William Morris's Kelmscott Connections
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Kelmscott Manor had a central place in William Morris's affections. It offered him a retreat to recover from his exertions and inspired him creatively. Living at Kelmscott also provided him with a circle of associates that he would not have known through other means. Work on Morris has in the main centered on his London connections and ignored those made at Kelmscott entirely. However, an examination of the contacts he made at Kelmscott and in surrounding towns such as Lechlade, Buscot, Burford, Broadway, Inglesham and Fairford shows that they were important in all aspects of his life. Morris also had an impact on the area around Kelmscott. This is particularly true in regard to his work with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) through which he was able to preserve numerous buildings in Kelmscott's vicinity.

Morris was enchanted with Kelmscott from his first visit in 1871, as is obvious from his earliest description in a letter to Charles Faulkner:

I have been looking about for a house for the wife and kids, and whither do you guess my eye is turned now? Kelmscott, a little village about two miles above Radcot Bridge - a heaven on earth; an old stone Elizabethan house like Water Eaton, and such a garden! close down on the river, a boat house and all things handy.¹

Kelmscott Manor quickly became for Morris 'a house that I love'.²

Morris always held the lease of Kelmscott with one of his friends, initially with Rossetti and later with Frederick Startridge Ellis. The Manor became available for lease in 1870 on the death of James Turner whose family had owned the Manor House since its building in the reign of Elizabeth I. Turner left a life interest in the property to his widow Elizabeth. She moved to the nearby village of Eaton Hastings, and the Manor House and 68 acres were let on her behalf by Charles Hobbs, the son of James Turner's sister who held the remainder interest in the property.

By necessity, Morris had frequent dealings with the Hobbs family particularly with Charles's son, Robert Hobbs who rented the bulk of the farmland that made up the estate, first from Elizabeth Turner and then from his father. Aside from business dealings, Morris and Hobbs were also friends. In the Collected Works, May Morris states that 'impressions of Kelmscott would be incomplete without the inclusion of the leading personality [Hobbs] which gives life to the place.' She recalls:

I have sat . . . watching this gentleman surrounded by his handsome family, musing over the fine sight and thinking how much of common interest and
common understanding the two Kelmscott neighbours had, the owner of a famous herd of cattle and the poet who lies under the elm trees yonder.3

Robert Hobbs apparently had substantial means. The 1881 census shows that he had in his employ ‘3 Boys 5 women and 22 men’. Hobbs’s bailiff was in charge of the agricultural land which Morris leased with the Manor. In 1895, Charles Hobbs died and Robert wished to purchase the entire Kelmscott estate but did not have sufficient capital. It was in Morris’s interest not to have the estate divided and he lent Robert Hobbs the sum of £5,700 at 3% interest. This mortgage was to cause considerable difficulties to Morris’s executors after his death.4

Morris’s letters from the early years of his tenancy show that he was an infrequent visitor and his stays were usually quite short. In two unpublished letters to George Hake written in the 1870s, Morris discusses coming to Kelmscott for the day only. In the first he says he will be coming down in the morning and ‘I shall want a bit of breakfast when I get down’. He also asks Hake to ‘let Philip [Comely] meet me with Mouse saddled as I want to try a pack saddle on him and needn’t lug it all the way to Kelmscott’. In the second he mentions another one day trip for ‘hard work; and an hour or two’s outing on the floods’.5 As time passed and particularly after Rossetti gave up his co-tenancy, Morris spent considerably more time at Kelmscott and there is marked evidence of a widening of his contacts in the area.

Near Kelmscott, Cram Price had his holiday home at Broadway Tower. The Morrises, Burne-Joneses and Charles and Kate Faulkner were all frequent visitors to the Tower, and it became in many ways an extension of the life at Kelmscott with the Morrises providing supplies and bedding from Kelmscott for Price’s visitors.6 The Morrises’ first recorded visit was on 4 September 1876,7 and there were several visits in 1877 and 1878 when Price lost the lease of the Tower.

