THE WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY

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The life, work and ideas of William Morris (1834-96) are as important today as they were in his lifetime. The William Morris Society exists to make them as widely known as possible.

The breadth of Morris's ideas and activities brings together those who are interested in him as a designer, craftsman, poet, and political activist, and who admire his robust and generous personality and his creative energy. Morris's ideas on how we live and how we might live, on creative work, ecology and conservation, politics and the place of arts in our lives, remain as stimulating now as they were over a century ago.

Established in 1955, the Society is a worldwide membership fellowship. It publishes a magazine and a journal covering all aspects of Morris's work. It also runs a small museum and holds a varied series of talks, exhibitions and events throughout the year exploring Morris's work, his wider circle and his enduring relevance.

The Society's office and museum are in the basement and Coach House of Kelmscott House, Hammersmith, Morris's last London home. Visit our website at williammorrissociety.org to find out more about the Society and the benefits of membership.

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Four Newly Discovered Letters by William Morris

R. A. Wilson

The recent illustrated volume *For What in all the World is So Good as to Fear Nothing* by Wilson and Boos (2021)[1] contains transcripts of four newly discovered letters written from Kelmscott House by William Morris between 9 August 1883 and 17 March 1884. In 2016 the letters re-emerged into the light of day from between the pages of a long-ignored former library book. The letters are hand-written in black ink on Kelmscott House-headed notepaper. They vary in length between fifty-seven and 626 words, and their provenance, condition and legibility are all equally excellent.

We only have Morris's side of the correspondence and no envelopes or names to help us out with the identity of the recipient. Fortunately, the context of the letters allows us to discover Morris's correspondent for all four letters, which form a series, and are one side of a complete conversation.

Morris was corresponding with a 27-year-old philanthropist and newly made Director of Chance Brothers Glass, Kenneth A. Macaulay (1856-1933). Chance Brothers was then one of the world's leading glass manufacturers, based in the English manufacturing town of Smethwick, and known for glazing the Crystal Palace and the Houses of Parliament. Kenneth Macaulay had been invited to join Chance

Brothers on the marriage of his maternal aunt to Sir James Chance (1814-1902), who was himself a leading English industrialist and known philanthropist, who eventually became head of Chance Brothers. Macaulay was writing to Morris as an early representative of the West Bromwich Institute, a newly formed philanthropic society set up, as many were at that time, for the benefit of the Victorian working classes.

What transpired from this correspondence was the fifth and final public delivery of his great lecture 'Art under Plutocracy', which Morris gave in front of the West Bromwich Institute in the Town Hall, West Bromwich on 25 February 1884 under the title 'Art under Competitive Commerce'.[2] The first three letters pre-date the lecture. In these Morris works through the usual practical details of organising a speaking engagement, such as negotiating the dates, tickets and title. He also questions Macaulay about the suitability of his content to the audience in 'his club'. The fourth letter is the longest letter, and it post-dates the lecture. In it, Morris responds to questions that we can only surmise Macaulay raises after hearing the lecture delivered. Whatever they were, Morris answers them by concisely summarising in eight pages his theory of socialism as it then stood in March 1884.

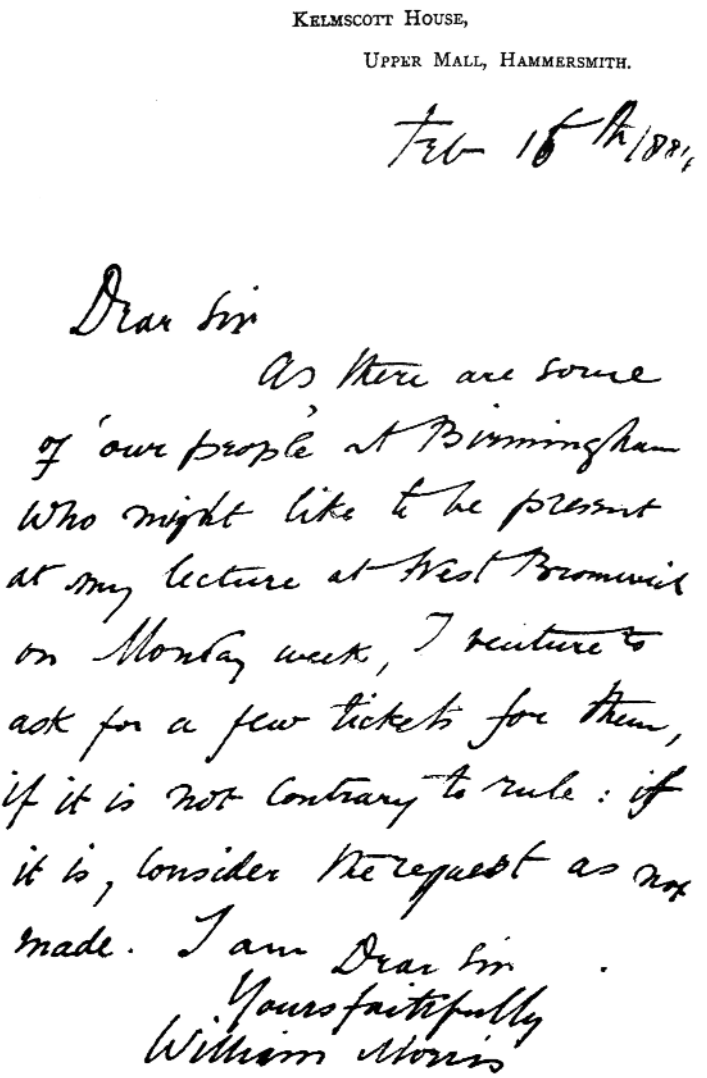
The West Bromwich series of letters begins before and ends after Morris wrote and delivered 'Art and Plutocracy' to the Russell Club at Oxford University in November 1883. This correspondence straddles the crucial time when Morris seemingly was working through his ideas and was still willing to spend time explaining them at length in hand-written letters to individual enquirers as to the nature of Socialism.

Provenance of the books and the letters

In 2016, Morris's letters were discovered tipped into both volumes of J. W. Mackail's two-volume first edition of the *Life of William Morris* (1899). The books had recently been sold into private hands by the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Oxford, whose library and buildings at Norham Gardens, Oxford were at that stage being disposed of and broken up.

After initial surprise and a little research, it quickly became clear that the letters were both genuine and currently unpublished. The questions I attempt briefly to answer here are where the letters fit into the Morris story, and how they came to be glued into the pages of a book in an Oxford convent. The pencil inscription in the cover of the first volume reads: *Grandfather's book given to me November 1921, Elizabeth A.[gnes] Murray*.

In a different hand, a second inscription on the flyleaf of volume one reads: *Jean Smith 1922, This book belonged to the IX Earl of Carlisle and was given to his granddaughter Agnes Murray who died in 1922. Her mother gave it to me*.



KELMSCOTT HOUSE,
UPPER MALL, HAMMERSMITH.

Feb 16th 1884

Dear Sir

As there are some of your people at Birmingham who might like to be present at my lecture at West Bromwich on Monday week, I venture to ask for a few tickets for them, if it is not contrary to rule: if it is, consider the request as not made. I am Dear Sir

Yours faithfully
William Morris

Figure 1: William Morris to Kenneth A. Macaulay, 16 February 1884

Together, the inscriptions suggest that the copy of the biography of Morris into which the original Morris letters had been stuck had formerly belonged to the library of George Howard, ninth Earl of Carlisle (1843-1911), who was himself an artist and a close friend of William Morris. The date of the gift of the book to Agnes from her grandfather's library coincides with the death in 1921 of her grandmother, the Countess Rosalind.

Agnes's mother was Lady Mary Howard (1865-1956), the eldest child of the ninth Earl of Carlisle. She married Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford from 1908 to 1936. Jean Smith, who wrote the second inscription in the books, was Gilbert Murray's secretary between 1919 and 1922. When Agnes died unexpectedly in 1922 on a holiday in the Auvergne, her mother Lady Mary gave Mackail's Life to Jean Smith as a gift, perhaps when she left their employment in that year because of her own ill-health and a medical operation.

Although the inscription in the front cover of Vol. I shows the books themselves to originate in the library of Morris's friend George Howard, the Earl of Carlisle, a further inscription alongside the letters in Vol. 2 in Jean Smith's hand places the origin of the letters with her family rather than the Howards or Murrays. Alongside the letters themselves is a note: *Letters from William Morris to K. A. Macaulay relating to a lecture given at the West Bromwich Institute on March 4th [1883 crossed out]1884?*

Jean was the unmarried daughter of Charles Smith and Anne Macaulay. A published poet and writer herself, she was a cousin to the writer Rose Macaulay, and was niece to Kenneth A. Macaulay, a Director of Chance Brothers Glass in Smethwick who was mentioned in the note alongside Morris's letters.

Correspondence with Jean's surviving relatives suggest various possible dates for both the acquisition by Jean of the Morris letters from her uncle Kenneth, and for the subsequent donation of the books to the Convent of the Sacred Heart. The letters were most likely to have come into Jean Smith's hands in 1937, sometime after Kenneth's death, when the Macaulay occupation of his home, Walton House, Clent, came to an end. Three occasions stand out when the Convent of the Sacred Heart may have acquired books from Jean Smith's library, including two downsizings of her home in Oxford in 1973 and 1976, and the final distribution of her library on her death in 1979.[3]

Given that even before his death, the letters of Morris had been assiduously collected and saved, it is unlikely that the Convent of the Sacred Heart were ever aware that they were contained in the books on their shelves. Likewise, inscriptions in other books once owned by Jean Smith suggest that she carefully documented their provenance. Perhaps it is possible to conclude that when they left her care, Jean was no longer in a position to inform their new custodians of their full significance.

Figure 2: West Bromwich Institute. Linocut by R. A. Wilson.

Chronology of the letters

9 August 1883: Morris writes to Macaulay accepting an invitation to speak but expressing doubts as to its advisability.

27 August 1883: Morris writes to Macaulay suggesting a title: *Art Under Competitive Commerce*.

16 February 1884: Morris writes asking for tickets to the lecture for his supporters.

25 February 1884: Morris delivers lecture *Art Under Competitive Commerce* to the West Bromwich Institute.

17 March 1884: Morris writes to Macaulay a description of his theory of Socialism.

Contents of the letters

The four new letters represent Morris's side of a correspondence in 1883-1884 with K. A. Macaulay, who had written to Morris in the capacity of representative of the West Bromwich Institute, an incipient scientific and literary institute formed by wealthy industrial philanthropists and funded by public subscription for 'the education of artisans in the principles and technicalities affecting their various pursuits.'

The industrial revolution had by this time replaced craft workshops with large factories, around which had grown up the new cities dominated by heavy industry, such as Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester. With massive migration to the cities came new social problems. Alongside industrialisation new forms of philanthropy arose, amongst which education of workers was at that stage a popular form. The West Bromwich Institute was one such endeavour coming out of a public meeting held in 1882 which had decided to build an assembly hall, lecture rooms, laboratory, reading rooms and classrooms on Lodge Road, Edgbaston, and in the meantime to host lectures at the West Bromwich Town Hall. In the first letter reproduced here, written on 9 August 1883, we find Morris responding cautiously to an invitation from Macaulay on behalf of the Society to speak.

> '… I ought to apologise for not answering it before: but the fact of the matter is that I am still in doubt what to do: it would be a great pleasure to me to address your club, but then you see I really am a Socialist, & must preach my doctrine even if I don't mention the terrible (and may I add entirely misunderstood) word.'

On the same day Morris also wrote to Sarah Byles, the wife of the British newspaper owner and radical Liberal Politician Sir William Byles: 'I am in short "one of the people" called Socialists and am bound as by religious conviction to preach that doctrine whenever I open my mouth in public.'[4]

Only a month earlier, in a letter of 1 July 1883 Morris had written to the Socialist historian Charles Edward Maurice in more tentative language about openly lecturing on his Socialism. In that letter he says: 'I have begun a little essay on the subject you were good enough to suggest to me ... I would read it somewhere and be prepared to answer further questions on the subject.'[5]

By the time of writing his first letter to Macaulay on 9 August, Morris seems surer as to what he wishes to say, but less sure that what he had to say would find a willing audience. In that first letter, Morris says:

> 'I am afraid my views wouldn't suit your supporters at all, because they couldn't help seeing that if they were carried out they would involve what they would think their ruin, & what I should think their freeing, from a troublesome and degrading slavery.'

Although a part of the motivation for Victorian charitable societies was no doubt sensitivity to the suffering of others, another part was certainly a fear of mass social revolution propagated by radical agitators. As early as August 1883, these letters go to show the pace at which Morris had become aware that what he had to say would go well beyond reform and charitable philanthropy.

Although we can only infer it, Macaulay couldn't have been put off by Morris's guarded first response because the exchange of letters continues. Writing again on 27 August in response to a letter from Macaulay that is lost, Morris is obviously tentative in suggesting to Macaulay: 'my title might be: Art Under Competitive Commerce'.

After this point, there is a gap in our correspondence from 27 August 1883 until Morris sends a third letter to Macaulay on 16 February 1884, a week before the proposed lecture, when Morris writes requesting tickets to the West Bromwich lecture for his local supporters. Between the two letters events have made significant moves forwards for Morris. In the interim, Morris had been asked to speak in various places, including his old University, Oxford. This clearly prompted Morris to write a lecture which he would eventually deliver at both Oxford and West Bromwich, and in person on five separate occasions in total.

Morris finished writing his lecture on 7 November 1883, and settled on its better-known title: *Art under Plutocracy*. A week later, on 14 November 1883, he delivered it for the first time to a very mixed reaction at the University of Oxford's Russell Club.[6] The day after the Russell Club lecture in Oxford, a moderately enthusiastic article by W. T. Stead appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* entitled 'Mr William Morris on Art and Socialism'. On16 November, Morris delivered the lecture again but under the

title *Art under the Rule of Commerce*. That these were substantially the same content is evidenced by Morris's response to W. T. Stead's request for a transcript of the second lecture: 'it is the same lecture as the Oxford one'.[7]

On 4 December 1883 Morris delivered the lecture to the Cambridge Union Society, and on 22 January 1884 he presented it for the fourth time to the Ancoats Brotherhood Recreation Committee at the Memorial Hall, Manchester.

As Morris had predicted, *Art Under Plutocracy* was not comfortable listening for his audiences. On 15 December 1883, an article entitled *Art in the Future: A Capitalist's Perspective* was published by Richard Marsden (1826-1903) in *The Textile Manufacturer* (a trade journal for mill owners, of which he was the editor), which strongly attacked Morris's Socialist arguments against philanthropy. In response, Morris wrote a seven-page letter directly to Marsden in which he 'is laying out his political views, rebutting a printed review of one of his lectures, referring to his reading of John Ruskin' and finishing with a postscript on the ancient history of dyes.[8]

The letter to Marsden, which is discussed thoroughly in Boos (2009), offers some parallels with and insight into the fourth and final of the West Bromwich series of letters written to Macaulay.

Although we don't have Macaulay's letter to Morris, we can guess what they might have been from Morris's response of 17 March 1884:

> 'Your questions are, you must admit easier to ask than answer: for a complete answer I must refer you to the literature published by our own party; e.g. Hyndmans Historical basis of Socialism in England: (Kegan Paul) the Summary of Socialism published for the Dem: Fed: (Modern Press 14 Paternoster Row) and if you read German or French Karl Marx's das Capital of wh: there is a good French trans: This last is a tough work, but a very great one.'

What is certain is that despite coming from similar industrialist capitalist backgrounds, Macaulay reacted quite differently to Morris's message than did Marsden. Marsden publicly throws down a polite gauntlet of rebuttal, whereas Macaulay privately seeks better understanding of Morris's arguments. Morris's two letters in response bear a superficial resemblance, but the tone and content differ radically. To Macaulay, Morris writes:

> 'You have drawn a long letter on yourself; but I supposed that you were asking for real information as far as I could give it you: so excuse my lengthiness.'

The long letter to Macaulay reads more like a teacher patiently explaining a subject to a student, in contrast to his letter to Marsden, which comes across as an angry disagreement between peers. Marsden was fifty-eight, Morris fifty and Macaulay twenty-eight. The two letters are of similar length, but perhaps because of the age or disposition of Macaulay and the context and manner of his asking, we learn more about the scope of Morris's Socialist thinking, albeit less about how he defends that thinking, than we do in the Marsden letter.

Read in this light, these letters illuminate Morris's attempts at that time to use letter writing to reconcile in his own head his seemingly contradictory socialist values with his own position as proprietor of a successful firm.[9] At the point of writing to Macaulay in March 1884, Morris was still referring to 'our party' and includes in that grouping Henry Hyndman (1842-1921), whose advocacy of a parliamentary path toward socialism led later that year to the schism that broke up the Social Democratic Federation, under whose banner Morris was still writing in the West Bromwich series of letters.

The final letter to Macaulay makes clear Morris's stance towards what he saw as the intrinsically corrupt and capitalist position of the philanthropical industrialists to whose societies he was being invited to speak:

> 'The impression that I have received from what I have seen of manufacturers at the present day is that the manufacturer is the slave of competition; that at least he is always in danger of being compelled to choose between sheer dishonesty or ruin: in short I do not believe that his individual efforts under the present system will be of any use whatsoever in bettering matters: nay, by palliating evils they may even be worse than useless. The whole system is now at last tending to bankruptcy and liquidation.'

In concluding his letter, Morris calls on Macaulay and all wealthy business owners to be ready to renounce class-based society and their own self-interest in support of revolutionary collectivism: 'which to my mind will make a man of him; for what in all the world is so good as to fear nothing?'

To this day these remain stirring and bold words. To read them afresh in the twenty-first century doesn't diminish their original power and vision. Rather, the rawness of the language is still shocking to the contemporary ear, used as it is to moderated and heavily policed forms of public discourse. Yet these letters containing Morris's message have a particular relevance to contemporary forms of global plutocracy, and perhaps it is relevant that they should now make their reappearance.

What is certain is that Macaulay valued his youthful correspondence with Morris.

The four letters were kept together. Likewise, Jean Smith the recipient kept these letters carefully in the second volume of Mackail's *Life*, tipping them in at the correct place in the story, and being careful to add them to the existing account. The text of the lecture *Art Under Plutocracy* is widely available, being published by Morris himself in 1884 and widely thereafter. These letters and Morris's words were lost for a very long time, but their reappearance now adds another interesting sidelight on Morris's thinking, couched in his own words, at a point in his life when everything was still to play for.

The Inscriptions and Letters

Frontispiece of Mackail, J. W. (1899). *The Life of William Morris, Vol. 1*, p. 21, London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1899

[Handwriting 1]

Grandfather's book given to me November 1921 Elizabeth A. Murray

[Handwriting 2]

Jean Smith 1922. This book belonged to the IX Earl of Carlisle and was given to his granddaughter Agnes Murray who died in 1922. Her mother gave it to me.

Convent of the Sacred Heart, 11, Norham Gardens, Oxford.

Pasted in Mackail, J. W. (1899). *The Life of William Morris, Vol. 2*, p. 110, London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1899

[hand written label - handwriting 1]

Letters from William Morris to K.A. Macaulay relating to a lecture given at the West Bromwich Institute on March 4th [1883 crossed out] 1884?

Letter 1

Kelmscott House,
Upper Mall, Hammersmith
August 9th 1883

Dear Sir,
Miss Poole has sent me on your note for some time & I ought to apologise for not answering it before: but the fact of the matter is that I am still in doubt what to do: it would be a great pleasure to me to address your club, but then you see I really am a Socialist, & must preach my doctrine even if I don't mention the terrible (and may I add entirely misunderstood) word.

The Abolition of Classes involving the abolition of Competitive Commerce is what I feel bound to press on any audience to whom I have to talk on art from a Social point of view.

I am afraid my views wouldn't suit your supporters at all, because they couldn't help seeing that if they were carried out they would involve what they would think their ruin, & what I should think their freeing, from a troublesome and degrading slavery.

I am Dear Sir
Yours faithfully,
William Morris

Letter 2

Kelmscott House,
Upper Mall, Hammersmith
August 27th 1883

Dear Sir,
I should find it rather difficult I am afraid to engage to be away in Birmingham 2 days consecutively let alone 3; but if you cannot manage it otherwise comfortably I will settle for the 4th March: My title might be 'Art Under Competitive Commerce.'

From
Dear Sir
Yours faithfully,
William Morris

Letter 3

Kelmscott House,
Upper Mall, Hammersmith
February 1[5 crossed out] 6th 1884

Dear Sir,
As there are some of 'our people' at Birmingham who might like to be present at my lecture at West Bromwich on Monday week, I venture to ask for a few tickets for them, if it is not contrary to rule: if it is, consider the request as not made.

I am Dear Sir
Yours faithfully,
William Morris

Letter 4

Kelmscott House,
Upper Mall, Hammersmith
March 17th 1884

Dear Sir,
You questions are, you must admit easier to ask than answer: for a complete answer I must refer you to the literature published by our own party; e.g. Hyndmans Historical basis of Socialism in England: (Kegan Paul) the Summary of Socialism published for the Dem: Fed: (Modern Press 14 Paternoster Row) and if you read German or French Karl Marx's das Capital of wh: there is a good French trans: This last is tough work, but a very great one.

But I will attempt a brief answer thus. (1) The ideal position of a working class is that there should be no other class but one, living in a socialised condition with universal cooperation put in place of competition: this involves perfect Equality of Condition as far as mere livelihood goes; emulation, and the harmonious variety of capacities used for the general good of the Community supplying the stimulus now given by gambling in various forms and degrees: in such a society in which machinery would be used to minimise labour instead of being used to make monopoly profits as it is now, mere utility work would not be a heavy burden if it were fairly shared, and artistic and intellectual work, set free from the slavery of profit and the sordid anxieties attending it would become the prime pleasure of all reasonable people.

(2) I believe that a radical improvement, revolution I should call it, for it cannot stop short of that, will take place naturally and inevitably, nay is now taking place, but that no improvement can be called radical which does not involve the ideal condition mentioned in answer (1) this revolution will I say certainly come about; but it will come about accompanied by grievous disturbance and violence unless both masters and men face the thing boldly and with coolness; both of them finding out what the due claims of labour are; both of them educating themselves on the matter, feeling discontent at the present anomalies, and organising a complete change which would involve the abolition of the distinctions of master and man: meaning as far as livelihood conditions go: for all reasonable men feel the need of order; i.e. of being led

by superior capacity but such capacity has no claim to better food, lodging, clothing, education or social consideration than the lower capacities duly exercised for the good of the common weal: in the Society of the future every superior man will think himself well paid enough already by the fact of his superiority without claiming more than enough of material goods in addition.

As to question 3 it is answered by the other answers: but as I suppose you to be thinking about the possibility of introducing the Pleasure of Life (art) into the manufacturers you speak of, I must remark that it seems to me impossible under the present capitalist system. The impression that I have received from what I have seen of manufacturers at the present day is that the manufacturer is the slave of competition; that at least he is always in danger of being compelled to choose between sheer dishonesty or ruin: in short I do not believe that his individual efforts under the present system will be of any use whatsoever in bettering matters: nay, by palliating evils they may even be worse than useless. The whole system in now at last tending to bankruptcy and liquidation. On the other hand a manufacturer may use his position to spread discontent, he being ready to give up his position as soon as the revolution demands it: by doing this, that is by renouncing his class and acting for the abolition of classes he may & probably will be of great use: only, I say, he must be prepared for any consequences and shake off all prejudices. To be able to do this he must be a convinced Socialist: which to my mind will make a man of him; for what in all the world is so good as to fear nothing?

You have drawn a long letter on yourself; but I supposed that you were asking for real information as far as I could give it you: so excuse my lengthiness.

I am Dear Sir
Yours very truly
William Morris

NOTES

1. Robin Wilson and Florence Boos, *For What in All the World Is So Good as to Fear Nothing?* Oxford: Flagstone Press, 2021.
2. Eugene D. LeMire, 'A Calendar of William Morris's Platform Career', in *The Unpublished Lectures of William Morris*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969, p. 239.
3. M. F. Smith, Personal communication to R. A . Wilson, 2017.
4. To Sarah Anne Unwin Byles, 9 August 1883, in Norman Kelvin, ed., *The Collected Letters of William Morris, Vol. 2: 1881-84*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 214.
5. To C. E. Maurice, 1 July 1883, in Kelvin, *Collected Letters, Vol. 2: 1881-84*, pp. 203-04.
6. 'Art under Plutocracy: a lecture delivered at University College, Oxford, 14 November, 1883', in May Morris, ed., *Collected Works of William Morris*. London: Longmans, Green, 1910, Vol. XXIII, p. 164.
7. To W. T. Stead, 16 November 1883, in Kelvin, *Collected Letters, Vol. 2: 1881-84*, p. 244.
8. Jack Walsdorf, 'Foreword', in Florence Boos, *The Artist and the Capitalist: William Morris and Richard Marsden*. Kirkwood: The Printery, 2009, pp. 7-8.
9. Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*. London: Faber, 1994, pp. 481-82.

Morris in Fashion, or *Morris à la mode*, or *Morris in der mode*

Annette Carruthers

'Very careless and unfinished in his dress' was Henry James's observation on William Morris after they met in 1869.[1] James was then twenty-five and appears from photographs to have been a natty dresser throughout his life whereas Morris, who was himself only thirty-four at this time, was noted for his lack of concern for his appearance and in later years, for positive shabbiness. His own clothes are of some interest, however, as an indication of his attitude to life, and Morris's views on fashions for both men and women are worth exploring since they reflected contemporary debates on dress and in some ways pioneered new ways of thinking about the subject. In addition, although the major products of Morris's creative skills were household textiles, he made a few prints specially for clothing, and some of the furnishing fabrics were successfully used by enthusiasts in Britain and continental Europe for distinctive and stylish garments. The revival by Sanderson's of Morris & Company patterns – several of them the later designs by John Henry Dearle in updated colourways – stimulated a brief flowering of Morris fashion in the 1960s, and since 2016 there has been a more widespread appearance of Morris in the high street through franchising arrangements between holders of the archives and fast-fashion brands.

