CONTENTS

A Letter to Members
Fran Durako
Morris at the Modern Language Association
December 2008
Upcoming Event: Lecture by Mary Greensted
William Morris Society Sessions for MLA 2009
—and Beyond
Joseph R. Dunlap Memorial Fellowship Award
Announcements
F. S. Ellis’s Copy of the Kelmscott Order of Chivalry
at Tulane University
Michael Kuczynski
Grove Park Inn Arts & Crafts Conference 2009:
A Summary Review
B. J. Robinson
Eco-Towns: The New Garden Cities?
Martin Stott
From the Archive: “Communism, i.e. Property”:
A Partly Unpublished Morris Essay
Edited by Florence S. Boos
The Last Word

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

This newsletter is published by the William Morris Society in
the United States, P.O. Box 53263, Washington, DC 20009.
Website: www.morrissociety.org.
Managing editor: Bonnie J. Robinson
Design and production: Jon Mehlferber

A LETTER TO MEMBERS

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

MORRIS SOCIETY MEETING AT THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

Our annual meeting will take place as usual at the 2009
MLA convention, which will be 27–30 December in
Philadelphia. There will be two William Morris Soci-
yty sessions in the program. One will be on “William
Morris: Later Friends and Colleagues,” the other on
“Music and the Pre-Raphaelites.” In addition, there will
be a meeting of the governing committee and a dinner
meeting for members, offering the chance to socialize
and converse. (Possibly also a visit to a library or historic
house.). More information, including a schedule, will
be available on our website and blog as we get closer to
the conference. We hope to see many of you there.

2009 EVENTS

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

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

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

ALLIED ORGANIZATION STATUS WITH THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

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

WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY WEBSITE

In the near future, our website will be getting some
badly-needed attention. Not only do we hope to improve
the content (improved images of Morris’s work, updated
lists of Morris-related products and services, and possi-
bly even scanned versions of past US newsletters to aug-
ment the archive of the Journal of William Morris Studies
(1961–2008), but there are plans for several new features, including online purchasing of publications.

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

Thank you.
Fran Durako
President

---

MORRIS AT THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
DECEMBER 2008

The Morris Society sponsored two intellectually stimulating sessions at the Modern Language Association Convention in San Francisco, 27–30 December. The first, “Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic Prose,” held Saturday, 27 December from 5:15 to 6:30 p.m. at the San Francisco Hilton, was moderated by Margaret D. Stetz of the University of Delaware. The session featured talks by Sandi Wisenberg of Northwestern University on “William De Morgan’s Aesthetic Novels,” Bonnie Robinson of North Georgia College and State University on “A Man Like Myself: Pre-Raphaelite Models in Oscar Wilde’s Fairy Tales,” and Dennis N. Denisoff of Ryerson University on “Infectious Decadence: The Critical Propagation of Repulsive Taste and Style.”

The second session, “William Morris’s Early Friends: New Research,” was held Sunday, 28 December from 1:45 to 3:00 p.m. and chaired by Florence Boos of the University of Iowa. The session included talks by Susan Jaret McKinstry of Carleton College, “More of a Poem Than a House: The Crafts of William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti,” P. C. Fleming of the University of Virginia, “William Fulford’s Magazine,” and Keith Gibeling of the Naval Post-Graduate School, on “Peter Paul Marshall: A Square Peg in the William Morris Circle?” Both panels evoked questions and discussion; a summary of the talks appears below.

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

---

Infectious Decadence: The Critical Propagation of Repulsive Taste and Style
Dennis Denisoff

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

---

Save the Date!
Useful and Beautiful:
The Transatlantic Arts of William Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites
DELAWARE · 7–9 OCTOBER 2010

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

For more information, please contact Mark Samuels Lasner, marksl@udel.edu, (302) 831-3250.
more virulent cultivators and carriers of the contagion than the artists they condemned. It has been known for some time that Solomon never became apologetic about his same-sex desires, but the research done on his arrests after the first in 1873 for “attempting to commit sodomy” is so current that it has yet to be published. It is premature, therefore, to argue for a correlation between Solomon’s criminal history and Victorian critics’ association of his works with degeneracy, deviancy and unnaturalness. But then, as I wish to demonstrate through a comparison of Solomon’s own prose writing and that of those who commented on his art and writing, it is the rhetoric and style of the artist’s and critics’ prose that captures – or was captured by – the infectious quality of decadence itself not as a private history but as an inchoate cultural movement.

