

WILLIAM MORRIS
NORMAN KELVIN

The Collected
Letters of William
Morris, Volume II,
Part A

1881-1884



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THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF
WILLIAM MORRIS

VOLUME II



EDITED BY NORMAN KELVIN

ASSISTANT EDITOR: GALE SIGAL

THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF

**William
Morris**



VOLUME II

1881-1884



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TO PHYLLIS, JANE, AND ELIZABETH

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EDITORIAL PRACTICES

Transcription

FOR MOST of the letters, the text has been taken from the holograph original. In cases where the only extant source is a printed text (notably Mackail's 1899 biography), the letter or whatever part of it was quoted is reprinted here.

Inevitably, the translation of a holographic document to the printed page introduces some distortion of the original. Certain visual cues are lost: in particular, the end of a handwritten line may indicate the completion of a sentence even though a period is not used; space left between sentences may signify the sense of a new paragraph whether or not a new line is started or an indentation appears; a sentence may contain interpolated or crossed-out material indicating the writer's second thoughts. These features appear often in Morris's letters. My ideal has been to remain completely faithful to the text, but the realities of putting into print documents which were in no way intended for posterity have forced me to adopt certain conventions for the sake of readability with which the reader will want to be familiar.

Morris's paragraphing, occasionally but not often, presents a problem. In some letters he seems to intend the end of a paragraph by concluding a sentence well before the edge of the page and beginning the next sentence on a new line without, however, any indentation. On the few occasions when this has in fact been the case, I have introduced an indentation to signify the new paragraph that Morris clearly seemed to intend.

Material crossed out by Morris, but still readable and representing a variation from what he finally wrote, is given in angle brackets. False starts in spelling, however, are not shown.

Occasionally I have expanded a word that Morris abbreviated, interpolated a clarifying word, or added *sic* to avoid confusion. In all such cases the added material is enclosed in square brackets. Question marks in square brackets indicate uncertainty in reading the preceding word. Most of the time Morris's handwriting is perfectly legible.

Dates and addresses have been placed at the upper right. When a date, or any part of one, has been supplied by the editor, it is given in square brackets. A question mark indicates that the suggested date is a plausible

EDITORIAL PRACTICES

one only. When there is no question mark, the bracketed date is offered with confidence, since it was arrived at through internal evidence, cross-reference, or other compelling information, such as entries in Morris's diaries. Letters that could be assigned only approximate dates have been placed in best-guess chronological order.

Apart from these liberties, Morris's words stand as they were written. Misspellings, run-on sentences, most abbreviated words, idiosyncratic punctuation and capitalization, occasional obscure passages or apparent slips of the pen are by and large not the subjects of editorial notation except as noted above, in the belief that the reader will prefer to work things out or ponder the ambiguities as Morris's actual correspondents may have had to do. In the publication of historical evidence there is no reason for the editor to come between the document and the reader except insofar as the translation from the original medium to print poses problems that must be solved typographically.

Annotation

A note giving the location of the holograph manuscript, or the published source if the original letter no longer survives, will be found following each letter. Previous publication in biographical or critical works, not including short excerpts, is also noted. The other notes then follow. I try to give useful, and sometimes new information about Morris's correspondents, the people and things he mentions, his work, and his connections with the events of the time, without overwhelming the letters themselves. In the case of well-known figures, for whom full biographies and other studies are readily available, a brief identification is given on first appearance, and thereafter such details are added as throw light on the letter at hand. For lesser-known figures, about whom information is harder to come by, a somewhat longer biographical account is provided at first mention. Cross-references from later references back to the first note are given when it has seemed particularly useful to do so, but in general readers should use the indexes to locate information. I should also mention that the notes occasionally provide comment on a peculiarity in the text.

The letters collected here are the fruits of fifteen years of searching. There may be others not yet found. Any letters that come to light too late for publication in chronological order will be included in an appendix to the last volume of this edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TO THE THANKS recorded in the Acknowledgments for Volume I, I would like to add here my gratitude to those individuals and institutions whose help has put me in their debt since the first volume was completed.

I want to thank the Research Foundation of the City University of New York for its support of this edition, and to acknowledge my large obligation to the National Endowment for the Humanities for its part in the funding that has made progress to this point possible. The obligation is formally acknowledged on p. iv of this edition.

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Gale Sigal has made a splendid and essential contribution to this work over a long period of time, and I have therefore appointed her Assistant Editor. Her editorial skill, her sharp eye, her subtle and discriminating judgment, and her firm sense of logic helped to iron out many questions and to push the work forward. Undaunted by the profusion of details, she

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

carefully and with finesse organized the diverse materials into coherent and manageable units. Her dedication to this project, and the efficiency and intelligence with which she demonstrated it, are apparent on every page of the final typescript.

Stephen K. Meyers, who became associated with this edition during the final preparation of Volume I, has continued his contribution, and its cumulative effect is present throughout Volume II. His special undertaking was to conduct a library search for information, needed to complete annotations, that had not been located in several previous efforts. The intelligence and resourcefulness that he brought to the task have resulted in success where earlier search had failed. He has my special gratitude, and the reader, provided in a note with an unusual detail that might have remained undiscovered and thus unadded, will benefit from the debt to Mr. Meyers I have happily incurred.

For special help in providing information needed for this volume at a late stage, I am pleased to add my thanks to Dr. Joyce Bellamy, University of Hull; Dr. Frank Felsenstein, University of Leeds; Linda Parry, Victoria and Albert Museum; and Nicholas Poole-Wilson, Bernard Quaritch, Ltd. For assistance in reading page proofs—participation that made a difference—I am indebted to Rafat Ispahany, Debra Mendizza, and Donald Taffurrelli, all of the City University of New York.

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Again, my final thanks are reserved for my family. Their support when needed, and their forbearance when needed even more, have made it possible for me to make my own contribution to this book. Their only reward for accepting the ongoing work as part of their lives has been to see the first two volumes appear. The reader who recognizes an imbalance here should know that I recognize it, too. To my wife, Phyllis, then, and to my daughters, Elizabeth and Jane, my most special thanks of all.

INTRODUCTION

THE YEARS covered in this volume, 1881 through 1888, are among the most vigorous in Morris's career. They record the sharp swing from optimism that public events can be affected by political ideas to disillusion about the people holding the ideas, and finally show the signs—in 1888—of a new, more personal, beginning and the reformulated purpose to come. Moreover, the letters, as always tell us who among Morris's friends and associates were most important to him in the years in which they were written. They also address several matters essential for an understanding of Morris: his definition of the word "political"; his shift from writing poetry to prose; and his complex of interests embracing language, narrative, and the decorative arts.