This paper was originally intended as a light-hearted talk to accompany the Morris wallpapers exhibition at the Dovecot Studios in Edinburgh in 2022,[2] but there is some fascinating material and I hope this brief discussion might provide a starting point for further research by others. My intention is to outline several areas of interest, starting with the clothes of Morris and his circle of family and friends, looking at the use of Morris fabrics in a few extant garments and photographic records, and tracing the legacy of the Morris family and the Firm in this field. In passing I will mention the wearing of artists' smocks, another topic that would reward more detailed investigation.

Morris's own clothes

Morris was not an enthusiast for the idea of fashion because in their quest for novelty to stimulate the market, clothing makers produced a succession of exaggerated shapes and styles, while price competition led to loss of quality and the fashion cycle caused waste. Speaking on dress in 'The Lesser Arts of Life' in 1882 he said 'the fashionable milliner has chiefly one end in view, how to hide and degrade the human body in the most expensive manner', and he urged his audience to 'resist change for the sake of change; this is the very bane of all the arts.'[3] He conformed when necessary for photographs of himself, especially in his early years, but also chafed against convention, saying: 'sometimes in my more sceptical moments I puzzle myself in thinking why, when I am indoors, I should wear two coats, one with a back and no front, and the other with a front and no back.'[4] The customary jacket and waistcoat are evident in most of his many portrait photos since, as he said, 'I have not near enough courage even to suggest a rebellion against these stern sartorial laws; and after all one can slip into and out of the queer things with great ease, and that being the case, it is far more important to me what other people wear than what I wear…'.[5]

Above all, Morris was a practical man too busy to bother with neat clothes, but when he began touring the country giving socialist lectures he was perhaps also conscious of not wanting to look too different from his audiences. His colleague and later rival, the more socially conservative Henry Mayers Hyndman, by contrast, surprised Sydney and Ernest Gimson by appearing in his usual dress – 'quite the conventional business man, frock coat, silk hat, etc' – to address the Leicester Secular Society on revolutionary socialism.[6] This seems to have undermined their confidence in his message, which they found unconvincing.[7]

As well as portraits there are numerous descriptions of Morris which fill in details of his appearance, 'his worn suit of blue serge' or 'loose navy-blue suit' and 'bright blue' or 'sky-blue shirt' being mentioned so often in the 1890s that they suggest he had adopted a kind of uniform and was famed for it.[8] In *News from Nowhere* his narrator describes his own appearance in 'rough blue duds' as 'like a discharged ship's purser' and it would be interesting to know if Jeremy Deller's vision of a colossal suit-clad Morris destroying the Abramovich yacht in the Venice lagoon was a reference to this maritime connection.[9] The blue shirt is likely to be a sign of Morris's identification with working men, since 'blue collar' and 'white collar' were strong signifiers of class in the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, but there may also be a link with Ruskin, who was known for his trademark blue cravat and was a hero to many in Morris's and the next generation.[10] Charles Voysey, for instance, in a painted portrait of 1924 by Meredith Frampton wore a soft blue shirt with a piece of blue silk, probably from Liberty's, pulled through a ring instead of a tie or cravat.[11] This

Figure 1: William Morris in a work smock and battered hat, about 1876. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

had become typical wear for men in the Arts & Crafts movement, whose dress is another topic that remains under-researched.

A few items of Morris's own clothing survive, including a brown striped wool Inverness coat at Kelmscott Manor, sold by H. J. Nicoll & Co. of Regent Street and probably bought off the peg rather than made to measure, in which, or in something similar, he was depicted in stone by Arthur George Walker on the Exhibition Road façade of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in 1905-6.[12] His famous satchel, in which he carried lecture texts or newly acquired medieval manuscripts, is in the collection at the William Morris Gallery as a kind of relic of a famous man but, as is usual with menswear, there is little material evidence remaining.[13] Sadly lost are the eminently practical gloves Morris wore when visiting the Gimson family in Leicester, made as mittens with two thumbs to each so they could be used on either hand.[14] Also lost is the 'flat and very battered soft hat' described by the *Daily Chronicle* in 1893, but these records add to the picture.[15]

A fairly battered felt hat can be seen in the only known photograph of Morris wearing a work smock (Figure 1), dated by the William Morris Gallery to about 1876, the period when he was experimenting with Thomas Wardle on dyestuffs and often had blue hands.[16] It is difficult to make out the shape of this garment, but it appears to have been gathered at the neck, shoulders and cuffs and would have been made of undyed or more likely, since he was experimenting with indigo, blue-dyed linen. It is interesting that Morris was photographed in workwear since most artists were at pains to present themselves as gentlemen when posing for the camera and often appeared in smart suits or velvet jackets even when wielding a brush or chisel.[17] A very similar blue linen smock with whitework embroidery of about 1850 that belonged to John Millais is known to survive, but there is little evidence of the smock as a public signal of artistic status before the 1890s.[18] In Morris's case it is difficult to know if it was simply the most practical thing to wear in the dye-house or also indicated confidence in his position in society and his desire to be considered a workman or handicraftsman, though it may just be that the photograph was an informal snapshot and not for circulation. This smock is not known to survive but a curious piece described as a smock is in the collection of the V&A.[19] Said to have been made for Morris by Georgiana Burne-Jones in the mid-1870s, it has an open front and embroidered decoration in Balkan style and appears to be more of a leisure garment than workwear. Fiona MacCarthy also quotes Georgina Sime's memory of Morris in the early 1880s in 'a moujik [i.e., Russian peasant] blouse of his own famous blue linen, buttoned at the neck and belted at the waist, with loose sleeves down to the wrists.'[20] This was around the time that Morris met Sergius Stepniak, but was perhaps more likely connected with Count Leo Tolstoy's famous adoption of the

smock in solidarity with the working people.

Jane Morris, family and friends

When the writer Sarah Tooley went to see Morris a second time, after a first interview with him in 1894 about 'Women's Work', he pretended indignation about her previous report and said that she 'must leave my clothes alone … People don't want to hear about my clothes!'[21] If he showed a lack of concern for his own appearance, however, he was very interested in women's gowns, initially as items to study for paintings, such as the dress and overdress made for him for the Oxford Union murals project, along with some chainmail, a sword and helmet.[22] A more decorated version of the dress was modelled by Jane Burden in Morris's only completed painting, *La Belle Iseult*, in 1858,[23] but the slim lines of such romantic medievalism would not have been accepted in society in the age of the crinoline and Jane's own clothes after their marriage conformed at least to the contemporary silhouette, though they were still considered eccentric by many.

In 1865 Dante Gabriel Rossetti had numerous photographs taken for him by John Robert Parsons as studies for paintings, depicting Jane Morris in the type of dress with gathered front and low-set shoulders also worn by Elizabeth Siddall and other women in the Pre-Raphaelite circle.[24] The images show that there were at least two different garments of this type in a lustrous silk – presumably devised by Jane, or Jane and Morris or Jane and Rossetti together – one with a fitted back and another that seems to have been simply a voluminous sack shaped to the body with a belt or sash in different configurations (Figure 2). Rossetti's later paintings, such as *Blue Silk Dress* (1868), *Mariana* (1870), or *The Daydream* (1880) show the rich colours of the silks typical of Jane Morris's clothes and subject to comment by others.[25] Emma Lazarus described her in 1883 in 'dark dull red', looking 'like an old Italian portrait',[26] though others were less complimentary. Jeanette Marshall suggested she looked 'like a maniac' in 'Aesthetic dress'[27] and there are stories of the Morrises being laughed at in the street in France and in Oxford because of her appearance, but probably also because of the contrast between the tall stately Jane and shorter Morris.[28]

In case we think these dresses were merely artistic props, a conventional studio photograph of Jane with her infant daughter May, taken in about 1863, shows that she wore them in real life several years earlier than the Parsons images were made.[29] One of Morris's proposals in 'The Lesser Arts of Life' was that 'you should insist on having materials for your dresses that are excellent of their kind, and beautiful of their kind, and that when you have a dress of even moderately costly materials you won't be in a hurry to see the end of it...'.[30]

After his visit to the Morrises in 1869 Henry James wrote to his sister: 'Oh ma

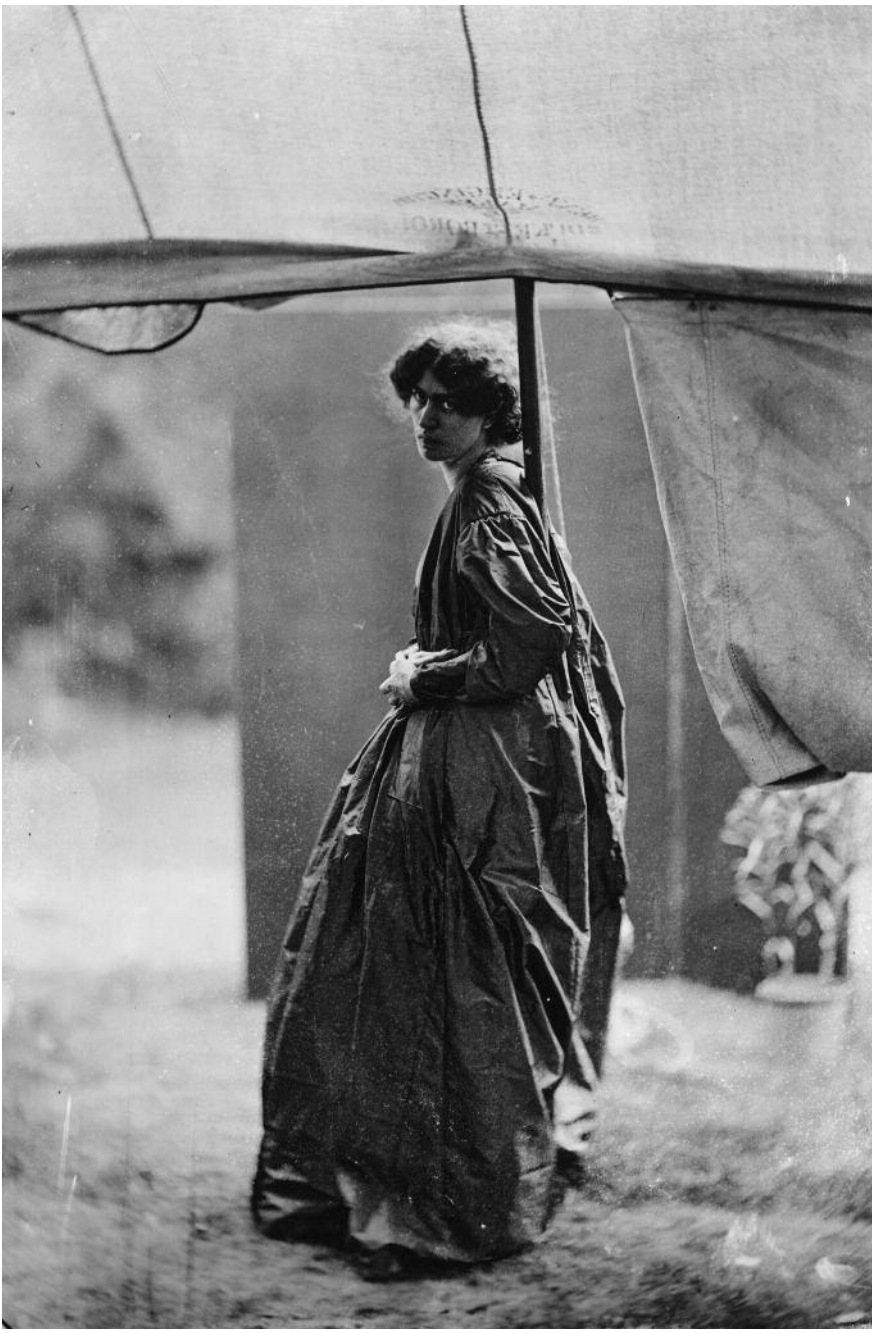


Figure 2: Jane Morris in 1865, posed by Rossetti and photographed by J. R. Parsons (detail). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

chère, such a wife! ... Imagine a tall lean woman in a long dress of some dead purple stuff, guiltless of hoops (or of anything else, I should say) ...'.[31] This presumably meant she rejected stays as well as the crinoline cage. It was Morris's plea to women that 'you do not allow yourselves to be upholstered like armchairs, but drape yourselves like women',[32] in definite contrast with high fashion of the period, such as an ensemble by Monsieur Vignon of Paris, now in the V&A (Figure 3).[33] This consists of a voluminous skirt with alternative boned bodices for day or evening wear, a beribboned peplum to enhance the bustle and a bow to finish it at the waist, all supported originally by a crinoline frame and boned corset. And not 'some dead purple stuff' but a vibrant new chemical magenta colour of the kind Morris rejected for his own work.

Jane Morris is known to have made costumes for Rossetti and for Charles March Gere 'to paint from', including an olive-green velvet gown with ruched sleeves, depicted in Rossetti's *Veronica Veronese* of 1872, and one made of 'crimson Chinese silk lined with yellow striped green' that was stolen in transit in 1874.[34] She presumably also made clothes for her daughters, such as the fairly plain dresses they wore in the family photographs taken with the rather smarter Burne-Joneses by Frederick Hollyer in 1874, and in the related pictures of the children all perched in a tree.[35] They had more freedom in general than most Victorian girls since Morris had strong views on the role of women in society and believed in their right to liberty and an active life. In *News from Nowhere* his heroine Ellen is young, lively and sun browned, dressed in light silk, as is another character, Clara, who also wears sandals. Others are described as 'shapely and well-knit of body, and thoroughly healthy-looking and strong', and contrasted to women remembered in the old days, with their 'wretched little arms like sticks; and waists like hour glasses…'.[36]

Morris wrote little on dress but was optimistic in 1882: 'Woman's dress is or may be on the whole graceful and sensible (please note that I say it may be); for the most hopeful sign of the present period is its freedom ... nowadays ... a lady may dress quite simply and beautifully, and yet not be noticed as having anything peculiar or theatrical in her costume.'[37] As mentioned earlier, Jane Morris was noticed, and May Morris remembered that in childhood she and her sister were taunted by a cousin who called them 'medieval brutes' because of their simple clothes.[38] In later years Jenny and May continued to be regarded as unusual in their appearance, but by the 1880s the Aesthetic and Artistic Dress movements had made looser styles, tertiary colours and home-dressmaking skills such as smocking much more acceptable. In William Powell Frith's *The Private View*,[39] a depiction of London society at the Royal Academy in 1881, the most prominent female figures wear types of Aesthetic fashion in a work the painter intended critically, but the ideas of Morris and his circle on freedom in

Figure 3: High fashion in magenta ribbed silk by Monsieur Vignon of Paris, 1869-70. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

dress were by then part of a wider movement to release women from the constraints of tight-lacing. Walter Crane, Henry Holiday and Oscar Wilde were major activists, and their ideas were promoted by commercial firms such as Liberty & Company, which sold silks from 1875 and produced dresses as the fashion spread. In 1883 Morris visited the Rational Dress Society's exhibition at the Prince's Hall in Piccadilly with May, so they were well aware of the public campaign that had developed from the

private example given by Jane Morris and others.[40] The movement is discussed in detail in Stella Mary Newton's pioneering book of 1974, *Health, Art & Reason*, and was the theme of an exhibition in Cheltenham in 1996, *Simply Stunning*.[41] More recently it has been the subject of extensive research by Dr Robyne Calvert.[42]

Not everyone in the Arts & Crafts world was taken with artistic dress. The Edinburgh architect Robert Lorimer, for instance, wrote in 1896 after an evening in London with friends from the Art Workers' Guild, that his preference would be: 'a dear frank philistine girl with a pair of stays on and varnished boots'.[43] He used to think it would be delightful to marry an artist, he said, but had seen photographs of Nelson and Edith Dawson in the *Studio* and decided what he wanted was 'a comrade with charm'.[44] But in Morris's circle his daughters and friends adopted sober silk or velvet dresses with handmade accessories, sometimes with a hint of the eighteenth century in a quilted petticoat and buckle shoes, as in an 1872 portrait of Mary Crane by her husband Walter.[45] Because these garments were unusual and probably also because they were constructed of good-quality durable materials such as unweighted silks, they are well represented in museum collections in Britain and the United States.

May Morris became a renowned professional embroiderer and designer, so she made dresses for herself and friends, including a cream silk gown worked with delicate flowers and leaves owned by Mary Annie Sloane and made around 1905.[46] This is a kind of embodiment of garments described by Morris in his utopian novel, in which several male characters also appear in beautifully embroidered silk and woollen clothes. A blue velvet dress with flower embroidery, reputedly by May Morris, was worn by Heather Tanner as late as the 1970s for special occasions, but its present whereabouts are unknown.[47] Several paper designs survive in the V&A and the Ashmolean, but most of the garments are lost.[48] May also made accessories such as bags, gloves and jewellery, which must have been important for the overall effect, and it is surprising that so few such items appear in the Daybook of Morris & Company's embroidery department, which itemises designs for clients to work themselves as well as pieces made by the Firm's employees.[49] Only ten of the 453 entries relate to clothing and most of these were for accessories rather than garments, the exception being an order from Theodosia Middlemore for a dress panel design in 1894.[50]

Morris patterns in the wider world

In Morris & Company the emphasis was firmly on the decoration of the home, but in the early 1880s when he seems to have been most involved in thinking about dress Morris designed four patterns for printed cloth with small repeats, *Borage*, *Eyebright*, *Flowerpot* and *Wreathnet*, intended for women's clothes as well as for curtain linings.[51] A well-worn and faded smock in *Borage* is closely associated with May Morris and

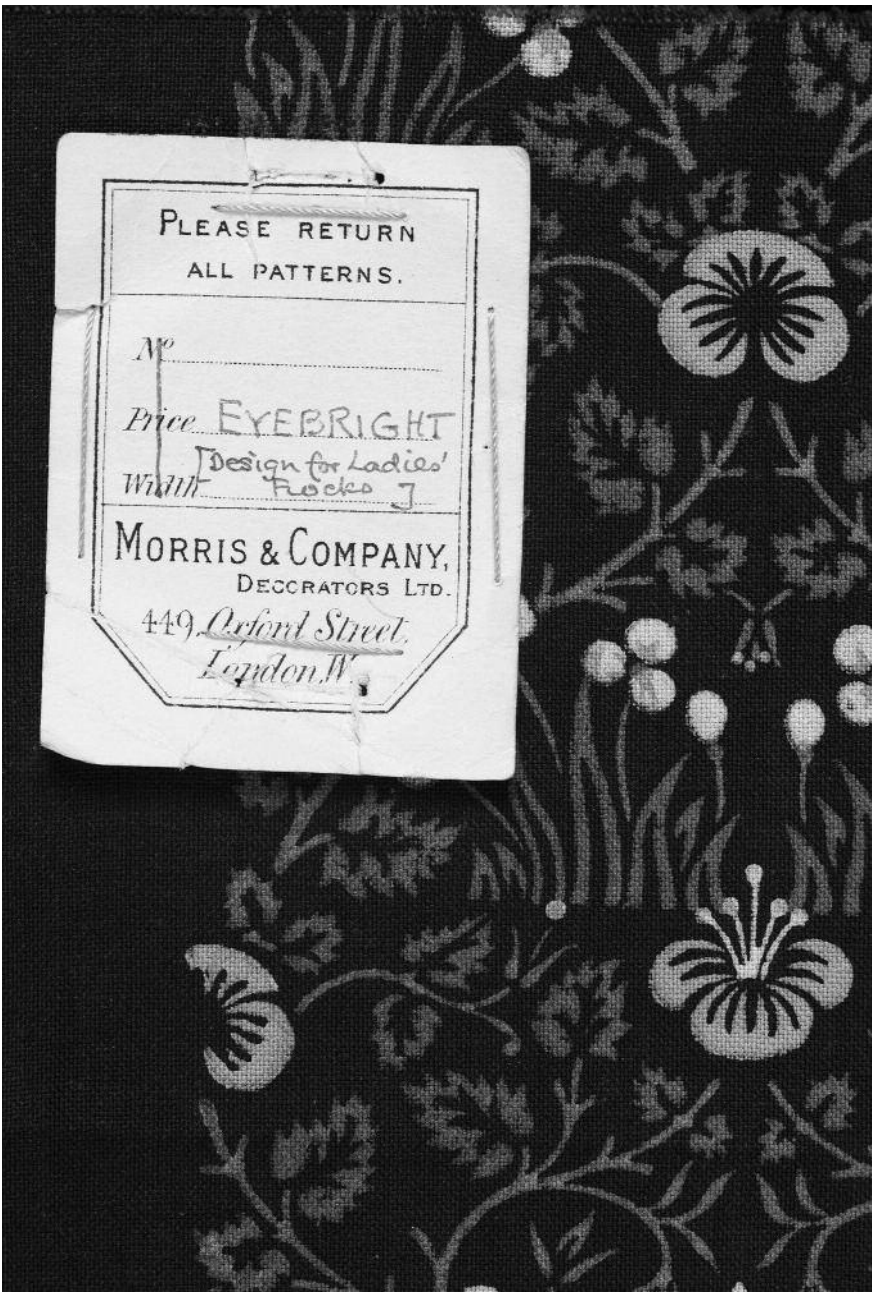


Figure 4: William Morris, *Eyebright* printed cotton designed in 1883. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

now in the William Morris Gallery, which also has a photograph of May from the 1890s working in another smock, perhaps of the type worn by agricultural labourers though the photo is not entirely clear.[52] By this date the rural smock frock, cheaply available as ready-made clothing, had become unattractive to young working men but was taken up as women's and children's wear by the art-conscious middle classes.[53] Ellen Terry and Mary Seton Watts were photographed in apparently authentic smock frocks, while other women and many children appeared in versions with more or less smocking and embroidery, sometimes in colour, as on a smock in the V&A with appliqué on the yoke and cuffs in Suffragette green, white and violet.[54]

For women artists and craftworkers the smock became something of a uniform – or perhaps a badge of pride – in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth. In *News from Nowhere* Morris has several female stonecarvers 'blouse-clad' like their male colleagues,[55] and many art-school students posed in smocks as women took up more practical crafts. Photographs show there were clear differences between male and female garments as the men's usually had a front opening whereas women's normally buttoned at the back. They were generally of unbleached thin linen, perhaps the fabric shown in Philip Burne-Jones's 1898 portrait of his father wearing a type we might call a lab or warehouse coat.[56] Architects also began to wear smocks and Robert Lorimer reported witheringly on two he visited in 1897, 'in a whitewashed attic in the latest art manner – attired in smock frocks …'.[57]

The only other piece of clothing known in a Morris dress fabric, a button-fronted dress with short sleeves in *Eyebright*, has recently been redated to 'probably 1930s' on grounds of style,[58] but it was purchased as part of a stock acquired from Morris & Company before its closure, raising the interesting question as to whether the company was promoting these textiles again for clothes. A sample of *Eyebright* given to the V&A in 1912[59] is clearly labelled 'Design for Ladies' Frocks' (Figure 4) but although the journal *Art Workers' Quarterly* in 1902 praised the 'very beautiful little designs' intended for dress materials, it suggested that the wearers might 'consider them more suitable for upholstery work.'[60]

May Morris doubted that dressmakers would want to use Morris silks for their creations, but she and her mother had gowns made in black *Anemone* and there is at least one surviving example in luxurious woven silk, made by a London society dressmaker, Sarah Fullerton Monteith Young (Figure 5).[61] This was for Mrs William Graham Crum (Jean Mary Campbell Crum), who presented her daughter Edith at Court in 1893 wearing cream-coloured *Flower Garden* (Figure 6) trimmed with gold braid and velvet ribbon.[62] Young ran a very successful business creating formal gowns for members of the aristocracy, including The Souls, and for artistic individuals such as Maud Sambourne and Virginia Woolf.[63]

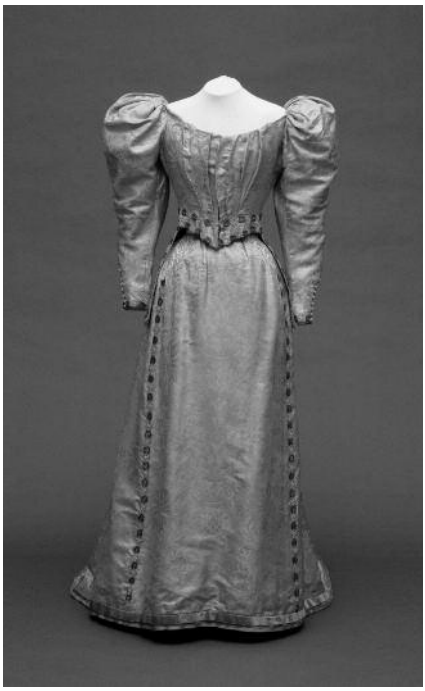


Figure 5, left: Court dress in *Flower Garden* silk, worn by Jean Crum when she presented her daughter at Queen Victoria's Drawing Room in 1893. © Photo by Birmingham Museums Trust.
Figure 6, right: William Morris, *Flower Garden* silk, designed in 1879 and woven in several different colourways. This sample shows the rich effect of the pattern better than the muted cream fabric. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

There is also documentary evidence of Morris's larger-scale patterns employed as dress fabric. The Birmingham jeweller, Georgie Gaskin, appears in several artfully composed photographs of about 1900-13 by William Smedley-Aston, in a clearly home-made loose dress with large sleeves in *Lea* fabric, probably in the green/yellow colourway since the contrast between light and dark is strong and she wore a bright red wig which might have clashed with the alternative in pink.[64] As background, Gaskin chose the Morris *Honeysuckle* pattern, which was also favoured by one of the most stylish poseurs of Europe, Comte Robert de Montesquiou, for an 1885 photograph of himself as Prince Houssain, in a length of the fabric draped to look like a garment.[65] Another image of him as the disembodied head of John the Baptist above the piece of textile suggests he must have found it exotic, and perhaps slightly sinister, in a way we do not see it now.[66] Neither of these images is of fashion in the usual sense, but they are evidence that Morris textiles were in vogue at this time in France.