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

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

Morrisonian Aesthetic Models in Oscar Wilde’s Fairy Tales and The Picture of Dorian Gray

B.J. Robinson

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

P. C. Fleming

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

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

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

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

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

Susan Jaret McKinstry

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

The Pre-Raphaelites frequently blend visual and verbal arts in their painting, poetry, book design and illustration, architecture, tile, textile and furniture design. This emphasis on the integral juxtaposition of word and image, this insistence on combining diverse arts into one unified object, is perhaps best demonstrated by Morris’s “palace of art,” Red House in Bexleyheath, Kent, designed and built by Morris and his friend, the architect Philip Webb, in 1859. Decorated by Morris, Webb, and their circle of Pre-Raphaelite friends, the house utilized interwoven words and images on the windows, walls, ceilings and cabinetry, and the completed house was described by Rossetti as “more a poem than a house.” That description is telling. The conflation of the verbal and the material underlies the work of both Morris and Rossetti, for they shared a belief in art as physical object and imaginative work that, combined, create a product that is both consumer object and aesthetic act: thus a house is also a poem. I mean this statement as more than a metaphor, but rather as a description of the way art functions for Morris and Rossetti.

In his writings, Morris directly, if metaphorically, links the word and the material object through architecture. Architecture transforms the line of the architect’s drawing into the line of the completed building, thereby literally and materially combining these lines into a single art and object, and Red House exemplifies that unity. Dante Rossetti’s The House of Life, like
Morris’s Red House, was constructed over time and in varied forms, and – like Red House – was never completed. Rossetti’s rarely-published hand-drawn design for the introductory sonnet of *The House of Life* constructs a visual and verbal art that draws together, in a single frame, the lines of drawing and writing, images and words, and architecture itself (the word “sonnet” means room in Italian). In Morris’s Red House and Rossetti’s sonnet design, the Victorian line as the foundation of all arts is realized, and beautifully. To be able to inhabit a “palace of art” and to have art frame *The House of Life* seems a dream realized and evidence, albeit rather briefly lived, of the success of Morris and Rossetti’s ambitious goals for art.

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

*Keith Gibeling*

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

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

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

Lecture by Mary Greenstad

Thursday, 10 December 2009
6 pm
The Grolier Club
47 East 60th Street, New York, NY

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

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

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

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

Oak settee designed by Ernest Gimson in 1906 (Leicester Arts and Museums)
JOSEPH R. DUNLAP MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP AWARD:

We are pleased to announce that the 2009 Joseph R. Dunlap Fellowship has been awarded to Margaret R. Laster for research on the Morris and Company windows in Newport, Rhode Island. Ms. Laster, a PhD candidate in art history at the Graduate Center, CUNY, holds degrees in art history from Williams College and the University of Chicago. Her dissertation focuses on the Gilded Age American patron Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. She is a specialist in the history of collecting and provenance research, and has served as Research Fellow for Provenance in European Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Margaret was Junior Fellow at the Frick Art Reference Library’s Center for the History of Collecting in Spring 2008, and has participated in the Victorian Society’s London and Newport Summer Schools. Ms. Laster has sent us the following account of her research:

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

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

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

We are hoping to sponsor joint sessions in future years with the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), the Society for the Study of Narrative, and other organizations which also have MLA Allied Organization status.
house. Morris had proposed the subject and placement of these images; representatives of Morris & Company were in continual communication with Wolfe and her advisers. While the exterior of Vinland remains largely intact, despite subsequent changes and expansions, much of the original Morris interior has been dismantled and dispersed.