One early result of Morris’s stays at Kelmscott was a stained glass commission for St. Michael’s Church at Eaton Hastings. The firm provided two stained glass windows, the first St. Matthew with an Angel in 1874 and the second Christ with a Banner Walking on Water in 1877. Both were based on designs by Burne-Jones.8 Soon after installation of the second window, Morris resolved that the firm would no longer provide windows for churches built before 1700. Thus there are few other examples of Morris stained glass in the vicinity of Kelmscott. At Buckland Church, however, Morris & Co. restored a fifteenth century window. They completed this restoration using Morris’s theories on restoration of old glass. These included a ban on the use of any painted or coloured glass in the restoration. Instead, modern plain glass was inserted between the remaining medieval stained glass. In the church records are documents which show that Morris coordinated this restoration himself.9

Two of the most significant relationships Morris developed through Kelmscott were with clergymen, Oswald Birchall and William Fulford Adams. Birchall was a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford and had been the curate at Buscot from 1878 until he became rector in 1884. Birchall and his wife Katherine became the Morrises’ closest friends near Kelmscott and both William and Jane Morris’s letters frequently refer to social occasions the two families shared.

For a rural clergyman, Birchall was a remarkable man who would eventually
become a committed socialist. A review of a series of letters written by Birchall to the editor of the periodical The Christian Socialist from 1887 through 1891 shows a keen concern with the economic condition of the rural poor which Birchall believed could be alleviated by Socialist reforms. He also had a liberal attitude on issues such as divorce. These letters show a familiarity with the writings of radicals such as Edward Bellamy and Henry George. Birchall’s particular concern is the condition of agricultural workers. In 1891, he proposed a detailed plan for a form of collective bargaining for rural labour. Morris approved of Birchall’s political outlook, writing him in 1885, ‘I am much interested with what you tell me about your opinions.’

In November, 1885, Birchall asked Morris to lecture on politics near Kelmscott. As Gladstone’s second government weakened, a general election seemed imminent and Birchall wanted Morris to give his opinion on it. Birchall initially suggested two lectures, with one to be held in Lechlade, but Morris did not want to give the speech in Lechlade. He wrote Birchall, ‘I don’t see much use in speaking to the Lechlade tradesmen, who would be very hostile . . . but to the latter the field workers, I should much like to speak, and show them the evils of party government’. However, the lecture had to be cancelled.

Two years later, Morris did speak at Buscot. Birchall asked him to speak about the circumstances of Bloody Sunday which Morris was glad to do as he believed that ‘the press has lied so consumedly that they can hardly be expected to know what has happened’. When Morris went to Buscot to give the lecture, he found that the local ‘magnates’ had locked the schoolroom and were turning away anyone who came to the lecture. However, Morris did give the lecture as ‘a few of the right sort had gathered around the school-room and with these we adjourned to the rectory, where we had a very useful meeting, the men listening very attentively and sympathetically’. Morris believed that his lecture was a success and that those in the audience ‘were clearly much impressed by it and will spread it about wherever they go’.

Morris had known William Fulford Adams, who had been the rector of Little Faringdon since 1864, prior to taking the lease at Kelmscott. They had been exact contemporaries both at Marlborough and at Exeter College, Oxford. Although there is no reference to him in any of Morris’s early surviving letters, he was apparently part of Morris’s circle at Oxford. In a letter to a prospective biographer of Richard Watson Dixon in 1900, Adams says that he knew Morris and Burne-Jones ‘well’ when he was at Oxford and describes Crom Price as ‘one of our intimates’ (although he states that he did not know Dixon). Any friendship between Adams and Morris seems to have faded after they left Oxford. However, the acquaintance was reestablished in the 1870s through Morris taking Kelmscott Manor and finding Adams nearby. The two men and their families became close friends. The depth of this friendship is shown in that out of the Morrices’ many friends who were clerics, Adams was selected to conduct Morris’s funeral service in 1896. Adams’s wife, Catherine, whom he had married in 1859, was the daughter of Thomas Horton, a Worcestershire surgeon. She and Jane Morris also became quite close.