Also in the Francophone world, Maria Sèthe contacted Morris and visited Morris

& Company in 1893, before her marriage to the Belgian architect Henry van de Velde, and again later.[67] Sèthe and van de Velde were both active in the Dress Reform movement, aiming to improve women's clothes along more rational and comfortable lines, and Sèthe was photographed in dresses of her own design including one in a silk produced by Thomas Wardle, *Sangalore*.[68] Sadly this was not a Morris design but was made for Liberty's from about 1878, but Wardle printed numerous designs for Morris in the 1870s including some in tussah silk – the subject of his pioneering experiments – which are more of a dress weight than a furnishing fabric.[69]

Most definitely a Morris pattern, this time from the German-speaking world of Vienna, was the fabric used in a dress designed by Emilie Flöge (Figure 7), who ran a pioneering fashion house in Vienna with her sisters from 1904. She bought from Paris and London but also specialised in Reform Dress, influenced by what was going on in Britain and Belgium. Van de Velde lectured on the subject in Vienna in 1901 provoking much interest in the city, which led later to the establishment of a fashion department in the Wiener Werkstätte in 1911.[70] The bold triangles on the yoke of Flöge's dress are usually attributed to Koloman Moser, but her much-photographed clothes were generally of her own design or made in collaboration with her close friend Gustav Klimt. Viennese fashion was prescriptive about the type of garment suited to different places and times of day, and the dress made of Morris's *Medway* is relatively formal in comparison with the loose caftans she wore on holiday in the country. Since Flöge was said to have 'wonderful blue eyes', she must have chosen the indigo-blue colourway of this fabric to suit her.[71] Sadly, although some of her possessions survived to be sold at Sotheby's in 1999,[72] no complete dresses from Schwestern Flöge are known, though a blue linen painter's smock worn by Klimt is in the Wien Museum.[73] This is likely to have been made by Flöge's company and was one of a series with different embroidered motifs on the shoulders. Klimt appears to have taken up wearing a smock from about 1902, apparently as a symbol of his freedom as an artist and in defiance of the conventions of bourgeois society, and he was often photographed in this completely informal type of dress.[74]

Britain in the early 20th century

The dress reform movements – along with wider changes in society brought about by suffrage campaigns and women's increasing involvement in education and paid employment – resulted in more relaxed clothing in the twentieth century, though since needlework was still considered a desirable skill for girls, many continued to make their own clothes. In the art schools they were encouraged to design as well, and women such as Eve Simmonds and Daisy McGlashan carried on in a similar vein to May Morris, embroidering exquisite garments for adults and children in styles

Figure 7: Emile Flöge in Morris's *Medway* fabric (designed 1885), photographed by Madame d'Ora in 1908. © Nachlass Madame d'Ora, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

of their own devising, in McGlashan's case with the much bolder aesthetic of the Glasgow Style.[75] But the Arts & Crafts movement also introduced women to new pursuits such as hand weaving and textile printing and the legacy of Morris in fashion in the first half of the century can perhaps be truly seen in the work of such makers as the weaver Ethel Mairet and hand-block printers Phyllis Barron and Dorothy Larcher.[76] Their abstracted styles and, in Mairet's case, focus on the intrinsic nature of the materials, was very different from Morris's flowers and foliage, which remained on sale at Morris & Co. until its closure in 1941 but were no longer fashionable.

These garments take us away from Morris fabrics, but were the result of his promotion of the handcrafts. They belong to a period when the Arts & Crafts were not popular and not promoted in design magazines, but carried on by a small band of enthusiasts who were satirised by novelists and lampooned by cartoonists in *Punch*. Many were amateur and in Britain the Women's Institute (WI) played a large role in keeping interest in the handicrafts alive. It was an exhibition at the V&A in 1952 of work by the WI that prompted Laura and Bernard Ashley to experiment with textile printing, resulting ultimately in an international business.[77] Starting with household textiles and scarves, they moved into fashion in about 1960, copying old prints from a huge range of sources, but not Morris designs. Their fabrics were inconsistent in quality but lively and cheap, and their dresses changed fashion and brought in a new appreciation of a romantic Victorian image. Like Morris, Laura Ashley associated women with family life and the home, though she was considerably less progressive in her thinking than he was. The factory in rural Wales that the Ashleys established in 1963, however, was run on lines he would have approved, providing skilled work in an area that needed it, with adequate time for leisure and family life.

The Morris revival

Laura Ashley's demure long dresses were one symbol of renewed interest in Victorian design and fashion in the 1960s and by the end of the decade they had set up their own shops in London. In the same years Sanderson's initiated a Morris revival by recolouring, resizing and reissuing some of the patterns, which were taken up by trendsetters at a time when London style was on the rise. Mary Quant designed a suit in about 1967 in blue and white *Marigold* pattern (Figure 8),[78] and the Chelsea boutique Granny Takes a Trip produced beautifully tailored men's jackets in linens from Sanderson, including Morris's *Bachelor's Button* and *Chrysanthemum* and Dearle's *Golden Lily*.[79] All three had originally been wallpaper patterns and were now produced on linen in vibrant, even psychedelic, colours.[80] These were quite expensive fashion brands and the kind of people who could afford the jackets at 15 guineas each were rock, pop and film stars, including George Harrison, John Lennon, Roy Wood and

Figure 8: Mary Quant, suit in Morris's *Marigold* (designed 1875) linen in blue and white, made for her Ginger Group label in about 1967. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 9: Walthamstow Football Club's home and away kits in J. H. Dearle's *Yare* pattern, 2023. © Photograph by Jake Green.

Dennis Hopper. At the time it was very unusual for men to wear floral clothing, so these garments were a counter-cultural statement.

Since the 1960s, and especially from the late 1980s when Sanderson's launched the separate Morris & Co. brand, Morris patterns have become a staple of museum gift shops, a good source of income for the Metropolitan and other museums and firms such as Past Times and Museum Selection selling silk scarves and ties. The motifs adapt well to resizing and have been appropriated for bags, wellington boots, spectacles and many small household goods as well as garments. Such 'Morris kitsch' and the co-option of Morris's designs by consumerist middle-class society has long been an important subject for the artist David Mabb of Goldsmiths College, London. One of Mabb's best-known works is his 2002 version of Aleksandr Rodchenko's 1922 Production Suit, which he had made up in Morris's *Fruit* pattern, creating a complex dialogue between different visions of socialism and communism in Victorian Britain, the Soviet Union and the contemporary world.[81] This is clearly not 'fashion', any more than Morris's 1856 medieval-style gown and overdress were, but it raises many questions about utility, class and decoration in clothing, about floral pattern and masculinity, about tradition and modernity.

In the more everyday world of the high street, Morris has become fashionable again in the past seven years, through a collaboration of Morris & Co. with H&M, which produced a range of clothing in 2016, and House of Hackney and other companies which have promoted their own versions. Many of these are now available secondhand on Ebay or in charity shops. At the more exclusive end of the fashion market there have also been interesting reinterpretations by several designers, such as Joe Richards in Bath, who has used imagery from the Kelmscott Press as well as from textile patterns in 2016,[82] and Mary Katrantzou who engaged with both Morris and the Bauhaus in her collection of 2018, samples of which were shown at the William Morris Gallery in 2020.[83]

In 2023 it is still possible buy some lines from Next and other companies, franchised by Morris & Co. and also by the V&A and the William Morris Gallery. The Gallery in Walthamstow has just released details of its local football club's new kit, based on the *Yare* pattern designed by John Henry Dearle in the 1890s (Figure 9), sales of which will support the establishment of a new women's team as well as the existing players. It would be interesting to know how this licensing works financially, though at present it is presumably commercially sensitive. There also seems to be a thriving market for individuals making clothes of Morris fabrics and advertising through Etsy, which provides a platform for small producers.

Almost as soon as Morris began to design patterns his products were 'in fashion' for the decoration of stylish interiors and they have gone up and down in popularity over time. In terms of clothing fashion for both men and women, Morris has been more popular in the past ten years than at any time in the past. Given his lack of interest in his own clothes and his desire not to be part of a rapidly changing fashion industry but to create goods that would last, this is somewhat surprising, but it is perhaps the timeless qualities of his nature-based patterns that give them their appeal in our predominantly urban world. During Morris's lifetime the original Morris & Company occasionally adapted wallpaper designs for textiles and recoloured earlier patterns to suit the taste of the 1890s, but he had strong ideas on the type of pattern suited to each use and would perhaps disapprove of some of the changes made for clothing. He would certainly be dismayed by the mass-production of the Morris ranges in synthetic fabrics in factories in the Far East and by the ephemeral nature of fast fashion, though the second-hand market might provide some consolation. The William Morris Society's emphasis on sustainability for its small range of clothing products is in line with Morris's environmentalism and is evidence of increasing awareness of the problems caused by the fashion industry, but much more is needed. One wonders also what he would make of women in T-shirts and trousers, given his wistful imagining of embroidered silk and woollen clothing for all in *News from Nowhere*

and his view that the ideal for women was somewhere between 'the ancient classical costume and the simpler forms of the fourteenth-century garments.'[84] As a romantic he might regret our loss of beauty while applauding our freedom of choice and practicality, since his preference was that 'every one might dress herself in the way which her own good sense told her suited her best.'[85]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1. Quoted by Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), p. 230. (Afterwards MacCarthy).
2. See Mary Schoeser, *The Art of Wallpaper: Morris & Co. in Context* (Woodbridge: ACC Art Books, 2022).
3. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1882/life1.htm> [accessed 9.7.2023].
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. MacCarthy suggests (p. 464) that despite their similarities of background the differences between Morris and Hyndman could be 'summed up by the fact that Hyndman … continued to wear his gentleman's top hat, whereas a decade earlier Morris had sat on his.'
7. Sydney Gimson, Random Recollections of Leicester Secular Society (part1) [accessed 7.7.2023]
8. See Tony Pinkney (ed.), *We Met Morris: Interviews with William Morris, 1885-96* (Reading: Spire Books Ltd), pp. 68, 73, 90. (Afterwards Pinkney).
9. William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1891) See News from nowhere : or, An epoch of rest, being some chapters from a Utopian romance : Morris, William, 1834-1896 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive, p. 36. For Jeremy Deller's work *We are starving amidst our gold*, 2013, see <https://www.jeremydeller.org/EnglishMagic/EnglishMagic.php> [accessed 11.7.2023].
10. See for example Ruskin's self-portrait of 1873 in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York: <https://www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/108908> [accessed 11.7.2023].
11. In the Art Workers' Guild Collection, see <https://www.voyseysociety.org/voysey/bibliography/vpapers/fundamentals.html> [accessed 10.7.2023].
12. The coat is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London which owns Kelmscott Manor.
13. William Morris Gallery, H10.
14. Sydney Gimson, Random Recollections of Leicester Secular Society (part2) [accessed 7.7.2023].
15. Pinkney, p. 73.
16. William Morris Gallery, PP1/Z521.
17. For a good range of such portraits see Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1984).
18. A small image of Millais' smock is reproduced in Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museums, *Simply Stunning: The Pre-Raphaelite Art of Dressing* (Cheltenham: Art Gallery & Museum, 1996), p. 57. (Afterwards Cheltenham).
19. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.216-1979.

20. MacCarthy, p. 475.
21. Quoted by Pinkney, p. 19.
22. William Morris Gallery, H13, H1 & H1a.
23. Tate Britain, N04999.
24. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?q=parsons%20jane%20morris%201865&page=1&page_size=15> [accessed 9.7.2023].
25. See <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/search/actor:rossetti-dante-gabriel-18281882/page/2> [accessed 9.7.2023].
26. Quoted by Frank C. Sharp and Jan Marsh (eds), *The Collected Letters of Jane Morris* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), p. 99. (Afterwards Sharp & Marsh).
27. *Ibid*., p. 13.
28. Jan Marsh, *Jane and May Morris: A Biographical Story 1839-1938* (London: Pandora Press, 1986), p. 137. Morris referred to this obliquely in 'The Lesser Arts of Life', 1882.
29. William Morris Gallery, P602.
30. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1882/life1.htm> [accessed 9.7.2023].
31. Quoted by MacCarthy, pp. 229-230.
32. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1882/life1.htm> [accessed 9.7.2023]. Morris repeated this idea in *News from Nowhere*, News from nowhere : or, An epoch of rest, being some chapters from a Utopian romance : Morris, William, 1834-1896 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive, p. 14.
33. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.118-D-1979.
34. Sharp & Marsh, pp. 57-8, 247-8. *Veronica Veronese* is in the collection of the Delaware Art Museum, X83929.
35. Victoria and Albert Museum, 1813-1939; National Portrait Gallery, x19860-2.
36. News from nowhere : or, An epoch of rest, being some chapters from a Utopian romance : Morris, William, 1834-1896 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive, pp. 14, 43.
37. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1882/life1.htm> [accessed 9.7.2023].
38. May Morris, 'Introduction', in May Morris (ed.), *The Collected Works of William Morris* (vol. IV) (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1910), p. xv.
39. Private Collection; see Stella Mary Newton, *Health, Art & Reason: Dress Reformers of the 19th Century* (London: John Murray, 1974), fig. 29. (Afterwards Newton)
40. See Jenny Lister, 'Dress and Costume' in Anna Mason, Jan Marsh, Jenny Lister, Rowan Bain and Hanne Faurby, *May Morris: Arts & Crafts Designer* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), p. 176 (Afterwards Mason *et al*.); and Newton, pp. 104-110.
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42. Robyne Calvert, *Fashioning the Artist: Artistic Dress in Victorian Britain, 1848-1900* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2012), unpublished PhD thesis; ''The Artistic Aspect of Dress': The Story of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union', *Costume*, vol. 54, iss. 2 (2020), pp. 175-201.
43. Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 26.11.1896, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS.2484.1. (Afterwards Lorimer Papers).
44. *Ibid*.
45. See <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/at-home-a-portrait-37895> [accessed 10.7.2023].
46. Mason *et al*. p. 186, figs 172-3.
47. Information and snapshot photograph from Barley Roscoe.
48. Mason *et al.*, p.184.
49. National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, 86 CC 31.
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52. William Morris Gallery, H27 and P710.
53. See Alison Toplis, *The Hidden History of the Smock Frock* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021), pp. 109-118.
54. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.6-2021.
55. News from nowhere : or, An epoch of rest, being some chapters from a Utopian romance : Morris, William, 1834-1896 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive, p.195.
56. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1864.
57. Lorimer Papers, MS.2484.2, 22.11.1897.
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59. T.51-1912.
60. J. Scarratt Rigby, 'Remarks on Morris work and its influence on British decorative arts of to-day', *Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. 1 (1902), pp. 61-3.
61. Parry, p. 73.
62. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1948M36.
63. See <https://wordpresstodaydotme.wordpress.com/2021/02/22/poverty-amongst-plenty-march-1898> [accessed 7.7.2023].
64. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Arthur & Georgie Gaskin* (Birmingham: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1981), p. 15.
65. Philippe Thiébaut, *Robert de Montesquiou ou l'art de paraître* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), pp. 55, 72.
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78. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.8:1,2-2014.
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Replicas of these jackets are on sale online today.

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Who was E. T. Craig?

Ruth Levitas

Edward Thomas Craig, who was always known by his initials E.T., was, aged 79, one of the founder members of the Hammersmith Branch of the Democratic Federation in 1884. Born in Manchester in 1804, he was present at the Peterloo massacre in 1819 and in the 1830s was an active proponent of the ideas of Robert Owen and the Brighton co-operator William King (1786-1865). Like Cécile Desroches (1834-1921) and her mother Jeanne Deroin (1805-1894), about whom François Kunka wrote in this journal,[1] Craig was a direct link from the Chartist and socialist movements of the 1830s to the resurgent socialism of the 1880s. Yet there are only scattered references to Craig in the literature on Morris. A summary account of his life and significance in the 1955 first edition of Edward Thompson's *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* was cut from the 1977 edition.[2] There is extensive coverage of Craig's involvement in the Owenite community at Ralahine in Ireland in the literature on Irish history and on Owenism but most of this does not mention his later political activity. In this article I aim to join up the two periods of Craig's socialist activity and look at his role in the Hammersmith (Social) Democratic Federation, Socialist League, and Hammersmith Socialists.

Early life

Edward Thomas Craig was born in Manchester on 7 August 1804 to Joseph and Elizabeth Craig and baptised two months later at a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Salford. His father died when he was four and he was sent to live with his paternal grandparents in Lancaster where he witnessed Luddite prisoners being tried and led to their execution. Over sixty years later he reflected on 'these half-famished victims of misfortune' who were chained together at their wrists and ankles in groups of eight or ten, adding that the 'execution of eight men at one time made a strong impression

on me'.[3] When his grandmother died in 1815 Craig returned to Manchester where he was apprenticed as a fustian cutter.[4] On 16 August 1819 he joined a crowd of up to 60,000 people gathered at St Peter's Fields in Manchester, where Henry Hunt was to speak on parliamentary reform and the repeal of the Corn Laws. Craig was fifteen years old and later said he had attended mainly out of curiosity. Hundreds of police and soldiery had been deployed in case of disorder, including a paramilitary yeomanry of local mill and shop owners. The peaceful crowd was attacked by mounted forces wielding sabres. Up to eighteen people were killed and hundreds wounded, while still more were taken into custody and beaten. One of the latter was a pregnant woman whose unborn child died as a result.[5] The Peterloo Massacre provoked Shelley to write *The Masque of Anarchy*: when the William Morris Society marked the bicentenary of Peterloo at Kelmscott House in 2019 with a dramatised reading of Shelley's poem, none of us was aware that a member of Morris's circle of Hammersmith socialists had actually been present.

May Morris makes three references to Craig. One describes him as an old Chartist, another as an old Chartist and co-operator, the third as an old co-operator.[6] It is only the connection to Peterloo that links Craig to Chartism. The designation old co-operator is much more accurate, for Craig was a central figure in the early development of co-operation in Manchester. He was self-educated, attending classes and lectures at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute (founded in 1825) and reading widely. While in Lancaster he had been allowed considerable freedom and was not forced to attend Sunday School or Church. In contrast, his mother's family in Manchester were strict Calvinists and opposed his reading scientific books; he continued to read them, but in secret. Craig's life-long interest in physiology and phrenology followed hearing Johann Spurzheim (1776-1832) speak in 1827. Spurzheim was a pupil of Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), the originator of phrenology. Gall believed that different areas of the brain were responsible for different behaviours and characteristics, and that the size of these different 'organs' of the brain could be deduced from the external contours of the cranium; he devised a system of allegedly reading personality and capacities from the morphology of the skull. Phrenology was popular in the early nineteenth century especially among autodidacts. Craig recalled being struck by the 'large collection of crania, busts and casts spread upon the floor, seats and desks, which were used by Dr. Spurzheim in illustration of his course of lectures on the physiology of the brain'.[7] Craig also read an account of Robert Owen's experiment at New Lanark and his educational theories and heard him speak in Manchester. Yet it was not only Owen (1771-1858) whom Craig credited with inspiring the early Manchester co-operators. Many of their ideas came from Brighton-based William King (1786-1865) and his monthly paper *The Co-*

operator (published from 1827) and from the *Enquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness* (1824) by William Thompson (1775-1833).[8] Between 1828 and 1831 Craig was involved in a series of initiatives. He founded a small co-operative of fustian manufacturers. When that failed he started a Scientific Society and a Utility Society, the latter a Sunday educational group for young working men who found it difficult to attend the Mechanics' Institute. The Scientific Society met at the house of a Mr Bottomley whose daughter Mary was later to become Craig's wife. Craig described her as highly intelligent, beautiful, and a fine singer.[9] The Utility Society also established a New Mechanics' Institute and separate schools for children and adults. Craig became president of another small co-operative of fustian producers, the Owenian Society, which was the first to establish a news and reading room. He was an organiser of and delegate to the first Co-operative Congress held in Manchester in 1831. The same year, *The Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator* was launched with Craig as editor.[10]

All these co-operative ventures pre-dated the so-called Rochdale Pioneers by over a decade. In fact, the only thing the Rochdale group actually pioneered was dividend on purchases. And whatever considerable good was done over the next century by the consumer co-operative movement, providing unadulterated food without profiteering, it was not the aim of the early co-operators and certainly not of Owenism. The issue of producer versus consumer co-operatives was to divide the movement for decades. Moreover, the Owenite movement which spread through Britain in the 1830s not only provided social and educational resources and innovations such as secular naming ceremonies for infants but raised funds for the eventual acquisition of land and establishing of communal societies, with the ultimate aim being the creation of a co-operative commonwealth to replace rampant capitalism. Craig's early commitment was to producer co-operatives, and as he later said himself, his chief aim at this time 'was to raise funds for the purchase of land'.[11]

Ralahine

In 1831 Craig was approached by an Irish landowner, John Scott Vandeleur (b 1791). Vandeleur had heard Owen speak in Dublin several years earlier, and asked Craig to help him set up a cooperative farm on his estate at Ralahine, County Clare. Craig had been to Ireland before, on a walking tour of County Wicklow, south of Dublin in 1828; the west of Ireland was a different matter. The condition of the Irish poor was parlous. Land was rented for short periods at high rents under a system of conacre, with failure to pay resulting in eviction. Much of the land was owned by absentee landlords living in Dublin or London; Craig described the payment of rent under these conditions as 'a tax on toil'. Moreover, all improvements made by tenants,

such as fencing, buildings or improvements to the soil, accrued to the landowner. In the 1830s increasing numbers of tenants were evicted and more land was given over to grazing rather than cultivation, requiring fewer labourers and thus increasing unemployment. The potato crop, the main source of food for the poor, failed. Thus 'the starving peasantry were clamorous for land, for employment and for food'.[12] The result was widespread rural unrest and violence, especially in County Clare. Vandeleur's own family had to be escorted from their home under armed guard to take refuge in Limerick. Despite the misgivings of his family Craig agreed to go to Ralahine and he set out for Ireland.

The unrest continued throughout Craig's time in Ireland. It was met with brutal repression including the suspension of Habeus Corpus and the imposition of martial law through a Coercion Act in 1833. It was only after he arrived at Ralahine that Craig discovered that the previous steward had been murdered. The precipitating incident is indicative of labour relations at the time. 'One scorching hot day the men were at work reaping, and occasionally stopped to take a draught of water to cool their parched thirst, when the steward kicked it over, declaring he would not have the can there to cause the men to lose their time'. At a midnight meeting lots were drawn as to who should kill him.[13] There were four further murders in the area in the first weeks Craig was there, 'all marked by features of great barbarity' and all relating to evictions or 'competition for land, which was, in fact, a battle for life and the means to live'.[14] As effectively the replacement steward, Craig was initially greeted with suspicion and hostility. Few of the workers spoke English, so Craig set out to learn Irish. The man whom Craig engaged to teach him told him that when people greeted him with the customary 'God be with you', he should always reply 'Thara-ma-dhoel'. Craig was puzzled by the unfriendly responses to this until he discovered that it meant 'go to the devil', and unsurprisingly it did not help his popularity. Having shot his predecessor, the workers threatened to put Craig to bed under a 'daisy quilt'. Nevertheless, Craig persevered. With Vandeleur he drew up rules for the new community. The land was rented to the tenants by Vandeleur. Beyond the rent, however, profits accrued to the workers individually and collectively. Craig designated himself secretary rather than steward, and all members of the new community including himself were subject to approval by ballot. Because the workforce were placed in a position where they benefited from their own work and better practice they did not need an overseer on the old model. This was just as well since Craig had no expertise in agricultural production, although he was a fast learner. A system of labour notes or local currency was introduced, as was a system of sickness insurance, the latter pioneered by Owen at New Lanark. For entertainment there were dances twice a week. The community quickly became both peaceful and economically viable

and would have been more so were it not for the rent payable to Vandeleur, who admitted that it was excessive.

The community was initially small, comprising seven married couples, twenty-one single men and five single women. Craig also lists twelve orphans under the age of seventeen, four boys, three girls and five infants under nine, thus a total of fifty-two people excluding himself. New communal buildings were erected, and cottages for the married members. By the autumn of the second year there were eighty-one members. All children were educated at common expense. Craig devotes much space to the care of children and the infant school, which had many similarities with Owen's New Lanark. The Lancastrian system of education dominant in Britain at the time involved rote learning by children seated in formal rows. Owen's – and Craig's – system was radically different. The children were to be brought to school washed and dressed by six in the morning and remain there till six at night (and later stayed overnight). Part of the rationale was that this freed women to work outside the home, thus increasing productivity; Craig discussed at some length the position of women. The separation of children from their mothers was, in some of the American Owenite communities, to prove a point of contention with their mothers. At Ralahine a trained teacher was employed to run the schools. The youngest children were encouraged to sing, dance, play with bricks and playground equipment; the older children were taught to read, but using visual aids, pictures of animals and natural objects. Craig himself taught the older children – reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing (which he saw as a prerequisite for writing), chemistry, astronomy and geography.[15] The teacher was forced to leave the community in 1833, having married Vandeleur's head gardener who was not admitted by the ballot system. Craig had returned to Manchester for the Co-operative Congress both in the summer of 1832 and the summer of 1833. In July 1833 he and Mary Bottomley were married and she returned to Ralahine with him, successfully taking over the infants' school.[16]

Ralahine attracted many visitors, several of whom left written accounts. Robert Owen arrived unannounced so that no advance preparations could be made; the eminent Owenites John Finch (1784-1857) and William Pare (1805-1873) also visited. Ralahine was the most successful of the Owenite agricultural schemes in Britain (Ireland being under British rule) – partly because it was founded with an existing agrarian workforce rather than urban co-operators who were ideologically committed but unskilled at agricultural work, and partly, no doubt, because of Craig's talents. After less than three years, however, the experiment came to grief. It failed not from internal difficulties but from the perfidy of the landholder. In November 1833 Vandeleur forfeited his estate in a Dublin gambling den, fled to America and disappeared. The tenants had no continuing right of tenure and were evicted. The

Ralahine community was at an end. Craig was devastated but not disillusioned, for it had proved to him and others the viability of co-operation. Craig redeemed the outstanding labour notes from his own pocket and he and Mary returned to England.

