation of book illustration, went on to state that there are at least two hundred and fifty illustrators of adult literature worthy of record of which fifty are of special consequence "because of their excellence, industry or the nature of their relation to certain authors". It is certain that, if set against such an arbitrary and bleak statistical background, none of Hardy's original illustrators are in the elect fifty, for even Du Maurier's reputation lies more in other directions.

It should not be forgotten that illustration was work and paid employment had to be accepted whether or not it pleased. There is little record of artists voicing
opinions on the merits of "their" novels. Many tales have been illustrated by artists actively disliking or being indifferent to the author's own art. Hardy's novels are in many cases uncomfortable, eg, Jude the Obscure, or even by the standards of the day outrageous, eg, Tess of the D'Urbervilles. The reaction of the illustrator to the story was bound to affect the illustrations. Therefore, whether or not the illustrations were successful depended to a certain extent on an empathy. Millais' illustrations to Trollope "succeed because they are remarkably Trollopian, and Trollope was fortunate in being at his peak in the golden age of illustration." Hardy, a far greater novelist, had to work in its decline.

Whilst the Pre-Raphaelites were a long way removed from photography, the dominant theme of Victorian art was realism, especially contemporary as expressed in the paintings of William Frith (Derby Day) and Luke Fildes (Village Wedding) and this permeated the illustration of Hardy. The art of the period was also evidence not just of things seen but of ways of seeing and this is strikingly borne out in comparing and contrasting the nineteenth and twentieth century visual interpretations of Hardy.

The architectural training undergone by Hardy and the influence upon him by "old master" paintings has been well documented by Carpenter among others. As his novels progressed, so Hardy entered into communication with his
illustrators. For A Pair of Blue Eyes he produced two sketches which were sent at the beginning of the serial. To what extent the experienced Pasquier appreciated the unsolicited graphic advice of the young writer can only be conjectured yet Jackson observes a marked resemblance between the face of the heroine and that of the young Emma Gifford, whom Hardy was courting at that time. 11

Jackson also points out that because of the timescale, the illustrator was almost certainly chosen by the Editor of Tihesley's Magazine without Hardy being involved. The chosen illustrator, J A Pasquier was by that time (1872) by no means unknown to the magazine subscribing public. Although not in the first rank of 'sixties illustrators, his work was to be found in the Illustrated London News, London Society and some of the journals with moral overtones. The Dalziels commented favourably on his skill with both pen and watercolour and it is obvious from the tonal qualities of the wood-engraving of Elfride's attempt to help Knight, for example (vol. 12 facing p 21) that Pasquier expected the engraver, in this case Evans, to translate the latter medium. Each of the eleven instalments was accompanied by a full page black and white wood-engraving.

The designs are moderate only in composition with no particular strength of line and from the very first present what is found to be universal over the whole nineteenth-century corpus of Hardy illustration, a solely descriptive
rather than interpretative accompaniment to the text with no hint of allusion. A Perplexing Sight (facing and referring to page 144) shows a three-quarter profile of the heroine speculating on the too obvious shadows behind the window. The serial's second illustration, On the Cliffs, is an all too common Victorian portrayal of a couple caught in a both geographically and morally uncomfortable situation. As with much indifferent engraving of the period the curvilinear parallel engraved lines across the face of the girl produce the boiled lobster syndrome. The picture is poor and unworthy of Evans. A Pair of Blue Eyes is not regarded as one of Hardy's major novels and has no twentieth-century wood engraved illustrations as it is. commercially unsuited to illustrated reprint, but the story deserved better illustrations than Pasquier could provide for Hardy, yet a free standing full page illustration which he drew for the Illustrated London News, "A Look-out on Xmas Eve", was interpreted through wood-engraving and conveys its message most effectively. Perhaps Pasquier was more at home with this type of work rather than in trying to cope with the difficult, unexpected and arbitrary relationships in which Hardy's characters frequently found themselves embroiled.

Both Hardy and Tinsley have given accounts of their relationship in respect of the first two unillustrated books, Desperate Remedies and Under the Greenwood Tree, and the serial described above, which Tinsley published as a
three-decker unillustrated novel in 1873. A balanced and full account is given by Sutherland who also refers to Leslie Stephen's tactic in "using his money to buy property that was coming up in the world" and writing to Hardy on behalf of the Cornhill Magazine, requesting a serial. This was to be Hardy's first major work, Far From the Madding Crowd. From this point, the engraving was to improve, possibly as a result of other publishers being prepared to pay more than Tinsley who observed that when John Maxwell and Mrs Braddon started Belgravia they were paying £2-3 per square inch for drawing and engraving. "Modern magazines do not cost £1 per inch".

It was in Far From the Madding Crowd that Hardy first used the appellation Wessex which was to become synonymous with his work. Although Emery Walker's map which is to be found in the Wessex and Folio editions extends from Christminster (Oxford) and Aldbrickham (Reading) in the North-East to Exonbury (Exeter) and Torbay in the South-West, the Wessex of Hardy is generally identified with Dorset and Far from the Madding Crowd is a novel of Dorset. Weber, conscious of Hardy's assertion that "the descriptions of the backgrounds has been done from the real" identified a considerable number of locations described in the novel. Whilst Agnes Miller Parker had the benefit of this knowledge when illustrating the novel for the Limited Editions Club of New York, Helen Paterson did not. However, according to Hardy she was the best illustrator he ever had working"in
the most expert fashion with authentic research and feeling for local colour." As with the previous serial Hardy sent at least one sketch to the artist although in the first instance he wrote to the publishers begging "that the rustics look intelligent." The situation between author and artist was now the reverse with Hardy established and Paterson looking for an early success which, according to Houfe she obtained with these illustrations.

Far from the Madding Crowd is chronologically the first of Hardy's novels to be illustrated through wood-engraving in which a comparison between the nineteenth and twentieth century artists can be effected. An examination between the serial issues, each with one full-plate illustration and one text vignette, and the Limited Editions Club book of 1958 immediately reveals the constraints under which Helen Paterson had to work. Just as Hardy had to change his scheme of work because of his editor's caution in regard to the seduction of Fanny Robin, a character planned to play a far more dynamic part in the story than eventually was the case, Helen Paterson had to restrict her choice of subject to such romantic moments which she could extract from each episode. The first six plates amply demonstrate her selection of the right incidents for the Victorian serial. Oak, with head in Bathsheba's lap, unconscious from fumes (vol XXIX, frontis), the use of Bible and key to forecast a husband (facing p 274), Boldwood proposing to Bathsheba (facing p 401) and the sword-drill (facing p 654) are precise moments of high drama and romance, beautifully
told by Hardy and unnecessarily illustrated in twentieth-century terms. Agnes Miller Parker's engravings, on the other hand, appear at first sight to be simply pictures based on the text which ignore the romantic situation, yet on closer examination show that this is not so. The engravings of Bathsheba on the wagon (p 5) and Bathsheba with pail (p 17) are not portraits as such but views of Bathsheba presented to Gabriel Oak at their first two encounters. They show a prettier and more confident Bathsheba than that presented by Paterson. However, the avoidance of direct representation of high drama and the use of allusive illustration is seen in two further examples from Parker in the early part of the novel. Instead of displaying a quarry full of dead sheep, the incident is portrayed by Oak and his guilty dog surveying a broken fence (p 37) and where Paterson shows Oak asking Bathsheba for employment (facing p 189), Parker chooses the same incident but avoids the confrontation by showing the rick-fire which set the scene for it (p 47).

Far from the Madding Crowd was the first of Hardy's novels to convey a sense of place and the description of Norcombe Hill in Chapter two can be regarded as a preliminary exercise of Hardy's pictorial imagery which was to flower fully in The Return of the Native. Paterson's sole excursion into topographical illustration is in the penultimate plate which shows Troy swimming in Lulworth Cove. On the other hand, Parker's engravings of Oak with his dog and Oak on horseback (p 329) capture both the
Wessex landscape and the constantly changing sky which is a factor of that landscape.

Helen Paterson, who during the production of the serial married the poet William Allingham (q.v.) and signed the last two illustrations thus, produced a series of strong compositions for the story which were competently engraved by Swain. As with much magazine illustration, competence only did nothing to enhance her drawings and the engraving of Bathsheba’s dress (vol XXX, p 10) is possibly the worst example of texturing in the whole corpus of Victorian reproductive engraving. Parker, on the other hand, was an artist-engraver commissioned by George Macy, owner of the Limited Editions Club, as such and could not have her designs ruined by an alien engraver. Unlike Helen Allingham, Parker had already illustrated Hardy’s Return of the Native (q.v.) and Tess of the D’Urbervilles (q.v.) before she turned to this most difficult of Hardy’s tales. Her brilliant technique of bringing light out of the black block was eminently suited to Hardy where night plays such a large part in the corpus of novels. Her figure drawing and strength of composition allowed her to use situations such as the sheep-shearing (p 143) and sheep-dipping (p 122) to invoke the rural landscape instead of concentrating on specific moments requiring no illustrative reinforcement. From time to time, however, her use of cross-hatching produced a mechanical element which, in the case of the cheaper editions printed on inferior paper and probably from stereos, displeases. Macy used this work, together with the
Mayor of Casterbridge (q.v.) and Jude the Obscure (q.v.) not only in his Limited Editions Club but also for his less prestigious Heritage Club. These cheaper versions highlight the artist-engravers' own dilemma, the entrustment of the blocks to the printer who could ruin illustration through over-inking. In comparing the signed presentation plate of Bathsheba which accompanied the Limited Editions Club book with the Heritage Press illustration, the lost detail in Bathsheba's face is most marked. The problem of over-inking of the twentieth century wood-engraved illustrated book is widespread, possibly due to the extreme contrast of black printing on the white page as exemplified in the Golden Cockerel and Folio Society books of Christopher Sandford. Reddick who commences work in 1984 on the wood-engravings for the projected Folio Society edition of Far From the Madding Crowd, complained of his engravings for Crotchet Castle being ruined through this.

Not the least effective of Agnes Miller Parker's wood-engravings for Far From the Madding Crowd is the title-page vignette of Bathsheba's house which was identified by Weber as Waterstone House. This was visited by Parker when she went to Puddletown, Hardy's Weatherbury, to gather material for her engravings. These were accompanied by Monotype Goudy Modern, chosen "because it is a perfect foil to ... Agnes Miller Parker's engravings." In widely differing ways both Allingham's and Parker's illustrations succeed, both satisfying the differing readership at which they were aimed.
Hardy's next venture was another serial commissioned by the Cornhill Magazine. The Hand of Ethelberta appeared with a full-page illustration and vignette by George Du Maurier to each of the eleven instalments. Although commercially successful when issued in book form with ten of these illustrations, this is one of Hardy's lesser novels which has not attracted the attention of the twentieth century wood engravers and is unlikely to do so. Although set in a number of localities, including Swanage where it was partly written, there is little sense of place in the novel itself or in Du Maurier's illustrations, the two seascapes for example being bereft of identity. Other outdoor scenes are indifferently drawn and poorly engraved and add nothing to the story. Du Maurier's strength was in the depiction of the drawing room and "'In the writing of the Composer' observed Lord Mountclere" is an illustration comparable with the best of Millais' work for Trollope. The detail of the woman's dress echoes Du Maurier's preoccupation with the more extreme manifestations of the Aesthetic Movement which he celebrated in the issues of Punch. However, such opportunities to exercise his brilliance were few, for it was Du Maurier's fate to illustrate two of Hardy's less interesting novels.

The Hand of Ethelberta ran in the Cornhill from July 1875 to May 1876 and A Laodicean from December 1880 to December 1881 in Harper's New Monthly Magazine. For this later serial Du Maurier completed one full-page
Of these illustrations, probably drawn to a much greater size, then photographically reduced on to the wood, only three have anything to add to the story. This heavy contemporary novel does not contain a single character of great imaginative appeal. That of De Stancy is probably Du Maurier's most successful portrayal, particularly in "Protecting Paula with his umbrella" (vol. II, p 777) and in "Is the resemblance strong" (vol. I, p 937), where he excelled in costume drawing. Du Maurier took a great interest in portraying women and drew from the model as much as possible. As far as he was concerned "nothing in this world is so fair as the fairness of women". A particularly fine interior "There is no Mrs D Stancy", he said" (vol I, p 777) shows Du Maurier's draughtsmanship and Swain's engraving at their best.

Unlucky with Hardy, even Bowker, Harper's European agent, criticising his drawings, it must not be forgotten that Du Maurier was the Cornhill Magazine's chief artist. He had successfully illustrated Mrs Gaskell and Thackeray and, of the 'sixties illustrators was regarded by many as second only to Millais. Du Maurier himself successfully understood the paradox of illustration. To the reader who visualised easily, illustration was in the way - "two's company, three's a crowd" - yet the majority do not have this gift and therefore desire illustrations. Whilst there was no question of Du Maurier's supremacy in his illustration for Punch, there has been some controversy.
over the value of his illustration for the novel. In the case of Du Maurier's own novels, The Martian, Trilby and Peter Ibbetson, he could add nothing to the novel's needs. Muir suggests that the illustrations to The Hand of Ethelberta were "even more of a let-down than the novel itself". The truth would appear to be that, as far as novel illustration was concerned, Du Maurier was past his best by the mid-eighteen seventies when he came to illustrate Hardy and by the eighteen-nineties when his own novels appeared, his art was well into decline. As a critic, Du Maurier was not particularly discriminating, describing the Hardy heroines of Helen Allingham and Arthur Hopkins in such terms as charming, dignified and thoughtful. In his writings on illustration, however, Du Maurier helpfully shows that there were two schools of illustrating for wood engraving after 1870, the first or traditional using pencil or pen and ink with cross-hatching and line to suggest tone and colour. After facsimile engraving there was still lots of white space allowing the reader to use his imagination. The second or Graphic school led by William Small, used washed drawing which included all detail. This required interpretative engraving for tone and colour. The significance of the Graphic and its impact on the illustrators of the 'seventies cannot be over-estimated.

Prior to his work on A Laodicean, however, Hardy was further encouraged to write for the Cornhill, but owing to Leslie Stephen's worry over incidents in the forthcoming story
likely to affect the delicate readership, Hardy took his new serial to Belgravia, then edited by Miss Braddon, which issued it between January and December 1878, each instalment being accompanied by one full-page illustration by Arthur Hopkins, engraved by Swain, which were not reproduced in book form.

