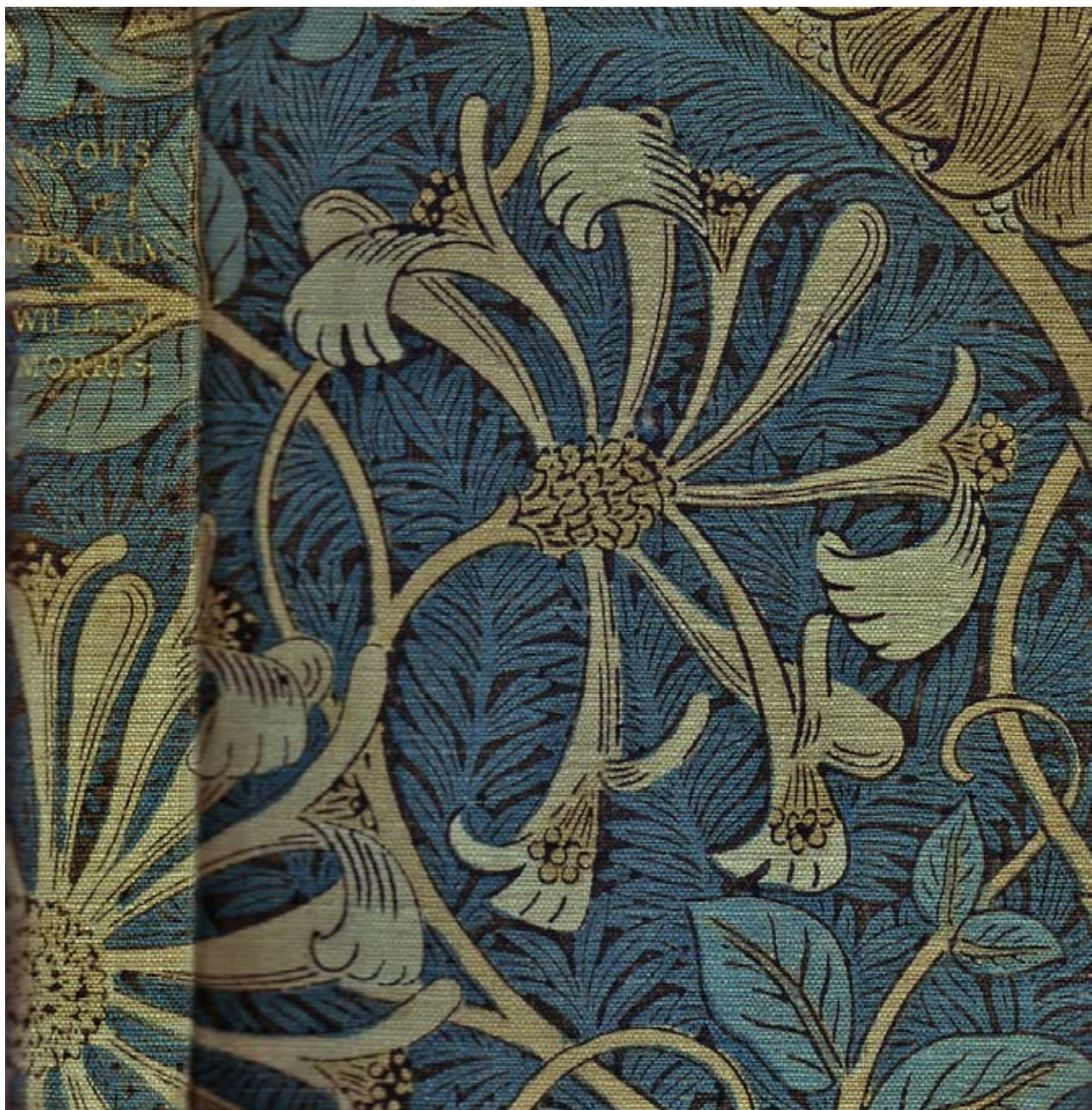


WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES

# NEWSLETTER

Summer 2009



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*On the cover:* William Morris, *The Roots of the Mountains* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1889), cover of the special issue bound in Morris and Co. textile (Mark Samuels Lasner Collection, on loan to the University of Delaware Library).

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*Managing editor:* Bonnie J. Robinson

*Design and production:* Jon Mehlferber

## A LETTER TO MEMBERS

The first half of 2009 went well for our society. There have been several events and various activities, and we have much to look forward to later this year and in 2010. First, let me thank all of you who have renewed your membership and who continue to support the efforts of the William Morris Society. We are reasonably successful as an organization in terms of membership and finances, but there is always more that can be done. As always, I encourage you to participate in any way that you would enjoy, be it writing an article for the newsletter, posting to our blog, or offering suggestions for programs and events. Your contributions are essential to the success of our society.

### MORRIS SOCIETY MEETING AT THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

Our annual meeting will take place as usual at the 2009

MLA convention, which will be 27–30 December in Philadelphia. There will be two William Morris Society sessions in the program. One will be on “William Morris: Later Friends and Colleagues,” the other on “Music and the Pre-Raphaelites.” In addition, there will be a meeting of the governing committee and a dinner meeting for members, offering the chance to socialize and converse. (Possibly also a visit to a library or historic house.). More information, including a schedule, will be available on our website and blog as we get closer to the conference. We hope to see many of you there.

### 2009 EVENTS

March 2009. Historian and writer David Taylor gave a well-received lecture (6 March at the Grolier Club in New York) on “Vernon Lushington: Pre-Raphaelite, Friend of William Morris and the Father of Mrs. Dalloway.” This was the latest in the series of events sponsored by the society in collaboration with the American Friends of Arts and Crafts in Chipping Campden, the Stickley Museum at Craftsman Farms, and the Victorian Society in America.

May 2009. Visit to Greene and Greene exhibition at the Renwick Gallery in Washington DC on 23 May. Members met for a tour of this important exhibition of the work of brothers Charles and Henry Greene, perhaps the most influential American arts and crafts architects of their time. A group stayed on for lunch at a nearby restaurant.

December 2009. See page 7 of this newsletter for the announcement of a 10 December lecture in New York (again at the Grolier Club) by Mary Greensted. A former curator at the Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum. Greensted will be speaking on William Morris and the designer and craftsman Ernest Gimson.

### ALLIED ORGANIZATION STATUS WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

This spring Florence Boos and Mark Samuels Lasner filed the society's application for renewal of Allied Organization Status with the Modern Language Association. Continuing as an Allied Organization allows us to hold our annual meeting and programs at the MLA convention. We should hear in September if our renewal was approved.

### WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY WEBSITE

In the near future, our website will be getting some badly-needed attention. Not only do we hope to improve the content (improved images of Morris's work, updated lists of Morris-related products and services, and possibly even scanned versions of past US newsletters to augment the archive of the *Journal of William Morris Studies*

(1961–2008), but there are plans for several new features, including online purchasing of publications.

Finally, please feel free to contact me with any suggestions, concerns, or comments pertaining to the society. Your input is welcome. As before, I am happy to provide membership brochures for you to distribute if you are attending an event where there may be some interest in our organization.

Thank you.  
*Fran Durako*  
President

*Save the Date!*

Useful and Beautiful:  
The Transatlantic Arts of William Morris  
and the Pre-Raphaelites

DELAWARE · 7–9 OCTOBER 2010

A conference and related exhibitions, 7-9 October 2010, at the University of Delaware (Newark, DE) and at the Delaware Art Museum and the Winterthur Museum and Country Estate (Wilmington, DE). Organized with the assistance of the William Morris Society, “Useful and Beautiful” will highlight the strengths of the University of Delaware’s rare books, manuscripts, and art collections; Winterthur’s important holdings in American decorative arts; and the Delaware Art Museum’s superlative Pre-Raphaelite collection (the largest outside Britain). This conference will focus on the multitude of transatlantic exchanges that involved Morris, the Pre-Raphaelites, and the arts and crafts and aesthetic movements of the late nineteenth century. We will invite papers that explore relationships and influences—whether personal, intellectual, political, or aesthetic—that connect William Morris, his friends, associates, and followers in Britain and Europe with their contemporaries and successors in the Americas. The “arts” will include not merely those at which Morris himself excelled—i.e., literature, design, and printing—but also painting, illustration, architecture, performance, and anything related to print culture in general. A formal call for papers and other details will follow in Fall 2009.

For more information, please contact Mark Samuels Lasner, [marksl@udel.edu](mailto:marksl@udel.edu), (302) 831-3250.

MORRIS AT THE MODERN  
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION  
DECEMBER 2008

The Morris Society sponsored two intellectually stimulating sessions at the Modern Language Association Convention in San Francisco, 27-30 December. The first, “Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic Prose,” held Saturday, 27 December from 5.15 to 6.30 p. m. at the San Francisco Hilton, was moderated by Margaret D. Stetz of the University of Delaware. The session featured talks by Sandi Wisenberg of Northwestern University on “William De Morgan’s Aesthetic Novels,” Bonnie Robinson of North Georgia College and State University on “A Man Like Myself’: Pre-Raphaelite Models in Oscar Wilde’s Fairy Tales,” and Dennis N. Denisoff of Ryerson University on “Infectious Decadence: The Critical Propagation of Repulsive Taste and Style.”

The second session, “William Morris’s Early Friends: New Research,” was held Sunday, 28 December from 1.45 to 3.00 p. m. and chaired by Florence Boos of the University of Iowa. The session included talks by Susan Jaret McKinstry of Carleton College, “‘More of a Poem Than a House’: The Crafts of William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti,” P. C. Fleming of the University of Virginia, “William Fulford’s Magazine,” and Keith Gibeling of the Naval Post-Graduate School, on “Peter Paul Marshall: A Square Peg in the William Morris Circle?” Both panels evoked questions and discussion; a summary of the talks appears below.

After the first session about ten of us gathered for congenial conversation and dinner at the nearby New Delhi restaurant. We look forward to the 2009 sessions, and hope that many who read these words will be able to join us in Philadelphia in December.

**Infectious Decadence: The Critical Propagation  
of Repulsive Taste and Style**

*Dennis Denisoff*

“[T]he sharp and cruel enjoyments of pain, the acrid relish of suffering felt or inflicted, the sides of which nature looks unnatural, go to make up the stuff and substance of this poetry.” One could assume the 25-year-old Swinburne was hoping for a bit of scandal when – in his 1862 essay on Charles Baudelaire – he lured his readers with a convoluted style and a discourse of the putrid and unnatural. But mid-Victorian reviewers had themselves already often used such language to *reproach* various works – particularly pieces they associated with Pre-Raphaelitism, aestheticism and decadence. As the gay Pre-Raphaelite painter Simeon Solomon’s career demonstrates especially well, those who presented themselves as antidotes to decadence aesthetics were often



more virulent cultivators and carriers of the contagion than the artists they condemned. It has been known for some time that Solomon never became apologetic about his same-sex desires, but the research done on his arrests *after* the first in 1873 for “attempting to commit sodomy” is so current that it has yet to be published. It is premature, therefore, to argue for a correlation between Solomon’s criminal *history* and Victorian critics’ association of his works with degeneracy, deviancy and unnaturalness. But then, as I wish to demonstrate through a comparison of Solomon’s own prose writing and that of those who commented on his art and writing, it is the rhetoric and style of the artist’s and critics’ prose that captures – or was captured by – the infectious quality of decadence itself not as a private history but as an inchoate cultural movement.