The Adamses’ daughter was the bookbinder Katherine Adams Webb who as a child was the playmate of Jenny and May. Katherine Adams’s friendship with the
Morrises was crucial to her later career as she met Emery Walker, Douglas Cockerell and Charles Harry St. John Hornby through the Morrises, all of whom were significant in her artistic success.\textsuperscript{17}

Morris seems to have been on considerably more formal terms with Horace Meeres, the other clergyman in close proximity to Kelmscott. Meeres was the rector of St. George's Church in Kelmscott but did not reside there. Rather, he lived at Broadwell, a village near Kelmscott where he was also vicar. Although Meeres had been rector of Kelmscott since 1870, he apparently did not meet Morris until 1885. A letter from Meeres to Morris dated 22 May 1885 indicates that they did not know each other as Meeres says he looks forward to making Morris's acquaintance.\textsuperscript{18} This appears to confirm that the Morrises did not attend services at Kelmscott Church. Although their early meetings involved rather contentious issues over repairs to the Church, an 1892 letter by Morris to Meeres indicates that later they were on more cordial terms.\textsuperscript{19}

Kelmscott also provided Morris with an artistic connection, the American painter Edwin Austin Abbey. Abbey was staying at the Swan Inn at Lechlade in August 1882, using several local sites as backgrounds for his paintings. He became friends with Oswald Birchall who permitted him to use the hall at Buscot Rectory for his painting The Widower. Through Birchall, Abbey met Morris. Abbey’s official biographer, who had access to Abbey’s papers which have since been lost, describes a close friendship between the two men.\textsuperscript{20}

Abbey moved to Broadway in 1885, attracting a colony of American expatriate artists including John Singer Sargent and Francis Millet. Millet in an interview in Country Life in 1911 stated that Morris was the one who suggested Broadway to Abbey and thus was the inspiration for the American colony there. Jane and William Morris frequently visited Abbey at Broadway.

In the summer of 1891, Abbey returned to Lechlade with his wife Gertrude. During this period, ‘they saw a good deal of the William Morrises, meeting them sometimes at Kelmscott, and sometimes after rowing down the river at Buscot Priory’.\textsuperscript{21} During this summer, ‘Mr. and Mrs. Morris and Miss Morris [Jenny] took the Birchalls and the Abbeys on a delightful excursion up the lovely Coln Valley to Chedworth to see the lovely Roman villa’.\textsuperscript{22} In 1895, the Abbeys moved to Morgan Hall in Fairford. Soon after the move, they visited Kelmscott and Gertrude described the visit in a letter to a friend: ‘We had tea first and then went into the garden which is like fairyland. They are to give us some roots in the autumn’.\textsuperscript{23} Abbey’s home in Fairford was decorated with ‘William Morris chintzes’.\textsuperscript{24} Abbey also became a member of SPAB.

While staying at Kelmscott, the Morrises received a number of visitors from Oxford. The Kelmscott Manor visitors book\textsuperscript{25} only begins in 1889 but it shows a number of visits from Oxford intellectuals such as the family of Henry Furneaux, the noted Classical scholar, most famous for his translations of Tacitus, on 12 September 1895. Perhaps the most interesting visitor from Oxford was C. H. O. Daniel, founder of the Daniel Press, who visited Kelmscott in June 1892. Daniel, who became a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, founded his press in 1874. The Daniel Press is generally seen as a precursor to the Kelmscott Press. However, the standard history of the Kelmscott Press states that Morris ‘never mentioned Daniel or his press’.\textsuperscript{26} It seems unlikely that Morris and Daniel could have met in
1892 and not discussed printing. It is impossible to know if Morris knew these Oxford intellectuals through his London connections but even if this were true, Kelmscott gave him an additional contact with them.

The major local landowner near Kelmscott was Alexander Henderson, later the first Baron Faringdon, who lived at Buscot Park. The Morrises had some contact with the Hendersons, but it is difficult to determine how close the two families were. The Morrises may have come to know the Hendersons through Burne-Jones who made frequent visits to Buscot Park in connection with the painting and installation of his Briar Rose paintings. In August 1896, Maud Sambourne, the daughter of the Punch cartoonist, was staying at Buscot Park. In a letter to her mother, she described how Alexander Henderson took her to visit Kelmscott. She was not impressed, finding the house ‘lovely for its oldness but oh! so artistic and grubby’. May Morris was the only one at home, and Maud ‘stared at Miss Morris and wondered why she dressed in such a sloppy way with no stays’.27 This visit, however, shows that the Hendersons were on friendly terms with the Morrises. In 1892, Henderson had commissioned Morris & Co. for a stained glass window for Buscot Church (presumably acceptable because the church was eighteenth century). The window portrays The Good Shepherd and was designed by Burne-Jones.28 Henderson’s grandson, the second Baron Faringdon, became a noted Labour politician and donated the land on which the Morris Memorial Hall at Kelmscott was built.