Shortly after his arrival at Ralahine, Craig had learned of the death of his maternal grandfather, Benjamin Manchester. He also learned that he had been disinherited because of his irreligious and political views and his decision to go to Ireland. Craig clearly thought he was entitled to inherit, complaining that his grandfather had deprived him 'of the legacy legally falling to [his] share, by excluding [his] name from his will'. Manchester was a fustian manufacturer in collaboration with three Scots, and when the partnership was dissolved in 1830 each of the three received £30,000 – thus between them the equivalent of £13 million in 2023.[17] How much Manchester retained, and what share Craig thought he was entitled to, is unclear, but the sums involved were enormous. Evidently Craig's family was far from poor and he did not grow up in poverty. But Ralahine cost Craig dear.

Ealing Grove

When William Morris was born on 31 March 1834, Craig was not yet thirty and Mary, born on 15 July 1810, only twenty-three. Craig had already established himself as one of the foremost exponents of Owenism and co-operation in Britain and Ireland, as an educational innovator and a consummate organiser. He was approached by Lady Byron (1792-1860) to set up a co-operative agricultural school in Ealing, then a small town on the fringes of London.[18] She was presumably already acquainted with Craig, as she was a benefactor of the co-operative movement. She had given an annual subscription of five pounds towards the Sunday School run by the Utility Society, paid the rent for a bazaar held in Liverpool in 1832, and gave three hundred pounds to the Brighton co-operators when their store was foundering on the unwise practice of allowing credit. She had also visited Fellenberg's pioneering schools at Hofwyl in Switzerland in 1821. In preparation for the new venture Craig travelled to Europe to observe Fellenberg's industrial training system.[19] The school established at Ealing Grove on four acres of land shared with Fellenberg's system an emphasis on agriculture and practical training alongside conventional education, although it did not incorporate the differentiation by social class instituted at Hofwyl. Ealing Grove took both boarders and day pupils – all boys, it seems, since the terms 'boys' and 'children' are used interchangeably. In 1835 there were fifteen boarders out of seventy-five pupils, the boarders aged twelve and over, the day students aged six or more. Each child was given an allotment on which they paid a notional rent; the produce could either be taken home or sold back to the school. They could work on their allotments for three hours a day. They were also required to work on the

collective land from which the produce went directly to the school. Again, Craig introduced a system of labour notes. Formal lessons occupied part of the day. Much use was made of visual aids such as maps and globes. There was singing and gymnastic exercises. There was no corporal punishment and no religious indoctrination.

If much of this echoed Owen's educational theories, Craig's commitment to phrenology was a departure from them. Owen's 'doctrine of circumstances' insisted that any character, from the best to the worst, could be induced in any person through positive or negative social conditions. Phrenology, on the other hand, implied some level of innate capacities or proclivities based on the inherited physiology of the brain and expressed character. Craig believed in the strong influence of circumstance and education but thought Owen wrong that these were the end of the story; he was insistent that 'character is formed by the combined action of external conditions or circumstances, and internal impulses awakened by their natural stimuli'.[20] Craig was convinced that Owenite or co-operative doctrines needed to be supplemented by an understanding of personality and phrenology filled this gap. In 1836, he drew up an illustrated phrenological chart of the human skull and its alleged relationship to human propensities.[21] Craig, indeed, possessed a cast of Owen's head. The two met several times at Lady Byron's, where Craig also met for the first time William King (who was tutor to Lady Byron's daughter Ada). We may assume that Lady Byron was also interested in phrenology, as she asked Craig to take a cast of King's head.[22]

Ealing Grove school continued until 1852, but Craig himself was only there until Christmas 1835, and consequently is often written out of accounts of the school. The model, however, was entirely his. One version of why he left attributes this to the erratic exercise of power by his patron, thus with a faint echo of the end of Ralahine. In this case, it is said, pupils at the local village school left in such numbers to join Ealing Grove that the master, one Mr Atlee, complained to Lady Byron that she had ruined his school. In recompense, she put Atlee in Craig's position.[23]

Interregnum

Nearly fifty years were to elapse before Craig joined the resurgent socialist movement in 1884. What might be seen as an interregnum between these two periods of political participation constituted, in fact, most of Craig's working life. In these years he was variously a journalist, newspaper editor, lecturer, educator and inventor. He went from Ealing Grove to Wisbech in Cambridgeshire in 1836, invited by James Hill (1800-1871) on Owen's recommendation to help edit his journal *Star in the East* and to set up a school. As at Ralahine, Mary Craig also taught in the school. In 1836 or 1837 the Craigs' only child, Francis Spurzheim Craig, was born – the name

Spurzheim being a tribute to his first teacher of phrenology.[24]

The Craigs spent some time at another small Owenite community, Manea Fen, established in January 1839 by William Hodson (b 1808) on two hundred acres of land. It lasted a little over two years, its highest membership reaching fifty although nearer a hundred passed through it in its short life. Manea Fen was rocked by scandal about the alleged radical views of members on marriage and sexual relations. Certainly the founder was, like Owen himself, an opponent of conventional marriage. Barbara Taylor says that some of the most militantly feminist statements came from Manea Fen, and that its house journal *The Worker Bee* included the only reference to birth control in any socialist newspaper.[25] Craig defended the colonists. But other crises beset the venture: a bank in which Hodson had money collapsed, and – as with the earliest experiment by Craig's fustian cutters – there was an overproduction of goods for which no market could be found.[26] Another initiative had foundered on the fortunes of its sponsor.

When Manea Fen collapsed Craig returned to Yorkshire, becoming a peripatetic lecturer for the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. This seems to have been quite lucrative: he claimed that in 1843 he was earning between twenty-five and thirty pounds a week, lecturing on co-operation, psychology and phrenology – presumably accompanied by the casts of Owen and King. The 1851 Census places Craig in Sheffield, still listing his occupation as Lecturer, now specifically in phrenology. However, that was not the only subject, for there are reports of two substantial lectures on India.[27] In 1858 Craig became Principal of Rotherham and Mexborough Mechanics' Institute and in the same year took over the editorship of *The Leamington Advertiser*. He later claimed he had been editor of six different newspapers, including the *Brighton Times*, the *Coventry Express* and the *Oxford University Herald*.[28]

Craig's commitment to education and to co-operation was unwavering. A more curious aspect of his life, however, is his career as an inventor. This began at Ralahine, where he introduced various devices such as a potato washer and a potato steamer. Most notably, he designed a latrine system that successfully prevented any infection in the community during a cholera epidemic in Clare in 1832:

> As the cleansing of a closet used for personal convenience was a disagreeable office, we devised a plan which raised the closet and seat some eight or nine feet above the foundation; and by placing a flag at a sharp angle, the deposits could fall into a box on wheels, and the soil be covered with fine earth or ashes, so as to prevent the escape of deleterious sewer gases.[29]

Craig never changed his belief in the ash closet system and the return of human soil

to the land as fertiliser, a view he shared with Owen. He regarded it as far superior to waterborne sewage systems such as that developed by Bazalgette after the 'great stink' of 1856 when the sewage levels in the Thames were so foul that Parliament had to be closed. Such systems, claimed Craig, were wasteful and polluted the waterways; the latter point is supported by the condition of Britain's rivers and seas in 2023.

At Ealing Grove, Craig introduced the 'charactrograph'. Akin to Owen's 'silent monitor' at New Lanark, this was a series of cubes with faces in different colours that could be rotated as comment on the behaviour of pupils (white, yellow, blue, red), thus using public approval or reprimand in place of competition or corporal punishment. This was exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851. In 1873-74 a Working Classes' Industrial Exhibition was held in Cambridge. Craig was awarded a silver medal (the top prize: presumably gold was too expensive) for the greatest number of useful inventions; some twenty-seven of his designs were included in the exhibition, including the charactrograph, a portable folding bath, and a 'flower-pot converting to a fire-escape'.[30] Craig's ash closet system was also exhibited; it had already been adopted in Manchester but had been pirated because Craig could not afford to patent it, so he was neither paid nor credited. Manchester paid no royalties on the system. Between 1872 and 1888, when Manchester changed from the ash-closet to a water-carriage system the number of privies of Craig's design rose from 2,500 to 66,499.[31]

Craig had also developed a ventilation system for public buildings which was already in use (again) in Manchester and elsewhere. After the Cambridge exhibition Craig moved to London and was for some time in business as a ventilation engineer. In 1876 he gave this up and moved to Hammersmith, living first at 2 Redmore Road, and eventually at 10 Andover Road (now 62 Perrers Road) which he named Ralahine Cottage. It seems that Craig was in receipt of a grant from the Co-operative Union, which continued to be paid to his wife Mary after his death.[32]

Craig and the later Socialist Movement

When Craig joined the Hammersmith Branch of the (S)DF in 1884 he was nearly eighty years old. Many of the references to him comment on his great age, and indeed for the time this was true: fewer than seven in every hundred men survived to eighty in 1884, and only about five in every thousand survived to ninety in 1894, the year in which Craig died. He was still politically active. Besides his membership of the SDF and later the Socialist League, he continued his commitment to co-operation. He had campaigned for the reinstitution of annual Co-operative Congresses and when these restarted in 1869 he continued to attend each year until his death. He was on the executive committee of the Land Nationalisation Society set up in 1882

by Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913).[33] In 1888 Craig became president of the Phrenological Society. He was also still writing, producing pamphlets throughout the 1880s. Some related to practices claimed to promote longevity, such as *The science of prolonging human life through nervous energy and the vitalising distribution of the blood, by methods accessible to all* (1887) and *The science of life, with the philosophy and economy of self-help in massage* (1892). His pre-occupation with health was long-standing but seems to have intensified after an illness in 1877 when doctors told him he was dying: he survived for a further seventeen years. Other pamphlets were more political, such as *Labouring capitalists, or Co-operation and federation in the building trades*, written in 1879 at the request of the Hammersmith branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners;[34] *Competitive society illustrated, shewing how the producers of wealth are fleeced, by non-producing consumers* (1885); and two articles in the Leicester District Cooperative Record concerning 'The Irish Labourers' Land Act'(1886).

Craig's account of the Ralahine community, *The Irish land and labour question, illustrated in the history of Ralahine and co-operative farming*, was published in 1882, well-received and translated into several languages. It was intended as a contemporary political intervention, as the situation in Ireland had again become a pressing political issue. Its dedication 'To the Members of the British Government' and to the 'Owners and Occupiers of Land' as well as to co-operators underlines that intention. Ireland had been in a state of almost continuous unrest and disturbance before, during and after Craig's time at Ralahine. A series of Acts generically known as Coercion Acts began in 1833 (thus while Craig was still in Ireland). These suspended Habeus Corpus, allowing arrest and imprisonment without charge, and imposed courts martial and harsh penalties including death and transportation. It was the Coercion Act of 1881 that led to Craig's memoir. The Act was directed at the activities of the Land League led by Irish nationalists Michael Davitt (1846-1906) and Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891). Their aims were to stop evictions and reduce rents; their tactics were mainly rent strikes and passive resistance but there were also more violent incidents including an average of seventeen murders a year of landlords and their agents between 1880 and 1882 – recalling the violence Craig encountered fifty years earlier. As Craig put it:

> In 1881 we find the old evidence repeated. The relations of the labourer to the land make peace difficult, if not impossible. County Clare was one of the first to be declared in a state of insurrection, and the Habeus Corpus Act suspended. At the present time there are more reports of murders in Clare than in any other part of Ireland.[35]

Both Davitt and Parnell were imprisoned and the Land League declared illegal. But according to *The Co-operative News*, Craig 'was instrumental in obtaining the insertion of clauses into the Irish Land Act of 1881, after it had passed its third reading in the House of Commons, enabling poor-law guardians to build houses for agricultural labourers with half an acre of land attached at a rent of 1s. 6d. per week; and 12,000 dwellings were ordered to be erected at a cost of £1,330,000.'[36] The *Manchester Times* recorded that Craig's account also resulted in a motion in the House of Commons in support of profit-sharing, although it was unsuccessful.[37]

A further Coercion Act was passed in 1887 after the land agitation was revived under the leadership of Davitt and William O'Brien (1852-1928). In England there was widespread agitation against this legislation from 1886. In London, the Socialist League took part in an Anti-Coercion demonstration in Victoria Park on 21 May 1887. Morris moved a resolution seconded by George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950):

> That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the Coercive Measures levelled against the Irish nation, and is of the opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of the opinion that the Irish nation should be free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament.[38]

Later that year three protestors were killed at a prohibited meeting in County Cork when police opened fire on the crowd, an event known as the Mitchelstown Massacre. *Commonweal*, which ran from February 1885, covered the situation in Ireland extensively, including the massacre itself, immediately likened to Peterloo.[39] And while the events in London in November1887 when the police charged a peaceful crowd are generally taken to be the model for the violence of the revolution in Morris's *News from Nowhere*, both Mitchelstown and Peterloo may also have been in Morris's mind. The London demonstration was a protest about the Irish Coercion Acts and the imprisonment of O'Brien, as well as about unemployment. The following week Alfred Linnell (1846-1887) was killed at a further demonstration in Trafalgar Square; at his funeral on 18 December, itself the occasion of a huge political procession, the speaker from the Irish National League said that Linnell had fallen 'in the same cause that they in Ireland had fought for in Mitchelstown'.[40]

The Minute Books show that Craig was initially very active at branch level in Hammersmith. During the first few years he attended many business meetings, occasionally chaired them, and frequently proposed resolutions. He suffered from

emphysema which meant that he was housebound for five months of the year, unable to attend meetings during the winter months.[41] He became a member of the Socialist League Provisional Council and signatory to its Manifesto after the split from the SDF at the end of 1884 – although he said at the outset he would not be able to attend Council meetings. In early 1885 it was at Craig's instigation that a newsroom and reading room was set up at Kelmscott House – echoing his longstanding commitment to adult education and his role in the Manchester Owenian Society. He attended the League's first General Meeting in June 1885 and made a number of proposals, including strongly opposing a reduction in either the size or the price of *Commonweal*. Thompson records one instance of Craig speaking at an anti-war public meeting at South Place in 1885. Craig also publicly expressed his intention to attend Linnell's funeral.[42] However, Thompson also says that by reason of his age, Craig played only a minor part in the League and 'needs only to be mentioned in passing'.[43] Certainly his attendance at business meetings declined by 1887, but he may have continued to attend the Sunday lectures during the warmer months. He certainly delivered one in 1888 and was present at an emergency General Meeting as late as 1890.[44] The affection in which he was held by branch members is illustrated in a letter from Craig to *Commonweal* in January 1890, in appreciation of being serenaded by the socialist choir on Christmas morning.[45] He is also present in the front row of a photograph of the Hammersmith Socialist Society taken in 1890-91.[46]

Craig's age was the characteristic most commented on in Morrisian circles and he was sometimes presented as a relic or a geriatric eccentric rather than being taken seriously as a contemporary political thinker. The members of the League were well aware of the link with Owenism and the experiment at Ralahine. James Alfred Wilkes looked back on meetings at Kelmscott House:

> In 'Old Craig' as he was familiarly called, we had an interesting link with the Socialism of an earlier day. Craig was a personal disciple of Robert Owen, and had carried out with considerable success a communistic experiment at Ralahine, in Ireland. He told us all about it one Sunday evening, and astonished us with his wonderful vigour and staying power. He must have been considerably over eighty at the time. Old Craig had been in many movements in the course of his long life. He was one of the first lecturers in phrenology in this country, and was not at all backward in exercising his powers when called upon. A great apostle of fresh air, he was an ardent hygienist before the word had become so well known as it is today. He was full of the strangest fancies and theories on all sorts of subjects. It was a weird spectacle to see this wizened old man seated on the edge of the platform with his ear-trumpet,

> eagerly following the lecturer of the evening.[47]

May Morris similarly emphasised Craig's age although she also records the strength of his participation:

> [T]here was nothing silent or pathetic about the figure of E. T. Craig, the old Chartist and Co-operator – beyond the melancholy that must always gather increasingly around the aspect of old age and failing powers. Craig had been a sturdy and valiant fighter; he watched the young movement with keen interest and would make speeches at our meetings in a fife-like voice which sometimes recovered its old chest register in a sort of bellow that beat upon ones ear-drums. He would come and sit in the garden at Kelmscott House and we would gather round him and hear tell of those old Co-operative days, or listen to his expositions on phrenology. I remember one time when we were having our characters described by the bumps on our heads, Shaw, who was one of the company and also undergoing examination, naughtily asked if he had a bump of veneration. 'A bump?' shrieked the old gentleman, 'why, it's a 'ole there!' and struck his stick into the ground to emphasize the answer.[48]

May also confirms that Craig attended outdoor meetings of the League, telling a story about 'our aged friend and comrade' Craig's response to an opponent who exclaimed 'Why at this rate you will be approving of the deeds of the Paris Commune':

> Whereat Craig sprang forward and addressed this retailer of stale news much as follows: 'Sir, you have made a most remarkable discovery, a most remarkable discovery! Sir, I beg to congratulate you on your remarkable discovery! Sir, you're a fool.' We knew there was something up when our old friend began slowly and pompously, with excessive politeness: then came the dramatic speeding up in the last apostrophe – in fact, jumping down his throat with a roar is the only way to describe the finale.[49]

John Bruce Glasier (1859-1920) was equally focused on Craig's age, although his account dates from 1893 when Craig was nearly ninety. He describes Craig's 'queer little cramped-up figure as he sat on the platform with a grey Scottish shepherd's plaid round his shoulders', and as 'exceedingly deaf' and having 'to make use of a huge ear-trumpet'. Glasier also says that even at that stage Craig 'though frail in body was extraordinarily alert in mind, and full of enthusiasm for the new Socialist

Figure 1: Hammersmith Socialist Society, 1892. Craig is third from the right in the front row. National Portrait Gallery, London.

movement'.[50] That same continuing vitality was remarked on in Craig's obituary in *The Co-operative News*, where it is recorded that he moved a resolution on co-operative agriculture at the 1893 Co-operative Congress 'with surprising energy' and much subsequent congratulation and hand-shaking – even though Craig himself said it was probably the last Congress he would attend.

There is an element of ageism in all this. However, the attitude to Craig among socialists outside the co-operative movement was probably also the result of political differences. Given his history of journalism and pamphleteering one might have expected Craig to be writing for *Justice* and for *Commonweal*, but I have identified only two articles by Craig. One, in the first issue of *Commonweal*, is an account of Peterloo.[51] The second also relates to Peterloo, being a piece about Craig's meeting with Henry Hunt, the principal speaker at the demonstration; it was published in April 1885, two months after Hunt died. Craig was interviewed by the *Pall Mall Gazette* (but not for *Commonweal*) in 1889 on the seventieth anniversary of the Peterloo Massacre.[52] In 1887 he had written a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* comparing the events of Bloody

Sunday and Linnell's death to those of Peterloo, arguing that Peterloo had completely altered the political climate in Manchester, and calling for an annual commemorative procession. (That the memory remains live to this day is illustrated by Jeremy Deller's choreographed event in Manchester in 2009, 'Procession', which included a banner saying 'Our ancestors were at Peterloo'.) Morris makes the same comparison between Bloody Sunday and Peterloo – but several days later – in his account of Bloody Sunday in *Commonweal*, perhaps drawing on Craig's assessment. Morris also argued that London was effectively under martial law and compared 'coercion by Act of Parliament in Ireland' with 'coercion without Act of Parliament' in London.[53] Craig seems to have been appreciated as an exemplar of 'living history'; the anniversary of his birth as 'the founder of Ralahine' is listed in *Commonweal's* regular item, the 'Revolutionary Calendar', in August 1889.[54] However, he was less in demand in relation to contemporary politics where Ireland was concerned. In 1887 especially the Irish Question dominated *Commonweal*. This extensive coverage is principally by Morris himself, by Halliday Sparling, and by John Sketchley, a Birmingham member who was (unlike Craig) genuinely an old Chartist.[55] Craig did give a lecture to the Hammersmith branch on 'Ireland and evictions' in October 1888, but there is nothing by him in *Commonweal*.[56]

There are also debates in *Commonweal* about co-operation, considering the difference between socialist and non-socialist forms; again, there is nothing by Craig. Here, I think, lies the basis of the political difference between Craig and the theoretical position of the League, which was profoundly ambivalent about the co-operative movement, certainly favouring producer co-operatives over the consumer movement (seen as mere shopkeeping) but adamant that co-operation in general was a mere palliative under a capitalist system. *Commonweal* was the theoretical journal of the League, and had a clear political line. Craig had become a socialist in the 1830s, a time when socialism in Britain essentially meant Owenism. By the 1880s this was no longer true, and the positions of both the SDF and the League were essentially Marxist. Both looked forward to a co-operative society. The SDF manifesto called for the nationalisation of land and the organisation of agricultural and industrial armies on co-operative principles. The Socialist League Statement of Principles on the back of every issue of *Commonweal* says that in the new society 'Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services'. But the difference between Craig and the League's position concerned whether co-operation could be the means of transformation to a socialist society. Morris was adamant that this was not so, writing in *Commonweal* that:

> Since the days of Robert Owen the position of Co-operation has been quite changed by the uprising of *revolutionary* Socialism as a result of the application of the doctrine of evolution to human society, and the consequent perception of the class-struggle. The Co-operationists of Robert Owen's time did not perceive the existence of the class-struggle and their Co-operation was but a part of their ideal of Socialism in the future, and a means to that end in the present.[57]

The early issues of *Justice* also illustrate the scepticism about Craig's politics. On 12 July 1884, Morris lectured to the Hammersmith Branch on 'Useful Work versus Useless Toil'. The substantial report on branch activity sent in to the journal includes Craig's adherence to co-operation, and Morris's reply:

> Mr Craig spoke, pleading for co-operation and profit-sharing not as an end, but as a means to bring on Socialism, and instancing his own temporarily successful experiment at Ralahine. The lecturer in answer, warned the audience that industrial co-operation might be used as an insurance against Socialism, instead of a means for gaining it, and pointed out that the very success of the experiment at Ralahine and its sudden collapse because of the accident of Mr. Vandeleur's ruin, showed the necessity for Socialism, which is the only true co-operation.[58]

The following week Hyndman lectured on 'What is Law'. Again, in the discussion, Craig defended co-operation. More brusquely than Morris, Hyndman 'pointed out the delusion of co-operation as that word is generally understood'.[59] In September John Burns spoke, and the (much briefer) report records that 'the opposition of a trades' unionist and a co-operator were satisfactorily disposed of'.[60]

The issue is similar to the question of utopian versus scientific socialism. Neither Marx nor Engels was as hostile to the ideas of the so-called utopian socialists, Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon, as is sometimes supposed, although they did think the adherents of the subsequent movements were misguided. In 1844 Engels wrote an article on existing communal societies in which he is as emphatic about their merits as Craig: ' We … see that the people who are living communally live better with less work, have more leisure for the development of their minds, and that they are better, more moral people than their neighbours who have retained private property'.[61] He did become increasingly critical of the Owenite movement, arguing in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* that 'the time has gone by … It is too late for a peaceful solution'.[62]

A co-operative funeral

Craig died in December 1894 and was buried in consecrated ground in Margravine Cemetery in Hammersmith on 22 December. There were numerous obituaries, memorial notices and reports of the occasion in *The Manchester Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Leeds Mercury*, *The Liverpool Mercury*, *The Ipswich Journal*, *The Wrexham Advertiser*, *Reynolds Newspaper*, and most fully in the local *West London Observer* and *The Co-operative News*. From these we can put together an account of the funeral itself. About sixty people attended including Mary Craig and the Craigs' son, Francis Spurzheim Craig. The others were a mixture of eminent co-operators and local comrades, again testifying to Craig's much stronger reputation with co-operators than with the later socialist movement beyond the local branch. The service in the chapel was taken by Thory Gage Gardiner (1857-1941), then Rector of Southwark and later Canon of Canterbury. Gardiner had worked with Samuel Barnett (1844-1913) as a curate at St Jude's in Whitechapel and was sub-warden of Toynbee Hall from 1885 to 1890. By the mid-nineties he was chairman of the Southern Section of the Co-operative Union. Edward Owen Greening (1836-1923), another prominent co-operator and anti-slavery campaigner, spoke. Greening had a long history in Manchester and had been instrumental in setting up the new series of Co-operative Congresses from 1869. He moved to London in 1867 – and, like Craig, late in life received financial support from the co-operative movement. There was a speaker from the Phrenological Society. The veteran co-operator George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) sent a letter, as did James Hole (1820-1895), who, like Craig, had been a member of the Manchester Utility Society in his youth. Other members of the co-operative movement present were Benjamin Jones (1847-1942), Henry Harvey Vivian (1868-1930), and William Openshaw, then editor of the *Metropolitan Co-operator*. Of a further five names listed, one, George Edward Meek (1868-1921) was a recent convert to socialism in Eastbourne, influenced by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (but not, apparently, Morris's *News from Nowhere*).[63] Morris did not attend Craig's funeral: his own mother's funeral had taken place only ten days previously and he had been unwell. He did, however, send a letter. James Tocchati (1852-1928), a tailoring worker and very active member of the Hammersmith Socialists, who was later to edit the anarchist journal *Liberty*, spoke on behalf of the branch. No other socialist attendees are named in any of the reports of the funeral. The Hammersmith Socialist choir sang Morris's chant 'Down among the Dead Men':

> Now, comrades, let the glass blush red
> Drink we the unforgotten dead
> That did their deeds and went away,

Before the bright sun brought the day.
And he that will this health deny,
Down among the dead men let him lie.[64]

Craig composed his own epitaph:

Here lies all that remains of him who pointed the way to Practical Industrial Training of the Young and the Social Organisation for Sharing the Profits from Labour on the Land, as at Ralahine.[65]

Little trace of Craig remains in Hammersmith. Neither his wife nor his son was to outlive him for long. Mary died in Hammersmith in 1897. Francis took his own life in 1901.[66] The house is no longer called Ralahine Cottage and has no blue plaque. The grave is unmarked. All remaining tombstones and memorials were removed or buried between 1951 and 1965 when the then Hammersmith Council decided to grass over the cemetery and designate it a Garden of Rest. Today, hundreds of people pass Craig's burial place every day on their way through Margravine Cemetery to Barons Court Station, but there is nothing to prompt the question 'Who was E. T. Craig?'.

