Morris and Pre-Raphaelitism[1]

Peter Faulkner

Morris was a fourteen-year-old schoolboy at Marlborough when the mysterious initials PRB were first seen on paintings in 1848. As Martin Meisel observed in 1977, the Pre-Raphaelites' programme was so full of 'internal contradictions, ideological and temperamental', and *The Germ* offered 'so little in the way of a manifesto', that historians of the movement 'have generally had to settle for little more than the sentence that begins the third paragraph of the initial advertisement: "The endeavour held in view throughout the writings on Art will be to encourage and enforce an adherence to the simplicity of nature ..." '.[2] The alternative title of the journal was 'Thoughts towards Nature'. When the critical establishment set about the group, Meisel suggests, they 'sought and expected his [Ruskin's] championship', 'absorbed many of his formulations' and 'allowed themselves, in Ruskin's 1851 pamphlet *Pre-Raphaelitism,* to be represented as attempting to carry out "to the very last letter" his admonitions at the close of *Modern Painters* I: "Go to Nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thoughts but how best to penetrate her meaning, and remembering her instructions; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing ..." '.[3] Meisel's argument is that it did not take long for the 'internal contradictions' of the group to begin showing themselves in the paintings of the three leading Pre-Raphaelites, and for the emphasis on Nature to become too simple a criterion. Morris himself was to point out differences of emphasis among the painters when he addressed the topic in a lecture in Birmingham in 1891, as we shall see later. But the question for this article is how far the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism shows itself in Morris's work.

I

Morris went up to Exeter College, Oxford in January 1853, where he began his lifelong friendship with Edward Jones – later Burne-Jones – from Birmingham. During the next academic year he moved into rooms in the college, and in the summer of 1854 he became aware of the PRB through reading Ruskin's *Edinburgh*

Lectures. Burne-Jones later recalled that Morris 'ran in' with a copy of the book, enthusiastically reading aloud from it to him. Ruskin had written:

> Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything, down to the most minute detail, from nature only ... Every Pre-Raphaelite landscape is painted to the last touch, in the open air from the thing itself. Every Pre-Raphaelite figure, however studied in expression, is a true portrait of some living person. Every minute accessory is painted in the same manner.[4]

Burne-Jones's recollection went on: 'And there we first saw about the Pre-Raphaelites, and there I first saw the name of Rossetti. So for many a day after that we talked of little else but paintings which we had never seen, and saddened the lives of our Pembroke [College] friends'. Soon after, Millais's *Return of the Dove to the Ark* was on view 'at Mr Wyatt's shop in the High Street', 'and then, Edward said, "we knew"'.[5] The young men wanted to align themselves with what they saw as the most exciting developments in the art of the time.

Morris spent part of his summer vacation from Oxford in 1854 in visiting Belgium and France with his sister Henrietta; they saw the late medieval paintings of the van Eycks, Memling and Roger van der Weyden, and the great cathedrals of Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres and Rouen. Linda Parry has observed that now Morris 'was able to study at first hand paintings, sculpture, tapestries and other forms of early medieval northern European decoration, which became his greatest artistic influence'.[6] The Northern preoccupation was to inflect his response to Pre-Raphaelitism, giving it a different focus from that of the painters, who responded more to Italy and the South; all shared a keen interest in history. Back in Oxford, Morris moved into rooms adjoining those of Burne-Jones, and in March 1855 he came of age, and inherited thirteen shares in Devon Great Consols, which gave him the large income of £741 in that year, while Burne-Jones 'spent whole days in Bagley Wood making minute and elaborate studies of flowers and foliage',[7] as advocated by Ruskin. The young men kept up their interest in Pre-Raphaelite painting. During the Easter vacation, Morris and Burne-Jones saw pictures by Millais and Madox Brown, including *The Last of England,* and around the same time a copy of the Pre-Raphaelite journal, *The Germ.*[8] In the Royal Academy in June Morris saw paintings by Brown, Dyce, Leighton, and Millais, while during the summer term in Oxford, Morris and Burne-Jones visited 'Mr. Coombes's collection at the Clarendon Press, which included two pictures by Holman Hunt and Rossetti's watercolour of Dante drawing the head of Beatrice'.[9] Thomas Coombe, the printer to the University, also owned Millais's *Christ in the Carpenter's Shop* and his *Return of the Dove to the Ark*, Collins's *Convent Thoughts* and Hunt's *Converted British Family.*[10]

The summer vacation of 1855 was spent with Burne-Jones and William Fulford

in Northern France, where they were profoundly impressed by the great Gothic cathedrals of Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen and Chartres. Morris had visited the cathedrals during the previous summer, but now his response became deeper, and found expression in writings such as 'The Churches of North France: Shadows of Amiens'. The group also visited Paris, not an idea that appealed to Morris, but he was able to see and enjoy the medieval tapestries at the Hotel de Cluny. And at the Exposition Universelle the friends were, according to Fiona MacCarthy, 'excited to find seven Pre-Raphaelite paintings hanging in the Beaux-Arts section ... one by Collins, three by Millais and three by Hunt, including his *Light of the World*'.[11] It was at the end of this trip that Morris and Burne-Jones made their momentous decision not to devote their lives to the church but to art – Burne-Jones as a painter and Morris as an architect. Both returned to Oxford for the new academic year, and Morris took his pass degree in October/November 1855. In November also Morris and Cormell Price planned *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine,* made possible by Morris's recently inherited wealth. In it, in 1856, Morris published his early romances, accounts of the architecture he admired, and several poems. In 'The Story of the Unknown Church', as MacCarthy observes, 'Morris's descriptions of the gardens of the abbey – the roses, the convolvulus, great fiery nasturtiums, "great spires" of hollyhocks – have the pictorial fluency of one of his own chintzes; and as always with Morris his description of the beauties and the fruitfulness of nature is shot through with a sense of the erotic'.[12] Just before publication of the first number of the *Magazine,* in January 1856, Morris and Burne-Jones came across Rossetti's 'Maids of Elfenmere' illustration to William Allingham's *Day and Night Songs,* and Holman Hunt's illustration to Woolner's poem *My Beautiful Lady* in *The Germ*; these illustrations seemed deeply affecting to both men.[13]

Morris entered the architectural practice of G.E. Street in Oxford in January 1856, where he met Philip Webb. By Easter 1856 Burne-Jones had met Rossetti and been greatly taken by his charm and enthusiasm for art; he began to paint, under Rossetti's guidance. Mackail records of this period that Morris 'became an ardent pupil, as he was already a keen admirer, of the Pre-Raphaelite school'.[14] He was wealthy enough by now to be able to buy works of art; thus in May he bought Arthur Hughes's *April Love* for £30 through the agency of Burne-Jones. Now Morris met Rossetti and also fell under his influence. In July he was writing: 'Rossetti says I ought to paint, he says I shall be able; now as he is a very great man, and speaks with authority and not as the scribes, I *must* try. I don't hope much, I must say, yet will try my best - he gave me practical advice on the subject'.[15] Still articled to Street, he began slowly: two self-portrait drawings date from this time. Soon Morris followed Burne-Jones to London, when Street moved his practice there in August 1856, and when Rossetti took him to Brown's studio in Kentish

Town, he bought *The Hayfield* for 40 guineas. Morris accompanied Street on a tour of the Low Countries in the autumn of 1856, but, encouraged by Rossetti, he left Street's practice and abandoned architecture at the end of the year. He and Burne-Jones took unfurnished rooms in Red Lion Square, for which they made their own painted furniture.