To speak first of his friendships, the letters show that the oldest ones—those with Burne-Jones, Philip Webb, Cormell Price, and Charles Faulkner—were uninterrupted. The ties with Edward Burne-Jones, however, had to withstand arguments over socialism, a matter hinted at in Burne-Jones's Account Books, suggested by entries in Cormell Price's diaries, and accented by Georgiana Burne-Jones's note, in 1885, to the editor of *Commonweal*, requesting that the magazine—the journal of the Socialist League—be sent to *Mrs.*, not *Mr.*, Burne-Jones.

But the letters also indicate changes in previous friendships. Morris apparently wrote more frequently to Aglaia Coronio in 1881 than in any subsequent year—more often than in the seven following years together—permitting the conjecture that in 1882 Rossetti's death and Morris's turn to socialism made visiting her even less necessary than it had been previously.

As for the letters to Thomas Wardle—always among Morris's most vivid because they show him at his active best, engaged and engrossed in his art—they, too, are bunched in 1881; and for the first months they express strong dissatisfaction with Wardle's dyeing, a discontent that contributed to Morris's decision to establish his own works at Merton Abbey later in the year. In February, he was already writing to Jane Morris: "Tom Wardle is a heap of trouble to us; nothing will he do right, & he does write the longest winded letters containing lies of various sorts: we shall have to take the chintzes ourselves before long and are now really looking about for premises."

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The correspondence with George Howard, another strong presence in the letters of the 1870's, seems also to have been more frequent in 1881 than in any following year, though the random scattering of friendly letters after 1881 discourages seeing a pattern similar to the one in the letters to Aglaia Coronio and Thomas Wardle. Probably the separation between George and Rosalind Howard in the 1880's, and the awkwardness of visiting them, had more to do with the falling off in correspondence than anything else, even Morris's turn to socialism. As for this change, it is more than likely that George Howard, for whom politics was a natural activity, either mildly sympathized with Morris's socialism, perceiving less of a gap between it and Radical Liberalism than Morris did, or had decided to accept with good will Morris's defection from the Liberal Party.

Morris also makes new friends in these years, at first largely through socialism; and for varying lengths of time some of these are also political mentors: Andreas Scheu and Belfort Bax especially play the role (along with H. M. Hyndman and Edward Aveling, neither—on the evidence of the letters—ever a friend). The letters to Scheu are an essential source of information about the Social Democratic Federation and Morris's conflict with Hyndman, and about the rise and fall of the Socialist League as well. Similarly, the letters to John Bruce Glasier, leader of the Edinburgh Branch of the Socialist League and more a follower of Morris in this period than a mentor, have both tactical focus and spontaneity; they record Morris's thoughts and moods throughout the conflicts with other socialists that marked nearly every year of the period covered in this volume. The letters to Glasier are particularly valuable as evidence of the strenuous efforts Morris made in 1887 and 1888 to prevent the Socialist League from declaring for parliamentarism.

Of equal interest, however, and in some ways more interesting, are the letters to comparative strangers, to whom Morris wrote in response to queries and who, on the evidence available, never became more than fugitive acquaintances. Although letters to close associates like Scheu and Glasier tell us about tactics and moods and occasionally record a deeply felt moral-political belief, those to strangers carefully, elaborately, and painstakingly define socialism, meet objections to its theory, and give us Morris's self-portrait as a socialist. Equally important, several of the strangers or passing acquaintances who receive these letters are Christian Socialists, or clergymen interested in social questions. In 1883, the best letters of this kind are those to C. E. Maurice, the son of the Christian Socialist leader, F. D. Maurice; and in 1888, the longest and most thorough exposition of what Morris believes socialism is, and should be, occur in the letters to the Rev. George Bainton. In between, there are similar if

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brief letters to the Reverends Oswald Birchall, Morris's neighbor at Kelmscott, Stopford Brooke, and William Sharman.

This is not the place to raise the question, already carefully explored by E. P. Thompson and others, of the relation between Christian social awareness and secular socialism in England. The interest here is in Morris's character and temperament. Despite his disapproval of reliance on organized religion for social change (and as a source of answers to theological questions), his earnest searching and explication when writing to clergymen, suggesting sympathies perhaps not recognized by him, established a link between him and them. Such sympathies made it possible for Morris to explain himself to them effectively, to define areas of agreement and disagreement, but best of all to feel that he was respected and was not the object of the sharp tactical opposition or even derision that he had come to expect from some fellow secular socialists.

What is even more important about his correspondence with clergymen, however, is that it was when writing to them that he most confidently undertook to define for himself the word "political." The need to do so was forced upon him both by dissatisfaction with what others had said, beginning even in his Liberal period, and by the dissatisfaction of others with him, almost as soon as he became a socialist. The letters gave him an opportunity to formulate the definition through dialogue, the external dialogue with the clergymen encouraging an internal dialogue with himself.

It is when Morris corresponds with the Christian activist C. E. Maurice that the internal dialogue first appears. In June 1883, six months after joining the Democratic Federation, he wrote to Maurice: "I used to think that one might further real Socialistic progress by doing what one could on the lines of ordinary middle class Radicalism: I have been driven of late into the conclusion that I was mistaken; that Radicalism . . . will never develop into anything more than Radicalism . . . and will always be under the control of rich capitalists: they will have no objection to its *political* development, if they think they can stop it there: but as to real social changes, they will not allow them if they can help it. . . ."

The emphasis is of course Morris's; he is separating the word "political," in its usual nineteenth-century meaning of negotiation in parliament among conflicting interests, from the word "change," which presumably is to come about in some way that is other than "political." Assuming for the moment that Morris wants radical change by any means, we cannot ignore the fact that his contemporaries in and out of the Democratic Federation would—unless they were anarchists—have described any method to bring about the change as "political." And so even at the outset of his

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career as a socialist, Morris has set himself apart, perhaps unknowingly as yet, from those with whom he strongly wants to make common cause.

To see further what Morris, at the beginning of his socialist career, rejects, we can look at his letter to Maurice sent a few days after the one mentioned above. The word to be repudiated this time is "system," and Morris begins by asserting that the present capitalist "supply and demand" system is not "eternal," noting—presumably as one who has been reading and discussing Marx's work—that the arrangement of citizen and slave of the ancient world and the medieval one of seigneur and serf gave way to the "present contract system between rich and poor" and that it too will be succeeded. But he adds: "I do not believe in the world being saved by any system; — I only assert the necessity of attacking systems grown corrupt. . . ."