MLA Morris Session I: Dennis Denisoff

**Morrisian Aesthetic Models in Oscar Wilde’s Fairy Tales and *The Picture of Dorian Gray***  
*B.J. Robinson*

This paper considered how Oscar Wilde derives an “aesthetic terminology” from William Morris. It suggests that Morris’s aestheticism joins with his ethical and political interests by exploring how the influence of Morris’s prose work, especially his speeches and reports on SPAB activities and his art lectures of the 1870s and 1880s, lectures such as “Some Hints on Pattern Designing,” “Hopes and Fears for Art,” and “Architecture and History” that express Morris’s interest in the integrity of art and architecture as a repository of history and popular expression, help to determine the language and socially ethical focus of some of Wilde’s fairy tales and his fairy tale like novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, particularly in its titular artifact or painting. Wilde cannot employ Morris’s aesthetic views without contradicting his own tenets of amorality and inutility, due to the union of ethics and politics underlying Morris’s aestheticism.

Several of Wilde’s fairy tales, such as “The Selfish Giant,” “The Devoted Friend,” and “The Young King” use Morrisian language and social ideas (if not Morrisian political principles). “The Nightingale and the Rose” most clearly reflects Morris’s lectures on popular art, in that the rose emblemizes decorative art due to its naturalness and its source in the unnamed artist who sings for others. Another of Wilde’s fairy tales, “The Happy Prince,” uses the tenets of the SPAB in reverse by scraping away his “history” and identity expressed in decoration, by stripping away his material, capitalist substance. The Happy Prince thus exchanges art of the past for life of the present and exposes the sham perfection of the rich class, thereby losing his value as idealised, or lying, record of the rich class who reject the statue when it fails to mirror their idealised selves.

Like “The Happy Prince,” *The Picture of Dorian Gray* reflects Morris’s SPAB prose and lectures on art, for the historical record of human expression in society that art embodies and that Morris with the SPAB sought to preserve, motivates much of the language and action of this novel. Like a restorer, Dorian meddles with the integrity of a work of art, leaving his physical self in a state of false perfection, that is, “restored.” The art itself reflects one’s social existence. And it serves as historical record, a record Dorian ultimately wants to destroy, or scrape away. In particular, Dorian’s meddling with art as historical record distinguishes Morris’s from Ruskin’s influence on this novel. The picture is neither ancient nor the work of the common human being; nevertheless, it does serve as an analogy for Morris’s views on the ethical integrity of art and humanity. The novel’s association of art and humanity thus reflects the ethical aestheticism that Morris’s prose advocates, despite Wilde’s own claims for amoral aestheticism.



MLA Morris Session I: B. J. Robinson

## William Fulford's Magazine

### P. C. Fleming

P. C. Fleming emphasized the importance of William Fulford and the other less famous members of the Morris Set in writing and publishing the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. Morris and Burne-Jones were leaders of the Set, but the *Magazine* was a collaborative effort that relied heavily on the group as a whole.

Several members of the Set developed specific roles in their contributions to the *Magazine*: Richard Watson Dixon wrote political articles, Charles Faulkner provided scientific support, Cornell Price wrote social articles, and Wilfred Heeley wrote about history and contemporary historians. Henry MacDonald was a provisional member, and published only a review of Longfellow.

William Fulford edited all but the first issue of the *Magazine*, and so was responsible for collecting contributions. Early in 1856 the members of the original Set stopped writing for the *Magazine*, and Fulford struggled to find enough pieces to fill the pages. He sought help from outside the Set, and brought in Vernon Lushington, Bernard Cracroft, Georgiana MacDonald, Annie Scott Hill, John Nichol, and William Aldis Wright, each of whom wrote, or co-wrote, at least one article in the *Magazine*.

Fulford also wrote essays, stories, and poems himself to reach the requisite number of pages for each issue of the *Magazine*. These were of varying quality, and some seemed to have been written hurriedly. The strongest of Fulford's writings was his essay on Alfred Tennyson, which outlined and helped determine the aesthetic program for the rest of the *Magazine*.

## “More a Poem Than a House”: The Crafts of William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti

### Susan Jaret McKinstry

William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti shared a belief that all arts – verbal, visual, fine, applied, and practical – were products of the line itself. I examine the implications of the line as a singular act that links word and image and therefore underlies all arts, aesthetic and material, by looking at two seemingly unrelated examples: Morris's Red House and Dante Gabriel Rossetti's design for the introductory “Sonnet” to his sonnet series *The House of Life*. What, after all, is the family resemblance between these works? What does it mean to build a poem, or write a house?

The Pre-Raphaelites frequently blend visual and verbal arts in their painting, poetry, book design and illustration, architecture, tile, textile and furniture design. This emphasis on the integral juxtaposition of word and image, this insistence on combining diverse arts into one



MLA Morris Session II: Susan Jaret McKinstry



Dante Gabriel Rossetti, “The Sonnet,” drawing reproduced from William Sharp, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Record and a Study* (London: Macmillan, 1882)

unified object, is perhaps best demonstrated by Morris's “palace of art,” Red House in Bexleyheath, Kent, designed and built by Morris and his friend, the architect Philip Webb, in 1859. Decorated by Morris, Webb, and their circle of Pre-Raphaelite friends, the house utilized interwoven words and images on the windows, walls, ceilings and cabinetry, and the completed house was described by Rossetti as “more a poem than a house.”

That description is telling. The conflation of the verbal and the material underlies the work of both Morris and Rossetti, for they shared a belief in art as physical object and imaginative work that, combined, create a product that is both consumer object and aesthetic act: thus a house is also a poem. I mean this statement as more than a metaphor, but rather as a description of the way art functions for Morris and Rossetti.

In his writings, Morris directly, if metaphorically, links the word and the material object through architecture. Architecture transforms the line of the architect's drawing into the line of the completed building, thereby literally and materially combining these lines into a single art and object, and Red House exemplifies that unity. Dante Rossetti's *The House of Life*, like

Morris's Red House, was constructed over time and in varied forms, and – like Red House – was never completed. Rossetti's rarely-published hand-drawn design for the introductory sonnet of *The House of Life* constructs a visual and verbal art that draws together, in a single frame, the lines of drawing and writing, images and words, and architecture itself (the word "sonnet" means room in Italian). In Morris's Red House and Rossetti's sonnet design, the Victorian line as the foundation of all arts is realized, and beautifully. To be able to inhabit a "palace of art" and to have art frame *The House of Life* seems a dream realized and evidence, albeit rather briefly lived, of the success of Morris and Rossetti's ambitious goals for art.

**Peter Paul Marshall: A Square Peg in the William Morris Circle**

*Keith Gibeling*

Peter Paul Marshall (1830-1900) remains one of the most obscure members of William Morris's circle of friends and associates. Over the past century numerous commentators have puzzled over this relation to Morris and his role in "Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company," the famous design firm they launched in 1861.

This talk began with a brief overview of Marshall's life and career. It then provided an in-depth examination of Marshall's interactions with William Morris beginning in the late-1850s. It sought to discover why Marshall's name was included in the Firm's title, and looked at the complex circumstances surrounding the Firm's reorganization under Morris's sole ownership in 1874.

This talk relied heavily upon my 1996 article, "Peter Paul Marshall: The Forgotten Member of the Morris Firm," that appeared in both the *Journal of the William Morris Society* 12 (Autumn 1996) and the *Decorative Arts Society Journal* 20 (1996). It also drew upon Jane Marsh's excellent article, "Peter Paul Marshall's Tottenham Well—Copy or Prototype?" *Journal of William Morris Studies* 17 (Winter 2007), as well as primary source materials, both published and unpublished, that have come to light since 1996.



MLA Morris Session I: Sandi Wisenberg



MLA Dinner at New Delhi Restaurant.  
From left to right: Susan Jaret McKinstry, Dennis Denisoff, Margaret D. Stetz, Sandi Wisenberg, Mark Samuels Lasner, Jeremiah Mercurio, Kathleen Miller, B.J. Robinson, Patricia Robinson, Evelyn Haller, Florence Boos



MLA Morris Session II: Keith Gibeling



After MLA Morris Session II,  
From left to right: Susan Jaret McKinstry, Mark Samuels Lasner, P. C. Fleming, Keith Gibeling



# “Ernest Gimson and the Inspiration of William Morris”

☛ Lecture by Mary Greenstad

Thursday, 10 December 2009

6 pm

The Grolier Club

47 East 60th Street, New York, NY

Sponsored by the William Morris Society in the United States, the American Friends of Arts and Crafts in Chipping Campden, the Grolier Club, the Stickley Museum at Craftsman Farms, and the Victorian Society in America.

This talk will look at the links between William Morris and the Gimson family from the 1880s. The direct influence of Morris, father-figure of the arts and crafts movement and its impact on the ideas and work of Ernest Gimson, one of the most important British designers of the turn of the century, will be illustrated with examples of the latter's work in furniture, metalwork, embroideries, plasterwork and architecture.

Mary Greensted is a curator, lecturer, and writer, who was for many years responsible for Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum's nationally important arts and crafts movement collection. A trustee of the Court Barn Museum, Chipping Campden, and the chairperson of the Gloucestershire Guild of Craftsmen, she is the author of numerous books, including *Craft and Design: Ernest Gimson and the Arts and Crafts Movement* and *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the Cotswolds*, along with three catalogues on Cheltenham's arts and crafts collections (as joint author/editor). Her most recent publication was *An Anthology of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, published by Lund Humphries in 2005. She is currently a recipient of a Leventis studentship for researching links between Greece and the arts and crafts movement at Birmingham University.

Tickets \$12 for members of the sponsoring organizations, \$18 for others. To order send a check to William Morris Society, P.O. Box 53263, Washington, DC 2009 or go to [www.morrissociety.org](http://www.morrissociety.org).