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NOTES

1. François Kunka, 'The French Teacher at Kelmscott House: Cécile Desroches, Jeanne Deroin and the Utopian Socialist Connection', *JWMS*, XXII, 1, 2016.
2. Edward Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1955). Other accounts include John Saville, 'Craig, Edward Thomas (1804-94)', in Joyce Bellamy and John Saville (eds.) *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, I (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972), pp. 89-93.
3. E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences III', *The American Socialist*, 6 September 1877, 2, 36, p. 282.
4. Fustian was a coarse heavy cloth made of cotton and linen, with a nap. Fustian cutters cut the loops on the surface to form the nap.
5. <http://www.peterloomassacre.org/history.html> <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/16/the-peterloo-massacre-what-was-it-and-what-did-it-mean> [accessed 12 June 2023].
6. May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936) II, pp. 171,187, 246.
7. E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences XIV', *The American Socialist*, 6 December 1877, 2, 49, p. 386.
8. R. G. Garnett, 'E. T. Craig: Communitarian, educator, phrenologist', *The Vocational Aspect of Secondary*

and Further Education, 1963, 15: 31, pp. 135-150.

9. E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences XV', *The American Socialist*, 13 December 1877, 2, 50, pp. 394-5.
10. R. G. Garnett, *Co-operation and the Owenite socialist communities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972) p. 160, n.7.
11. *The Co-operative News*, 10 February 1877, cited in Garnett, op. cit., p 138.
12. E. T. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question Illustrated in the History of Ralahine and Co-operative Farming* (London: Trübner, 1882) p. 5. Craig gave several accounts of Ralahine. The earliest are some contributions to Owen's *The New Moral World* in 1836 and a series of articles in The Star of the East in 1838, which I have not been able to consult. Pare's 1870 *Co-operative Agriculture* is an account of Ralahine based on a brief visit and an extended correspondence with Craig, who might therefore be seen as a co-author. The series of 47 autobiographical letters, 'Socialism in England' which Craig contributed to *The American Socialist* between August 1877 and 1879 includes a long and detailed account of Ralahine. Some passages of these occur verbatim in his 1882 *The Irish Land and Labour Question*. There is a later, abridged, edition of this, E. T. Craig, *An Irish Commune: The History of Ralahine*, (Dublin: Martin Lester, 1920). Close textual comparison of these accounts would be an interesting exploration. As secondary sources, a comprehensive description and analysis is given in Vincent Geoghegan 'Ralahine: An Irish Owenite Community', *International Review of Social History*, XXXVI (1991) pp. 377-411. See also Garnett, *Co-operation and the Owenite socialist communities*.
13. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question*, pp. 12-13.
14. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question*, p. 22.
15. Garnett, 'E. T. Craig...', p. 139.
16. See the account of their fiftieth wedding anniversary on 11 July 1883 in *Memoir of E. T. Craig*, p. 15. This memoir is of uncertain origin. It was clearly written in 1884 but bears no publication or author details. The British Library attributes it to Craig with a suggested publication date of 1885.
17. Craig, *The Irish land and Labour Question*, pp. 41-42.
18. Lady Byron was born Anne Isabella, or Annabella, Milbanke. She married Lord Byron in 1815 but left him after a year with their child because of his erratic behaviour and infidelity. Their daughter Ada, tutored by William King, became the scientist Ada Lovelace and wrote programmes for the first computer, working with Charles Babbage. Ada's daughter married Wilfred Scawen Blunt, who was also Jane Morris's lover.
19. Philipp Emmanuel von Fellenberg (1771-1844). Fellenberg had earlier worked closely with Johann Heidrich Pestalozzi (1746 – 1827). On both, on Owen's schools and on Ealing Grove School see W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators 1750-1880* (London: Macmillan, 1967).
20. E. T. Craig, *Memoir and In Memoriam of Hy. Travis, MD*. (Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society) nd, probably 1884. Henry Travis (1807-1884) was an old Owenite and Robert Owen's literary executor.
21. There is a copy in the Wellcome Collection.
22. E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences XI', *The American Socialist*, November 15 1877, 2, 46, p. 362.
23. Stewart and McCann, op. cit., p.168. See also a reference to the 'usual waywardness of [Lady Byron's] charity', *Memoir of E. T. Craig*, p. 11. Craig's dark aside about Lady Byron, 'It was necessary to live with her and to be subordinate to her ladyship, to appreciate her peculiar idiosyncracies', is presumably also reference to this event. ('Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences XV', *The American Socialist*, 13 December 1877, 2, 50, p. 394.)
24. I have not been able to confirm the exact date or place of Francis's birth. He was four years old at the date of the 1841 Census, implying a birth date of 1836 or early 1837 (which is before searchable centralised records were in place). All the Census records up to 1891 give his place of birth as Ealing

or Acton. It is possible that Mary returned there for the birth, but the Craigs were certainly in Wisbech by then. Only the 1901 Census, completed by Francis himself, gives his place of birth as Cambridge.

25. Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Virago, 1983) pp. 253 -255. On Manea Fen, see also John Langdon, ' "A Monument of Union": Social Change and Personal Experience at the Manea Fen Community, 1839-1841', *Utopian Studies*, 23, 2, 2012.
26. Taylor, op. cit., p. 254.
27. 'Mr. Craig's Lectures on India', *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. Supplement, Issue 1988, Saturday 21 November 1857, p. 3.
28. Michael Bevan, 'Craig, Edward Thomas (1804-1894)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004. Alun Evans, 'ET Craig: proto-socialist, phrenologist and public health engineer', *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 2008, 37, pp. 490-505.
29. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question*, p. 81.
30. Alun Evans, 'ET Craig: proto-socialist, phrenologist and public health engineer', pp.490-505.
31. *Ibid*., p. 500.
32. 'Death of Mr E. T. Craig, the Founder of Ralahine', *The Co-operative News*, 22 December 1894, p. 1417.
33. Duncan Bowie, *The Radical and Socialist Tradition in British Planning* (London: Routledge, 2017) p. 113.
34. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102669959> [accessed 16 July 2023].
35. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question*, p. 190.
36. 'Death of Mr. E. T. Craig, the founder of Ralahine', *The Co-operative News*.
37. 'A Manchester Man of Note', *Manchester Times*, 31 May 1890, Issue 1714.
38. *Commonweal*, 28 May 1887, p. 175.
39. See Morris, 'Notes on News', *Commonweal*, 17 September 1887, p. 297.
40. 'Funeral of Linnell', *Commonweal*, 24 December 1887, p. 413.
41. E. T. Craig, 'From the sick chamber of the oldest English Socialist', *Commonweal*, 11 January 1890, p. 11.
42. E. T. Craig, ' "Bloody Sunday" and Peterloo', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Wednesday 14 December 1887, Issue 7096.
43. Thompson, op. cit., pp.456, 429.
44. Hammersmith Socialist Society Papers, British Library Add MSS 45891-45893.
45. Craig, 'From the sick chamber of the oldest English Socialist'.
46. Martin Stott, 'A Garden Party at Kelmscott House would be …pleasant', <https://martin-stott.com/wp-content/files/2009/11/HSL-article-Spring-2017.pdf> [accessed 23 July 2023].
47. James Alfred Wilkes, 'Memories of Kelmscott House', *JWMS*, 2, 2, Summer 1968, pp. 11-12. This reminiscence was written 21 years after Morris's death, thus in 1917.
48. May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer Socialist*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936) II, pp. 186-7.
49. *Ibid*., pp. 246-7.
50. John Bruce Glasier, *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994 [1921]) p. 132.
51. The following year Morris and Bax referred to Craig's article on Peterloo in 'Socialism from the Root Up – Chapter X', *Commonweal*, 28 August 1886, 2, 33, pp 170-171. A note is added at to say that Craig 'was in Manchester at the time, though not an eye-witness', an error which displays at the very least a lack of attention.
52. 'A Survivor of Peterloo (1819): A chat with Mr. E. T. Craig', *Pall Mall Gazette*, Friday 16 August 1889, Issue 7617.
53. Morris, 'London in a State of Siege', *Commonweal*, 19 November 1887, p. 369.
54. *Commonweal*, 3 August 1889, p. 243.

55. John Sketchley (1823-1913) was the first secretary of the Birmingham branch of the (S)DF. Aged 17 he had been Secretary of the South Leicestershire Chartists. He wrote a series of six articles for *Commonweal* on the Irish Question in May and June 1887, later published separately as a pamphlet.
56. *Commonweal*, 20 October 1888, p. 335.
57. *Commonweal*, 2 June 1888, p. 169.
58. *Justice*, 12 July 1884, p. 6.
59. *Justice*, 19 July 1884, p. 6.
60. *Justice*, 27 September 1884, p .6.
61. Friedrich Engels, 'Description of recently founded communist colonies still in existence', *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975) 4, p. 252.
62. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, in *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 4, pp. 581-3. For a fuller discussion of Marx, Engels and Owensim see Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (London: Philip Allen 1990; Peter Lang 2010, 2011) Chapter 2.
63. The list is given in the report of the funeral in *The Co-operative News*, 29 December 1894. Jones, Vivian and Openshaw are all included in G. D. H. Cole, *A Century of Co-operation* (Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1944) as are Craig and Greening. I have not been able to identify the other individuals named, R. H. Tutt, C. Cooper, Miss Tournier and R. Newton. For George Meek, see Bill Coxall and Clive Griggs, 'Meek, George Edward (1868 -1921): Maverick Socialist, Author and Journalist', *Dictionary of Labour Biography* X, pp. 141-144.
64. William Morris, 'Down among the Dead Men', in *The Pilgrims of Hope and Chants for Socialists* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1915) pp. 73-4.
65. 'Death of Mr E. T. Craig', *West London Observer*, Saturday 22 December 1894. Craig, *The Irish Land and Labour Question*, p. 204.
66. Apart from a brief and unfortunate marriage in 1868, Francis lived with his parents all his life. Reports of his behaviour given at his inquest suggest he had either always been troubled or had a breakdown after his mother's death.

The Ivory Gate: *News from Nowhere* and the Medieval Dream-Vision

Yuri Cowan

The trope of the dream followed William Morris from early in his literary career. In its earliest incarnation, it accompanied the denial of an interest in 'politico-social subjects,' as when he wrote to his friend Cormell Price in 1856 claiming that 'My work is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another',[1] or when in the 'Apology' to the *Earthly Paradise* he asks, rhetorically,

> Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time
> Why should I strive to set the crooked straight?
> Let it suffice me that my murmuring rhyme
> Beats with light wing against the ivory gate.[2]

In both cases the pose Morris adopted appeared to be self-deprecating; it underplayed the seriousness of his work's message; and it seemingly refused to take a political stand, denying the possibility of 'straightening' things out. But both statements are more complicated than they seem on the surface. In fact, these poses were not even straightforwardly about dreams: for one thing, his 'embodiment' of dreams suggests a material manifestation of art in the world, and for another, the invocation of the classical allusion to the 'ivory gate' entailed thinking not just of dreams as nebulous or harmless, but also of dreams as being bound up with the pleasing falsehoods of fiction. That is to say, false or true, ivory or horn, these were not literal or psychological dreams, but rather artistic or literary ones.

As we know, Morris eventually took a decided stand on 'politico-social subjects' with his commitment to socialism in the 1880s, so both these statements seem not to have 'sufficed him' at all, and to belong to an earlier mindset. Yet even in the later period he had not given up on the idea that dreams offered a way of thinking about

fiction; two of his major propaganda pieces, written at the end of a decade of a sometimes-solidary, sometimes-turbulent participation in the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League and their offshoots, were framed as dream-visions. Not only that, these two pieces, *A Dream of John Ball* and its successor *News from Nowhere*, were thoroughly grounded in history (especially medieval history) and in a particular literary-historical form, that of the dream vision. This form, popular in the fourteenth century (an era thoroughly quarried by Morris), was a form that had a set of narrative expectations and could offer some surprising re-visionings of the real world, but that still, as the motif of the ivory gate suggested, came with a built-in plausible deniability. Dreams are, after all, personal to the dreamer, as Morris was careful to indicate in both these pieces, and this is why both these dreams feature a semi-autobiographical narrator and also a refusal to consider either narrative as the most finished statement upon the political subject at its heart.

John Ganim remarks, as I did previously in my own work on *A Dream of John Ball* and the fourteenth-century dream-vision, that the most salient aspect of the medieval dream vision as adopted by Morris is primarily Chaucer's literary 'narrative stance'.[3] Most of the aspects of the narrative form identified by Ganim go unexamined in his treatment, though, or else end up subordinated to his argument about the material erotics of Morris's politics (which is a convincing argument, although its erotic angle in particular has been covered to a sufficient extent in the very large body of scholarship on *News from Nowhere*). So it is certainly still worth considering the ways in which we might read the various tropes that are in play in both *News from Nowhere* and the late-medieval dream-vision: the fantastic landscape, the self-deprecating narrator/dreamer, the guide, the authoritative figures with something to declaim and to argue about, and the framing fiction that brings the dreamer in and out of the dream-state. In my 2007 article on *John Ball*, where I introduce the medieval context more thoroughly, I drew upon theories of allegory to argue that Morris harnessed the dream-vision in the service of a kind of propaganda that could be both non-dogmatic and prescriptive; it is worth remarking that the same principle can be said to be at play in his second propagandistic dream-vision, *News from Nowhere*, although I will not rehearse those ideas here.[4] For this reading of Morris's utopian propaganda piece in conjunction with the medieval dream-vision genre, therefore, it will be worth considering further the kind of authorial persona (or even, as we will see, personae) that Morris develops in this narrative; the combined sense of yearning and alienation that the dreamer experiences during and after his vision; and, in the tradition of the dream-vision itself, what the big 'lesson' of potential, continuity, and hope was that readers of this propaganda piece might extract from it, as they had from the earlier *Dream of John Ball*.

It is not new to consider *News* as a (if not the) high point of Morris's literary oeuvre, but it may also be worth considering it here as a piece that blends all the aspects of his other literary output, and indeed much of his artistic work as well: in this utopian vision we find history, politics, art, narrative, speculative fiction, and Morris's love of adapting medieval motifs, all blended, and conveyed through a distinctly autobiographical voice, with action that happens in places to which Morris had a personal connection. *News from Nowhere* has the framing fiction we see in *The Earthly Paradise*; the reworking of historical medieval genres that we see in the *Guenevere* poems; the sense of historical continuities and progressions that we see in *Socialism from the Root Up* and other non-fiction works; the sensitivity to the fraught place held by individuals in the course of history that we see in *The Pilgrims of Hope, A Dream of John Ball*, and the *Guenevere* volume; the material sense of the importance of the decorative arts that we see in essays such as 'The Lesser Arts' and 'On Pattern-Designing'; and the sense of individual and social potential and satisfaction that we see in the late romances.

Generically, this utopian vision can be said to be a similar amalgamation or bricolage of various storytelling forms. It has been called a 'kinetic utopia'; 'a utopia that is not utopian'; 'our first ecotopia'; and an 'earthy [sic] paradise', among other variations.[5] Morris himself subtitled it 'some chapters from a utopian romance', underlining both its roots in medievalist wonder tales and its sense that this narrative is somehow fragmentary, having been extracted from a more complete whole, or else that it should be thought of as an episode framed by some narrative bigger than itself. We might even find in that reference to 'romance' some echo of the term 'scientific romance', made current as recently as 1884 by C. H. Hinton, and made famous a little later by writers like H. G. Wells.[6] These references to genre do help us to situate our reading of this text, as we come to the story with expectations formed by other kinds of reading. When, for example, Leo Panitch in a perceptive reading of *News from Nowhere* calls the narrator a 'time-traveller', we have an instructive example of the way in which readers have occasionally imposed the critical vocabulary of narrative, novelistic, or speculative fiction scholarship on this text, when the critical vocabulary of medievalism might have been more appropriate. That is to say, Guest is *probably not* a time-traveller, but he *is* explicitly a dreamer.[7] Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, too, has followed Patrick Brantlinger, James Buzard, and John Plotz in tracing a strong scholarly tradition that reads this text in hindsight as 'an incisive critique of the nineteenth-century novel [and] as a harbinger of modernist changes in novelistic form'.[8] Other than the so-called *Novel on Blue Paper* (unfinished), the prose fictional *News* was indeed the only remotely novel-like thing that Morris wrote: it could be said that it develops its characters, gives them complicated relationships, and follows the

Thames upstream to a recognisable narrative conclusion. But these rather general aspects are barely enough even to allow this text as 'novelistic,' and when it comes to medieval genres this narrative also drifts some distance away from what its 'romance' subtitle promises. *News From Nowhere* may be in prose, but formally it has most in common with the dream-vision, and so it is worth asking why Morris chose this particular genre for the literary work that, to use an architectural metaphor, was the keystone to his oeuvre.

To answer this question, we might begin by remarking that many of the historical, literary, and literary-historical aspects of Morris's personal utopian dream-vision that I note above could also equally be applied generically to the original works of the medieval dream-vision genre. This genre could be bent to the service of secular concerns like fame, free will, or love (Chaucer's dream-visions, or the *Roman de la Rose*); of political concerns (*Winner and Waster*, although that poem was only published by the Roxburghe Club for the first time in the year after Morris's death); or of spiritual ones (*Pearl*, or the *Vision of Piers Plowman*).[9] Most dream-visions have a narratorial persona, whose character comes through distinctly (often in self-deprecating ways). These medieval poems may rarely have addressed the long sweep of historical time, as Morris does, but they were certainly concerned with the individual in the world, and offered a sense of imaginative possibility and artistic extravagance that even its related contemporary romance genre was hard put to match. Medieval dream-visions tackled big issues, but they could also be said to be an example of the truly popular or representative kind of medieval literature that Morris constantly looked for in the surviving body of past literature. Most important of all, these dream-visions held out the possibility of finding a solution to one's problems – and even, more remotely, a sense that a perfect solution might ultimately be possible – all the while denying or putting off fulfilment. What we get here, after all, are apparently only 'some chapters' extracted from a bigger historical process. In short, the dream vision turned out to be an extremely useful genre through which to express the feelings of a man who was certainly proud of the political, literary, and artistic work he was doing but who always seems to have felt that something better was eternally just around the corner, eluding him so far.

Where *A Dream of John Ball* sends the narrator back to the fourteenth century to hold out hope for a leader of the Peasants' Rebellion and to experience fellowship first-hand for himself, *News From Nowhere* sends the dreamer, William Guest, to the twenty-second century to experience an epoch of rest after the establishment of Communism and the disappearance of the state. The society the dreamer finds is the manifestation of Morris's own hopes for art and society. The communism described in *News From Nowhere* reflects Morris's ideals of labour and an 'art of the people' –

the golden chain of the organic tradition has indeed been taken up again – but, as was apparent in Morris's earlier works, the true attainment of an earthly paradise is hardly possible, no matter how idyllic the gardens of medieval Kent and future Nowhere may at first appear.

If the vision in *News From Nowhere* is to the nineteenth-century narrator William Guest what *A Dream of John Ball* was to the fourteenth-century priest John Ball, the reader is left wondering whether the vision described in *News From Nowhere* is a 'help or a hindrance' to its dreamer. As in *A Dream of John Ball*, the answer remains enigmatic. The dreamer's isolation from his dream is frustrating but is ultimately recognised as appropriate, since the earthly paradise is an ideal to be striven toward, not given gratis. *News From Nowhere* is similar in this respect to the fourteenth-century *Pearl*, with its narrator's failed attempt to attain Paradise and subsequent recognition that he must remain in the corporeal world afterward. Once again, the ideal earthly paradise seems to stand outside the text. Despite the pastoral world, or dream-vision garden, that is seemingly evident in *News From Nowhere*, the new society itself is far from perfection. There is plenty of dissent, for example (the denizens of Nowhere are unafraid of stating their opinions, even reactionary ones); the passions have not ceased to cause unhappiness among lovers, even in a world where possession has been abolished insofar as such an abolition is possible; and, perhaps most important, history has not ended. Even the denizens of this 'epoch of rest' are part of a changing world, which is underlined in the text by references to the next generation and to the continuation of history. This vision of the future, like many of the fourteenth-century visions, points beyond itself to an ideal to which only perpetual striving – 'venturing beyond', as Ernst Bloch once put it – can hope to attain.[10] Such striving is a constant, while the attainment of the ideal itself is always in doubt (and, as will be seen, may not in fact be possible, or even necessary).

The framing fiction of *News From Nowhere* is the dream-vision's familiar one of sleep followed by the journey, the education of the dreamer, then the waking. The dream-vision convention that the narrator be wrestling with a certain problem is clearly alluded to in the prolegomenon of *News From Nowhere*. Here the narrator begins, not by struggling within himself ('Fulfilled of thought and besy hevynesse,' as Chaucer complains in the *Parliament of Fowls*, line 89), but in 'vigorous' debate with a group of fellow socialists. The socialist discussion itself prefigures the decision-making processes of Nowhere, wherein dissent is not only possible, but probable, and the emphasis is not on coercion (the work-gangs described by Edward Bellamy, to which Morris famously reacted so strongly in his review of *Looking Backward*) but on persuasion. Morris also recognises, in a fashion more anarchist than Marxist, the difficulty of unanimity among any group of people: 'there were six persons present,

and consequently six sections of the party were represented'. And, finally, the debate hinges upon 'the future of the fully-developed new society' which is in turn to be the subject of the imminent dream-vision, just as the narrator of *Pearl* pines for his pearl before dreaming of her. It is important to note that the drift of the discussion, and indeed of *News* more generally, is not about what the fully-developed new society will look like, but about what it will turn into after that: the change beyond the change.

Following this debate the direction of the narrative shifts inward, as the narrator rides home on the underground where

> he, like others, stewed discontentedly, while in self-reproachful mood he turned over the many excellent and conclusive arguments which, though they lay at his fingers' ends, he had had forgotten in the just past discussion. But this frame of mind he was so used to, that it didn't last him long, and after a brief discomfort, caused by disgust with himself for having lost his temper (which he was also well used to), he found himself musing on the subject-matter of discussion, but still discontentedly and unhappily. 'If I could but see a day of it,' he said to himself; 'if I could but see it!' (3-4)[11]

This may also be taken as a fairly autobiographical passage, given Morris's own distaste for much of modern machinery (the underground railway is characterised as 'that vapour-bath of hurried and discontented humanity') and his wry admission that losing his temper was a thing he 'was also well used to'. These admissions of personal foibles, including a very recognisable *esprit de l'escalier*, serve to underline the basic humanity of the narrator of *News From Nowhere*: he is, the speaker seems to be saying, as humble a narrator as Chaucer ever represented in his poetry, and as given to misgivings and blunders of speech as any 'Geffrey'.

The narrator and his reactions to his 'surprising adventures' (5) play an important role in the events of *News From Nowhere*, partly in his delight in the wonders of the dream-vision and partly in the new society's sympathy with his own ideals, but still more in the continual contrast of his nineteenth-century society with the communist world of his dream. In this he parallels the narrator of *A Dream of John Ball*, who often seems also to be embarked on the enterprise of contrasting two eras of history. In fact, if John Ball's hint that the narrator of *A Dream of John Ball* may eventually experience 'some dream of the days to come beyond thine' really does refer to the as yet unwritten News From Nowhere, then the narrators of Morris's two socialist dream-visions are, in fact, the same person. This would be a fun reading. Certainly, both narrators are active socialists, both live in Hammersmith, and both have a deep appreciation of architecture and artisanship and a curiosity about history. There is

something of the same continuity among the narrators of Chaucer's dream-visions: A. C. Spearing, for example, describes Chaucer's works as a 'series of related dream-poems'.[12] So easy is it to conflate Chaucer's dreamers that Stephen J. Russell at one point even refers to the narrator of *The Book of the Duchess* as 'Geffrey', although this is the name of the narrator of *The House of Fame*.[13] In the woodcuts of the Kelmscott *Chaucer*, Morris and Burne-Jones seized upon this apparent continuity, portraying Chaucer as a ubiquitous hooded figure taking note of and even taking part in the events he narrates.

William Guest's isolation from the world portrayed in his dream is still more pronounced than the narrator of *A Dream of John Ball's* isolation from fourteenth-century Kent. In *A Dream of John Ball*, Morris envisions himself (or the dreamer) from the outset clothed in the garments of the age, and his narrator has apparently learned enough from his experience of the histories, poetry, and crafts of the time to integrate himself to some extent into the society. Even though he feels on occasion 'as if I did not belong to them' (257), the sights and sounds of medieval Kent are 'beautiful indeed, yet not strange, but rather long familiar to me' (259), whether from the narrator's reading, from his work, or (as the text hints) because the people and the natural world have not changed overmuch in some places, even after five hundred years.

In Nowhere, however, the passage of only a few centuries has had a greater effect; the guest is continually conscious of his 'shabby' clothes and of his outsider status – he might as well be, as he says, 'a being from another planet' (54). When Dick and Clara return to Hammond and Guest, for example, Dick comments that

> I was half suspecting … that you would presently be vanishing away from us, and began to picture my kinsman sitting in the hall staring at nothing and finding that he had been talking a while past to nobody.

Guest's response underscores the isolation he feels and upon which Dick has so unfeelingly remarked, and prefigures the narrator's final vanishing at the end of the vision:

> I felt rather uncomfortable at this speech, for suddenly the picture of the sordid squabble, the dirty and miserable tragedy of the life I had left for a while, came before my eyes. (135)

Guest's reaction to Dick's words – his unhappy vision-within-a-vision of 'the life he had left for a while' – makes clear his role over and above that of the dreamer-

narrator. He serves to remind the others of life before the change, as when Dick remarks that 'already I feel as if I could understand Dickens the better for having talked with him' (135). William Guest is the unwilling foil for a happy and creative epoch and, like the narrator of *Pearl*, a temporary guest in paradise.