Morris worked at his drawing through the spring and summer of 1857, and in June began his first painting, a scene from Malory showing 'Sir Tristram after his illness in the Garden of King Mark's Palace recognised by the Dog he had given Iseult'. Rossetti told Bell Scott: 'It is being done all from nature of course, and I believe will turn out capitally'. But it seems unlikely that the painting was ever completed.[16] Morris continued to buy pictures, to Rossetti's delight – he told William Allingham, 'You know, he is a millionaire and buys pictures'.[17] He bought several of what Ray Watkinson describes as Rossetti's 'new, brilliant, bizarre water-colours'.[18] These included *The Blue Closet* and *The Tune of Seven Towers,* which stimulated poems by Morris with the same titles, as well as three others. During the summer of 1857, again under Rossetti's influence, Morris became involved in painting the Debating Chamber of the Oxford Union with murals on Arthurian themes; Morris's was *How Sir Palomydes loved La Belle Iseult*.[19] As is well known, the poor technique employed in the execution of the murals meant that they soon decayed. Morris got more pleasure from decorating the ceiling, as Burne-Jones related: 'he set to work upon the roof, making in a day a design for it which was a wonder to us for its originality and fitness, for he had never before designed anything of the kind, nor, I suppose, seen any ancient work to guide him. Indeed, all his life he hated the copying of ancient work as unfair to the old and stupid for the present, only good for inspiration and hope'.[20] Morris was discovering his true vocation. It was in Oxford at this time that he met Jane Burden, who was to be the model of his surviving painting *La Belle Yseult,* and later his wife. Work on the murals continued until the spring of 1858, by which time Morris had published his first book of poetry, *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems.* When Bell Scott visited the Debating Chamber in June, he found that the murals had already deteriorated; all that could be seen of Morris's was Tristram's head over a row of sunflowers.[21] Soon after, Morris began work on his portrait of Jane as *La Belle Iseult*, clearly in the Pre-Raphaelite mode. As Watkinson noted:

> Some records have identified the subject in the past as Guenevere, but the scene, confirmed by May Morris, shows Iseult's mourning of Tristram's exile from King Mark's court. She stands wistful in her chamber, the little love-gift dog lying in Tristram's place in her bed. Down the side of her mirror is inscribed the word 'DOLOURS' – grief – and her crown has sprigs of rosemary for remembrance.[22]

This is a Pre-Raphaelite painting, done with a great concern for detail and show-

ing many varieties of pattern. But it did not come easily: Philip Webb told W.R. Lethaby that Morris, 'after struggling over his picture for months, "hating the brute", threw it up'. It was not in painting that he was to find his fulfillment.[23]

II

Morris had begun writing poetry at Oxford in 1855, and only three years later he had written enough to publish *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems,* dedicated to 'my friend Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Painter'. Some reviewers related the volume to Pre-Raphaelitism. Richard Garnett remarked that 'the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters have made the Arthurian cycle their own, by a treatment ... strange and original',[24] and related the poems to 'certain alfresco illustrations of Arthurian romance attempted at Oxford by painters of this school'. Garnett also noted the resemblance of Morris's poems to 'the beautiful poems, contributed by the painter [Rossetti] to the defunct *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*', emphasising 'their richness of colouring, depth of pathos, poetical but eccentric conception, and loving elaboration of every minute detail'. *The Tablet* remarked that the book's dedication acknowledged 'the Pre-Rafaelite sympathies of the author', and that 'many passages read like descriptions of a Pre-Rafaelite picture' in their "fidelity to nature" in both 'the description of gestures, attitudes, features and garments' and in 'the language of their interlocutors'. More negatively, H.F. Chorley in *The Athenaeum* remarked that 'we must draw attention to his [Morris's] book of Pre-Raphaelite minstrelsy as to a curiosity which shows how far affectation may mislead an earnest man towards the fog-land of Art'. Similarly, the *Saturday Review* described Morris as 'the pre-Raffaelite poet. So he is hailed, we believe, by himself and the brotherhood'. The whole movement is condemned: 'when painters think it is their whole duty to work through a microscope, and try to paint every stain on every leaf, as well as every leaf on every tree, they not only forget what art is, but are ignorant of what artistic imitation is. This is extravagance is, we think, what Mr. Morris delights in'. Sir John Skelton later recalled having received a letter in 1860 from the editor of *Fraser's Magazine,* John Parker, remarking: 'For myself, I am sick of Rossetti and his whole school. I think them essentially unmanly, effeminate, mystical, affected and obscure. You ought really to say more as to Morris's obscurity and affectation'. A later critic, H.H. Statham, in his general and illuminating retrospective account of Morris's achievement in 1897, remarked that *The Defence of Guenevere* was 'essentially a representation in poetry of what used to be termed the pre-Raphaelite spirit in painting'. Of one specific but representative poem he remarks: 'The feeling for decorative effect in this poem ('Golden Wings'), for the colour of the objects named, is characteristic of a decorator poet'. A detail like the 'red-brick lip' of the moat 'might have come

out of a "P.R.B." picture'. He tellingly compares Morris's art to that of Burne-Jones: 'As in the pictures, so in the poems, the personages who are presented to us are but personages who [unlike Chaucer's] fill a composition in a decorative manner'.[25] Modern criticism has generally accepted this view, choosing its examples of Pre-Raphaelite poetry by Morris mainly from *The Defence,* although the evaluation has changed: the volume is now regarded by many critics as Morris's major achievement in poetry. But it is generally agreed that, because of the poor reception of *The Defence* at the time, Morris gave up writing poetry, and concentrated on the design work which was to make him famous.

III

Morris and Jane were married on 26 April 1859. Morris was wealthy enough to be able to commission Philip Webb to build him a house in Kent, which became known as Red House, first occupied in 1860. It was in furnishing Red House that Morris was to embark on the activities in the realm of design which proved to be his true vocation; as Paul Thompson observed, 'Pattern-making was the foundation of the art of William Morris. It was his special genius in design'.[26] He and a group of friends established Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in 1861, and Morris was soon designing wallpapers and stained glass. How far can we see the activities of the Firm as based on Pre-Raphaelite principles? Some products such as stained glass, embroidery, woven textiles, carpets and tapestry had medieval precedents; others such as wallpaper and printed textiles were more modern. However, designs for all might be derived from medieval models, and incorporate the element of 'naturalism' celebrated by Ruskin.