Oak settee designed by Ernest Gimson in 1906 (Leicester Arts and Museums)

WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY  
SESSIONS FOR MLA 2009  
—AND BEYOND

The Morris Society will hold two sessions at the December 2009 Modern Language Association Convention in Philadelphia. The first, “Music and the Pre-Raphaelites,” will be chaired by Hartley H. Spatt of Maritime College, SUNY. Karen Yuen, an independent scholar, will speak on “Musical Pre-Raphaelitism: Defining the Area,” Kathleen O’Neill Sims, an independent scholar, on “Edward Burne-Jones and the Graham Piano,” and Donna S. Parsons of the University of Iowa, on “Warbling Like a Bird: Operatic Acclaim and the Role of the Diva in Christina Rossetti’s *Hero*.” The second session, a sequel to last year’s panel on “Morris’s Early Friends,” will consider “Morris’s Later Friends and Associates.” It will be chaired by Florence S. Boos, with papers by Paul Acker of St. Louis University on “Charles Fairfax Murray’s Collaboration with William Morris,” by Jude Nixon of Oakland University on “Sons of Odin: Carlyle, Morris, Watts-Dunton—Icelandic Mythology and Antiscrape,” by Zachary Weir of Miami University on “Thomas Wardle’s ‘Wild Silks of India’: Morris and Imperial Design,” and by Eleonora Sasso of the University of Pescara, Italy, on “William Morris, Ford Madox Ford and the Celebration of Simplicity.”

Since we don’t yet know the times and places for either of our sessions, those interested should write to [florence-boos@uiowa.edu](mailto:florence-boos@uiowa.edu) or [marksl@udel.edu](mailto:marksl@udel.edu) after 1 August. We can also obtain passes for non-MLA members who may wish to attend. Full details regarding locations and an announcement of the annual meeting and related social event (probably a dinner) will be posted on the society’s website.

After many years of member complaints that a 27–30 December annual convention impinged on their holidays, the Modern Language Association has voted to move its conventions to early January after 2009, and so the next convention is scheduled for January 2011. The method of distributing sessions to Allied Organizations will also change; we are guaranteed one session, but required to combine with other organizations to propose joint sessions for additional slots.

Our guaranteed 2011 session will be on “Morris and the Arts: Books, Painting, Crafts, Architecture,” and proposals for papers should be sent to [florence-boos@uiowa.edu](mailto:florence-boos@uiowa.edu) by 20 March 2010.

We are hoping to sponsor joint sessions in future years with the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), the Society for the Study of Narrative, and other organizations which also have MLA Allied Organization status.



Margaret Laster

JOSEPH R. DUNLAP MEMORIAL  
FELLOWSHIP AWARD:

We are pleased to announce that the 2009 Joseph R. Dunlap Fellowship has been awarded to Margaret R. Laster for research on the Morris and Company windows in Newport, Rhode Island.

Ms. Laster, a PhD candidate in art history at the Graduate Center, CUNY, holds degrees in art history from Williams College and the University of Chicago. Her dissertation focuses on the Gilded Age American patron Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. She is a specialist in the history of collecting and provenance research, and has served as Research Fellow for Provenance in European Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Margaret was Junior Fellow at the Frick Art Reference Library’s Center for the History of Collecting in Spring 2008, and has participated in the Victorian Society’s London and Newport Summer Schools. Ms. Laster has sent us the following account of her research:

Vinland, now part of Salve Regina University, was the Peabody and Stearns Romanesque-revival cottage in Newport, RI, created in the early 1880s for Catharine Lorillard Wolfe (1828–1887). Wolfe—best known as an early benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and collector of French academic and Barbizon painting—was at the core of the art and decoration of Vinland. The house became her personal monument to an Old Norse legend of the eleventh-century Viking discovery of this New England coastline. At the possible suggestion of her decorator, Richard Codman, the uncle of the more celebrated Ogden Codman, Jr., and an importer of designs from Morris & Company, she enlisted them to create hangings, wallpaper, stained-glass windows, stone and wood carvings, mosaics, paintings and Runic motifs for the interior of her home. The alliance between Wolfe and Morris & Company and its artists, Morris himself, Edward Burne-Jones and Walter Crane, seemed a good fit, especially because of Morris’s fascination with Icelandic myths and culture.

Among the artistic programs William Morris helped to create was a Burne-Jones nine-panel stained glass window depicting life-size Viking gods and heroes, which dramatically illuminated the space as one entered the



house. Morris had proposed the subject and placement of these images; representatives of Morris & Company were in continual communication with Wolfe and her advisers. While the exterior of Vinland remains largely intact, despite subsequent changes and expansions, much of the original Morris interior has been dismantled and dispersed.

This collaboration with William Morris is an important component of my dissertation on the collecting and patronage of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. I wish to study and re-create the visual program which once existed at Vinland and, further, to explore Wolfe's motivation for embarking on the commission with Morris & Company. What drew her to these British artists of the aesthetic movement, and how did the work progress? I have delivered a paper on my initial findings, based on research in Newport archives, at a symposium on the American Home at Salve Regina University in October 2008. I also plan to contextualize and compare Morris's involvement with Vinland with other projects in stained-glass that he helped design for American patrons. To this end, with the funds generously granted me by the Joseph R. Dunlap Memorial Fellowship, I will travel to London and environs, as well as to Birmingham UK, to investigate crucial archives and visual materials.

Information on the society's fellowship program may be found at [www.morrissociety.org/fellowships.html](http://www.morrissociety.org/fellowships.html). Applications for the 2010 fellowships are due 15 December 2009 and may be sent to [florence-boos@uiowa.edu](mailto:florence-boos@uiowa.edu), or by mail to Florence S. Boos, Department of English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Talking Heads Award for William Morris Society Website

Our website was recently honored with a Talking Heads Award. These awards, given since 1986 to mark creative excellence in education, are quite prestigious. The judges described our website as one "which teaches, contains teaching elements in sufficient detail, and otherwise leave[s] a visitor with something of significant value after returning to their normal daily activities." A screenshot of our site and comments are available at <http://www.fairiekeeper.net/20091stqtr.htm>.



The Talking Heads Award Logo

### Morris at "Past and Present" Conference Cambridge, UK, July 2009

From 11–15 July the British Victorian Studies and North American Victorian Studies Associations will hold a joint conference at Churchill College, Cambridge, UK on the theme of "Past vs. Present." A panel devoted to "Morris Past, Present and Future" is scheduled for 13 July in Colville Hall, chaired by Peter Stansky of Stanford University. Speakers will be Caroline Arscott of the Courthauld Institute, on "William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: The Unity of Matter," Philippa Bennett of Northampton University, on "William Morris's *A Dream of John Ball* and *News from Nowhere*," and Florence S. Boos of the University of Iowa on "*The Defence of Guenevere*: Morris's Eternally Recurrent 'Pasts.'"

Other talks and sessions of interest to members include "Politics and Temporalities," to be held pm 13 July, at which Andrea Wolk Rager of Yale University will speak on "The Chivalric Knight as Anti-Imperialist Protest in Edward Burne-Jones's *King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid*," and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller of the University of California at Davis on "William Morris's Utopian Print and Politics of the Future." On 14 July, in a session on "Culture and Memory," Chris Hokanson of Stanford University will speak on "Butler, Morris and Wells: Cultural Reproduction and Transference of Memory in the Victorian Age," and the following day, in a session on "Tomorrow," Ruth Kinna of Loughborough University will speak on "Morris: Time and Utopia."

### *Canadian Aesthetics Journal*: Morris Issue

A special issue of the electronic journal *Canadian Aesthetics Journal/Revue Canadienne D'Esthétique (AE)* devoted to William Morris has recently been placed online (15, Fall 2008). It is edited by Michelle Weinroth and contains:

David Mabb: "Introduction to Rhythm 69" [an illustrated mention of this article also appears in Michelle Weinroth's introduction]; David Mabb: "Rhythm 69 Slideshow"; Colin Darke: "David Mabb's Rhythm 69"; Michaela Braesel: "William Morris and 'Authenticity'"; Tony Pinkney: "*News from Nowhere*, Modernism, Post-modernism"; Philippa Bennett: "A Legacy of 'Great Wonders': The Last Romances of William Morris and the Kelmscott Press"; John T. F. Lang: "Excerpt from John Lang's doctoral dissertation: 'Art and Life in Nineteenth-Century England: The Theory and Practice of William Morris'"; Michelle Weinroth: "William Morris's Philosophy of Art."

For more information, please see the journal's website at: [http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/Vol\\_15/ReadingMatters/ReadingMattersCover.htm](http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/Vol_15/ReadingMatters/ReadingMattersCover.htm).

## **Seventh International Conference on the Book Edinburgh, 16 October 2009**

This year's International Conference on the Book will be held in Edinburgh, Scotland, a beautiful and historic city that has long served as a center of learning and arts. The home of the world's largest book festival and oldest literary award, in 2004 Edinburgh was named the first UNESCO City of Literature.

The conference venue, the University of Edinburgh, founded in 1582, has made vital contributions to learning and scholarship. The conference itself serves as an inclusive forum for examining the past, current and future role of the book, recognizing that, as an old medium of expression, the book embodies thousands of year's experience of recording knowledge. The pervasive influence of this experience continues to shape newer forms of information technology, while also providing a reference point for innovation.

The conference not only considers the book and other information technologies as artefacts or discrete objects, it also examines other key aspect of the information society, including publishing, libraries, information systems, literacy, and education. Broadly speaking, the conference engages the interrelation between changes in thought, creation, production and distribution, and the role and meaning of the book and other information technologies.

The conference will feature a wide range of participants from the world of books, including authors, publishers, printers, librarians, IT specialists, book retailers, editors, literacy educators, and academic researchers from all disciplinary traditions.

Plenary presentations by accomplished researchers, scholars, and practitioners, will be augmented by numerous paper, workshop and colloquium presentations. Presenters may choose to submit written papers for publication in the fully refereed *International Journal of the Book*. If you are unable to attend in person, virtual registrations are available which allow you to submit a paper. The conference also has a YouTube channel for virtual and in-person presenter's participation. The Online Sessions link at the conference website gives further details on this initiative.

The deadline for the next round in the call for papers (a title and short abstract) was 16 April 2009. Future deadlines will be announced on the Forum website after this date. Proposals are reviewed within two weeks of submission. Full details of the conference, including an online proposal submission form, are available at <http://book-conference.com>.

## **Arts and Crafts Tours**

Arts and Crafts Tours specializes in showing overseas visitors (especially from US) around the beautiful homes,

museums and galleries of the leading craftsmen, architects, and painters of the arts and crafts period; including works by William Morris, Rossetti, De Morgan, Burne-Jones, Webb, Benson and Burgess.

Their Spring and Summer itinerary includes Standen, Red House, Leighton House, Wightwick Manor, Kelmscott Manor, De Morgan Centre, William Morris Gallery, and Blakwell House. The tour in September will include the J. W. Waterhouse exhibition in London at the Royal Academy.