Once again, Morris's approach to a central nineteenth-century concept is to distrust it. A system is not to be replaced by another system, and since "political" activity in his day, as in ours, implied a particular organization of society—that is, a "system," both as a context for that activity and as an immediate result of it—Morris's two negations reinforce each other. To this a third can be added: Morris's rejection of "theory," after several years of asserting in letters and lectures his commitment to "scientific socialism." Writing to an unknown correspondent (possibly E. J. Collings of Bolton) on December 30, 1887, he said: ". . . Socialism does not rest on the Marxian theory; many complete socialists do not agree with him on this point [the theory of value]; and of course the disproving of a theory which professes to account for the facts, no more gets rid of the facts than the mediaeval theory of astronomy destroyed the sun. What people really want to know is why they cannot get at the raw material & instruments of labour without being taxed for the maintenance of a proprietary class; and why labour is so disorganized that all the inventions of modern times leave us rather worse off than we were before. This can be shown them without pitting Marx against Jevons [who devised a statistical approach to economics] or vice versa." Whether people do want answers not based on theory, or prefer theoretically based ones, or ask different questions altogether, is not to the point here. What is apposite is that Morris's comments dispatch "theory" to join "political" and "system" in discard.

What is left? First, it is useful to note that the one word of the three to which he returns is "political," and that he does redefine it for himself. In the letters of 1888 to the Rev. George Bainton already cited, Morris speaks of "political" in a way that makes clear his oppositional—even antithetical—use of the term in the context of contemporary assumptions.

His is the root meaning of the word. It is Aristotelian in its approach,

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and it focuses on the concept of the body politic as a single entity, deliberately excluding the connotation signifying conflict and negotiation of interests. On April 2, 1888, Morris wrote to Bainton: "Properly speaking in a condition of equality politics would no longer exist; but to use the word as distinguishing the social habits that have not to do directly with production, the political position of Socialism is to substitute the relation of persons to persons for the relation of things to persons." This much might have come straight from Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, but Morris shows no interest in explaining how the word "political" illuminates the relationships among people (in the future) who live, as he says later in the letter, in a state of "personal equality." The positive meaning of political is at best negative: "[I]n such a state of society [i.e., socialist] laws of repression would be minimized"; and, externally, "there could no longer be rivalry between those inhabiting different places; nationality except as a geographical or ethnological expression would have no meaning." Clearly Morris, still reluctant to use the word *political* at all, is not certain about what it does or will mean, only about what it will not signify. In his next letter to Bainton, written two days later, he tried to come closer: "You must not forget . . . that the socialism of today . . . like every vital movement [is] a political one, that is to say one that embraces the daily life of the *whole* people. . . ." But the stress on "whole people" annihilates the practical in connection with "political" as thoroughly as did his negative definition of the word in his previous letter. Even when using the word with deliberate attention to meaning, it would seem, Morris can focus only on the concept of the body politic as a single organism—as the realized commonwealth and not the process for bringing the commonwealth about.

His approach to the word can be dismissed as naive, or useless, but more important, it can be linked to what is significant in his position and response. And what is of special significance, I believe, is that at the heart of his discomfort with the word "political" is not only his dislike of contending factions but his distrust of language as it was used by both his friends and his enemies.

On several occasions in his letters, as well as in his lectures, he made clear his belief that middle-class society had created a language in which truth of feeling and honesty of thought were impossible. His socialist bias also fed on the prevailing attitudes that "civilization," having become decadent, compared unfavorably with the barbarism that preceded it. Morris's view is expressed in a letter he wrote to Georgiana Burne-Jones in May 1885: "I have [no] more faith than a grain of mustard seed in the future history of 'civilization', which I *know* now is doomed to destruction, and probably before very long: what a joy it is to think of ! and how often

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it consoles me to think of barbarism once more flooding the world, and real feelings and passions, however rudimentary, taking the place of our wretched hypocrisies." Connected with this is Morris's (only half-) humorous complaint to Scheu in August of the previous year that the true Germanic—that is, barbaric—vigor of English had been debased by the Latin-French influence, a point that he made again more seriously in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on December 14, 1886, in which he strenuously objected to the misreporting of his lecture on "Early England" at the Hammersmith Branch of the Socialist League two days earlier: "I pointed out . . . that the [Romans] were commercial and individualistic, and that their chief characteristic was vulgarity . . . whereas the [English, Saxon, and Jutes] had an elevated literature founded on the ideas of the dignity of life which naturally spring from the consciousness of belonging to a corporation of freemen." And in the lecture itself he had described Beowulf, the chief surviving work of these tribes, as "worthy of a great people for its sincerity of language and beauty of expression" and free from anything "coarse, ignoble, or degrading."

The Romans—"commercial and individualistic"—are both an analogue to the middle classes of nineteenth-century England and a part of the historical process that leads to them. The barbarians—the Anglo-Saxons and the Jutes—however, are neither analogues nor part of the historical process that leads to the nineteenth-century socialists: there is for Morris no dialectic. They are rather a model, a historical point of departure used nonhistorically, for the future, for the society that Morris—disregarding Marx as he does when he rejects the words "system," "theory," and "politics"—consciously thinks of as the ideal. There is, in brief, a personal use of history here that, though it results in no system, establishes a nondialectical idealism as a principle of understanding. In a letter to Georgiana Burne-Jones, after the annual convention of the Socialist League in 1888 (during which he had exerted all his energies to thwart the move toward parliamentarism initiated by the Bloomsbury Branch and by his close colleague Belfort Bax), after in fact the Bloomsbury Branch had been suspended from the Socialist League and had responded by reorganizing independently of it, Morris said: "I am a little dispirited over our movement. . . . Perhaps we Leaguers have been somewhat too stiff in our refusal of compromise. I have always felt that it was rather a matter of temperament than of principle. . . . But then in all the wearisome shilly-shally of parliamentary politics I should be absolutely useless: the immediate end to be gained, the pushing things just a trifle nearer to State Socialism, which when realized seems to me but a dull goal — all this quite sickens me. . . . Preaching the ideal is surely always necessary."