Morris's emphasis on nature made his designs different from the more abstract and geometrical forms advocated, in the wake of the Great Exhibition, by the Design Reform group led by Sir Henry Cole and including Richard Redgrave, A.W.N. Pugin and Owen Jones. During 1852 Owen Jones was asked to draw up a list of axioms concerning the application of art to manufacture, which were sold as penny pamphlets. They later appeared as a preface to Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* in 1856; Proposition 13 ran: 'Flowers or other natural objects should not be used as ornaments, but conventional representations founded upon them'. Christopher Dresser supplied a plate showing 'the geometrical arrangement of natural forms'. Recent critics such as Christopher Morley have argued that this was not an extreme position,[27] but it was often felt to be so. It was the approach satirised by Dickens in his anti-Utilitarian novel *Hard Times* in 1854. In its second chapter, the children in the class-room are asked some questions by the 'government officer' who represents everything that Dickens detests. Sissy Jupe – reduced to 'girl number twenty' in bureaucratic language – is asked if she would carpet a

room with representations of flowers, and replies that she would do so because she is fond of flowers. The official turns on her triumphantly to suggest that she should not logically make a choice by which people would put heavy chairs on the flowers and walk over them on heavy boots. She replies:

> 'It wouldn't hurt them, sir. They wouldn't crush and wither if you please, sir. They would be the pictures of what was very pretty and pleasant, and I would fancy …'

This statement enables the official to complete his triumph with the assertion, 'Ay, ay, ay! But you mustn't fancy. That's it! You are never to fancy!' to which Mr. Gradgrind gives his enthusiastic assent: 'You are not, Cecilia Jupe, to do anything of that kind'. The official concludes with a declaration about the new principles of interior decoration:

> 'You are not to have, in any object of use or ornament, what would be a contradiction in fact … You don't walk upon flowers in fact; you cannot be allowed to walk on flowers in carpets … You must use for all these purposes, combinations and modifications (in primary colours) of mathematical figures which are susceptible of proof and demonstration. This is the new discovery. This is fact. This is taste'.[28]

No wonder the girl sits down looking 'as if frightened by the matter-of-fact prospect the world afforded'. Morris's designs would certainly not have appealed to the government officer, who represents the attitude Dickens associated with the Department of Practical Art, set up in 1852 in order to improve the quality of British design. Critics have varied in their responses to Dickens's argument, some seeing it as an effective part of his critique of the bureaucratic view of life and others finding his position Philistine.[29] Allen Samuels in 1992 argued that it was hard to sympathise with Dickens's view because the tide of history, giving us modernism and the Bauhaus, has 'gone against Dickens'.[30] This effectively wipes Morris's designs out of the historical record.

For Morris's designs occupied a middle ground. As Colin Cruise has recently argued in his book on Pre-Raphaelite drawing: 'To some extent, however, the practices of those Pre-Raphaelite artists designing for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. …. acted as a counterbalance to the kind of industrial-design training devised by Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, Christopher Dresser … and others involved in the reform of the Schools of Design'.[31] He goes on to argue, in relation to the Arts and Crafts movement, that 'Through their design practices, Morris and his colleagues forged a link between the activity of reproducing nature faithfully and abstracting from it in order to produce good domestic design'.[32] Morris's earliest designs were for tiles and wallpapers, the latter a booming industry in 1862. The three early designs – 'Trellis', 'Daisy' and 'Fruit' – are described by Paul Thompson as 'extraordinarily old-fashioned'. They certainly show Morris's indebtedness to nature as well as to medieval precedent. Linda Parry remarks that

they were 'closely associated with the informal medievalism of the early firm'.[33]

We may discern this quality also in the Firm's stained glass, part of the great Victorian revival of that pre-Renaissance medium which was part of the Gothic Revival. Morris designed some hundred and fifty images, but most of these were small backing-figures, often angels; his most successful, St Peter, was used ten times. He ceased to produce designs after 1873, but continued to shoulder the responsibility for leading and colour, making the crucial choice of the coloured glass supplied by Powell's. In addition, he took over from Webb the designing of backgrounds to the windows, often, as one would expect, using various forms of foliage with great success, as in the west window at Leigh in Staffordshire of 1874, praised by Paul Thompson, where 'the foliage is mixed with fruit and flowers, pineapples, pomegranates, and roses'.[34].

Morris's style as a designer was to develop remarkably; as Colin Cruise has remarked, the early simplicity was soon replaced by 'a sophisticated graphic complexity that became Morris's most successful and characteristic contribution to the history of design'.[35] The early wallpapers were followed in 1871 by more geometric designs deriving from eighteenth-century papers, and then, between 1872 and 1876, by a series of more complex designs, in a two-layer format, including 'Jasmine' and 'Vine', 'Branch' and 'Lily' – the importance of nature to Morris is obvious simply from the titles. Paul Thompson pointed out that it was Morris who pioneered the increasing use of flowers in design during the early 1870s: 'it was Morris who led the return to British flowers, many wild from the country hedges, in parallel with the partly wilder, flower-filled garden, reflecting the changing seasons rather than the efficiency of the greenhouse'.[36] Pugin had written in 1849 in his *Floriated Ornament* that nature is 'the *fountain head* of beautiful design', but that adaptation and 'disposition' of natural forms was essential. Morris followed this path, while adding a Ruskinian concern for the conditions of the worker. Cruise argues that 'the Pre-Raphaelite pictorialist agenda' became less relevant as design moved on. He also notes that wallpaper design profited particularly from 'the revival of plant drawing': 'Arts and Crafts wallpaper patterns offered a way of reintroducing floral and vegetable motifs into the domestic setting and signalled a return to nature rather than favouring artifice and illusion in pattern design'. He cites Walter Crane, Selwyn Image and J.D. Sedding to support his case.[37]

Overall, as Ellen E. Frank argued in 1977 in discussing Baillie Scott's fine house Blackwell, built in the Lake District in 1898, the decorative style to be found there involved what she terms 'the domestication of Nature', which she finds importantly in Morris's work: 'Morris and Scott manifest their inherited reverence for Nature by reconstituting external landscape among walls and carvings within …Victorians contrive to have Nature, however distant, real but no longer threatening'. This is 'a Nature of home furnishings'.[38] Frank goes on to show Morris's concern to bring Nature onto domestic walls, and quotes his 1881 lecture 'Some

Hints on Pattern Designing' on his preference for ornament 'that reminds us of the outward face of the earth, of the innocent love of animals, or of man passing his days between work and rest'.[39] Frank illustrates her point with reproductions of the 'Bird and Anemone' wall paper of 1882, and the 'Black Thorn' of 1890, and quotes further from Morris's lecture:

> Is it not better to be reminded, however, simply, of the close vine-trellis that keeps out the sun by the Nile side; or the wild woods and their streams, with the dogs panting beside them; or of the swallow sweeping above the garden boughs towards the house-eaves where their nestlings are, while the sun breaks the clouds on them; or of the many-flowered summer meadows of Picardy?