Aside from local notables, the Morrises also had contact with the poorer inhabitants at Kelmscott. Unfortunately, we have few sources for information about them. The 1881 and 1891 censuses, however provide us with two ‘snapshot’ views of the residents of Kelmscott. It is possible to make conclusions about them from the information given to the enumerators.

In 1891, the population of Kelmscott Village was 145 (up from 106 in 1881). Of this number, except for Robert Hobbs’s family and Joseph Robins and his wife, Elizabeth, the proprietors of the Plough Inn (which is described as both beer retailer and grocery), all of the inhabitants were either servants or agricultural labourers and their families. With the exception of retainers of the Morrises and Hobbses, all of these labourers were born in Kelmscott or the surrounding villages. The agricultural labourers are usually listed by their specific job as carter, cowman, milker, shepherd, ploughboy or fogger.

The statistics provided by the censuses give evidence of a harsh existence. Children as young as thirteen already listed as ‘agricultural labourer’ rather than the appellation ‘scholar’ which would indicate that they were still in school. Men in their seventies still worked on the farms. Virtually every one of the surrounding villages had one (or in some cases two or three) men listed in the census’ disability column as having only one arm. Presumably these injuries were the result of accidents with farm machinery. Individual circumstances stand out from the census information. For example, Sarah Bateman, a sixty-year-old Kelmscott widow living alone who (unlike most women in the village who are listed as having no occupation) is described as ‘agricultural labourer’, showing that she supported herself with manual work on a farm. The Birchalls sponsored numerous projects to assist the poor in the area. May Morris would later recall ‘he and his wife lived frugally giving what they could not spare to the poor in simple loving kindness’.29
The Morrises were also involved in charitable work. In a 1895 letter to Jenny, Morris describes a local man named Jones coming to thank him for his ‘dole’ (this is probably Joseph Jones listed in the 1891 census as ‘Agricultural Labourer Fogger’).\(^{30}\) In December 1892, Morris wrote to Horace Meeres enclosing £5 for distribution ‘amongst the Kelmscott poor people’. Morris told Meeres that Jane Morris would be writing to him separately as to specific cases she would like to receive part of the money. Unfortunately, Jane’s letter does not survive, so we cannot tell which of the Kelmscott workers the money was to go to. However, clearly the Morrises had a connection to individual cases of need in the village.

In 1891, Morris gave a speech in Birmingham on the Pre-Raphaelites\(^{31}\) part of which gives us a glimpse of the insight he gained through his contact with Kelmscott’s labourers. Morris discusses Thomas Hardy’s novels and concludes ‘[i]f you go down into the country you won’t see Hardy’s heroes and heroines walking, I assure you. You will see a very different kind of thing from that when you meet the ordinary British farmer or the ordinary British agricultural labourer walking about.’ Contact with Kelmscott agricultural workers gave Morris a keen insight into their lives. He was particularly enraged by their exploitation by the local landowners. In 1887, he wrote that ‘their slavery to the farmers being so direct that it presses on them every day.’\(^{32}\)

The Morrises had contact with some of the villagers through work they did for them. Robert Hobbs’s Farm Bailiff was a Cornishman, Thomas Glanville, whom Morris criticized in regard to his organization of work on Morris’s fields.\(^{33}\) Morris also had full-time employees of his own as caretakers and servants of the Manor. The first caretaker was Philip Comely who maintained the Manor with his wife Harriet. After her husband’s death, Harriet Comely continued to oversee the Kelmscott household. The 1881 census records her as ‘Housekeeper Charge of Manor House’. At this time, Harriet had her niece Annie Allen assisting her as a cook and general servant. In the 1891 census, Harriet Comely now aged 69 was still living in the cottage attached to the Manor House, presumably being taken care of in her old age by the Morrises.

From the late 1880s until 1892, the caretaker at Kelmscott was Francis Harding who was 29 at the time of the 1891 census. Harding is the ‘Frank’ mentioned frequently in William Morris’s family letters of this period. He was born in Kelmscott, the son of a Kelmscott agricultural labourer, Henry Harding and his wife Mary. Francis’ wife, also named Mary, the Morrises’ cook at Kelmscott, was however, born in Scotland. This suggests that the couple may have met through the Morrises. Mary may have been either one of the Morrises’ London servants or one of their guests. Also in the house at the time of the 1891 census was a fourteen-year-old girl, Mary Oakley, as a general servant. Harding’s successor was William Giles, who took care of the Manor with his wife Mary until after Morris’s death.