The happiness of Nowhere's epoch of rest is most evident in the person of the younger Hammond, Richard. The age seems made for Dick, who is not particularly bookish, has few great talents (although, like his fellows, he dabbles in many kinds of work), and for whom the greatest of summer pleasures consists in boating up the Thames to bring in the hay. Throughout the journey he remains sublimely unaware of any of the tensions caused by, for example, the anachronistic blunders of their time-travelling guest or by the jealousy Clara feels at the arrival of Ellen. It is Dick who, more than any of the other characters of *News From Nowhere*, embodies the age's freedom from care, that pervasive 'unanxiousness' upon which Guest remarks so soon after his arrival (18). Ellen is given to occasional doubts and worries for the future of the society; old Hammond disappears sometimes among his books; Boffin is a dabbler in reaction; and even Clara wishes at one point that 'we were interesting enough to be written or painted about.' But Dick is averse to conflict and even to reflection. It is significant that the fate of Clara's comment is oblivion: 'Dick answered her with some lover's speech, impossible to be written down, and then we sat quiet a little' (103). This exchange is a hint (and there are others – on page 207, for example) that Dick is impatient of anything which intrudes upon his idyll. His tacit reprovals of Clara here and of the 'grumbler' on page 150 may be symptomatic of the power of peer pressure in a supposedly free society – what George Woodcock describes as 'the serpent of public opinion which Orwell detected as one of the inhabitants of the anarchist paradise'.[14] It may go beyond that, however, since we as observers can't help but wonder what is hidden behind the narrator's description of 'some lover's speech, impossible to be written down'. Is it something eloquent and poetical, or (as seems rather more likely) something trite? His sweet nothings may defuse a potential conflict, and thus be generally welcome, but it is also possible that Dick's hearers merely humour him, in a generous spirit much like that in which they accept frosts, or floods, or outliers like the Obstinate Refusers and the Golden Dustman.

Despite his subtle squelching of dissent, Dick does embody the unanxiousness and the generosity of the age. He represents communism internalised – the 'second childhood' which old Hammond defends in his conversation with Guest – and as such he is the first and best example of Guest's guide through the new society. The dreamer's sojourn in Nowhere begins and ends with a bath in the Thames, at both of which Dick is present. Dick is the first of the inhabitants of Nowhere to meet the dreamer, and the last to speak to him before he disappears from their lives. From start

to finish, he does his best to enjoy Guest's company, and to entertain him (e.g. 103), but he consistently fails to understand the guest as Ellen or Hammond do, each in their own manner. Dick's role is thus that of the guide in the dream-vision tradition: his job is to lead Guest to Hammond and Ellen, acclimatising him along the way. More than that, however, he represents the unanxious essence of Nowhere.

If in the schema of this dream-vision Dick is the guide, old Hammond and Ellen are the authoritative figures of *News From Nowhere*, and each plays a different role in the dreamer's education. Hammond, the historian, aids Guest in learning the practical details of the new society, and places everything he sees in the historical perspective for him. Hammond can place the age in context with regard to its historical past, but it is left to Ellen, the forward-thinker and lover of nature and beauty, to embody the 'future of the fully-developed society' (3) which was the catalyst for the vision. Guest hears from Hammond the story of the 'Change Beyond the Change' that had been held out as cause for hope in the last chapter of *A Dream of John Ball*, but only upon the appearance of Ellen do we come back to the problem the dreamer had debated before he slept: that a socialist society would be by no means a perfect or final one, and that the advent of the revolution would not signify the end of history. As Carole Silver recognises, 'since lack of change implies death, Morris indicates that Nowhere will inevitably alter as it grows'.[15] It's another way in which the dream-vision was useful to Morris's propagandistic aims: narratively speaking, although a dream's story will often (indeed usually) lack a closure, the want of a happy ending doesn't have to mean that a happy ending is impossible. The medieval dream-vision is not always comparable to 'real' dreaming, but it has in common with dreaming that it speaks to potential, rather than to attainment. Christine de Pizan was right in very many ways to suggest that Jean de Meun had better never have 'completed' the *Roman de la Rose*.

The earthly paradise of Nowhere is by no means perfect, and this pragmatism is part of the work's appeal. While it is true that it doesn't rain for the duration of Guest's sojourn in Nowhere, it would be wrong to imply that Morris has manipulated the weather to lend further appeal to his arcadia. At Kelmscott Manor, for example, the hot weather becomes 'sultry and oppressive' (208), foreshadowing the vision's imminent end. Earlier, the grumbler points out that 'when the waters are out and all Runnymede is flooded, it's none too pleasant.' Of course, Dick immediately turns that complaint to approbation – 'What a jolly sail one would get about here on the floods on a bright frosty January morning' (148) – but the point has been made that Nowhere does not altogether lack for inclement weather. Carole Silver's statement that 'The earth itself has been improved as man has been perfected' (*Romance* 148) is true on what we would today call the 'ecological' level (there are salmon in the

Thames and no smoke rises from the factories), but its truth lies more in humanity's changed attitude toward nature, typified by Dick's exultant reaction to the idea of high water rather than by any real or perceived improvement in the weather itself. When Paul Meier suggests that 'The glorious June weather of *News From Nowhere* by no means excludes the frosts of winter, nor is it the climate of a humanity wallowing in indolence: it is a month for haymakers and builders', he is characterising the society of Nowhere as one that accepts and adapts to local conditions, in the same way that it responds pragmatically to differences of opinion.[16]

Although in many ways ideal, the society of Nowhere is no more Edenic than its weather is; as May Morris puts it, *News From Nowhere* shows real life as well as happy life. It is, once again, the fusion of the real and the ideal embodied in the notion of the 'earthly paradise', which in turn is mirrored in the dream-vision's admixture of the fleshly and the transcendent. Morris imagines a dynamic future society in which history has not ended, in which there are still disagreements and dissent, and, although property no longer causes contention among people, the 'passions' still exist and cost lives. The existence even of ill-health in Nowhere (174) also attests to Morris's desire to make his future society as real-seeming as possible. The ideal happiness of the citizens of Nowhere consists in their love of creative work and their consequent creation of a popular art in its truest sense, in the extinction of want, and above all in their freedom to act as they choose. The 'variety of life' under communism which Morris called for in his review of *Looking Backward* is also present in *News From Nowhere*.

Although, as Michael Holzman remarks, 'there are moments when it appears that in this story there are only projections of William Morris to serve as characters', it is only natural that, as in *A Dream of John Ball*, the author share some traits of personality and temperament with his various figures.[17] Each character embodies in some degree the happiness Morris himself would find in the communist society he describes, were he born to it. If Ellen represents Morris's belief in change and a joy in nature that is both Romantic and practical, and Hammond represents Morris's social theories and love of learning, Dick represents no less Morris's desire to have plenty to do. Carefree and busy, Dick stands for Morris as he imagined himself freed from the anxieties of business and the infighting of the socialist movement in the 1880s. Even Boffin may represent an aspect of Morris, for in his writing of 'reactionary novels' in which he is 'very proud of getting the local colour right' (22) there is a parallel to Morris's own frequent use of classical and medieval settings and sources for his poetic works, as well as to Morris's love for the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Ellen stands out to every reader, however. May Morris remarks that in the last pages of *News From Nowhere* 'The interest centres round Ellen in whom you have felt from her first appearance that the traveller from the old unrestful land has met his Soul transfigured in this vision of a

fulfilled and happy life'.[18] In May's words we are brought back to a Pre-Raphaelite vision straight from D. G. Rossetti's translation of *La Vita Nuova* – and yet, while Ellen might very well represent the dreamer's soul 'transfigured,' the complicated guest fumbling after truth is the figure who represents the narrator as he really is.

The narrator William Guest plays a role in the allegorical schema of *News From Nowhere* in some ways without precedent in medieval dream-poetry, for he represents above all the great isolation of the nineteenth-century Morris from the happy and creative world he envisions – a very modern alienation which Hammond guesses at, but only Ellen truly recognises. By way of comparison, dreamers in the tradition of the fourteenth-century dream-vision do not usually figure as allegorical figures themselves (other than as a type of 'Everyman'), but are only foils for the greater truth at which the vision's allegory aims. In his discussion of *The Legend of Good Women* Spearing characterises the narrator of the fourteenth-century dream-vision as 'a person of no importance in his own dream, fiercely rebuked by the authoritative person who confronts him' (106). The medieval dreamer tends to act the part of an interviewer 'playing dumb' to draw out the true thoughts of an interviewee (the authoritative figure). This is especially true of the dialogues in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, in which the dreamer fails to understand the nature of the black knight's loss until that dream has nearly ended. In *Pearl*, too, the narrator's 'unavysed' (line 292) statements give the pearl-maiden her cue to expound upon points of religious doctrine and upon the nature of the divide between life and death.

The narrator's desire to take part in the harvest feast at the end of *News From Nowhere* may be read as a kind of presumption similar to that of the jeweller in *Pearl* who dives into the stream trying to reach the heavenly city. William Guest can't take part in the celebration of fellowship among the inhabitants of Nowhere for the simple reason that he is not one of them. He is not actually ostracised by the others, since such an ostracism would be entirely out of character for a society in which 'if [Dick] were not "kind," as you call it, to a perfect stranger he would be thought a strange person' (55). Instead, this dream-vision narrator recognises his own isolation, and has recognised it from the outset, although that knowledge makes it no less distressing. His quiet exclusion from the company is accompanied by a 'pang … as of some disaster long expected and realized' (209), and the reason for his exclusion is part of the didactic intention of the work. There is no question of the author's allowing the dreamer to take part in the feast before he is returned to everyday life. As Barbara Bono puts it:

> the conclusion of the work shows the dreamer being gently excluded from this complex unity as his dream dissolves into the harsh reality of modern

> London. It explains in a more affecting manner than any of Morris's formal discursive statements the organic nature of life and art as he envisioned them, and the alienation from this ideal which he, as well as every other modern man, suffered.[19]

In accordance with what Stephen Kruger calls the 'middle vision,' then, Morris's dream-vision explores the relation of the present alienating modern or capitalist 'real' to the future communist 'ideal' by means of the dreamer's isolation from his dream.[20] When Ellen comments on Guest's 'never-ending contrast between the past and this present' (203), she means by 'the past' Morris's unhappy Victorian era. But the dreamer, already subconsciously feeling the pull back to the 'real' nineteenth century, agonises, 'I was saying to myself, the past, the present? Should she not have said the contrast of the present with the future: of blind despair with hope?' (204). The distinction between dream and reality already becomes difficult to discern, and the reader finds in retrospect that it was the industrial world of late capitalism that had begun to feel unreal and out of place by the end of the dream-sequence. Or, as James Buzard puts it, reading Guest whimsically but with higher stakes as a kind of ethnographer doing field work in the future, the interruption itself is essential to the narrative, since Guest, as 'an unwilling agent of the forces [of modernity] behind him ... must go home again so as to limit the contamination he may spread in the field'.[21]

The end of the framing fiction in the medieval genre can often be still more abrupt than the close of Morris's (Jean de Meun's narrator merely wakes and ends his poem in one line), but it is worth comparing the final lines of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*, where the framing fiction is more explicitly that of a fading from dream into waking, alongside the noise of birds 'showting, whan hir song was do' that could equally be in the dream or outside the narrator's window. The dreams in *News From Nowhere* and *John Ball* both end more abruptly, with a 'white light, empty of all sights' or a 'black cloud ... like a nightmare of my childish days' and a return to the alienated nineteenth century. But although the dreams end in this way, none of these narratives concludes with that framing moment of waking; the dreamer's reflection upon the dream must still come after. Chaucer's narrator in the *Parliament of Fowls*, for example, carries on:

> I wok, and other bokes tok me to
> To reede upon, and yet I rede alway;
> I hope, ywis, to rede so som day
> That I shal mete som thyng for to fare
> The bet; and thus to rede I nyl nat spare (lines 695-99).

There are lessons to be learned from the dream, and there is still manual and intellectual work to be carried out in the real world of struggle and of reflection. True to this dream-vision convention, the coda of *News From Nowhere* offers the reader some clues to the day-to-day significance of the vision itself. First and foremost is the notion that William Guest's somnium both offers hope and represents a state of affairs to be hoped and striven *for*, that taken as a whole it is an exhortation to 'Go on living while you may, striving, with whatsoever pain and labour must be, to build up little by little the new day of fellowship, and rest, and happiness' (211) that has been described in the vision itself. Second, the epilogue reinforces the fact that the epoch of rest will only fall far in the future; straightforward as this may seem, it is the underlying significance of the dreamer's isolation from his vision, because it implies the active struggle toward change 'with whatsoever pain and labour needs must be' that Morris wanted to reinforce for his socialist readers; he, and they too, 'to rede ... nil not spare'. The future society lies neither inside nor outside the boundaries of waking consciousness or of the dream itself, and the future of the fully-developed future society lies even further beyond those. For that, as Ernst Bloch would say – and Morris with him – there is always hope.

NOTES

1. *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, ed. Norman Kelvin, 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984-96), I, p. 28.
2. William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise*, ed. Florence Boos, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 52.
3. John Ganim, 'Flesh and Stone: William Morris's *News from Nowhere* and Chaucer's Dream-Visions', in *Contemporary Chaucer Across the Centuries: Essays for Stephanie Trigg* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2018), pp. 188-200.
4. Yuri Cowan, 'Paradyse Erthly: *John Ball* and the Medieval Dream-Vision', in *Writing on the Image: Reading William Morris*, ed. David Latham (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2007), pp. 137-153.
5. For a neat list, see the first page of Patrick O'Sullivan's "Homenaje a Aragón!: *News from Nowhere*, collectivisation, the sustainable future," *JWMS*, 19.3, (Winter 2011), pp. 93-11.
6. For "scientific romance," see C. H. Hinton's philosophical essay collection *Scientific Romances* (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1885); H. G. Wells's omnibus edition *The Scientific Romances of H. G. Wells* (London: Gollancz, 1933); and Brian M. Stableford, *The Scientific Romance in Britain, 1890-1950* (London: St. Martin's P, 1985).
7 Leo Panitch, "Building on William Morris's *News from Nowhere*," *Socialist Studies/Études socialistes* 13.1 (Spring 2018), pp. 73-77.
8. Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2013), pp. 76-77.
9. Quotations from the medieval dream-visions throughout this article rely on the following editions: Larry D. Benson, and F. N. Robinson, eds., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *The Romaunt of the Rose and Le Roman de la Rose: A Parallel Text Edition*, ed. Ronald Sutherland (Berkeley: U of California P, 1968); Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, eds., *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript* (Berkeley: University of California P,

1978).

10. Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight, 3 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), I, p. 4.
11. Quotations from *News from Nowhere* throughout this article rely on the following edition: *News From Nowhere*, vol. 16 of *The Collected Works of William Morris*, ed. May Morris, 24 vols. (London: Longmans, 1910-1915).
12. A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), p. 48.
13. Russell, J. Stephen, *The English Dream-Vision: Anatomy of a Form* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 1988), p. 127.
14. George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (New York: Meridian, 1962), p. 206.
15. Carole Silver, *The Romance of William Morris* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1982), p. 150.
16. Paul Meier, *William Morris: The Marxist Dreamer*, trans. Frank Gubb, 2 vols. (Sussex: Harvester, 1978), II, p. 567.
17. Michael Holzman, 'Anarchism and Utopia: William Morris's *News From Nowhere*', *ELH* 51 (1984): 589-603 (593).
18. May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist*, 2 vols. (1936. Rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 1:505.
19. Barbara J. Bono, 'The Prose Fictions of William Morris: A Study in the Literary Artistry of a Victorian Reformer,' *Victorian Poetry* 13.3-4 (1975): 43-59. (58).
20. Steven Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), p. 130
21. James Buzard, 'Ethnography as Interruption: *News from Nowhere*, Narrative, and the Modern Romance of Authority,' *Victorian Studies*, 40:3 (1997), 445-474 (470).

William Morris: An Annotated Bibliography 2018-2019

David and Sheila Latham

This bibliography is the twentieth instalment of a biennial feature of *The Journal*. We give each original entry a brief annotation meant to describe its subject rather than evaluate its argument. Although we exclude book reviews, we include reviews of exhibitions as a record of temporal events.

We have arranged the bibliography into six subject categories appended by an author index. Part I includes new editions, reprints, and translations of Morris's own publications, arranged alphabetically by title (but for this twentieth instalment there is only one such edition). Part II includes books, pamphlets, articles, chapters, exhibition catalogues, and dissertations about Morris, arranged alphabetically by author within each of the following five categories:

The General category includes biographical surveys and miscellaneous details as well as studies that bridge two or more subjects. The Author Index provides an alphabetical order as an alternative means for searching through the 107 items of the bibliography. Though we still believe that each of Morris's interests is best understood in the context of his whole life's work, we hope that the subject categories and author index will save the impatient specialist from having to browse through descriptions of woven tapestries in search of critiques of 'The Haystack in the Floods.'

With the rising costs of inter-library loan services and personal travel, we would

appreciate receiving copies of publications. They can be sent to us at 42 Belmont Street, Toronto, Ontario M5R 1P8, or by e-mail attachment to dlatham@yorku.ca

PART I: WORKS BY MORRIS

1. *A Visit with William Morris*. Ed. William Rueter. Dundas, Ontario: Aliquando Press, 2018. 42 pp.

Exquisitely printing a limited edition of 40 copies, Rueter has edited four interviews with Morris from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 November 1891: 1-2; the *Daily Chronicle*, 22 February 1893: 3; the *English Illustrated Magazine*, 13 (April 1895): 47-55; and *Bookselling*, 1.12 (Christmas 1895): 2-14, that read like one ongoing interview with Morris at his home on the Thames discussing various topics concerning book design. Morris talks with a lively energy and wisdom about his views and practices related to poetry, design, and 'the good printing of good books' in general and to the Kelmscott Press in particular.

PART II: PUBLICATIONS ABOUT MORRIS

GENERAL

2. Anderson, Anne. 'The "Lost" Gifts from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Jane Morris: The 1939 Kelmscott Sale.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.2 (Summer 2019): 9-32.

Artworks that Rossetti gave as gifts to Jane Morris – three chalk drawings, three pen-and-ink drawings, and one pencil drawing – were hung in May Morris's bedroom at 8 Hammersmith Terrace and then at Kelmscott Manor until May consigned them for the 1939 Manor sale.

3. Beecroft, Julian. *William Morris*. The World's Greatest Art series. London: Flame Tree, 2019. 352 pp.

This well-illustrated overview of Morris's busy life and varied work is divided into five sections: his life; inspiration and influences; media and techniques; politics and society; and Arts and Crafts. The full-page illustrations on the recto of every facing page exemplify his life, literature, decorative arts, socialism, and calligraphy and printing.

4. Blewitt, John, ed. *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. ix, 191 pp.

See individual entries for Faldet, Faulkner, Goldman, Migeon, Naslas, Phimister, and Shaw.

5. Boos, Florence. 'Morris for Many Audiences: Teaching with the William Morris Archive.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn

Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 251-63.

The online William Morris Archive provides vivid visual aids for teaching a poem like 'The Defence of Guenevere' and a romance like *News from Nowhere* by examining the typography of the Kelmscott editions, the medieval style of tapestries and stained glass, and the digital story maps of Victorian London and Kelmscott Manor that enable students to follow Morris's journey through *Nowhere*.

6. Bussy, Florent. *William Morris ou vie belle et créatric*. Lyon: Le Passager clandestin, 2018. 101 pp.

In all of his creative ventures – his literature, his art, and his lectures – Morris advocates a political awakening of the imagination to mobilise revolutionary forces for the establishment of a desirable future wherein our collective emancipation enables us to enjoy personal fulfillment and social conviviality. He envisions a society that transforms competition into sharing, domination into equality, artifice into beauty, and ecological waste into lasting quality.

7. Davies, Celia. 'Jenny Morris in her Own Voice: Letters to Sydney Cockerell, 1897-99.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 22.4 (Summer 2018): 31-46.

A set of 41 letters that Jenny Morris wrote to Sydney Cockerell provides insight to her personality and her keen interest in architecture, botany, embroidery, geology, music, printing, reading, vigorous hiking, and caring for others, suggesting that she was her father's daughter.

8. Davies, Paul. 'Reputations: William Morris 1834-1896.' *Architectural Review*, No. 1467 (December 2019-January 2020): 80-83.

Morris's accomplishments as a poet, influential interior designer, and utopian socialist are now largely forgotten but his influence on modern architecture continues.

9. Davis, Holly. 'William Morris: Triumph of Beauty and Craft.' *Artist's Magazine*, 35.5 (June 2018): 108.

Review of the exhibition "William Morris: Designing an Earthly Paradise" held at the Cleveland Museum of Art, 29 October 2017 – 13 January 2019 featuring Morris's textiles and his Kelmscott Press books which 'signified status because only the wealthy could afford his meticulously designed and crafted products.'

10. Elletson, Helen. '"Work and Fun" and "Education at Its Finest": Teaching Morris at Kelmscott House.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.

49-64.

The curator of Kelmscott House in Hammersmith organises workshops for school children and for families which introduce the skills practised for Morris's Arts and Crafts designs and for his printing press, the values observed in the natural world for his environmental concerns, and the principles of sharing for the ethical citizenship of his socialism.

11. Erchinger, Philipp. 'William Morris's "Work-Pleasure": Literature, Science and Fine Art.' *Artful Experiments: Ways of Knowing in Victorian Literature and Science*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2018. 163-85.

Morris's equal measurements for pleasure and use are central to the Arts and Crafts movement and his ideals of pleasure, beauty, and playfulness are illustrated in *News from Nowhere*.

12. Faulkner, Peter. 'In Defence of Halliday Sparling.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 2018): 38-68.

An overview of Sparling's life – as sub-editor of *The Commonweal*, secretary of the Socialist League and the Kelmscott Press, husband of May Morris, rival to Bernard Shaw, lead-role actor in *The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened*, and author of *The Kelmscott Press and William Morris Master-Craftsman* (1924) – suggests that he has been unfairly dismissed as dull and gangly.

13. ----. 'Morris and Pre-Raphaelitism.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. 55-80.

Reprint from *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 19.4 (Summer 2012): 40-62.

14. ----. 'Ruskin and Morris.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. 5-20.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 14.1 (Autumn 2000): 6-17.

15. Golden, Amanda. 'Digital Design with William Morris.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 275-82.

Applying computer technology to visual art, students learn new methods of digital design by adapting images of Morris's typography and wallpapers to help annotate passages from Victorian novels and poetry.

16. Goldman, Lawrence. 'From Art to Politics: William Morris and John Ruskin.' In

William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel. Ed. John Blewitt. U of Exeter P, 2019. 123-42.

Reprinted from the annual Kelmscott Lecture for the year 2000 published in London by the William Morris Society, 2005.

17. Helsinger, Elizabeth. 'Teaching Morris in Chicago, c.1900.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 11-23.

Senior professor Richard Green Moulton taught extension courses at the new University of Chicago, presenting Morris as a master epic-poet whose *Sigurd the Volsung* would take its place alongside biblical literature, and Oscar Lovell Triggs was a young instructor who taught Morris as a model for a workshop system of fellowship meant to revolutionise society.

18. Lawrence, Barbara. 'Mrs. Morris's Other Children.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 22.4 (Summer 2018): 47-83.

Though Morris rejected a proposal for a family history – 'what I offer the public is my work, I don't want them to know anything else about me' – this survey of his four sisters and five brothers (the first died in infancy) includes their spouses, children, and careers.

19. Levine, George. 'Victorian Excess and the Darwinian Aesthetic.' *Victorian Studies*, 62.1 (Autumn 2019): 9-34.

Darwin's theory 'describes a nature dependent on excess,' supporting the notion that art derives from the excess that thrives beyond necessity, like the Pre-Raphaelites overcrowding their art with details, including the 'lush beauty of Morris's floral patterns,' thus revealing Darwin as the ally of the socialist Morris, the aesthete Pater, and the moralist Ruskin.

20. Maddison, John. 'Kelmscott and Morris: Past, Present and Future.' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, no. 42 (2018): 142-57.

Support from the Heritage Lottery Fund has enabled the Society of Antiquaries to restore and preserve Kelmscott Manor as it was during the Morris family residency (1871-1938), with the addition of a Learning Building in the farmyard.

21. Martinek, Jason D., and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. 'Introduction: Teaching William Morris: The Earthly Paradox.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, Maryland: Fairleigh Dickinson

UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 1-8.

Devoting much of his own time to teaching the working classes while wishing to avoid being 'lectury,' Morris is now a challenge to teach without being 'amputative,' like G.D.H. Cole and J.L. Borges, teaching only one of Morris's many interdisciplinary fields – Cole his socialist guilds and Borges his Germanic inflected poetry. See Bernstein, Boos, Bracken, Browning, Codell, Elletson, Fitzpatrick, Golden, Hart, Helsinger, Housefield, Hughes, Kreisel, Latham, Meier, O'Neill, Pinkney, Plotz, Robertson, and Weinroth for individual chapters.

22. Miller, Elizabeth Carolyn. 'William Morris and the Form and Politics of Replication.' In *Replication in the Long Nineteenth Century: Re-Makings and Reproductions*. Ed. Julie F. Codell and Linda K. Hughes. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2018. 144-61.

As Morris described the corporate structure of his designs as a replication of patterns that provide a 'satisfying sense of ease and mystery,' his politics combine aesthetic and social rhythms that provide a balance of the parts with the context of the whole.

23. O'Neill, Morna. '"Vive La Commune!" The Imaginary of the Paris Commune and the Arts and Crafts Movement.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 99-114.

In 'The Pilgrims of Hope' Morris depicted the short-lived Paris Commune as 'one manifestation of a utopian community,' a historic moment wherein the British Arts and Crafts movement clearly exemplifies 'the convergence of art and politics.'

24. Pinkney, Tony. 'William Morris on Social Media: A Personal Experience 2007-2017.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 265-74.