The book is entirely concerned with the heath, that which "sloped down to the back of Hardy's birthplace", and the opening scenes of The Return of the Native probably offer greater inspiration to a landscape illustrator than any other nineteenth-century English novel with the possible exception of Wuthering Heights. The description of Egdon Heath, perhaps the best known topographic personality in English fiction although vulgarised in the popular mind in very much the same way as Wuthering Heights, is commonly acknowledged as descriptive writing of great imaginative power. Hardy's genius, here and elsewhere, is not restricted to landscape. As encapsulated by Hamden, Hardy "in describing the heath in all its changing moods and colours as the human protagonists cross it on their errands ... brings to these descriptions an intent observation of nature unrivalled among English novelists". Unfortunately, with the exceptions of the Sergeant Troy, of Henchard in The Mayor of Casterbridge, and the enigmatic figure of the Reddleman in The Return of the Native, who occupies a curious observership, Hardy's male characters are generally simple, priggish or effeminate. A comparison of characterisation therefore, between the
serial illustrators and the modern artist-engravers must concentrate on the heroines and other supporting females.

Nevertheless, in The Return of the Native, the landscape is the true subject of the novel and the twentieth century engravers have taken full advantage of this. Hopkins, as the illustrator of the serial, was subjected to constraints imposed by that form and was not able to capitalise on this, although he realised the importance of that other natural element, darkness, which enshrouds the major happenings. In preparing his illustrations for Swain's craftsmen, Hopkins provided nine examples which showed faces lit by bonfires (nos. 1 and 2), by lanterns, (nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12) and candlelight, (no. 5). Wood-engraving was an ideal medium to emphasise this device. Although Hopkins was competent enough with the male characters, he could not cope with the central female figure, Eustacia Vye, who is portrayed two-dimensionally.

Hardy's chapter headings almost parallel the books of the Old Testament in their logical sequence and development. Chapter one introduces the landscape - "A face on which time makes but little impression" and is followed by "Humanity appears upon the scene", in turn succeeded by "The custom of the country", and so unfolds one of Hardy's tragedies, remorselessly pursuing its course towards the inevitable calamity. Accompanied by sustained imagery of awesome power, the novel is an illustrator's dream. Which illustrator could ignore the description of the communal bonfire, for
example, which 43 pointed out "The brilliant lights and sooty shades which struggled upon the skin of the persons standing round caused their lineaments and general contours to be drawn with Dureresque vigour and dash ... the blots of shade and flakes of light upon the countenances of the group changed shape and position endlessly".

This bonfire theme, taken up by Hopkins, then by Clare Leighton several times, Agnes Miller Parker once, and Peter Reddick twice, demonstrates the apparent limitless facility which was Hardy's pictorial imagery. It should not be forgotten that Hardy's own drawings accompanied his Wessex Poems of 1898.

It was not until 1929 that The Return of the Native was illustrated by a creative wood-engraver, and Clare Leighton's spare white-line technique was ideally suited to this story of darkness. Her major bonfire illustration carries the perfect caption from the text, showing the primitive enjoyment engendered by "the nimble flames which towered, nodded and swooped". With twelve tipped-in full page engravings and forty-nine head and tailpieces, this Harper/Macmillan venture was one of the most ambitious attempts in twentieth-century illustration of the novel to date. The gulf between Hopkins' work and Clare Leighton's unfettered challenge is immense. The constant use of very fine line produced an effect reminiscent of early nineteenth-century silhouette work, enhanced in the case of the head and tailpieces by their irregular shape. But, even where these vignettes have borders, the engravings have a total freedom
which Hopkins could not begin to approach. Of the four illustrators concerned here with this novel, Leighton had greatest success with the central character, Eustacia. Her beauty is gently conveyed in the illustration showing her waiting for Wildeve (facing p 68) and her complexity of character is amply conveyed (pp 74 and 75).

Whilst the vignettes were fitted into the text with "perfect tact" and the tipped-in plates are unobtrusive, the critics found much to cavil at. "The landscape and the people are those of the story, and to this extent there is harmony between type and illustration. But her skill has not wholly succeeded in overcoming the inevitable discord in a book which was not designed as a whole but is composed of illustrations fitted into pages already planned without them". The import here is in the allegation that Harper's did not bother to reset the type, let alone employ a designer. Leighton's engravings throughout her long career have been characterised by their blackness and it is true that the text deserved a closer and more sympathetic setting enhanced by heavier inking. Even less warranted was the criticism that her illustrations for this novel suffered from "a certain inflation of the forms which derives obscurely from post-impressionist theories about plasticity". There is a down to earth quality running throughout the corpus of Leighton's engraving and writing which makes this criticism impossible to sustain. That the Times Literary Supplement chose to focus upon the edition twice emphasises the growing
importance of wood-engraved illustration outside the private press movement.

If Hardy made Egdon Heath an explicit symbol of modern man's hopelessness as he progressively uncovers the defects of natural laws, then Clare Leighton went but a little way to realise this, Agnes Miller Parker less so. Only Reddick (q.v.) approaches a true understanding of the novel. Yet Parker's illustrations have great appeal, despite their appearance in a wartime edition of the Heritage Press. By the time Parker was engaged by George Macy for this project, her reputation as a wood-engraver was firmly fixed. In addition to her massively popular illustrations to H. E. Bates' Through the Woods and Down the River, published by Gollancz in 1936 and 1937 respectively, she had successfully illustrated The Fables of Esopo and XXI Welsh Gypsy Folk Tales for the Gregynog Press notwithstanding cavalier treatment from the Board of that organisation, and Bates' House with the Apricot and Rhys Davies' short tale Daisy Matthews for The Golden Cockerel Press. The Gregynog titles are now increasingly sought after and internationally recognised as high points in wood-engraved illustration of the finest quality within the perfectly designed book.

In illustrating The Return of the Native, Parker again focussed her illustrations upon the night. The faces reflected from the bonfires and lanterns assume a theatrical quality, especially in the communal bonfire (facing p 19) and the gaming scene (facing p 232). Faced with such direct
imagery as "he lifted the lantern to his face, and the light shone into the whites of his eyes", Parker seems to have found it easy to people her illustrations. The frontispiece and the illustration facing p 57 both capture the solitary, brooding and restless figure of Eustacia whilst the reddleman (facing p 76) is equally successful. The Heath is kinder than that of Leighton, largely due to the use of cross-hatching and other rather mechanical texture compounded with mannered shapes. Unlike the later Hardy titles for Macy's Limited Editions Club, where better quality paper was used, Parker's fine white lines, upon which she modelled with minute white specks, did not always succeed in their intention.

In direct contrast to her passive illustration, Peter Reddick, who turned his attention to Hardy some twenty-five years after Parker, brought a new approach, based upon a belief that pen lines and tone washes made originally on the block to form the structure of the design can be engraved and bring about greater brilliance and vitality than can be achieved otherwise. This, however, can only be brought about by complete mastery of technique. Self-taught initially, with subsequent tuition at the Slade under Norman Janes and John Buckland Wright with further design education at the London College of Printing. Reddick's wood-engravings for the Folio Society Return of the Native are so robust that they appear to be carvings rather than engravings. Notwithstanding the vigour with which the wood is forced out of the block, Reddick's technique can
produce portraits of surprising sensitivity, as for example, Sir Philip Sidney, the frontispiece to the Folio Society's Astrophel and Stella, published in 1959.

Alone of the wood-engravers, only Reddick gets the true measure of Egdon Heath, the tracks, the trees, the furze and other elements which he translates into textures. In addition, Reddick benefits from having his illustrations perfectly positioned in a totally designed book. The adventurous use of linear horizontal blocks straddling the double page enables him to provide panoramas of the Heath, demonstrating through, for example, the Reddleman's cart and the old man (pp 24-25), the minuteness of the inhabitants properly proportioned in Hardy's scheme of things. Alone of the illustrators of this novel, Reddick is prepared to tackle the characters head on, with The Reddleman (p 277), Thomasin (p 52 and p 124) Mrs Yeobright (p 112) and Clym (p 330) excellently characterised. Only Eustacia appears to be less than adequate, although the restlessness, idleness and romantic aspirations of the character come through in the Ardizzone-like vignette of Eustacia holding hands with the boy (p 140) and in the portrait (p 97). The gulf between Eustacia and Clym subsequent to her failed ambitious is subtly demonstrated in the furze-cutting scene (pp 264-265) and Hardy's interest in the "custom of the country" receives careful intention in the mummers' play (p 147), Susan sticking pins in the wax doll (p 365) and the Maypole (p 392). Above all, the
brooding Heath is there present in almost all Reddick's masterly engraving. Evenly matched on the page by Monotype Baskerville 11 pt Bodied 1 pt and carefully printed by Richard Clay, the illustrations are as near perfection in their enhancement of the text.

Evidence of Hardy's growing interest in his illustrators comes with the publication in Good Words of The Trumpet Major which was written in 1879-80 and appeared in twelve instalments between Jan and Dec 1880. Smith Elder published the book in 3 volumes, October 1880, without the illustrations. The novel lost little as a result of this. John Collier's drawings, and the wood engravings which derived from them, were indistinguished both in composition and in the cutting.

Hardy had considered the plot and characterisation of his tale in respect of the choice of illustrator. In a letter dated 1 August 1879 he informed the publisher of Good Words, William Isbister that "Charles Keene, who draws for Punch, would be likely to do them better than anyone else whose work I am acquainted with. His work and mine has a good deal in common, and a member of the Mess at Woolwich Barracks tells me that Keene is considered by army men to draw soldiers remarkably well". A notebook which Hardy compiled, labelled Br Museum. Notes taken in 1878-79 for The Trumpet Major include details from Gillray caricatures and sketches of costume of the time of George III. Hardy, in order to ensure accuracy, provided Collier with sketches which Collier acknowledged to be helpful.
Of the thirty-two illustrations, only five are full page and these were printed separately on better quality paper than was used for the text of Good Words. Those for the first instalment, a slight black line sketch of Overcome Mill, Anne looking from the open casement, and characterless single-column drawing of the elder Loveday, augured ill for the remainder of the serial. The first plate, representing the party in the Miller's house, offered a fine opportunity for both composition and characterisation. The chance seems to have been ignored. The faces of the company, lit by the fire, are poorly wood engraved. Similarly a three quarter full face drawing of the Trumpet Major on the facing text page, fails because of a lack of resolution. In the third instalment, the illustrations continued to decline in quality of execution and it is not until the ninth instalment that there is a drawing of merit totally different from those preceding it. A strong black line engraving of singular purity, reminiscent of Millais, shows Anne and Bob Loveday with great clarity and the question unanswered is that if Collier and W I Mosses, his engraver, could produce an illustration of such quality, why was this particular style not employed earlier? Further opportunities to repeat the success were ignored and, overall, the illustrations contributed little to the novel. There is no evidence of a twentieth century edition illustrated with wood-engravings.

The Trumpet Major was followed by A Laodicean (q.v.) and Two on a Tower, which was published serially in the
Atlantic Monthly simultaneously in Boston, Massachusetts and London unillustrated. Hardy's next major work of fiction, however, was accompanied by the most powerful wood-engravings which to that date had appeared with his serialised stories. Whilst The Cornhill, Good Words and other literary periodicals were conscious of the value of illustration, they were not magazines of illustration. The Graphic, as its name indicated, featured illustration of the highest quality. Founded in 1869 and edited first by W. T. Thomas, a former pupil wood-engraver under W. J. Linton, the Graphic was the first journal to make considerable use of the technique of photographing the drawing on to the block leaving the original intact as a guide for the engraver.

The Mayor of Casterbridge was completed on 19 April 1885 and commenced serialisation on 2 January 1886, each of the twenty instalments having a large wood-engraved illustration from a design by Robert Barnes. More so than in any illustrations to Hardy thus far, Barnes pictures contained a wealth of detail, mainly of interiors, and effectively characterised the main protagonists, most noticeably Henchard. Indeed, so strongly is he drawn that it is probable that Agnes Miller Parker was aware of these illustrations when she was wood-engraving for the Limited Editions Club production of 1964 and found it impossible to interpret the character otherwise for there is great similarity, particularly in the opening scene where Henchard is seen in a rural lane with his wife and baby looking for work.

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Of the two, Barnes is more convincing, there being little
evidence of travel stain or weariness in Parker's clinically
clean design, whilst in Barnes' picture there is a hint of
Hubert von Herkomer's contemporary depiction of rural
poverty, *Hard Times*. This episode is crucial to the story
for, as Jackson points out, the family is not seen again
in the same relationship and emphasises the extent of the
developing tragedy. Curiously, both Barnes and Parker
avoided the wife-selling, using the backcloth of the fair
in a practically identical way to focus on the contrast
between the innocent wife and the hag dispensing the rum-
laced furmity, revealing at the same time that her former
husband was probably to be found at Casterbridge.

The novel is as much Wessex as *The Return of the Native*
but here the subject is townscape and in particular
Casterbridge (Dorchester). Barnes confined his illustrations
to the most graphic incidents, the encounters between
Henchard and the supporting characters, landscapes being
scarcely likely to encourage readers to continue their
subscriptions. Unlike most previous illustration to Hardy,
they add an extra dimension to the tale, despite some over
dramatisation as in Lucette the revel (p 477) and Henchard
visiting Elizabeth Jane for the last time (p 529). On the
other hand, Agnes Miller Parker's creative wood-engravings lack
the earthy quality of Barnes that keeps the reader mindful of
Henchard's heavy presence which overlays the drama from start
to finish. In comparing the serial with the Parker version,
it is essential to consider the markets at which they were
aimed, the first at a new readership some of whom were experiencing Hardy for the first time, the second at a sophisticated book club membership, many of whom would be familiar with the novel and possibly the whole of Hardy's fiction. The Limited Editions Club provided illustration in good measure and it was the pictures which mattered to its readership. Agnes Miller Parker's brilliant, shimmering and romantic engraving was outstandingly successful although perhaps more suited to Jane Austen than Hardy. Particularly successful amongst the sixteen plates were Henchard and the bull (facing p 196) and the market scenes (facing p 60 and p 158). Although there is much regularity of shading through crossed diagonal lines, nevertheless, the sense of time-weathered buildings is not destroyed. An added bonus is the large number of vignettes, tailpieces and factotum initials in the text which itself is in Caledonia, the whole designed by John Dreyfus. The Folio Society edition of 1968 was, like the Limited Editions Club version, aimed at a literate audience. As with most books in which Christopher Sandford had a hand, the text was substantially inked, providing a perfect foil for Peter Reddick's distinctive wood-engravings. Coarser and stronger than Parker, Reddick's work is nearer in spirit to both Barnes and Hardy. Where Parker's bull is ethereal, beautifully drawn but in the tradition of the Greek myths, Reddick's is a true farm animal (p 212). In company with Barnes and Parker Reddick recognises the importance of the furmity woman, not only illustrating the second encounter
between the aged hag and Susan Henchard but also the earlier scene with the rum bottle, that factor which unleashed the series of events which make up the novel.