Looking for opportunities to develop trips around exhibitions being held in the United States, Arts and Crafts Tours notes that Mary Greensted, former curator of decorative arts at the Cheltenham Art Gallery and author of several books on the arts and crafts movement, will give a talk entitled "The Cotswolds and the Arts and Crafts Movement" at the Art Institute of Chicago on 3 December 2009 in conjunction with their exhibition *Apostles of Beauty: Arts and Crafts from Britain to Chicago*. Arts and Crafts Tours has organized a trip to Chicago to examine its unique arts and crafts art and architecture, meeting on Thursday afternoon for a private tour of the exhibition followed by attendance at Greensted's lecture. On Friday, they will have a walking tour of downtown Chicago, including a visit to the Gothic Revival Second Presbyterian Church designed by James Renwick. The interior decorations include stained-glass windows by Louis Comfort Tiffany. Members of the congregation included the Glessners, and they will then tour the Glessner home, designed by H. H. Richardson. The director, Bill Tyrie, will be the guide and host a reception. Dates for this tour (still in its planning stages) are arrival in Chicago on 3 December and departure on 6 December. Further information about projected Garden Tours and possible tours to Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Berlin will be available in future newsletters.

For more information, contact Elaine Hirschl Ellis, president, or Gail Ettinger, program director, Arts & Crafts Tours, 110 Riverside Drive, Suite 15-E, New York, NY 10024; [artsandcraftstours@gmail.com](mailto:artsandcraftstours@gmail.com); (212) 362-0761; [www.artsandcraftstours.com](http://www.artsandcraftstours.com).

## **Fellowship in Pre-Raphaelite Studies Offered by University of Delaware Library/Delaware Art Museum**

The University of Delaware Library and the Delaware Art Museum invite applications for a joint Fellowship in Pre-Raphaelite Studies. This one-month Fellowship is intended for scholars working on the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates. Up to \$2,500 is available. The recipient will be expected to be in residence and to make use of the resources of both the University of Delaware Library and the Delaware Art Museum.

By arrangement with the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT, scholars may apply to each institution for awards in the same year; every effort will be made to offer consecutive dates.

The Delaware Art Museum is home to the most important collection of Pre-Raphaelite art in the US. Assembled largely by Samuel Bancroft, Jr., the collection includes paintings, works on paper, decorative arts, manuscripts, and letters, and is augmented by the museum's Helen Farr Sloan art library.

With comprehensive holdings in books, periodicals, electronic resources, and microforms, the University of Delaware Library is a major resource for the study of literature and art. The Special Collections Department contains material related to the Pre-Raphaelites who are also well-represented in the Mark Samuels Lasner Collection of Victorian books, manuscripts, and artworks.

The deadline for applications is October 15, 2009. For more information and an application form visit [www.delart.org/education/fellowships.html](http://www.delart.org/education/fellowships.html) or write to:

Pre-Raphaelite Studies Fellowship Committee  
Delaware Art Museum  
2301 Kentmere Parkway  
Wilmington, DE 19806



Washington, DC, visit to Greene and Greene exhibition.  
From left to right: Casey Smith, Fran Durako, and Mark Samuels Lasner

## F. S. ELLIS'S COPY OF THE KELMSCOTT *ORDER OF CHIVALRY* AT TULANE UNIVERSITY

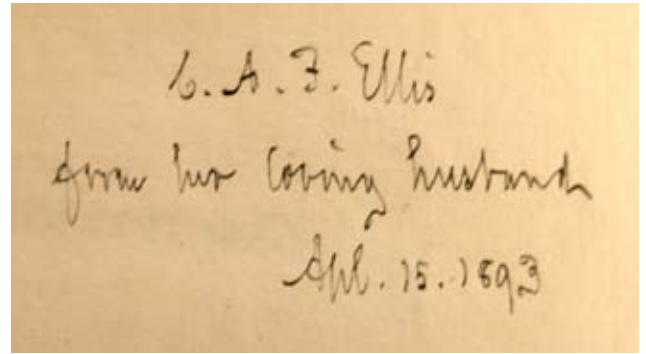
*Michael P. Kuczynski*

Tulane University has a nearly complete collection of Kelmscott Press publications: all fifty-three major titles printed by William Morris at Hammersmith, as well as numerous ephemera associated with the press, such as advertising leaflets, prospectuses, and catalogues, and a small library of academic works concerning the press's history and principles. Some of these books and ancillary materials were first assembled as random gifts to the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library in the mid-twentieth century, then augmented with strategic purchases in the 1980s and early 1990s, with funds provided by the Tulane Friends of the Library and from a generous, unrestricted gift by the Frank and Sidney J. Besthoff Library Fund.<sup>1</sup>

There are the usual overtly impressive items—a copy of the famous *Chaucer* (in excellent condition, despite its torn binding), Caxton's version of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, and both printings of Morris's own *Story of the Glittering Plain* (1891 and 1894).<sup>2</sup> One of Tulane's more intriguing Kelmscott volumes, however, is an unassuming quarto bound in limp vellum with two silk ties (one of these now defective), the Majorcan writer Ramón Llull's thirteenth-century treatise, *The Order of Chivalry*. The text was edited by Morris's friend and frequent collaborator, F. S. Ellis, from Caxton's Middle English translation of a French version and was the first Kelmscott volume to be printed in Morris's Chaucer type. 225 paper copies of *Order* were produced and ten deluxe copies on vellum. Tulane's is unique among those on paper in bearing a brief but affectionate inscription on its front flyleaf, in ink, from Ellis to his wife, Caroline: "C. A. F. Ellis, from her loving husband, April 15, 1893;" *The Order of Chivalry* was published by the firm of Reeves and Turner on 12 April 1893, three days before Ellis inscribed this copy. It was a presentation copy from Morris to his editor, who in turn offered it as a love-token to his spouse—an apt gesture for a book that begins with a lovely Burne-Jones frontispiece of a knight before his lady. The pages of the Tulane copy remain unopened.

William Peterson describes Morris's *The Order of Chivalry* as "a bibliographical oddity."<sup>3</sup> In fact it is two short books in one. The first part consists of Ellis's version, only lightly edited, of Caxton's translation of Llull; the second, conjoined to this, is Morris's translation of an anonymous thirteenth-century French poem, *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* ("The Protocols of Knighthood"), first printed at Paris in 1759 and often confused by scholars with Llull's work. Two colophons in the book in-





*The Order of Chivalry* (Hammermsith: Kelmscott Press, 1893). F. S. Ellis's copy (Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University), *Left*: vellum binding. *Right*: inscription from Ellis to his wife, Catherine

dicating that the printings were completed more than four months apart: of *Order* on 10 November 1892 and *L'Ordene* on 24 February 1893. The first text is printed on Morris's standard-sized Flower paper (16 x 11 inches, so named after its watermark), the second on a double-sized version of the same (16 x 22 inches) that Morris had left over from his printing of *The Golden Legend*, in 1892. So, whereas the first part of Kelmscott's *The Order of Chivalry* is a true quarto, the second part, containing *L'Ordene*, is an octavo.<sup>4</sup>

Morris loved to present complimentary copies of his Kelmscott books to friends and family.<sup>5</sup> Peterson lists several of *The Order of Chivalry* in his bibliography. For instance, one went to Kate Faulkner, the sister of Morris's Oxford friend and fellow socialist, Charley Faulkner; another to Burne-Jones; one each to Jenny and May, Morris's daughters.<sup>6</sup> Ellis himself received more than one copy—a prized one on vellum, now in a private collection in London, and another paper copy, which he passed on to F. J. Furnivall, founder of the English Dialect and Early English Text societies.<sup>7</sup> Unlike Tulane's copy, neither of these, according to Peterson, contains any inscriptions or notes. Ellis did write in pencil on the front flyleaf of another paper copy of *Order*, however, this one apparently a working rather than presentation copy, concerning an emendation he made to Caxton's text and an error in his note to the reader: "(pp. 33-4) The words within brackets [ ] are not in the old printed copy but were made English by me from the French MS. in the British Museum, Royal 14 E11, wrongly given in my memoranda at the end as E16. The words in question should certainly have been printed within brackets."<sup>8</sup> Presumably the brackets and correction would have been introduced in any subsequent Kelmscott edition. (There was none.)

How Tulane acquired its copy of *The Order of Chivalry* is unclear. Notes in the library's internal files by Sylvia V. Metzinger, a librarian who studied Kelmscott materi-

als, suggest that the library pursued copies of *Order* as early as 1987, but could not find one in its price range. Tulane seems to have had a special interest in a paper copy that came up for auction at Christie's in 1989 from the substantial and well-maintained Estelle Doheny Collection, estimated for sale at \$350–400.<sup>9</sup> Ultimately this copy sold for \$1,100 to an anonymous buyer, not to Tulane.<sup>10</sup> *The Order of Chivalry* was not part of an exhibition of Kelmscott Press books mounted by Ms. Metzinger and the Tulane Rare Books Collection in 1991, in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the first book printed by the press. It must have been purchased after that, probably from a private bookseller.

However and whenever it arrived at Tulane, Ellis's personal copy of *The Order of Chivalry* enhances the library's Kelmscott holdings and suggests that a careful bibliographic investigation of these might turn up other small but significant treasures.<sup>11</sup>

1. See "Tulane Steadily Building Its Own Kelmscott Press Collection," *The Friends Frontispiece: Newsletter of the Friends of the Tulane Library* 11 (1990), 1 and 4. On the Besthoff Fund, see "Fine Leather and Gilt Edges: The Besthoff Collection," *Significa: Newsletter of the Tulane University Library* 20 (1987), 4.

2. *The Golden Legend* (1892) was an especially noteworthy acquisition, since Tulane also owns a leaf from Caxton's 1483 translation and edition of the text, the source for Kelmscott's, and a single parchment leaf (late 14th century) from a medieval manuscript copy of the Latin original, *Legenda Aurea*.

3. William S. Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 96.

4. For a full bibliographic description of *The Order of Chivalry*, see William S. Peterson, *A Bibliography of the Kelmscott Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 36–9, item A13. See also Marsden J. Perry, *A Chronological List of the Books Printed at the Kelmscott Press, with Illustrative Material from a Collection Made by William Morris and Henry C. Marillier, Now in the Library of Marsden J. Perry of Providence Rhode Island* (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1928), 6, item 35.

5. On the important sentimental aspect of the Kelmscott Press's operations, see Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), 615–17.

6. Peterson, *Bibliography*, 37–8, items "n," "q," "t," and "u" respectively, under Related Materials.

7. Peterson, *Bibliography*, 37–8, items “o” and “w” respectively.

8. This copy (Peterson, *Bibliography*, 37, item “p”) is now in the Chapin Library, Williams College. Peterson does not give the entire inscription: it concludes, in ink, “F. S. Ellis, The Red House, Chelton, 1893.” I thank Wayne Hammond, assistant librarian of the Chapin Library, for this clarification. Ellis, a former bookseller and manuscripts dealer, was not a fastidious editor of Middle English. On some typical lapses, see Curt F. Bühler, “The Kelm-scott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan Manuscript 99,” *Modern Language Notes* 60 (1945): 16–22.