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

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

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Talking Heads Award for William Morris Society Website**

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

**Morris at “Past and Present” Conference**

**Cambridge, UK, July 2009**

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

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

**Canadian Aesthetics Journal: Morris Issue**

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


For more information, please see the journal’s website at: http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/Vol_15/ReadingMatters/ReadingMattersCover.htm.
Seventh International Conference on the Book
Edinburgh, 16 October 2009
This year’s International Conference on the Book will be held in Edinburgh, Scotland, a beautiful and historic city that has long served as a center of learning and arts. The home of the world’s largest book festival and oldest literary award, in 2004 Edinburgh was named the first UNESCO City of Literature.

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

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

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

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

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

Arts and Crafts Tours
Arts and Crafts Tours specializes in showing overseas visitors (especially from US) around the beautiful homes, museums and galleries of the leading craftsmen, architects, and painters of the arts and crafts period; including works by William Morris, Rossetti, De Morgan, Burne-Jones, Webb, Benson and Burgess.

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

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

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

Fellowship in Pre-Raphaelite Studies Offered by University of Delaware Library/Delaware Art Museum
The University of Delaware Library and the Delaware Art Museum invite applications for a joint Fellowship in Pre-Raphaelite Studies. This one-month Fellowship is intended for scholars working on the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates. Up to $2,500 is available. The recipient will be expected to be in residence and to make use of the resources of both the University of Delaware Library and the Delaware Art Museum.
By arrangement with the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT, scholars may apply to each institution for awards in the same year; every effort will be made to offer consecutive dates.

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

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

The deadline for applications is October 15, 2009. For more information and an application form visit www.delart.org/education/fellowships.html or write to:
Pre-Raphaelite Studies Fellowship Committee
Delaware Art Museum
2301 Kentmere Parkway
Wilmington, DE 19806

F. S. ELLIS’S COPY OF THE KELMSCOTT ORDER OF CHIVALRY AT TULANE UNIVERSITY
Michael P. Kuczynski

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

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

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

Washington, DC, visit to Greene and Greene exhibition.
From left to right: Casey Smith, Fran Durako, and Mark Samuels Lasner
dicate that the printings were completed more than four months apart: of Order on 10 November 1892 and L’Ordene on 24 February 1893. The first text is printed on Morris’s standard-sized Flower paper (16 x 11 inches, so named after its watermark), the second on a double-sized version of the same (16 x 22 inches) that Morris had left over from his printing of The Golden Legend, in 1892. So, whereas the first part of Kelmscott’s The Order of Chivalry is a true quarto, the second part, containing L’Ordene, is an octavo.4

Morris loved to present complimentary copies of his Kelmscott books to friends and family.5 Peterson lists several of The Order of Chivalry in his bibliography. For instance, one went to Kate Faulkner, the sister of Morris’s Oxford friend and fellow socialist, Charley Faulkner; another to Burne-Jones; one each to Jenny and May, Morris’s daughters.6 Ellis himself received more than one copy—a prized one on vellum, now in a private collection in London, and another paper copy, which he passed on to F. J. Furnivall, founder of the English Dialect and Early English Text societies.7 Unlike Tulane’s copy, neither of these, according to Peterson, contains any inscriptions or notes. Ellis did write in pencil on the front flyleaf of another paper copy of Order, however, this one apparently a working rather than presentation copy, concerning an emendation he made to Caxton’s text and an error in his note to the reader: “(pp. 33-4) The words within brackets [ ] are not in the old printed copy but were made English by me from the French MS. in the British Museum, Royal 14 Eti, wrongly given in my memoranda at the end as Eti6. The words in question should certainly have been printed within brackets.”8 Presumably the brackets and correction would have been introduced in any subsequent Kelmscott edition. (There was none.)

How Tulane acquired its copy of The Order of Chivalry is unclear. Notes in the library’s internal files by Sylvia V. Metzinger, a librarian who studied Kelmscott materials, suggest that the library pursued copies of Order as early as 1987, but could not find one in its price range. Tulane seems to have had a special interest in a paper copy that came up for auction at Christie’s in 1989 from the substantial and well-maintained Estelle Doheny Collection, estimated for sale at $350–400.9 Ultimately this copy sold for $1,100 to an anonymous buyer, not to Tulane.10 The Order of Chivalry was not part of an exhibition of Kelmscott Press books mounted by Ms. Metzinger and the Tulane Rare Books Collection in 1991, in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the first book printed by the press. It must have been purchased after that, probably from a private bookseller.