Morris’s most significant impact upon the area around Kelmscott was through SPAB. The geographic concentration of buildings near Kelmscott on which the Society took action is unparalleled throughout Britain. Obviously the moving force behind this legion of projects was Morris himself. A review of the SPAB’s files shows his direct involvement in virtually every case.

The local buildings meant a great deal to Morris. Visitors to Kelmscott were
routine taken to local sites such as Great Coxwell Barn, Inglesham Church or Burford Church. In his 1894 essay ‘Gossip about an Old House on the Upper Thames’,34 Morris follows each side of the Thames near Kelmscott, listing the picturesque villages and their history and important buildings. Virtually all of these sites became SPAB projects. Morris himself frequently prepared SPAB’s reports on local buildings, including Kelmscott Church and the churches of East Leach Martin and East Leach Turville.35 He also recruited visiting friends such as John Henry Middleton and Philip Webb to inspect buildings in Kelmscott’s vicinity while they were his guests.

The founding of SPAB was inspired by renovations Morris witnessed near Kelmscott at Burford church. On a trip to Crom Price at Broadway in September 1876, the Morrises saw restoration work going on at Burford Church. Mackail relates ‘[t]he alterations going on in the beautiful parish church there aroused his horror; and at Broadway Tower he drafted a letter urging the formation of a Society which might deal with such cases, and if the destruction done by the restorers could not be stopped, might at all events make it clear that it was destruction and not preservation.’36 Thus, SPAB had its genesis in the vicinity of Kelmscott.

Both Oswald Birchall and William Fulford Adams acted as Morris’s lieutenants on SPAB projects around Kelmscott. They reported to him on renovations and threatened buildings, feeding him important local information about builders, architects and parish finances which was used to form strategy in London.

Birchall performed the most detailed and arduous assignment by being in charge of the restoration of St. John the Baptist Church in Inglesham, Wiltshire. In the spring of 1885, Morris and John Henry Middleton prepared a report for SPAB on Inglesham Church which found that structural repairs were necessary to save the church. Morris sought Birchall’s help in approaching the rector of the church, George Woodbury Spooner. Birchall reported that the cost of repairs was beyond the capability of the parishioners. At Morris’s urging, SPAB undertook a fund-raising campaign to repair the church. Such a campaign is virtually unique in SPAB’s history. Morris wrote the Appeal but Birchall did much of the organizational work. The fund was officially begun at a meeting at the Swan Inn in Lechlade which Birchall chaired.37 Once the necessary funds had been raised, he also personally supervised the work on the church. Without his contribution, the church could never have been preserved. He continued his work for Inglesham Church through subsequent campaigns in 1889 and 1898.38 Although Birchall was responsible for the day-to-day work at Inglesham, Morris continued to involve himself in the progress of the repairs. In a letter from October 1892, Morris gives an account of a detailed inspection he made of the work at Inglesham.39 Inglesham Church remained a central part of SPAB’s work for over ten years.

Fulford Adams saved his own church at Little Faringdon from a damaging restoration and worked with Birchall on a number of the local SPAB projects. In March of 1881, Fulford Adams wrote to Morris concerning information about a planned restoration of Lechlade Church including replacement of the floor. He learned that the architect was to be F. W. Waller, the Diocesan Architect for Gloucester.40 Newman Marks, the Honorary Secretary, immediately contacted Waller requesting him to limit the work to absolutely necessary repairs. Waller
reluctantly agreed to come to Kelmscott to meet Morris to discuss the project. Surprisingly, the two men got on extremely well. Waller agreed to minimal alterations of the church and became a member of SPAB. A few years later, Waller would be named SPAB’s correspondent for Gloucestershire.

Morris’s interest in SPAB’s activities near Kelmscott remained constant, even when his general involvement in the society’s activities decreased in the mid-1880s due to his socialist commitments. Further, he shows a remarkable degree of concern about the reactions of local notables. While normally, his outspokenness and disregard of the sensibilities of the owners or architects involved in restorations were notorious, in relation to buildings near Kelmscott, he displays both tact and an intense interest in not giving offense. An example of this is given in a letter to Hugh Thackeray Turner, SPAB’s Honorary Secretary, concerning Kelmscott Church: ‘I have heard from Revd. Mr. Meeres: and after all he agrees to stop the slating and put on stone slates as before. Please tell the Committee this and ask them for any advice for me to tell the builder, so that the thing may be well done as I foresee that Mr. Meeres will try to throw the responsibility on me if anything goes wrong.’