Reddick's thick black line interspersed with a remarkable variety of textures is totally without any suggestion of mechanical work. The treatment of vegetation in Henchard's garden is a typical example, showing its derivation from the cellular structure of plants. The strength of design with which Reddick amplifies Hardy's imagery is frequently brought about from the incidental furniture of the novel. A fine instance of this is on p 41 where "the agricultural and pastoral character of the people ... was shown by the class of objects displayed in the shop windows". Here Reddick has the reader view Susan and her daughter from within the ironmonger's, past the reap-hooks, bill-hooks, scythes and other implements of the period, carefully researched and perfectly conveying the atmosphere of the novel. The same attention to detail appears in the townscapes featuring the wagons and carts conveying Henchard and Farfrae's corn and hay. (pp 70 and 184). Reddick excels however, in using his strength of line to portray the cast, the bucolic nature of the agricultural labourer (p 168), the old gossips at the pump (p 129) and the iron nature of Henchard. Only the elusive character of Farfrae is not fully realised. Perhaps the most important feature of Reddick's work is that it is, like that of Robert Barnes, true illustration whilst the technically
brilliant white-line work of Agnes Miller Parker could be termed decoration with some degree of justification.

The next illustrated serial to appear from Hardy's pen was Tess of the D'Urbervilles. The publishing history of this work is fully dealt with by Purdy. However, it is worth noting that Tillotson's newspaper syndicate, for whom the work was started, intended to issue the serial with illustrations. Upon the agreement being cancelled, the story was offered to Murray's Magazine and subsequently Macmillan's Magazine, either of which would have serialised it unillustrated, if they had not been put off by its improper explicitness. Ultimately, Hardy substantially altered the novel to make it acceptable to The Graphic's editor, Arthur Locker. Considerably reworked for publication in book form, the twentieth century artists Vivien Gribble and Agnes Miller Parker could take advantage of the seduction and midnight baptism scenes if they so wished. Of the illustrated serials, Tess was a comparative success, yet of all the titles, it had least chance due to the fact that four different illustrators were employed, albeit master and three pupils.

Hubert von Herkomer, a Bavarian by birth, was a painter of pathetic and sentimental subjects who had founded a school of art at Bushey in 1883. Jackson's supposition that because The Graphic often used four engravers to cut one large illustration, this arrangement would not be regarded as "too unusual" is difficult to understand considering that she immediately points out the "different Tesses". It is
more likely that Herkomer's connection with Locker was strong and thus enabled Herkomer to gain entry to publication for his promising students. Fernando has argued that Hardy identified with the Pre-Raphaelites in respect of the fatal woman and it is a pity that a Millais or a Rossetti was not called upon to portray Bathsheba, Eustacia or Tess. Of the Tess illustrations, Herkomer's huge double-page spread of the family welcoming the young Tess back from the dance was outstandingly successful, reassuring The Graphic's readership and giving no hint of Hardy's cynical portrayal of Wessex society which was to follow, and quickly, for the second illustration, which appeared two weeks later, shows the gruesome result of the accident which was to force Tess into the unscrupulous hands of D'Urberville. Although a strong composition by Daniel Wehrschildt, the picture was spoilt by indifferent engraving. Both E Borough Johnson (p509) and J Syddall's portrayals (p 101) of Tess are unconvincing. Many of the pictures suffer from the imitative techniques the engravers adopted subsequent to the introduction of photomechanical processes but one illustration of Herkomer's demonstrates his stature as an artist, able to hold his own with the finest illustrations of the 'sixties. "On going up to the fire ... she beheld the face of D'Urberville" is frankly melodramatic but emphasises the story line that which ever way Tess turns, fate ordains that she will never be free of D'Urberville.

Hardy's Wessex in Tess is not the unified landscape of the previous major novels. Here the serenity and lush
setting of Talbothays is opposed by the sheer awfulness of Flintcombe Ash, a device used by Hardy to contrast the happy period of Tess's life with the purgatory to follow for "the woman pays", as Hardy stated to make his chilling point. Only in the penultimate setting, where Angel Clare and Tess wait for the law, does Herkomer allow Wehrschildt to allow the landscape to dominate.

Photography, by "driving out the almost entirely mechanical facsimile wood-engraving was paradoxically responsible for the rise of creative autographic engraving" and possibly the first attempt at a major novel was that by Vivien Gribble whose Tess was published by Macmillan in 1926. Gribble was engraving under Rooke from 1912 and was probably familiar with the work of Herkomer and his pupils through an album of the Tess "woodcuts" included in the Christmas issue of the Book Monthly of 1919.

reminding one "of the woodcuts which were a feature of the 'sixties." Vivien Gribble produced eight full-page plates and thirty-three black-line wood-engravings for this edition of 1500 copies. Three hundred and twenty-five large paper copies were signed by Hardy and were oversubscribed at their published price of five guineas. By this time, Gribble's line had become finer and a limited amount of white-line work had crept into her blocks. The headpieces perfectly matched the typography in weight and these miniature landscapes were particularly well-received. Gribble's Tess had a short upper lip and high cheek bones, betraying no emotion. The model was Miss Gribble herself.

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and for Angel Clare, the model was her husband. The keynote of the engravings is austerity and as such they are almost without feeling. As decorations they work, as illustrations they fail. The reviewers found the book a problem. Tact, simplicity, strength, dignity were amongst words used by those who found difficulty in defining the nature of the engravings. Thirty years later, George Macy brought out the fourth of Hardy's novels to be illustrated by Agnes Miller Parker. Included amongst these wood-engravings to Tess were seven double-page lithographs in three colours, mainly broad vistas such as the Blackmore Vale and Egdon Heath.

As usual, Parker's landscapes are superb examples of white-line engraving, but it is in her visual realisation of Tess herself where she excelled. As a girl at the dance (p 17), Parker shows the young Tess, still at home and untouched by events. The frontispiece is of Tess the woman, tragic-eyed and full-lipped. Probably the most outstanding of all her illustrations to Tess is of her feeding the child in the shade of a corn-stoop, but throughout the book, Parker captures every nuance. Her illustrations of the harsh life at Flintcomb Ash convey reality (pp 319 and 340) where Gribble's depiction of swede-hacking captures nothing of Hardy's prose. Parker's visits to Dorset resulted in an understanding of the landscape and her marvellous technique manifested itself in complete understanding of and sympathy with the novel as demonstrated by her treatment of the flints in the turnip field. Macy's boast that Mrs McCance "is the finest wood-
engraver in the world today" is as near the truth as any such statement could be.

Possibly the poorest illustrations to a Hardy novel are those of Wal Paget to The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved, a sketch of a temperament, which appeared in twelve instalments in the Illustrated London News between 1 October and 17 December 1892. A headpiece reproduced by half-tone from a drawing served all twelve instalments. Paget's other illustrations, two to each instalment are a curious mixture of half-tone reproductions and wood-engravings. In addition, a full-page wood-engraved reproduction from a photography of Thomas Hardy by Wheeler of Weymouth faces the first page of the text of the first instalment. The story did not appear in book form until March 1897 when it was published in one volume by Osgood, McIlvaine, unillustrated save for a frontispiece etched by H Macbeth-Raeburn.

There appears to be no logical reason for the mixture of processes some seven years on from the introduction of the mechanical processes save that the use of half-tone, as typified by the headpiece and illustration on the first page of the first issue scarcely achieve anything not capable of being exceeded by the craft of wood-engraver. Certainly the story composition "The sea roared and splashed now as it did when they had visited it together as children" (p 427) lost nothing in the engraving.
A good half-tone reproduction occurs on p 609, instalment 7. Here, Pearston and the soldier are obviously reproduced from a wash drawing by the firm of Andre and Sleigh, yet even here there is nothing to indicate that the artist knew how to draw for the medium.

Like Hardy's previously illustrated serials, Paget's illustrations add little to the text. Their direct pictorial depictions of lines of the text add little to Hardy's own powers of description. Characterisation is weak, possibly only the drawing of Avice with the basket, p 547 instalment 5, giving any reasonable interpretation of Hardy's creations.

Technically the best half-tone reproduction (the Art Reproduction Company) occurs on p 643. This picture, "His attention was attracted by the busy doings around a quarry", appears almost to be a posed photograph rather than a wash drawing and carries to the extreme the faithful depiction of the text, adding nothing and possibly detracting from the reader's own imagined characterisation.

An article by Frederick Greenwood on the genius of Thomas Hardy, accompanying the first episode, is noteworthy for an illustration of Hardy's House at Dorchester, Max Gate, by Herbert Railton. Although not strong on characterisation, the allusive quality of Railton's rendering of the architectural exterior could possibly have made a greater contribution to Hardy than Wal Paget who was better suited
to illustration of boys' adventure yarns than the comparatively uneventful story for which he was here recruited.

One of the major characteristics of the characters in Thomas Hardy's novels is that they do unreasonable things, "these people of Wessex ... always shooting suddenly out of a tight convention ... into something quite madly personal". In this context, D H Lawrence was careful to exempt the principal character of Hardy's last novel, Jude. In contrast to Tess, for example, Jude "is aware of what he is doing and acts from choice", although in the end like Eustacia and Tess, he finds the established morality too much and is overcome. As a novel, Jude the Obscure is the antithesis of Tess of the D'Urbervilles. Both lives were ill-starred through precocious sexual misalliances and both staggered through life from that point through increasingly difficult circumstances. Jude, however, seems bereft of even the fleeting periods of happiness enjoyed by Tess. As a result, the novel was probably the most difficult for the magazine artist to illustrate, for the danger in illustrating a series of disagreeable or unsympathetic events lay in making the reader too uncomfortably close to an already disturbing story with the possibility of his "switching off" and possibly cancelling his subscription.

First published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, the first instalment, December 1894, was entitled The Simpletons, an indication of Hardy's contempt for his principal characters.
However, the remainder of the serial was entitled Heart's Insurgent, a more sympathetic title than that of the later Jude the Obscure, the definitive title which made its appearance when the novel appeared in book form in 1896. Although twenty thousand copies were sold within four months the book was the subject of hysterical attacks which Hardy was so pleased as to frame the twelve illustrations for his study at Max Gate. Hatherell had previously illustrated Hardy's short story The Fiddler of the Reels for Scribner's Magazine in 1893 and was a major contributor to the illustrated journals of the day. Although not seen by the writer, from the emphasis on tonal quality in the reproductions it is apparent that the originals were water-colour or pen and wash drawings.

By 1890 the age of the commercial wood-engraving was over. The half-tone process block had supplemented the line block to produce tone previously available only by the engraving of parallel lines, cross-hatching and other wood-engraving techniques in which line was pervasive. Graduation of tone on a scale undreamed of by the wood-engraver was now available photomechanically and relatively cheaply. In the January 1895 issue of Harper's, in which the first instalment of Jude appears, there are over fifty examples of the use of half-tone reproducing both photographs and
and artists' drawings. Apart from isolated examples such as the American Timothy Cole, no wood-engraver could expect to produce reproductive engravings which could rival the qualities of "process" in respect of tonal quality.

69 Jackson characterises Hatherell's illustrations to Jude as demonstrating "the continuing influence of photography on nineteenth century pictorial art". She alleges that the increasing grey scale used by Hatherell was a "striking result of the photographic influence and the relatively new half-tone process used in reproducing the artist's work". Her criticism of the Hatherell pictures is sustained by this argument. Close examination however, shows that the illustrations to Jude are not reproduced by half-tone but by wood-engraving. It was a curious effect of the introduction of half-tone that some commercial engravers tried to preserve their businesses by attempting to imitate the half-tone block rather than use the inherent excellences of the wood-block to provide the best possible interpretative engraving.

The illustrations, in the main, have a tired quality as a result of the wrong use of the medium coupled with the photographic quality of Hatherell's figures. Of the twelve illustrations, only the scene of the dishevelled figure of Arabella confronting passers-by (vol XXIX, p 203) conveys any sense of the turbulence of the story. The beauty and elegance of Sue Bridehead, Hardy's "girl with the kindling glance ... sometimes like that of the girls
he had seen in engravings of paintings of the Spanish School" (vol XXIX, p 575) is nowhere prominent and, in the clearest delineation of her face, (vol XXIX, p 737) Hatherell has depicted an extremely plain woman. Whilst lacking the rusticity which pervades Hardy's novels, Hatherell has ignored both the landscape and the built environment. In the one seemingly innocent country scene where he could have been successful, i.e., the first meeting between Jude and Arabella, Hatherell depicts the three country girls laundering the pigs' chitterlings at the stream, with the dominant figure not Arabella but one of her accomplices dressed in lower class urban rather than rustic fashion. The chance to enhance Hardy's detailed description of the dimpled girl has been missed. Only in the final illustration, Jude at the Milestone, does Hatherell achieve any degree of characterisation. In fact, the serial generally was sustained by Hardy's own pictorial imagery rather than through these rather mechanical illustrations.

It is doubtful that the Limited Editions Club of New York would have embarked upon its edition of Jude the Obscure had it not already established a structure of successful Hardy novels to which to add. That admirers of Agnes Miller-Parker and Hardy would fail to subscribe to what promised to be one of the most successful pieces of book making of the century was hardly likely, although the novel would certainly prove unpalatable to those who sought a happy ending or at
least an unhappy ending in a less realistic setting. Jude was Agnes Miller Parker's last illustration for the Club and as with the former titles, she had the advantage of working for a book to be designed by John Dreyfus, not least of whose accomplishments was to demonstrate that in the hands of a master Linotype could be as effective as the use of Monotype.