Modelled after the haiku and the epiphany, the online William Morris blog is a forum for exploring 'eccentric, serendipitous bypaths in and around Morris's work,' for applying 'Morrisian values and politics to the present,' for encouraging interactive debate, and for illustrating texts with images.

25. ----. "William Morris Unbound." <http://williammorrisunbound.blogspot.com> 2018-2019.

Posted from October 2007 to June 2021, twice monthly or more paragraph-long 'blog' reflections focus on 'relat[ing] Morris to contemporary cultural and political issues.'

26. Plotz, John. 'Time Travelling with William Morris.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 41-47.

After learning to time-travel by reading the 200 books borrowed from a library by an Indiana boy in 1892, Plotz wrote a young-adult novel with chapters on each new skill mastered by Morris in an attempt to inspire us all to share Morris's vision of a better world.

27. Rose, Fiona. 'Retelling the Tale of Taylor: A New Look at the Life of Warington Taylor.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 2018): 69-82.

An early admirer of the 'Red Lion People,' Alphonse Warington Taylor was a bookkeeper in Her Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket when he visited Red House; Morris later hired him as business manager of The Firm, where he worked from 1865 until his death from tuberculosis in 1870.

28. Sayre, Robert, and Michael Löwy. 'William Morris's Romantic Ecological Utopia.' In *Romantic Anti-capitalism and Nature: The Enchanted Garden*. Ed. Robert Sayre and Michael Löwy. London: Routledge, 2019. 63-78.

Exemplifying the position of 'revolutionary romanticism,' Morris begins with a nostalgia for the now degraded pre-capitalist ecological dimension which he tries to restore in his craftsmanship, essays, romances, and political lectures.

29. Scott, Heidi C.M. 'Industrial Souls: Climate Change, Immorality, and Victorian Anticipations of the Good Anthropocene.' *Victorian Studies*, 60.4 (Summer 2018): 588-610.

Following Ruskin's conveyance of a dystopian antisocial industrialism in his *Storm-Cloud of the Nineteenth Century*, Morris imagines the removal of an iron bridge in *News from Nowhere* as the sign of a better eco-social future, 'not through technology but through empathetic human behavior' to establish the Good Anthropocene of a pro-social, pleasant climate change.

30. Stott, Martin. 'The Nature of Prosperity.' *Town and Country Planning*, 87.3 (March 2018): 142.

A symposium on 'The Nature of Prosperity: Ethics and Utopias,' sponsored jointly by the William Morris Society and the Surrey University Centre for the Understanding of Sustainable Prosperity in February 2018, advocated that a prosperous society must focus on 'well-being and health, access to good-quality education, and decent and rewarding work.'

31. Tibbe, Lieske. 'Pissarro's Curtains: A French View on Morris, Ruskin and Pre-Raphaelitism.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 2018):15-38.

Camille Pisarro's *Still Life with a Coffeepot* (1900) depicts Morris's *Bird* woven wool (1878), initially designed for Kelmscott House, and Pissarro supported Morris's ideal of 'Art for the People' and better conditions for the working class.

32. Williams, Austin R. 'William Morris: Artisan Extraordinaire.' *Artist's Magazine*, 35.9 (November 2018): 8.

A major influence on design in the late nineteenth century, Morris today remains influential for his aesthetics and inspirational as a proponent of a socialist world that would enable us all to 'live in an aesthetically rich environment.'

33. Wood, Andrew J. "Makers and Breakers: Pre-Raphaelites, Punks, and Political Imagination." Diss. University of California, Santa Cruz, 2018.

The cultures of Morris's handicraft movement and the Hammersmith Socialist League and the cultures of punk rock a century later are compared as two politico-aesthetic movements.

34. Yeates, Amelia. 'Poetic Narrative in William Morris's and Edward Burne-Jones's Pygmalion Project.' In *Poetry in Pre-Raphaelite Paintings: Transcending Boundaries*. Ed. Sophia Andres and Brian Donnelly. New York: Peter Lang, 2018. 107-20.

The intertextual frameworks of Morris's tale of 'Pygmalion and the Image' and Burne-Jones's book illustrations and two sets of later paintings share an 'exploration of desire and romantic love' and are compared with Ovid's tale.

LITERATURE

35. Alfano, Veronica. 'William Morris and the Uses of Nostalgia: Memory in the Early and Late Poetry.' *Victorian Studies*, 60.2 (Winter 2018): 243-54.

Though the ballads of *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858) appear to invite an escape to a stylised medieval age in contrast to the political activist *Chants for Socialists* (1885), a close reading of two representative poems from each collection – 'Two Red Roses across the Moon' and 'A Death Song' – suggests how all his poems share an 'overtly political perspective.'

36. Allison, Mark. 'Building a Bridge to Nowhere: Morris, the Education of Desire, and the Party of Utopia.' *Utopian Studies*, 29.1 (2018): 44-66.

With the bridge serving as the central metaphor in *News from Nowhere*, Morris invites us to join together to resolve the contradictions between thinking of utopia as

a programmatic blueprint for creating a better world or as a rhetorical utopia for inspiring us to desire more.

37. Basdeo, Stephen. "'That Robin Hood should bring us John Ball": William Morris's References to the Outlaw in *A Dream of John Ball* (1888).' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.2 (Summer 2019): 54-65.

Morris's references to Robin Hood are drawn from Joseph Ritson's 1795 collection of Robin Hood ballads, sharing Ritson's view that Robin was a precursor to John Ball but was gentrified as an aristocrat with no concern for overturning the social order as the revolutionaries Ball and Wat Tyler sought to do.

38. Bernstein, Susan David. 'Morris Matters: Teaching *News from Nowhere* in a Seminar on Victorian Materialities.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 133-47 .

News from Nowhere provides a field for Bill Brown's 'Thing Theory,' for Jane Bennett's 'political ecology of things,' and for Diane Coole and Samantha Frost's new materialism in terms of the river locks, red bricks, and tapestries.

39. Boos, Florence S. 'Where Have All the Manuscripts Gone? Morris's Autographs in Diaspora.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 22.4 (Summer 2018): 4-14.

The tens of thousands of pages of Morris's manuscripts scattered world-wide suggest his love of composing and copying his creative work, and they provide opportunities for discovering unpublished poems like 'A Gloss in Rhyme on the Story of Howard,' 'buried within the lovely illuminated manuscript of his translation of [the Icelandic] *Howard the Halt*.'

40. Bracken, Pamela. 'Teaching *Guenevere* through Word and Image.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 175-85.

Students enjoy the richness of 'The Defence of Guenevere' when they follow the interdisciplinary approach recommended by Morris, thereby relating the verbal with the visual elements of the poem, as in a comparison of reading the text of the Norton edition with viewing the borders and capitals of the Kelmscott edition.

41. Canevaro, Lilah Grace. 'Rhyme and Reason: The Homeric Translations of Dryden, Pope, and Morris.' In *Reading Poetry, Writing Genre: English Poetry and Literary Criticism in Dialogue with Classical Scholarship*. Ed. Silvio Bär and Emily Hauser. London:

Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019. 94-116.

Whereas John Dryden and Alexander Pope used the heroic couplet in their translations 'to recover a Homeric aesthetic based on … a unitarian Homer,' Morris used it in his translation for *The Odyssey Done into English* (1887) in relation 'to his understanding of contemporary analytical classical scholarship – and, crucially, his own response to the epic tradition.'

42. Çelikkol, Ayşe. 'The Planetary in Morris's Late Romances.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 22.4 (Summer 2018): 15-30.

In his prose romances Morris rejects capitalist globalization in favour of a planetary consciousness that arises from an environmental system of networks that transcends the boundaries of rivers and mountains, of races and nations.

43. Chandler, Timothy. 'Vestures of the Past: The Other Historicisms of Victorian Aesthetic.' Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2019.

In their writings on Gothic architecture, Ruskin and Morris discuss notions of memory, revival, and haunting as aesthetic modes of historical relation and subjectivation.

44. Crookes, Ellie. '"And There She Lete Make Herself a Nunne": Guinevere's Afterlife as a Nun in British Culture of the Mid-Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century.' *Arthuriana*, 29.1 (Spring 2019): 124-47.

Like other Victorian poets, Morris depicts Guenevere as a nun in 'King Arthur's Tomb,' thus effectively neutralizing the negative attributes of an adulterous queen.

45. d'Azay, Lucien. 'Décadence et Utopie Selon William Morris.' *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, (February-March 2019): 56–64.

Morris's utopia replaces his ugly present with an idealized Middle Ages, a bygone past, but one where singularity replaces individualism, where minorities and marginality are welcomed.

46. Donachuk, Aaron James. 'The Plot of Attentional Transformation: Literature and History in the Victorian Novel.' Diss. University of Toronto, 2018.

Of the six novelists examined, Morris is unique in his use of the plot of attentional transformation in *News from Nowhere*, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, and *The Well at the World's End* as his means for interrogating the features that empower social and cultural change.

47. Fitzpatrick, KellyAnn. 'The Medievalism of William Morris: Teaching through Tolkien.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 65-76.

Students raised on Tolkien's medieval worlds are attracted to Morris when they learn that Morris's historical and fantasy fiction were the conscious models for Tolkien.

48. Ganim, John M. 'Flesh and Stone: William Morris's *News from Nowhere* and Chaucer's Dream Visions.' In *Contemporary Chaucer across the Centuries*. Ed. Helen M. Hickey, Anne McKendry, and Melissa Raine. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2019. 188-200.

Chaucer's sophisticated use of the medieval dream vision provides Morris with the technique for integrating flights of fantasy with the depths of 'psychological experience.'

49. Gifford, James. *A Modernist Fantasy: Modernism, Anarchism, and the Radical Fantastic*. Victoria, B.C.: ELS Editions, 2018. 302 pp.

Morris's prose romances introduced an anarchist tradition that politicizes the fantasy genre extending from Morris in the 1890s and Helen Hope Mirrlees in the 1920s to the recent fiction of Ursula Le Guin and Samuel R. Delany.

50. Hardwick, Paul. 'The Haunting of William Morris's Unknown Church.' *In Victorian Cultures of Liminality: Borders and Margins*. Ed. Amina Alyal, Susan Anderson, and Rosemary Mitchell. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018. 37-47.

In one of his earliest written tales, Morris introduces us to a ghostly stone-mason carving the stones of a medieval church to illustrate his thoughts about the relationship between art and nature.

51. Hughes, Linda K., and William M. Meier. 'A Dream of William Cobbett? Teaching Morris's *John Ball* in an Interdisciplinary Course on Victorian Radicalism.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 79-97.

A Dream of John Ball reads well within a selection of radical texts for an interdisciplinary course that includes William Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, John Ruskin's 'On the Nature of Gothic,' Morris's preface to it, Morris's articles in *Justice* and *The Commonweal*, and Bernard Shaw's Fabian manifesto.

52. Kreisel, Deanna K. 'Teaching Morris the Utopian.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh

Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 161-74.

Teachers of *News from Nowhere* should focus on the utopia genre exemplified by More, Jefferies, and Bellamy, and theorised by Bloch, Jameson, and Marcuse, to encourage discussion of the literary conventions of narration and dramatic conflict that are so different in utopian literature.

53. Latham, David. '"Living in Heaven": Hope and Change in *News from Nowhere*.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 115-29.

Recognition of the seemingly incredible transformations that have occurred concerning the ideals of health, weather, and ecology since first envisioned in *News from Nowhere* may inspire a cynical generation of students to share Morris's faith in hope and change, as Morris replaces the literary convention of the selfish wish for a single dream-lover with a social effort to establish ideals for labour and fellowship. Updated revision of 'Hope and Change: Teaching *News from Nowhere*.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 17 (Summer 2007): 6-23.

54. Lears, Adin E. 'On Bells and Rebellion: The Auditory Imagination and Social Reform, Medieval and Modern.' In *Vernacular Aesthetics in the Later Middle Ages: Politics, Performativity, and Reception from Literature to Music*. Ed. Katharine W. Jager. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. 87-115.

William Langland cautions about his use of song in *Piers Ploughman*, but Morris demonstrates in *A Dream of John Ball* that 'the communal elements of song [and chant are] well-suited' to his socialist ideology.

55. Moctezuma, Joseph Luis. 'Spiritual Automata: Craft, Reproduction, and Violence, 1850-1930.' Diss. University of Chicago, 2018.

Sigurd the Volsung allegorises Morris's hostility towards industrial automatism and his hope that the revival of handicrafts will provide a technical automatism that repairs human agency, whereas 'The Pilgrims of Hope' dramatises Morris's utopic hope that a socialist community will erase the bourgeois values of property and marriage.

56. Murphy, Timothy S. 'William Morris and the Counter-Tradition of Materialist Fantasy.' *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, 30.3 (2019): 312-30.

Directing the fantasy genre in two divergent traditions, the bourgeois Catholic Tolkien leads the idealist, transcendentalist way, while 'the socialist atheist Morris' inaugurates the demographically and economically subordinate but conceptually

more fertile strand of materialist fantasy that runs through the innovative works of William Hope Hodgson, Edith Nesbit, Michael Moorcock, Ursula K. Le Guin, Samuel R. Delany, and China Miéville.

57. Pinkney, Tony. 'Morris, Jameson, Utopia.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.3 (Winter 2019): 3-16.

Fredric Jameson's insistence that utopias always fail is true for the first half of *News from Nowhere*, what Jameson would describe as the 'utopian representation' of London in the future as a garden city, but it may not be true for the second half which shifts to the journey up river with Ellen, what Jameson would describe as the 'constructional principle' of utopia as a process towards 'an unrepresentable future, a Blochian "not yet."'

58. Robertson, Michael. 'Teaching *News from Nowhere* in a Course on "The Simple Life."' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 149-59.

Teaching *News from Nowhere* in a survey of Victorian or utopian literature is less effective than in a course on the 'plain living and high thinking' of 'the simple life' wherein the classroom is organised as a debate between doubters and believers.

59. Sasso, Eleanora. 'The Cognitive Process of Parable.' *The Pre-Raphaelites and Orientalism: Language and Cognition in Remediations of the East*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2018. 160 pp.

In Sasso's study of the reception and intertextual mediation of *The Arabian Nights*, as translated by Edward Lane (1840) and Richard Burton (1885), chapter 4 shows how Ruskin and Morris replaced the conventional images of the East as sources of corruption with images as sources of marvel.

60. Schacht, Benjamin M. 'The Time of Labor: Literature and Industrial Capitalism from Percy Shelley to William Morris.' Diss. Northwestern University, 2019.

Traced from Shelley, Carlyle, Chartism, Marx, and Dickens, Morris is the culmination of the transition from early Victorian contestations over industrialisation, utilitarianism, and political economy to late Victorian aestheticism, Arts and Crafts, and the socialist vision of *A Dream of John Ball* and *News from Nowhere*.

61. Shaw, Christopher. 'William Morris and the Division of Labour: The Idea of Work in *News from Nowhere*.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. 151-66.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 9.3 (Autumn 1991): 19-30.

62. Shippey, Tom. 'William Morris and Tolkien: Some Unexpected Connections.' In *Tolkien and the Classics*. Ed. Roberto Arduini, Giampaolo Canzonieri, and Claudio A. Testi. Zurich: Walking Tree Publishers, 2019. 229-45.

Comparisons between Morris's prose romances and J.R.R. Tolkien's fiction show Morris's direct influence on Tolkien.

63. Spray, Thomas. 'Missing Links: *Beowulf*, *Grettis Saga*, and the Late Prose Romances of William Morris.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.2 (Summer 2019): 33-53.

The narrative similarities between Morris's original *The Wood Beyond the World* prose romance and his translations of the Old Norse *Grettis Saga* and the Old English *Beowulf* reveal his interest in the evidence of a shared Anglo-Icelandic heritage derived from Eirikr Magnusson's 'English hypothesis' that *Beowulf* influenced the *Grettis Saga*.

64. Stacey, Robert David. 'Labour and the End(s) of Art in Archibald Lampman's "The Land of Pallas."' *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 87.2 (Spring 2018): 64-83.

A companion poem to 'The City of the End of Things,' Lampman's 'The Land of Pallas' is much influenced by *News from Nowhere*, as Lampman's narrator traverses this utopian land, noting its the cooperative and egalitarian social structure.

65. Su, Minjie. 'Light, Dark, and Grey: Representation of Hero in William Morris's *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*.' *Neophilologus*, 103 (January 2019):129-43.

In contrast to the conventionally enlightened hero defending his people against the dark world, Morris depicts Sigurd as a compromise between the ideal and the real, the imperfect 'hero of the grey.'

66. Weinroth, Michelle. 'Morris and the Literary Canon.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 187-203.

Morris translated the *Odyssey* in a 'folkish' style of archaic English comparable to the Mycenaean bardic culture that Homer had drawn on, introducing an antiquarian style that threatened the Victorian elite.

67. Wood, Andrew J. 'This Is a Pipe: The Aesthetic Object in Morris's Nowhere.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.3 (Winter 2019): 17-35.

'A Little Shopping' – chapter 6 of *News from Nowhere* – shows how Morris and

Georges Bataille theorize art as 'the most fundamentally human production,' but in contrast to a well-wrought pipe valorizing Bataille's notion of the 'sovereignty' category, for Morris the pipe serves as a sign of communal sharing and pleasure in labour.

DECORATIVE ARTS

68. Bain, Rowan. *William Morris's Flowers*. London: Thames & Hudson and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 2019. 144 pp.

With more than 100 illustrations of carpets, fabrics, and wallpapers, this gift book 'traces the origins of Morris's flower-based designs' in his own gardens at Red House and in illuminated manuscripts, medieval tapestries, 17th-century herbals, and the Islamic art he studied at the South Kensington Museum.

69. Carroll, Alicia. 'Elemental Ecologies: Arts and Crafts Women and Early Green Thought.' *New Woman Ecologies: From Arts and Crafts to the Great War and Beyond*. Charlottesville, VA: U of Virginia P, 2019. 27-59.

Mary and Evelyn De Morgan and Jane and May Morris embroidered their artworks as expert gardeners inspired by William Morris's environmental vision of a utopian garden wherein women are free to pursue the limitations of hetero-normative relationships.

70. Chitty, Gill, and David Stocker. 'Westerwald Stoneware at Kelmscott Manor: Morris, Pottery and the Politics of Production.' *Antiquaries Journal*, 99 (September 2019): 363-97.

Much of it still at Kelmscott Manor, Morris's collection of Westerwald German stoneware indicates his keen interest in its vernacular pottery tradition of craftwork and decorative style first revealed in the pitcher on the bedside table pictured in his *La Belle Iseult* (1858).

71. Codell, Julie. 'William Morris and the Intersection of the Histories of Art and Design.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 235-48.

Morris rejected the separation of the history of art and the history of craft, promoting in craft the 'historicity of nature,' the 'vernacular tradition,' and the same 'linearity of allusion' respected in fine art.

72. Faldet, David. 'Laxey Mill: Ruskin's Parallel to Merton Abbey.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter:

U of Exeter P, 2019. 143-50.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 14.1 (Autumn 2000): 37-43.

73. Gould, Sarah. 'Exhibition Review of "Parabola of Pre-Raphaelitism: Turner, Ruskin, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris."' *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 18.2 (Autumn 2019), 204-11.

Review of the 2019 exhibition 'Parabola of Pre-Raphaelitism: Turner, Ruskin, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris' in Tokyo, Kurume, and then Osaka suggests that Morris evolved from a 'plain and naturalistic' style like his *Trellis* wallpaper to 'more sophisticated patterns and luxurious furniture.'

74. Hart, Imogen. 'Morris for Art Historians.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 207-18.

As a creator of art and theorist of art, Morris invites us to rethink the nature of art, as he shows us that the 'things of everyday use' – like his *Vine* wallpaper and *Kennet* chintz – are no less works of art than are 'pictures and sculpture.'

75. Heardman, Adam. 'Workforce.' *Art Monthly*, no. 426 (May 2019): 26-28.

Review of the 'Workforce: The NewBridge Project' exhibition of new artworks at Gateshead, Newcastle, 15 March – 26 April 2019, curated by Lucas Ferguson-Sharp, includes the exhibition catalogue *Our Daily Bread: Some Thoughts on Earning Crust* recalling Morris's 1884 address on 'Art and Labour,' wherein Morris shifts from Greek and Roman art to the 'wide sympathy' of an art of the people that was initiated in Byzantium.

76. Housefield, James. '"William Morris, designer": Morris and the History of Design as Social Engagement.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 219-34.

Morris considered his role as a 'designer' as redesigning society as well as art, a role that remains relevant today for the growing number of groups 'that integrate design and craft with social activism.'

77. Juday, Hettie. 'Designing with Materials for Life.' *Art Quarterly* (Autumn 2019): 4.

Review of the 'William Morris and the Bauhaus' exhibition at the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, 9 October 2019 – 26 January 2020, in the form of an interview with curator Roisin Ingleby on the relationship between Morris's decorative Arts and

Crafts movement and Walter Gropius's Modernist Bauhaus school of art, architecture, and design in Germany.

78. Kuenzli, Katherine M. *Henry van de Velde: Designing Modernism*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2019. 240 pp.

The Belgian architect, designer, and artist was influenced by Morris's Arts and Crafts designs and Georges Seurat's paintings. He translated some of Morris's lectures on art and politics, but he preferred to consult with local manufacturers for producing his wallpapers rather than compete with them as Morris did by setting up his own workshops.

79. Migeon, Jacques. 'Red House and Ruskin.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewett. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. 51-53.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 3.3 (Spring 1977): 30-32.

80. Newall, Christopher, and Joichiro Kawamura, Akiko Kato, and Namiko Sasaki. *Parabola of Pre-Raphaelitism: Turner, Ruskin, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris*. Tokyo: Artis Inc., 2019. 233 pp. + 152 colour illus.

Catalogue of the exhibition in Japan held at the Mitsubishi Ichigokan Museum, Tokyo, 14 March – 9 June 2019; at the Kurume City Art Museum, Kurume, 20 June – 8 September; and at the Abeno Harukas Art Museum, Osaka, 5 October – 15 December 2019, features the range of Morris's decorative arts in the fifth of the five sections. In Japanese and English.

81. Onegin, Nicholas. 'English Wallpapers in the Apartments of Emperor Nicholas II in the Winter Palace.' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, no. 42 (2018): 110-21.

Impressed by Morris's decoration of rooms in 1887 for Queen Victoria in Balmoral Castle, Emperor Nicholas II – known for his 'English taste' – ordered *Medway* and *Garden Tulip* wallpapers in 1894-95 for rooms in his Winter Palace in St. Petersburg.

82. Palmer, Caroline. 'Picking up the Thread: Exploring the Designs of May Morris in the Ashmolean Museum.' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, no. 42 (2018): 122-41.

The Ashmolean Museum's acquisition of May Morris's collection at Kelmscott Manor in 1941 includes her preliminary and finished drawings, inventive designs,

plant studies, and writings about the art of embroidery that 'echo her father's principles.'

83. Petiot, Aurélie. *The Pre-Raphaelites*. New York: Abbeville, 2019. 400 pp.

This well-illustrated study of the Pre-Raphaelite movement introduces Morris's decorative arts as 'the culmination of Pre-Raphaelite precepts.' It includes discussions of the role of craftswomen in the Arts and Crafts movement, as well as the ideals of work and 'the art of revolution,' and concludes with a lengthy review of its critical reception in France and its influence on modern art.

84. Rose, Sam. 'Design Theory and Marxist Art Writing: For and Against Mass Culture.' *From Roger Fry to Global Modernism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2019. 98-127.

Parallels and contrasts are traced between Morris's inspiring principles and Roger Frye's Omega Workshops.

BOOK DESIGN

85. Bentley, D.M.R. '"A Kind of *New Renaissance*": Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris, and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.' *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, ns 28 (Fall 2019): 70-90.

For his illustrations of 'The Story of Cupid and Psyche,' a tale from Morris's *The Earthly Paradise*, Burne-Jones contributed 44 designs for woodcuts that are based on the source in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses, or The Golden Ass*, but both the poet and artist were very much influenced by the story and illustrations in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), a copy of which Morris gave to Burne-Jones.

86. Braesel, Michaela. *William Morris und die Buchmalerei*. Koln: Bohlau Verlag, 2019. 706 pp.

Morris was fascinated with medieval book illumination throughout his life, as both a practising illuminator and as a collector of manuscripts for his own library. Braesel presents a comprehensive study of his theory and practice as an innovative critic of and artist in nineteenth-century book design, from his early decorative experiments with manuscripts to his typography and woodcuts for his Kelmscott Press.

87. Molby, Brandiann A. 'The User, the Reader, and the Pocket Cathedral: William Morris's Arts and Crafts Aesthetic and the Decorated Book.' Diss. Loyola University Chicago, 2018.

The fullest expression of an Arts and Crafts interpretive model, Morris's book

designs are predicated on the user's interpretive engagement with the material object to bring together word and image, form and function, and decoration and design.

88. Phimister, Evelyn J. 'John Ruskin, William Morris and the Illuminated Manuscript.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P; 2019. 97-104.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 14.1 (Autumn 2000): 30-36.

89. Syme, Alison. 'Pressed Flowers: Burne-Jones, *The Romaunt of the Rose*, and the Kelmscott Chaucer.' *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, ns 28 (Fall 2019): 42-69.

Detailed analyses of a few representative illustrations, particularly the last one for 'The Romaunt of the Rose,' show how Burne-Jones engaged 'with diverse print-culture precedents and practices' in his collaborative work with Morris on the Kelmscott Chaucer.

90. Wager, Anna. 'Photographs, Pens, and Print: William Morris and the Technologies of Typography.' *Book History*, 21 (2018): 245-77.

Emery Walker's lantern-slide enlargements of type initiated Morris's advancements in book design, as Morris combined craft and technology to adapt the style of handwriting as central to his creation of two new type designs.

91. Walker, Emery. *Printing for Book Production: Emery Walker's Three Lectures for the Sandars Readership in Bibliography, Delivered at Cambridge, November 6, 13, & 20, 1924*. Ed. Richard Mathews and Joseph Rosenblum. Newcastle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2019. 256 pp.