In all patterns, Morris likes 'unmistakeable suggestions of gardens and fields, and strange trees, boughs, and tendrils'. With typical concern for material and function, Morris argues that 'the more mechanical the process [of production], the less direct should be the imitation of natural forms'. Thus tapestry enables the maker to turn his wall into 'a rose hedge or a deep forest, for its material and general capabilities almost compel us to fashion plane above plane of rich, crisp and varying foliage with bright blossoms, or strange birds showing through the intervals'.[40]

As early as 1897, Aymer Vallance, in his *William Morris. His Art, his Writings, his Public Life,* raised the question of the relation between the work of Morris and Co. and Pre-Raphaelitism. Beginning from the fact that the movement began in the art of painting, Vallance asks whether its principles could be applied more broadly, adding what he terms 'the domestic element'. He then makes a grand claim:

> It is due to William Morris that all arts were brought within the comprehension of one and the same organic scheme; and here he proved himself in advance of the Pre-Raphaelites, that he did succeed in giving the revival of art a wider and profounder scope than they.[41]

Because the Pre-Raphaelites were painters whose works were most often kept in private hands or seen in 'obscure galleries', their reputation could reach only a limited public:

> It is, therefore, a supreme achievement of William Morris's to have brought Art, through the medium of the handicrafts, within reach of thousands who could never hope to obtain but a transitory view of Pre-Raphaelite pictures; his distinction, by decorating the less pretending but not less necessary articles of household furnishing, to have done more than any man in the present century to beautify the plain, everyday home-life of the people.[42]

This may be extravagant in its neglect of the other partners in the Firm of 1861,

particularly Rossetti and Brown, and in its optimistic idea of 'the people' who could afford the Firm's products, but it does draw attention to continuities as they were seen at the time.

Ray Watkinson makes a related point in his 1970 *Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design*:

> All this [the early work of the Firm, particularly in furniture] might be called the Pre-Raphaelitism of design: the simplicity of form, the unsophisticated construction, the pictorial and heraldic enrichment of flat surfaces were certainly meant to get behind the renaissance norms; and certainly none of it would have come about in the way it did had not Rossetti first have been one of that other group of seven, the PRB, or Morris and Burne-Jones not first been moved by Pre-Raphaelite painting.[43]

In design, as much as in painting, there were established conventions which limited what the designer could do. But 'the steady reference to nature, to unmediated actuality, to sensory experience' of the Pre-Raphaelite painters could equally be a stimulation to designers. However, the relation of design to nature was complex, for it became apparent to Victorians such as Owen Jones and Dresser that all 'art and ornament' was derived ultimately 'from some actual observed fragment of the real world'. Watkinson argues that the influence of Rossetti on Morris was crucial and liberating, enabling him to develop a rich and expansive conception of design, moving him towards 'the achievement ... of a contained exercise of the imagination, an emotional effect, by the combination of colours, forms, arrangements, rather that the strictly associative values of reference to the historic styles'.[44]

IV

It is not surprising that references to Pre-Raphaelitism as a critical term grow fewer as the years passed and each of the group of painters pursued his own different way. But the term was evidently a significant one to the young Henry James as late as 1869, as is shown in the wonderfully entertaining account of a visit to Morris's home in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, which he gave to his sister in a letter of March of that year:

> Morris's poetry, you see, is only his sub-trade. To begin with, he is a manufacturer of stained glass windows, ecclesiastical and medieval tapestry, altar-cloths, and in fine everything quaint, archaic, pre-Raphaelite – and I may add, exquisite ... everything he has and does is superb and beautiful. But more curious than anything is himself

Then there is his wife:

> Oh, ma chere, such a wife! *Je n'en reviens pas* - she haunts me still. A figure cut
> out of a missal – out of one of Rossetti's or Hunt's pictures – to say this gives but
> a faint idea of her, because when such an image puts on flesh and blood, it is an
> apparition of fearful and wonderful intensity. It is hard to say whether she's a
> grand synthesis of all the Pre-Raphaelite pictures ever made or they a 'keen
> analysis' of her – whether she's an original or a copy ....

Morris himself is also vividly described:

> He is short, burly, corpulent, very careless and unfinished in his dress ... He has a
> very loud voice and a nervous restless manner and a perfectly unaffected and busi-
> ness-like address. His talk is wonderfully to the point and remarkable for clear
> good sense.

No wonder that James concluded that 'it was a long rich sort of visit, with a strong
peculiar flavour of its own'.[45]

V

Morris returned to poetry in 1867, with the publication of *The Life and Death of
Jason,* to be followed between 1868 and 1870 by the four volumes of *The Earthly
Paradise*. Its slow-moving narratives from a variety of sources, offered by a poet
who described himself as 'The idle singer of an empty day', proved very popu-
lar. None of the reviewers of these volumes (which included Walter Pater in the
Westminster Review) referred to Pre-Raphaelitism, which was by then no longer
a significant movement in English painting. But an intelligent, unsigned review
in the *New Englander* in October 1871, contrasting Morris's poetry with Chau-
cer's, did make such a reference in considering Morris's elaborate descriptions
of 'houses and gardens and temples': 'What a fondness he has for the accumula-
tion of details. He loves to enumerate. He has a Pre-raphaelite's longing to give
everything – everything external'. His bent is 'to miss nothing that the eye can
take in as it slowly, pensively passes, without passion of either joy or grief, from
object to object …'. Later, the reviewer remarks convincingly: 'Mr. Morris has
the painter's eye. To him things are as parts of pictures and made to be painted'.[46]
A recent critic who may be seen as following this line is Elizabeth Helsinger, who
gives a convincing account of Morris's subtle and comforting use of colour in the
Earthly Paradise poems, by contrast with the sharpness and vitality of those in *The
Defence of Guenevere.* [47]

In 1876 Morris published a very different poem, *Sigurd the Volsung*, the fruit
of his growing devotion to Icelandic literature and culture. It is hardly surprising

that reviewers of these books made no reference to Pre-Raphaelitism, since the energetic anapaests of *Sigurd* aim to bring the reader into a harsher, more heroic world than that of *The Earthly Paradise.* Tony Pinkney, in a review of Helsinger's book, goes so far as to say that 'Morris himself had to wade through and out of Pre-Raphaelitism, first by immersing himself in the world of Icelandic sagas and then by crossing the "river of fire" which led to his socialist commitment' and to the vitality of *The Pilgrims of Hope*.[48] But in 1881 we find the young Gerard Manley Hopkins telling Morris's old Oxford friend the Rev. R.W. Dixon, 'I must hold you and Morris to belong to one school … I used to call it the school of Rossetti: it is in literature the school of the Pre-raphaelites'.[49] We may assume that it was pre-Icelandic poetry by Morris that Hopkins had in mind – Pinkney is surely right to find an increasing vitality in the later poetry.