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

2. The Golden Legend (1892) was an especially noteworthy acquisition, since Tulane also owns a leaf from Caxton’s 1483 translation and edition of the text, the source for Kelmscott’s, and a single parchment leaf (late 14th century) from a medieval manuscript copy of the Latin original, Legenda Aurea.
5. On the important sentimental aspect of the Kelmscott Press’s operations, see Fiona MacCarthy, William Morris: A Life for Our Time (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), 615–17.
6. Peterson, Bibliography, 37–8, items “n,” “q,” “t,” and “u” respectively, under Related Materials.
THE 2009 GROVE PARK INN 
ARTS & CRAFTS CONFERENCE: 
A SUMMARY REVIEW
Bonnie J. Robinson

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

Small group discussions met to consider such topics as “What is Arts & Crafts Art?” and “Collecting British Arts & Crafts.” And the Arts & Crafts Book Club discussed Charles Wagner’s The Simple Life (1901) and Nancy Horan’s Loving Frank (2007). Simultanous with Loving Frank was a preview of the PBS documentary, The Simple Life: 1901–2009—An Arts & Crafts Enterprise That Flourishes Today.

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

Those who were not collectors had ample opportunity to acquire education on the arts and crafts movement in breath-takingly beautiful surroundings. Next year’s conference will be held again at the Grove Park Inn on 19–21 February; it will be organized by Bruce Johnson, the conference founder. Information about the 2010 conference can be obtained from Bruce Johnson at bj@bjcharter.net and (828) 628-1151; the conference website is www.arts-craftsconference.com.
Arts & Crafts Antiques Show at the Grove Park Inn

ECO-TOWNS: THE NEW GARDEN CITIES?
Martin Stott

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

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

However, the reaction against what was seen as the excessive influence of the state in society in the 1970s (which led to the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979) and the more aspirational individualised culture that she ushered in, led to a reaction to both “council housing” [the provision by the state through local government of low cost homes to rent] and of the idea of model cities or new towns.

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

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

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

If it all sounds too good to be true . . . it is. Fifteen sites have been identified and each site is supposed to slay several dragons at once. At a stroke they would provide substantial housing to help deliver the three million homes target, reinvigorate public opinion to support innovative housing initiatives, neutralise the rising tide of NIMBYism (“not in my back yard”) associated with emerging strategies for mass house building especially in the southeast, rope in the private sector to develop these towns and create sufficient value to fund their infrastructure needs, and to do it all in a carbon neutral fashion, the government having committed to a target that all new dwellings will be zero-carbon from 2016. Eco towns could be a test bed for technologies to make that aspiration a reality.
developers already own. Their locations are generally rural, sometimes quite remote, therefore, not conductive to self sufficiency in employment terms, which immediately calls into question their transport sustainability as inhabitants would be forced to commute to work (or run the risk of the towns becoming "rural slums").

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following text is from B. L. MS. 45,333, folios 255–62, written in Morris's hand, and originally numbered by him 1–15. Morris's capitalization is not entirely consistent and some of his initial letters seem to take a middle position between upper and lower case; in general I have reproduced his usage but in middle cases have had to choose. Folios 257
and 257v were inadvertently mislabelled and bound backwards; that is, what should have been folio 257v was mislabelled 257 and the reverse, and I have placed these passages in the right order. I have supplied a few instances of punctuation in brackets, and an * in the text directs the reader to an endnote. A short list at the end explains which passages were previously reproduced by May Morris.