9. *The Estelle Doheny Collection from the Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library, St. John's Seminary, Camarillo California, Part VI, Printed Books and Manuscripts concerning William Morris and His Circle* (New York: Christie, Manson & Woods International, Inc., 1989), 51, item 2293. Additional notes by Ms. Metzinger in the Tulane files indicate the library's pursuit during the 1980s of a mysterious copy, twice designated by her as “vellum,” for the improbably low price of \$750.

10. *Estelle Doheny Collection*, Price List (loose insert, unpaginated), side 2, col. 2.

11. I am grateful to Leon C. Miller of the Tulane Rare Books Collection for his assistance.

## THE 2009 GROVE PARK INN ARTS & CRAFTS CONFERENCE: A SUMMARY REVIEW

Bonnie J. Robinson

Held at the Grove Park Inn in Asheville, NC, on 20–22 February, the annual Arts & Crafts conference this year included seminars on “American Interpretations of British Arts & Crafts Icons,” “Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie School Architecture and Furnishings,” “Roycroft Copper,” “Art Potteries,” and “The Stickley Legacy.” Speakers included Brian Coleman, the editor-at-large for *Old House Interiors*; Cheryl Robertson, Frank Lloyd Wright scholar and author of *Byrdcliffe: An American Arts & Crafts Colony*; and David Rago, publisher and owner of *Style 1900* and *Modernism*. Many of the participants have spoken at previous conferences; one, David Rago, has presented at all 22 conferences so far. Another highlight was a preview of the PBS documentary, *Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofts*.

Small group discussions met to consider such topics as “What is Arts & Crafts Art?” and “Collecting British Arts & Crafts.” And the Arts & Crafts Book Club discussed Charles Wagner's *The Simple Life* (1901) and Nancy Horan's *Loving Frank* (2007). Simultaneous with these seminars and talks was an Arts & Crafts Antiques Show that offered a warehouse-sized array of furniture, pottery, and metalwork, all for sale; a Books, Magazines & More Show; The Contemporary Craftsman Show with demonstrations on furniture care and repair, tips on buying furniture, and metalsmithing; and Special Art & Crafts Exhibits on “A Century of Arts & Crafts in Western New York State: From Wright to Roycroft” by Roycroft Campus Corporation, the Darwin Martin House and Greycliffe, “Frederick Hurton Rhead, Cera-

mist, Teacher, Designer” by the American Art Pottery Association, “A Celebration of the Life of Frank Lloyd Wright” by Taliesin Preservation Association, “Mr. Stickley's Restaurant” by the Stickley Museum at Craftsman Farms, “Postcards of the Arts & Crafts Era” by Dianne Bonner, Country Thyme, and “Arts & Crafts From the Home” by collector and exhibitor Jean Oberkirsch.

The conference was appropriately “housed” in the Grove Park Inn. Opened in 1913, the inn was designed and constructed by Frederick L. Seely, who built and furnished the hotel “in the Arts & Crafts style, [with] Roycroft, Heywood-Wakefield, Old Hickory and White Company furniture . . . hand-hammered Wallace flatware, Roycroft lighting, [and] a gift shop selling Newcomb, Roseville and Pisgah Forest pottery” (to quote the conference catalogue). Hourly tours of the inn were available as well as a walking tour focused on the “Biltmore Industries (1905–2009)—An Arts & Crafts Enterprise That Flourishes Today.”

The hundreds of arts and crafts enthusiasts who attended enjoyed the seminar presentations which, like much of the conference itself, had a collector's focus and an American arts and crafts interest. For example, Brian Coleman, who gave an “Introduction to the Arts & Crafts Movement,” described William Morris as its founder and identified these five structures as its icons: Morris's Red House, Mackintosh's Hill House, Castle Drogo (designed by Edward Lutyens), Wightwick Manor (furnished with Morris textiles), and Rodmartin Manor. He then identified, for each of these five icons, an American home that directly reflects these British inspirations, including a Barry Dixon-designed house in Virginia with a Red House-like staircase, with crenelated newel posts and hand-carved woodwork, and a Morgantown, WV home's kitchen that used the stylized tulips and roses of Mackintosh's Hill House. These American homes culminated in Coleman's own New York City *pied-à-terre* with its Morris wallpapers, stained glass, and furniture. David Rago spoke on his “Three Favorite Potteries”—George Ohr, Frederick Reed, and Roseville—with illustrative slides from his own collection. And Antiques Show exhibitors, like Paul Freeman, talked about how to collect British arts and crafts textiles, art tiles, and Ruskin jewelry, by showing their own wares as examples. One of the art tiles available was a blue-and-white tile designed by Morris's company.

Those who were not collectors had ample opportunity to acquire education on the arts and crafts movement in breath-takingly beautiful surroundings. Next year's conference will be held again at the Grove Park Inn on 19–21 February; it will be organized by Bruce Johnson, the conference founder. Information about the 2010 conference can be obtained from Bruce Johnson at [bj1915@charter.net](mailto:bj1915@charter.net) and (828) 628-1915; the conference website is [www.arts-craftsconference.com](http://www.arts-craftsconference.com).



Arts & Crafts Antiques Show at the Grove Park Inn

## ECO-TOWNS: THE NEW GARDEN CITIES?

*Martin Stott*

Britain has a long history of successful innovations in housing and town planning. Social reformers “discovered” the slums in the 1860s and concerns about the environment on a crowded island emerged in the 1890s with the formation of the National Trust in 1895, a couple of years after the foundation of the John Muir Society in the US. The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, founded in 1899 by Ebenezer Howard to take forward the radical ideas in his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1899), was and remains (as the Town and Country Planning Association) a key player not only in the intellectual visioning but also the policy formation and actual implementation of innovative town planning solutions.

The Garden Cities movement, in Letchworth and Welwyn before the First World War, kicked this process off and practice (Howard was a great practitioner and personally oversaw the birth of Letchworth) influenced policy—the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act is a key milestone whose centenary was celebrated earlier this year. Garden Suburbs (Hampstead, Brentham in Ealing) followed on and the recognition that housing and town planning (along with health provision and education) were key pillars of the welfare state led to a major programme of new towns by Clement Atlee’s Labour Government after the Second World War. Dozens were built (Stevenage, Harlow, Runcorn, Skelmesdale, Crawley amongst others) and their final flowering in the 1960s included the now major city of Milton Keynes.

However, the reaction against what was seen as the excessive influence of the state in society in the 1970s (which led to the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979) and the more aspirational individualised culture that she

ushered in, led to a reaction to both “council housing” [the provision by the state through local government of low cost homes to rent] and of the idea of model cities or new towns.

A generation has passed since there were any innovations with regard to housing provision—the private sector and individual house ownership has been seen as the best mechanism for providing choice and flexibility in the housing market. The sale of “council housing” to tenants through “right to buy” schemes has dramatically shrunk the pool of low-cost housing for those with insufficient means to exercise much choice. The remaining council housing has tended to be confined to those areas and housing types (such as tower blocks) which have been unattractive to families seeking a way out of poverty and social segregation, so exacerbating the problem.

What has happened in the meantime is that housing values have shot up, expectations have risen and the number of people who are in inappropriate accommodation or homeless has risen sharply. The Labour government has sought to solve this problem by setting a target of the construction of 3 million new homes in England by 2020, mostly in the south. Doing this has proved difficult, land values are high, the country is already crowded, and infrastructure needs from roads and sewerage, schools, parks and open spaces to hospitals have to be paid for somehow. Sustainable development has also become a serious issue as has the threat of global climate change.

Enter the Eco-Towns movement. Announced in 2007 with a great fanfare, the eco-towns are supposed to slay several dragons at once. At a stroke they would provide substantial housing to help deliver the three million homes target, reinvigorate public opinion to support innovative housing initiatives, neutralise the rising tide of NIMBYism (“not in my back yard”) associated with emerging strategies for mass house building especially in the southeast, rope in the private sector to develop these towns and create sufficient value to fund their infrastructure needs, and to do it all in a carbon neutral fashion, the government having committed to a target that all new dwellings will be zero-carbon from 2016. Eco towns could be a test bed for technologies to make that aspiration a reality.

If it all sounds too good to be true . . . it is. Fifteen sites have been identified and each site is supposed to have between 5–20,000 households. Each town is supposed to be essentially free standing and to have at least one exemplar element of sustainability, e.g. zero waste, zero carbon buildings, high levels of food self sufficiency, low or zero car-based transport etc. The problems immediately become apparent. First the sites proposed tend to be ex “brownfield,” i.e. previously developed land, such as former airfields/military bases, or sites which



developers already own. Their locations are generally rural, sometimes quite remote, therefore, not conducive to self sufficiency in employment terms, which immediately calls into question their transport sustainability as inhabitants would be forced to commute to work (or run the risk of the towns becoming “rural slums”).

And then the “credit crunch” and the world financial crisis hit. Suddenly developers are going out of business, unable to raise capital or sell existing stock, prices and land values are dropping like a stone, and householders are unable to raise the money for a mortgage. The NIMBY brigade, initially caught unawares by the “green” tag of the proposals, suddenly realised that these developments could indeed become “rural slums” and weren’t nearly as sustainable as the prospectus suggested. Turmoil in government hasn’t helped either. Eco-towns were the brainchild of new Prime Minister Gordon Brown and the then Housing Minister Yvette Cooper. Four housing ministers later (yes in little over two years), the Eco-town programme has been hammered by professionals for being an idea that would never work, by the markets for being economically unsustainable, and by the politicians who see it as a political football. What started off as a credible programme for fifteen new settlements will with luck end up as one or two demonstration projects at most.

Was it all a huge mistake? It certainly wasn’t thought through when first announced in the 2007 Housing White Paper (government policy document). As an idea it was superficially attractive, but if environmental, social and economic sustainability was really at the core of its “offer” it was misconceived. Far better to identify locations in or on the fringes of major urban areas where public transport infrastructure already existed, employment opportunities were plentiful and nearby and expensive infrastructure such as hospitals was already built and readily accessible. If the intention was to establish models of sustainability from which lessons could be learned and transferred to the general development of towns and cities over the next thirty years, then “stand alone” projects were never a sensible model. If the intention was to build houses for 100,000 households, houses that were zero carbon, to kick start the building trade and its suppliers into developing the products and services needed for the whole nation by creating a Government led market in fairly short order, then the programme was never going to be big enough.