VI

In 1875 Morris had found it necessary to reorganise the Firm, with himself in control, and it became known as Morris & Co. Morris continued to produce lively designs, which, as the years went by, showed the variety of influences affecting his work. In his 1878 lecture which was to become known as 'The Lesser Arts', Morris spoke to his audience about the factors affecting creative work:

> For your teachers, they must be Nature and History; as for the first that you must learn of it is so obvious that I need not dwell upon that now: hereafter, when I have to speak more of matters of detail, I may have to speak of the manner in which you must lean of Nature. As to the second I do not think that any man but one of the highest genius could do anything in these days without much study of ancient art, and even he could be much hindered if he lacked it … Let us therefore study it wisely, be taught by it, be kindled by it; all the while determining not to imitate or repeat it; to have either no art at all, or an art which we have made our own.[50]

We have seen how the Pre-Raphaelite respect for nature was embodied in Morris's early decorative work. It is not surprising that as his career developed his indebtedness to earlier historical traditions became equally important. Morris took inspiration from any source that struck him as appropriate: in addition to the Indian influence on 'Snakeshead', Parry refers to the Italian influence on 'Bird', the Chinese influence on some of Morris's rugs, and the Persian influence on the Holland Park carpet. More medieval sources are to be found for the embroideries such as 'Daisy', woven textiles such as 'Dove and Rose' and 'Peacock and Dragon' and the tapestries, though 'Acanthus and Vine' is related by Parry to sixteenth-century French work.[51] Nevertheless, the central point of reference continued to

be nature, as shown illuminatingly by Baker, particularly with respect to 'Acanthus', 'Honeysuckle' and 'Blackthorn'.[52] Caroline Arscott, in her fine *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones. Interlacings,* remarks that designs such as 'Jasmine' (1872) and 'Acanthus' (1875) are 'extraordinary, powerful tangles of plant life', and that this vitality persists in 'Tulip' (1875), 'Columbine' (1876) and 'Honeysuckle' (1876), in which 'Geometry rules the pattern, but we are finally made to wonder how geometry can survive in a chock-full visual zone where the mutant clasp of tendrils offers both a pull down and a climbing up and where the pulse of life pushes pattern elements in and out of a three-dimensional complex'.[53] It is indeed 'the pulse of life' that we can experience in these designs if we give them more than customary attention.

VII

During the late 1870s Morris had moved into public life, via the Eastern Question Association in 1876 and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded in 1877. In 1883 he committed himself to Socialism – 'crossing the river of fire', in his words as effectively quoted by E. P. Thomson [54] – and began lecturing on art and socialism. Is there any link here with Pre-Raphaelitism? Thompson himself devoted the third chapter of his biography to 'Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites', whose influence he did not underestimate, but his conclusion is well balanced. He recalls the 'clear note of excitement of the young men in revolt against the orthodoxies on every side. Political revolt was present in the movement', but suggests that 'it was not uppermost in young in Morris's or Burne-Jones's mind'.[55] The strongest case for associating Pre-Raphaelitism with Morris's socialism was made by William Gaunt, who argued in both *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy* (1942) and in his selection of Morris's writings in 1948 that the Pre-Raphaelite ideal found its fulfillment in Socialism. Strikingly, as Gaunt put it, 'His early attachment to King Arthur had led him irresistibly to Karl Marx … The art of the fourteenth century was a plank of political revolution'.[56] Nevertheless, there were sources other than Pre-Raphaelitism for Morris's estimate of the medieval period, including his reading at Oxford of Carlyle, Kingsley and Ruskin.

A more balanced assessment is given by Krishnan Kumar in his Cambridge edition of *News from Nowhere.* After describing Morris's experiences as a disciple of Rossetti and in Street's practice, as well as his enthusiastic reading of Ruskin, Kumar remarks that none of this was wasted, all contributed to the development which flowered in Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. But the political element came only later; the Pre-Raphaelites did not follow Ruskin when he began his incursions into 'The Political Economy of Art' in 1857. The issue which Ruskin was now addressing, 'was also, more delicately, side-stepped by the Brotherhood,

who remained resolutely unpolitical'. When he became a revolutionary socialist, Morris 'parted company decisively with his friends in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood' and indeed with Ruskin as well. But the Pre-Raphaelite and Ruskinian background of his thought, with its emphasis on the centrality of art, gave his politics its special form – which, Kumar suggests, perhaps extravagantly, made Morris's Marxism anticipate a Marxism incorporating Marx's early, then unknown, 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts'. Hence Morris's hostility to Bellamy, the Fabians and all forms of state socialism.[57]

VIII

Morris & Co. opened its shop in Oxford Street in 1877, and in 1881 the Company's works were moved to a larger and more convenient site at Merton Abbey, south of the Thames; between 1881 and 1885 Morris designed a fine series of chintzes, including 'Eyebright', 'Brother Rabbit', 'Bird and Anemone' and 'Strawberry Thief'. Arscott remarks on how these designs 'do not set the animals in opposition to the plant life but show a symbiotic involvement and imply a sharing of substance. The potential spring of the rabbit coming from the muscly back legs is just like the unfurling of a leaf; a common concentrated energy exists in plant and animal life'.[58] In 1883 Morris saw a piece of Genoese brocaded velvet with diagonal patterning, which Peter Floud showed in 1959 to have had a great influence on Morris.[59] This influence is to be seen particularly in the great series of chintzes produced between 1881 and 1885, with their 'repeating device of meandering stems with curving leaves and flower heads', and with names taken from tributaries of the Thames, such as 'Kennet', 'Cray', 'Wandle', 'Evenlode', 'Wey' and 'Windrush'.[60] In respect to the popular 'Willow Bough' wallpaper of 1887, May Morris recorded: 'We were walking one day by our little stream that runs into Thames, and my Father pointed out the detail and variety in the leaf forms, and soon afterwards this paper was done, a keenly-observed rendering of our willows that has embowered many a London living-room'. She also relates 'Wild Tulip' to Kelmscott: 'the peony and wild tulip are two of the richest blossomings of the spring garden at the Manor'.[61] In a footnote, May pays tribute to how much she learned from her father's close observation of 'all detail of serrated edge and variation of line and attachment to stem, etc.' and how much she enjoyed 'his talk on flowers and looking through old Gerarde with him'. Morris had enjoyed reading a copy of John Gerard's 1597 *Herball* in the family library while a boy at Woodford Hall.[62]