[f. 255:1] Communism i.e. Property

[There are two conditions of society. One based on equality, one on inequality.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Too long to tell of transitional periods: but as men got more command over nature & produced more & more wealth over mere necessaries inequality began, though the common good was not forgotten wholly. Out of this transition emerged societies composed of a body of free men who were equals, and of slaves with no position in the community, but who were the property of the free men. These slaves were, or were assumed to be men of conquered tribes, who had shown their lack of worth by their failure in war. The most obvious example [was] Lacedaemon,* where the freemen lived a life of pressing poverty, and the slaves were looked upon as enemies though conquered ones. Helot-ment.* [2]

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

[ f. 256] That was the essence of the society of the classical periods[,] however it was complicated by the element of moneymaking which so to say gilded the higher classes of that period as it does the mere sham of high-birth in our own, till there grew to be a certain kind of resemblance to modern society. By that time it was near its end, and it fell at last much more from its own corruption than from any external causes. After a period of chaos the place of this classical society was taken by inchoate Feudalism, which once more included a society of freemen, no longer indeed holding their property in common, but bound together by a social system which admitted much equality amongst themselves; and under them the herd of the less worthy, no longer mere chattel slaves as in the Classical periods[,] but serfs, who had certain more or less well defined duties to pay to their lords, and who were allowed to work for their own livelihood, and received a certain amount of protection from their lords. Between these serfs and their lords gradually grew up a middle-class, not of exploiters of other men[,]s labour, as our present middle-class, but of artisans or craftsmen rather, who formed themselves into associations called gilds, which after long struggles were recognized as members of the feudal hierarchy. Inside these associations there was again much equality; the workmen in them were neither masters, nor served a master, that is an individual master[,] their master was a collective one, the association to which they themselves had made. But the increase of wealth brought about by the labours of the excellent craftsmen of the middle-ages, and the stir in men[,]s thoughts which followed
Indeed their slaves were at least fed[, clothed & housed, was simple, and refined because of its simplicity, and re-
selves though they were surrounded by slaves: their life there was yet equality in certain circles. The citizens of to note this; that in the former societies of inequality,
thing of. But before we go further to talk of that great
began to settle down into the struggle towards the next
contract finally triumphed, & the world of civilization not till the French Revolution that this society of free
of feudalism to become practical realities again. It was
long time was hampered by the struggles of the survivals
which means as between master & man the buying a
slave of himself instead of a slave merchant,) as opposed

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

[f. 257v ] This new Society of Contract, (contract
which means as between master & man the buying a
slave of himself instead of a slave merchant,) as opposed
to that of status[,] developed slowly at first, and for a
long time was hampered by the struggles of the survivals of feudalism to become practical realities again. It was
not till the French Revolution that this society of free
contract finally triumphed, & the world of civilization began to settle down into the struggle towards the next
great change; that which we ourselves hope to see some-
thing of. But before we go further to talk of that great
change and the chances of our seeing it I will ask you to
note this; that in the former societies of inequality,
there was yet equality in certain circles. The citizens of
a Greek City lived in practical equality amongst them-
selves though they were surrounded by slaves: their life was simple, and refined because of its simplicity, and re-
ally admitted of no great contrast of riches & poverty. Indeed their slaves were at least fed[,] clothed & housed,
and probably not worse than the poor folk in our work-
houses, or field labourers living on 10s/6 a week. Nay
to judge by the works of their playwrights left us in the
plays imitated from them by the Romans, the slaves were
not seldom the masters of their masters. In the early age of Rome it was much the same; and in short[,] the dif-
ference between the classes was largely arbitrary rather
than real.

Still more apparent are these circles of equality obvious
in the M[i]dle[ ] Age[s]. The gentlemen class for as hard & fast as were the lines of the hierarchy, knew no differ-
cence in manners or life in general; and the gildsmen in their gilds were associates in equality. In both periods it
is not till the society is moving fast towards dissolution,
that the monstrous contrasts so familiar to us fairly show.
While* [257] chaotic and general inequality in all society
has been from the first an essential part of the society of
free contract, and its praises have been sung by number-
less votaries, by those who suffer from it, as much per-
haps as by those who gain[.] To some it seems so provi-
dential, to others so necessary, to some so interesting, the
foundation for beautiful stories of courage & resignation
and sacrifice & all the rest of it. For my part I say I do
not know if it be providential, I am sure it is not neces-

sary, and I see no interest or beauty in it, but foul-
ness & sordidness, and destruction of the beauty of the
Earth and of man[']s works upon the Earth. For once
more if it be true, as I think it is, that the inequality
of the ancient & the Medieval world was more ar-
bitrary than real, I am sure that the converse of it is
ture of the modern world, and I will say especially of the
country in which we live. Though there may be
with us little arbitrary legal & theoretic difference be-
tween rich & poor, the real practical distinctions are,
to our misery[,] both wide and deep: victual, housing,
clothes[,] religion, justice, manners, language — in
all these is the enforced inferiority of the disinherited
fearfully obvious. How should it not be so when our
actual wealth is so great, and so large a majority of us
so poor; our potential wealth, i[,] e[,] what we might
have if we did not waste our work[,] so much greater;
[i]n the Middle Ages, in the Classical period even[,] by comparison they were all poor together. But now as
you well know, the richer the country is, the poorer are
the main part of its people.

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

The long course of the centuries therefore, whatever gain they have brought us otherwise, in development of man[,]s intellect, or his power over material nature[,] have brought us no improvement in our social organization; as far as our actual social condition goes we are not in a better, but in a worse state than men were in the ancient or medieval periods. What is left us then if we are not to fall back upon mere despair of improvement[?] This, that in the present period we have become conscious that in our miserable society of inequality lie the seeds of change, and that things are tending towards a new society, the basis of which will be equality of condition. In the Ancient world, a society without slavery was inconceivable to the best and wisest of philosophers. In the Medieval epoch, especially towards the close of it, there was indeed a rumour of communism in the air, which even now and again took form in action, and produced such demonstrations as the community of the Munster anabaptists;” but all this was hopeless, in the face of the political condition of affairs, the growing desire [f. 259] for the enfranchisement of men[,]s intellect from the fetters of religious tradition, and the development of men[,]s power over the mechanical side of things.

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

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

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

Now then let the working-man be his own friend, and no longer the servant of either party, and he will find that he is really the friend of all the world: for he it is who must realize that society of equality wherein amongst other things it is clear that every member of society must help in the production of utilities & that no man is set to labour on inutilities, as I think the most of men now are. Let me say in passing: think of it a little! What amount of wealth we should produce if we
were all working cheerfully at producing the things that we all genuinely want; if all the intelligence, all the inventive power, all the inherited skill of handicraft, all the keen wit and insight, all the healthy bodily strength were engaged in doing this and nothing else, what a pile of wealth we should have! How would poverty be a word whose meaning we should have forgotten. Believe me there is nothing but the course of inequality which forbids this.

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

Now how are you going to get this property? No doubt your first untutored view as to that matter, with the education which you have received by the society of the present, is that you had better steal it; — that in fact there is no other way of getting it. This view is I must say the favoured one: and has been held from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the late Mr Bradlaugh,* from the Duke of Westminster to the shiftiest of small tradesmen compelled by hard need to sell adulterated wares. But we Socialists have found out that it won't do; and really we need not crow over the discovery, for the fact lies patent before everybody's eyes. For many and many a century it has been tried, with small success indeed: as eat, unless you have property; in order even to live till next week, unless some benevolent person takes you by the collar and sells you, you must go out and sell yourself as Esau did; who I take it was the very first example of the free labourer.