"Preaching the ideal" is in fact a key to politics and language in Morris's

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thought and to the meaning the word "political" had for him. Paul Meier has argued that Morris fastens on the vision of "pure communism," the stateless state that was to follow state socialism in nineteenth-century Marxist theory. Others—including Engels—accused Morris of giving comfort to the anarchists through his dislike of the political process and his absorption in a vision of a future society. Undoubtedly there is truth in both these estimates, but Morris's focus on the ideal condition, his praise of the barbarian "corporation of freemen" whose elevated literature manifested "sincerity of language," is a result also, as noted, of his distrust of all nineteenth-century language—that of both the commercial classes and the socialists who opposed and often derided him. Language in the nineteenth century had become for him decadent on the one hand and manipulative on the other. His insistence on "preaching the ideal," in celebrating an imagined corporate social entity in which the nineteenth-century links between the word "political" and the words "system," "theory," and "negotiation" have been dissolved, is a desire too for an ideal language, one resembling in its virtues the language of the Germanic settlers of England. He was not to find an ideal body politic, nor was he to find or create an ideal language, but his reaching for them had consequences more interesting than the predictable unattainability of the objects.

In his own work this reaching had contributed first, I believe, to his shift from poetry to prose. He had told Fred Henderson, in a letter of November 6, 1885, that "language is utterly degraded in our daily lives and poets have to make a new tongue each for himself." Because he began his long narrative poem, *The Pilgrims of Hope*, about the time he defined to Henderson the obligation of the modern poet, Morris must surely have been aware of this need for himself; and the mildly self-deprecating references to *The Pilgrims of Hope* in his letters might have been stronger even as the conclusion that the poem failed is strong. His own effort to "make a new tongue" in *The Pilgrims of Hope* was unsuccessful, and surely this had something to do with his never again attempting a major poem.

The Pilgrims of Hope is, literally, a political poem—the story of three British volunteers who fight for the Paris Commune. In his quarrels with other socialists over the meaning of political terms, Morris had discovered he was reaching for a language that would describe an idealized society and serve as means of communication within it. In writing *The Pilgrims of Hope*, however, he failed to create in poetry a language that would describe, express, and idealize—transform into an epic of modern times—a social-political event that had captured his imagination. If not as a result of this failure, then certainly in sequence to it, he shifted to prose, used in the early romances of the period of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*

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but largely abandoned for literary work when his career as a poet, from 1857 on, became serious and successful.

In the last decade of his life, Morris wrote a series of extraordinary prose romances, which take as their subject either the past or the future, and in which the nineteenth century, controlled by the perspective of past or future, serves one or the other, stands in inferior relation to it: is subordinated, that is, to a past or future that is idealized.

And in the prose he shaped for these romances he liberated himself at once from the need to quarrel with socialists, the need to use the "corrupt" language of the "commercial classes," and the need to make poetic language "new." Significantly, the poetic passages that are integral to certain of these romances (and that are a borrowing from the technique of the Icelandic sagas) are fairly dreadful at times, whereas the prose often has a simplicity, charm, and rhythmic power that approach Morris's prescription for a fresh language. Equally important, politics, language, and art become a single theme in the first four of these romances, written or begun between 1886 and 1889 (one year beyond the period covered in this volume). Taken together, these works can be read as a search by Morris, within a series of fictive or historical political situations, to define and then redefine the role of the artist, and of art, in society; and it is a search that begins with the poet as a special individual, and poetry as the chief art, and that ends with the near abolition of both.

The first romance is *A Dream of John Ball*, initially published serially in *The Commonweal* from November 13, 1886, through January 22, 1887. Adopting his characteristic role of dreamer, Morris returns in this work to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and to the Battle of London. When asked who he is, he calls himself Bard, and thus becomes an important figure at the right hand of the egalitarian (but traditionally heroic) leader, John Ball. But the function Morris gives himself is even more important than the traditional bardic one, for he does not sing of the past but of the future, and as a seer he treats John Ball to a fairly good Marxist account of what will happen in England after the fourteenth century. Thus the poet helps define John Ball's political goal, and though this is an intervention of art into history, the purpose is not to change past events but to interpret or alter their significance for the future—to define for the nineteenth century the event of which John Ball was a part just as the intervention fictively clarifies his private meditations.

The next prose romances to be written were *The House of the Wolfings* (1888) and *The Roots of the Mountains* (1889). Morris, in writing them, reached back to a period earlier than the fourteenth century.

The exact year and place of *The House of the Wolfings* are not specified, but it is the period in which the Gothic tribes encountered the Romans,

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while moving through Central Europe. It is the time when Nordic barbarism, with all its individual and social virtues, confronted the decadent, tax-gathering civilization of the South; though Morris, for both historical and dramatic reasons, is careful to stress also the efficiency and courage of the Romans in battle.

The Wolfings, the Gothic tribe at the center of this work, are led by Thiodolf, a man who is both elected warrior leader and singer of songs—joined in the latter capacity by the literally divine woman he loves, Wood Sun, and occasionally by other central and heroic figures. It is as if Morris were experimenting: if barbarism (based as it is on the small harmonious group ruled by thoroughly democratic institutions) provides a true model for the ideal society, then even the fourteenth-century conception of the poet in *John Ball*, connected as it is to the division of function between poet and activist, finally will not do. By combining the function of leader and poet in one figure, Morris makes him a representative of the whole people, an incarnation of “politics” embracing “the daily life of the whole people”; and a poet who similarly demonstrates that art—that is, his songs sung in behalf of everyone in the tribe of the Wolfings—is for the whole people. Morris, in *The House of the Wolfings*, moves toward his own nineteenth-century political-moral imperative.

He moves a step closer in *The Roots of the Mountains*. Placed again in the age of barbarism, at an unspecified but later date, the contention this time is between heroic Goths and degraded Huns. The warrior leader of the Goths, Face of God, is a bard, but Morris also extends literally the artistic implications of Thiodolf’s role in *Wolfings* as representative of everyone. Face of God not only represents the people, as their elected war leader, but is also joined in song by the entire tribe—and by their allies, a remnant of the Wolfing people—on the occasions when important actions are being explained, undertaken, recalled, or celebrated. This, metaphorically, is Morris’s furthest reach in his effort to visualize poetry as art for everyone, made by everyone. It may or may not be significant that his next prose romance, *News from Nowhere* (1890) was largely written during the year of the final disheartening struggle with fellow socialists, and that the completion of the work’s serial run in *Commonweal* that year was followed by Morris’s ouster from the editorship of the journal and his departure from the League.