It is not known whether or not Hatherall toured the locations described with transparent anonymity by Hardy. Certainly nothing of it is conveyed in his illustrations. Agnes Miller Parker, however, visited the locations and produced her finest topographical illustrations for Jude. Of these, the two-colour wood engravings on the part-title pages are without equal. These involved three different colour schemes requiring five different impressions. Probably the finest of the New York printers, Joseph Blumenthal of the Spiral Press was responsible for the printing and, in the case of the black and white illustrations, again printed the blocks after the text. This costly exercise contributed towards one of the most beautiful of twentieth century books. Blumenthal recognised the significance of the collaboration between artist and printer and regarded the woodcut as the "most ancient, the most honorable and the most natural means of making a direct impression on paper". He knew the difference between the effects of hand-rubbing and those of automatic presswork and believed that perfection could be obtained through mechanical means if the manipulator...
possessed imagination, skill and affection. As Farleigh pointed out, inking was crucial to perfect reproduction and, despite the superiority of the wood block over intaglio or planographic processes in that the block could be and was usually, printed in the same impression as the type, nevertheless perfect reproduction required separate careful inking and impression. There are few opportunities in book production where the expense of this can be justified.

The cool tones of the colour reproductions are in contrast to the harsh combinations used in Parker's earlier illustrations to Tess. Lilac, greyish green, orange grey and greyish turquoise are now the predominating colours. At Marygreen (Fawley Church), the artist has taken some liberty with the architecture, but here as in the pictures of Oxford, Salisbury and Shaftesbury there is an overwhelming sense of place and these engravings lock the sections of the story together. The six coloured wood-engravings are strikingly successful as book illustrations but could also be taken out of context and stand alone as supreme examples of creative design. An interesting contrast is offered by John Masters' wood-engraving of Gold Hill, Shaftesbury with that of Parker. Although Masters' illustrations are probably as good as any of the many artists who have illustrated Hardy's country without actually tackling the novels, they lack the detail and sensitivity which characterise Agnes Miller Parker's work.

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The twenty black and white illustrations are directly related to specific lines of the novel and do not avoid the traumas which rapidly follow one another. Although shirking the hanging scene, she displays Sue's demented behaviour at the grave (p 321). For an artist "vulnerably timid", this is a remarkably courageous illustration.

The engravings admirably capture the coarse attractive ripeness of Arabella at the stream and her shrewishness in hurling Jude's treasured books about, both incidents dealt with by Hatherall, although not precisely moment with moment. She is successful with both Sue and Phillotson and emphasises the contrast between the low-born and the genteel in the confrontation between Arabella and Sue (p 208). The crocodile of children (p 107) was perhaps an unusual incident for Agnes Miller Parker to pick upon. This could have had its inspiration in Tirzah Garwood's treatment of a similar theme in Image, no. 5 in which review of modern wood-engraved illustration Parker's work also appears. Possibly her least effective characterisation is that of Jude at his most successful, a splendidly well-dressed man surveying the landscape. Fortunately, this was issued as a separate signed plate for framing, and not as part of a book.

As already stated, Hardy's second novel Under the Greenwood Tree, or The Mellstock Quire, was issued originally unillustrated. However, a third edition which was produced for Christmas 1875 (dated 1876) had frontispiece and plates engraved by R Knight. It can be assumed that the number of

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copies printed was relatively small for this version has proved extremely elusive. The pleasant, if bland tale possesses a popularity greater now than when first issued in 1872, for the novel was remaindered in 1874. Much has been made by critics of Hardy's sub-title, A Rural Painting of the Dutch School and the allusive wood engravings found in Clare Leighton's illustrations of 1940 reflect the qualities inherent in that sub-title. However, Leighton's engravings are as English as those in her earlier works Four Hedges and Country Matters, which had enjoyed such a substantial popularity. Many of her vignettes unashamably romanticise the landscape. The Tranter's Cottage (p 8) gives no hint of damp or cold and the vignette of the tapping of the barrel (p 15) is a formal composition typical of many. As with Reddick, Leighton is not afraid to make use of the impediments of life, the engravings of the kitchen utensils (p 114) being an example. Her greatest success however, is with the large engravings which carry the romance forward, in particular that on page 193 and also on page 217 where Fancy is being robed for her wedding.

76 As Reddick pointed out, the original serial illustrators laboured under a disadvantage to which his modern illustrators were not subjected, that is, the necessity of producing a "sensation" illustration to induce the reader to wait the next instalment with impatience. Although this was restrictive it was by no means the major impediment to illustrating Hardy. Unlike the majority of novelists, Hardy did not people his novels with uncomplicated characters. His people are

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"continually, deliberately, misleading each other ... breaking promises. They have an inability to speak truthfully and openly ... " The tendency to avoid the challenge of characterisation and turn to romantic landscape must have been strong for his modern illustrators for, by the 1920's, Hardy's Wessex was an established and much-toured landscape. In successfully avoiding this pitfall, Parker, Reddick, Leighton and Gribble added a new dimension and delight to one of the cornerstones of English Literature, the Hardy novel. Of these Reddick's illustrations are probably the most successful, not least because they are, in Charles Dickens' words "woodcuts dropped into the text ... no separate plates". In a letter to George Cattermole of 13 Jan 1840, Dickens asked if he would prepare a specimen woodcut - "copying the drawing on wood and the cutting will be done in first rate style". This letter shows that Dickens was fully aware of the advantages other than the obvious one of financial savings to be gained from this, ie the much closer relationship between inset and story and the use of head, tailpiece and illustrated initial as "markers" and to introduce new characters. Reddick consciously used his wood-engravings (translated into electros for safety) in this way, also confident that the use of the horizontal illustration brings a more coherent design to the page and that the use of this format, particularly across the double-page, enables the artist to convey Hardy's Wessex landscape in the most expressive manner.
CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS
With few exceptions, wood-engraved illustration in the twentieth century British book has been in the white-line tradition established and popularised by Thomas Bewick at the turn of the eighteenth century. Even those engravers who worked wholly in black line, such as Vivien Gribble, or those like Gill who worked in both white and black line, used the end grain of boxwood. Those twentieth-century illustrators using a knife on the plank did so to realise a totally different effect and are outside the scope of this thesis.

The origins of twentieth-century British wood-engraved illustration are to be found in the work of Bewick and his pupils. This is not to deny the relevance of earlier work for the influences of the German and Italian Renaissance artists make their mark subsequently. But it was Bewick and Robert Branston who, in Newcastle and London respectively, laid down the foundations upon which the successive periods of wood-engraved illustration have been rested.

The rise of the popular illustrated journal in the eighteen-thirties and forties could not have taken place without the work of Bewick and Branston, for it was their pupils who were to provide the wood-engravings necessary to the success of the journals. Wood-engraving was a cheaper method than copper engraving. Moreover, the blocks could be and were printed alongside the type.

In trying to establish the lines of descent in the history of wood-engraving, the greatest problem is that of
endeavouring to reconcile the creative wood-engraving of the twentieth century where design and execution are by the same individual and the reproductive engraving of the nineteenth-century. This does not appear to be possible. The reasons why wood-engraving was used in differing ways at particular points of time are generally economic. This is true also of the subject matter of those engravings. Reproductive wood-engraving grew in the nineteenth century because of a substantial demand arising during the eighteen-thirties which the craftsmen pupils of Bewick and Branston had to satisfy. Although Bewick and his brother John are often thought of as artist-engravers because of their capability of executing their own designs, nevertheless, they together with Branston and his pupils and their successors were "Formschneider, only their equipment was vastly fuller." The demand caused the medium to be used in a factory system. William Harvey, one-time pupil of Bewick, became an artist specialising in drawing for reproductive wood-engraving. The demand for larger pictures which had to be printed from a number of blocks bolted together accelerated the growth of the "factories" with levels of seniority and responsibility. Much natural history illustration was required for both the journals such as the Penny Magazine and Saturday Magazine and also for the books of the period. Bewick's Quadrupeds and Birds had given rise to a huge interest which publishers such as Van Voorst were anxious to satisfy. Bewick's white-line work and Branston's black-line based upon copper-engraving fused
in the work of their successors enlarging the repertoire of the medium in so doing. The most successful twentieth-century wood-engravers such as Parker, Hassall and Stone have made extensive use of the vignette, Hassall and Stone particularly working in the tradition of Bewick. For vignette work, wood-engraving is unrivalled and Bewick exploited that fact to the full in those tight factual engravings such as *The Ferret* and also in the tailpieces to the *Quadrupeds* which are "packed with literary significance". Whilst larger engravings can be successful in book illustration, these undoubtedly raise questions concerning the degree of suitability of the medium.

Certainly, in the nineteenth-century, the demand for larger and larger wood-engraved illustrations, epitomised by the enormous double-page spreads in such news journals as *The Graphic*, led to mechanical textures and poor line and a grateful and immediate acceptance of the newly developed photo-mechanical methods.

The remaining early nineteenth-century influence was William Blake, whose one excursion into wood-engraving was probably the greatest influence upon those Pre-Raphaelites who engaged upon illustration for Allingham's *Music Master* (q.v.) and The Moxon Tennyson. In drawing for the reprographic engraver, Rossetti and Hunt introduced new textures, which together with the revival of the simple but more sophisticated black-line designs of John Millais again extended the boundaries of the medium, leading to the illustration of the 'sixties.
Probably one of the greatest, if little discussed, achievements of the book and periodical makers of that time was to realise the commercial significance of the wood-engraved illustration as a work of art and that the employment of Millais and artists of equal stature necessitated careful printing of the block in order to capture the whole of the line as cut into the block.

Two facts were obvious. The first was that the quality of paper in general use for such journals as Good Words and The Cornhill Magazine was not entirely suitable and that, secondly for best results, the inking requirements and presswork for wood-engraved illustration frequently differed from that of type. The adoption of separate wood-engraved plates inserted into the text of these journals overcame these problems but at the same time placed wood-engraving in a different commercial light.

Possibly the biggest failing of the private press movement from William Morris onwards has been a failure to reconcile picture and text in this way, preferring unity of material to correct printing. The inevitable result was an unnecessary and undesirable blackness, not so much evident in the black-line work of Burne-Jones for the Kelmscott Press or Charles Ricketts at Vale, but grim at times in the work of the minor presses such as Caradoc and Vine. In the case of the pre-war Golden Cockerel Press, the combination of stiff hand made papers and over-inking resulted in a curious, if perverse, attraction for the "private press book." Correct balance between inking of block and type
was achieved in the machine-made books designed by Meynell for Nonesuch in the 1930's and Dreyfus for Limited Editions Club in the 1960's. Both used separate printings for the blocks occurring on text pages, outstanding examples being Rousseau's Confessions printed by Maclehose for Nonesuch in 1938 and Hardy's Jude the Obscure, Spiral Press for Limited Editions Club in 1969.

The Pre-Raphaelites drew heavily upon the South German Renaissance artists whilst the Vale Circle brought the influence of the Venetian artists into wood-engraved illustration. Both Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movements came together in the illustrated children's books printed in colour from wood-block, mainly by Evans or Marcus Ward. The colour wood-engraved illustration died with the introduction of colour "process." A new generation of artists led by Arthur Rackham sought inspiration from totally different sources. The Movements in themselves led to "dead-ends", with the transitional engravers and those who drew for them taking up the viable ideas from them and discarding the rest.

As the quality of reproductive engraving deteriorated from the 'sixties' and the introduction of the line block in 1885 into illustration resulted in a new generation of exciting black and white pen artists so, in its turn, did the black and white process illustration deteriorate. This is a possible reason for the far-reaching influence of Rooke and his first pupils. Whilst pursuing the wood-engraving
as a creative free-standing artistic print, nevertheless, the possibilities of book illustration, not as mere reprography, must have been a powerful attraction. Thus, the twentieth-century wood-engraved illustration inevitably expresses the artist's reaction to the object or incident in question, giving the picture a dimension not called for or expressed in Victorian illustration. The comparison's between the illustrators of the successive Hardy novels highlight this. Many of the nineteenth-century illustrations to the Wessex novels successfully enhance the incidents, but few succeed in capturing the mood and intensity of the characters, and none can convey the landscape, a brilliant and successful triumph for both Agnes Miller Parker and Peter Reddick, twentieth-century artist-engravers.

In literature, the English have excelled at both the novel and in the writing of natural history. The wood block has proved particularly suitable for enhancing these two areas of writing both through reproductive and autographic engraving. After a period of quiescence, there is a new generation of wood-engravers working in natural history and landscape, with outlets through the Whittington Press and Gwasg Gregynog. The illustration of fiction, however, is generally restricted to the reissue of classics and the likelihood of a standard author receiving treatment such as that accorded to Austen by Hassall now seems remote due to the almost total disuse of letterpress printing. Furthermore, the necessary limitation of edition self-imposed by small organisations such as the Whittington Press means that.
such occasions in the history of illustration where the wood-engraving has caught the popular imagination as did the Gollancz books in the nineteen-thirties and the "River" books of Robert Gibbings published by Dent in the early post-war years will never recur. There seems little point in reproducing the wood-engraving through the medium of lithography.

A primary reason in undertaking this survey of the origins and development of the wood-engraved illustration was to attempt to determine the extent to which the medium penetrated the normal commercial publishing field in twentieth-century Britain. The exploration has revealed a far greater use than that anticipated. Excluding private presses, book clubs and printing societies, over sixty publishers have been identified who made use of the wood-engraved illustration between 1915 and 1950. Of these, the greatest number issued a few books only in this medium. Some, like Gollancz, Putnam and Penguin showed greater enthusiasm but for a limited period only whilst a few, notably Duckworth, Faber and Faber, Heinemann and Macmillan showed interest over a longer time-span.

Although the writer has made a conscious effort not to emphasise the role of the private presses, nevertheless, one strand runs through the modern English wood-engraved illustration. Beginning with Robert Gibbings and continued by Christopher Sandford, the Golden Cockerel Press was, in very many cases, the starting point for many of the
successful engravers. First Gibbings and then Sandford provided the opportunity. Publication by Golden Cockerel appeared to ensure commercial publication thereafter for many. Subsequently Christopher Sandford carried his enthusiasm through to the Folio Society, which for the last thirty-five years has been a principal and prestigious outlet for the artist-engraver. It would appear that Sandford's influence over the use of the medium in the twentieth-century book deserves serious study.
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AN ICONOGRAPHY OF THE WOOD-ENGRAVED ILLUSTRATION
OF THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY
19th AND 20th CENTURIES
UNDER THE GREENWOOD TREE


4vo. 248 mm x 182 mm. Bound in green cloth with decorative spine label printed in black with green floral decorations, lettered in gold. Cream dust wrapper lettered in green and brown with title engraving on front cover from wood-engraving on p 231. Printed by R & R Clark, Edinburgh.