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

These men I say, whose numbers are growing every day and whose principles are approved of instinctively & tacitly by the great mass of working-men are determined, that our Society shall be real, the Society of citizens living in equality, and not the Society of a robber’s cave: and they know also that they have at hand a machinery which will enable them when their opinions become general to compel their recognition at the hands of the inert mass of non-producers, who will find their life of useless work or no work will no longer earn them the position and ease that [it] has done and that their rule is slipping away from [them]. I confess I am no great lover of political tactics; the sordid squabble of an election is unpleasant enough for a straightforward man to deal in: yet I cannot fail to see that it is necessary somehow to get hold of the machine which has at its back the executive power of the country, however that may be done. And that the organization and labour which will be necessary to effect that by means of the ballot-box will[,] to say the least of it[,] be little indeed compared with what would be necessary to effect it by open revolt; besides that the change effected by peaceable means would be done more completely and with less chance, indeed with no chance of counter revolution. On the other hand I feel sure that some action is even now demanded by the growth of Socialism, and will be more and more imperatively demanded as time goes on. In short I do not believe in the possible success of revolt until the Socialist party has grown so powerful in numbers that it can gain its end by peaceful means, and that therefore what is called violence will never be needed; unless indeed the reactionists were to refuse the decision of the ballot-box and try the matter by arms; which after all I am pretty sure they could not attempt by the time things had gone so far as that. As to the attempt of a small minority to terrify a vast majority into accepting something which they do not understand, by spasmodic acts of violence, mostly involving the death of non-combatants, I can call that nothing else than sheer madness. And here I will say once for all, that the threats of ruin to certain groups and moods which now frighten people so much, will turn out to have been mere turnip-lanterns.* The sun will shine for everybody, the heavens will be blue & the grass green; cakes and ale shall not be forbidden us; and though we shall have our troubles then, they will seem as the troubles in a tale compared to the grovelling anxieties that now beset us; we shall find life worth living — we shall not be afraid to die — or, worse still, ashamed to live.

I think means a life of degradation, only endurable by them on the grounds of their aiming at very much better conditions. 2nd. Their organization as the controllers of production and the markets: and 3rd. The abolition of the private monopoly in the raw material and tools necessary for the production of utilities. This gained, as we may fairly hope it will be after a lapse of time, as makes it no dream to-day, we shall be in the first stage of Socialism, and the possession of property will even then be general. From that stage to sheer equality of condition, I believe will not be a long journey, and as I have said here we shall find ourselves insensibly lapsing into it:

I say, whose numbers are growing every day and whose principles are approved of instinctively & tacitly by the great mass of working-men are determined, that our Society shall be real, the Society of citizens living in equality, and not the Society of a robber’s cave: and they know also that they have at hand a machinery which will enable them when their opinions become general to compel their recognition at the hands of the inert mass of non-producers, who will find their life of useless work or no work will no longer earn them the position and ease that [it] has done and that their rule is slipping away from [them]. I confess I am no great lover of political tactics; the sordid squabble of an election is unpleasant enough for a straightforward man to deal in: yet I cannot fail to see that it is necessary somehow to get hold of the machine which has at its back the executive power of the country, however that may be done. And that the organization and labour which will be necessary to effect that by means of the ballot-box will[,] to say the least of it[,] be little indeed compared with what would be necessary to effect it by open revolt; besides that the change effected by peaceable means would be done more completely and with less chance, indeed with no chance of counter revolution. On the other hand I feel sure that some action is even now demanded by the growth of Socialism, and will be more and more imperatively demanded as time goes on. In short I do not believe in the possible success of revolt until the Socialist party has grown so powerful in numbers that it can gain its end by peaceful means, and that therefore what is called violence will never be needed; unless indeed the reactionists were to refuse the decision of the ballot-box and try the matter by arms; which after all I am pretty sure they could not attempt by the time things had gone so far as that. As to the attempt of a small minority to terrify a vast majority into accepting something which they do not understand, by spasmodic acts of violence, mostly involving the death of non-combatants, I can call that nothing else than sheer madness. And here I will say once for all, that the threats of ruin to certain groups and moods which now frighten people so much, will turn out to have been mere turnip-lanterns.* The sun will shine for everybody, the heavens will be blue & the grass green; cakes and ale shall not be forbidden us; and though we shall have our troubles then, they will seem as the troubles in a tale compared to the grovelling anxieties that now beset us; we shall find life worth living — we shall not be afraid to die — or, worse still, ashamed to live.