At Merton Abbey, Morris was also able to extend further the range of products. The Company was now producing woven textiles and rugs and carpets, some on a small scale for sale in the shop, and others on a larger scale as commis-

sioned by wealthy clients. Among the finest of the carpets were 'Holland Park' in 1883, and the magnificent 'Bullerswood' in 1889, which incorporates several of Morris's favourite motifs. A chapter is devoted to Morris as 'The Master' in Malcolm Haslam's splendidly illustrated book *Arts and Crafts Carpets* in 1991. Haslam quotes F.S. Ellis to the effect that 'It was about 1875 that his [Morris's] mind was specially fired by the magnificence of the ancient Oriental carpets which were just then being imported in large quantities'.[63] Morris soon made himself an expert on Persian carpets, advising the South Kensington Museum on their purchase, and going on to make carpets of his own; a loom was installed in the coach house in Hammersmith, when the family moved into Kelmscott House in the early summer of 1878, a hand-weaver from Glasgow was employed, and some young girls taken on to make rugs – on sale by the summer of 1879. In May 1880 Morris & Co. exhibited these rugs and carpets in Oxford Street. A leaflet issued by Morris & Co. interestingly shows Morris's approach: he wanted to 'equal the Eastern ones [carpets] in materials and durability', but not in design; the new carpets should 'show themselves obviously to be the outcome of modern and Western ideas, guided by those principles that underlie all architectural art in common'. This pronouncement shows Morris's continuing determination to avoid the uncreative imitation of historical styles, however attractive in themselves, but to incorporate elements from historical sources when they could extend his art. Concluding his account of Morris's carpets, Haslam remarks that the later ones combined motifs in such a way that 'one is at a loss to say whether they are Persian or Gothic, until, that is, one realizes that they are neither; they are pure Morris'.[64] This striking formulation applies indeed widely to Morris's dealings with the artefacts of the past, and brings out the force of his genius.

It was in 1881 that Morris gave the lecture, quoted earlier, to the students of the Working Men's College, called 'Some Hints on Pattern-Designing', which is worth quoting again because of its clear exposition of his principles as a designer. In discussing the making of carpets, he acknowledges that it may be necessary to go to 'the school of Eastern designers' for the best examples of the art, but then adds:

> Now, after all, I am bound to say that when these [technical] difficulties are conquered, I, as a Western man and a picture-lover, must insist on plenty of meaning in your patterns; I must have unmistakable suggestions of gardens and fields, and strange trees, boughs and tendrils, or I can't do with your pattern, but must take the first piece of nonsense-work a Kurdish shepherd has woven from tradition and memory; all the more, as even in these there will be some hint of past history.[65]

He told his audience that design, for whatever medium, must convey a sense of rational growth, 'and in recurring patterns, at least, the noblest are those where one thing grows visibly and necessarily from another'. Morris's advice to his audi-

ence was therefore: 'Study any or all of the styles that have real growth in them, and as for the others, don't do more than give a passing glance at them, for they can do you no good'.[66]

During the 1890s the space available at Merton enabled Morris to fulfil a long-standing ambition, to revive one of the great medieval art forms, and to make tapestries. Morris taught himself to weave, and wrote enthusiastically about the form's potential: 'The noblest of the weaving arts is Tapestry, in which there is nothing mechanical: it may be looked upon as a mosaic of pieces of colour made up of dyed threads'. He admired the qualities of medieval tapestry, writing about it with great relish: 'You really may almost turn your wall into a rose-hedge or a deep forest, for its material and general capabilities almost compel us to fashion plane above plane of rich, crisp, and varying foliage, with bright blossoms, or strange birds showing through the intervals'. By contrast, he dismissed Renaissance realism as 'wholly unfit for tapestry'.[67] It has been argued by critics such as Paul Thompson that Morris's achievement in this mode was less impressive than might have been hoped, since he relied on Burne-Jones for his central figures, and Burne-Jones failed to show 'any real feeling for tapestry'.[68] However, in her recent biography of Burne-Jones, Fiona MacCarthy has vigorously argued the contrary case, claiming that Burne-Jones delighted in and exploited 'the scope and scale and the particular possibilities' of tapestry.[69] In either case, the models for both men would have been medieval rather than Victorian.

IX

In 1890 Morris founded the Kelmscott Press. Printing, with its origins in Gutenberg's fifteenth century, is of course not a medieval art or craft, but Morris's interest in it clearly developed from his enthusiasm for the calligraphy and illumination of medieval manuscripts, first enjoyed during his Oxford days and remaining with him to the end of his life. Of the typefaces Morris designed, while Golden is roman, deriving from a type by Jensen, Troy – with its reduced form as Chaucer – is a blackletter, which Morris himself described as 'semi-Gothic';[70] we can discern a scriberly tradition behind it. The foliated designs by Morris for individual letters shows the same influence. The relation of the Press to Pre-Raphaelitism was thoughtfully considered by Samuel D. Albert in his contribution to *Pocket Cathedrals* in 1991; Albert offers a detailed account of the book-work of Morris and Burne-Jones, beginning with Morris's dissatisfaction with the disjunction between the contents and layout of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in 1856, and going on to 'the Book That Never Was', as Joseph Dunlap aptly named the planned *Earthly Paradise* during the 1860s, and to the development of the books of the Kelmscott Press itself, with incisive discussions of the Adam and Eve frontis-

piece to *The Dream of John Ball* and the attractive frontispiece to *The Wood Beyond the World*. Albert sees the fullest success of the partnership in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer,* in particular in three images, 'The Prologue', 'The Knight's Tale' and 'Troilus and Criseyde', each of which is considered with sensitivity and precision. He argues that 'the impact of the Pre-Raphaelite ideals to which both men were exposed in their college years and their study with Rossetti are evident throughout their bookmaking enterprises', and defines these ideals as 'emotional intensity, visual stasis and medievalism'. His conclusion is that 'Without the legacy of these Pre-Raphaelite friendships, forces and interconnections, the Kelmscott Press and its commanding contributions to the art of the book might never have been, or at least might have been very different indeed'.[71]

X

During the last decade of his life Morris wrote the series of books which have come to be known as his Late Romances, beginning with the semi-historical *The House of the Wolfings* in 1888, and culminating in the posthumous *The Sundering Flood* in 1897. In his 1973 anthology *Pre-Raphaelite Writing,* Derek Stanford remarked that Pre-Raphaelitism expressed itself successfully in painting and poetry, but not in fiction. There is no Pre-Raphaelite novel, the nearest approach being Morris's late romances, which constitute 'a case of their own', since Morris was the only Pre-Raphaelite to be 'quite at home in fiction'.[72] Stanford included a chapter from *The Wood Beyond the World* in his anthology. Anna Vaninskaya has recently related Morris's stories to the growing popularity of the romance form in the later nineteenth century. But she notes that, although reviewers described Morris's style in the romances in aesthetic terms, only one seems to have related them to Pre-Raphaelitism, and that was in the dismissive form of Watts-Dunton's remark about it as belonging to the 'antediluvian days'. In her view, 'Morris's literary reputation was made only after he had abandoned the Pre-Raphaelite foibles of his first volume, *The Defence of Guenevere*'.[73] But although this is accurate as history, many modern critics would see these 'foibles' as the quality giving energy and significance to Morris's early poems, by contrast with those of his middle period.

At all events, the Late Romances were not popular in the way that the imperialist romances of the period were. Their mysterious and poetic worlds offer a kind of pleasure which Phillippa Bennett has associated convincingly with the reanimation of the feeling of wonder in their readers. She concluded her lecture fittingly by referring to Ralph on his way to the Well at the World's End, finding the world 'full of fair things and marvellous adventures'.[74] It is not difficult to see in this a revival of the early spirit of Pre-Raphaelitism. Indeed, George Bernard Shaw found the Romances 'a startling relapse into literary pre-Raphaelitism'. Accord-

ing to Shaw, the Pre-Raphaelites had detested Cervantes for making Don Quixote's housekeeper and the curate burn in a 'great conflagration' of the romances that the Don had collected, and Morris had aimed at the Kelmscott Press to 'resuscitate Don Quixote's burnt library' through writing and publishing his Romances.[75] But E.P. Thompson, who quoted Shaw, defended the Romances, remarking accurately that 'These are tales, not so much of desire unsatisfied, but of desire fulfilled … Where, in *The Earthly Paradise,* pleasure had always seemed an uneasy dream on the edge of a bitter reality, here we are always on the edge of awakening to the freshness and fulfillment of life …'. He went on to remark that 'The mournful Pre-Raphaelite ladies of earlier years have given way, in these romances, to maidens who can shoot with the bow, swim, ride and generally do most things, including making love, a good deal more capably than their young men, who weep for joy so often that it is a matter of surprise that their armour does not fall to pieces with rust'.[76] Perhaps he felt that Pre-Raphaelitism had transferred its spirit from the maidens to the males.

XI

On 2 October 1891 Morris was invited to speak at a private showing of an exhibition of 'Paintings of the English Pre-Raphaelite School in the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery'. This gave him the opportunity to give his account of Pre-Raphaelitism, a movement which had began over forty years before. He described it admiringly as a 'really audacious attempt' to reject the prevailing mode of Academical Art, 'a portion of the general revolt against Academicism in Literature as well as in Art'. In his view, its defining element was Naturalism, truth to nature, which at the time had offended the public but which had been vindicated by the powerful arguments of Ruskin. But Morris went on to argue that Naturalism alone was not enough. The work of the Brotherhood had been sustained by two further principles: these concerned incident and ornament. Incident provided vitality – the painters aimed at 'the conscientious presentment of incident'. And ornament was 'the third side necessary in work of art'. Here Morris spoke more personally, in a way revealing his view that works of art should be parts of whole domestic arrangements:

> No picture it seems to me is complete unless it is something more than a representation of nature and the teller of a tale. It also ought to have a definite, harmonious, conscious beauty. It ought to be ornamental. It ought to be possible for it to be part of a beautiful whole in a room or church or hall.

In this respect, Rossetti was the leader. But the decorative aspect of Pre-Raphaelitism had needed another artist to complete its development: 'your townsman,

Burne-Jones'. For Morris, it was difficult to speak of Burne-Jones, because they were such close friends, but he found it necessary to assert that Burne-Jones added 'the element of *perfect* ornamentation, the completely decorative side of the Art'. Thus art was taken back to the healthy state in which it had been before the Renaissance. The movement thus showed itself to be 'a branch of the great Gothic Art which once pervaded all Europe'.

All this is well argued, and shows Morris's awareness that the paintings of the school embodied various qualities, and should not be seen as having a single, easily-defined characteristic. He also ended his lecture with some good advice to his audience: they should not admire a picture 'because it is done by some man with a great name'; rather, they should 'find out for yourselves whether you can like it yourselves or not'.[77] But from the point of view of this article, what is interesting is that Morris insists strongly on the importance of ornament in art, but still conceives of Pre-Raphaelitism solely in terms of painting, and so does not ask whether he was himself a Pre-Raphaelite designer.

XII

It is clear that there is no simple answer to the question of Morris's relation to Pre-Raphaelitism. Very different views have been expressed by the critics quoted, from Watkinson on the early furniture of the Firm – 'none of it would have come about in the way it did had not Rossetti first have been one of that other group of seven, the PRB, or Morris and Burne-Jones not first been moved by Pre-Raphaelite painting' – and Susan Casteras's 'Without the legacy of these Pre-Raphaelite friendships, forces and interconnections, the Kelmscott Press and its commanding contributions to the art of the book might never have been, or at least might have been very different indeed', to Malcolm Haslam's remark about the later carpets, 'one is at a loss to say whether they are Persian or Gothic, until, that is, one realizes that they are neither; they are pure Morris'. Morris insisted that the influences to be drawn on by an artist were inevitably Nature and History, and, as far as he was concerned, Pre-Raphaelitism was part of that History. But his enthusiasm for nature and the arts of the Middle Ages, especially architecture and calligraphy, preceded his reading of Ruskin's Edinburgh lecture; it was 'the great Gothic Art which once pervaded all Europe' that inspired him. Caroline Arscott seems to me to have been particularly successful in describing the qualities to which we respond in Morris; in her striking phrase, they offer 'the vision of embodied cosmic unity'.[78] If Morris did achieve, and convey, such a vision, and if we then press Arscott's term beyond the visual, as in the vision at the end of *News from Nowhere,* we will find ourselves, with Morris, in the area of concern over our human attitude to the earth on which we live. Here, it seems to me, the

strongest element was Morris's innate awareness of, and sympathetic response to, the natural world. This was undoubtedly encouraged by his reading of Ruskin and others, and by his knowledge of a wide range of works of visual art, but it was not dependent on them so much as on his own inner being.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a lecture given at the conference on Pre-Raphaelitism at the University of Dundee in July 2011. I am grateful to Dr Jo George for her invitation to give the lecture.
2. Martin Meisel, ' "Half Sick of Shadows": The Aesthetic Dialogue in Pre-Raphaelite Painting' in U.C. Knoepflmacher & G.B. Tennyson, eds, *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, London and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, p. 309.
3. *ibid.* p. 312. The quotation from *Modern Painters* I is in E.T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn, eds, *The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, London: George Allen, 1903-12, Vol. III, p. 624. Subsequently Cook & Wedderburn.
4. Cook & Wedderburn, XII, p. 157. Ruskin gave four lectures on Architecture and Painting in Edinburgh during November 1853, the last being 'Pre-Raphaelitism'. The lectures were published in 1854.
5. Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones,* 1904; London: Lund Humphries, 1993, Vol. I, p. 99. Subsequently *Memorials.*
6. Linda Parry, ed, *William Morris,* London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996, Introduction, p. 14. Subsequently Parry.
7. J.W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris,* 1899; London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1922, Vol. I, p. 42. Subsequently Mackail.
8. Mackail, Vol. I, p. 73
9. *Ibid.*
10. Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris. A Life for Our Time.* London: Faber & Faber, 1994, p.73. Subsequently MacCarthy.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
13. Ray Watkinson, 'Painting', in Parry, pp. 90-98; p.90. Watkinson's is the fullest account we have of this aspect of Morris's work.
14. Mackail, Vol. I, p. 108.
15. Parry, p. 91.
16. Parry, p. 92.
17. MacCarthy, p. 123.
18. Parry, p. 24.