What is significant, indeed striking, about *News from Nowhere*, if it is approached in chronological order, is that there are no poets of any special significance at all in this work, which moves us from the dark ages in which the good barbarism of the Goths flourished to the twenty-first century—past the fourteenth-century division between noble and peasant or serf and past the *truly* dark period of capitalism. It is as if Morris has finally

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lost *all* faith in words devoted to describing the present and all interest or hope in communicating through words not only with capitalists, who were the first to ruin the language, but with fellow socialists, who had found him wanting in theory and in the understanding of words they regarded as essential to discourse and polemics. Whether or not this “as if” actually corresponds to what went on in Morris’s conscious or even unconscious mind, is not to be known. What *is* known, however, is that the most important art practiced in *News from Nowhere* is visual decoration: the dyeing and embroidery of cloth, the carving of everything from door lintels to tobacco pipes. The visual has effectively replaced the verbal in Morris’s effort to hypothesize an art that will be for the pleasure of all, and that will be made by all, and will stand in an equal relation to the language of politics. It is as if the decorative arts were finally the language in which there was neither reason nor possibility of dishonesty in communication, in which people were able to communicate their thoughts and feelings about the happiness they were experiencing in an ideal society—the happiness, as Morris said in a letter to Bainton written May 6, 1888, that “consisted in the pleasurable exercise of our energies.”

In the whole issue of Morris’s thoughts about language, and about the visual as a language, two additional matters that deserve attention are his letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in November 1886, opposing the establishment of a chair in English literature in Oxford; and the record, simply, of his career as a designer during the years covered in this volume.

As for the first, he argued that the holder of the chair would devote himself to solipsistic interpretation, that is, would use words in an arbitrary manner. Were it a chair in philology, Morris said, he would not object. That is, were the holder of the chair to concern himself with the history of sequential meanings of words, Morris would approve. Whatever the record of conflicting meanings of words in the past, the indeterminacy is not to be consciously encouraged, as a matter of social policy. Implicit is a commitment to the concrete and to that paradox that equates the concrete with the ideal—that sees concrete and definite language as a reflection of social coherence, and interpretative language as both a reflection of social chaos *and* an instrument for promoting the chaos. Because, however, Morris no longer had faith in the power of concrete words to effect social change, his strategy was once again to distrust the struggle of word with word but, recognizing that in fact words do contend, to offer no literal alternative. The alternative was to affirm metaphorically the necessity for the concrete: to oppose the visual to the linguistic as a metaphoric argument rather than as a directly social one.

It is not only in *News from Nowhere* that Morris opposed the visual and the linguistic but in his own career as well. If he wrote little poetry of con-

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sequence in the 1880's—unless *Pilgrims of Hope* be ranked with his best, and I have ranked it decidedly below his earlier major poems—he did produce some of his best designs for wallpapers and fabrics. Notable among the wallpaper patterns are “Wild Tulip” (1884), “Lily and Pomegranate” (1886), “Willough Boughs” (1887), and “Bruges” (1888); and among textiles, “Brother Rabbit” (1882)—the first textile produced at Merton Abbey, “Rose and Thistle” (1881), “Bird and Anemone” (1881), “Eye-bright” (1883), “Strawberry Thief” (1883), and “Corncockle” (1883); and the designs that take their names from the tributaries of the Thames: “Windrush” (1883), “Evenlode” (1883), “Kennet” (1883), “Wey” (1883), “Cray” (1884), “Wandle” (1884), and “Medway” (1885). This is a selective list but long and notable enough to stand as strong evidence that the conflicts, frustrations, and growing dislike of language as polemic did not interfere with his productivity as a maker of visual patterns, whatever expression of hope or anger—I doubt of despair—an interpretation of the patterns themselves might reveal. My own reading is to see confidence and pleasure expressed in the color and form of most of these designs; to see boldness and inventiveness, despite the free borrowing from Oriental and Italian patterns; to see in them Morris's satisfaction in expressing the definite, in self-expression through the concrete, a form of self-realization that he felt was no longer possible through the verbal resource of the English language.

It remains now to raise the largest question of all about Morris in the 1880's. What was, or is, his historical importance? His role in the political history of this period was not, by the usual measures of political history, a large one. As for the literature he produced, although the prose romances have a beguiling sweetness and authenticity of feeling (particularly in the erotic passages, central in all of them), and although *News from Nowhere* in particular has clarity and the charm of apposite humor, only occasionally does Morris's language acquire the force, color, imagery, or rhythmic spontaneity that he would have been the first to demand in art, or the brevity and condensation of metaphoric statement that our own modernism requires. His importance lies, I have argued so far, not in these but in the metaphoric meaning of the tact and strategy that resolved the search for a vision of art, artist, and perfected society by substituting the visual for the verbal. I would argue further that one of the metaphoric meanings of this tact and strategy is that it takes a position, in part historical, in part universal, in the space where art and politics meet.

This can be pursued further by returning to the literal situation in the Socialist League at the end of the 1880's, that is, to Morris's actual historical situation, and by reassessing his political response in terms of the position I have suggested he defined for himself through his romances. The

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problem as it became articulated during the years of Morris's most intense activity in behalf of the Socialist League (1885-1888) was his seeming anarchism. How to discuss the problem is one of the most vexing questions that can be raised about him in conventional political terms. As I noted earlier, Paul Meier has argued that what motivated Morris was the vision of the withering away of the state at the end of history, or at the last stage promised by Marxist theory. Engels, who knew Morris, regarded him as muddle-headed, as an unwitting ally of the anarchists in the Socialist League. Dispassionate review of the evidence, particularly of the letters, requires us to see that while Morris repudiated the theory of anarchism and abhorred its tactics, his own yearning for freedom from restraint, his equation of the idea of perfectibility in human society with the idea of the least amount of coercion possible, his faith that there can be rational thinking in politics and that self-evident self-interest can lead to immediate acceptance of the common good, and his insistence on small groups as the defining units of human society make the association between Morris and philosophical anarchism too close to dismiss as an error in interpretation. There is an analogy here with Morris's relation to Marxism: he accepted Marx's analysis of history, but with respect to what might be called the sociology and the short-term prophetic view—or the agenda for the next stage—of Marxist socialists around him, he refused to enter into the linguistic debates that represented a struggle for power and might have had a dialectical consequence for him. In his response to anarchism as to Marxism, that is, his method was to bring to words not only the political attitudes he had been taught, but the literary history that he had freely shaped for himself and that had shaped him so decisively.

If this matter still needs to be better understood, both E. P. Thompson in his biography of Morris and Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* took an important step toward that goal when they raised the possibility that Morris's radicalism owed as much to the English Romantic tradition as it did to Marxism. I would add to this essential view the recommendation that Engels' dismissal of Morris as a mere poet be stood on its head, that Morris's importance in political history be seen as dependent on his being a poet—a view, incidentally, much in evidence in Thompson's biography, though it is not the main theme.