In the end if the Eco-town program comes to anything—and the jury is still out—it will be a classic example of how Whitehall civil servants got hold of an interesting idea, but were incapable of having a coherent analysis of what was really needed on the ground to make it work. How to engineer a greener performance in our cities in the future is an urgent imperative and a constant learning process. In this context Eco-towns

will probably go down in history as a heroic missed opportunity.

*Martin Stott is a member of the William Morris Society, Head of Environment & Resources at Warwickshire County Council and an adviser to the UK Sustainable Development Commission.*

FROM THE ARCHIVE:  
“COMMUNISM, I. E. PROPERTY”  
A PARTLY UNPUBLISHED  
MORRIS ESSAY  
*Edited by Florence S. Boos*

*May Morris tried to include as many of her father’s yet-unpublished socialist lectures as possible in the second volume of William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist (1936), but for reasons of space she was forced to truncate several essays, even those carefully collected as a group in what later became B. L. Add. MS. 45,333. Without giving its title, she reproduced part of a lecture which she dates as from around 1893, and of which she notes, “It is more familiarly written and not so carefully balanced [as his essay “Communism”], but contains passages that have the intimate colour and atmosphere that . . . bring Morris and his frame of mind towards the audience clearly back to us. It contains moreover some passages which I may be permitted to consider significant both of the time and of my Father’s thought” (William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist, 2:345).*

*Though occasionally rough in style and in at least one place lapsing into outline, the essay provides a workman-like account of Morris’s views on the development of labor. Much more important, it contains some of his last recorded opinions on violence. These proclaim Morris’s ultimate faith in the necessity of a peaceful revolution: “I do not believe in the possible success of revolt until the Socialist party has grown so powerful in numbers that it can gain its end by peaceful means,” and his abhorrence of terrorism and violence: “. . . I will say once for all, what I have often wanted to say of late, to wit that the idea of taking any human life for any reason whatsoever is horrible and abhorrent to me.”*

*Rather startling too are his bluntly expressed views on religion: “Religion is gone down the wind, and will no more cumber us unless we are open fools” (347). It is possible that Morris would have revised this passage had he prepared this essay for publication, but here it stands.*

*The following text is from B. L. MS. 45,333, folios 255–62, written in Morris’s hand, and originally numbered by him 1–15. Morris’s capitalization is not entirely consistent and some of his initial letters seem to take a middle position between upper and lower case; in general I have reproduced his usage but in middle cases have had to choose. Folios 257*

*and 257v were inadvertently mislabelled and bound backwards; that is, what should have been folio 257v was mislabelled 257 and the reverse, and I have placed these passages in the right order. I have supplied a few instances of punctuation in brackets, and an \* in the text directs the reader to an endnote. A short list at the end explains which passages were previously reproduced by May Morris.*

[f. 255:1] Communism i.e. Property  
[There are b]ut two conditions of society. One based on equality, one on inequality[.]

The latter assumes that one set of men shall serve the other. The former that men shall mutually all serve each other: the service in the one case is rendered under compulsion: in the other it is rendered willingly.

In a society of equality there is no need for any arbitrary rules for determining the manner of rendering service. [I]t is a matter of reason and easily recognized necessity; e.g. that in a society of equality every member must take some share in the production of utilities.

But in a society of inequality there must be some arbitrary rule to determine who are to give and who to accept service. Arbitrary because the mere action of the strongest on the spot and from day to day or hour to hour could not obtain in any form of society. One man saying I am bigger & stronger than you, therefore I knock you down and take your goods is far too simple a form of robbery to allow any form of associated life to go on. Accordingly as far as we know such primitive robbery has never existed.

Society of inequality has always assumed some standard of superior worth which should entitle the more worthy to be served by the less worthy, and has managed to get this standard recognized to such extent as would give the said Society some degree of stability.

[There are t]wo methods of setting up this standard of excellence [ ] the one resting on the accident of birth; the other on the accident of success in winning certain advantages under arbitrary conditions. The first is now historical and has passed away except for a few survivals rather symbolical than practical. The second is in full force at present[.]

A few words of history. I have said that mere club law, the rule of the strongest temporarily and on the spot [255v.] has never been a condition of things under which men lived: the earliest societies of which we know anything were communistic inside the narrow limits of the unit of association, a body of men & women who were, or assumed that they were, united by ties of kindred. But these tribes[,] though not conscious of any individual claims on or desires towards property[,] recognized no fellowship outside their own clan or tribe, or the definitely allied bodies in whom kinship existed or was feigned: from tribe to tribe mere enmity was the rule; though this was somewhat mitigated by temporary

truces for purposes of markets, and though the tendency toward federation grew as time went on.

Too long to tell of transitional periods: but as men got more command over nature & produced more & more wealth over mere necessities inequality began, though the common good was not forgotten wholly. Out of this transition emerged societies composed of a body of free men who were equals, and of slaves with no position in the community, but who were the property of the freemen. These slaves were, or were assumed to be men of conquered tribes, who had shown their lack of worth by their failure in war. The most obvious example [was] Lacedaemon,\* where the freemen lived a life of pressing [?] poverty, and the slaves were looked upon as enemies though conquered ones. Helot-ment.\* [?]

Civilization grew and society became more complex; the inferior tribes were taken into the governing one, and in process of time became a lower aristocracy. Rich free-men manumitted their slaves and turned them into dependents whose sons in their turn became free and gained power. But all the while the basis of Society was the assumed excellence and worth of the assumed well born, and the unworthiness of the slaves who worked for them.

[ f. 256] That was the essence of the society of the classical periods[;] however it was complicated by the element of moneymaking which so to say gilded the higher classes of that period as it does the mere sham of high-birth in our own, till there grew to be a certain kind of resemblance to modern society. By that time it was near its end, and it fell at last much more from its own corruption than from any external causes. After a period of chaos the place of this classical society was taken by inchoate Feudalism, which once more included a society of freemen, no longer indeed holding their property in common, but bound together by a social system which admitted much equality amongst themselves; and under them the herd of the less worthy, no longer mere chattel slaves as in the Classical periods, but serfs, who had certain more or less well defined duties to pay to their lords, and who were allowed to work for their own livelihood, and received a certain amount of protection from their lords. Between these serfs and their lords gradually grew up a middle-class, not of exploiters of other men[']s labour, as our present middle-class, but of artizans or craftsmen rather, who formed themselves into associations called guilds, which after long struggles were recognized as members of the feudal hierarchy. Inside these associations there was again much equality; the workmen in them were neither masters, nor served a master, that is an individual master[;] their master was a collective one, the association to which they themselves had made. But the increase of wealth brought about by the labours of the excellent craftsmen of the middle-ages, and the stir in men[']s thoughts which followed

on the dying out of the religious enthusiasm of the earlier Medieval period the Crusades to witness – these & lesser causes brought [257] about another change of Society, and in truth a much more essential change than the world had yet known. The free labourer appeared, the man who had no definite place in Society, no resource but to sell himself to some one more powerful than he, and who was deft enough to use his labour in such a way that the man could live while the employer could grow rich on the surplus produce of his labour. You will say, this is the slave of antiquity over again, or at least a worse form of slavery than the serf. In truth I think so: [o]ne must say that from the disappearance of the guilds as bodies of true craftsm[e]n, till the uprising of the trade unions, the workmen of all civilized countries have been living in slavery, whatever degree of comfort might go with it — slaves are sometimes tolerably comfortable.

Well it must be said of this change of middle class that the bodies of associated craftsmen working with no individual master of them having past away, its place was taken by a new middle-class wholly composed of masters; while the place of the serfs, the lower classes of the Middle Ages, was taken by the so-called free workmen. And furthermore it must be said that the divergence of interests between these two classes was more complete & sharper than that between master and slave of classical, and gentleman & serf of the Middle ages. For the new master class could only thrive by keeping the inferior class poor; that was felt instinctively and always acted upon, as e.g. in the laws for preventing combination amongst the workmen; if the workmen could not combine, they, as unassociated units were utterly at the mercy of the masters. And however it may be with individuals, a master-class has no mercy, because it has no foresight.

[f. 257v ] This new Society of Contract, (contract which means as between master & man the buying a slave of himself instead of a slave merchant,) as opposed to that of status[,] developed slowly at first, and for a long time was hampered by the struggles of the survivals of feudalism to become practical realities again. It was not till the French Revolution that this society of free contract finally triumphed, & the world of civilization began to settle down into the struggle towards the next great change; that which we ourselves hope to see something of. But before we go further to talk of that great change and the chances of our seeing it I will ask you to note this; that in the former societies of inequality, there was yet equality in certain circles. The citizens of a Greek City lived in practical equality amongst themselves though they were surrounded by slaves: their life was simple, and refined because of its simplicity, and really admitted of no great contrast of riches & poverty. Indeed their slaves were at least fed[,] clothed & housed,

and probably not worse than the poor folk in our work-houses, or field labourers living on 10s/6 a week. Nay to judge by the works of their playwrights left us in the plays imitated from them by the Romans, the slaves were not seldom the masters of their masters. In the early age of Rome it was much the same; and in short[,] the difference between the classes was largely arbitrary rather than real.

Still more apparent are these circles of equality obvious in the M[iddle] A[ges]. The gentlemen class for as hard & fast as were the lines of the hierarchy, knew no difference in manners or life in general; and the guildsmen in their guilds were associates in equality. In both periods it is not till the society is moving fast towards dissolution, that the monstrous contrasts so familiar to us fairly show. While\* [257] chaotic and general inequality in all society has been from the first an essential part of the society of free contract, and its praises have been sung by numberless votaries, by those who suffer from it, as much perhaps as by those who gain[.] To some it seems so providential, to others so necessary, to some so interesting, the foundation for beautiful stories of courage & resignation and sacrifice & all the rest of it. For my part I say I do not know if it be providential, I am sure it is not necessary, and I see no interest or beauty in it, but foulness & sordidness, and destruction of the beauty of the Earth and of man[']s works upon the Earth. For once more if it be true, as I think it is, that the inequality of the ancient & the Medieval world was more arbitrary than real, I am sure that the converse of it is true of the modern world, and I will say especially of the country in which we live. Though there may be with us little arbitrary legal & theoretic difference between rich & poor, the real practical distinctions are, to our misery[,] both wide and deep: victual, housing, clothes[,] religion, justice, manners, language — in all these is the enforced inferiority of the disinherited fearfully obvious. How should it not be so when our actual wealth is so great, and so large a majority of us so poor; our potential wealth, i[.] e[.] what we might have if we did not waste our work[,] so much greater; [i]n the Middle Ages, in the Classical period even[,] by comparison they were all poor together. But now as you well know, the richer the country is, the poorer are the main part of its people.