Certainly, to a degree, this concern is understandable as Morris would literally have to live with the consequences of mistakes or confrontations which resulted from SPAB’s campaigns, but the difference between these campaigns and the strident nature of SPAB’s work in other parts of Britain is striking.

In 1887, a major restoration of Fairford Church was organized by its vicar, Francis Carbonell. The subscription list for the restoration was headed by Queen Victoria and included dozens of peers and Members of Parliament. Fundraising for Fairford conflicted with SPAB’s Inglesham Church Appeal and made obtaining funds for Inglesham difficult. Believing that the restoration was misguided, SPAB attempted to intervene at Fairford but was bluntly rebuffed by Carbonell. After learning that the intended restoration of Fairford included extensive work on the church’s stained glass, Morris wrote a detailed letter to Carbonell describing how stained glass should be repaired and restored. However, rather than sending the letter himself he wrote to Hugh Thackeray Turner, the Honorary Secretary, asking him to send the letter from the Society, ‘I think it much better that this letter should be sent as coming from the Committee. If the parson has heard of me at all it will only have been as the maniac of Kelmscott; and all he will think is that I am after a job.’

This letter highlights an unusual aspect of Morris’s SPAB activities in the area around Kelmscott, namely his desire to have no recognition of his part in many of the campaigns. A similar situation occurred in relation to The Abbot’s Grange in Broadway. This was a fourteenth century house built for the Abbot of Pershore. It had been purchased by Francis Millet whom Morris knew through Edwin Austin Abbey. Morris wrote a long and detailed letter describing the value of the house and the damage that restoration would do. He then asked Turner to send the letter, which Turner did. Apparently Morris felt uncomfortable criticizing a social acquaintance. Even though the letter was sent by the Society, Morris went out of his way to be tactful in a way that he rarely did with other British buildings.

William Morris’s residence at Kelmscott provided him with access to a group of people who had a major impact on his life. If he had not taken the lease of
Kelmscott Manor it is doubtful that he would have met any of these people. Certainly the variety and depth of the relationships Morris formed in the vicinity of Kelmscott highlights the significance of these connections in his life.

NOTES

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5 Morris to George Hake, 30 November 1875 and undated, British Library Add. Ms. 49470.
7 ibid., p. 32.
10 The Christian Socialist, October 1888, p. 156.
11 ibid., September 1891, pp. 102-103.
13 ibid., II, p. 484.
14 ibid., II, p. 719.
15 ibid., II, p. 720.
16 William Fulford Adams to R. William Rees, 21 March 1900, Bodleian Library, Ms. Don. e. 20.
18 Horace Meeres to Morris, 22 May 1885, SPAB Archives.
22 ibid., p. 240.
23 ibid., p. 286.
24 ibid., p. 415.
28 The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle, op. cit., I, p. 40
30 The Collected Letters of William Morris, op. cit., IV, p. 266.
33 See Morris to Kate Faulkner in The Collected Letters of William Morris, op. cit., III, p. 181.
34 Originally published in The Quest, November 1894.
35 Morris visited both of these churches on 5 May 1884 and provided detailed reports on their various features. He described East Leach Turville as ‘a picturesque & interesting little country church to which any restoration would be fatal.’ SPAB Archives.
38 Jane Morris continued to support the work at Inglesham after Morris's death. A list of contributors to the 1898 campaign in SPAB's Archives shows that she was the largest individual contributor.
40 William Fulford Adams to Morris, 18 March 1881, SPAB Archives.
41 Morris to Hugh Thackeray Turner, 3 October 1888, SPAB Archives.
42 Birchall to Turner, 12 March 1887, SPAB Archives.
43 Morris to Turner, 25 March 1887, SPAB Archives.
44 Draft letter concerning the restoration of The Abbot's Grange in Morris's handwriting, SPAB Archives.
45 The letter (with Morris's exact text) signed by Turner survives in Millet's papers in the Archive of American Art, Washington, D.C.