News from Nowhere, because it concludes the search for a reconciliation of art and politics, and because it reflects the defining isolation that marked Morris's political career at the end of the 1880's, is more than apposite to a consideration of what it means to say that Morris's role as a poet defines his political importance

I have already suggested that it was in the line of development discern-

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ible from *A Dream of John Ball* to *News from Nowhere* that Morris took up the issue of language and politics, assumed that “truth” was the essential substance of both art and politics, and solved the problem for art negatively by eliminating language as a major medium for art. But in *News from Nowhere*, he also attempted a kind of minimalist reduction of the vocabulary of politics. The entire work is an extended dialogue in which inhabitants of Nowhere take up key nineteenth-century social and political terms like “payment,” “competition,” “aristocracy,” “vulgar,” and indeed “politics” itself (meaning parliamentarism)—words introduced in Guest’s queries—and answer Guest by eliminating the words, by explaining that they have become meaningless in this society of the future. And there are no new words to replace them: the language of design expresses most effectively the egalitarianism, the truth, the concrete meaning, the inventive freshness, and the vigor required to rescue us from the corrupted, worn-out vehicle.

But the metatruth of all this is that it required *verbal* language to establish the decorative arts as a nonverbal language. It required words to create their political dimension, and it is only through these words that the metaphoric meaning of *News from Nowhere* enters into the political dialogue of Morris’s own day. His intention, certainly, in writing the work was to enter into that dialogue: to interpret political action, already in progress or planned. And by interposing language into an action—the language of art into the action of politics—his intention was to create a resistance to the action and an alteration of it, though the degree of his success, even in historical retrospect, may be unmeasurable.

Perhaps more important, Morris’s language, asserting the meaning of the decorative arts, enters into a dialectical relation with the will to power, and this language can functionally be called a “poetic” language to distinguish it from the conventional language of political power. When the will to political power is articulated, the poetic language challenges its silences: it locates and reports the absence of ambivalence, irony, dreams, love of truth, the critique of morality, and the irreducible definition of an individual as the locus of feeling. Thus, Engels’ dismissal of Morris as a sentimentalist and a poet, made incidentally when Morris was beginning the long engagement with language described here (though Engels no doubt had in mind earlier works, like *The Earthly Paradise*), is precisely the reason for not dismissing him from political-historical discourse. If there is a component in political thought that is utterly free from poetry, that is a priori or a posteriori to the formulations of the poetic imagination, it is precisely that element that poetic works like *News from Nowhere* alter—certainly when they direct attention to the silences in political statements,

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and even when they celebrate or praise the objectives of the political will, for to celebrate or praise is to interpret, too, and thus to redirect or even transform.

Moreover, if one takes the position that all acts are political—including writing a work like *News from Nowhere* or letters that deplore the Latinization of English or that rebuff socialists wanting to know what Morris means by “theory,” “system,” or “political,” even if all such acts are viewed as merely a variant of political will—it is important to make distinctions. The will of a hyndman or Engels, or of a John Burns or Belfort Bax, is self-defined as political and aimed at competition for control of the state apparatus. Morris’s will is aimed at imagining small social groups living in implausible harmony internally and with each other but with no external control; it is aimed not at using power but at abolishing its use in human relations: it is aimed chiefly at releasing human energies so that they might be exercised in pleasurable pursuits, the making of art being the first of these.

The speculative paths open to us, if we turn to the years that follow those covered in this volume, are several. We could, most obviously, look in Morris’s letters and in his career in the 1890’s for a further resolution of the word-versus-image polarity. We would, I believe, find it in his focus on the Kelmscott Press, in which the emphasis, clearly expressed in the letters of the 1890’s, is not on printing new books in which words are *used* in new ways—in which language is renewed—but on printing established books. Here the concern is with the design of the type and the decoration and pattern of the page—with the decorative arts once again.

Alternatively, we can think of Morris as in dialogue with the modern movement. Though he never himself achieved in language the fresh imagery he demanded, the modern movement came closer. It started with the same criticism of Victorian prose and poetry that he had announced and did so for similar reasons, but—although sometimes ambivalent—finally did not attempt to see socialism or the conditions of an ideal society as the remedy. At its most characteristic, it subordinated Morris’s demand that society be better in the future to a demand that art be better in the present. As a result or not, modernism moved toward the renewal of language for which Morris had called, but did so without accepting the challenge of his egalitarianism. Although following Morris’s injunction that each must make his or her own language (it is doubtful that Morris was ever regarded as a source of this imperative), the moderns chose to write without his concern that art should be for everyone.

From Morris’s point of view, the early moderns would probably be condemned as bourgeois decadents. Yet what they were doing historically was resolving the tension between politics and art by relegating pol-

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itics to a subsidiary position. Arguably, they were also, in their own way, continuing in the line Morris began when he insisted that his major concern as a socialist was to establish social conditions in which art and creativity could flourish: the emphasis on the primacy of art is already there. But the early modern writers realized this primacy in the words of their poems and novels, whereas for Morris craftsmanship—a kind of action—replaced words, became a metaphor for them, so that the making of type-faces and the practicing of all the book arts in the work of the Kelmscott Press were an extension into the real world of the social and political statement about art contained in the emphasis on the visual and decorative.

And yet, as we get further away from the early modern movement ourselves, the divide between Morris and the poets and novelists of that movement seems less clearly assignable. Perhaps the real separation between Morris and the early moderns who were his contemporaries, or were soon to arrive on the scene, is that they accepted the world of the end of the nineteenth century as their subject matter, as their *donnée*, whereas he did not. Although in his socialist lectures on contemporary conditions he did, of course, address himself to the present, in his art the present was always resolving itself into its component parts: the past and the future. And for him these not only were the essential conditions for discourse about the present but also served as sources of imagery in which to express the aspirations of the present. The word “political” used to signify absence of faction, decorative images intended as signifiers of universal meaning—these were responses to the present, but they were responses that fractured the present into the past or future rather than encountered it in its contradictory wholeness. Perhaps one reason that Morris could not confront the present directly, as his subject matter for art, was that he lacked the intense individualism that allows the ego to raid its world imperialistically for its materials. But this does not mean that a different kind of artistic ego was not operating. His mind, finally, always needed to engage the art depicting or expressing the self in a dialogue with politics—to see the work of the individual as ever engaging a social-political world, real or imagined and always detailed. In the experiments with language in all four of the romances discussed here, the purpose is to call attention to the values of the society that produced the language, and in all except *John Ball* to see the language as universal among the society’s members. And this conscious intention creates a dialogue between Morris’s art and the practical forms of political discourse of his contemporaries and of those who use them today. By universalizing language, Morris implicitly questions the need for faction, for multiple interests in a society, and thus as Lionel Trilling has pointed out, he questions the need for aggression. As the subtitle of *News from Nowhere* announces, he aims finally at “an epoch