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Wood engravings in the text. The titles are those under which the engravings (in editions of 30) were exhibited.

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21. Weathercock 85mmx52mm p (80)
22. Dick at the window 64mmx88mm p 81
23. The choir 61mmx123 p 86
24. Wessex (also called English village) 40mmx71mm p (97)
25. The village 51mmx124mm p 98
26. Fancy with a book 73mmx57mm p (101)
27. The gamekeeper’s house 44mmx122mm p 102
28. Path through the wood 72mmx65mm p (113)
29. Fancy’s belongings 51mmx122mm p 114
30. The birdcage 175mmx124mm p (117)
31. Fancy and the vicar 76mmx52mm p (121)
32. Crossroads 50mmx123mm p 122

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UNDER THE GREENWOOD TREE (Cont.)

33. The beehive 58mmx58mm p (129)
34. Budmout 53mmx123mm p 132
35. Driving home 39mmx51mm p (138)
36. The Ship Inn 51mmx123mm p 139
37. Dahlia and spider web 52mmx87mm p 146
38. The apple tree 172mmx123mm p (149)
39. Footbridge 192mmx28mm p (154)
40. The bonnet 76mmx56mm p 155
41. Hollyhocks 51mmx76mm p (158)
42. Sewing and nuts 52mmx122mm p 161
43. Bryony 22mmx66mm p (167)
44. Enoch 70mmx70mm p 168
45. Drying herbs 90mmx57mm p (179)
46. Falling leaves 52mmx122mm p 180
47. A deep sleep 70mmx63mm p (184)
48. In the wood 70mmx63mm p 185
49. Dick in love 90mmx38mm p (190)
50. Harvest days 66mmx123mm p 191
51. The lovers 178mmx123mm p (195)
52. At the organ 90mmx75mm p (198)
53. Rainy landscape 52mmx124mm p 199
54. Flowers in the rain 76mmx57mm p (206)
55. Acorns and bridge 51mmx122mm p 206
56. Grey's bridge 51mmx76mm p (211)
57. Late Spring 44mmx122mm p 215
58. Dressing the bride 183mmx124mm p (217)
59. Wedding bells 40mmx16mm p (230)
60. Under the Greenwood Tree 65mmx122mm p 231
61. Nightingale 50mmx38mm p (237)


2. ibid., wrongly stated as Bridnouth.
A PAIR OF BLUE EYES

Illustrated by J A Pasquier.


The monthly instalments were September, Chapters 1—5; October, Chapters 6—8; November, Chapters 9—11; December, Chapters 12—14; January, Chapters 15—18; February, Chapters 19—21; March, Chapters 22—25; April, Chapters 26—28; May, Chapters 29—31; June, Chapters 32—36; July, Chapters 37—40.

Plates engraved on the wood by Edmund Evans with printed titles

1. A perplexing sight. 175mmx112mm vol. XI facing p 144
2. On the cliffs. 178mmx112mm vol XI facing p 281
3. The Vicar is indignant. 177mmx112mm vol XI facing p 363
4. The Swanscourts in the Drive. 176mmx112mm vol. XI facing p 496
5. Elfride's freak on Eddeslow Tower. 177mmx112mm vol. XI facing p 611
6. Elfride's attempt to help Knight. 179mmx115mm vol XII facing p 21
7. A scene in the Belvedere. 176mmx112mm vol. XII facing p 139
8. Mrs Jethway's Accusation. 177mmx112mm vol. XII facing p 255
9. Elfride's visit to the Widow's Cottage. 176mmx111mm vol. XII facing p 375
10. Knight exacts explanations. 177mmx112mm vol. XII facing p 482
11. In the Smithy at Eddeslow. 175mmx113mm vol. XII facing p 617

FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD

i) Illustrated by Helen Allingham, nee Paterson. 1874

Serial Issue. The Cornhill Magazine Jan-Dec 1874 XXIX-XXX

The monthly instalments were January, Chapters 1-5; February, Chapters 6-8; March, Chapters 9-14; April, Chapters 15-20; May, Chapters 21-24; June, Chapters 25-29; July, Chapters 30-33; August, Chapters 34-38; September, Chapters 39-42; October, Chapters 43-47; November, Chapters 48-51; December, Chapters 52-57.

Twelve wood-engraved full page plates and twelve vignette initials engraved by Swain from designs by Helen Allingham nee Paterson. The printed plate titles are shown within inverted commas.

Wood-engraved plates and vignettes

1. "Hands were loosening his neckerchief" 104mmx159nm vol xxx frontispiece
2. Bathsheba? (p14) 75mmx59mm p (1)
3. "Do you happen to want a shepherd, Ma'am" (p136) 105mmx160mm facing p (189)
4. Two girls 75mmx52mm p 129
5. "Get the front door key. Liddy fetched it" (p274) 158mmx105mm facing p (257)
6. Fancy? 75mmx59mm p (357)
7. "I feel almost too much to think, he said" (p401) 158mmx104mm facing p (305)
8. The milkster 75mmx59mm p (385)
9. "She stood up in the window-opening, facing the men" (p528) 105mmx160mm facing p (514)
10. Shearing 71mmx52mm p (514)
11. "She took up her position as directed" (p654) 104mmx159mm facing p (641)
12. Oleaving 74mmx62mm p (641)
13. "Bathsheba flung her hands to her face" (pl0) 158mmx106mm vol xxxi frontispiece
14. Seized the horse by the forelock (p11) 70mmx59mm p (1)
15. "There's not a soul in my house but we tonight" 150mmx107mm facing p 233
16. Gabriel leaving over Coggan's gate (p231) 74mmx60mm p 233
17. "She opened a gate within which was a haystack, under this she sat down" (p260) 105mmx160mm facing p (257)
18. Bathsheba's house? 75mmx59mm p (257)
19. Troy digging (p502) 76mmx60mm p 690
20. "Her tears fell fast beside the unconscious pair" (p494) 106mmx160mm facing p 490
21. "He saw a father carried along in the current" (p520) 104mmx151mm facing p 617
22. Bathsheba? 76mmx59mm p 617
23. "Troy next advanced into the middle of the room - took off his cap" (p655) 105mmx160mm facing p (601)
24. Two large umbrellas (p67) 78mmx60mm p (641)

Note: The last two plates are signed Helen Allingham as a result of her marriage. The October plate was retitled for the first edition in book form, which also lacks the 12 vignette initials.

FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD


a) 8vo. 228 mm x 150 mm. Quarter bound in reddish brown sheepskin and lettered in gold with orange white paper boards with all-over repeat design printed in greyish magenta. The design, taken from a wood-engraving is of stooks, sickle and crook and is not found in the text. The greyish orange cardboard slipcase has the same printed paper covers laid down on its sides, with the title printed in greyish magenta. Designed by John Dreyfus, 1500 copies signed Agnes Miller Parker.

FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD/ BY/ THOMAS HARDY/ WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY/ ROBERT CANTWELL/ ENGRAVINGS BY/ AGNES MILLER PARKER/ (wood engraving, MANSION, 64mmx 61mm)/ PRINTED FOR THE MEMBERS OF/ THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB/ AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS/ CAMBRIDGE/ 1958

(2) [i-iv] v-vi (vii-viii) ix-x (xxi-xxii) 1-4 (5) 6-16 (17) 18-26 (37) 38-46
(47) 48-74 (75) 76-98 (99) 100-122 (123) 124-142 (143) 144-174 (175) 176-198 (199) 200-216 (217) 218-230 (231) 232-248 (249) 250-264 (265) 266-286 (287) 288-302 (303) 304-328 (329) 330-368 (369) 370-398 (399) 400 (401-404)

The wood-engravings in the text are approximately 163mmx97mm with the exception of no. 4 which is 19mmx44mm and no.23 which is 31mmx82mm

1. Shepherd and dog (tailpiece) p vii
2. The girl on the summit of the load sat motionless (p23) p (5)
3. She came, the pail in one hand (p16) p (17)
4. She gave him her hand again (p23) tailpiece p 23
5. The rails were broken through (p36) p (37)
6. He at once astride the very apex (p46) p (47)
7. Through a partly-opened door (p72) p (75)
8. He paused and looked around (p98) p (99)
9. The letter (tailpiece) p 100 p 101
10. The sheep were pushed into the pool (p124) p (123)
11. The sheavers were in harmony with barn (p142) p (143)
12. Haven't you a watch (p172) p (174)
13. You know what that feeling is (p198) p (199)
14. Well, I see our mistress and a soldier (p216) p (217)
15. Plunged his back against the hedge (p270) p (271)
16. Alighted on the point of Gabriell rod (p250) p (249)
17. It glided noiselessly towards the recumbent woman (p266) p (265)
18. You be as drunk as you can stand (p285) p (287)
19. She sank down upon a tangled couch (p300) p (303)
20. Oak mounted on a strong cob (p330) p (329)
21. It was a human face. (p368) p (369)
22. A large and a smaller umbrella (p398) p (399)
23. Landscape p (405)
b) Also issued by the Heritage Press, New York, 1958.

8vo. 215 mm x 137 mm. Bound in greyish yellow linen with all-over repeat design as a) printed in greyish green. Printed reddish brown spine label lettered and ruled in gold. Reddish brown slipcase. All edges sprinkled. A matching volume to no.


Pagination, text and illustrations as in a) save that this issue lacks (2) prelims and pp (401-404) and the illustrations occurring on pps (99), (101) and (403) of a) occur on pps (101), (100) and (400) in this issue.
THE HAND OF ETHELBERTA

Illustrated by George Du Maurier.

Serial Issue. The Cornhill Magazine, 1875-76, XXXII-XXXIII.

Monthly installments: 1875 July, Chapters 1-4; August, Chapters 5-9; September, Chapters 10-15; October, Chapters 16-21; November, Chapters 22-26; December, Chapters 27-30; January 1876, Chapters 31-34; February, Chapters 35-38; March, Chapters 39-42; April, Chapters 43-46; May, Chapters 47-50.

Eleven wood-engraved full-page plates and eleven vignette initials from designs by George Du Maurier, engraved by Swain. The printed plate titles are shown within inverted commas.

Wood-engraved plates and vignettes

1. "She stopped like a clock" (p6) 160mm x 100mm XXXII, frontispiece
2. Ethelberta 75mm x 57mm p (1)
3. "Well, what did you think of my poems" (p237) 101mm x 157mm facing p 233
4. Kit playing the piano (p250) 82mm x 64mm p 233
5. "Round her, leaning against branches ... were two or three individuals" (p275) 103mm x 160mm facing p 227
6. Christopher? 95mm x 57mm p 257
7. Joey? 85mm x 39mm p 490
8. "Goodness! how quick you were" 154mm x 105mm facing p 490
9. "It was a tender time" 105mm x 158mm facing p 513
10. Ladywell and Neigh? 80mm x 47mm p 513
11. "The Harefield Estate" (p738) 107mm x 160mm facing p 733
12. Mr Chickerell 98mm x 44mm p 733
13. "Go Ethelberta ven" 100mm x 150mm XXXIII, frontispiece
14. Lord Mountjoys? 65mm x 57mm p (1)
15. Monument 62mm x 64mm p 230
16. "Can you tell us the way, sir, to the hotel Bold Soldier" (p246) 104mm x 151mm facing p 230
17. A seat 60mm x 45mm p 358
18. "In the writing of the composer, observed Lord Mountjoy" 101mm x 158mm facing p 358
19. "All before them was a sheet of whiteness" (p399) 103mm x 160mm facing p 385
20. Boat leaving harbour 42mm x 50mm p 385
21. "She lessened in his gaze and was soon out of sight" (p537) 103mm x 159mm facing p 509
22. Cab 50mm x 72mm p 509

Note: The vignette initials were omitted from the 2 volume edition in book form.


395
THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

i) Illustrated by Arthur Hopkins

Serial Issue. Belgravia. Jan-Dec 1878 VolsXXXIV-XXXVII (parts CXXXV-CXLVI)

Monthly instalments were January, Book I, Chapters i-iv, February, Chapters v-vii, March, Chapters viii-xi, April, Book II, Chapters i-v, May, Chapters vi-viii, June, Book III, Chapters i-iv, July Chapters v-viii, August, Book IV, Chapters i-iv, September, Chapters v-viii, October, Book V, Chapters i-iv, November, Chapters v-viii, December, Book VI, Chapters i-iv.

Plates engraved on the wood by Swain with printed titles

1. 'Didn't ever know a man that no woman would marry'. 110mmx164mm vol 34 facing page 274
2. 'She lifted her left hand'. 110mmx160mm vol 34 facing page 493
3. 'The reddleman re-reads an old love letter'. 162mmx111mm vol 35 frontispiece
4. 'I wish women were as good as I'. 163mmx111mm vol 35 facing page 234
5. 'If there's any difference, granfer is younger'. 164mmx111mm vol 35 facing page 260
6. 'He a rope round him, it is dangerous'. 162mmx111mm vol 35 facing page 492
7. 'The statues were won by Willows'. 110mmx163mm vol 36 frontispiece
8. 'Unconscious of her presence he went on singing'. 160mmx110mm vol 36 facing page 236
9. 'Something was wrong with her foot'. 110mmx164mm vol 36 facing page 273
10. 'He brought the tray to the foot of the couch'. 160mmx110mm vol 36 facing page 506
11. 'Is not from the window. That's a gig lamp to the best of my belief'. 110mmx161mm vol 37 frontispiece
12. 'All that remained of the desperate and unfortunate Eustacia'. 111mmx160mm vol 37 facing page 229

Note: According to Purdy, the novel was serialised in the USA in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Feb. 1878 to Jan 1879. Apparently only 3 of Hopkins' illustrations were used.

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

ii) Illustrated by Clare Leighton, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1929.

8vo. 238 mm x 159 mm. Quarter bound in yellowish grey cloth with greyish blue paper boards. Yellowish grey spine label lettered in black and ruled in red. 1500 copies, signed Clare Leighton, 500 of which reserved for England and issued under the imprint of Macmillan and Co. Front of dust-wrapper repeats frontispiece.