The detailed introduction discusses Walker's work with Morris for establishing the Kelmscott Press. Illustrations of Walker's original slides are included, as is Walker's 1888 seminal lecture attended by Morris, Shaw, and Wilde.

POLITICS

92. Blewitt, John. *William Morris & the Instinct for Freedom*. London: Merlin Press, 2019. 256 pp.

Morris's political interests of the 1880s and '90s are studied within the context of his active engagement with debates over the woman question, with anarchist factions, with the details of the various committees of the Socialist League, and with environmental concerns. Parallels are drawn between the political debates of Morris's age and their extension to our own age from the 1980s to the present.

93. Browning, Elizabeth Grenning. 'Naturalizing the Dignity of Labor: The Hull-House Labor Museum and William Morris's Influence on the American Settlement House Movement.' In *Teaching William Morris*. Ed. Jason D. Martinek and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller. Lanham, MD: Fairleigh Dickinson UP/Rowman & Littlefield, 2019. 25-40.

Inspired by Morris, Ruskin, and Toynbee Hall in East London, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr established the Hull-House settlement in Chicago for promoting labour reform, Arts and Crafts ideals, and re-connections of slum dwellers with the natural environment.

94. Carey, Michael Stephen. 'British Socialism and the Emotions of Revolution, 1884-1926.' Diss. University of Nottingham, 2018.

As theorists of the British socialist revival, Morris and E. Belfort Bax followed Marx's critique of self-interest by promoting such passions as 'sympathy,' 'solidarity,' and 'fellowship' as the integral sources of socialist feeling to support the struggle against capitalism.

95. Faulkner, Peter. 'Hobsbawm's Morris.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.3 (Winter 2019): 53-57.

In his *How to Change the World: Tales of Marx and Marxism* (2011), Eric Hobsbawm includes various references to Marx's influence on Morris, the Arts and Crafts movement, and garden suburbs, but he adds that Morris's aesthetic theories have been neglected in mainstream Marxist debates.

96. Jewusiak, Jacob. 'Retirement in Utopia: William Morris's Senescent Socialism.' *ELH*, 86 (Spring 2019): 245-66.

In *News from Nowhere* Morris resists the capitalist divisions between youth and old age, usefulness and excess based on models of productivity that deceive us into thinking of early retirement as a utopian ideal.

97. Kinna, Ruth. 'Découvrir les Filons Libertaires du Socialisme.' *Actuel Marx*, no. 66 (2019): 133-37.

In an interview with David Hamelin and Jérôme Lamy about socialism and anarchism, Kinna contrasts Peter Kropotkin's determinist politics with Morris's volunteerist politics.

98. Morgan, Benjamin. 'How We Might Live: Utopian Ecology in William Morris and Samuel Butler.' In *Ecological Form: System and Aesthetics in the Age of Empire*. Ed.

Nathan K. Hensley and Philip Steer. New York: Fordham UP; 2019. 139-60.

Like Butler's *Erewhon* (1872), *News from Nowhere* does not present a pastoral ideal, as both authors pursue ecological concerns and the multiple 'interactions between human and nonhuman systems.'

99. Naslas, Michael. 'Medievalism in Morris's Aesthetic Theory.' In *William Morris and John Ruskin: A New Road on Which the World Should Travel*. Ed. John Blewitt. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2019. 105-13.

Reprint from *The Journal of the William Morris Society*, 5.1 (Summer 1982): 16-24.

100. Puckett, Kent. '"Postscript: 1976": E.P. Thompson and the River of Fire.' *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 47. 4 (Winter 2019): 813-34.

In his postscript to the revised edition of *William Morris: From Romantic to Revolutionary* (1976), E.P. Thompson describes the evolution of his understanding of Morris and of his shift from Marxism to the New Left using Morris's own words concerning the river of fire and education of desire.

101. Renshaw, Daniel. 'Socialist Ideology, Organisation, and Interaction with Diaspora and Ethnicity." *Socialism and the Diasporic 'Other': A Comparative Study of Irish Catholic and Jewish Radical and Communal Politics in East London, 1889-1912*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2018. 40-51.

Morris condemned H.M. Hyndman's prejudice against foreigners and refugees in the Socialist Democratic Federation.

102. Robertson, Michael. *The Last Utopians: Four Late Nineteenth-Century Visionaries and Their Legacy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2018. 336 pp.

The four utopians – Edward Bellamy, Morris, Edward Carpenter, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman – share four principles: an economic equality, a gender equality, a respect for the environment, and a spiritual respect that considers the divine within our minds and the order of nature. The chapter on Morris pursues the evidence that Morris 'crafted his very personality into a dismissal of the world as it is.'

103. Rowbotham, Sheila. 'William Morris and the Mesh of Memory.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 2018): 4-14.

Morris's lecture in Bristol in 1885 inspired Miriam Daniell, Helena Born, William Bailie, and Helen Tufts eventually, by 1889, to join socialist causes from Manchester to Boston, U.S.A.

104. Sroka, Michelle. 'The Poetics of Labor: Visions of Work and Community in England, 1730-1890.' Diss. Duke University, 2019.

News from Nowhere is the fruition of the rejection of capitalism that earlier poets only hinted at, but its conflation of labour with pleasure and art introduces highly aesthetic forms of labour that complicate the practicalities of socialism.

105. Terekhov, Jessica. 'Imagining Craft: William Morris's Literary Art/Work and Early Soviet Writing.' *Oxford Research in English*, 7 (Autumn 2018): 29-58.

Soviet critics like Osip Brik, Viktor Shklovsky, and Nikolai Chuzhak shared some of Morris's socialist concerns for popular art, but the Soviets became far too prescriptive and reactionary.

106. Vaninskaya, Anna. 'Cheers and Jeers: Lecturer-Audience Interaction in the Socialist Movement.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.3 (Winter 2019): 36-52.

The socialist lecture circuit could draw hostile audiences of hecklers, but Morris would also draw cheers, and he enjoyed question time as an opportunity to measure his audience's sympathy for the Cause.

107. Williams, Stephen. 'Annie Taylor: The Socialist Years.' *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 2018): 83-94.

Born Anne Cordelia Philipps (1843-1912) in Edinburgh, Annie Taylor was a member of the Fabian Society with G.B. Shaw, then joined the Socialist League and the Women's Union, marched at the forefront of the 'Bloody Sunday' protest where she is pictured in *The Graphic* (19 November 1887) carrying a banner and being struck down by the police with a truncheon, a brutal act she recounted with Morris in a rally at Victoria Park in 1888.

AUTHOR INDEX

Reviews

Suzanne Fagence Cooper, *How We Might Live: At Home with Jane and William Morris* (London: Quercus, 2022), 536 pp., £30 hbk, ISBN 9781529409482, £14.99 pbk, ISBN 9781529409505

Suzanne Fagence Cooper's book had me at hello. The first part of the book's title comes from a lecture, 'How We Live and How We Might Live', given by William Morris to the Hammersmith Branch of the Social Democratic Federation at Kelmscott House, Hammersmith in November 1884. The second part of the title, *At Home with Jane and William Morris*, gives a tantalising promise of intimacy with the subjects. The author's reversal of the typical nomenclature from 'William and Jane' to 'Jane and William' suggests that Jane's world will be given equal importance to that of her husband. The illustration of Sally Roberson's honeysuckle embroidery on the cover made me smile. Roberson has conducted several well attended embroidery workshops for the William Morris Society, and her embroidery kits are sold exclusively in the Society's museum shop. On the back cover is one of my favourite quotes by William, 'The true secret of happiness lies in taking a genuine interest in all the details of daily life'. Amen. I couldn't wait to get started.

Fagence Cooper is an art historian specialising in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British art and has a long-held interest in the Morrises and their circle. She has said one of her intentions is to share her research with non-specialist audiences, telling the human stories behind the art and design. Written in a captivating and accessible manner, *How We Might Live* succeeds in this goal. The book is the first joint biography of the couple and focuses on their personal and creative partnership. In his 1884 lecture 'How We Live and How We Might Live' William expresses his desire for a truly equal society enabling 'a beautiful world to live in'. Fagence Cooper's book takes us inside the Morrises' own beautiful world based on the principles of collaboration and fellowship, shaping our understanding of the home as a creative workspace. Through their homes and the lovingly chosen objects they filled them with, the couple explored how we all might live a life more focused on beauty and fulfilment.

The chapters of *How We Might Live* take us through the most important places in the lives of the Morrises. Many of these places will be familiar to the seasoned Morris reader: Epping Forest, Oxford, Red House, Iceland, Kelmscott Manor, and Kelmscott House. However, some locations will be less familiar such as the couple's homes in Queen Square and Turnham Green and Jane's love for the warmth of Italy. Fagence Cooper's gift to the reader is to create for us a strong sense of place regarding the Morris homes. Her detailed and vivid descriptions engage the reader; we feel, almost literally, at home with the couple, experiencing how they live.

Fagence Cooper's approach is different from that of previous biographers, not only because she provides a joint biography but because she focuses on the importance of the domestic. How someone lives their personal life is most informative and vital if we are to see the complete person. *How We Might Live* builds on David Rodgers' *William Morris at Home* (1996). Rodgers' well written and beautifully illustrated book focuses on William's life in the context of his homes. Fagence Cooper gives Jane a voice and shows her to be an active participant in the Morrises' domestic and professional partnership.

Indeed, one of Fagence Cooper's motivations in writing *How We Might Live* was that she felt all too often Jane had been written out of the true story of the couple's life together. The public's view of Jane has been mythologised by Rossetti's paintings and the anecdotes of a few men - whom she didn't particularly like – such as George Bernard Shaw, who further mythologised Jane as 'the silentest woman I have ever met'. With the publication of *The Collected Letters of Jane Morris* (2012), edited by Jan Marsh and Frank C. Sharp, Jane is silent no longer. Through her hitherto largely unknown correspondence we see her true voice: a warm, dignified, intelligent, intellectually curious, industrious woman with lasting friendships who laughed often.

Fagence Cooper builds on Marsh's and Sharp's work to give full attention to Jane's contribution to the couple's life together. She also refers to the correspondence of Jane's close friends, such as Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle, and Philip Webb to give a more rounded and accurate depiction of Jane. Jane actively helped create and keep a beautiful, hospitable home, being admired later in life as head of the Morris household. She also played an active role at Morris & Co., managing the Embroidery Department for the firm before May took over the role. And she was able to hold her own within William's circle of artistic and intellectual friends. One of the strengths of *How We Might Live* is that Fagence Cooper shows how 'even familiar events can be transformed if we see them from a new part of the room' (as expressed by the author in an interview with *The William Morris Society Magazine*, Autumn 2022). Fagence Cooper does this with great effect, to give a clearer picture not only of Jane but also of the team of women, mostly working from home, who produced textiles for sale at Morris & Co., including daughters May and Jenny, sister Bessie Burden and their friends.

The biggest revelation in the book for me was learning about the four highly personal little 'keepsake' manuscript books filled with words and images that Jane made in the late 1870s and 1880s. Three of the books were found among May Morris's papers when she died. Beautifully bound, each one suggests a different purpose, perhaps a different recipient. The books contain pencil decorations, lines from carols, and poems including ones by Keats and Tennyson. Quotations are included from Dante and Newman, Chaucer and Langland, and Gabriel and Christina Rossetti. There is even a dash of Greek, French and Italian; Jane had travelled far from her extremely modest birthplace in St Helen's Passage, Oxford, the daughter of a groom and an illiterate laundress. Most intriguingly, one of the books contains romantic quotations with symbolic motifs, quite different in appearance from the designs of her husband and daughter. The author concludes that these original works should 'make us reconsider our assumptions about Jane, encouraging us to look at her as an experimental artist' (p.393). Fagence Cooper does not romanticise the couple or shy away from mentioning the difficulties and strains within the Morris marriage. Jane's infidelities, first with Dante Gabriel Rossetti and then with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, are examined. The author asserts that Blunt offered Jane romance, playfulness, suspense, and attention during a period of great strain due to Jenny's illness; William, pulled in different directions by the firm, his socialist activities, and his desire to write, did not. However, Fagence Cooper concludes that despite these periods of sadness and dislocation, the couple kindly worked through them and remained a partnership.

My only criticism is that there are no illustrations in the book apart from a single

black and white image at the start of each chapter. Alas, the author's evocative descriptions of all the beautiful colourful furnishings and homes can only be seen in the mind's eye of the reader. Maybe not a problem for the seasoned Morris reader familiar with these items and places but not helpful to those new to Morris, who will need to look elsewhere to see these beauties. However, I would still highly recommend this thoughtfully written and engaging book, which now goes into my top five recommended books about Morris (both of them).

Fiona Rose

Owen Holland, *Literature and Revolution: British Responses to the Paris Commune of 1871* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2022), xi + 251 pp., 14 b&w illustrations, $120 hbk, ISBN 9781978829855, $39.95 pbk, ISBN 9781978821934.

Comparing a variety of cultural products whose dates of publication range from the 1870s to the early nineteenth century, Owen Holland's *Literature and Revolution* maps the battle over the meaning of the Paris Commune in Britain – a battle in which literature, as Holland shows, features as a privileged site. Holland's well-written account is worth reading for its sober engagement with both the Communards' radical thought and the legacy of the Commune in critical and literary theory, from Matthew Arnold to Kristin Ross.

Holland's primary corpus is distributed over six central chapters between his introduction and his conclusion. The book's second chapter discusses Edward Bulwer Lytton's serial novel *The Parisians* (1872-74) and Eliza Lynn Linton's *Joshua Davidson* (1872). These are followed by close readings of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Under the Red Flag* (1883), Anne Thackeray Ritchie's *Mrs. Dymond* (1885), and Margaret Oliphant's novella *A Beleaguered City* (1880) in chapter 3. George Gissing's *Workers in the Dawn* (1880) and Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* (1885-86) are the objects of chapters 4 and 5, respectively, while William Morris's epic short poem *The Pilgrims of Hope* (1885-1886) and Alfred Austin's 1876 modifications to his poem *The Human Tragedy* (first published in 1862) take center stage in chapter 6. Chapter 7 closes the book's literary case studies with H. G. Wells's *When the Sleeper Wakes* (1899). In addition to other works by these authors, Holland's analyses include illustrations by Walter Crane, pamphlets and articles by John Burns, Annie Besant, and Henry Mayers Hyndman, novels by George Eliot, John Oxenham, and Alexandra Orr, several writings by George Bernard Shaw, and John Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*. Together, they allow Holland to trace 'the cumulative effect of changing representations of the Commune' and to explore how different British authors contributed to 'wider cultural debates about the meaning of the Commune' (p. x).

As critics ranging from Marx to Carlyle would come to recognise, the seizing of power by the Parisian proletariat dealt aa near fatal blow' to the social, economic, and political order that had survived successive convulsions since 1793, unleashing a crisis in the bourgeois subjecthood which rested upon that order (p. 12). Holland thus sees in many of the literary works that followed 1871 an attempt to suture the wound inflicted by the Commune, containing the threat posed by its existence via a displacement into the aesthetic realm. The numerous representations of the Commune's defeat in British literature offered a symbolic restoration of the shattered bourgeois rule. But they also revealed a pattern of neurotic repetition that betrayed their authors' anxieties about working-class organisation and the destabilisation of the social and economic relations that had until then been stripped of their contingent character.

The trope of an underworld conspiracy against the dominant order, for instance, is a recurring symptom of these anxieties. It appears in Bulwer's, Gissing's, and James's novels, as well as newspaper articles that raise readers' suspicion against French political refugees as 'murderers and murderesses' who 'may be leading quiet and simple lives while the Parisian police are searching for them' (George R. Sims quoted in Holland p. 99). To this fear of contagion with the continent's radical tendencies, conservative authors responded with repressive distortions that portrayed the working class as a wild, denaturalized and unindividuated mob, whose political reasoning was either nonexistent or unworthy of consideration. In chapter 2, Holland draws attention to how gender traversed the fantasy of a hidden menace lurking below the surface, especially through the image of the Commune's *pétroleuses*, whose perversion of the virtues of femininity haunted the English imaginary of 1871. While Ritchie, for one, posed a challenge to the existing gender norms by approximating her female protagonist's trajectory to the Communards' struggle, most other authors only reinforced the gender stereotypes prevalent in the pejorative anti-Communard media at the time.

Also associated with the picture of the Communards' unruliness and incivility was the notion of revolution as inevitably violent and unilaterally destructive. By extension, artistic creation became opposed to radical changes, and many authors ended up positing art as incompatible with revolutionary politics. James's protagonist in *The Princess Casamassima*, for example, observes that the spectre of the Revolution, met everywhere in France, appears 'always in the shape of the destruction of something beautiful and precious' (James quoted in Holland p. 109). Bringing Nietzsche's influence on Wells's work into his reading, Holland demonstrates how an essentially conservative and elitist view of art and intellectual activity served to undermine and dismiss the Commune's egalitarian values as a product of *ressentiment*.

Exaggerating the lower classes' desire for vengeance in his novel, Gissing goes so far as to link political radicalisation to mental derangement, anticipating a trend that, Holland claims, would later serve to pathologise dissent (p. 86). That the emphasis on revolutionary terrorism frequently overlooks the systemic state violence so blatantly demonstrated by the Bloody Week escaped many of the authors discussed in the book, as Holland argues, despite their preoccupation with historical facticity and verisimilitude.

Even in works where the Communards and their actions are presented in such a way as to invite the reader's understanding, their motivations are ultimately rejected for their naivete or impracticality, making up a more sophisticated form of narrative containment that Holland calls "sympathetic disavowal" (p. 69). Only William Morris's *The Pilgrims of Hope* and Margaret Oliphant's *A Beleaguered City* run counter to the agenda of containment exposed by Holland in these literary representations of 1871. Oliphant's novella allegorises the Commune as a city literally taken over by ghosts. Yet for once her narrative does not close in disavowal; rather, its attempt at radical understanding, solidarity, and recognition constitutes for Holland one of the few "*genuinely* subversive exploration[s] of the destabilisation of bourgeois subjectivity" (p. 78). Morris's epic poem, in turn, exceeds the limits of the realist novel – a genre bound up, since its origin, with the stabilisation of the bourgeois world. Engaging with the contradiction between the values of justice and democracy, and the cost to realize those values, as Terry Eagleton puts it, Morris's is the only literary work studied by Holland where the need for destruction and even a degree of violence in the struggle for human emancipation is faced head on, eschewing the liberal, moderate position that otherwise precludes revolution. Morris seeks to valorise the sacrifice made by the Parisian Communards, turning 1871 into a starting point for a new world, instead of yet another inevitable failure in a succession of revolutions always already doomed to fail.

To conclude, apart from Morris's and Oliphant's, all other works discussed by Holland participate, more or less directly, in the reconstruction of the symbolic order that had been unsettled by the Commune. Whether inserting 1871 in a fatalist chronology of Nietzschean eternal recurrence or turning a blind eye to the pressing contradictions laid bare by the Communards, those works reject the possibility of radical revolutionary transformation either as undesirable, or simply as unrealistic. Holland's emphasis on the way that they respond to the crisis of bourgeois subjectivity unleashed by the Commune is particularly valuable in what it says about the ways that literature, as an institution, depended and continues to depend on the status quo. While Holland admits that contemporary challenges are left outside the scope of his research, his conclusion nods towards the ongoing parallels between his authors' positions and

our own. In this, I would say, lies the greatest merit of Holland's book and its most worthwhile inspiration for the present of literature and literary studies: namely that, as Morris puts it, in order to contribute to the transformations that our world needs, we may need to relinquish 'a form of life that is inherently exploitative so that another, more just one may be brought to birth' (Morris quoted in Holland p. 130).

Luiza Duarte Caetano

Mark A. Allison, *Imagining Socialism: Aesthetics, Anti-politics, and Literature in Britain, 1817-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 288pp., 6 illustrations, £76.00 hbk, ISBN 9780192896490.

'When one talks to people about socialism or communism, one very frequently finds that they […] declare communism to be something very beautiful; "but", they then say, "it is impossible ever to put such things into practice in real life"' (p. 3). This complaint from a young Friedrich Engels reflects a criticism long levelled at socialism – that it represents a beautiful ideal, rather than a realisable political system. Mark Allison's book takes up this line of thinking to argue that British socialism in the long nineteenth century *is*, in fact, 'best understood as a *goal to be imagined*, rather than an ideological program to be instantiated' (p. 2). Aesthetics, he contends, were not merely a supplement to politics, but constituted an integral part of socialist thinking across this period.

As Allison acknowledges, this book is hardly the first to recognise the aesthetic tendencies of British socialism – Ruth Livesey has laid much of the groundwork on this topic in her *Socialism, Sex, and the Culture of Aestheticism in Britain* (2007), alongside several other scholars such as Anna Vaninskaya, with whose *William Morris and the Idea of Community* (2010) readers will likely be familiar. Allison's primary intervention is rather one of periodisation: where scholars have typically separated British socialism into two more-or-less distinct periods – the earlier Owenite movement and the fin-de-siècle revival – Allison proposes a 'socialist century' (1817-1918) that reads these two stages as highpoints on a continuum of socialist activity. What unites British socialists over the course of this century, despite significant differences in theory and practice, is an anti-political, aesthetic impulse. By 'anti-political', Allison refers to the suspicion of, if not active opposition to, traditional, centralised forms of government and party politics, and the desire to supersede them with superior socialist forms of community organisation. Building on the work of Gregory Claeys, Allison identifies the 'deeply ambivalent potential' of such anti-political approaches, in that they risk the 'hyperpoliticization' of social life (pp. 11-12). Further discussion of what seems a particularly contentious issue surrounding anti-politics, as one of the study's central

categories, would have been welcome, but Allison makes clear that his intention is not to weigh in on debates about the implications of various kinds of socialist politics in practice – it is simply to elucidate the aesthetic underpinning on which many of British socialism's anti-political visions depend.

The study moves chronologically, beginning with the announcement of Robert Owen's plan for a new society, the subject of chapter one, and moving through mid-century Christian socialism (chapter three) to its endpoint of Morrisian socialism at the fin de siècle (chapter five). There are intriguing stops along the way in the shape of two close readings, the first of the Chartist epic *Ernest*; or *Political Regeneration* (the subject of chapter two) and the second, perhaps a less likely inclusion, of George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (chapter four).

Allison notes that socialism before 1880 tends to be passed over in literary/cultural studies, compared to the 'well-trodden territory' of the socialist revival, with its host of familiar, even canonical, writers (p. 5). In drawing productive connections between socialist formulations across the century, Allison moves past the tendency to dismiss early socialists as politically immature, a tradition set in motion by Marx and Engels in their efforts to distinguish the scientific rigour of historical materialism. As such, the book will prove useful for fin-de-siècle specialists seeking a stronger grounding in the movement's early nineteenth-century roots and may even provide inspiration for further research into these lesser studied areas of British socialist history, outside of the long-established 1880-1914 bracket.

Given Allison's efforts to cover less-charted ground in his opening chapters, I was initially sceptical of the usefulness of another reading of *Middlemarch*, a novel to which nineteenth-century scholars have devoted seemingly endless attention from manifold perspectives. Nevertheless, Allison makes a persuasive case for the influence of early socialism's anti-political proto-feminism on the novel's approach to 'the woman question', in that it offered an alternative to liberal suffragism (a movement with which Eliot had a more ambivalent relationship). What results is both a fresh reading of Eliot's major work and a welcome invitation for us to recognise the percolation of socialist ideas in 'unexpected contexts' during periods of dormancy in terms of active socialist politics (p. 27).

Readers of this journal will find themselves on more familiar ground with the chapter on Morris, who is, of course, the unavoidable giant behind any work that looks at socialist aesthetics or, frankly, British socialism itself. Morris's conversion, Allison writes, marks the moment when British socialism becomes 'self-consciously aesthetic', where this tendency had previously been implicit (p. 190). Through an analysis of *News from Nowhere*, Allison draws out a contradiction in Morris's socialist aesthetic, in that he espouses a communal life in which beautiful objects are created

through pleasurable labour, while also promoting individual self-realisation through 'radical material simplification' (p. 202). These opposing impulses, he argues, are revealed most clearly in the character of Ellen, who embodies the ideal of socialist aestheticism to the extent that she renders the community of the arts redundant. Allison's reading is certainly well-constructed, though the problem seems to me a little overstated – he himself acknowledges how things that are both beautiful and useful (Kelmscott Press books being the prime example) allow Morris a way to synthesise the two ideals. While Morris is, for Allison, 'the greatest artist' the movement has seen, the chapter's central claim is that Morris's desublimated aesthetics, and the tensions within them, contributed to 'a dispersal of the energies and resources' that had hitherto galvanised the anti-political socialist tradition (pp. 192-93). That the very process of bringing aesthetics to the forefront of politics contributed to socialism's aesthetic decline in the twentieth century is certainly a thought-provoking notion, but one that I think would benefit from further substantiation.

Allison has given himself no small task in shaping a convincing narrative in this longer view, but he has undoubtedly made a success of it, largely thanks to the admirable clarity of his introduction, which lays the conceptual groundwork for the chapters that follow in a comprehensive yet efficient manner. The epilogue, too, offers a neat justification of the study's endpoint (1917), the highlight of which is a discussion of Walter Crane's illustration of the 'Party Fight'. In many ways, this image (aptly displayed on the book's cover) encapsulates the transition from aesthetic imaginaries to parliamentary reform that Allison views with some regret. The book closes with a call to recognise the continued value of imagining socialism today, in this period in which late-capitalist hegemony has begun (we hope) to show cracks in its façade. How far the reader is convinced by this claim to political relevance will depend on their personal view of what constitutes political action, and the capacity of art to play a role in social change. Regardless of this question of broader impact, however, there is no doubt as to the scholarly value of Allison's book in terms of the history of socialist culture in Britain.

Gemma Holgate

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Contributions to the *Journal* are welcomed on all subjects relating to Willam Morris. Articles may concern Morris's own life and work, or those of his circle – as directly influenced by, or influencing, Morris himself – or the wider implications of Morris's ideas in any field, including design, literature, printing, political thought and environmentalism.

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