19. Mackail, Vol. I, p. 123.

20. *Memorials,* Vol. I, p. 161. Burne-Jones's remark about Morris's disapproval of copying is pertinent to the theme of this article.

21. Nicholas Salmon with Derek Baker, *The William Morris Chronology,* Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996, p. 24.

22. Parry, p. 102.

23. W.R. Lethaby, *Philip Webb and His Work,* London: Raven Oak Press, 1935, p. 34.

24. Peter Faulkner, *William Morris: The Critical Heritage,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973, p. 32. Afterwards *CH*.

25. *CH,* pp. 33, 35, 40, 37, 43, 44, 7, 433, 435, 439.

26. Paul Thompson, *The Work of William Morris,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 100. Subsequently Paul Thompson.

27. Christopher Morley, 'Reform and Eastern Art', *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society,* 34, 2010, pp. 115, 114.

28. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times,* 1854; London and Glasgow: Collins, 1954, pp. 19-20.

29. John Holloway put this case strongly in his 1962 article '*Hard Times*: A History and a Criticism', in John Gross & Gabriel Pearson, eds, *Dickens and the Twentieth Century,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962; 1966. Holloway describes the members of the Department as 'the most enlightened men in their field at the time' (p. 165).

30. Allen Samuels, *Hard Times. An Introduction to a Variety of Criticism,* London: Macmillan 1992, p. 51.

31. Colin Cruise, *Pre-Raphaelite Drawing.* London: Thames & Hudson, 2011, p. 169. Subsequently Cruise.

32. Cruise, p. 183.

33. Paul Thompson, p. 108; Parry, p. 200.

34. Paul Thompson, p. 145.

35. Cruise p. 182.

36. Paul Thompson, p. 125.

37. Cruise, p. 181, 182, 183.

38. Ellen E. Frank, 'The Domestication of Nature: Five Houses in the Lake District' in U.C. Knoepflmacher & G.B. Harrison, eds, *Nature and the Victorian Imagination,* Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1970, p. 69. Subsequently Frank.

39. Frank, pp. 76-77.

40. Frank, p. 78, pp. 79-80.

41. Aymer Vallance, *William Morris. His Art, his Writings, his Public Life,* 1897; London: Studio editions, 1986; 1989 p. 14. Subsequently Vallance.

42. Vallance, p. 15.

43. Ray Watkinson, *Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design*, London: Studio Vista, 1970, p. 171. Subsequently Watkinson.

44. Watkinson, pp. 175, 176, 195.

45. Percy Lubbock, ed, *The Letters of Henry James*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1920, Vol. II, pp. 16-19.

46. *CH,* pp. 167, 168, 171.

47. Elizabeth Helsinger, *Poetry and the Pre-Raphaelite Arts: Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, 352 pp. Afterwards Helsinger.

48. Tony Pinkney, Review of Helsinger, *Journal of William Morris Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No.2, pp. 93–94.

49. *CH,* p. 201.

50. *Hopes and Fears for Art* and *Signs of Change*, 1902; Bristol, Thoemmes Press, 1994, p. 15.

51. Parry, p. 225; Paul Thompson, p. 122; Parry, p. 280,

52. Derek Baker, *The Flowers of William Morris*, London: Barn Elms Publishing, 1996, pp. 69, 70, 86.

53. Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones. Interlacings* , New York and London: Yale University Press, 2008, p.32, p. 95. Subsequently Arscott.

54. E.P. Thompson, *William Morris, Romantic to Revolutionary,* 1955; London: Merlin Press, 1977, p. 273. Subsequently E.P. Thompson.

55. E.P. Thompson, p. 61.

56. William Gaunt, *The Pre-Raphaelite Dream,* 1942 (as *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy*); London: The Reprint Society & Jonathan Cape, 1943, p. 227.

57. Krishnan Kumar, ed, *News from Nowhere,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. viii, ix, xii, xv.

58. Arscott, p. 171.

59. Parry, p. 263.

60. Arscott, p. 191.

61. May Morris, ed, *William Morris. Artist, Writer, Socialist,* 2 vols, Oxford: Blackwell, 1936, Vol. I, p. 36. Subsequently *AWS*.

62. MacCarthy, p. 8.

63. Malcolm Haslam, *Arts and Crafts Carpets*, London: David Black Oriental Carpets, 1991, p. 53. Subsequently Haslam.

64. Haslam, pp. 58, 62, 78.

65. May Morris, ed, *The Collected Works of William Morris*, London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910-1915, Vol. XXII, pp. 195-6. Afterwards *CW*.

66. *CW*, Vol. XXII, pp. 199, 200-1.

67. *CW*, Vol. XXII, p. 194 ; and see Note 49.

68. Paul Thompson, p. 119.

69. Fiona MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite. Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination,* London: Faber & Faber, 2011, p. 389.

70. William S. Peterson, *A Bibliography of the Kelmscott Press,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984; 1985, p. xxi; the letter, to Bernard Quaritch, is dated 1 June 1892.

71. Susan P. Casteras, ed, *Pocket Cathedrals. Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration.* New Haven, Connecticut*:* Yale Centre for British Art, 1991, p. 101. Albert's article is entitled ' "My Work is the Embodiment of Dreams": Morris, Burne-Jones, and Pre-Raphaelite Influences on Book Design'.

72. Derek Stanford, ed, *Pre-Raphaelite Writing,* Dent, 1973, p. xxviii.

73. Anna Vaninskaya, *William Morris and the Idea of Community,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p. 36

74. Phillippa Bennett, *The Last Romances and the Kelmscott Press,* London: William Morris Society, 2009, p. 35.

75. George Bernard Shaw in *AWS*, Vol. II, p. xxviii.

76. E.P. Thompson, p. 681.

77. *AWS*, Vol. I, pp. 297, 300, 302, 302, 310.

78. Arscott, p. 223.