We have got, then, to this, that in our present society of free contract and the career open to the talents[,] we have enormously exaggerated the inequalities of former societies of inequality, nay even we have changed their kind for the worse. Does this [258] make the matter hopeless? To my mind it is far from hopeless; not merely are we nearer to equality by the development of so many hundred years; but the signs of the times give token of our attaining it; nay more we are consciously on the march toward it. For as I have said the standard



of worth which allows certain persons to claim service of the non-worthy, or say in short the standard of privilege, has changed: [t]he privilege of birth has waned to such a poor shadow that an outcast tribe scarcely tolerated in Medieval Europe does now practically rule Europe; and one of these people in our country managed but a few years [ago] to persuade the extra[-]rich men who perhaps think (very mistakenly) that [they] are the lineal descendants of the baronage of our Plantagenet Kings, that he was marshalling them in triumph to the sure defence of their ancient position. The privilege of birth has gone, and the privilege of riches has taken its place. Anyone can now be a master of men if he has gained the privilege of monopolizing a portion of the means by which labour is compelled to sell itself for less than its real worth. If he has more wealth than he needs to spend on his own necessities he can buy with the surplus, not only land and other raw materials of production, but organization, obedience & credit for the getting of more riches. Nay practically he not only *may* but *must* do this through himself or others as far as his surplus wealth goes; if he does not give it away to someone else who will do it for him; in which case he will have himself to sell his labour for less than its real worth. So that as a matter of fact he cannot even give away his privilege: he is a part of the class of masters above said &, there he must stick. Now this privilege, which in other words means forcing people who want to work usefully for their livelihood to pay a heavy tribute for doing so[,] is the cement of our modern [f. 258v] inequality; and as long as it lasts whatsoever is ‘done for the working classes,’ as the phrase goes is illusory, except so far as it may help to put them into such a position as thence they may claim and obtain its abolition: whatever wealth is won by the workers as things are will go not to the improvement of their condition, but to swelling the riches of the privileged, or to speak more plainly will be idly wasted by the classes of privilege: it will, that is, be spent more & more in compelling the workers to produce toys for the few, instead of useful things for the many. Though as we shall see later on this very waste of labour in the present, lights up our hope for the future.

The long course of the centuries therefore, whatever gain they have brought us otherwise, in development of man[']s intellect, or his power over material nature[,] have brought us no improvement in our social organization; as far as our actual social condition goes we are not in a better, but in a worse state than men were in the ancient or medieval periods. What is left us then if we are not to fall back upon mere despair of improvement[?] This, that in the present period we have become conscious that in our miserable society of inequality lie the seeds of change, and that things are tending towards a new society, the basis of which will be equality of condition. In the Ancient world, a society without

slavery was inconceivable to the best and wisest of philosophers. In the Medieval epoch, especially towards the close of it, there was indeed a rumour of communism in the air, which even now and again took form in action, and produced such demonstrations as the community of the Munster anabaptists;\* but all this was hopeless, in the face of the political condition of affairs, the growing desire [f. 259] for the enfranchisement of men[']s intellect from the fetters of religious tradition, and the development of men[']s power over the mechanical side of things.

But now in the first place, a society of equality has been at least conceived of as an ideal; while it has become a commonplace that men ought to be equal, and in this country are supposed to be free. And in the second, we have so much achieved our conquest over material nature that our victory is turning sour in our hands, now that we are beginning to find out that we cannot use it to our happiness while we are hampered by the evil organization of Society[,] and that it rather worsens than better our life by exaggerating the contrasts between rich and poor.

Religious tradition also hampers us but little; or need not, save the double-faced hypocrisy has now another double face, and can look at the same time east & west as well as north & south; for atheism stands by its old foe orthodoxy to strike a blow together with it, against true freedom & in favour of monopoly. Lastly the political conditions are so changed, and again especially in our country, that the old parties are all confused, and the confessedly reactionary party finds it has no real function except trying to keep in power, and annoying its enemy, the party which professes democracy, but which does not understand that the democracy which refuses fully to recognize the citizenship of the whole of the working classes is but toryism maskering [sic] in the cast [off] clothes of Oliver Cromwell.

To sum [up] the change that has come over us[, w]e know that our inequality is not a blessing but a pest. The power over nature which we have gained we now want to use for our enjoyment. Religion is gone down the wind, and will no more cumber us unless we are open fools. Middle-class democracy can [f. 259v] go no further; the proletarians *must* form part of it, and both the old parties are crying out to them for help: each one by turn is the true “working-man’s friend.”

Now then let the working-man be his own friend, and no longer the servant of either party, and he will find that he is really the friend of all the world: for he it is who must realize that society of equality wherein amongst other things it is clear that every member of society must help in the production of utilities & that no man is set to labour on inutilities, as I think the most of men now are. Let me say in passing; think of it a little! What amount of wealth we should produce if we

were all working cheerfully at producing the things that we all genuinely want; if all the intelligence, all the inventive power, all the inherited skill of handicraft, all the keen wit and insight, all the healthy bodily strength were engaged in doing this and nothing else, what a pile of wealth we should have! How would poverty be a word whose meaning we should have forgotten. Believe me there is nothing but the course of inequality which forbids this.

Well, you have heard many praises of property from Aristotle to Mr Mallock;\* and I also am now going to praise it; perhaps to your surprise: so for fear you my Socialist friends should refuse to hear me any longer[,] allow me to remind you, that William Cobbett asks this pertinent question: What is a slave? and answers it thus, A slave is a man without property.\* In that I wholly agree. What are you to do if you have no property? You cannot get up when you will, go to bed when you will, eat & drink when you will, marry as you will, amuse yourself as you will — in all that you must be at another man's beck & call — in fact you cannot [f. 260] so much as eat, unless you have property; in order even to live till next week, unless some benevolent person takes you by the collar and sells you, you must go out and sell yourself as Esau did; who I take it was the very first example of the free labourer.

Now how are you going to get this property? No doubt your first untutored view as to that matter, with the education which you have received by the society of the present, is that you had better steal it; — that in fact there is no other way of getting it. This view is I must say the favoured one: and has been held from the A[rchbishop] of Canterbury to the late Mr Brad[laugh],\* from the D[uke] of W[estminster] to the shiftiest of small tradesmen compelled by hard need to sell adulterated wares. But we Socialists have found out that it won't do; and really we need not crow over the discovery, for the fact lies patent before everybody's eyes. For many and many a century it has been tried, with small success indeed: as we may judge from the last results of it from the ethical side being the Liberty & Property Defence League\* and the Positivist Society.\* For this process of gaining possessi[on] of property by means of stealing, and then qualifying the glorious name of property by calling it *private* property, (an ingenious but I should hope now exposed fraud) has this disadvantage, that you must find some definite and unchanging body of men who will consent or submit to be stolen from, and in these latter days that body is not so definite and is changing fast; so fast that it is beginning to state clearly its objections to its position in the creation of *private* property, and to call aloud for a share in property. I must here turn aside, in case there are some non-socialists here, to explain that in order to steal, it is necessary to find some one who has something to steal; and that in con-[f. 260v]sidering so-

cial matters, it is a body or class that steal, and a body or class that is stolen from. Now in this relation therefore it is clear that you cannot steal from those who have no property of their own; that is you cannot make a livelihood from that occupation. You can indeed take from a man on Saturday evening what he may have in his pocket then, but if he does not *work* all the next week what has he to be stolen the next Saturday?\*

So that if you take from all the screwmakers & all the Dukes what they possess[,] you have not stolen to purpose, you will have to keep them in the workhouse ever afterwards. But with the working-man it is different, because as a matter of fact he has property if he were allowed to use it; you can steal from him every Saturday evening, one after the other; if he be a golden-egged goose, as I fear he is, his owners have long ago learned that it won't do to kill him. Therefore the class of people who can be stolen from and who are stolen from is the working or useful class, simply because they produce; and doubtless if they could be kept in the goose condition for ever, the present condition of private property would last for ever. But can they be? It seems to me that the answer to that question is now before your eyes: there are hundreds of people who are speaking at this moment all over England & Scotland at least in the same way as I am[, p]eople who in one way or other are urging their hearers to consider whether property shall remain private or become common; whether all people should have property or only a few. Whether the united labour of the millions of civilization should be wasted in producing rations for slaves & toys for masters, or enjoyment and a wholesome & happy life for all men and women. These I say are really the questions which we Socialists are asking; and unless I and the others are wholly deceiving ourselves they are being answered in the most practical [f. 261] way. All over the country opinion amongst the working-men is changing; and they are beginning to understand that they, the indispensable class, are being made to pay for all the waste and disorganization of our system of inequality; and they are claiming certain advantages, which, all put together, mean that they insist on some consideration, that they are to be treated not as mere necessary machines, but as citizens. I say the working men generally are making this claim. But besides this, they are getting more and more touched by definite Socialism and large & ever increasing numbers amongst them understand that it is not wages they want; not the mere portion of the fruits of their labour which they can manage to wring out of the profits of their masters, but the fruits of their labour themselves; that is, the plentiful life which their un wasteful organization would insure them, and the self-respect which would necessarily come from their due management of the said organization, and the acceptance of that responsibility for

the common good which all free men must accept, but which slaves cannot.

These men I say, whose numbers are growing every day and whose principles are approved of instinctively & tacitly by the great mass of working-men are determined, that our Society shall be real, the Society of citizens living in equality, and not the Society of a robber[']s cave: and they know also that they have at hand a machinery which will enable them when their opinions become general to compel their recognition at the hands of the inert mass of non-producers, who will find their life of useless work or no work will no longer earn them the position and ease that [it] has done and that their rule is slipping away from [them]. I confess I am no great lover of political tactics; the sordid squabble of [f. 261v] an election is unpleasant enough for a straightforward man to deal in: yet I cannot fail to see that it is necessary somehow to get hold of the machine which has at its back the executive power of the country, however that may be done. And that the organization and labour which will be necessary to effect that by means of the ballot-box will[,] to say the least of it[,] be little indeed compared with what would be necessary to effect it by open revolt; besides that the change effected by peaceable means would be done more completely and with less chance, indeed with no chance of counter revolution. On the other hand I feel sure that some action is even now demanded by the growth of Socialism, and will be more and more imperatively demanded as time goes on. In short I do not believe in the possible success of revolt until the Socialist party has grown so powerful in numbers that it can gain its end by peaceful means, and that therefore what is called violence will never be needed; unless indeed the reactionists were to refuse the decision of the ballot-box and try the matter by arms; which after all I am pretty sure they could not attempt by the time things had gone so far as that. As to the attempt of a small minority to terrify a vast majority into accepting something which they do not understand, by spasmodic acts of violence, mostly involving the death or mutilation of non-combatants, I can call that nothing else than sheer madness. And here I will say once for all, what I have often wanted to say of late, to wit that the idea of taking any human life for any reason whatsoever is horrible and abhorrent to me.