(in black and red) THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE/BY/THOMAS HARDY/WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM WOODCUTS BY/CLARE LEIGHTON/(device, torch with Greek inscription, surrounded by wreath)/(9 lines of verse)/HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS/NEW YORK AND LONDON/M.CM.XXIX

Mounted wood-engravings, each approx. 125mmx95mm with captions printed on text page. The titles in brackets are those under which the engravings (in editions of 30) were exhibited.

1. He musingly surveyed the scene ... (p12) (The Reddleman) Frontispiece
2. The n invisible flames towered, nodded ... (p16) (The bonfire) facing p 18
3. The contour of a man became ... (p69) (Eustacia) facing p 68
4. The pigeons were flying about her head. (p129) (Tamiasie on the ladder) facing p 130
5. The sun, where it could catch ... (p106) (Tamiasie doing her hair) facing p 186
6. Hand in hand they went along ... (p236) (Eustacia and Clym) facing p 236
7. They took no heed of anything ... (p268) (The gambling scene) facing p 268
8. The proud fair woman ... (p300) (Clym cutting furze) facing p 300
9. The boy trestled on beside her. (p339) (On the heath) facing p 338
10. You have held my happiness ... (p386) (Eustacia and Clym) facing p 386
11. A faint beat of half-seconds ... (p456) (Tamiasie rocking the cradle) facing p 456
12. They listened to the words ... (p484) (Clym preaching) facing p 480

Wood-engraved head and tailpieces in text. The titles are those under which the engravings (in editions of 30) were exhibited.

1. Han cutting furze 29mmx36mm p 3, 332
2. Country road 29mmx76mm p (7), 416
3. The wagon 20mmx95mm p 8, 271
4. Bringing home the furze 35mmx29mm p (14), 400
5. The hills of home 30mmx77mm p 15, 205
6. Rabbits 25mmx65mm p 38, 245
7. Horse (The inn?) 64mmx28mm p (43), 110
8. Inspection (Drinking) 29mmx38mm p 44, 474
THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE (Cont.)

9. Bonfire 101mmx51mm p (58), 407
10. Flowers 20mmx39mm p 59, 251
11. Eustacia 90mmx52mm p (74)
12. Eustacia Vye 29mmx77mm p 75, 426
13. Tree trunk 70mmx51mm p (82), (302)
14. The hut 28mmx51mm p 83, 453
15. Travelling on 29mmx51mm p 89, 173
16. Waiting (The Raddlemill) 55mmx57mm p (98)
17. Feathered species (lapwing) 28mmx39mm p 100, 353
18. The bay 29mmx66mm p (109), (237)
19. The village 47mmx78mm p (119), (212)
20. The farm 19mm x 76mm p 123
21. The cottage 64mmx64mm p (129), (228)
22. To Blooms-end 25mmx39mm p 129, 326
23. Wessex cottage 61mmx87mm p (134), (415)
24. Horizon 27mmx77mm p 135, 394
25. Deserted Trees 90mmx64mm p (140), 325
26. The pond 29mmx62mm p 141, 365
27. Through the moonlight 29mmx77mm p 152, 468
28. The bridge 26mmx50mm p (159), 374
29. The straw hut 24mmx39mm p 160, 467
30. Neonlight 51mmx64mm p (172), 352
31. The heath 29mmx77mm p (182), 317
32. The churchyard 29mmx34mm p 183, (473)
33. The village church 26mmx64mm p (193), 255
34. Asters 29mmx39mm p 197, 404
35. The shop 29mmx64mm p (202), 344
36. The well 29mmx77mm p 213
37. Books and candle 29mmx39mm p 229, 283
38. Coming Home 26mmx64mm p 238, (384)
39. Windswept 20mmx77mm p (245), (293)
40. Grove of trees 104mmx77mm p (254), (331)
41. Homeward bound (Christina) 109mmx52mm p (270)
42. Home for the night (The Cart) 64mmx77mm p (279), (437)
43. Eustacia looking into the pool 62mmx57mm p (290)
44. Hepaticas 22mmx39mm p 302, 408
45. Foxglove 74mmx51mm p (316), (461)
46. Clyce's house 77mmx51mm p 343, 385
47. The leaving 28mmx32mm p (373), 438
48. The departure (Eustacia) 62mmx50mm p (393)
49. In the rain 96mmx67mm p (425)

Note: For the 500 English copies Macmillan substituted their imprint on the title page, used a different binding and a slightly wider page..........

2. Ibid., p 8.
THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE (Cont.)

iii) Illustrated by Agnes Miller Parker, New York, The Heritage Press, 1942.

8vo. 212 mm x 139 mm. Bound in champagne linen with all-over repeat design of adder, butterfly and fern from a wood-engraving which does not occur in the text and which is printed in chamois. The dark green leather spine label is lettered and ruled in gold. All edges sprinkled. Dark green slipcase. Designed by A. G. Hoffman and printed in Linotype Caledonia. Published at $ 3.75

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE/BY THOMAS HARDY/ILLUSTRATED WITH WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY/ AGNES MILLER PARKER/(ornament)/(9 lines of verse)/(ornament)/THE HERITAGE PRESS, NEW YORK

(1-iv) v-viii (xiv)(1-3) 4-416 (417-418)

The Wood-engravings

1. Eustacia 154mmx103mm frontispiece
2. Trees on knoll 30mmx52mm p ix
3. Along the road walked an old man (p8) 102mmx102mm p (3)
4. With his stick in his hand he began a jig (p17) 150mmx103mm p 1
5. Eustacia with telescope. (p57) 150mmx103mm p 56
6. Reddleman with lantern (p76) 150mmx104mm p 77
7. Eustacia stepped a little out of the foot-track (p117) 103mmx103mm p 107
8. Wildeve went his way (p158) 150mmx100mm p 157
9. Man walking into the wind. 103mmx103mm p 169
10. He walked along towards home (p176) 154mmx101mm p 177
11. Clym and Eustacia 152mmx102mm p 201
12. Christian and Wildeve gambling (p231) 155mmx103mm p 233
13. The heath 102mmx102mm p 243
14. Clym furze-cutting (p256) 155mmx103mm p 257
15. The live adder regarded the assembled group 153mmx103mm p 303
16. Eustacia returning home (p312) 105mmx103mm p 313
17. All that remained of the desperate Eustacia (p380) 155mmx103mm p 391
18. Clym preaching 103mmx103mm p 387
19. Filling the bed. 152mmx102mm p 407

Literature: The Heritage Club Sandglass, no. 5 LX in which the book is stated to have top edge stained dark green and the binding to have a bright green label, both features at variance with the Manchester Polytechnic Library copy.

8vo. 220 x 140 mm. The binding which matches that of the Folio Society Mayor of Casterbridge is by Webb, Son and Co. in greyish green cloth with pale green corn dolly printed on front board. Brown leather spine label lettered in gold. Top edge stained brownish red, brown slipcase. Printed by Richard Clay and Son, Bungay, Suffolk in Monotype Baskerville. Emery Walker’s map of Wessex printed in black on brown endpapers.

Bibliography: Folio 25, no. 294.
THE TRUMPET MAJOR

Illustrated by John Collier.

Serial Issue. Good Words, Jan-Dec 1880.

Monthly instalments were January, Chapters 1-4; February, Chapters 5-7; March, Chapters 8-10; April Chapters 11-14; May, Chapters 15-17; June, Chapters 18-21; July, Chapters 22-24; August, Chapters 25-27; September, Chapters 28-30; October, Chapters 31-34; November, Chapters 34 (contd)-37; December, Chapters 38-41.

Wood Engravings, 5 of which are captioned plates, the remainder in the text, all engraved by W. L. Messer

1. Overcome Hill 92mmx110mm p 5
2. "On a fine Summer morning ... Anne looked rather frequently from the open casement" 142mmx108mm p 8
3. The Elder Loveday 100mmx60mm p 11
4. "Welcome, Master Merriman" 104mmx184mm facing p 105
5. The Trumpet Major 105mmx74mm p 105
6. Anne passed under the arched gateway 69mmx100mm p 112
7. Anne with the paper 101mmx120mm p 148
8. Uncle Benjy 120mmx100mm p 153
9. Anne and the Trumpet Major 95mmx127mm p 156
10. Before she saw a flower 175mmx120mm facing p 249
11. Anne and the Trumpet Major at the gate 146mmx107mm p 256
12. A parcel of cap ribbons 104mmx125mm p 324
13. Matilda and Bob 132mmx85mm p 329
14. Her head fell back on Bob's shoulder 134mmx92mm p 332
15. She was standing before the looking glass 176mmx124mm facing p 360
16. The Trumpet Major 102mmx66mm p 358
17. Soldier with musket 114mmx97mm p 413
18. Painting the summer house 125mmx70mm p 436
19. The clamped box 112mmx126mm p 441
20. With a desperate sigh she ran on again 127mmx177mm facing p 505
21. Lady from Weymouth 84mmx35mm p 505
22. He, young woman, how you are caught 151mmx106mm p 513
23. Trumpet Major and Fortunus 105mmx124mm p 580
24. Two roads crossed this line at a startling nearness to here 105mmx65mm p 585
25. They proceeded with their burden 126mmx176mm facing p 649
26. Down the rope 112mmx65mm p 652
27. There is no parapet to the bridge 98mmx98mm p 657
28. The VICTORY 106mmx85mm p 729
29. Anne swept with the eye. The tremulous expanse of waters around her. 109mmx126mm p 729
30. "Are you never going to turn round?? 129mmx94mm p 734
31. "Nothing was to be heard but the rustling of the ribbon" 132mmx128mm p 756
32. The candle shed its waving light upon John's face and uniform 132mmx88mm p 801

Note: According to Pity, the novel was serialised without illustrations in the USA in Denorest's Monthly Magazine, Jan 1860-Jan 1881.

A LAODICEAN

Illustrated by George Du Maurier.


Monthly instalments were December 1880, Book I, Chapters 1-4; January, Chapters 4 (contd)-8; February, Chapters 9 (8 contd)-13 March, Chapter 13 (contd) - Book II, Chapter 2; April, Chapters 3-7; May, Chapters 7 (contd) - Book III, 3; June, Chapters 4-7; July, Chapters 8-11; August, Book IV, Chapters 1-5; September, Book V, Chapters 1-5; October, Chapters VI-X; November, Chapters XI-XIV; December, Book VI, Chapters 1-5 (See Purdy, p37 for an explanation of the arrangement)

Wood-engravings by Swan with printed titles in the text

1. "But, my dear lady, you promised" 115mmx170mm vol I p 135
2. "Tell me, old doctor, Sir!" 114mmx190mm vol I p 297
3. "What an escape!" he said 185mmx120mm vol I p 462
4. The garden party 117mmx184 vol I p 617
5. "There is no Mrs De Stancy?" he said in an undertone. 122mmx186mm vol I p 777
6. "Is the resemblance strong?" 182mmx118mm vol I p 937
7. The young man was at her side 119mmx179mm vol II p 137
8. "My uncle Mr Abner Power," 118mmx186mm vol II p 297
9. "And will you please deliver them into no hands but his own." 180mmx120mm vol II p 463
10. It was a portrait of Generael 119mmx188mm vol II p 621
11. De Stancy screened Paula with his umbrella 120mmx190mm vol II p 777
12. Soon a funeral procession of almost meagre and threadbare character arrived 122mmx191mm vol II p 937
13. At Etretä 115mmx188mm vol III p 136

Note: According to Purdy, the serial ran in the USA in Harper's from Jan 1881-Jan 1882 with illustrations frequently retitled and no. 11 was omitted.

THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE

Illustrated by Robert Barnes.

Serial Issue. The Graphic. 2 Jan-15 May 1886 XXXIII

The weekly instalments were 2 January, Chapters 1-2; 9 January, Chapters 3-5; 16 January, Chapters 5 (contd)-7; 23 January, Chapters 8-9; 30 January, Chapters 10-12; 6 February, Chapters 13-15; 13 February, Chapters 15 (contd) -17; 20 February, Chapters 18-19; 27 February, Chapters 20-21; 6 March, Chapters 22-23; 13 March, Chapters 24-25; 20 March, Chapters 26-27; 27 March, Chapters 27 (contd)-29; 3 April, Chapters 30-32; 10 April, Chapters 33-34; 17 April, Chapters 35-36; 24 April, Chapters 37-38; 1 May, Chapters 39-41; 8 May, Chapters 41 (contd)-43; 15 May, Chapters 44-45.

20 large wood-engravings from designs by Robert Barnes accompanied by printed captions, one per instalment. No engravers' signatures occur.

1. "Hay trussing?" said the turnip-boer 176mmx225mm p 17
2. "The hag opened a little basket" 230mmx174mm p 41
3. "Her mother whispered as she drew near" 230mmx198mm p 69
4. "Young Farfrae repeated the last verse" 175mmx230mm p 101
5. "I don't drink now" 230mmx177mm p 123
6. "Then its somebody wanting to see us both" 230mmx178mm p 161
7. "Farfrae was footing a quiet little dance" 228mmx175mm p 189
8. "Don't cry don't cry", said Henchard 230mmx174mm p 217
9. "Did you do it, or didn't you" 230mmx177mm p 241
10. "The man before her was not Henchard" 227mmx175mm p 269
11. "She knelt down on the hearth" 175mmx227mm p 293
12. "In answer to the knock Fall came to the door" 227mmx174mm p 317
13. "She has gone on with Mr Henchard, you say?" 176mmx225mm p 341
14. "Henchard turned slightly, and saw that the corner was Jopp" 177mmx225mm p 373
15. "Henchard ... touched the brim of his cap to her" 175mmx225mm p 397
16. "Well, Lucetta, I've a bit of news" 230mmx177mm p 421
17. "Now... your life is in my hands" 176mmx224mm p 449
18. "Lucetta's eyes were straight upon the spectacle" 230mmx177mm p 477
19. "Elizabeth, my child, come and hearken" 176mmx224mm p 509
20. "I have done wrong in coming" 227mmx176mm p 529

Note: According to Purdy, the simultaneous USA serialization in Harper's Weekly used 17 of the Barnes illustrations, omitting nos. 16, 19 and 20. The first edition in book form was unillustrated.


a) 8vo. 234 mm x 150 mm. Quarter bound in violet brown morocco with dull red boards flecked with white fibres. Spine lettered in gold between double rules. Matching slipcase with paper label lettered in violet brown. Designed by John Dreyfus and printed at The Thistle Press in Caledonia with running heads in Cloister Black and initials in Bulmer. 1500 copies signed A Miller Parker.