Well, you see to-night I have only been talking round about Communism only. The subject of the organization of a communal life is too weighty a one [f. 261v] an election is unpleasant enough for a straightforward man to deal in: yet I cannot fail to see that it is necessary somehow to get hold of the machine which has at its back the executive power of the country, however that may be done. And that the organization and labour which will be necessary to effect that by means of the ballot-box will[,] to say the least of it[,] be little indeed compared with what would be necessary to effect it by open revolt; besides that the change effected by peaceable means would be done more completely and with less chance, indeed with no chance of counter revolution. On the other hand I feel sure that some action is even now demanded by the growth of Socialism, and will be more and more imperatively demanded as time goes on. In short I do not believe in the possible success of revolt until the Socialist party has grown so powerful in numbers that it can gain its end by peaceful means, and that therefore what is called violence will never be needed; unless indeed the reactionists were to refuse the decision of the ballot-box and try the matter by arms; which after all I am pretty sure they could not attempt by the time things had gone so far as that. As to the attempt of a small minority to terrify a vast majority into accepting something which they do not understand, by spasmodic acts of violence, mostly involving the death of non-combatants, I can call that nothing else than sheer madness. And here I will say once for all, that the threats of ruin to certain groups and moods which now frighten people so much, will turn out to have been mere turnip-lanterns.* The sun will shine for everybody, the heavens will be blue & the grass green; cakes and ale shall not be forbidden us; and though we shall have our troubles then, they will seem as the troubles in a tale compared to the grovelling anxieties that now beset us; we shall find life worth living — we shall not be afraid to die — or, worse still, ashamed to live.

The sun will shine for everybody, the heavens will be blue & the grass green; cakes and ale shall not be forbidden us; and though we shall have our troubles then, they will seem as the troubles in a tale compared to the grovelling anxieties that now beset us; we shall find life worth living — we shall not be afraid to die — or, worse still, ashamed to live.
drinking and may go naked; but, then he must die; and on this condition, and this condition only, can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labour. . . .” (paragraph 344).

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

Positivist Society—founded by 1867 by Richard Congreve, the London Positivist Society sought to apply the reformist secular doctrines of August Comte and other humanist ideas to public affairs. In many ways their views overlapped with those of Morris and other left-leaning Liberals and socialists; they supported Irish Home Rule, opposed British rule in India, and advocated religious tolerance. Morris would have had direct knowledge of them through Vernon Lushington (1832–1912), a friend from Oxford and Cambridge Magazine days onward who was a lifelong Positivist.

F. [260 v]. Saturday—Morris here inserts a superscript, “Feb: 3.”

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

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

First page of the manuscript of “Communism i.e. Property” (British Library)
THE LAST WORD

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

CROSS the gap made by August
our English hinds
Amidst the Roman’s handiwork, behold
Far off the long-roofed church;
the shepherd binds
The wity round the hurdle
of his fold,
Down in the foss the river
fed of old,
That through long lapse of time has grown to be
The little grassy valley that you see.

Rest here awhile, not yet the eve is still,
The bees are wandering yet, and you may hear
The barley mowers on the trenchèd hill,
The sheep-bells, and the restless changing weir,
All little sounds made musical and clear
Beneath the sky that burning August gives,
While yet the thought of glorious Summer lives.

Ah, love! such happy days, such days as these,
Must we still waste them, craving for the best,
Like lovers o’er the painted images
Of those who once their yearning hearts have blessed?
Have we been happy on our day of rest?
Thine eyes say Yes, but if it came again,
Perchance its ending would not seem so vain.
WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES
PUBLICATIONS and Books for Sale

Florence S. Boos, ed. William Morris's Socialist Diary.

Florence S. Boos and Carole Silver, eds, Socialism and the Literary Artistry of William


John Hollow, ed., The After-Summer Seed: Reconsiderations of William Morris's The Story of

May Morris, The Introductions to the Collected Works of William Morris.

William Morris, Our Country Right or Wrong: A Critical Edition,

William Morris, The Widow's House by the Great Water,

William Morris, A Note on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press,
Cloth backed Morris pattern boards, $45

Charlotte Oberg, A Pagan Prophet, William Morris.

Carole Silver, ed., The Golden Chain: Essays on William Morris and Pre-Raphaelitism. Wil-

Mark Samuels Lasner, William Morris: The Collector as Creator.

Members receive a 20 per cent discount from the prices indicated. Orders: William Morris Society,
PO Box 53263, Washington, DC 20009 or us@morrissociety.org. Do not include payment. We will
send an invoice with the books showing total amount due. Shipping for US orders is $5 for the first
book, $2 for each additional book; shipments outside the US will be by air and charged at cost.