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of rest.” Given the unlikelihood of barbarism returning, or even being wanted, he asserts by implication that it is only in repose that language can again be honest and meaningful. In brief, only when we are out of history will the word become truth again. And since we know that we cannot drop out of history, into “an epoch of rest,” we recognize the essential meaning of Morris’s use of the decorative arts—of visual images—as a metaphor for a universal, truthful language. The latter *cannot* be written, not because—or not merely because—Morris lacked the talent to invent it, but because the conditions that would produce it will not occur. For vigor in language, our actual choices will be the intensely individualistic language of the modern period or a return to the barbarism that Morris more than once imagined he wanted. As for the political mind—for the thinker or actor who takes immersion in history and faction as an ongoing, endless process—Morris’s importance in engaging that mind in a dialogue is to insist that it is in the dialogue between history and art that political choices are defined. For Morris not only asks the question, what kind of society do we want? He also asks, what are the ends of that society? How do art, daily life, and language relate in that society? Morris has, in brief, forced a discussion of the implications and consequences of political choice. Almost by definition it is in the area of silence in political discourse that these questions lie; located there, too, are what one can, without embarrassment, call spiritual consequences of political choices. By forcing a dialogue between his language—even his language of pictures—and the language of the acknowledged political-historical figure, Morris takes not only a real and earned place in political history but an essential one. He asks, finally, as has been noted by others, where have we arrived, and where do we want to go, in the history of desire.

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MORRIS CHRONOLOGY

BASED on "A Calendar of Principal Events in Morris's Life," May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist*, II (Oxford, 1936), 632-37; and on the letters in the present edition.

- 1834 Born, March 24, at Elm House, Walthamstow.
- 1840 Family moves to Woodford Hall, Walthamstow.
- 1847 Father dies.
- 1848 Goes to school at Marlborough. Family moves to Water House, Walthamstow.
- 1851 Leaves school at Christmas, after school rebellion in November.
- 1852 Reads with Dr. F. B. Guy, Forest School, Walthamstow. Matriculates at Exeter College, Oxford, in June. Plans to prepare for the Church.
- 1853 Goes to Oxford in January. Meets Edward Burne-Jones, C. J. Faulkner, R. W. Dixon, Harry Macdonald, and William Fulford. In rooms at Exeter College by December. During this and following year reads Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, Carlyle's *Past and Present*, Thorp's *Northern Mythologies*, and Charlotte Yonge's *The Heir of Redclyffe*.
- 1854 Visits Belgium and Northern France in the summer, seeing the paintings of Memling and Van Eyck, and Amiens, Beauvais, and Rouen Cathedrals. Meets Cormell Price. Reads Ruskin's *Edinburgh Lectures* and becomes aware of the Pre-Raphaelites. Morris, Burne-Jones, and their circle plan a monastic brotherhood.
- 1855 Reads Chaucer and Malory. Makes second tour of France, accompanied by Burne-Jones and Fulford. Morris decides not to take orders, and to follow art as a career.
- 1856 Edits and finances the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. Articled to G. E. Street, the architect, in whose Oxford office he meets

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- Philip Webb. Takes his B.A. degree. Moves to London with Street's office and shares rooms with Burne-Jones. Meets Rossetti and abandons architecture for painting by end of the year.
- 1857 Decorative work begins at 17 Red Lion Square. Frescoes in the Oxford Union painted, under leadership of Rossetti. Meets Jane Burden. Macmillan rejects *The Defence of Guenevere*.
- 1858 *The Defence of Guenevere* published by Bell and Daldy at Morris's own expense. With Faulkner and Webb, visits France again.
- 1859 Morris and Jane Burden married on April 26. Tour of France, Belgium, and the Rhineland. Philip Webb builds Red House, at Upton, Kent, for them.
- 1860 Morris moves into Red House. Edward Burne-Jones and Georgiana Macdonald married on June 9.
- 1861 Firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. founded. Jane Alice ("Jenny") born January 17. Morris begins writing stories for *The Earthly Paradise*.
- 1862 Mary ("May") Morris born March 25. Firm shows work at the Great Exhibition and is awarded two gold medals.
- 1864 Morris ill with rheumatic fever. The Burne-Joneses decide against sharing Red House, and the plan for a "Palace of Art" there is abandoned.
- 1865 Red House sold to a retired naval officer and Morris family moves to 26 Queen Square, London, where the Firm also sets up shop.
- 1866 *The Earthly Paradise* takes form. Morris visits France again, with Warington Taylor and William Fulford.
- 1867 *The Life and Death of Jason*, originally intended as a tale in *The Earthly Paradise*, published separately in January. Firm begins decoration of dining room at South Kensington Museum.
- 1868 *The Earthly Paradise*, Volume I, published in April. Morris begins studying Icelandic with Eiríkr Magnússon.
- 1869 "The Saga of Gunnlaug Worm-tongue" published in the *Fortnightly Review* (January). *The Story of Grettir the Strong* published in June. Morris takes his wife to Bad Ems for her health. Burne-Jones's breakdown, precipitated by affair with Mary Zambaco.

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- 1870 Volumes II and III of *The Earthly Paradise* published. Translation (with Magnússon) of *Volsunga Saga* published. Completes first illuminated manuscript, *A Book of Verse*, as gift for Georgiana Burne-Jones. Meets Aglaia Coronio and begins long friendship and correspondence.
- 1871 Takes Kelmscott Manor, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, in joint tenancy with Rossetti in June. Rossetti and Jane Morris and children take up residence there. In July Morris leaves on first Icelandic trip, accompanied by Faulkner, Magnússon, and W. H. Evans. Makes an illuminated *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* for Edward Burne-Jones. A second (on vellum), a gift for Georgiana Burne-Jones, begun and completed following year.
- 1872 Morris family leaves Queen Square (Firm continues there) for Horrington House, Turnham Green. *Love is Enough* published. Rossetti suffers breakdown and attempts suicide.
- 1873 With Burne-Jones, visits Florence and Siena in spring. Second trip to Iceland in summer.
- 1874 Rossetti gives up his share of Kelmscott Manor. Morris takes family on trip to Belgium. In winter of 1874-75, begins illuminated *Aeneid* on vellum.
- 1875 Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co. dissolved and reestablished as Morris and Co., with Morris as single owner. Takes M.A. degree at Oxford. *Three Northern Love Stories* published. Begins experiments with dyeing, staying with Thomas Wardle, at Leek, for the purpose. Morris's translation of *The Aeneid* published.
- 1876 Becomes Treasurer of Eastern Question Association and begins first period of political activity. Appointed Examiner at School of Art, South Kensington. Jenny suffers first epileptic attack and becomes semi-invalid for the rest of her life. *Sigurd the Volsung* published.
- 1877 Gives first public lecture, "The Decorative Arts." Helps found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings ("Anti-Scrape") and becomes its first secretary.
- 1878 Takes family on visit to Venice, Verona, and Padua in spring. Move to Kelmscott House, Hammersmith, on return. Morris begins tapestry weaving. Russo-Turkish war ends with Treaty