(in black and violet brown) THOMAS HARDY/The Mayor of/ Casterbridge/ILLUSTRATED WITH WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY/ AGNES MILLER PARKER/(wood-engraving MAN WITH STICK 68 mm x 40 mm)/INTRODUCTION BY FRANK SWINNERTON/ (Double rule)/NEW YORK/THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB/ 1964

(i-iv) v-xii (xiv) xv-xvi (1-2) 3-317 (318)

The Plates

1. Young man and woman, the latter carrying a child (p3) facing p 6
2. Mrs Newson and the furnity seller (p22) facing p 22
3. Elizabeth delivering Parfress's supper (p43) facing p 42
4. Horses were tied up in rows (p58) facing p 58
5. She went out with him more frequently (p84) facing p 84
6. A quaint little dance with Elizabeth Jane (p103) facing p 105
7. He steadfastly regarded her features (p120) facing p 120
8. Lucetta flung back the curtain (p149) facing p 150
9. The farmers crowded round it (p158) facing p 158
10. He threw open the door (p177) facing p 179
11. Wrenched the animal's head (p196) facing p 196
12. He alighted and went to his former friend (p214)
13. Lucetta leaned upon the banister (p235) facing p 236
14. It was a wrestling match (p258) facing p 258
15. His actual double was floating as if dead (p282) facing p 282
16. Went on till he came to the first milestone (p297) facing p 298

Vignettes (1 and 11) and Tailpieces (2-10) in the text

1. Thomas Hardy 34mmx32mm p 15
2. Doorway 39mmx32mm p 40
3. Innsign 30mmx30mm p 54
4. Loft 28mmx32mm p 90
5. Waves 35mmx38mm p 97
6. Bridge and cottage 28mmx38mm p 122

Footnotes initials (each approx. 31mmx35mm)

1. Trussing tools pp 3, 15, 301
2. Coulston pp 19, 189, 206
3. Townscape pp 23, 201, 248
4. Badges of office pp 30, 36, 41, 72, 77, 91
5. Tankards pp 48, 218, 262
6. Cornstore pp 55, 63, 255
7. Landscape pp 67, 214
8. Hat and parasol pp 82, 139, 193

The Plates (each approx. 160mmx95mm)

1. Young man and woman, the latter carrying a child (p3) facing p 6
2. Mrs Newson and the furnity seller (p22) facing p 22
3. Elizabeth delivering Parfress's supper (p43) facing p 42
4. Horses were tied up in rows (p58) facing p 58
5. She went out with him more frequently (p84) facing p 84
6. A quaint little dance with Elizabeth Jane (p103) facing p 105
7. He steadfastly regarded her features (p120) facing p 120
8. Lucetta flung back the curtain (p149) facing p 150
9. The farmers crowded round it (p158) facing p 158
10. He threw open the door (p177) facing p 179
11. Wrenched the animal's head (p196) facing p 196
12. He alighted and went to his former friend (p214)
13. Lucetta leaned upon the banister (p235) facing p 236
14. It was a wrestling match (p258) facing p 258
15. His actual double was floating as if dead (p282) facing p 282
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Vignettes (1 and 11) and Tailpieces (2-10) in the text

1. Thomas Hardy 34mmx32mm p 15
2. Doorway 39mmx32mm p 40
3. Innsign 30mmx30mm p 54
4. Loft 28mmx32mm p 90
5. Waves 35mmx38mm p 97
6. Bridge and cottage 28mmx38mm p 122
Note: According to the Monthly Newsletter (p4), some extra proofs of the full-page wood-engravings were pulled, signed by the artist, and distributed on a first-come first-served basis.

b) Also issued by the Heritage Press, New York, 1964.

8vo. 215 mm x 140 mm. Bound by the Russell-Rutter Co., New York in beige linen with all-over repeat design of townscape from a wood-engraving which does not occur in the text and which is printed in ruddy. The dark red leather spine label is lettered and ruled in gold. Dark red slipcase. Designed by John Dreyfus and printed at the Press of A. Colish, Mount Vernon, N. Y. A matching volume to no.

The title page varies from the Limited Editions Club issue in that THE HERITAGE PRESS is substituted for THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB/1964 and the title and rules are printed in brownish red.

Pagination text and illustrations as in a) save plate no. faces p 20 and the colophon and vignette (11) are not present.

THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE (Cont.)


8vo. 220 mm x 140 mm. The binding which matches that of the Folio Society Return of the Native is by W. and J. Mackay and Co. in brown cloth with deep green corn dolly printed on front board. Brown leather spine label lettered in gold. Top edge stained brownish orange, brown slipcase. Printed by Richard Clay Ltd, Bungay, Suffolk in Monotype Baskerville. Emery Walker's map of Wessex printed in black on brown end papers.

(rule)/THE LIFE AND DEATH OF/ THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE/ THE STORY OF A MAN/OF CHARACTER/ BY/ THOMAS HARDY/ (rule)/ THE FOLIO SOCIETY. LONDON. MCMLXVIII

(below the frontispiece) WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY PETER REDDICK

(1-4) 5-12 (13-14) 15-334 (335)

The Wood-engravings:

1. Henchard 59mx102mm frontispiece
2. Tipped the corn into the man's furmity (p19) 58mx100mm p 19
3. Shadows of the yellow and red vans were projected (p20) 60mx102mm p 30
4. You've seen better days (p24) 56mx102mm p 34
5. At the ironmongers (p31) 60mx102mm p 41
6. The loungers outside (p48) 60mx100mm p 48
7. She brought forth the tray of supper (p55) 57mx100mm p 55
8. They neither whispered nor drank (p62) 60mx102mm p 62
9. A procession of five large wagons (p69) 58mx100mm p 70
10. Henchard and Elizabeth-Jane 60mx102mm p 78
11. Pull your chair round (p87) 63mx102mm p 87
12. Susan Henchard entered a carriage (p93) 56mx100mm p 93
13. A street of farmers' homesteads (p102) 66mx102mm p 102
14. Get back here (p109) 58mx102mm p 109
15. Nothing was left in the field (p115) 60mx102mm p 115
16. The incidents of Mrs Henchard's death (p129) 58mx102mm p 129
17. A cup of cider or ale (p139) 57mx100mm p 139
18. Thus she came to the wall (p151) 65mx100mm p 151
19. Looking out upon the market (p160) 60mx102mm p 160
20. The chief hiring fair of the year (p168) 48mx102mm p 168
21. Henchard put his hand to his hat (p175) 60mx102mm p 176
22. Farfrae himself on horseback (p184) 66mx102mm p 184
23. He reached the house (p192) 61mx102mm p 192
24. Winding among the shocks (p201) 50mx102mm p 201
25. Wrenched the animal's head (p212) 57mx100mm p 212
26. She trotted off down the street (p222) 60mx102mm p 222
27. To this bridge came Henchard (p229) 61mx102mm p 229
28. The instruments were turned (p238) 60mx102mm p 238
29. Lucetta leant upon the banister (p252) 60mx101mm p 251
30. I should like to see the old custos (p264) 59mx102mm p 264
31. He had reached the granary steps (p273) 59mx102mm p 273
32. The rude music (p282) 57mx102mm p 291
33. He quickened the horses pace (p289) 60mx102mm p 298
34. What is floating there (p301) 52mx102mm p 300
35. Henchard often resorted glass in hand (p311) 58mx102mm p 311
36. He obtained employment at his own occupation (p320) 58mx102mm p 321

Bibliography: Folio 25 no. 248.
TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES

i) Illustrated by Hubert von Herkomer and his pupils D A Wehrschmidt, E Borough Johnson and J Syddall.

Serial Issue. The Graphic. 4 July-26 Dec 1891.

The weekly instalments were consecutive save that episodes did not appear in the issues of 11 July and 7 November. 4 July, Chapters 1-3; 18 July, Chapters 3 (Cont.)-6; 25 July, Chapters 6-8; 1 August, Chapters 9-11; 8 August, Chapters 12-14; 15 August, Chapters 15-16; 22 August, Chapters 17-18; 29 August, Chapters 19-21; 5 September, Chapters 22-23; 12 September, Chapters 24-25; 19 September, Chapters 26-27; 26 September, Chapters 28-30; 3 October, Chapters 31-33; 10 October, Chapters 33-35; 17 October, Chapters 35 (Cont.)-37; 24 October, Chapters 37 (Cont.)-39; 31 October, Chapters 40-41; 14 November, Chapters 42-44; 21 November, Chapters 45-46; 28 November, Chapters 47-48; 5 December, Chapters 49-50; 12 December, Chapters 51-52; 19 December, Chapters 53-56; 26 December, Chapters 57-59.

25 illustrations in 24 instalments. Most are drawn for wood-engraving but could be reproduced by line block. A few are drawn as for lineblock reproduction in the "black and white" manner whilst no. 6 is certainly by process from pen and wash or watercolour.

1. There stood her mother, amid the group of children, hanging over the washing tub. 297mmx130mm approx. pp 12-13.
2. In stagnant blackness they waited through an interval which seemed endless. 227mmx129mm. p 75.
3. I would rather take it Sir in my own hand. 293mmx224mm. p 101.
4. Tess stood still and turned round to look behind her. 116mmx269mm. p 133.
5. Tess stood in Dairyman Dick's yard. 165mmx225mm. p 161.
6. "I don't know about ghosts" she was saying. 210mmx302mm. p 189.
7. "What makes you draw off in that way, Tess?" 301mmx221mm. p 217.
8. "This here stopping do fairly make my back open and shut", exclaimed the dairyman. 160mmx210mm. p 245.
9. He jumped up from his seat and went quickly to the desire of his eyes. 160mmx210mm. p 273.
10. "Is she of a family such as you would care to marry into?" 273mmx333mm. p 301.
11. Tess flung herself down upon the undergrowth of rustling spear grass. 160mmx227mm. p 333.
12. Clare came down from the landing above in his shirt sleeves. 305mmx190mm. p 357.
13. "You be going to marry him!" asked Marion. 294mmx227mm. p 375.
14. As he passed then he kissed them in succession. 160mmx210mm. p 421.
15. She slid down upon her knees beside his foot. 160mmx210mm. p 423.
16. They reached the cloister garth where were the graves of the monks. 214mmx302mm. p 449.
17. His father and mother were both in the drawing room. 160mmx210mm. p 481.
18. The plantation wherein she had taken shelter. 253mmx194mm. p 509.
19. The three o'clock sun shone full upon him. 180mmx260mm. p 573.
20. "Tess, Tess, I was on my way to deliverence till I saw you again!" 168mmx228mm. p 601.
21. It was not till about three o'clock that Tess raised her eyes. p 633.
22. On going up to the fire ... she beheld the face of D'Urberville. pp 670-71.
23. "You be the woman called Mrs D'Urbeyfield?". p 693.
24. He lay on his back as if he scarcely moved. p 725.
25. Something seem to move on the verge of the dip. p 759.

Note: According to Purdy, the novel also appeared serially in the USA in Harper's Bazar between 18 July and 26 Dec 1891. Only 11 of the 25 illustrations were used.

TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES


8vo. 226 mm x 150 mm. Bound in dark blue buckram with gilt lettering on spine. 1500 copies printed by R and R Clark, Edinburgh. Emery Walker’s map of Wessex, 262 mm x 201 mm tipped in and folded, to face p (508)

TESS OF/THE D'URBERVILLES/A PURE WOMAN/FAULTLESSLY/PRESENTED BY/THOMAS HARDY/WITH Q T Engravings/BE THE GRIEBLE/(quotation, 2 lines)/MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD./ST MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON/1926

(i-iv) v vii-xi (xii) xiii (xiv) xix (xx) 21-91 (92-94) 95-127 (128-130) 131-136 (137) 138-168 (169) 170-188 (189) 190-194 (195-196) 197-254 (255) 256-297 (288) 289 (290) 291-387 (388) 389-467 (468) 469-507 (508)

The Plates

1. Tess with milking stool 157mmx95mm fontispiece
2. Out in the ...roods (p107) 167mmx95mm facing p 108
3. At the head of the grave (p122) 163mmx95mm facing p 122
4. Ducks pond 132mmx94mm facing p 164
5. At the cro's side (p233) 163mmx95mm facing p 232
6. Landscape with cows 36mmx162mm facing p 259
7. Cows between trees 145mmx95mm p 347
8. He knelt down besides her (p502) 151mmx95mm facing p 502

Section titles. head- and tailpieces in the text

1. Trees and cows 32mmx95mm p 3
2. The inn? 32mmx95mm p 26
3. Cottage with birds 32mmx94mm p 50
4. Hens and chicks 32mmx95mm p 75
5. Tess gathering corn 74mmx95mm p 93
6. Acquaintances of Tess (p105) 32mmx95mm p 105
7. Revolving Maltese cross (p109) 32mmx95mm p 109
8. Tess milking 72mmx93mm p 129
9. Less restful cows (p137) 48mmx75mm p 137
10. pasture with reclining cows 32mmx95mm p 138
11. Pasture with seven cows 38mmx96mm p 165
12. Milking then on the spot (p166) 60mmx95mm p 169
13. They drove the animals (p168) 38mmx95mm p 170
14. Cows in shelter 32mmx95mm p 181
15. Milk then on the spot (p168) 132mmx97mm p 189
16. Cows under trees 32mmx96mm p 190
17. By the stream 74mmx97mm p 195
18. Three milkmaids 29mmx95mm p 216
19. Breakfast next day (p230) 31mmx95mm p 230
20. Eight recumbent cows 32mmx95mm p 237
21. Poultry yard 65mmx95mm p 255
22. Fairway 32mmx95mm p 256
23. Bridge 32mmx95mm p 276
24. Wellbridge Mill 32mmx95mm p 302
25. Grazing pasture and hill 31mmx95mm p 325
26. Tess went onward (p256) 32mmx95mm p 326
27. The swedes field (p263) 32mmx95mm p 363
28. Ground running under her feet (p376) 32mmx95mm p 377
29. The plough going between (p400) 30mmx94mm p 400
30. Ricks 31mmx95mm p 424
31. Ark of the Covenant (p459) 32mmx95mm p 458
32. His mother watched (p475) 32mmx95mm p 475
33. Stonetenge (p502) 32mmx95mm p 497

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Note: 1325 copies were printed on large paper and signed by Thomas Hardy. Bound in marbled paper boards with vellum spine.

TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES (Cont.)


8vo. 216 mm x 140 mm. Bound by F. D. Fortney, New York, in heavy canvas printed in soft colours, predominantly light green, with a reproduction of Wellbridge Mill, from the engraving in the text at pp (256-257). Dark green leather label lettered and ruled in gold. Dark green slipcase with spine label as on book but white with green lettering. Typeset in Caledonia with Bulmer display sizes by John Stone. 1500 copies printed at the George Grady Press. Signed A Miller Parker in the colophon.

TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES, A PURE WOMAN/FAITHFULLY PRESENTED/ BY THOMAS HARDY/ INTRODUCTION BY ROBERT CANTWELL/ ILLUSTRATED WITH WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY AGNES MILLER PARKER/ (ornament)/NEW YORK/THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB/1956

(i-viii) ix-xi (xxi) xxi-xv (1-4) 5-90 (81-84) 85-113 (114-118) 119-122 (123-126) 127-174 (175-176) 177-254 (255-256) 259-340 (341-344) 345-410 (411-414) 415-447 (448-450) The seven double page engravings in colour on soft paper inserts are numbered but included in the pagination.

Double page wood-engravings printed from three blocks, each approx. 214x175mm, inserted subsequent to the section titles

1. Blackmore Vale pp (2-3)
2. Cranborne Chase pp (22-23)
3. Egdon Heath pp (116-117)
4. Plain of the Great Dairies: Talbothays pp (174-175)
5. Wellbridge Hill pp (256-257)
6. Village under Flintcombe Ash pp (342-343)
7. Stonehenge pp (412-413)

Black and white engravings in the text, all approx 95x95mm save frontispiece which is 140x100mm

1. Tess Frontispiece
2. This white shape stood apart (p16) p 17
3. You look prettier with it on (p57) p 57
4. Climbed the gate (p72) p 72
5. The basket was heavy (p86) p 86
6. Drawn cotton stockings (p120) p 99
7. Suckling the child (p102) p 102
8. Found herself on a summit (p120) p 121
9. Charged her bonnet for a hood (p127) p 127
10. I hope I am not too heavy (p164) p 165
11. Tess flung herself down (p202) p 203
12. Kept his arm round her waist (p220) p 219
13. Tess's face and neck reflected (p232) p 231
14. Mounted the plank (p281) p 282
15. The lane was long (p311) p 310
16. A mechanical regularity (p320) p 320
17. Preaching in yonder barn (p339) p 339
18. Chopping off with a bill-hook (p354) p 355
19. She laboured with her fork (p391) p 391
20. Her posture being a kneeling one (p430) p 429
21. Have they come for me? (p446) p 445

Literature: Monthly Letter of the Limited Editions Club, Dec. 1955, no. 269 in which it is stated that, in addition to the blocks for the colour illustrations, Agnes Miller Parker made two dozen wood-engravings to be printed in black ink. 21 only appear in the book.
b) Also issued by the Heritage Press, New York, 1956

8vo. 215 mm x 137 mm. Binding as a) save the label is printed on and Heritage substituted for The Limited Editions Club. Dark green slipcase. All edges sprinkled. A matching volume to nos.

The title page varies from the Limited Editions Club issue in that The Heritage Press is substituted for The Limited Editions Club 1956.

Pagination, text and illustrations are as in a) save that this issue lacks (i-ii) and (449-450). The double page spread engravings are here printed in black in the text from one block only. Printing of the pages Stratford Press, New York. The binding, as for a), was carried out by F. D. Fortney, New York.

OUR EXPLOITS AT WEST POLEY


a) 8vo. 188 mm x 120 mm. Bound in bluish grey cloth lettered on spine in silver. White dust-wrapper printed in greyish turquoise and black, with wood-engraved design from page 1 printed in black. Patterned end-papers.

(in black and bluish-green) OUR EXPLOITS AT/WEST POLEY/by/THOMAS HARDY/With an Introduction by/Richard L Purdy/(wood-engraving, CANDLE ON HAT, 33 mm x 28 mm)/GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE/OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS/London New York Toronto/1952

(i-iv) v (vi) viii-xii 1-91 (98-100)

Wood-engravings (printed in bluish-green)

1. Watermill 39mmx64mm p vii
2. Boys in cave 39mmx63mm p 1
3. Decoration (waterwheel) 27mmx39mm pp 17, 37, 54, 66, 78
4. Boy crouching 40mmx65mm p 98

b) 8vo. 198 mm x 128 mm. Bound in ruby cloth lettered on spine in silver. White dust wrapper printed in greyish red and black with illustration of boys in cave. Wrapper lettered in greyish green and white.

OUR EXPLOITS/AT WEST POLEY/THOMAS HARDY/Illustrated by/LYNTON LAMB/Geoffrey Cumberlege/OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS/1952

(6) (1-2) 3-17 (18-20) 21-39 (40-42) 43-59 (60-62) 63-73 (74-75) 77-87 (88-90) 91-109 (110-111)

Pen Drawings in the text (printed black)

1. The cave 152mmx104mm frontispiece
2. Farmyard 52mmx92mm p (7)
3. Watermill 54mmx92mm p 3
4. Boy digging 52mmx93mm p 12
5. Haycart 54mmx92mm p 21
6. Waterwheel 53mmx92mm p 30
7. Boys in water 54mmx94mm p 43
8. Boy climbing cave 53mmx93mm p 57
9. Candle on hat 54mmx93mm p 69
10. Miller in water 54mmx92mm p 70
11. Boy on rope 53mmx92mm p 77
12. Steve in bed 51mmx92mm p 83
13. Men digging 53mmx92mm p 91
14. Steve running 52mmx92mm p 108
15. Cow 52mmx92mm p (110)

Note: First published in The Household, Nov 1892 to April 1893 in six monthly parts.


414
THE WELL-BELOVED

Illustrated by Wal Paget.

Vol Cl.

Weekly instalments were 1 Oct, Part First, Chapters 1-4;
8 Oct, Chapters 4 (contd)-7; 15 Oct, Chapters 7 (contd)-10;
22 Oct, Chapters 10 (contd)-12; 29 Oct, Part Second;
Chapters 13-16; 5 Nov, Chapters 16 (contd)-18, 12 Nov,
Chapters 19-21; 19 Nov, Chapters 21 (contd)-22 and
Part Third, Chapter 23; Nov 26, Chapters 24-25; 3 Dec,
Chapters 26-28; 10 Dec, Chapters 28 (contd)-30; 17 Dec,
Chapters 31-33.

Illustrations in the text with printed captions in the text. Those which are wood-engraved
were cut by a number of engravers, some unsigned. A full-page wood-engraved portrait of Hardy
from a photograph by Kesler of Keymouth faces the 1st page of the 1st instalment. Each
instalment has the same wood-engraved headpiece with hand-lettered title and two further
illustrations with printed captions. Dimensions are given only for the wood-engravings.

1. By this time he had begun to experience a sentimental feeling for the letters. (half-tone) p 425
2. The sea roared and splashed now as it did when they visited it together as children
164mmx233mm p 427
3. He looked at his watch by the aid of a light. 220mmx145mm p 497
4. Jocelyn began his narrative 190mmx232mm p 499
5. I have told my husband everything. (half-tone) p 480
6. Jocelyn sprang up to leave the room. 175mmx225mm p 492
7. The portraits, taken by the latest fashionable photographer, were very good, and he told
her so. 187mmx137mm p 513
8. He moved back to the church wall, warm from the afternoon sun (half-tone) p 515
9. Pearson knocked at the door of the minute freehold (half-tone) p 545
10. Walking in the grounds towards the gate he saw Avril entering the house with a broad oval
wicker-basket covered with a white cloth. 165mmx235mm p 547
11. "I am very very sorry!" Jocelyn exclaimed 221mmx150mm p 577
12. He entered, to find in the drawing-room no other person than Nichola Pine-Avon 177mmx234 p 579
13. Soldiers were seldom seen in this outer part of the island (half-tone) p 609
14. "I suppose you'll marry some day, Avice" (half-tone) p 611
15. "I don't want to go to him" she sobbed (half-tone). p 641
16. His attention was drawn by the busy doings around a quarry (half-tone) p 643
17. Pearson stopped and examined the cause of discomfort. 200mmx140mm p 673
18. "Have you even given her a hint of what my meaning is?" 172mmx234 p 675
19. "Does he really wish me to?" she asked. 202mmx150mm p 709
20. She was holding her handkerchief to her eyes (half-tone) p 711
21. Pearson said "Good-night!" (half-tone) p 741
22. They reached the corner of the Red King's castle, where there were some large blocks
of loose rock, carved with the initials of natives of past generations. "Do you think
it well to go further?" asked the woman, as if she were anxious that he should return.
"I fear I cannot", he said. 174mmx224mm p 743
23. Everything was done, even to the packing of his portmanteau (half-tone) p 773
24. He pushed the skiff down the slope. (half-tone) p 775

Note: An article by Frederick Greenwood on p 431 of vol Cl, following the first instalment, is
illustrated by a finely reproduced half-tone photograph of Dorchester and a line-block from
a pen drawing of Max Gate, Hardy's house near Dorchester, from a pen drawing "attributed to
Herbert Railton. These emphasise the transitional period of illustration reproduction in
the 1890's. According to Purdy, the serial was published simultaneously but unillustrated in
Harper's Bazaar, USA. (I. ROGERSON, I. Herbert Railton: an iconography of his published
illustrations. MLS Dissertation, Loughborough University of Technology, 1980, p 56)
1954, pp JACOBS, A. N. Illustration and the Novels of Thomas Hardy. London, Macmillan,
1982 pp 127-128.

415
JUDE THE OBSCURE

i) Illustrated by W Hatherell.


The monthly instalments were December, Chapters 1-6; January, Chapters 7-11; February, Chapters 12-16; March, Chapters 17-21; April, Chapters 22-25; May, Chapters 26-29; June, Chapters 30-32; July, Chapters 33-36; August, Chapters 37-40; September, Chapters 41-44; October, Chapters 45-48; November, Chapters 48 (contd)-51.

Illustrations engraved on wood with printed titles

1. "On the further side of the stream three young women were kneeling" 123mmx188mm. Vol XXIX Frontispiece.
2. "See how he's served me, she cried" 121mmx177mm. p 203.
4. "Jude stood up and began rhetorically" 121mmx170mm. p 566.
5. "She looked into his eyes with her own tearful ones" 122mmx184mm. p 737.
6. "Jude! said a voice timidly - Sue's voice" 121mmx180mm. Plate facing p 819.
7. "There on the gravel lay a white hamp" 121mmx173mm. Vol XXX. p 118.
8. "Her advent seemed ghostly-like the flitting of a moth" 121mmx123mm. p 252.
10. "I ought not to be born, ought I? said the boy" 171mmx120mm. p 501.
11. "Sue excitedly continued to tear the linen into strips" 120mmx126mm. p 795.
12. "Jude at the Milestone" 120mmx169mm. p 897.

JUDE THE OBSCURE


Two colour wood-engraved section titles in the text (subject in parenthesis)

1. At Hurygreen ( ) lilac and greyish green 72mm x75mm p (1)
2. At Christminster (Man, trees and Oxford on horizon) greyish turquoise and orange grey 74mm x75mm p (73)
3. At Melchester (Salisbury Cathedral) orange grey and lilac 73mm x70mm p (129)
4. At Shasten (Shaftsbury) orange grey and lilac 70mm x80mm p (72)
5. At Alderickham and Elsewhere (river Thames?) lilac and greyish green 74mm x77mm p (96)
6. At Christminster again (Tom Tower, Christ Church) greyish green and greyish violet 74mm x74mm p (235)

Wood-engravings in black and white (with the exception of no. 4 which is 22mm x95mm all black & white engravings are approx. 95mm x95mm)

1. Perched himself on the highest rung (p15) p 16
2. Turned her eyes critically upon him (p36) p 36
3. Her husband stood still (p67) p 67
4. The milestone inscription (p72) p 72
5. An enormous armful of green stuff (p93) p 93
6. Marched along the road two and two (p105) p 107
7. I have been drinking (p123) p 124
8. Can I come by your fire (p146) p 147
9. Sat down upon a block of freestone (p167) p 166
10. Abby was in a black gown (p183) p 184
11. She let go of the casement-stay (p221) p 221
12. Bringing Sue into the hall (p234) p 234
13. Some dozen or more champions rose up (p257) p 257
14. I've just looked in (p279) p 280
15. The unwitting Sue and Jude (p303) p 303
16. The pigeons flew away (p320) p 321
17. A man with a shovel (p355) p 356
18. He put his arm round her (p360) p 367
19. Sue flung her face upon the bed (p382) p 382
20. He came to the milestone (p409) p 409

Note: According to the Monthly Newsletter (p4), as *agniappe*, AMP made another engraving of a scene from Jude, parts of which were made on hand-made Japanese paper and signed by the artist. Pulls were distributed to all members.

In greyish green and greyish violet, the full-length frock coated figure of Jude? surveys the landscape from a vantage point.

b) Also issued by the Heritage Press, New York, 1969

8vo. 215 mm x 140 mm. Bound in green linen with all-over repeat design taken from the second section heading wood-engraving, this printed in deep green. The printed label is in greyish green ruled and lettered in gold. Plain deep green slipcase. A matching volume to no.

The title page varies from the Limited Editions Club issue in that THE HERITAGE PRESS for THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB/1969. There is a two-colour wood-engraving in grey and greenish white of Jude which is not included in the Limited Editions Club issue, but issued as a presentation plate with that volume. Unlike the L.E.C. issue, the engravings on the section titles are in black and white.

c) Another issue

8vo. 215 mm x 140 mm. Bound in cloth printed with brown and light brown herringbone pattern.

Differs from b) in that NORWALK, CONNECTICUT is substituted for NEW YORK on the title page and the colour engraved frontispiece is in beige and charcoal grey.
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