Well, you see to-night I have only been talking round about Communism only. The subject of the organization of a communal life is too weighty a one [f. 262] for me to deal with at present: besides our ideas on that subject must necessarily grow clearer as we advance towards the first stages of Socialism; the steps to which seem to me briefly these: 1<sup>st</sup>. The recognition of the citizenship of the great working class, which will be betokened by their attaining to a far higher standard of livelihood than that which is now considered enough for them, but which

I think means a life of degradation, only endurable by them on the grounds of their aiming at very much better conditions. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Their organization as the controllers of production and the markets: and 3<sup>rd</sup>. The abolition of the private monopoly in the raw material and tools necessary for the production of utilities. This gained, as we may fairly hope it will be after a lapse of time, as makes it no dream to-day, we shall be in the first stage of Socialism, and the possession of property will even then be general. From that stage [to] sheer equality of condition, I believe will not be a long journey, and as I have said here we shall find ourselves insensibly lapsing into it: men[']s desires will be turned toward it, instead of being turned as they are now toward establishing each man for him[self] an isolated position of superiority; and this set of men[']s minds will make nothing of objections which now seem insurmountable to us[.] The threats of ruin to certain groups and moods which now frighten people so much, will turn out to have been mere turnip-lanterns.\* The sun will shine for everybody, the heavens will be blue & the grass green; cakes and ale shall not be forbidden us; and though we shall have our troubles then, they will seem as the troubles in a tale compared to the grovelling anxieties that now beset us; we shall find life worth living — we shall not be afraid to die — or, worse still, ashamed to live.

[f. 255v]. *Lacedaemon*—Sparta, ancient Greek city-state whose well-disciplined military was supported by the labor of Helots (“captives”), Messenean agricultural serfs who formed 80% of Sparta’s population and were forced to give much of the produce they produced to their masters, often absentee soldiers. They lived in subsistence poverty and were subject to ritual humiliation and harrassment.

[f. 256v]. *While*—Morris inserted an unnecessary “on” here as the last word before shifting to a new page.

*ancient position*—a reference to Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81), Conservative Party leader and twice Prime Minister (1868 and 1874–80).

*Münster Anabaptists*—The Münster Anabaptists deposed the former magistrates and established a radical theocracy or “new Zion” in Munster for sixteen months from February 1534–June 1535, proclaiming adult baptism, community of goods, and polygamy, before they were cruelly repressed and their leaders tortured and executed by the forces of bishop Franz von Waldeck.

*Mr. Bradlaugh*—Charles Bradlaugh (1833–91), founder of the National Secular Society in 1866, was a freethinker, birth control campaigner, radical working-class leader, and member of Parliament from Northampton. A “liberal individualist,” he supported trade unionism, women’s suffrage and Irish home rule, but opposed socialism.

*Mr Mallock*—William Hurrell Mallock (1849–1923), polemical writer whose works attacked radical, positivist, and socialist ideas, was the author of the roman a clef *The New Republic* (1878) and of the political treatises *Social Equality* (1882), *Property and Progress* (1884) and *Labor and the Popular Welfare* (1893).

*Cobbett*—William Cobbett (1763–1835), reformist journalist, writer on agricultural labor, and opponent of the Corn Laws, stated in his 1829 *Advice to Young Men and (Incidentally) to Young Women*: “A slave is, in the first place, a man who has *no property*; and property means something that he *has*, and that nobody can take from him without his leave, or consent. . . . A slave has *no property in his labour*; and any man who is compelled to give up the fruit of his labour to another, at the arbitrary will of that other, has no property in his labour, and is, therefore, a slave. . . . To be sure he *may* avoid eating and



drinking and may go naked; but, then he must die; and on this condition, and this condition only, can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labour. . . ." (paragraph 344).

*Liberty and Property Defence League*—Founded in 1882 by Francis Weymss-Charteris Douglas, Lord Elcho (later the 10th earl of Weymss) (1818–1914), as its name implied the LPDL affirmed doctrines of laissez-faire non-interventionism and Spencerian individualism, and campaigned against trade unionism, socialism and all forms of state intervention in private affairs until its demise in the 1920s.

*Positivist Society*—founded by 1867 by Richard Congreve, the London Positivist Society sought to apply the reformist secular doctrines of August Comte and other humanist ideas to public affairs. In many ways their views overlapped with those of Morris and other left-leaning Liberals and socialists; they supported Irish Home Rule, opposed British rule in India, and advo-

cated religious tolerance. Morris would have had direct knowledge of them through Vernon Lushington (1832–1912), a friend from *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* days onward who was a lifelong Positivist.

[f. 260 v]. *Saturday*—Morris here inserts a superscript, "Feb: 3."

*turnip lanterns*—Lanterns made from vegetables such as turnips were associated with Halloween, especially in rural areas and Ireland, and some have thought that these customs inspired the American practice of carving pumpkins. Morris may refer to the fact that their light is easily extinguished.

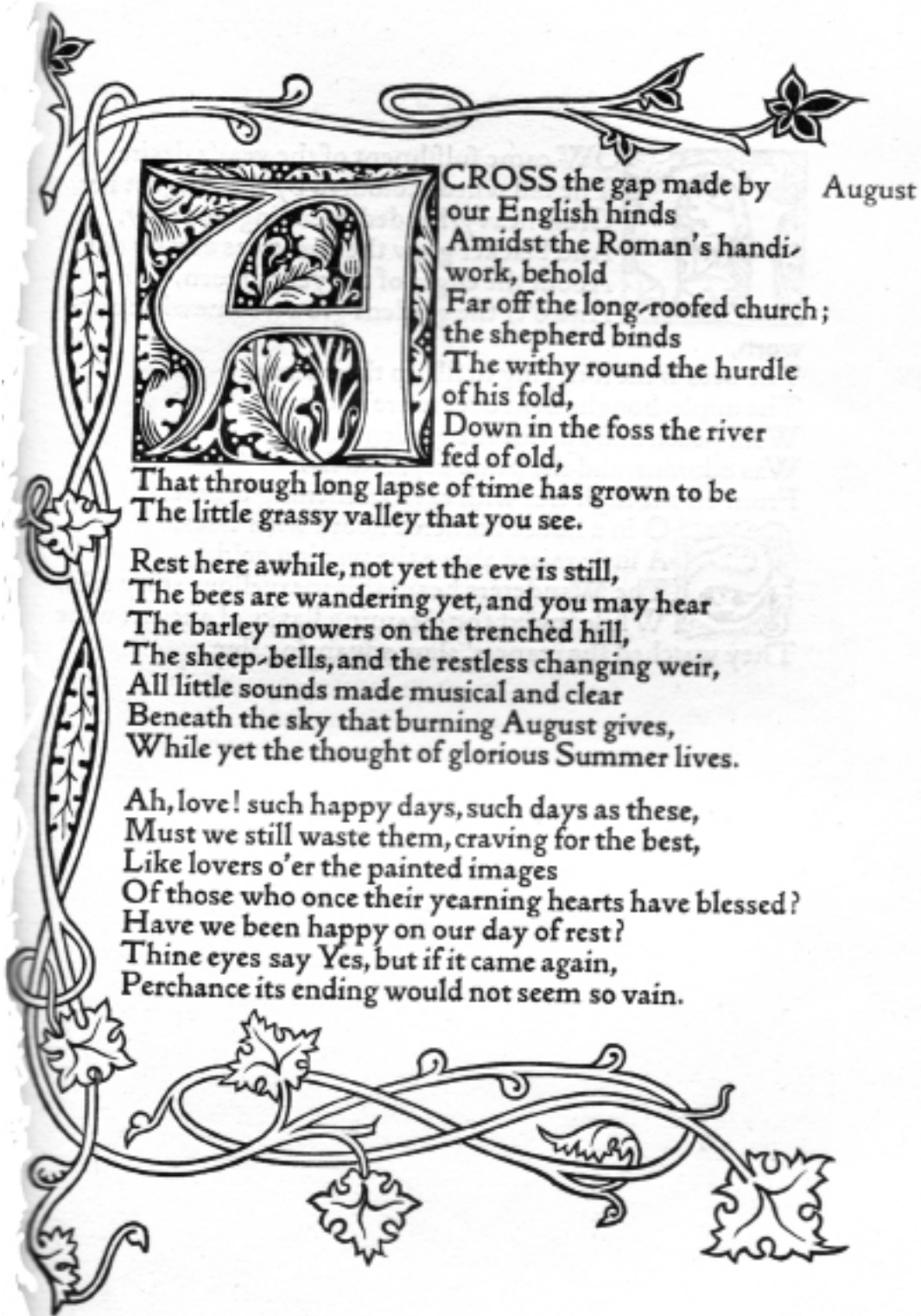
Passages in *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist*: ff. 258–59, from "[t]he privilege of birth has waned to such a poor shadow . . . has taken its place."; ff. 258v–59v, from "The long course of the centuries therefore, . . . what a pile of wealth we should have!"; ff. 259v, from "Well, you have heard many praises of property . . . beck & call"; ff. 260–62, from "in order even to live till next week . . . or worse still, ashamed to live."

13 Communism i.e. Property 255  
But two conditions of society. one based on equality  
one on inequality  
The latter assumes that one set of men shall serve  
the other. The former that men shall mutually serve  
each other: the service in the one case is rendered under  
compulsion: in the other it is rendered willingly.  
In a society of equality there is no need for any arbitrary  
rules for determining the manner of rendering service.  
it is a matter of reason and easily recognized necessity;  
eg. that in a society of equality every member must take  
some share in the production of utilities.  
But in a society of inequality there must be some arbitrary  
rule to determine who are to give and who to accept  
service. Arbitrary because the mere action of the strongest  
from on the spot and from day to day or hour to hour  
could not obtain in any form of society. One man <sup>saying</sup> cannot  
say I am bigger & stronger than you, therefore I break  
you down and take your goods is far too simple a form  
of <sup>robbery</sup> society to allow any form of associated life to go on.  
Accordingly as far as we know such primitive robbery  
has never been known to exist.  
Society of inequality has always assumed some standard  
of superior worth which should entitle the <sup>more</sup> worthy  
to be served by the less worthy, and has managed to  
get this standard recognized to such extent as would  
make the said society some degree of stability.  
Two methods of sitting up this standard of excellence  
the one resting on the accident of birth; the other <sup>upon</sup>  
the accident of success in winning certain advantages  
under arbitrary conditions. The first is now historical  
and has passed away except for a few survivals, esp.  
symbolical than practical. The second is in full  
force at present  
a few words of history. I have said that mere club  
law, the rule of the strongest <sup>in common</sup>; and on the spot

First page of the manuscript of "Communism i.e. Property" (British Library)

## THE LAST WORD

An extract from "August" in *The Earthly Paradise*, reproduced here from the Kelmscott Press edition (1896) (Mark Samuels Lasner Collection, on loan to the University of Delaware Library)



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