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- of San Stefano in March; after Congress of Berlin, June-July, EQA becomes inactive.
- 1879 Leads protest by S.P.A.B. against proposed restorations at St. Marks, Venice. Becomes treasurer of the National Liberal League. First meeting with H. M. Hyndman, founder in 1881 of the Democratic Federation.
- 1880 Firm decorates Throne Room at St. James's Palace.
- 1881 Merton Abbey works of Morris and Co. started.
- 1882 *Hopes and Fears for Art* (first collection of essays) published. Death of Rossetti on April 9.
- 1883 Joins Democratic Federation on January 13. Made Honorary Fellow of Exeter College on same day. Death of Karl Marx, March 14. High warp tapestry started at Merton Abbey works. Lecture, "Art and Democracy," sponsored by Russell Club and delivered in University Hall, Oxford, with Ruskin in chair, in November.
- 1884 Partially subsidizes *Justice*, organ of the Democratic Federation. *Chants for Socialists* and *A Summary of the Principles of Socialism* (with H. M. Hyndman) published. In dissension with Hyndman at end of year, and along with others resigns from Democratic Federation (renamed Social Democratic Federation in August).
- 1885 The Socialist League founded and *Commonweal* started with Morris as editor. Free speech demonstration, Dod Street, on September 20. Morris arrested (charge dismissed in court next day) when protesting sentencing of free speech demonstrators. *The Pilgrims of Hope* published in *Commonweal*, 1885-86.
- 1886 Demonstration of unemployed in Trafalgar Square, February 8 ("Black Monday"). *A Dream of John Ball* appears in *Commonweal*, 1886-87. *A Short Account of the Commune of Paris* (with E. Belfort Bax and Victor Dave) published.
- 1887 Morris's translation of the *Odyssey* published in April. *The Tables Turned; or Nupkins Awakened* produced at hall of Socialist League on October 15. Trafalgar Square demonstration attacked by police, November 13 ("Bloody Sunday"). Pall bearer at funeral of Alfred Linnell, who was fatally injured in demonstration.

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- 1888 *Signs of Change*, second volume of lectures, published in May. Lectures on tapestry weaving at the first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. Attends the first Art Congress, held in Liverpool. *The House of the Wolfings* published in December. (Takes interest in its design and begins to consider the technique of printing.)
- 1889 Delegate at International Socialist Congress, July, in Paris, at which Second International is founded. London Dock Strike (August 14–September 14). *The Roots of the Mountains* published in November. Opens series of lectures at second exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. Attends Art Congress in Edinburgh (November).
- 1890 Designs type, preparing to start the Kelmscott Press. *News from Nowhere* appears in *Commonweal*. Leaves Socialist League at end of year and forms Hammersmith Socialist Society.
- 1891 The Kelmscott Press begins printing in January; its first book, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, issued in May. *Poems by the Way* and first volume of Saga Library published in October. Serious illness. Takes Jenny to France. Address on Pre-Raphaelites at Municipal Art Gallery, Birmingham, in October.
- 1892 Death of Tennyson on October 13. Morris mentioned as possible candidate for Laureateship. Reputedly declines to be considered. Elected Master of the Art Workers' Guild for the year. Principal Kelmscott Press books: *The Defence of Guenevere*, *The Golden Legend*, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. Second volume of Saga Library published.
- 1893 Joint Manifesto of English Socialists drawn up by Morris, G. B. Shaw, and H. M. Hyndman. *Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome* (with E. Belfort Bax) published. Principal Kelmscott Press books: More's *Utopia*, *News from Nowhere*.
- 1894 Morris's mother dies at age of 90. Principal Kelmscott Press books: *The Wood Beyond the World*, Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, Keats's *Poems*, and Rossetti's *Sonnets and Lyrical Poems*.
- 1895 Goes to Rottingdean for his health. Death of Friedrich Engels in August. Kelmscott Press publishes *Beowulf* (Morris's translation) and *The Life and Death of Jason*. Purchases Huntingfield Psalter and Tiptoft Missal. Speaks at Sergius Stepniak's funeral.

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- 1896 Kelmscott Press publishes *Chaucer* and *The Well at the World's End*. Sea voyage to Norway in attempt to restore health. Death of Morris, October 3.
- 1898 Death of Burne-Jones.
- 1900 Death of Ruskin.
- 1914 Death of Jane Morris.
- 1915 Death of Philip Webb.
- 1920 Death of Georgiana Burne-Jones.
- 1935 Death of Jenny Morris.
- 1938 Death of May Morris.

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPT LOCATIONS

(Printed text locations are included in list of Abbreviations of Works Frequently Cited.)

Andersen Coll.	Collection of Elmer L. Andersen
Balliol	Balliol College, Oxford
Bass Coll.	Estate of the late Freeman Bass
Berg	Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library
Berger Coll.	Collection of Sanford and Helen Berger
Birmingham	Birmingham (England) Public Libraries
BL, Add. mss.	British Library (British Museum), London, Additional Manuscripts
BL, Ashley mss.	British Library (British Museum), London, Ashley Manuscripts
BL, <i>Socialist Items, 1886-1888</i>	British Library (British Museum), London, Scrapbook made by Sarah Gostling, Reading Room
BL, Testimonials	British Library (British Museum), London, Reading Room, Testimonials, etc., 1876-1891, p. 11 of pamphlet number 6, letter number 11
Blanke Coll.	Collection of Howard Blanke
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bowker	Frederick G. Melcher Library, R. R. Bowker Company, New York
Briggs Coll.	Collection of Ronald C. H. Briggs
Brown	Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island
Bryn Mawr	Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania