CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

BY OSCAR L. TRIGGS

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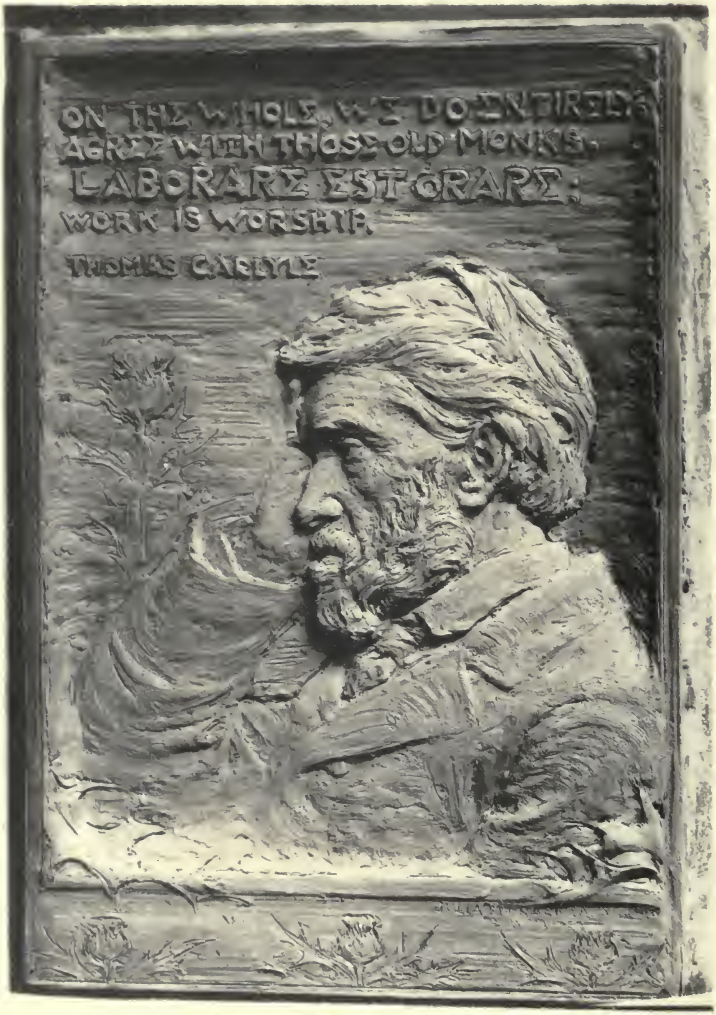

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT·

By Oscar Lovell Triggs·PH.D.

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CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT.

The primary motive of the arts and crafts movement is, as the name implies, the association of art and labor. Initially an English movement, it has been slowly emerging from the general industrial field for about forty years, though its differentiation into a distinct phase of industrialism belongs to the last ten years. I count 1860 as the approximate year of its beginning, when William Morris built his famous Red House on the outskirts of London, and served his apprenticeship to the industrial arts by designing and executing the decoration and furniture of his home. On its theoretical side the movement is, of course, much older than forty years, its development as an idea being measured by the lives of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris.

I. Carlyle's Relationship to the New Industrialism.

Carlyle's relationship to the new industrialism, as I will call it, is remote, and in his own mind

quite unconscious. But Carlyle was never anything more than a voice crying out in an age of transition; an age whose tendencies he did not understand, and could not, therefore, in any way direct; an age about which he knew but one certainty, namely, that its conditions were subject to change. He wrote as early as 1831: "The doom of the Old has been pronounced and irrevocable; the Old has passed away; but alas, the New appears not in its stead; the Time is still in pangs of travail with the New." And later, when the New had appeared with some definiteness, he wrote of the age in satire: "You perceive, my friends, we have actually got into the 'New Era' there has been such prophesyings of; here we are, arrived at last; and it is by no means the land flowing with milk and honey we were led to expect." However, there was one thing that Carlyle perceived clearly: that the new era was industrial, that the organization of labor was the universal vital problem of the world; and that the immediate function of labor, by whatever means of steam and machinery, was to subdue the earth and make it man's. Having named the ideal heroes of the past—the hero as prophet, poet, soldier, statesman—and knowing that these would not serve the present, he summoned at length a

new ideal, the industrial hero, whose work was "to civilize out of its utter savagery the world of Industry." He called for an industrial Cromwell or Frederick, of strong hand and iron will and strict conscience, who should lay his might upon the chaos, and rule it into order and harmony. "Look around you," he said to the leaders of industry he had evoked, "your world-hosts are all in mutiny, in confusion, destitution; on the eve of fiery wreck and madness! Ye shall reduce them to order, begin reducing them. All human interest, combining human endeavors, and social growths in this world, have, at a certain stage of their development, required organization; and Work, the grandest of human interests, does now require it." In his view such leaders would constitute a new aristocracy—an aristocracy denoted by something other than fine manners and accompanied by something else than fine arts, an aristocracy rude, doubtless, and inartistic in the old sense of art, but from the new point of view finely cultured and artists in deed. "Art," he once said, referring to the fine arts, "is very fine and ornamental, but only to persons sitting at their ease." To the arts of the leisure classes Carlyle never refers except with scorn. He had short patience with the art of a nobility, who were

only concerned about their game preserves, and wrote in his bitterest mood of satire a description of the modern opera and its devotees. Yet his world was not devoid of beauty: far from it. "Manchester, with its cotton fuzz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor, is hideous to thee? I think not so: a precious substance, beautiful as magic dreams, and yet no dream, but a reality, lies hidden in that noisome wrappage—a wrappage struggling to cast itself off, and leave the beauty free and visible there! Hast thou heard, with sound ears, the awakening of a Manchester, on Monday morning, at half-past five by the clock; the rushing off of its thousand mills, like the boom of an Atlantic tide, ten thousand spools and spindles all set humming there—it is perhaps, if thou knew it well, sublime as a Niagara, or more so. Cotton-spinning is the clothing of the naked in its result; the triumph of man over matter in its means. Soot and despair are not the essence of it: they are divisible from it. The great Goethe, looking at cotton Switzerland, declared it to be of all things that he had seen in this world the most poetical."

Carlyle then had certain notions respecting the meaning of the industrial world. These meanings bring us very close to his central doctrine

of Duty, in which word all of constructive thought he had to offer is summed up. Duty, as a vague term of obligation, finds its application in three secondary doctrines: those of Work, Silence, and Sincerity.

Work is the first and chief duty of man. In its simplest form, the doctrine of work stands on Carlyle's pages thus: "It is the first of all problems for a man to find out what kind of work he is able to do in this universe"; or in negative statement: "One monster there is in this world, the idle man." "For work," he explains, "is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind—honest work which you intend getting done." In shorter phrase: "Labor is Life." Again he would assert: "Work is alone noble." In a deeper sense work appears to be the mission of man on the earth. "A day is ever struggling forward," he wrote in his essay on Chartism, "a day will arrive in some approximate degree when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the Solar System; but may go and look elsewhere—if there be any Idle Planet discoverable. Let the honest working-man rejoice that such law, the first of Nature, has been made good on him; and hope that by

and by all else will be made good. It is the beginning of all." And so in "Past and Present" he said: "Whatsoever of morality and of intelligence; what of patience, perseverence, faithfulness of method, insight, ingenuity, energy: in a word, whatsoever of Strength the man had in him will lie written in the Work he does." "He that can work," he explains further, "is a born king of something; is in communion with Nature, is master of a thing or things, is a priest and king of Nature so far." Thus understood, work is its own reward, and becomes perverted the moment it demands a wage, and falls under bondage to Mammon. "The wages of every noble Work," Carlyle said, "do yet lie in Heaven, or else Nowhere. Not in Bank-of-England bills, in Owen's Labor bank, or any of the most improved establishment of banking and money-changing, needest thou, heroic soul, present thy account of earnings." The brave man has to give his life away, and for his all "God's entire creation" is given in return. So Carlyle quotes with approval the words of the old monks: *Laborare est Orare.*

Closely connected with the doctrine of work is his principle of silence. "Silence, withal, is the eternal duty of a man." In silence thoughts shape themselves and emerge in action. "Silence is the

element in which great things fashion themselves together, that at length they may emerge, full-formed and majestic, into the daylight of Life, which they are henceforth to rule." On this ground Carlyle had much to say on the topic of education. The schools about him had been engaged for generations with abstractions, artificialities, manners, and the usage of words. But from Wilhelm Meister he derived the notion of "mute-education"—an education, that is, of the deed, and not of the word; or, as he describes it, "a training in practicality at every turn." "The grand result of schooling is a mind with just vision to discern, with free force to do; the grand Schoolmaster is Practice." In his paper on "Corn-Law Rhymes" he explained more elaborately his education of silence: "He that has done nothing has known nothing. Vain is it to sit scheming and plausibly discoursing; up and be doing! If thy knowledge be real, put it forth from thee; grapple with real Nature; try thy theories there, and see how they hold out. Do one thing; for the first time in thy life do a thing; a new light will rise to thee on the doing of all things whatsoever. Truly, a boundless significance lies in work, whereby the humblest craftsman comes to attain much which is of indispensable use, but

which he who is of no craft, were he never so high, runs the risk of missing." The contrast between theory and practice is drawn still further in "Past and Present": "How one loves to see the burly figure of him, this thick-skinned, seemingly opaque, perhaps sulky, almost stupid Man of Practice, pitted against some light, adroit Man of Theory, all equipt with clear logic, and able anywhere to give you Why for Wherefore! The adroit Man of Theory, so light of movement, clear of utterance, with his bow full-bent and quiver full of arrow-arguments—surely he will strike down the game, transfix everywhere the heart of the matter, triumph everywhere as he proves that he shall and must do? To your astonishment, it turns out oftenest No. The cloudy-browed, thick-soled, opaque Practicality, with no logic utterance, silence mainly, with here and there a low grunt or growl, has in him what transcends all logic utterance: a Congruity with the Unuttered. The Speakable, which lies atop, as a superficial film, or outer skin, is his or is not his; but the Doable, which reaches down to the World's center, you find him there." There is much that is transcendental in all this—a philosophy gone quite generally out of fashion, but it is a transcendentalism

that pertains to the deed rather than the word, and so links itself with some of the most vital tendencies in modern life. Literary education is fast passing from the schools. Labor, we agree, must become "a seeing, rational giant, with a soul in the body of him, and take his place on the throne of things."

In sincerity, the third of these principles, Carlyle's economic doctrine is embodied. The test of manhood is its truth; how to attain truth in all things and be true at all places and times is the great human problem, the great industrial problem no less. "Cheap and nasty"—with these words Carlyle characterized most of the manufactured goods of his day, tainted as they were with the spirit of Mammon. Against the ideal of cheapness he placed that of fitness. "No good man did, or ever should, encourage cheapness at the ruinous expense of unfitness, which is always infidelity, and is dishonorable to a man. If I want an article, let it be genuine, at whatever price; if the price is too high for me, I will go without it, unequipped with it for the present—I shall not have equipped myself with hypocrisy, at any rate. This, if you will reflect, is primarily the rule of all purchasing and all producing men. They are

not permitted to encourage, patronize, or in any form countenance the working, weaving, or acting of Hypocrisy in this world."

In the mere statement of these three principles, without any very definite suggestions as to their application, Carlyle, it is true, did not stimulate much actual doing. The practical man of his day cried out to him: "Descend from speculation and the safe pulpit down into the rough market-place, and say what can be done." But Carlyle answered: "It is first of all necessary to gird up thyself for actual doing—once rightly girded up many things present themselves as doable." Carlyle's function was to arouse to action, at least to stimulate thought on social questions. His own life—as he observed of Schiller—was emphatically a literary one; he was primarily a recorder, a biographer, and historian. As a man of letters he had the supreme faculty of vision, and was able to discern the inmost facts of a scene, an event, or of a life; and, more than all, he had the gift of the word, the genius for vivid description. It is the pathos of the literary life to write volumes upon work and to remain inactive, to write other volumes upon silence and never be silent one's self. It is doubtful if the literary man can even be sincere, for not having experienced life he must be haunted by

doubts and self-questionings. Carlyle's literary faculty was his undoing as a sociologist; for he was wont to prophesy without data in experience. And lacking clairvoyancy, unable to see any other outcome for a society rapidly democratizing save anarchy and chaos, he was prevented from uttering the creative word that might have inaugurated a new epoch. Mistaken in nearly all points relating to political democracy, he was always right in discussing questions of industry, and his dream of "some chivalry of labor" is even now being realized—the complete democratizing of labor, which Carlyle actually feared, being reserved for a distant future.

II. Ruskin's Contribution to the Doctrine of Work.

Carlyle's mission as a futurist was to arouse thought on current social questions. It is doubtful if any genuine word, even though it be but a word, can ever be lost. And Carlyle's word fell upon the ear of a young man, then idling in Italy and Switzerland, and employing an astonishing literary skill in describing objects of nature and art—but presently to become something quite other than a literary dilettante, something more even than Carlyle; namely, a socialist in both word

and deed. The story of John Ruskin's pilgrimage, his passage from naturalism to artistic interests, and thence to socialism, is one of the most significant life histories of the nineteenth century.

The impress left upon the mind, after a review of all of Ruskin's writings in the order of publication, is of an amazingly vital, versatile, generally consistent, and—to quote Carlyle on Goethe—"panoramic" intelligence. There is practically no subject of human interest that he did not discuss, and there is no discussion that is not in some degree illuminative. His works constitute a kind of synthetic philosophy, with almost the scope, though not with the manner, of Spencer and Fiske. He reminds one also of those great mediæval scholars who took all knowledge for their province, and preferred to synthesize knowledge rather than specialize in narrow fields. We forget that Dante was a scholar and desired to be known for his learning, and not for his poetry, and it seems impossible for the world to understand that Ruskin was not primarily an artist or an art critic, but a sociologist, who simply examined the phenomena of art, the most intimate and essentially human of all modes of expression, that he might the better determine the economy of life. Art was the chief, but by no means the only, field

wherefrom he gathered data for the understanding of life. The social motive was undoubtedly the central and controlling impulse in all he did; yet so great was his mental energy, the simple necessity of self-expression, that his work might fairly be said to have been without special motive, produced as spontaneously and naturally as flowers and fruit in the physical world. An abundant life-energy is turned now upon this subject and now upon that, wreaking itself also upon style—the mere manner of saying things, in which he always took supreme delight. Rhetorically he was the master of many styles: the direct, instructive, persuasive, invective, suggestive, and flamboyant. Showing the influence of Hooker and Johnson and Carlyle upon him, he could on occasion outpreach Hooker, overcrowd Johnson, and outscold Carlyle. But manner does not measure him: he led as laborious a life an any the busy nineteenth century can show. In a humorous letter addressed to Mrs. Carlyle, a transcript of his occupations is made for a portion of 1855, one of his climacteric years; the letter proceeds: "I have written, since May, good six hundred pages, had these rewritten, cut up, corrected, and got fairly ready for the press. . . Also I have prepared above thirty drawings for

engravers this year, retouching the engravings (generally the most part of the business), and etched some on steel myself. In the course of the six hundred pages I have had to make various remarks on German metaphysics, on poetry, political economy, cookery, music, geology, dress, agriculture, horticulture, and navigation; all of which subjects I have had to 'read up' accordingly, and this takes time. Morever I have had my class of workmen out sketching every week in the fields during the summer; and have been studying Spanish proverbs with my father's partner, who came over from Spain to see the great Exhibition. I have also designed and drawn a window for the museum at Oxford; and have every now and then had to look over a parcel of five or six new designs for fronts and backs to the said museum. During my above-mentioned studies of horticulture I became dissatisfied with the Linnæan, Jussieuan, and everybody-elseian arrangement of plants, and have accordingly arranged a system of my own; and unbound my botanic book and rebound it in brighter green, with all the pages throughother and backside foremost—so as to cut off the old paging numerals; and am now printing my new arrangement in a legible manner, on interleaved foolscap. I

consider this arrangement one of my great achievements of the year. My studies of political economy have induced me to think also that nobody knows anything about that, and I am engaged in an investigation, on independent principles, of the nature of money, rent and taxes, in an abstract form, which sometimes keeps me awake all night. My studies of German metaphysics have also induced me to think that the Germans don't know anything about *them;* and to engage in a serious inquiry into the meaning of Bunsen's great sentence in the beginning of the second volume of Hippolytus, about the Finite realization of Infinity; which has given me some trouble. The course of my studies of navigation necessitated my going to Deal to look at the Deal boats; and those of geology to rearrange all my minerals (and wash a good many, which, I am sorry to say, I found wanting it). I have also several pupils, far and near, in the art of illumination, an American young lady to direct in the study of landscape painting, and a Yorkshire young lady to direct in the purchase of Turners —and various little bye things besides."

By the side of this letter may be placed another written twenty years later, telling, in a mood of jest and earnest, of designs for which he had been

collecting materials for fifty years. "Of these materials I have now enough by me for a most interesting (in my opinion) history of fifteenth-century Florentine art, in six octavo volumes; an analysis of the Attic art of the fifth century B. C., in three volumes; an exhaustive history of northern thirteenth-century art, in ten volumes; a life of Sir Walter Scott, with analysis of modern epic art, in seven volumes; a life of Xenophon, with analysis of the general principles of education, in ten volumes; a commentary on Hesiod, with final analysis of the principles of political economy, in nine volumes; and a general description of the geology and botany of the Alps, in twenty-four volumes."

From these recitals a notion of the prodigality of Ruskin's genius is gained; we notice the range of his attainments, his many-sidedness, his originality, his dogmatic and self-confident assertiveness, the impatience of his spirit, the oscillation of his temper, and particularly the happy union of thinking and doing, the harmony of the theoretical and practical faculties. And what is quite as important as any, we learn from the letter of 1855 of his intimacy with the Carlyles, and are prepared for the dedication of "Munera Pulveris" in 1863 to "Thomas Carlyle, who has urged me to all

chief labor," also for Ruskin's praise of Carlyle in "The Crown of Wild Olive" as "the greatest of historians since Tacitus," for the many references to his "master" elsewhere in his writings, and for the occasional imitation of his manner, as the scolding essay on the state of England in the "Ariadne Florentina" volume; prepared also for Carlyle's enthusiastic reception of Ruskin's later social treatises, and for his writing of Ruskin in 1869: "The one soul now in the world who seems to feel as I do in the highest matters." Knowing Ruskin's relationship with Carlyle, we can understand more clearly the sociological bearings of his teachings. Then, furthermore, without going farther than the letter of 1855, we may assume it likely that Ruskin's published volumes will not contain any compact and systematized body of instruction, but rather the easy discourse of a large but irregular intelligence, somewhat willful, perhaps, yet struck through with genius.

However much given to divagation, the general unity of Ruskin's life history is not difficult to trace. "My life," he declared himself, "has chanced to be one of gradual progress in the things which I began in childish choice." This unity is found in the thread of his social thought. From the age of seven to his twenty-second year he

devoted much of his energy quite seriously to poetry. Poetry gave outlet to his adolescent enthusiasms, and verse-making trained him to the use of words. His first love was for mountains and seas, and it is indicative that the *nom de plume* he attached to his early writings was "Kata Phusin"—according to nature. But from these interests he early passed to a study of painting and architecture, so that the first volume of "Modern Painters" revealed an equal devotion to nature and to art. There was at first no token in his writings of a social motive, though a protest in "Modern Painters" against the railroad as signifying violence, restlessness, and avarice, might have occasioned suspicion, and still more the essential seriousness with which he wrote. "Art is no recreation," he declared; "it cannot be learned at spare moments, nor pursued when we have nothing better to do. It is no handiwork for drawing-room tables, no relief for the ennui of boudoirs; it must be understood and undertaken seriously or not at all. To advance it men's lives must be given, and to receive it, their hearts." This surely is unusual language for a mere æsthete and stylist, and should have made the English public pause. We see clearly now that in all his early writings on nature and art it was the relation

of these to man for which he cared. Professor Norton points to the distinguishing features of the first volume of "Modern Painters" in these words: (1) "The display of intimate acquaintance with the aspects of nature and of unique faculties of observation and interpretation of them"; (2) "Keen analysis of the principles and methods of art"; (3) "The strong and devoted moral sentiment manifest throughout it, which read the laws of nature and of art by the light of virtue." Now, it was the possession of this third element, the moral, that differentiated Ruskin from other art teachers and marked him thus early for the mission of social reform. He declared himself that the beginning of his political economy is to be found in the assertion in "Modern Painters" that beautiful things are useful to men because they are beautiful, and for the sake of their beauty only, and not to sell, or pawn, or in any way turn into money. We are fortunate also to have Ruskin's own statement of the purpose of his art studies, following upon "Modern Painters." He told an audience at Bradford: "The book I called 'The Seven Lamps' was to show that certain right states of temper and moral feeling were the magic powers by which all good architecture, without exception, had been pro-

duced. 'The Stones of Venice' had, from beginning to end, no other aim than to show that the Gothic architecture of Venice had arisen out of, and indicated in all its features, a state of pure national faith and of domestic virtue, and that its Renaissance architecture had arisen out of, and in all its features indicated, a state of concealed national infidelity and of domestic corruption." The recognition of the relations between art and national character signifies the social bearing of these volumes. Concerning the "Stones of Venice," W. G. Collingwood makes the following comment: "The kernel of the work was the chapter on the nature of the Gothic, in which he showed, more distinctly than in 'The Seven Lamps,' and connected with a wider range of thought, suggested by pre-Raphaelitism, the great doctrine that art cannot be produced except by artists; that architecture, in so far as it is an art, does not mean the mechanical execution, by unintelligent workmen, of vapid working-drawings from an architect's office; that, just as Socrates postponed the day of justice until philosophers should be kings, and kings philosophers, so Ruskin postponed the reign of art until workmen should be artists, and artists workmen. . . . Out of that idea the whole of his doctrine could be evolved, with

all its safe-guardings and widening vistas. For if the workman must be made an artist, he must have the experience, the feelings, of an artist, as well as the skill; and that involves every circumstance of education and opportunity which may make for his truest well-being. And when Mr. Ruskin came to examine into the subject practically, he found that mere drawing-schools and charitable efforts could not make an artist out of a mechanic or country bumpkin; for wider questions were complicated with this of art—nothing short of the fundamental principles of human intercourse and social economy. Now for the first time, after much sinking of trial-shafts, he had reached the true ore of thought, in the deep-lying strata; and the working of the mine was begun."

The volume entitled "A Joy Forever," being the substance of lectures delivered in 1857 on the political economy of art—the title is significant—marks definitely the parting of the ways, and his intention thereafter to speak out openly on social themes. Upon this topic he had an indisputable right to be heard, since he knew more about art than any political economist, and more about economy than any artist. After 1857, practically everything he wrote, whether upon nature, as the "Ethics of the Dust," in 1865, or upon art, as

"Val d'Arno," in 1873, was conceived from the social point of view. He would never admit that any sentence upon a social topic written after 1860 was erroneous in principle, and insisted in the face of the public that was ever praising his style, that his volume called "Unto This Last," the purpose of which was to give a logical definition of wealth as a basis of economic science, contained the "best, the truest, rightest-worded, and most serviceable things" he had written. Even during the time he was professor of art at Oxford he was publishing the monthly series of studies called "Fors Clavigera," and forming the Company of St. George.

In the last volume of "Fors Clavigera," Ruskin announced definitely the teachings of his five greatest books: "'Modern Painters' taught the claim of all lower nature in the hearts of men; of the rock and wave and herb, as a part of their necessary spirit life; in all that I now bid you do, to dress the earth and keep it, I am fulfilling what I then began. 'The Stones of Venice' taught the laws of constructive art, and the dependence of all human work or edifice, for its beauty, on the happy life of the workman. 'Unto This Last' taught the laws of life itself, and its dependence on the Sun of Justice; the Inaugural

Oxford Lectures, the necessity that it should be led, and the gracious laws of beauty and labor recognized by the upper no less than the lower classes of England; and lastly, 'Fors Clavigera' has declared the relation of these to each other, and the only possible conditions of peace and honor, for low and high, rich and poor together, in the holding of that first Estate, under the only Despot, God, from which, whoso falls, angel or man, is kept, not mythically nor disputably, but here in visible horror of chains under darkness to the judgment of the great day; and in keeping which service in perfect freedom, and inheritance of all that a loving Creator can give to His creatures, and an Immortal Father to His children."

The essential seriousness of Ruskin's thought being recognized, I do not propose in this paper to wound his vanity by calling him a fine writer, which would mean that nobody need mind what he said; indeed, I am almost sure that he was not always a fine writer, and am disposed to agree with him in saying that four lines of description by Tennyson are worth as much as many of his pages, that a sentence of Carlyle's contains more than some of his essays, and that Browning succeeded in putting into a few poems all that he had striven to say in as many volumes on the

Renaissance. His manner, in short, does not greatly interest me, but his thinking does.

As an economist Ruskin inaugurated three departures from current teachings, the first relating to general political economy, the second to the theory of beauty, and the third to the doctrine of work. His primary issue was with the political economy of the time, and he claimed to have made the first contribution to scientific economy, because he alone considered life in its integrity and wholeness; that he alone among economists was acquainted with the value of the products of the highest industrialism, commonly called the fine arts, which had hitherto been ignored by all writers upon economy. The economy that concerned itself with merely objective wealth, the statistics of trade and production, Ruskin denominated mercantile economy—right in its place, but partial and unscientific, since it dealt with only a phase of wealth. A mercantile economy is an economy of means—"the science of avarice" Ruskin called it—whereas political economy is an economy of essential life. The true question is: "How can society consciously order the lives of its members so as to maintain the largest number of noble and happy human beings?" Ruskin's mission was on the one hand to correct a system

that had abstracted an "economic man" and set him to producing things, and on the other hand to expand the area of economy by including activities that do not lead directly to marketable production. He is recognized by progressive economists as having been the first English thinker to socialize economy in a strictly scientific manner.

As I write this there comes to my hand an editorial in the Chicago *Tribune*, entitled "Twentieth-Century Economy"; it is an admirable summary of the modern situation, and will serve to illustrate the better thinking of our own day:

Twentieth-Century Economy.

"In its broadest statement, the problem of the world's economy is to develop and give scope to individual originality, the benefits of whose exercise are registered in individual character as well as in objective results.

"The English economist, Marshall, however, declares that one-half of the power of human initiative is suppressed by the present social order, and it is not difficult to accept the statement. The happy instances where individuals manipulate circumstances so as to bring out striking results are rendered the more conspicuous by the number

of other individuals who entirely fail not only of such achievement, but of anything comparable thereto. And yet it is known that these others grade only somewhat below the first in capacity.

"Of all the stupendous waste exhibited in the physical and moral world this is perhaps the most tragic in character and consequences. Yet it is enacted unobtrusively and with little dramatic effect. It is typified by the circumscribed career of the working-class boy, who at 14 years passes from the influence of the 'graded' system of education to 'tend a machine' for ten hours a day. The lot of the few who enjoy more elastic and extended educational opportunities and a more adequate field of action thereafter is more in the public eye. Theirs, however, is not the lot of 'the great majority.' Among the latter there is no inconsiderable proportion whose power of individual initiative is but meagerly developed and whose potential contribution to the world's enterprise is never realized.

"There can be no doubt that the dominant aim of the century which has just closed has been commercial rather that humanistic. It has been the century of wealth-making. It has launched an entire series of world's fairs. It has established free public schools and abolished slavery, both of

which acts mean accelerated material development. It has built great cities with their lack of art. It has gone haltingly forward with its newly demanded factory laws. It has neglected persons as conscious objects. It has trusted for salvation to the instinct of gain. It has—perhaps with some twinges of conscience—assured all men that the current waste of flesh and brain was inevitable, and that there could be no better way.

"The problem of this century is to work out that higher economy in which there shall not only be a still better directed effort to effect material saving, but in which the emphasis shall be shifted from the material product to the human agent—in which social advance rather than the instinct of profit-making or even of vast organization shall more effectually dictate action. This does not mean the retarding of material progress. Quite the contrary. The better the man the better his product. And a century whose conscious effort shall be to make all existing progress converge upon the development of its people and upon insuring scope to their capacities will realize a peculiar quality and profusion of productive expression.

"That the spirit of a higher social economy—a spirit which is partially a revolt and partially an

instance of constructive self-assertion—is moving with great force in Europe and America is not to be denied. It protests against waste in militarism, in industrial conflict, and especially in dwarfed capacities. It finds the trust when kept within just bounds a labor-saving device, but, without abating its demands for efficiency in methods, its chief thought is centered upon persons. It looks for a twentieth-century economy which, as one of its far-sighted aims, shall seek to set free that fund of individual initiative which to-day is so often sacrificed."

An editorial in *Unity*, of about the same date as the preceding piece, and called "The Omitted Elements in Political Economy," asks some pertinent questions that sound familiar to the reader of Ruskin's writings.

The Omitted Elements in Political Economy.

"Political economy still holds its place in the curriculum of our universities, but that it has some limitations, felt if not proven, even in academic circles, is shown by the increasing use of such terms as 'social economics' and 'sociology,' terms which at least include political economy if they do not tend to supplant it. Political economy still starts out with the assumption that wealth resolves

itself into three elements and three only, viz., wages, saving, interest or profit. But do these represent all the elements in wealth, and are there no economic elements in capital other than saving and the higher skill of management? Did the man who had the foresight to run the railroad into the undeveloped country create the wealth of which he received so large a share? Are there not other elements of wealth which not only the moralist but the economist must take note of, and which are somehow legitimate factors in the considerations of the law of the land as well as the law of God? The railroad did not create but was created by the general intelligence of the community, more than that by the general advancement of science, the triumphs of invention, the progress of the race, the bounty of nature which no man created. Is the discovery of an unexpected force or resource in nature sufficient title to private ownership of that force or resource? Can the coal-beds of the world legitimately pass into the hands of the most sagacious manipulator of surface titles? Can the Standard Oil Company by any manipulation of capital, legitimate or otherwise, claim first title to all the petroleum or natural gas that their man-made deeds may seem to cover? Does the skill that succeeds in harnessing the

Niagara give to the man or men thus harnessing, private rights for all time to this the greatest of nature's 'water powers'? And then do the wages fixed by the law of competition meet all the legal and economic obligations of the more competent to the less competent?

"Must economics, in order to be scientific, assume only egoistic elements as calculable, permanent, and conclusive? Is there no place for altruistic forces in the political economy that is scientific? Must the golden rule, the principle of *noblesse oblige*, the law that increases moral responsibility with the increase of power be always outside forces seeking to ameliorate the otherwise grim and iron elements of political economy? Is there no reality that answers for the unearned increment which the science of political economy must take note of, and will there never be any scientific recognition of the principle that establishes the wage element in production not by the laws of competition but by the laws of a living wage, that fair proportion of the profits that will not represent the grim minimum of life but a plus element to this minimum that will make for the elevation of the workman, the increasing of his joy in life? Is the success of the successful man who gets to the top by virtue of expert selfishness, the suppression of altruism

in his nature, a success which political economy has no remedy for, which it must respect and has nothing to do about except to turn the mean man over into the hands of the evangelist after it has sanctioned his methods, and say, 'He has made his money legitimately; now let the minister of religion teach him how to spend it'?

"We do not presume to answer any of these questions, but we believe we have named some of the disturbing elements in the discussion of the class-room as well as in the adjustment of the industrial problems of to-day. These are questions to which we believe science and the scientific man will somehow find an answer that will be satisfactory to the moralist as well as to the financier; in short, political economy will eventually be based on the golden and not the iron rule."

Such thinking Ruskin anticipated by fifty years. Let some of his pregnant sentences be noted and their significance be reflected upon. "There is no wealth but life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration." "The wealth of nations, as of men, consists in substance not in ciphers; and the real good of all work, and of all commerce, depends on the final intrinsic worth of the things you make, or get by it." "That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest

number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others." "A noble thing cannot be wealth except to a noble person." "The essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful or life-giving things and by what degree and kinds of labor they are attainable and distributable." Having determined upon this idea of wealth all other definitions of economy were tested by their truth to human life or by their "vitality." The true end of work consists in making "wealth" and not in earning profits. "Value" is the life-giving power of anything. "Production" does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labor it employs, but how much life it produces. "Getting a living" is getting "admiration, hope, and love"—as Wordsworth affirmed. "Labor" is spending of life, the contest of man with an opposite. "Cost" is the quantity of labor required to produce anything. "Price" is the quantity of labor which the possessor will take in exchange for it. "Wages" should be determined by what is necessary to sustain life at

its fullest and best, allowing for recreation and rest.

There are three tests of "work": it must be honest, useful, and cheerful. His general social view is well summarized in a passage taken from the inaugural lecture at Oxford: "It has been too long boasted as the pride of England that out of a vast multitude of men, confessed to be in evil case, it was possible for individuals, by strenuous effort and rare good fortune, occasionally to emerge into the light, and look back with self-gratulatory scorn upon the occupations of the parents, and the circumstances of their infancy. Ought we not rather to aim at an ideal of national life, when, of the employments of Englishmen, though each shall be distinct, none shall be unhappy or ignoble; when mechanical operations, acknowledged to be debasing in their tendency, shall be deputed to less fortunate and more covetous races; when advance from rank to rank, though possible to all men, may be shunned rather than desired by the best; and the chief object in the mind of every citizen may not be extrication from a condition admitted to be disgraceful, but fulfilment of a duty which shall be also a birthright."

It will not be necessary to follow Ruskin

through the details of his system or to debate the advisability of the measures he proposed to effect a better social order. It will be remembered he advised the fullest regulation of society and division into classes according to function—kings, judges, administrative officers, bishops, soldiers, teachers, and workers. He was as strongly opposed to democracy as Carlyle and always used the word "independence" with contempt, saying: "The true strength of every human soul is to be dependent on as many nobler as it can discern, and to be depended upon, by as many inferior as it can reach." Hence he desired to see all children taught obedience and all persons entering into life the power of unselfish admiration. Like Carlyle he believed in leadership and kingship, but kingship of "an inevitable and eternal kind, crowned or not; the kingship, namely, which consists in a stronger moral state, and a truer thoughtful state, than that of others." He advocated warfare, but a warfare that was hardly more than pleasant jousting with shield and lance for the development of hardihood. It must be confessed that in respect to government Ruskin seems to incline to the mediæval view of governance rather than to the modern, but perhaps, after all, there would not be much disagreement as to his state-

ment in the last volume of "Modern Painters": "Government and co-operation are in all things the laws of life; anarchy and competition the laws of death." The state he contemplated was not a political or an industrial one, but more like Plato's republic, a moral organism with justice as its essential life.

Ruskin's divergence from the economical teaching of his day was not wider than his difference from contemporary æsthetic. The term æsthetic had been first used by Baumgarten in the eighteenth century to designate the science of the beautiful, meaning by the term that the beautiful made its primary appeal to sensation, as distinguished from the good and true, where perception was interior. In making beauty "the perfection of sensuous knowledge," the field of æsthetic was demarked plainly from that of logic and ethic. These distinctions prevailed in philosophy up to the middle of the nineteenth century, with the result of fashioning a school of art that laid stress only upon sense effects, and, advocating "art for art's sake," had so far withdrawn from life that art had become merely a means of amusing and entertaining the upper and leisure classes. Against this æsthetic Ruskin set his face, affirming that the impressions of beauty were not of sense, or

wholly of mind, but more essentially moral or social. The test he applied to art was its degree of social usefulness. He would never even use the term "æsthetic" except to refute its implications. The art of any country is seen to be an exact exponent of its ethical life: "You can have noble art only from noble persons." When writing the "Stones of Venice," he examined each structure with reference to its capacity for fulfilling expressional purposes. In his more technical lectures on art at Oxford it was noticed that he touched constantly upon the problems of life. His exposition of the art of engraving, for instance, was, as Mr. Norton observed, not more a treatise on line in art than on line in conduct. His characterization of the art of engraving, in the course of these lectures, is quite typical of his attitude: "It is athletic; it is resolute; it is obedient." In "Aratra Pentilici," speaking of sculpture, he said: "Its proper subject is the spiritual power seen in the form of any living thing, and so represented as to give evidence that the sculptor has loved the good of it and hated the evil." The laws which he deduced for sculpture are wholly untechnical: (1) That the work is to be with tools of men. (2) That it is to be in natural materials. (3) That it is to exhibit the virtues of those materials, and

aim at no quality inconsistent with them. (4) That its temper is to be quiet and gentle, in harmony with common needs, and in consent to common intelligence. From such discussion the definition is soon reached that art is expression.

As art, then, is not an entity distinguished by a quality called beauty, but a mode of expression, allied to all other forms of expression, and so marked by characteristics that may be termed moral or social, it follows that the chief test of art is its inclusiveness, its lowly origin, its universality, its serviceability, its degree of satisfying genuine social needs. The general proposition underlying "Modern Painters," "Stones of Venice," and his other art studies is this: "Great art is nothing else than the type of strong and noble life." A sense for the noble in life is something quite different from the "taste for beauty" developed by the opposite æsthetic. The false sense for art is known by its refinement, its fastidiousness, its preciosity; purity of taste is tested by its universality. Hence Ruskin told his students to beware of the spirit of choice, saying, "It is an insolent spirit, and commonly a base and blind one, too." He told them also that the main business of art was its service in the actual uses of daily life, and that the beginning

of art was in getting the country clean and the people beautiful. He pointed then to the fact that all good architecture rose out of domestic work, that before great churches and palaces could be built it was necessary to build good doors and garret windows. The best architecture was simply a glorified roof. His own statement runs: "The dome of the Vatican, the porches of Rheims or Chartres, the vaults and arches of their aisles, the canopy of the tomb, and the spire of the belfry are art forms resulting from the mere requirement that a certain space should be strongly covered from heat and rain." In the "Crown of Wild Olive" we meet the startling statement that the builders of the great mediæval cathedrals corrupted Gothic architecture—they corrupted it by forgetting the people and devoting it to priestly and æsthetic needs, until, losing its vitality, it declined in expressiveness and ultimately ceased to be. From these and other instances, Ruskin deplored the tendency of art to narrow its appeal and to become the object of the educated classes. However attractive much of the art of the Renaissance was to him, he yet saw that it had for foundation nothing but the pride of life—the pride of the so-called superior classes. His strongest statement on this point occurs in "The Two Paths":

"The great lesson of history is, that all the fine arts hitherto, having been supported by the selfish power of the *noblesse*, and never having extended their range to the comfort or the relief of the mass of the people—the arts, I say, thus practiced, and thus matured, have only accelerated the ruin of the states they adorned; and at the moment when, in any kingdom, you point to the triumph of its greatest artists, you point also to the determined hour of the kingdom's decline. The names of great painters are like passing bells: in the name of Velasquez, you hear sounded the fall of Spain; in the name of Leonardo, that of Milan; in the name of Raphael, that of Rome. And there is profound justice in this; for in proportion to the nobleness of the power is the guilt of its use for purposes vain or vile; and hitherto the greater the art the more surely has it been used, and used solely, for the decoration of pride or the provoking of sensuality. We may abandon the hope—or if you like the words better—we may disdain the temptation of the pomp and grace of Italy in her youth. For us there can be no more the throne of marble, for us no more the vault of gold; but for us there is the loftier and lovelier privilege of bringing the power and charm of art within the reach of the humble and the poor; and as the

magnificence of past ages failed by its narrowness and its pride, ours may prevail and continue by its universality and its lowliness." The beauty which is to be "a joy forever" must be a joy for all.

The ground is now cleared for understanding Ruskin's teachings respecting industry. He had proclaimed that art must spring from the people, that its test was its lowliness and its universality. He now reversed the proposition, and announced the necessity of ennobling the people through association with art—an association to be attained by means of their labor. The separation that had occurred between the artist and the artisan had worked injury to both kinds of products. The artists had become effeminate because they were not used to handle rough materials; workmen had become debased because they could not exercise their faculties in designing. The problem was to universalize art and to ennoble labor. With those sentimentalists who upheld the essential dignity of labor Ruskin had little sympathy. Whether labor was dignified or not depended upon its character; whether rough and exhausting or with elements of recreation; whether done under conditions of slavery or freedom. Some work is degrading by its physical conditions;

other work is dangerous to health; still other work destroys moral character. Labor can be dignified only as it has the character of dignity. In the Seven Lamps it is written that "objects are noble or ignoble in proportion to the amount of the energy of that mind which has visibly been employed upon them." But fullness of life involves a large degree of freedom. The sight of a degraded workman caused Ruskin the deepest gloom, while that of a free workman aroused his highest enthusiasm. He observed and commended in the free workman the hand's muscular firmness and subtilty, the brain's instantaneously selective and ordinant energy, the will's unceasing governance, and the whole being's joyful play and exertion—a joy such as the eagle seems to take in the wave of his wings. His defense of Gothic architecture as against the Greek is based upon the nature of the Gothic as involving the liberty of the workman in its design and execution, and he went so far as to assert that, in order to raise up the workman of the present day into a living soul, the whole system of Greek architecture as now practiced—the system, that is, of ordered and deindividualized work—must be annihilated. To produce a free workman education and science should strive —for surely these are made for man and not man

for them. The modern industrial problem is to decrease the number of employments involving degradation, and to raise the character of others by allowing the utmost possible freedom to the workmen.

Another fundamental proposition in Ruskin's theory of industry is that all good work must be free hand-work. Probably Ruskin would admit to himself that his antagonism to the machine was too extreme; but to cry out against the machine is one way of insisting upon the value of human life. If the machine was always employed in the service of man, to relieve him of drudgery and of all work debasing in its nature, if it always *did* work for him, and produce the things he needed, little could be said against it. But in the service of mammon and greed, compelling men to be its slave and lackey, it is anything but a lovely spectacle, and to Ruskin's eyes it appeared in the guise of a monster and not of a minister. And there is this to be said, that as soon as the principles of art are applied to industry the machine ceases to have much importance, and we can agree with the twenty-fifth aphorism of the Seven Lamps, that "All good work must be free hand-work." In fuller statement this aphorism runs as follows: "I said, early in this essay, that

hand-work might always be known from machine-work; observing, however, at the same time, that it was possible for men to turn their lives into machines, and to reduce their labor to the machine level; but so long as men work *as* men, putting their heart into what they do, and doing their best, it matters not how bad workmen they may be, there will be that in the handling which is above all price; it will be plainly seen that some places have been delighted in more than others—that there have been a pause and a care about them; and then there will come careless bits, and fast bits; and here the chisel will have struck hard, and here lightly, and anon timidly; and if the man's mind as well as his heart went with the work, all this will be in the right places, and each part will set off the other; and the effect of the whole, as compared with the same design cut by a machine or a lifeless hand, will be like that of poetry well read and deeply felt to that of the same verses jangled by rote. There are many to whom the difference is imperceptible; but to those who love poetry it is everything—they had rather not hear it at all than hear it ill read; and to those who love architecture, the life and accent of the hand are everything. They had rather not have ornament at all than see it ill

cut—deadly cut, that is. I cannot too often repeat it, it is not coarse cutting, it is not blunt cutting, that is necessarily bad; but it is cold cutting—the look of equal trouble everywhere—the smooth, diffused tranquillity of heartless pains—the regularity of a plough in a level field. The chill is more likely, indeed, to show itself in finished work than in any other—men cool and tire as they complete; and if completeness is thought to be vested in polish, and to be attainable by help of sand-paper, we may as well give the work to the engine lathe at once. But right finish is simply the full rendering of the intended impression; and high finish is the rendering of a well-intended and vivid impression; and it is oftener got by rough than fine handling."

The social wrong wrought by division of labor is another phase of Ruskin's arraignment of current industrialism. A profitable device from the point of view of production, considered as mere quantity, division of labor, especially in association with machinery and forced by competition, does injury to the producer and eventually to the consumer. It is a social wrong to the workman because it tends to degrade him to a mechanism, exercises but a single set of faculties, and dissociates him from the completed product, a knowl-

edge of which alone makes his labor rational. "It is not the labor that is divided, but the men —divided into mere segments and crumbs of life." It is a social wrong to the consumer because production, though increased in quantity, is lessened in quality, and the true utility of the goods is correspondingly lowered. In other words, the mercantile value of machinery and division of labor does not coincide with their social value, which is the true economy. "It comes to this," says J. A. Hobson, remarking upon this point, "that only good work can produce real utilities; excessive division of labor, in degrading the character of labor, degrades the quality of commodities, and a progress estimated quantitatively in increase of low-class material forms of wealth is not true progress." The demand of art is for a whole man, a rational process, and a valuable result. Its expression is qualitative and not quantitative. And this explains why artists and those associated in art production are the first to protest against an industrial system that enforces bad workmanship.

Other aspects of his doctrine of work are presented in an early essay on pre-Raphaelitism and though this special passage was written with reference to the artist, it applies to all workers:

"It may be proved, with much certainty, that God intends no man to live in this world without working; but it seems to me no less evident that he intends every man to be happy in his work. It is written, 'in the sweat of thy brow,' but it was never written 'in the breaking of thine heart,' thou shalt eat bread; and I find that, as on the one hand, infinite misery is caused by idle people, who both fail in doing what was appointed for them to do, and set in motion various springs of mischief in matters in which they should have had no concern, so on the other hand, no small misery is caused by overworked and unhappy people, in the dark views which they necessarily take up themselves, and force upon others, of work itself. Were it not so, I believe the fact of their being unhappy is in itself a violation of divine law, and sign of some kind of folly or sin in their way of life. Now in order that people may be happy in their work, these three things are needed: they must be fit for it; they must not do too much of it; and they must have a sense of success in it—not a doubtful sense, such as needs some testimony of other people for its confirmation, but a sure sense, or rather knowledge, that so much work has been done well, and faithfully done, whatever the world may say or

think about it. So that in order that a man may be happy, it is necessary that he should not only be capable of his work, but a good judge of his work." In other words a certain amount of leisure, a certain amount of skill, and a certain amount of intelligence, are requisite for the best work.

Given, then, ideal conditions for work, what profits should a man have for his labor? The essential reward lies naturally in the happiness which the work engenders. Labor that is wholesome exercise, involving the skill and intelligence and character of the individual, is not really labor in the Ruskinian sense, for there is in it no expense of life. By the recognition of the human values of labor the question of wages is rendered of secondary moment. The real demand of workmen who have not been degraded or corrupted by the mammonism of the day is not for higher wages but for better conditions of labor. The assumption that a man is a repository of energy to be elicited by wages alone is unworthy any observer of men. The wage system is simply one stage better than the slave system it superseded, and wages high or low is still a token of industrial bondage. The distinguishing sign of slavery, Ruskin said, "is to have a price and to

be bought for it." The best work of artists, poets, and scientists is never paid for, nor can the value of toil in these fields be ever measured in terms of money. "The largest quantity of work," our economist declares, "will not be done by this curious engine (the Soul) for pay, or under pressure. It will be done only when the motive force, that is to say, the will or spirit of the creatures is brought up to the greatest strength by its own proper fuel, namely, by the affections." Could workmen to-day direct their united energies toward self-education, so that the nature by which they are environed and the life with which they are connected might mean more to them, and so that the things they possess might be more highly valued; could employers understand that work is done well only when it is done with a will and that no man has a thoroughly sound will unless he has character and is contented, knowing he is what he should be and is in his place—could this higher ideal of labor be generally accepted and acted upon, then would the battle between those who have and those who have not be speedily ended. The real labor problem is not that of shorter hours or of higher wages, but it is to change the character of work so that work will be its own reward. It will be remembered that

Ruskin promised as the fruit of ideal labor a crown of wild olive, symbolizing by this token gray honor and sweet rest. "Free-heartedness, and graciousness, and undisturbed trust, and requited love, and the sight of the peace of others, and the ministry of their pain; these—and the blue sky above you, and the sweet waters and flowers of the earth beneath; and mysteries and presences, innumerable, of living things—may yet be your riches, untormenting and divine; serviceable for the life that now is; nor, it may be, without promise of that which is to come."

Upon education Ruskin depended for the social reforms he contemplated. As the school he ideally constructed was so largely industrial in character, the discussion of a few of his educational principles will here be pertinent. His general attitude may be understood by noting the followlowing sentence: "You do not educate a man by telling him what he knew not, but by making him what he was not." From this we may know that Ruskin had some large ideal of character, agreeing in his main tenets with Froebel and the new educationalists. His primary thought was that knowledge must be accompanied by a habit of useful action, else was it likely to become deceitful; and for the cultivation of the habit of action

he advocated the practice of manual labor. His school was grounded fundamentally on what is now called manual training, having reduced the three R's to an insignificant position, with an added basis in nature-study. I quote his words in "Time and Tide": "It would be a part of my scheme of physical education that every youth in the state —from the king's son downwards—should learn to do something finely and thoroughly with the hand, so as to let him know what *touch* meant; and what stout craftsmanship meant; and to inform him of many things besides, which no man can learn but by some severely accurate discipline in doing." Above this manual training each class should be disciplined according to the choice of occupation—the king for king's work, the bishop for bishop's work, the farmer for farmer's work—and he was careful to require that the metal school should be presided over by goldsmiths and not by ironmasters. As to the development of such education in the larger field of life his advice to the priests of the church—"the gentlemen of the embroidered robe"—may be taken as typical: "Do not burn any more candles, but make some; do not paint any more windows, but mend a few where the wind comes in, in winter time, with substantial clear glass and

putty. Do not vault any more high roofs, but thatch some low ones; and embroider rather on backs which are turned to the cold, than on those which are turned to congregations."

Ruskin's peculiar importance in the history of thought may now be determined by comparing him with Carlyle, from whom he derived much, yet from whom he diverged widely. Ruskin was impelled to undertake his social mission by reading Carlyle's "Hero Worship." Becoming personally acquainted about the year 1850, the two grew toward each other in those things which are controlled by temperament. Both were men of vigorous individuality. Both had sincerity as the mainspring of their energy. Both of them, optimistic in their youth and early manhood, gradually declined to the mood of pessimism. The bells of life jangled and went out of tune. By 1863 Ruskin's mood had fallen black and harsh, and he scolded more and was more impatient. The fine earnestness that always distinguished him had lost its radiance, and pleasure seemed to have gone out of his work, while the thing to be accomplished loomed larger and more necessary than ever. In their moods of doubt both thinkers proclaimed the need of a nation's governance by its superior members—the aristoi by divine sanction,

who should be leaders and rulers in a state of natural feudalism. Their social order was essentially a theocracy, with a hierarchy of saints and apostles, and extending down to classes and subjects and slaves. Both men were thus antagonistic to the democratic spirit, which tended to place every man in rule of himself, and so to overcome the sense of reverence and obedience to authority in the hearts of the masses. Across the waters to America they looked with contemptuous eyes, the one seeing too much roast goose and apple sauce, the other too few castles and ruins. But Ruskin surpassed Carlyle in constructive ability. Where the one simply called for leaders to rule the chaos of the world, the other proposed a definite plan for the social order and appointed the leaders to their places. With Ruskin, destructive criticism was linked with the instinct of repair. A great scientist, perhaps a great artist and poet, was lost to the world in Ruskin. As it was, he was a careful student of rocks and plants and clouds, an engraver, drawing-master, and painter of no mean ability, and a writer of sincere if not great poetry. During the few years he was professor of art at Oxford he was establishing a drawing-school, making collections of paintings and drawings, issuing helpful catalogs for the use of the public,

writing plain letters to workingmen on social questions, encouraging his students to repair roads and to give other social service, and helping to form a new social organization, which he called the Society of St. George. Then finally he passed beyond Carlyle, and indeed beyond every other writer of his day, in his knowledge of art. He knew the method, the meaning, and the impelling motive of the higher industrialism. He sought to correct the political economy of his time by including in its data all that art had furnished. The very titles of his books—"Modern Painters," "Stones of Venice," "Lamps of Architecture"—denote the wide field over which he worked. Then in all practical matters he tried to connect art with labor, thinking by this association to vitalize art and to elevate labor. It is in Ruskin that the modern arts and crafts movement had its original source. To him we are indebted for the startling aphorism, "Life without industry is guilt, industry without art is brutality."

The reformatory experiments of an industrial nature, undertaken directly by Ruskin or stimulated by his teachings, form perhaps the most interesting phase of our subject. As is well known, the great bulk of Ruskin's inherited fortune and of his earnings was expended in philanthropic and

educational schemes of one sort or another in the almost vain attempt to better the social condition of England. Brought up in isolation and educated as a "gentleman commoner" he found himself poorly equipped for his mission as industrial reformer, but desirous of coming into closer contact with workingmen, he interested himself as early as 1854 in various educational institutions designed for workmen, and persuaded by F. D. Maurice, gave at the Workingman's College his first lectures on drawing and decorative art. His general lectures at this institution and elsewhere at this period anticipated the methods of university extension, a cause which he heartily encouraged at its inception. The university-settlement idea was first discussed at his house, and it is not unlikely that his conception of the functions of "bishops" determined the activities of the members of the settlement houses. Having some property in London from which he was drawing rent, he sought to become the best possible landlord, and enlisted the help of Miss Octavia Hill and others in improving the habitableness of tenements. He practically inaugurated the movement of "five per cent philanthropy," recently become prominent. In 1854, on the occasion of the opening of the Crystal Palace in Lon-

don, all of glass and iron, like a gigantic greenhouse, Ruskin wrote a pamphlet pleading for the preservation of the great buildings of the past, then neglected and falling to ruins, and out of this suggestion came the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, in the work of which William Morris figured so conspicuously. As a writer, manufacturer, and distributer of books, he tried to apply the principles of commercial integrity and honor he had advocated; he would not advertise; he employed no middlemen; he gave no discounts; he engaged in no competitive struggle for a market; he looked out for the welfare of the workmen employed in manufacture; he used the best paper he could procure, and took extraordinary care with the printing; he began the sale of his books from a little Kentish village, at one price, and without credit. Of like nature was his experiment with a London tea-shop: putting a salaried servant in charge, he built up a successful business in tea, without advertisement or any trick of the trade, and was enabled later to turn the shop over to Miss Hill as a part of his good-tenement scheme. He was not above street-cleaning or road-making, as was shown by his forming a company to keep a certain length of London street "clean as the deck

of a ship" for a given season, and by his joining in with Oxford undergraduates in mending the Hinksey road. The most considerable of his practical schemes for reform was the St. George's Company, which began to take definite shape about 1875. The general purpose of this company or guild was to socialize both capital and labor, and incidentally to demonstrate two economic propositions—one that agriculture formed the only genuine basis of national life, and the other that happiness was derived from honest and contented co-operative labor. It was his object to collect from persons of means a fund of money sufficient to buy land, at first for a small colony of Ruskinites, who should form an ideal nucleus of perfectly just persons, and from whom the idea of justice should radiate, until the whole social body was shaped to its image. As the idea of a perfect social order matured in Ruskin's mind he turned his thoughts more and more to the possibility of showing to the world, in the St. George's Guild, a copy of his vision of the new feudalism. With insufficient means for the experiment, and with no marked public approval, there was no opportunity in Ruskin's lifetime for the dream to be realized. Like many another social dream,

the St. George's Guild remains a paper utopia—though its conception is by no means unpotential for the future. As the agricultural proposition could not be proved, the guild funds were devoted to the establishment of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield; and as this museum embodies certain of the master's ideas on education, this much of his original plan may be said to be realized. The finer examples of man's and nature's created forms are here placed in view with reference to their ethnic, scientific, and artistic significance, and the museum is so conducted that the objects displayed minister at once to delight and instruction. With this museum as a nucleus, with the many societies organized in England and America for the study of Ruskin's writings, the general ideal, if not all the specific ones, of the St. George's Guild may yet be materialized. Already the modern revival of various home industries, particularly in spinning and weaving, is due directly to Ruskin's teachings. It was one of his opinions that workers should engage in some useful craft under wholesome and humane conditions, and another that the people, the consuming class, should have the opportunity of using sound and serviceable goods instead of being compelled to buy what

Carlyle called "cheap and nasty" ones. He thought that home industry might still exist by the side of the machine-driven factory. Two opportunities of reviving the spinning and weaving industries presented themselves in Ruskin's lifetime—one on the Isle of Man, where the industry was languishing, and another among the Westmoreland cottages, where the art had long since passed away. The successful revival of these local industries was the initial phase of a general economic movement that has to-day for social support the Home Arts and Industries Association, which has succeeded in establishing many of the handicrafts upon a permanent economic basis. This movement is not to be understood as a fanatical protest against machinery, and not as a return to the abandoned domestic system of mediæval days, but rather as a modern conscious effort to advance a step beyond the factory stage of industry, and to inaugurate a new industrialism wherein the interests of both the producing and consuming classes are guarded—the one class demanding the opportunity of individual expression, and the other the satisfaction of its higher wants. So it is to-day that in nearly every instance of organized effort to create better industrial conditions the informing mind of Ruskin is somewhere

apparent. In whatever direction one advances it is discovered that this pioneer mind has gone on before—and as the world advances but slowly it will be long before he can be passed by.

III. Morris and His Plea for an Industrial Commonwealth.

By the middle of the century Carlyle and Ruskin had created a certain discipleship, and were receiving the unbounded admiration of young men of fervent and poetic temperament, who were drawn at first, probably, by the splendid rhetoric of "Past and Present" and "Modern Painters" without examining very closely their social implications. Chief among the admirers of Ruskin was William Morris, his junior by fifteen years. Morris was just entering Oxford as Ruskin was publishing the "Stones of Venice," the book that first kindled in Morris his social beliefs, to which he always referred as the first statement of the doctrine that art is the expression of man's pleasure in labor, and whose chapter "On the Nature of the Gothic" he reprinted forty years after its first publication as one of the first products of the Kelmscott Press, to stand in testimony of the abiding influence of the master-thinker. The development of the two men was, indeed, strangely

parallel, with certain differences of direction shortly to be noted. Ruskin was born, in 1819, of Scotch ancestry, Morris, in 1834, of Welsh parentage, both possessing thus a strain of the emotional and mystic Celt. Their fathers were successful business men of London—the one a wine merchant, the other a discount broker and general speculator —and both left their sons such considerable fortune as to relieve them from the necessity of competing for a livelihood. The boys were brought up in surroundings that fostered a love of nature, devotion to poetry and art, and a regard for piety —both being intended by their parents for the church. Ruskin matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, as a "gentleman commoner," in 1837. Morris at Exeter College, in 1853, entered essentially the same Oxford that Ruskin had left eleven years before, an Oxford from which the "last enchantments of the Middle Ages" had not yet vanished, which was even then in the midst of a mediæval revival, supported by Newman and the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, although signs of change were beginning to be noticed by the younger generation. Neither exhibited at Oxford any special attachment to scholarship, though their reading extended much beyond the requirement of the schools, and both won distinction for their

poetic achievement—Ruskin by winning the Newdigate prize with his "Salsette and Elephanta," and Morris by winning the applause of his friends in a less conspicuous way with his "Willow and the Red Cliff." Ruskin abandoned verse to write "Modern Painters" in more successful prose. For thirty years verse was the one form employed by Morris for pure literature. But the prose of the one and the verse of the other are equally distinctive. The year that Morris went up to Oxford Ruskin was delivering at Edinburgh his lectures on Architecture and Painting, which on publication, introduced his Oxford adherents to Rossetti and the pre-Raphaelites. "Modern Painters" and "Stones of Venice" were already well known to them, and Canon Dixon tells in his reminiscences of Oxford how Morris would read Ruskin aloud: "He had a mighty, singing voice, and chanted rather than read those weltering oceans of eloquence as they have never been given before or since, it is most certain." Though perhaps attracted by the eloquence Morris perceived also something of the social bearings of "Stones of Venice," and speaking of its chapter "On the Nature of the Gothic" long after, he testified that when he first read it, "it seemed to point out a new road on which the world should travel." It is

likely that Ruskin initiated in the minds of the Oxford group their thought of brotherhood and their attempt to inaugurate "a crusade and holy warfare against the age." It was in the interest of some idea of "the higher life" that the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was issued by the Brotherhood in 1856, though its literary and artistic features exceeded the social. Gradually, however, the Brotherhood tended toward a social doctrine, though Morris did not engage militantly in socialism till long after. It is significant that Morris took his first step in socialism in seconding Ruskin's proposition for the preservation of ancient buildings against the so-called restorer. And in all respects of social and political economy Morris was but the pupil of Ruskin, for he originated almost nothing in point of theory, the socialism with which he identified himself being but the socialism of Ruskin's "Unto This Last," as proved, of course, by his own practical experience. Of narrower range than Ruskin, but more intensive in his own direction, he gave his life to the determination of the relation between art and labor, and made himself, therefore, the chief exponent of the idea of the arts and crafts. Ruskin theorized; Morris demonstrated: henceforth the problem of other workers is that of extension and inclusion.

"Poet, artist, manufacturer, and socialist"—these terms describe the life-work of Morris in in its three-fold aspect of artist, craftsman, and social reformer. With his strictly literary writings I am not now concerned, save to observe their abstraction, their devotion to pure beauty, their lack of contemporaneity, and their note of weariness. His poetic fame rests secure, and is not dependent upon what he wrought in other fields; yet if we had only the data of his poetry, our measure of Morris would fall far short of his real greatness, and we should know only his less positive side. Some would call his socialism a divagation in the wilderness. But I think it may be proved that without a definite socialism his craftsmanship would have been wanting its motive, and without material craft his art would have been attenuated to the merest symbolism of dream. Exclusive and aristocratic by nature, his great work of democratizing art would not have been undertaken except as a new ideal seized and bound him to its service. In the order of his development poetry preceded and then coincided with his craft, his craft preceded and then coincided with his socialism.

The history of handicraft shows no life more eventful than Morris's, or more filled with notable

achievements. As a boy his hands were always active, net-making being a favorite diversion. It was foreseen that he would take up the pencil and the engraver's tool at the earliest opportunity of instruction, although he was matriculated at Oxford for holy orders. His college chum, Burne-Jones—also intended for the church, but even then practicing the art by which he was to become famous—taught him drawing and engraving, and the two artists were soon considering the advisability of giving up the church and devoting their lives to art—the one aspiring to be a painter, the other an architect. To architecture forthwith Morris turned his attention, and while he never worked professionally as an architect, his studies at this time were of immense service in clarifying his thought and concentrating his energies. "Then and always," remarks Mr. Mackail, "the word architecture bore an immense, and one might almost say a transcendental, meaning. Connected at a thousand points with all the other specific arts which ministered to it out of a thousand sources, it was itself the tangible expression of all the order, the comeliness, the sweetness, nay, even the mystery and the law, which sustain man's world and make human life what it is. To him the house beautiful represented the visible form

of life itself. Not only as a craftsman and manufacturer, a worker in dyed stuffs and textiles and glass, a pattern designer and decorator, but throughout the whole range of life, he was from first to last the architect, the mastercraftsman, whose range of work was so phenomenal, and his sudden transitions from one to another form of productive energy so swift and perplexing because, himself secure in the center, he struck outwards to any point of the circumference with equal directness, with equal precision, unperplexed by artificial divisions of art, and untrammeled by any limiting rules of professional custom." The paper he contributed to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* on Amiens Cathedral, one of the noblest tributes ever paid to the great building, rivaling the best writings of Ruskin on architecture, is a witness to the place the subject was holding in his thought and affections. While in the office of Mr. G. E. Street, and pursuing his studies in architecture, he began the practice of more than one handicraft—clay-modeling, wood and stone carving, manuscript illumination, window-designing and embroidery, and these occupations were soon to fill his days even to the exclusion of painting, which Rossetti had taught him, and of poetry, which was his native expression. His hands were, indeed,

those of a fine workman—broad, short, muscular, and finely disciplined, and probably his truest personality was realized in motor activity. The beginning of Morris's work as a decorator and manufacturer was due to the trifling circumstance that certain rooms in Red Lion Square, which he had engaged for lodging in 1857, were unfurnished and in need of repair. It is worth while to look at this incident quite closely. Mr. Mackail's account is sufficiently elaborate: "The arts of cabinet-making and upholstery had at this time reached the lowest point to which they had ever sunk. Ugliness and vulgarity reigned in them unchecked. While he lived in furnished rooms it was easy to accept things as they were; but now, when furniture had actually to be bought, it became at once clear that nothing could be had that was beautiful, or indeed, that was not actually hideous. Nor was it possible even to get so simple a thing as a table or chair, still less any more elaborate piece of furniture made at the furnishing shops from a better design. It was this state of things which drove Morris and Webb to take up the designing and making of objects of common use on their account; and which led, a few years later, to the formation of the firm of Morris and Company. For the moment, however, all that

was possible was that Morris should make rough drawings of the things he most wanted, and then get a carpenter in the neighborhood to construct them from those drawings in plain deal. Thus the rooms in the Red Lion Square were gradually provided with 'intensely mediæval furniture,' as Rossetti described it, 'tables and chairs like incubi and succubi.' First came a large, round table 'as firm and as heavy as a rock'; then some large chairs, equally firm, and not lightly to be moved, 'such as Barbarossa might have sat in.' Afterwards a large settle was designed, with a long seat below, and above three cupboards with great swing doors. 'There were many scenes with the carpenters,' Sir Edward Burne-Jones says; 'especially I remember the night when the settle came home. We were out when it reached the house, but when we came in all the passages and the staircase were choked with vast blocks of timber, and there was a scene. I think the measurements had perhaps been given a little wrongly, and that it was bigger altogether than he had ever meant; but set up it was finally, and our studio was one-third less in size. Rossetti came. This was always a terrifying moment to the very last. He laughed but approved.' Not only so, but he at once made designs for oil paintings to be executed on the panels of the cupboard

doors, and the sides of the settle. The design for the central panel, Love between the Sun and the Moon, was only executed later; but the painting of the two others was completed during this winter; and these panels, afterwards removed from the cupboard, are now known as the Meeting of Dante and Beatrice in Florence, and their Meeting in Paradise. On the backs of two of the large, heavy chairs he also painted subjects from Morris's own poems; these panels, one representing Guendolen in the witch-tower, and the Prince below kissing her long, golden hair, and the other the arming of a knight, from the Christmas Mystery of 'Sir Galahad,' are also extant. The theory that furniture should exist to provide spaces for pictorial decoration was carried in these chairs to an extreme limit. But the next piece of furniture required for the rooms was a wardrobe; and this, covered by Burne-Jones, in the spring of 1857, with paintings from 'The Prioress's Tale' in Chaucer, remained to the last the principal ornament of Morris's drawing-room in London, and is familiar to all his later as well as his older friends."

This year 1857 was indeed a climacteric year with Morris. Practicing painting under Rossetti's direction, experimenting in mural decoration on

the walls of the Oxford Union Society, feeling his way in various arts and handicrafts, preparing also "The Defence of Guinevere" for publication, here was evidence of a splendid general culture, which, when specialized, was destined to accomplish grand results. In 1859 and 1860 Morris and Philip Webb, just out of the architect's office, built the famous Red House in an orchard and meadow plot near London, carrying out in practice for the first time their theories of domestic building and decoration. These first steps are so important that Mackail's account of the house may be quoted in full: "It was planned as an L-shaped building, two-storied, with a high-pitched roof of red tile. The beautiful oak staircase filled a bold projection in the angle, and corridors ran from it along both the inner walls, so that the rooms on both limbs of the house faced outward onto the garden. The two other sides of this half-quadrangle were masked by rose-trellises, inclosing a square inner court, in the middle of which rose the most striking architectural feature of the building, a well-house of brickwork and oak timber, with a steep, conical, tiled roof. Externally the house was plain almost to severity, and depended for its effect on its solidity and fine proportion. The decorative features it possessed

were constructional, not of the nature of applied ornament: the frankly emphasized relieving arches over the windows, the deep cornice molding, the louvre in the high, open roof over the staircase, and the two spacious recessed porches. Inside, its most remarkable feature was the large drawing-room, which filled the external angle of the L on the upper floor. It looked by its main end window northwards toward the road and the open country, and a projecting oriel on the western side overlooked the long bowling-green, which ran, encircled with apple-trees, close under the length of that wing. The decoration of the room, and of the staircase by which it was reached, was to be the work of several years for Morris and his friends; and he boldly announced that he meant to make it the most beautiful room in England. But through the whole house, inside and out, the same standard was, so far as possible, to be kept up.

It was at this point that the problem of decoration began. The bricklaying and carpentering could be executed directly from the architect's designs. But when the shell of the house was completed, and stood clean and bare among the apple-trees, everything—or nearly everything—that was to furnish or decorate it had to be likewise de-

signed and made. Only in a few isolated cases, such as Persian carpets and blue china or delft for vessels of household use, was there anything then to be bought ready-made that Morris could be content with in his own house. Not a chair, or table, or bed; not a cloth or paper-hanging for the walls; nor tiles to line fireplaces or passages; nor a curtain or a candlestick. These had to be reinvented, one might almost say, to escape the flat ugliness of the current article. The great painted settle from Red Lion Square was taken and set up in the drawing-room, the top of it being railed in so as to form a small music gallery. Much of the furniture was designed by Webb and executed under his eye: the great oak dining-table, other tables, chairs, cupboards, massive copper candlesticks, fire-dogs, and table glass of extreme beauty. The plastered walls and ceilings were treated with simple designs in tempera, and for the hall and main living-rooms a richer and more elaborate scheme of decoration was designed and gradually began to be executed. The garden was planned with the same care and originality as the house; in both alike the study of older models never sank into mere antiquarianism or imitation of obsolete forms. Morris's knowledge of architecture was so entirely a part of himself that he

never seemed to think about it as anything peculiar. But in his knowledge of gardening he did—and did with reason—pride himself. It is very doubtful whether he was ever seen with a spade in his hands; in later years at Kelmscott his manual work in the garden was almost limited to clipping yew hedges. But of flowers and vegetables and fruit-trees he knew all the ways and capabilities. Red House garden, with its long grass walks, its midsummer lilies and autumn sunflowers, its wattled rose-trellises inclosing richly flowered square garden plots, was then as unique as the house it surrounded. The building had been planned with such care that hardly a tree in the orchard had to be cut down; apples fell in at the windows as they stood open on hot autumn nights."

Into this house the Morrises moved during the summer of 1860, and after two years of residence the house was practically completed.

"The garden, skilfully laid out amid the old orchard, had developed its full beauty, and the adornment of the house kept growing into greater and greater elaboration. A scheme had been designed for the mural decoration of the hall, staircase, and drawing-room, upon various parts of which work went on intermittently for several

years. The walls of the spacious and finely proportioned staircase were to be completely covered with paintings in tempera of scenes from the War of Troy, to be designed and executed by Burne-Jones. Below them on a large wall space in the hall was to be a great ship carrying the Greek heroes. It was designed, as the rest of the Troy series were also to have been, in a frankly mediæval spirit; a warship indeed of the fourteenth century, with the shields of the kings hung over the bulwarks. Round the drawing-room, at a height of about five feet from the floor, was to be a continuous belt of pictures, the subjects of which were scenes from the fifteenth-century English romance of 'Sir Degrevaunt.' Three of them were executed by Burne-Jones, and remain on the walls now. Below them the wall was to have been covered with magnificent embroidered hangings. The principal bedroom was hung with indigo-dyed blue serge with a pattern of flowers worked on it in bright-colored wools. For the dining-room embroidered hangings of a much more elaborate and splendid nature were designed and partly executed, in a scheme of design like those of his later tapestries when he revived the art of tapestry-weaving, of twelve figures with trees between and above them, and a belt of flowers running below their feet.

Yet another hanging, executed by Morris with his own hands, was of green trees with gayly colored birds among them, and a running scroll emblazoned with his motto in English, "If I can." The same motto in French reappeared in the painted glass with which a number of windows of the house were gradually filled, and on the tiles which lined the deep porches. In the hall a second great cupboard began to be painted with scenes from the Niebelungenlied. There were no paper hangings in the house. The rooms that had not painted walls were hung with flower-embroidered cloth worked from his designs by Mrs. Morris and other needlewomen. Even the ceilings were decorated with bold, simple patterns in distemper, the design being pricked into the plaster so as to admit of the ceiling being re-white-washed and the decoration renewed. 'Top thrives though bandy,' writes Burne-Jones, in February, 1862, 'and is slowly making Red House the beautifullest place on earth.'"

Out of the building and furnishing of this house Morris's work as a manufacturer sprang. He had felt the joy of workmanship, he had been made aware of his wonderful faculty of designing, and he now understood the need by the public of artistic furnishing. Early in the year 1861 the

firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company —made up of seven members—was formed, with the purpose of designing and manufacturing fine art fabrics. The circular sent out to the public announcing the work of the company is one of the most important documents in the history of the modern revival of handicraft. It reads in part as follows:

"The growth of decorative art in this country, owing to the efforts of English architects, has now reached a point at which it seems desirable that artists of reputation should devote their time to it. Although, no doubt, particular instances of success may be cited, still it must be generally felt that attempts of this kind hitherto have been crude and fragmentary. Up to this time the want of that artistic supervision which can alone bring about harmony between the parts of a successful work has been increased by the necessarily excessive outlay, consequent on taking one individual artist from his pictorial labors.

"The artists whose names appear above hope by association to do away with this difficulty. Having among their number men of varied qualifications, they will be able to undertake any species of decoration, mural or otherwise, from pictures, properly so-called, down to the consideration of

the smallest work susceptible of art beauty. It is anticipated that by such co-operation, the largest amount of what is essentially the artist's work, along with his constant supervision, will be secured at the smallest possible expense, while the work done must necessarily be of a much more complete order than if any single artist were incidentally employed in the usual manner.

"These artists having for many years been deeply attached to the study of the decorative arts of all times and countries, have felt more than most people the want of some one place where they could either obtain or get produced work of a genuine and beautiful character. They have therefore now established themselves as a firm for the production, by themselves and under their supervision, of:

"I. Mural decoration, either in pictures or in pattern work, or merely in the arrangement of colors, as applied to dwelling-houses, churches, or public buildings.

"II. Carving generally as applied to architecture.

"III. Stained glass, especially with reference to its harmony with mural decoration.

"IV. Metal work in all its branches, including jewelry.

"V. Furniture, either depending for its beauty

on its own design, on the application of materials hitherto overlooked, or on its conjunction with figure and pattern painting. Under this head is included embroidery of all kinds, stamped leather, and ornamental work in other such materials, besides every article necessary for domestic use.

"It is only requisite to state further that work of all the above classes will be estimated for, and executed in a business-like manner; and it is believed that good decoration, involving rather the luxury of taste than the luxury of costliness, will be found to be much less expensive than is generally supposed."

Into the work of this manufactory Morris entered with his accustomed energy and sagacity. He was the practical manager of the firm's business and did more work himself than all the other "artists" together. He was equipped for every craft, even to the stitching of embroidery, and as the "firm's poet" wrote verses for tile decoration. The business rapidly developed, the demand for stained glass windows and embroidered textiles, owing to the revival of ritualism and Catholicism, being considerable. One of Faulkner's letters, written in 1862, gives a pleasant picture of the inner company of workers, and indicates also something of the progress of the business the first year:

"Since Christmas," he wrote, "I have certainly been busy enough, what between the business of engineering, and our business in Red Lion Square. Moreover, Rossetti, with remarkable confidence, gave me a wood block to engrave, which I, with marvelous boldness, not to say impudence, undertook to do, and by jingo! I have done it, and it is published, and flattering friends say it is not so bad a beginning. Our business in the stained glass and general decoration line flourishes so successfully that I have decided to give up engineering and take part in it; so henceforth, or rather after a week or two, Topsy will give himself more to the artistic part of the work while I shall be the business manager. I don't know whether you have heard of our firm before from me or any one else. If not, I may just as well tell you that it is composed of Brown, Rossetti, Jones, Webb, Marshall, Morris, Faulkner; that it commenced with a capital that might be considered an infinitesimal of the second order, that it has meetings once or twice a fortnight which have rather the character of a meeting of the 'Jolly Masons' or the jolly something elses than of a meeting to discuss business. Beginning at 8 or 9 p. m. they open with the relation of anecdotes which have been culled by members of the firm since the last

meeting. This store being exhausted, Topsy and Brown will perhaps discuss the relative merits of the art of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and then perhaps after a few more anecdotes business matters will come up about 10 or 11 o'clock and be furiously discussed till 12, 1, or 2.

"Our firm has arrived at the dignity of exhibition at the great exhibition, where we have already sent some stained glass, and shall shortly send some furniture, which will doubtless cause the majority of spectators to admire. The getting ready of our things first has caused more tribulation and swearing to Topsy than three exhibitions will be worth."

So rapidly indeed did their affairs increase that in 1865 the work of the firm was carried to larger quarters in Queen Square, Bloomsbury. Morris gave up the Red House and came to live in London, the premises at Queen Square being his headquarters for seventeen years thereafter. In 1875 the firm was dissolved, and reconstituted, with Morris as manager and Burne-Jones and Webb as assistants. Morris invested all his means in the business, and depended upon it for his income. With greater opportunities, and inspired with success, he pursued his labors with unremitting diligence. His restless fingers were

fairly itching for work. After 1870 his history may fairly be divided into periods, according to his interest in new crafts. In 1870 he took up the art of illumination, and executed several painted books, including the "Rubáiyát of Omar," the "Odes of Horace," and his own "Cupid and Psyche." The Rubáiyát is thus described by Mackail: "This manuscript may take rank, by its elaborate beauty, as one of his chief masterpieces. It was finished on the 16th of October, 1872, after being a year and a half in hand. On its tiny scale—twenty-three pages, measuring six inches by three and a half—it is a volume of immense labor and exquisite workmanship. On eighteen of the pages the illumination is confined to a central space less than three inches by two, with a title in gold above each. In that central space, alongside and between verses, is a running ornament of flowers and fruits. On the other five pages the margins are completely filled with floriated designs among them, which are minute but beautifully drawn and colored figures, the lower half of the last page being also filled by a design of two figures holding a scroll. The treatment of the fruit and flower work is an admirable adaptation of an almost pre-Raphaelite naturalism to the methods and limits of ornamental design."

Work in dyeing and weaving soon put a stop to illuminating. Working over the dye-vat in the cellar at Queen Square, and at Leek on a larger scale with Mr. George Wardle, he restored old and long-lost methods of dyeing. A few excerpts of his notes give an idea of his occupations in 1875: "I shall be glad enough to get back to the dye-house at Leek to-morrow. I daresay you will notice how bad my writing is; my hand is so shaky with doing journeyman's work the last few days, delightful work, hard for the body and easy for the mind. For a great heap of skein-wool has come for me, and more is coming; and yesterday evening we set our blue-vat the last thing before coming here. I should have liked you to see the charm work on it; we dyed a lock of wool bright blue in it, and left the liquor a clear primrose color, so all will be ready for dyeing to-morrow in it; though, by the way, if you are a dyer, you must call it her. Meantime I trust I am taking in dyeing at every pore—otherwise than by the skin of my hands, which is certain. I have found out and practiced the art of weld-dyeing, the ancientest of yellow dyes, and the fastest. We have set a blue-vat for cotton, which I hope will turn out all right to-morrow morning; it is nine feet deep, and holds one thousand gallons; it

would be a week's talk to tell you all the anxieties and possibilities connected with this indigo subject, but you must at least imagine that all this is going on very nearly the same conditions as those of the shepherd boy that made a watch all by himself."

Having got his dyes right, looms were set up in the top story of the workshop, and weaving in silk and wool went on with great energy. On moving to Hammersmith, in 1878, a tapestry-room was built into his bedroom, that he might work at the first dawn, and the new house was hung with his own tapestries. By 1880 the carpet and rug weaving had progressed so successfully that a public exhibition was held at the salesroom in Oxford street, the circular announcing that this was "an attempt to make England independent of the East for carpets which may claim to be considered works of art."

"We believe," the announcement read, "that the time has come for some one to make that attempt, unless the civilized world is prepared to do without the art of carpet-making at its best; for it is a lamentable fact that, just when we of the West are beginning to understand and admire the art of the East, that art is fading away, nor in any branch has the deterioration been more marked than in carpet-making.

"All beauty of color has now (and for long) disappeared from the manufactures of the Levant—the once harmonious and lovely Turkey carpets. The traditions of excellence of the Indian carpets are only kept up by a few tasteful and energetic providers in England with infinite trouble and at a great expense, while the mass of the goods are already inferior in many respects to what can be turned out mechanically from the looms of Glasgow or Kidderminster.

"As for Persia, the mother of this beautiful art, nothing could mark the contrast between the past and the present clearer than the carpets, doubtless picked for excellence of manufacture, given to the South Kensington Museum by his majesty the Shah, compared with the rough work of the tribes done within the last hundred years, which the directors of the museum have judiciously hung near them.

"In short, the art of carpet-making, in common with the other special arts of the East, is either dead or dying fast; and it is clear to every one that, whatever is in store for those countries where it once flourished, they will, in time to come, receive all influence from, rather than give any to, the West.

"It seems to us, therefore, that for the future,

we people of the West must make our own hand-made carpets, if we are to have any worth the labor and money such things cost; and that these, while they should equal the Eastern ones as nearly as may be in materials and durability, should by no means imitate them in design, but show themselves obviously to be the outcome of modern and Western ideas, guided by those principles that underlie all architectural art in common."

This document is especially important as indicating that Morris was not controlled by an unreasoning mediævalism, but that he sought out the lost threads of the various crafts, and wherever an art had reached its highest development, there Morris directed his studies. It happened that many of the crafts were at their best estate in certain countries of Europe in the early Middle Ages, but if Turkey, or Persia, or India, could furnish a better practical example of any craft, Morris's "mediævalism" did not prevent him from sitting at the feet of these teachers also. It is clear, too, that he was not a mere copyist of ancient or foreign excellencies, but that his purpose was to discover the principles of a craft by a study of its best examples, and to work therefrom in the modern spirit.

In 1881 occurred the removal of the manufac-

tory to Merton Abbey, a village near the Thames, some seven miles from Charing Cross. The advantages at this location were far superior to any they had enjoyed. The capacious sheds of disused print-works, with some modification, gave room for designing, weaving, and cloth-printing. A living stream furnished water for dyeing. There was space for gardens. The grounds were free from noise and dust and distraction. There were birds' songs and the full sunshine. Under these conditions the work of the firm rapidly developed, the most important new line undertaken being the printing of "chintzes." Their new circulars advertised twelve different kinds of work: painted glass windows, arras tapestry, carpets, embroidery, tiles, furniture, general house decoration, printed cotton goods, paper hangings, figured woven stuffs, furniture velvets and cloths, and upholstery. Aside from the continual expansion of the work already undertaken there is little more to record on the side of Morris's practical craftsmanship. He had initiated a genuine revival of art industry, and was now instrumental in forming a school of designers and makers. And he was still to perfect himself in the art of printing.

The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which was started in London in 1888, may be taken as

the type of result springing from the economic teaching of Ruskin and the example of Morris. Artists working in the decorative and applied fields had been pressing for recognition at the doors of the Royal Academy, but when their claims were refused they organized for separate exhibition. Such an exhibition had been suggested by Ruskin as early as 1878, and was now carried into effect by the new group of craftsmen, the most prominent of whom were Walter Crane, C. R. Ashbee, T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, and the Morrises, but numbering altogether over a hundred. The association was first known as The Combined Arts, but later, at the suggestion of Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, adopted the name of Arts and Crafts, as signifying more specifically the union of art and industry, for which the society stood. The exhibitions of the society have increased yearly in value and importance, and they have now become the most conspicuous evidence of the modern revival of handicraft. The volumes of essays upon the crafts which the society has published contain the most advanced technical instruction in the applied arts to be found in English. The papers by Morris represent his final thought upon the crafts he practiced, and contain his last protest against the "reckless waste of life in the pursuit of the means of life," which the

current system of economy had countenanced. Walter Crane, acting as spokesman of the society, expresses his belief that the true root and basis of all art lies in the handicrafts. "If there is no room or chance of recognition," he argues, "for really artistic power and feeling in design and craftsmanship—if art is not recognized in the humblest object and material, and felt to be as valuable in its own way as the more highly rewarded pictorial skill—the arts cannot be in a sound condition; and if artists cease to be found among the crafts, there is great danger that they will vanish from the arts also, and become manufacturers and salesmen instead."

The last art which Morris essayed to master was that of printing. His interest in printing dates back to 1867, when he attempted to issue "The Earthly Paradise" in costly form and failed from the difficulty of getting satisfactory printing and illustration. Now that he was writing again, and his zest for socialism being on the wane, he wanted to issue "The House of the Wolfings" and "The Roots of the Mountain" in attractive typography and took up once more the study of type and book-making in all its modes. For a time his work in connection with the Kelmscott Press, which was established in 1891, took him

away from all other crafts. The letter he wanted, he tells us, was "pure in form; severe, without needless excrescences; solid, without the thickening and thinning of the line which is the essential fault of the ordinary modern type, and which makes it difficult to read; and not compressed laterally, as all later type has grown to be, owing to commercial exigencies." He found the perfected Roman type in the printing of Nicholas Jenson, one of the Venetian printers of the fifteenth century, and upon this type he based his own. In all he constructed three new types. He drew practically all the letters, stops, initials, borders, and ornaments which were used in his book-making. The Press continued for seven years, and in that time fifty-two works in sixty-six volumes were issued. In every respect—as printer, binder, and publisher—Morris advanced the art and craft of the book. Certainly his great Chaucer, finished just before his death, after more than three years of labor, is one of the most notable books of the world.

"At the beginning of 1895," Mackail says, "Morris was carrying on all his multifarious occupations with unimpaired activity. Two presses were at work upon the Chaucer, and a third on smaller books. He was designing new paper

hangings; he was going on daily with the writing of new romances; he was completing, in collaboration with Mr. Magnússon, the translation of the "Heimskringla," which they had begun some three and twenty years before, and seeing it through the press for the Saga library; and he was busily increasing the collection of illuminated manuscripts, chiefly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which toward the end of his life became his chief treasures and gave him extraordinary delight."

The socialism that lay at the base of Morris's handicraft may now be set forth. An implicit socialism may be understood as always abiding at the heart of his life. Exclusive and aristocratic though he was in his early youth, there was ever the larger sense for unity, and like Ruskin in similar circumstances, he yearned for social contact. The first manifestation of a community spirit was at the formation by the young men of Morris's group at Oxford of the Brotherhood, conceived in the beginning as a semi-monastic order, devoted to the higher life, but gradually changing to a social crusade against the age, with Carlyle and Ruskin as their accepted leaders. During the year 1856 the Brotherhood published the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, which was in-

tended to be the organ of the new thought. Ruskin promised something for its columns, but Morris was the chief contributor and its financial support. The essays were of a literary and social nature, but there was little grasp of the realities of the social problem. When Morris left Oxford for the architect's office the magazine languished, and was not issued a second year. The Oxford Brotherhood came to its real fulfilment in the business firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company, which was in a rather vague way socialistic in its motive, certainly ideal in its tendency. The work of the manufactory was carried on in protest against the current economic and business methods of the day. In the first place, Morris made goods, not because he wanted to make money, but because he wanted to do the thing he was doing. He would not waste life in getting the means for living. He would take pleasure in his work, and make goods that were serviceable to others. Above all, he stood for the integrity of work, and would not himself make a design he could not execute, or with reference to materials he did not know. In one of his lectures he drew the picture of an ideal craftsman who should put his individual intelligence and enthusiasm into the

goods he fashions. "So far from his labor being divided, which is the technical phrase for his always doing one minute piece of work and never being allowed to think of any other—so far from that, he must know all about the ware he is making and its relation to other wares; he must have a natural aptitude for his work so strong that no education can force him away from his special bent. He must be allowed to think of what he is doing, and to vary his work as the circumstances of it vary and his own moods. He must be forever striving to make the piece he is at work at better than the last. He must refuse, at anybody's bidding, to turn out, I won't say a bad, but even an indifferent, piece of work, whatever the public want, or think they want. He must have a voice worth listening to in the whole affair." Until a state of society existed such that a workman could enjoy the privilege of artistic work, there could be no permanency in the social order. For himself, he wanted "money enough to keep him from fear of want or degradation for him and his; leisure enough from bread-earning work to give him time to read and think and connect his own life with the life of the great world; work enough and praise of it, and encouragement enough to make him feel good friends with his

fellows; and his own due share of art, the chief part of which will be a dwelling that does not lack the beauty which Nature would freely allow it, if our own perversity did not turn Nature out of doors." Inevitably the work he was doing forced him to think of the conditions of labor in the capitalistic régime, yet for twenty years—or from about 1860 to 1880—he saw no way of effecting revolution save by example. He was content to labor in his own field, in his own way, choosing poetry as one means of expression and craftsmanship as another. In politics he would be described as a Liberal, but passive in his attitude. But in 1877 Morris was listening to the call to larger social service. That year he was instrumental in forming two social organizations, one the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, out of his interest in which grew his active instruction in art, and the other the Eastern Question Association, a devotion to which led to his militant socialism.

On the fifth of March, 1877, Morris wrote to the Athenæum the following letter:

"My eye just now caught the word 'restoration' in the morning paper, and on looking closer, I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewksbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert

Scott. Is it altogether too late to do something to save it—it and whatever else of beautiful and historical is still left us on the sites of the ancient buildings we were once so famous for? Would it not be of some use once for all, and with the least possible delay, to set on foot an association for the purpose of watching over and protecting these relics, which, scanty as they are now become, are still wonderful treasures, all the more priceless in this age of the world, when the newly invented study of living history is the chief joy of so many of our lives?

"Your paper has so steadily and courageously opposed itself to these acts of barbarism which the modern architect, parson, and squire call 'restoration,' that it would be waste of words to enlarge here on the ruin that has been wrought by their hands; but for the saving of what is left, I think I may write a word of encouragement, and say that you by no means stand alone in the matter, and that there are many thoughtful people who would be glad to sacrifice time, money, and comfort in defense of those ancient monuments; besides, though I admit that the architects are, with very few exceptions, hopeless, because their order, habit, and an ignorance yet grosser, bind them; still there must be many people whose

ignorance is accidental rather than inveterate, whose good sense could surely be touched if it were clearly put to them that they were destroying what they, or, more surely still, their sons and sons' sons, would one day fervently long for, and which no wealth or energy could ever buy again for them.

"What I wish for, therefore, is that an association should be set on foot to keep a watch on old monuments, to protest against all 'restoration' that means more than keeping out wind and weather, and by all means, literary and other, to awaken a feeling that our ancient buildings are not mere ecclesiastical toys, but sacred monuments of the nation's growth and hope."

On the organization of the society Morris was chosen secretary and so called upon to write its statement of principles.

"Within the last fifty years a new interest, almost like another sense, has arisen in these ancient monuments of art; and they have become the subject of one of the most interesting of studies, and of an enthusiasm, religious, historical, artistic, which is one of the undoubted gains of our time; yet we think that if the present treatment of them be continued, our descendants will find them useless for study and chilling for enthusiasm. We

think that those last fifty years of knowledge and attention have done more for their destruction than all the foregoing centuries of revolution, violence, and contempt.

"For architecture, long decaying, died out, as a popular art at least, just as the knowledge of mediæval art was born. So that the civilized world of the nineteenth century has no styles of its own amidst its wide knowledge of the styles of other centuries. From this lack and this gain arose in men's minds the strange idea of the restoration of ancient buildings; and a strange and most fatal idea, which by its very name implies that it is possible to strip from a building this, that, and the other part of its history—of its life, that is—and then to stay the hand at some arbitrary point, and leave it still historical, living, and even as it once was.

"In early times this kind of forgery was impossible, because knowledge failed the builders, or perhaps because instinct held them back. If repairs were needed, if ambition or piety pricked on to change, that change was of necessity wrought in the unmistakable fashion of the time; a church of the eleventh century might be added to or altered in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, or even the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries; but every change, whatever the history it destroyed, left history in the gap, and was alive with the spirit of the deeds done amidst its fashioning. The result of all this was often a building in which many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were by their very contrast interesting and instructive, and could by no possibility mislead. But those who make the changes wrought in our day under the name of restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history, have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what contemptible; while the very nature of their task compels them to destroy something, and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done. Moreover, in the course of this double process of destruction and addition, the whole surface of the building is necessarily tampered with, so that the appearance of antiquity is taken away from such old parts of the fabric as are left, and there is no laying to rest in the spectator the suspicion of what may have been lost; and in short, a feeble and lifeless forgery is the final result of all the wasted labor.

"Of all the restorations yet undertaken the worst

have meant the reckless stripping a building of some of its most interesting material features; while the best have their exact analogy in the restoration of an old picture, where the partly perished work of the ancient craftsmaster has been made neat and smooth by the tricky hand of some unoriginal and thoughtless hack of to-day. If, for the rest, it may be asked us to specify what kind or amount of art, style, or other interest in a building, make it worth protecting, we answer: Anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial; any work, in short, over which educated people would think it worth while to argue at all.

"It is for all these buildings, therefore, of all times and styles, that we plead, and call upon those who have to deal with them, to put protection in the place of restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretense of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; and if it has become inconvenient for its present use to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine, to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created

by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

His most active propaganda for this society was carried on in 1880, when it was learned that sweeping restorations were in progress at St. Marks, Venice. Morris wrote and spoke unceasingly in protest against the proposed demolition, the cause taking him to Oxford to appear there for the first time in a public capacity. He felt real heart sorrow at the loss that seemed eminent—the loss "of a work of art, a monument of history, and a piece of nature." "That the outward aspect of the world," he reflected sadly, "should grow uglier day by day in spite of the aspirations of civilization, nay, partly because of its triumphs, is a grievous puzzle to some of us who are lacking in sympathy for those aspirations and triumphs, artists and craftsmen as we are. So grievous it is that sometimes we are tempted to say, 'Let them make a clean sweep of it all then; let us forget it all, and muddle on as best we may, unencumbered with either history or hope!' But such despair is, we all know, a treason to the cause of civilization and the arts, and we do our best to overcome it, and to strengthen ourselves in the belief that even a small minority will at last be listened to, and its reasonable opinions be ac-

cepted." A little later, when he was getting little comfort out of the "Anti-Scrape" endeavor, he describes the cause as little better than hopeless: "We have begun too late, and our foes are too many; *videlicet*, almost all people, educated and uneducated. No, as to the buildings themselves, 't is a lost cause; in fact, the destruction is not far from being complete already. What people say to themselves is this: 'I don't like the thing being done, but I can bear it, maybe—or certainly, when I come to think of it, and to stir in it is such obvious suffering; so I won't stir.' Certainly to take that trouble in any degree it is needful that a man should be touched with a real love of the earth, a worship of it, no less; and I think that as things go, that is seldom felt except by very simple people, and by them, as would be likely, dimly enough. You know the most refined and cultured people, both those of the old religions and those of the new, vague ones, have a sort of Manichean hatred of the world (I use the word in its proper sense, the home of man). Such people must be both the enemies of beauty and the slaves of necessity, and true it is that they lead the world at present, and I believe will do, till all that is old is gone, and history has become a book from which the pictures have been torn.

Now if you ask me why I kick against the pricks in this matter, all I can say is, first, because I cannot help it, and secondly, because I am encouraged by a sort of faith that something will come of it, some kind of culture of which we know nothing as present."

Notwithstanding his discouragements, Morris persisted in preaching this lesson of the beauty of the earth and of man to the end of his days, and in his feelings toward the earth and man's historic monuments we may find the ground of much of his socialism.

The object of the second organization Morris was interested in at the beginning of his active socialism was to prevent the war in the East. Morris was again chosen to write the manifesto for the society, and addressing "the workingmen of England," used these words:

"Workingmen of England, one word of warning yet: I doubt if you know the bitterness of hatred against freedom and progress that lies at the heart of the richer classes in this country; their newspapers veil it in a kind of decent language; but do but hear them talking among themselves, as I have often done, and I know not whether scorn or anger would prevail in you at their folly and insolence. These men cannot

speak of your order, of its aims, of its leaders, without a sneer or an insult; these men, if they had the power (may England perish rather!), would thwart your just aspirations, would silence you, would deliver you bound hand and foot forever to irresponsible capital. Fellow citizens, look to it, and if you have any wrongs to be redressed, if you cherish your most worthy hope of raising your whole order peacefully and solidly, if you thirst for leisure and knowledge, if you long to lessen these inequalities which have been our stumbling block since the beginning of the world, then cast aside sloth and cry out against an unjust war, and urge us of the middle classes to do no less."

Before an Exeter Hall audience gathered to protest against the government, Morris made his first appearance as a writer of political verse, with a ballad, entitled "Wake, London Lads," anticipating there the later "Chants for Socialists."

In 1877 Morris became treasurer of the National Liberal League, an organization made up of workingmen in opposition to the Eastern policy of the government, but when a later election placed the Liberal party in power, and Morris saw that hope rested in neither Tory nor Whig, he withdrew from party lines and worked for the actual reconstruction of society.

In December of the same year, 1877—the year that marks the beginning of Morris's widening social interests—he delivered his first lecture on the decorative arts before the Trades Guild of Learning, and published immediately in pamphlet form, the essay became his first prose contribution to socialistic literature. This essay (afterward reprinted in the volume entitled "Hopes and Fears for Art," under the head of "The Lesser Arts") contains some pregnant sentences relative to his social hopes and motives. He was here speaking to craftsmen, and he addressed them familiarly and with deep feeling, lamenting the decay of art, but hoping for its revival again under better social conditions. The decay of the lesser arts, the arts, that is, of use, had come about through the withdrawal of the fine artist from the field of handicraft and his attachment to the leisure classes. As the arts sundered into the greater and the lesser, contempt was begotten on one side and ignorance on the other. The artist left the craftsman without hope of elevation; he himself was left without the help of intelligent sympathy. Both classes have suffered, but the workman more than the artist. Commerce also has fallen more heavily upon the craftsman than upon the artist; he has been forced into the field of competition, a com-

petition not of excellence, but of cheapness, and the things he makes are veritably "cheap and nasty," and as they were without pleasure to the maker, so they give no pleasure to the user. "Decoration," Morris said, "is the expression of man's pleasure in successful labor." Its office is two-fold: "To give people pleasure in the things they must perforce use," and "to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce make." That his mind was turning to the deeper social problem and becoming convinced that nothing less than a revolution in the modes of life was necessary, is evidenced by an impassioned passage in this address: "Sirs, I believe that art has such sympathy with cheerful freedom, open-heartedness, and reality; so much she sickens under selfishness and luxury, that she will not live thus isolated and exclusive. I will go further and say that on such terms I do not wish her to live. I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few. No, rather than art should live this poor, thin life among a few exceptional men, despising those beneath them for an ignorance for which they themselves are responsible, for a brutality that they will not struggle with—rather than this, I would that the world should indeed sweep away all art for a while, as I said before I

thought it possible she might do; rather than the wheat should rot in the miser's granary, I would that the earth had it, that it might yet have a chance to quicken in the dark."

Another address, in 1881, on "Art and the Beauty of the Earth," is well said to be the "sum of all his earlier and the germ of all his later doctrines." With that complete historic knowledge which characterizes all his writings, he distinguished between the times that cultivated art and those that neglected it. In the early Middle Ages, in the midst of much confusion and barbarism, he detected the trend of popular art: "Art was no longer, as in Egypt of olden time, kept rigidly within certain prescribed bounds that no fancy might play with, no imagination overpass, lest the majesty of the beautiful symbols might be clouded and the memory of the awful mysteries they symbolized become dim in the hearts of men. Nor was it any longer as in the Greece of Pericles, wherein no thought might be expressed that could not be expressed in perfect form. Art was free. Whatever a man thought of, that he might bring to light, by the labor of his hands, to be praised and wondered at by his fellows. Whatever man had thought in him of any kind, and skill in him of any kind to express it, he was deemed good

enough to be used for his own pleasure and the pleasure of his fellows; in this art nothing and nobody was wasted." The decay of art began with the artists of the Renaissance, who lent their energies to the severance of art from the daily life of men, and left art sterile and life pleasureless. "I do not mean to say," Morris went on, "that all the work we do now is done without any pleasure, but I mean to say that the pleasure is rather that of conquering a good spell of work—a courageous and good feeling, certainly—or of bearing up well under the burden, and seldom, very seldom, comes to the pitch of compelling the workman, out of the fullness of his heart, to impress on the work itself the tokens of his manly pleasure. Nor will our system of organizing the work allow of it. In most cases there is no sympathy between the designer and the man who carries out the design; not unseldom the designer also is driven to work in a mechanical, down-hearted kind of way, and I don't wonder at it. I know by experience that the making of design after design, mere diagrams, mind you, without one's self executing them, is a great strain upon the mind. It is necessary, unless all workmen of all grades are to be permanently degraded into machines, that the hand should rest the mind as well as the mind the hand. And I

say that this is the kind of work which the world has lost, supplying its place with the work which is the result of the division of labor. That work, whatever else it can do, cannot produce art, which must, as long as the present system lasts, be entirely confined to such works as are the work from beginning to end of one man."

To the same system belongs the machine. It is possible that nearly everything needed by man can be made by machinery. "I myself," Morris said, "have boundless faith in their capacity. I believe machines can do everything except make works of art." There is not, then, in the machine, any dependency for solace; the curse will still cling to labor. Morris's advice to the potters he was addressing is eminently sane: "Set yourself as much as possible against all machine work. Don't let yourselves be made machines, or it is all up with you as artists. Though I don't much love the iron and brass machines, the flesh and blood ones are more terrible and hopeless to me; no man is so clumsy or base a workman that he is not fit for something better than that."

The second clause in Morris's indictment of his times referred to the ugliness of the environment: "Of all the things that are likely to give us back popular art in England, the cleaning of England

is the first and most necessary. Those who are to make beautiful things must live in a beautiful place. Some people may be inclined to say, and I have heard the argument put forward, that the very opposition between the serenity and purity of art, and the turmoil and squalor of a great modern city stimulates the invention of artists, and produces special life in the art of to-day. I cannot believe it. It seems to me that at the best it but stimulates the feverish and dreamy qualities that throw some artists out of the general sympathy. I abide by my statement that those who are to make beautiful things must live in beautiful places. There is no square mile of the earth's surface that is not beautiful in its own way if we men will only abstain from willfully destroying that beauty; and it is this reasonable share in the beauty of the earth that I claim as the right of every man who will earn it by due labor; a decent house with decent surroundings for every honest and industrious family; that is the claim I make of you in the name of art."

By 1881 Morris had fully conceived the nature of the "Cause." He felt the discords of his time; he offered the solution of popular art, and desired that all men should feel the beauty of the earth. Examining now the volume entitled

"Hopes and Fears for Art," published in 1882, in aid of the fund for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, we will find the half-dozen maxims that pertain to ideal conduct. The titles of the essays are "The Lesser Arts," "The Art of the People," "The Beauty of Life," "Making the Best of It," "The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization." They were earnest addresses, delivered probably with a note of sadness. His first insistence was that art is a serious thing, and not to be dissociated from the weighty matters that occupy the thoughts of men. "That the beauty of life is a thing of no moment," he said, "I suppose few people would venture to assert, and yet most civilized people act as if it were of none, and in so doing are wronging both themselves and those that are to come after them; for that beauty, which is what is meant by art, using that word in its widest sense, is, I contend, no mere accident to human life, which people can take or leave as they choose, but a positive necessity of life, if we are to live as nature meant us to; that is, unless we are content to be less than men."

His main maxim concerning labor is worded thus: "No work which cannot be done without pleasure in the doing is worth doing." And

the truth of this was the experience of his own life. Turning over the opposite maxim that "No man would work unless he hoped by working to earn leisure," he thought the hope of leisure a poor bribe to labor, if labor was understood to be a curse. "I tried to think what would happen to me if I were forbidden my ordinary daily work; and I knew I should die of despair and weariness, unless I could straightway take to something else which I could make my daily work; and it was clear to me that I worked not in the least in the world for the sake of earning leisure by it, but partly driven by the fear of starvation or disgrace, and partly, and even a very great deal, because I love the work itself; and as for my leisure, well I had to confess that part of it I do indeed spend as a dog does — in contemplation, let us say — and like it well enough; but part of it also I spend in work, which work gives me just as much pleasure as my bread-earning work — neither more nor less — and therefore could be no bribe or hope for my work-a-day hours." And in another address he cried out: "If I were to work ten hours a day at work I despised and hated, I should spend my leisure I hope in political agitation, but I fear in drinking." Then again referring to

the wonderful wares at the Kensington Museum, he asked: "Do you think the labor of the makers was irksome?" And then answered: "While these men were at work, at least, they were not unhappy, and I suppose they worked most days, and the most part of the day, as we do." Another statement of his position is found in "The Art of the People": "That thing which I understand by real art is the expression by man of his pleasure in labor. I do not believe he can be happy in his labor without expressing that happiness; and especially is this so when he is at work at anything in which he specially excels. A most kind gift is this of nature, since all men, nay, it seems all things, too, must labor; so that not only does the dog take pleasure in hunting, and the horse in running, and the bird in flying, but so natural does the idea seem to us, that we imagine to ourselves that the earth and the very elements rejoice in doing their appointed work; and the poets have told us of the spring meadows smiling, of the exultation of the fire, of the countless laughter of the sea." His more analytic statement of the theme occurs in the essay on "Architecture." He divides work into three classes: Mechanical, Intelligent, and Imaginative. The first kind is done under compul-

sion, without thought, and without any inherent reward. The second kind is work that can be done better or worse, and which if well done claims attention from the workman, and requires the impress of his individuality; it is not too toilsome, and is done with some degree of pleasure. The third kind rises above the second in degree only; it is altogether individual, and is all pleasure. Mechanical toil is bred of the hurry and thoughtlessness of a commercial civilization. Intelligent work is the child of struggling, hopeful, progressive civilization; its office is to add fresh interest to simple lives, to soothe discontent with innocent pleasure — a pleasure fertile of deeds gainful to mankind. Imaginative work is the very blossom of civilization triumphant and hopeful; it would fain lead men to aspire towards perfection; each hope that it fulfils gives birth to yet another hope; it bears in its bosom the worth and the meaning of life, and the counsel to strive to understand everything, to fear nothing, and to hate nothing; in a word, it is the symbol and sacrament of the Courage of the World. The problem of the world is then to change the lower form of labor into the higher, and in the light of this problem the questions of commerce, machinery, and division of labor must be considered.

In this transformation of work and the elevation of life the effect must be universal. Morris saw concretely what Matthew Arnold stated intellectually, that the expansion of humanity must be a general expansion. "The individual is required," said Arnold, "under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march towards perfection, to be continually doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream sweeping thitherward." Translated into art terms, and stated negatively, Arnold's proposition reads in Morris in this wise: "For whereas all works of craftsmanship were once beautiful, unwittingly or not, they are now divided into two kinds, works of art and non-works of art. Now nothing made by man's hand can be indifferent; it must be either beautiful and elevating, or ugly and degrading; and those things that are without art are so aggressively; they wound it by their existence, and they are now so much in the majority that the works of art we are obliged to set ourselves to seek for, whereas the other things are the ordinary companions of our every-day life; so that if those who cultivate art intellectually were inclined never so much to wrap themselves in their special gifts and their high

cultivation, and so live happily, apart from other men, and despising them, they could not do so; they are as it were living on an enemy's country; at every turn there is something lying in wait to offend and vex their nicer sense and educated eyes; they must share in the general discomfort —and I am glad of it." Stated positively and prophetically, the theory of universality reads thus: "Of the art that is to come who may prophesy? But this at least seems to follow from comparing that past with the confusion in which we are now struggling and the light that glimmers through it, that that art will no longer be an art of instinct, of ignorance, which is hopeful to learn and strives to see, since ignorance is now no longer hopeful. In this and in many other ways it may differ from the past art, but in one thing it must needs be like it, it will not be an esoteric mystery shared by a little band of superior beings; it will be no more hierarchical than the art of past time was, but like it it will be a gift of the people to the people, a thing which everybody can understand, and every one surround with love; it will be a part of every life, and a hindrance to none. For this is the essence of art, and the thing that is eternal to it, whatever else may be passing and accidental."

In the earlier lecture on "Art and the Beauty of the Earth" this thought receives even fuller statement: "If you accept art, it must be part of your daily lives, and the daily life of every man. It will be with us wherever we go, in the ancient city full of traditions of past time, in the newly cleared farm in America or the colonies, where no man has dwelt for traditions to gather round him; in the quiet country-side as in the busy town, no place shall be without it. You will have it with you in your sorrow as in your joy, in your work-a-day hours as in your leisure. It shall be no respecter of persons, but be shared by gentle and simple, learned and unlearned, and be as a language that all can understand. It will not hinder any work that is necessary to the life of man at the best, but it will destroy all degrading toil, all enervating luxury, all foppish frivolity. It will be the deadly foe of ignorance, dishonesty, and tyranny, and will foster good-will, fair dealing, and confidence between man and man. It will teach you to respect the highest intellect with a manly reverence, but not to despise any man who does not pretend to be what he is not." And then, returning as ever to his fundamental thought, Morris concluded the passage: "And that which shall be the instrument that it shall work with and the

food that shall nourish it shall be man's pleasure in his daily labor, the kindest and best gift that the world has ever had."

For an art which is to be made by the people and for the people two virtues are necessary: honesty and simplicity—honesty as opposed to injustice, and simplicity as opposed to luxury. On both of these topics Morris has many pregnant passages. His golden rule of house-furnishing was, "Have nothing in your houses which you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful." He claimed that all art started from this simplicity, and the greater the art the more noticeable was its simplicity. But this virtue appealed to him not merely because simple art was more beautiful than sumptuous art but because it was more social. Luxury is an outgrowth of and is accompanied by slavery; it means the piling up of possessions, the spoil of the earth, and for the owner a chain of pompous circumstance which checks and annoys him at every step. "I had thought," Morris said, "that civilization meant the attainment of peace and order and freedom, of good-will between man and man, of the love of truth, and the hatred of injustice, and by consequence the attainment of the good life which these things breed, a life free from craven fear,

but full of incident; that was what I thought it meant, not more stuffed chairs and more cushions, and more carpets and gas, and more dainty meat and drink—and therewithal more and sharper differences between class and class."

Then he thought that if, besides attaining to simplicity of life, the world attained also to the love of justice, all things would be ready for the new springtime of the arts. "For those of us that are employers of labor, how can we bear to give any man less money than he can decently live on, less leisure than his education and self-respect demand? Or those of us who are workmen, how can we bear to fail in the contract we have undertaken, or to make it necessary for a foreman to go up and down spying out our mean tricks and evasions? Or we, the housekeepers, can we endure to lie about our wares, that we may shuffle off our losses on to some one else's shoulders? Or we, the public, how can we bear to pay a price for a piece of goods which will help to trouble one man, to ruin another, and starve a third? Or, still more, I think, how can we bear to use, how can we enjoy something which has been a pain and a grief for the maker to make?"

In deeper definition art is the expression of reverence for nature. Art is satisfying, and gives

pleasure to the artist because its activity is a part of the larger creative activity of the universe. In the truest sense a work of art is a work also of nature. Emerson truly said of the Gothic cathedrals, "These temples grew as grows the grass." Morris expresses the same sentiment with reference to certain old-time English cottages that seem to be a part of the familiar nature amid which they stand; to one in particular, standing by the roadside on one of the western slopes of the Cotswold: "And there stands the little house that was new once, a laborer's cottage built of the Cotswold limestone, and grown now, walls and roof, a lovely warm gray, though it was creamy white in its earliest day; no line of it could ever have marred the Cotswold beauty; everything about it is solid and well wrought; it is skilfully planned and well proportioned; there is a little sharp and delicate carving about its arched doorway, and every part of it is well cared for; 'tis in fact, beautiful, a work of art and a piece of nature—no less."

It is at this point, if anywhere, that Morris's poetry, is linked with his socialism; for his poems describe the delights of a perfect physical life upon the earth. His own impulses, whether as artist or man, were drawn from nature. Perhaps Whit-

man's phrase, "the primal sanities of nature," best denotes the spirit of his work. "Until," he said, "our streets are decent and orderly, and our town gardens break the bricks and mortar every here and there, and are open to all people; until our meadows even near our towns become fair and sweet, and are unspoiled by patches of hideousness; until we have clear sky above our heads and green grass beneath our feet; until the great drama of the seasons can touch our workmen with other feelings than the misery of winter and the weariness of summer; till all this happens our museums and art schools will be but the amusements of the rich; and they will soon cease to be of any use to them also, unless they make up their minds that they will do their best to give us back the fairness of the earth."

Finally he states definitely in this volume what the "Cause" is for which he strives: "That cause is the democracy of art, the ennobling of daily and common work, which will one day put hope and pleasure in the place of fear and pain, as the forces which move men to labor and keep the world a-going."

After the publication of this volume Morris's socialism became more and more political and actively militant. On the sixth of March he gave

an address at Manchester on "Art, Wealth, and Riches," in which he attacked, though cautiously, the ground and structure of modern life. And when the Manchester *Guardian* asked: "Does not that raise another question than one of mere art?" Morris answered by letter:

"It was the purpose of my lecture to raise another question than one of art. I specially wished to point out that the question of popular art was a social question, involving the happiness and misery of the greater part of the community. The absence of popular art from modern times is more disquieting and grievous to bear for this reason than for any other, that it betokens that fatal division of men into the cultivated and the degraded classes which competitive commerce has bred and fostered; popular art has no chance of a healthy life, or, indeed, of a life at all, till we are on the way to fill up this terrible gulf between riches and poverty. Doubtless many things will go to filling it up, and if art must be one of those things, let it go. What business have we with art at all unless all share it? I am not afraid but that art will rise from the dead, whatever else lies there. For after all, what is the true end and aim of all politics and all commerce? Is it not to bring about a state of things in which all men may live at peace and free

from ever-burdensome anxiety, provided with work which is pleasant to them and produces results useful to their neighbors?

"It may well be a burden to the conscience of an honest man who lives a more manlike life to think of the innumerable lives which are spent in toil unrelieved by hope and uncheered by praise; men who might as well, for all the good they are doing to their neighbors by their work, be turning a crank with nothing at the end of it; but this is the fate of those who are working at the bidding of blind, competitive commerce, which still persists in looking at itself as an end, and not as a means.

"It has been this burden on my conscience, I do in all sincerity believe, which has urged me on to speak of popular art in Manchester and elsewhere. I could never forget that in spite of all drawbacks my work is little else than pleasure to me; that under no conceivable circumstances would I give it up even if I could. Over and over again have I asked myself why should not my lot be the common lot. My work is simple work enough; much of it, nor that the least pleasant, any man of decent intelligence could do, if he could but get to care about the work and its results. Indeed I have been ashamed when I have thought of the contrast between my happy working hours and

the unpraised, unrewarded, monotonous drudgery which most men are condemned to. Nothing shall convince me that such labor as this is good or necessary to civilization."

With his conscience touched, and hoping something practical might be done to relieve the social situation, Morris gave up his half-hearted political radicalism and joined the Democratic Federation, contributing time and money to its organ, *Justice*. He conceived that by state socialism something of change could be effected, and for several years, particularly during 1883 and 1884, he gave most of his time and energy to socialistic propaganda. And when his friends expostulated that the lectures he was delivering, and the leaders and "Chants for Socialists" he was writing did not compensate for the poetry he was neglecting, and that his work as a socialist was less effective and valuable than his designing and weaving, he answered, "I cannot help acting in this matter." How seriously the times were pressing upon him is indicated by a letter dated 1883: "I have long felt sure that commercialism must be attacked at the root before we can be on the road for those improvements in life which I so much desire. A society which is founded on the system of compelling all well-to-do people to live on making

the greatest possible profit out of the labor of others must be wrong. For it means the perpetuating the division of society into civilized and uncivilized classes. I am far from being an anarchist, but even anarchy is better than this, which is in fact anarchy and despotism mixed. If there is no hope of conquering this—let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

At this time Morris was firm in the belief that the reorganization of society was practicable, and that if it could be effected the misery of the world would speedily come to an end. In writing the manifesto for the Hammersmith branch of the Democratic Federation, he referred again to the war between capital and labor, and declared: "Socialism will end this war by abolishing classes; this change will get rid of bad housing, underfeeding, overwork, and ignorance." He believed this so thoroughly that when the Democratic Federation was disrupted—owing to the bickerings of members—Morris was prominent in organizing at once the Socialist League and in conducting its paper, *The Commonweal.* The manifesto of the new league, dismissing as useless all temporary and partial changes, declared for a complete revolution in the basis of society. Filled with loathing at the "cannibalism" of society, Morris

wrote at this time: "One must turn to hope, and only in one direction do I see it—on the road to revolution; everything else is gone now." Yet after 1886 Morris gradually withdrew from the more violent members of his party, and announced that the revolution must come by education: "Education towards revolution seems to me to express in three words what our policy should be." Consequently he took less and less interest in the active propaganda of the day, and turned again to literature, publishing, in 1886, "The Dream of John Ball," socialistic in its motive, to be sure, but tempered by reflection and imagination. In 1890 he contributed to successive numbers of *The Commonweal* his socialistic romance, "News from Nowhere," written in opposition to Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Morris here proposes a simple, pastoral life, motived by co-operation in labor, incentive to which is pleasure in life itself, as against Bellamy's complex state socialism, centralization, and machinery. Finally, in 1890, the affairs of the Socialistic League having gone from bad to worse, Morris resigned from the organization, making in *The Commonweal*, however, before withdrawal, a final appeal to his associates, summing up the results of his seven years of public service:

"It is now seven years since socialism came to life again in this country. To some the time will seem long, so many hopes and disappointments as have been crowded into them. Yet in the history of a serious movement seven years is a short time enough; and few movements surely have made so much progress during this time in one way or another as socialism has done. For what was it which we set out to accomplish? To change the system of society on which the tremendous fabric of civilization is founded, and which has been built up by centuries of conflict with older and dying systems, and crowned by the victory of modern civilization over the material surroundings of life. Could seven years make any visible impression on such a tremendous undertaking as this?

"Consider, too, the quality of those who began and carried on this business of reversing the basis of modern society! A few workingmen, less successful even in the wretched life of labor than their fellows; a sprinkling of the intellectual proletariat, whose keen pushing of socialism must have seemed pretty certain to extinguish their limited chances of prosperity; one or two outsiders in the game political; a few refugees from the bureaucratic tyranny of foreign Governments;

and here and there an unpractical, half-cracked artist or author.

"Yet such as they were, they are enough to do something. Through them, though not by them, the seven years of the new movement toward freedom have, contrary to all that might have been expected, impressed the idea of socialism deeply on the epoch.

"It cannot be said that great, unexpected talent for administration and conduct of affairs has been developed amongst us, nor any vast amount of foresight either. We have been what we seemed to be (to our friends I hope)—and that was no great things. We have between us made about as many mistakes as any other party in a similar space of time. Quarrels more than enough we have had; and sometimes also weak assent for fear of quarrels to what we did not agree with. There has been self-seeking amongst us, and vain-glory, and sloth, and rashness; though there has been at least courage and devotion also. When I first joined the movement I hoped that some workingman leader, or rather leaders, would turn up, who would push aside all middle-class help, and become great historical figures. I might still hope for that, if it seemed likely to happen, or indeed I long for it enough; but to speak plainly

it does not seem so at present. Yet I repeat, in spite of all drawbacks the impression has been made, and why? The reason has been given in words said before, but which I must needs say again; because that seemingly inexpugnable fabric of modern society is verging towards its fall; it has done its work, and is going to change into something else."

Noting then the change in their minds from dwelling upon ideals and seeking their realization practically Morris continues:

"There are two tendencies in this matter of methods; on the one hand is our old acquaintance palliation, elevated now into vastly greater importance than it used to be, because of the growing discontent, and the obvious advance of socialism; on the other is the method of partial, necessarily futile, inconsequent revolt, or riot rather, against the authorities, who are our absolute masters, and can easily put it down.

"With both of these methods I disagree; and that the more because the palliatives have to be clamored for, and the riots carried out, by men who do not know what socialism is, and have no idea what their next step is to be, if contrary to all calculation they should happen to be successful. Therefore, at the best, our masters would be our

masters still, because there would be nothing to take their place. *We are not ready for such a change as that!*

"I have mentioned the two lines on which what I should call the methods of impatience profess to work. Before I write a very few words on the line of method on which some of us *can* work, I will give my views about the present state of the movement as briefly as I can.

"The whole set opinion amongst those that are more or less touched by socialism, who are not definite socialists, is towards the new trades' unionism and palliation. Men believe that they can wrest from the capitalists some portion of their privileged profits, and the masters, to judge by the recent threats of combination on their side, believe also that this can be done. That it could only partially be done, and that the men could not rest there if it were done, we socialists know very well, but others do not. I neither believe in state socialism as desirable in itself, nor, indeed, as a complete scheme do I think it possible. Nevertheless, some approach to it is sure to be tried, and to my mind this will precede any complete enlightenment on the new order of things. The success of Mr. Bellamy's utopian book, deadly dull as it is, is a straw to

show which way the wind blows. The general attention paid to our clever friends, the Fabian lecturers and pamphleteers, is not altogether due to their literary ability; people have really got their heads turned more or less in their direction.

"Now it seems to me that at such a time, when people are not only discontented, but have really conceived a hope of bettering the condition of labor, while at the same time the means towards their end are doubtful; or, rather, when they take the very beginning of the means as an end in itself—that this time, when people are excited about socialism, and when many who know nothing about it think themselves socialists, is the time of all others to put forward the simple principles of socialism, regardless of the policy of the passing hour.

"My readers will understand that in saying this I am speaking for those who are complete socialists—or let us call them communists. I say for us to make socialists is the business at present, and at present I do not think we can have any other useful business. Those who are not really socialists—who are trades unionists, disturbance-breeders, or what-not—will do what they are impelled to do; but we need not and cannot heartily

work with them, when we know that their methods are beside the right way.

"Our business, I repeat, is the making of socialists., *i. e.*, convincing people that socialism is good for them and is possible. When we have enough people of that way of thinking, they will find out what action is necessary for putting their principles in practice. Therefore, I say, make socialists. We socialists can be nothing else that is useful."

Soon after withdrawing from the league, Morris organized the Hammersmith Socialist Society, with the object of "making socialists" and spreading the principles of socialism. The meetings were held weekly at Morris's house on the Upper Mall, and by lectures, street-meetings, and publications the work of the society was carried on. Its "Statement of Principles" reads as follows:

Statement of Principles of the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

By Socialism, the Hammersmith Socialist Society understands the realization of a condition of true society, all-embracing and all-sufficing.

It believes that this great change must be effected by the conscious exertions of those who have learned to know what socialism is.

This change, it believes, must be an essential

change in the basis of society. The present basis is privilege for the few, and consequent servitude for the many; the future basis will be equality of condition for all, which we firmly believe to be the essence of true society.

As soon as any community begins to make differences in the condition and livelihood of its members, according to some imagined standard of estimation of their qualities, it finds itself driven to use a mere arbitrary system for the apportioning of responsibilities and rewards, which must of necessity injure some for the aggrandizement of others. But when a society habitually injures any group of its members, it has become a tyranny; it has ceased to be a true society, and has lost its reason for existence.

As Socialists, we say that society is embodied for two purposes, the increase of wealth by means of the combination and co-operation of the varying powers and capacities of men, and the equitable distribution of the wealth so produced; and as each man's capacities can be used for the benefit of the community, and as the needs of all men are at least similar, we claim the right for every person born into society to a full share of the sum of benefits produced by it; whosoever is kept out of this share, whether by force or fraud, is not a member of society, but has been thrust out of it, and owes no allegiance to it.

But the society of the present day, that of the capitalist and wage-earner, of rich and poor, by no

means admits this claim; on the contrary, the essence of it is the denial of this right and the assertion of an arbitrary inequality. It is an exclusive society, a combination of privileged persons united for the purpose of excluding the majority of the population from participation in the wealth which they, the workers, make. The system whereby this privilege is sustained is the exclusive ownership by the privileged classes of the means of production, that is to say, the land and the tools and appliances necessary to combined labor, namely, the factories, machinery, railways, and other means of transit. The working classes are not allowed to use these means of production except on the terms of their giving up everything to the possessing classes save the bare necessities of life. These so-called higher classes, therefore, are enabled to live upon the labor of the workers, who are thus deprived of all the advantages gained by an advanced state of civilization. The productivity of labor has increased enormously within the last four hundred years, but the working classes have not shared in the gains of that increase in power; all that they have done is to create a large and prosperous middle class, which consists in part of their direct employers, *i. e.*, their masters, and in part of those who minister to the pleasure and luxury of those masters.

The workers, therefore, we repeat, are not a part of capitalist society, since they do not share in the wealth produced for it; they are but its ma-

chinery, and are not protected or sustained by it; for them it has ceased to be a society, and has become a tyranny; and it is a tyranny whose subjects are not an inferior race of feeble and incapable persons, but the useful part of the population.

Such a society (so called) dominating populations, the useful part of which is outlawed, cannot be stable; it holds within itself the elements of its own dissolution; and it can only go on existing by the repression by force and fraud of all serious and truthful thought and all aspirations for betterment. It is conceivable, though we believe improbable, that it may still further degrade the working-classes till it has crushed all resistance out of them, and made them slaves more hopeless and more hapless than the world has yet seen. But the whole evolution of society, and all the signs of the times bid us hope for a better fate than this for our epoch. It is becoming clearer day by day that the thought and the hopes of the working-classes (who are being gradually educated into a knowledge of their unworthy position), and the force lying latent in them for a new order of things *cannot* be repressed; that the tyranny of privilege is weakening, and that we are within sight of its overthrow.

It is beyond a doubt that if the workers unite to claim their heritage, the due membership of society, the tyranny of privilege must fall before them, and that true society will rise out of its ruins.

For here we must say that it is not the dissolution of society for which we strive, but its reintegration. The idea put forward by some who attack present society, of the complete independence of every individual, that is, of freedom without society, is not merely impossible of realization, but when looked into, turns out to be inconceivable.

As Socialists, it is a true society which we desire. Of that true society the workers contain the genuine elements, although they are outcasts from the false society of the day, the tyranny of privilege; and it is their business to show the privileged that it is so by constituting themselves even now, under the present tyranny, into a society of labor, definitely opposed to the society of privilege. Such a society would be able to ameliorate the lot of the workers by wringing concessions from the masters, while it was sapping the stronghold of privilege, the individual ownership of the means of production, and developing capacity for administration in its members; so that when the present system is overthrown they might be able to carry on the business of the community without waste or disaster.

To further this militant society of labor we believe to be the business of all Socialists; but we would say a word about the part in this business which we believe should be the special work of the Hammersmith Socialist Society and others, who are neither State Socialists nor Anarchists.

We believe then that it should be our special aim to make Socialists by putting before people, and especially the working-classes, the elementary truths of Socialism; since we feel sure, in the first place, that in spite of the stir in the ranks of labor there are comparatively few who understand what Socialism is, or have had opportunities of arguing on the subject with those who have at least begun to understand it; and in the second place we are no less sure that before any definite *Socialist* action can be attempted it must be backed up by a great body of intelligent opinion — the opinion of a great mass of people who are already Socialists — people who know what they want, and are prepared to accept the responsibilities of self-government, which must form a part of their claims.

It may be, nay, probably will be, necessary that various crude experiments in the direction of State Socialism should be tried; but we say if this be so let them be advocated by those who believe that they see in them a solution of the social question, rather than by those who, not so believing, merely wish to use the advocacy of them as a political expedient for strengthening their position as exponents of Socialism.

On the other hand, we deprecate spasmodic and desperate acts of violence, which will only increase the miseries of the poor and the difficulties of Socialists by alarming the timid, and giving opportunities for repression to the capitalist executive, and which must of necessity be carried on by men

who know nothing of their position, except that they are suffering, and who, in consequence, will yield easily to those who may relieve their sufferings temporarily. At the same time, we know that it may be necessary to incur the penalties attaching to *passive* resistance, which is the true weapon of the weak and unarmed, and which embarrasses a tyranny far more than acts of hopeless violence can do, turning the apparent victories of the strong and unjust into real defeats for them.

Furthermore, as Socialists, we would remind our brethren generally that, though we cannot but sympathize with all struggles of the workers against their masters, however partial they may be, however much they may fall short of complete and effective combination, yet we cannot fail to see that *of themselves* these partial struggles will lead nowhere; and that this must always be the case as long as the workers are the wage-slaves of the employers.

We, therefore, earnestly urge the workers to lose no time in constituting a general combination of labor, whose object will be the abolition of privilege by means of obtaining for labor the complete control of the means of production, which must be the first step in the realization of Socialism. With this object steadily in view such a combination will gain ever fresh advantages for the workers; every one of which, be it remembered, must necessarily be gained at the

expense of the capitalists. It will drive them from position after position, until at last they will find themselves burdened with a responsibility which carries with it no privilege, and will call upon the workers to take that responsibility on themselves, and themselves carry on the work of the world.

It is the business of all Socialists to do their best to bring it about, that in that day the masters will be addressing men who are willing and able to accept that responsibility, because they know that they, who were once outcasts from society, have now become society itself.

In this hope, we appeal to all workers to learn to understand their true position; to understand that they have no hope of bettering their condition save by general combination; but that, by means of that general combination, they may become irresistible; that their *demands* must then be yielded to. But unless they know what to demand they will not be really strong; nay, without that knowledge, complete combination is impossible.

You that are not Socialists, therefore learn, and in learning teach us, that when we know we may be able to act, and so realize the new order of things, the beginnings of which we can already see, though we cannot picture to ourselves its happiness.

December, 1890.

During the remaining years of his life Morris was active in many directions—writing, working, lecturing, equally interested in life and in the arts of life. His last public utterance on a social topic appeared in the *Daily Chronicle*, November 9, 1893, with reference to the Miner's Question: "The first step," he declared, "towards the new birth of art must be a definite rise in the condition of the workers; their livelihood must, to say the least of it, be less niggardly and less precarious, and their hours of labor shorter; and this improvement must be a general one, and confirmed against the chances of the market by legislation." And once more, in 1894, addressing some art students at Birmingham, he reviewed his familiar thoughts, affirming that for a new art impulse the world must depend upon a love of nature and admiration for the great architecture and art of the past, the faithful memorials of man's history, and offering as his last advice this thought: "Make yourself sure that you have in you the essentials of an artist before you study art as a handicraft by which to earn your bread. But, again, if you are able to do this, and become a genuine handicraftsman, I congratulate you on your position, whatever else may happen to you, for you then belong to the only group of people

in civilization which is really happy — persons whose necessary daily work is inseparable from their greatest pleasure." His last words on the subject of socialism were written to an American correspondent who had asked if he had changed his mind on socialism. He replied, in January, 1896: "I have not changed my mind on socialism. My view on the point of relation between art and socialism is as follows: Society (so called) at present is organized entirely for the benefit of a privileged class; the working-class being only considered in the arrangement as so much machinery. This involves perpetual and enormous *waste*, and the organization for the production of genuine utilities is only a secondary consideration. This waste lands the whole civilized world in a position of *artificial poverty*, which again debars men of all classes from satisfying their rational desires. Rich men are in slavery to philistinism, poor men to penury. We can none of us have what we want, except (partially only) by making prodigious sacrifices, which very few men can ever do. Before, therefore, we can so much as hope for any art, we must be free from this artificial poverty. When we are thus free, in my opinion, the natural instincts of mankind toward beauty and incident will take their due

place; we shall *want* art, and since we shall be really wealthy, we shall be able to have what we want."

To the ending of the day of commercial selfishness, and to the dawning of the day of peace and good will, Morris ever looked forward, with the same feeling as when, in Sigurd, he pictured the twilight of the old gods and the rising of the sun of Balder, the Beautiful.

The Sixth Exhibition, in 1899, of the London Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was made notable by a memorial exhibition of works by William Morris. One room of the new gallery was devoted to a collection of his more intimate and personal work, comprising over one hundred and fifty of his original drawings for fabrics, stained glass, wall-paper, and printing, and the products of the Kelmscott Press. To the catalog of this exhibition Mr. Walter Crane contributed a note in memory of the former president of the society, which, as one of the most adequate estimates made of the great designer, may be quoted in full:

"Three years have passed since, on the eve of the opening of our Fifth Exhibition, on October 3d, 1896, William Morris, our late president, died.

"It seems fitting, therefore, in inaugurating the

Sixth Exhibition of the Society, to offer a word to the memory of the great designer and craftsman, poet and social reformer, who has been so potent an influence in the movement of revival in the handicrafts which has characterized the later years of our century.

"Looking at the evidence of his extraordinary energy and power of concentration spent upon the details of so many different crafts, one is struck no less by the vigor and strength of his work in each as by the care and taste displayed.

"William Morris's unerring instinct for decorative beauty in surface ornament allowed him to be exuberant and profuse, rich and intricate, or, as in the earlier work, frank and simple. One sees an English taste and reserve united with a luxuriant and almost Oriental fancy. Yet through them all one feels the spirit of the romantic and narrative poet refining and informing every detail, as one may see the sunlight illuminating the leafy meshes of a wild wood.

"In the same way, as we wander through the poet's own garden in 'The Earthly Paradise,' we feel the spirit of the artist and craftsman dwelling lovingly upon the beauty of carved pillars and inlaid floors, the wonders of the loom, the vessels of brass, and of silver and gold, which become parts

of that rich mosaic of romance which he himself wove in his verse and prose tales, so glowing with color and pattern as scarcely to need the illuminator's gold and blue and scarlet, which again, in the literal sense, no one knew better how to use than William Morris.

"Strictly reserved and formalized as his drawing and designs were, in adaptation to printing and weaving, his treatment of natural forms shows the close observer and student of structural line and form, as well as the artist's delight in them.

"An ardent enthusiast for the character and beauty of mediæval art, deeply penetrated with its spirit, while possessing a profound knowledge of its letter, he wrote and designed freely in what some thought the disguise of a past age, but it was as an *artist*, not as an archæologist, and he was strengthened in all his work by his knowledge and love of architecture, by which all the arts are united.

"So that, although we may trace the sources of his inspiration and the various influences under which he lived, the total impression of the work of William Morris, regarded as a whole, is that of the full and free expression of a powerful personality; and it was by the force of that personality that he was able to inspire and direct others

with so much success and to leave behind him a living tradition.

"Again, in his social work, it was his passion for beauty, and love of a simple and wholesome life, however refined, which drove him to revolt against the gloomy conventions, the pretenses, the meanness and shabbiness of so much in the aspects of modern existence.

"Although, with his usual thoroughness and power of concentration, he pursued the matter to its roots in the economic system, his artistic instincts, as well as his reason and humanity, made him a socialist; and beyond the din of controversy, he took care to record his own conception of an ideal state, in his utopian romance, 'News from Nowhere.'"

IV. Ashbee and the Reconstructed Workshop.

The Essex House in London, "A Guild and School of Handicraft," is another mile-stone on the road to Industrial freedom — on the testimony both of its work and of its purpose as recorded in the writings of C. R. Ashbee, the founder and director of the Essex Guild. Mr. Ashbee's special plea is for a reconstructed workshop, a workshop so constituted that it may function at once as the state, the school, and the factory.

Membership in it should constitute citizenship, apprenticeship in it should afford education, production in it should provide materials for use and exchange.

In the final essay in Mr. Ashbee's volume entitled "Chapters in Workshop Reconstruction and Citizenship" the idealist's gospel of work and the ideal of citizenship in a workshop are finely presented. In the matter of production — what, Mr. Ashbee asks, is it all for? "This mere trifle of mine, of what use or beauty may it be, will it give any one delight? Maybe not, maybe it is useless and unlovely, and will give no man pleasure. What then? Why just this, we are brought face to face with the ethics of production; the artist producer stands forth. This trifle of mine is a mere symbol, the thing itself is empty, vain; its goodness consists in the spirit put into it, and the doing it; its creation by us reflects a greater doing, symbolizes a creation elsewhere, in which we are sublimely and unconsciously taking part. We talk of a piece of machine-made work as soulless—what a deal we mean when we say that! So let us continue to make our trifles, remembering always that they are symbols only. This, if you will, is the Idealist's Gospel of Work, and the strength of our continuance is

the measure of our idealism. Artist and producer then, have the same ethics, and just as it is the individual touches of the artist that make the great work of Art, so it is the little human details impressed upon production that give it interest or character. This, in our vast mechanical system of industry and individualism, we have missed sight of. Individualism has lost us individuality. Individuality has gone out of industry, but it must be brought back again. The system has destroyed the things created, and in destroying the productions we destroy the producers. Lower the standard of the work and you lower the standard of the man."

But given individualism how shall sovereign individuals be united in a community? The "Workshop" gives the solution to this question also.

"The reconstructed workshop must have an intimate human relationship for its basis; here will be the faith of the little citizen of the future. So personal is this question, that it seems out of place in any consideration of the action of men together for any public purpose. But it is just because it is so personal that it is so important. As present, where men are bound together in production, their bond is one of chance, or of

common enmity to an employer, and they become friends because they are shopmates. In the reconstructed workshop this will have to be inverted, and they will become shopmates rather because they are friends. Here, once again, is the unit; we come back to that. It is the unit, the individual, that we have got to touch.

"Somewhat in this way might we state our belief:

"That moment when the hand of my friend was pressed in mine has expanded over my life, and become it. The reason why I choose you — what is it? Let us call it a twofold reason. First, because of the you in you; second, because of the you in me—the first in your own character and choosing; the second, the magnetic force of which I am the vessel; the first in your own making; the second intrusted to me by God. It is not new in itself; this, the feeling that drew Jesus to John, or Shakespeare to the youth of the sonnets, or that inspired the friendships of Greece, has been with us before, and in the new citizenship we shall need it again. The Whitmanic love of comrades is its modern expression, democracy—as socially, not politically, conceived —its basis. The thought as to how much of the solidarity of labor and the modern trade-union

movement may be due to an unconscious faith in this principle of comradeship is no idle one. The freer, more direct, and more genuine relationship between men, which is implied by it, must be the ultimate basis of the reconstructed workshop. 'When I touch the human body,' said Novalis, 'I touch heaven!'

"This relationship — human bond—as distinguished from the cash or other *nexus*, we have to study, to analyze, to find, if possible, the philosophic basis of, and we may learn in teaching it. We have to train ourselves and those we teach to lay high stakes on new personalities, to strive for infallibility of decision, and instant decision when a new personality comes. I look into your eyes, stranger; God grant me the power of instantly telling whether or not you are sent for me. A few times wrong, and we grow sensitive to right choosing; each right choice makes the next more certain. This magnetism of the human bond, too, is generative; you light me, and the fire grows within me; I spread it, and it grows again, till at last the whole air in which we move is charged with it. It runs into us, and through us, again and again; as we receive more we emit more, till our whole surroundings grow brilliant with light—

that incomprehensible blue light in the vision of Heinrich von Ofterdingen."

From this ideal of citizenship—individuality on the basis of comradeship—the problem of education takes on meaning. Throughout his writings Mr. Ashbee insists upon connecting the teaching function with the workshop function. Teaching outside the workshop is too artificial, too remote from life, too abstract. "Our ideal is to create a school whose life shall depend upon what is the only living thing—the life of workmanship; a school whose future shall be bound up with the future of those who labor in it; a school, therefore, that shall be self-dependent and supported from within, not from without—the school of a movement." It is first necessary to co-ordinate the abstract and the concrete, to graft the humanistic onto the industrial. It is seen that every craft has its social, historical, literary, artistic, technical, and scientific aspect. Starting from the manipulation, say of metals in the workshop, the lines of interest run out in every direction and involve scientific and humanistic studies in their most vital bearings. Then art instruction must be transferred from the studio to the workshop. The studio is, in its nature, subjective and non-

social. It fosters selfishness and a kind of refined sensuality. The workshop in its nature is objective and social. It cultivates the higher socialism. In the workshop those magnetic affinities that engender creative impulses spring up between men. Based on comradeship production is humanized. In the workshop questions of organization and division of labor are solved on democratic grounds.

The workshop, constructed on such grounds, renders schools of design and polytechnic institutions unnecessary. It is idle to teach design abstractly as an end in itself. "Design," says Mr. Ashbee, "is that element in any art and craft by which the whole hangs together, first constructively and then æsthetically." Design, therefore, must have reference to something—a building, a table, jewel, lamp, or book. A craftsman learns design by applying thought to materials. In polytechnic institutes instruction is again given outside the workshop by teachers who know little or nothing of practical craftsmanship. Instead of maintaining an industrial system whereby a few men become holders of great wealth, a part of which, forced by public opinion, returns to the public in the form of endowed technical schools, the query arises why cannot technical instruction be conducted within the system, and by the work-

ers themselves? Some such conclusion as Mr. Ashbee reaches is forced upon us. "We must convert Mr. Pushington's great house into a sort of industrial partnership whose future is invested in its producers, not its entrepreneurs, and we must utilize the sum which public opinion extorts from his munificence, not for the purpose of swelling big polytechnics, but of teaching in the workshop." "Suppose," says Mr. Ashbee further, "Mr. Pushington were to keep his £20,000. Suppose he were to spend the interest of it upon the educational development, in artistic matters, of the employes of Sky Sign & Co. Suppose he were to build a small hall, with benches, books, and appliances, useful and illustrative of the trade of Sky Sign & Co. Suppose he were then to say to Mr. Pennyworth: Now complete your knowledge by a more careful application to the tools and concrete facts of design; and to Mr. Trudge, now come and improve not your technical skill, but master some of the theory of your trade, and learn how the whole hangs together. In addition, suppose he taught in his school the small Pennyworths and the small Trudges the use of the tool and the use of the pencil alike, and got them in their boyhood to feel this relation of art to industry; got them to see the charm of a well-lit, well-

hung hall of art and industry; got them to feel their own little relation to Sky Sign & Co., perhaps even insuring them a footing, after their pupilage in the school, in the historical house itself. There, it seems to me, would be a veritable polytechnic, and a genuine application of art to industry."

The workshop as factory, which shall be also a training school for citizenship and for occupations, is as yet but a vision offered to the future for realization. The present factory, with its monarchic organization, its commanders and bosses, its special designers, its divided workers, and as a whole, its commercial motives, will give way in time to the guild or small co-operative society, which shall be integral as to its work, human as to its motives, artistic as to its ends. By integral labor is meant that the workman must give his entire energy, physical, moral, and intellectual, to his work, and that all his faculties must touch his work at all points. By human motives is meant that the producers, and not the things produced, are to be valued and conserved. By artistic ends is meant that work must constantly tend towards imaginative production. "Art" is the "higher production," differing from "craft," which is technical production, and from "industry," which is mechanical production, only in the degree of per-

sonal creativeness involved in the process. Thus considered, art is the "crown and fulfilment of noble citizenship," and the ultimate function of the workshop.

Among the aphorisms offered by Mr. Ashbee to guide our thinking on workshop reconstruction appear the following:

"The crown and fulfilment of national life is a wise understanding and enjoyment of beauty."

"The only hope for the development of the sense of beauty is among the artificially cultured class of artists and the artisan; the one conscious, the other unconscious."

"Under modern conditions of art, picture-painting is forced into an artificial prominence, and the constructional and decorative arts, the real backbone, have as yet no right recognition among us."

"The problems of machine production will have to be solved within the workshop. A sharp distinction will have to be drawn between what is produced by machinery and the direct work of man's hands, and the standard of artistic excellence must depend ultimately upon the pleasure given, not to the consumer but to the producer."

"At the present day, the social problem has prior claim to the artistic."

The Guild and School of Handicraft, where these ideas have been demonstrated, was founded by Mr. Ashbee, in 1880, as the result of a small Ruskin class conducted at Toynbee Hall. "The reading of Ruskin," Mr. Ashbee notes, "led to an experiment of a practical nature, and out of 'Fors Clavigera' and the 'Crown of Wild Olive' sprang a small class for the study of design. The class grew to thirty — some men, some boys — and then it was felt that design needed application to give the teaching fulfilment. A piece of practical work, which involved painting, modeling, plaster-casting, gilding, and the study of heraldic forms, gave a stimulus to the corporate action of the thirty students, and the outcome of their united work as *dilettanti* was the desire that permanence might be given to it by making it work for life and bread. From this sprang the idea of the present Guild and School. Very undefined at first the notion was that a school should be carried on in connection with a workshop; that the men in this workshop should be the teachers in the school, and that the pupils in the school should be drafted into the workshop as it grew in strength and certainty. Wisdom pronounced the experiment, from a business point of view,

as entirely quixotic, and precedent for it there was none.

"The little Guild of three members to begin with, and the larger School of some fifty members was, however, started in its present form; the top floor of a warehouse in Commercial Street was taken for two years to serve as workshop and school-room combined; it was polychromatized by the pupils, and the Guild and School celebrated its inauguration on June 23, 1888. A kindly public gave the funds for supporting the School for two trial years; while the Guild, launching as an independent venture, announced its intention of taking up three lines of practical work: woodwork, metal-work, and decorative painting, and intimated the ambitious hope that it would one day take over the School, for which purpose, when formulating its constitution, it laid by a first charge on its profits. The little workship in Commercial Street saw many vicissitudes and unexpected developments. Strange new things had to be learnt, new conditions and new experiences. The introduction among its members of some of the leading trades-unionist workmen — an indispensable element in the solving of an industrial problem — gave to the Guild

that peculiar character which has been the principal reason of its success so far. The marriage between the stolid, uncompromising, co-operative force of trades-unionism, and the spirit that makes for a high standard of excellence in English Art and Handicraft, has so far proved a fortunate one; and a younger generation is already beginning to tell of a life and tradition of its own. We look back now with wonder to the circulars issued in the days of the beginnings, and ask how far the original intention has been warped, and changed, and twisted; but the central ideas have been always maintained, that the movement shall be a workman's movement, that it shall be one for the nobility and advance of English Art and Handicraft, that it shall be developed not on the basis of mastership, in the ordinary sense, but co-operatively as an industrial partnership, and that the arts and crafts, united in the Guild, shall be the children of the mother art of architecture. This is the basis upon which all has been built up."

The original notice as to the objects of the Guild and School was as follows: "The Guild and School of Handicraft has for its object the application of Art and Industry. It is a Co-operative Society of Workmen, working out original de-

signs, either of their own or such as may be submitted to them from without. In connection with, and dependent on it, is a School of about one hundred working men and boys. Its effort is to apply the Guild System of Mediæval Italy to modern industrial needs, and to the movement for Technical Education."

The Essex House, located on the edge of Whitechapel, is now, after many years of experiment, a flourishing industrial institution, with the original principle of co-operation still in force, and the guild idea fully worked out, though the instructional feature is held in abeyance. To a question asked if the Guild of Handicraft was not merely a business enterprise, Mr. Ashbee gave an answer which is characteristic of those who have to do with the new industrialism. He said: "This is not the case. There are many of us in the Guild—I for one—who, if it were a mere business enterprise, would have no further interest in it. Mere business we could pursue more profitably elsewhere, and unencumbered with altruism. It is just because of the nature of its constitution, and in what it seeks to produce, that the Guild is a protest against modern business methods, against the trade point of view, against the commercial spirit." Then when asked if this

did not mean the mixing of sentiment with business, he answered in the affirmative, and retorted: "The great businesses of England, could their histories be written, would often be found to have had in them some other than merely the pecuniary objective. They are voiceless for the most part because they have been built up by men that do not talk. But every now and then we catch a glimpse of the unexpected workings of these sentimental considerations. In one of the letters of the great house of Wedgwood, which old Josiah, the potter, founded in the middle of the last century, appears the following, written to Bently on whom he is urging the partnership: 'You have taste, the best foundation for our intended concern, and which must be our *primum mobile*, for without that, all would stand still, or better it did so.' And the great house still exists in the Midlands, for all the decay and taste that later and more commercial times may have brought with them. The point to be noted is that it was a sentimental consideration that inspired its founding, and that the founders knew how to apply the sentiment. And so I fancy with many of the great businesses, they would probable be found to have in them some quality of Idealism however slight, some sense of a need towards the raising

of the standard of life, some inspiration of a better taste, a more useful purpose, however misdirected, some further object than the mere increase of the margin of profit, unconscious no doubt, but none the less present, the '*primum mobile*' in the words of that old business man and Idealist, which, if misapplied, would stand condemned as sentiment in business, but which, if rightly applied, becomes its justification, its first principle."

From these and other sayings it will appear that Ashbee continues the traditions of Ruskin and Morris in attempting to humanize business and industry.

V. Rookwood: An Ideal Workshop.

"The social question," said Mr. Ashbee, in his fifth aphorism, "has prior claim to the artistic." The world slowly adjusts itself to the truth of this statement. The question of art is altogether a question of social reform. Art must grow out of the life. If the life is not so ordered that art will appear as its crown and fulfilment it is idle to foster and upbuild it. To give it independent development is to preserve the empty form and overlook the informing and vitalizing spirit. Those who prate most of art are not the true promoters so much as the thinkers, the social reformers, who

are trying to reach a status of true liberty, to destroy slavery of every kind, to humanize industry, and to introduce other motives into production than the commercial and mechanical ones. Hence the Arts and Crafts movement, with its principle of co-operative individualism, is brought into harmony with some of the deepest thought tendencies of the times; with such books as George's "Progress and Poverty," Kropotkin's "Farm, Field, and Factory," Tolstoy's "The Slavery of Our Times," Edward Carpenter's "Angels' Wings," and "Towards Democracy," Whitman's "Leaves of Grass," Crosby's "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," and the writings of Bolton Hall. For when the present system is outworn, and a more just and equal order is established, the order for which these writers are laboring, industry will be the crown of life, and art the crown of industry. Art on any other terms than the contentment of a well-ordered and consistent life is undesired and undesirable.

So long as the factory is organized to the end of making profits for some owner and director, an issue of production in art is practically impossible. The wage slavery of the factory forbids art; the machine forbids it; competition forbids it; the methods of designing and executing by

division of labor are against it. The factories that are so constituted that their products rise to the plane of art may be counted on the fingers of one hand. These few, conducting business within the present system, but with higher motives, may be referred to as indicating also the tendency toward workshop reconstruction. Chief among the factories that undertake production from the instinct for beauty—and which enjoy also commercial success—may be counted the Rookwood Pottery at Cincinnati. Instituted as a private industrial experiment by Mrs. Maria Longworth Storer in 1880, it has grown in twenty years to a position of public importance and of far-reaching influence. The aspects of its organization and work that bear upon our present theme may be briefly considered. Three factors evidently conspire to make the Rookwood Pottery what it is—the founder, the workmen, and the public.

The Rookwood Pottery has—so to speak—a soul. A woman's intelligence and affection went to its upbuilding. It is established upon a person. Upon this fact all other features of the factory depend. The motive that controlled the enterprise from the beginning was the desire to produce a perfect product. Below this must have been the

intention to perform a social service in perfecting a given product. But perfection is fugitive—how secure it in a workshop involving many hands and minds.

Though the management of the business is centered in a board of directors, the fullest possible freedom is given to the workmen; they are encouraged to experiment, to express their own individuality, and to increase their culture by study and travel. The spirit of the factory is that of co-operation and good fellowship. Mr. Taylor, the genial director, calls himself "the arbiter," expecting initiation from his associates. From the first the problems have been solved as they have arisen from the inside. The factory consequently has its traditions, and its products represent organic growth. Its art is as indigenous as that of the first potter. The principle of construction is to adjust design sympathetically to shape and material. No printing-patterns are permitted, and no copying or imitation is allowed. Division of labor is practiced sufficient to insure technical skill but not to the extent of destroying unity of design. This one fact, unity of design, that for which Rookwood is especially noted, is itself an evidence of the unity of the workers, their absorption in a common purpose. Let discord enter

or dissatisfaction be felt, or let the pride of any worker assert itself, or the authority of the director be unduly exercised, and the effect is recorded at once in the product. The problem of uniting a workshop of large membership would seem to be solved here by the cultivation of human sympathy—that delicate something that is the source of all high endeavor.

But the pottery is not merely a workshop; it is in a sense a school of handicraft, an industrial art museum, and a social center. The craftsmen, creating and initiating on their own ground, constantly improve in skill and character. By the employment of apprentices the workshop could be at once transformed into a school. A portion of the building is now devoted to exhibition. By means of lectures, and other entertainments at the pottery, the public participates in some degree in the enterprise, and by reaction shapes the product. Here are all the elements needed for the ideal workshop — a self-directing shop, an incidental school of craft, and an associative public. Standing high on the edge of Mt. Adams, an attractive building in a fair environment — the building an interesting example of Early English architecture, with roof of tile and walls of cement decorated by scratchwork — it is even now a model

factory. Its motive, its management, its principles of work, its fine artistic production — all distinguish it from contemporary factories. With only slight changes, by the development of forces already implicit, such a workshop as the reformers have dreamed of could be here and now created.

VI. The Development of Industrial Consciousness.

The Arts and Crafts movement is the industrial phase of the modern evolution of individuality. For several centuries the conditions of life have tended to produce a general uniformity of civilization within the bounds of large social groups. Nations have been unified under the impulse of a more or less artificial patriotism, induced largely by the stress of wars which have been undertaken as a means of self-preservation, protection, or expansion. Industrial war, conducted by means of competition within nations, and by means of "protection" between nations, has tended also to solidify more or less arbitrary groups of industrial agents. From the point of view of unity, the United States of America, regarded both politically and industrially, is certainly a sublime spectacle. And when one con-

ceives the possibility of uniting North and South America, and the Americas with a united Europe, and of federating eventually the entire world, the vision is more than sublime. The time must come when the earth will be partitioned and equilibrium established. The necessity for uniformity will then cease, nationalism will become functionless, and conditions will conduce to the survival of variations. At the present time the very fierceness of the struggle for uniformity compels hypocrisy and false swearing, and these lead to protest and reaction. Even while the tendency toward unity is strongest the discontent with uniformity is greatest also, and the more vigorous personalities are withdrawing from political policies, and religious orthodoxies and educational and industrial systems, and are thinking and acting individually; and strangely enough the more individualistic men become the more universal and genuinely united they find themselves to be. Philosophic anarchy is, in short, the virtual belief of some of the most conspicuous leaders of the present day. The tendency toward uniformity may continue for yet a century, but even now the thought that will destroy it is taking shape. Examine whatever field you will, the signs of transition are made manifest.

The new definitions of art are formulated by Morris and Tolstoy. Let the terms be noted and their import fairly considered. "By art I understand," said Morris, "the pleasure of life." Such a definition at once universalizes art and individualizes it. For pleasure is, or may become, universal, but when universal it is least uniform. Let all men share in art; let all, that is, do what gives them pleasure, or do that which gives pleasure to others, and the individuality of the maker and user is forthwith outdrawn and exercised. The uniform machine-made products of the present day — uniform because impersonal and for the "average" — are made without pleasure and produce no pleasure; they spring from pain, and if not actively painful to the user, yield but little satisfaction. The workers are pained because they must subdue themselves to the system, must hold in abeyance their own affections and thoughts and imaginings, must become an impersonal machine serving another impersonal machine. The theologians have never imagined a more painful hell than the actual factories economists have constructed, wherein a man is hopelessly engaged in the performance of one never-ending and abhorrent task. In distribution also the goods thus made are dissevered

from personality. Of necessity the consolidated factory, making uniform wares by wholesale, labors for no one individual, but for an abstract average individual — a person who has of course no real being. When the consumer finds in the goods he has purchased no real fitness, no response to his needs, no appeal to memory or associations, no real adjustment between the body and its garments, he can experience no genuine pleasure or rational satisfaction — in most cases the shoes actually pinch his feet, and the clothes constrain some part of the body. The fault is not with the materials, or with the form — considered abstractly — and not in workmanship or the style; still there is no pleasure to the user. Unless goods that are costly, perfect in their workmanship, tasteful in their design, serve an individual need, they are inappropriate, and in reality ugly and painful. If on the other hand the article evidences the maker's pleasure, his affection for his work, his play of memory and intelligence and faith, or if it is constructed with reference to another's need, and represents some claim of the soul for outer garment; if, in fine, the work be individualized, it becomes to that degree a work of art, a part of the pleasure of men's lives, the source of happiness. When once the

habit of pleasurable labor is established, then it will be possible for all to take a pleasurable interest in the details of life, to feel ourselves a part of nature, and thoughtfully and without distraction note the course of our lives amidst the events that make up the whole of humanity. Then art will be synonymous with life, and the very activity of life will be an artistic activity. As life is now, under the compulsion of uniformity, it is anxious, inhuman, inartistic, empty. It will thus be seen that Morris's definition of art is social in its bearing. It implies the modern necessity of building up the ornamental part of life, its pleasures of every nature, on the basis of work undertaken cheerfully, with the consciousness of helping ourselves and our fellows.

In his volume "What is Art?" Tolstoy offers a definition that accords closely with that of Morris, though perhaps with a wider view of what constitutes social well-being. Tolstoy's treatment of the theme is consciously revolutionary. He abandons the current theories of beauty, the theories that make beauty something "fine," abstract, exclusive, perceiving that so long as the world upholds such theories art will tend more and more to separate itself from life, and lead a poor,

thin existence with the privileged and esoteric cults. As a matter of social justice it is necessary to re-establish art among the people, and restore to toil its natural solace. The definition of art founded upon the current metaphysics of beauty is a class definition, and is intended to preserve the upper classes in their special privileges of culture and "taste." After centuries of exclusiveness art has become perverted, is devoid of natural and spontaneous feeling, and is generally incomprehensible, and in truth "decadent." To bring art back to the people, and make it universal in its appeal, we are required to start an entirely new definition, and to understand art not as a possession for a select minority, but as a means toward human perfection and the brotherly union of mankind. The inaccuracy of previous definitions arises from the fact that in them art is considered as an end in itself, or as a means of pleasure to a specially equipped class of persons; whereas the true view is to consider art as one of the conditions of human life, a means of intercourse between man and man. "The activity of art," Tolstoy says, "is based on the fact that a man, receiving through his sense of hearing or sight another man's expression of feeling, is capable of experiencing the emotion which moved the man

who expressed it." From this fact the definition of art is deduced: "Art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings, and also experience them." It follows from this that the purpose of art is to create the sense of kinship: "Art is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings, and indispensable for the life and progress towards well-being of individuals and of humanity." The activity of art is, therefore, a general activity, as widely diffused and as common as speech itself. Art and speech are indeed the two organs of human progress; by speech we convey thoughts, by art we interchange feelings. Of course with perverted ideas of art, and on the supposition that the art of the upper classes is the whole of art, it has come about that only a small fraction of the people of Christendom make any use of art or even understand it. And this fact of exclusiveness in art points to a social condition wherein the masses of the people are in virtual slavery to the privileged classes.

The question of art becomes then at once a social question, and Tolstoy, like Morris, requires a complete revolution of the social system, and an

entire change in the ideals of life. Consequently the art of the future will not be a development of the art of the present; it will not increase by educating the masses to the standards of the classes, but will rise on wholly new foundations, and require entirely new modes of perception. The one indubitable indication of real art is its infectiousness, and the degree of infection is the sole measure of excellence. The degree of infection depends upon the greater or less individuality of the feelings transmitted, on the greater or less clearness with which the feeling is transmitted, and on the greater or less force with which the artist himself feels the emotions he transmits. The more individual the feeling, the more strongly does it act on the receiver. The clearer the expression, the more readily is it received by another. And the more sincere the artist, the more his art springs out of an inner need for expression, the greater is the sympathy of the receiver excited for its reception. The feeling, moreover, must be a common feeling, which all can share, which must be therefore profoundly human, and relate to the growing religious perception of our time that the well-being of mankind lies in the growth of brotherhood among all men, in their living in harmony with one another. Freed from professionalism and criticism and the

obligation to display technique and to produce startling and bizarre effects, freed, too, from commercialism and unseemly strife, the artist of the new day will live the common life of man, and his work will be accessible to all. But in that time art will be produced by all members of a community, and will be either a factor in their daily labor, as Morris desired, or if produced apart from a vocation, will be in answer to an irresistible impulse to create.

Morris's definition of art in terms of pleasure, and Tolstoy's in terms of infection, have practically the same ground, and reach essentially the same conclusion: an art that is common to all, yet one that admits the freest play of individuality.

Two definitions of education have recently been enunciated by prominent educators, that represent the advance in educational theory corresponding to the stage reached by Morris and Tolstoy, in their definitions of art, and display like these the subtle forces in modern life working for democracy. "Education," said Francis W. Parker, "is expression." "Education," says John Dewey, "is life." These definitions or descriptions of education point to the rejection by modern thinkers of those theories that, like the older definitions of art, grew up from the social order

of feudalism, and maintained the cultural classes in their positions of privilege. Feudalistic education had learning for its motive and discipline for its method. The priestly and noble classes alone possessed the key of knowledge, the capacity of translating the symbols of learning, and imposed upon the world the tyranny of culture. Secure in their special privileges, these classes enforced on their underlings the forms of obedience drawn on the model of the military, and by this means suppressed the disposition on the part of any one to assert his own nature and live his own life. In whatever school to-day the stress of education is placed upon learning and intellectual culture, in the manner and by the discipline prescribed by authority, in that place the forces of an earlier system are surviving. But wherever the emphasis is withdrawn from teachers and books and examinations, and placed upon the child, regarded as a living personality with a character to develop, his ends to seek, and his social relations to realize, there are the evidences of the new spirit in education.

Of necessity the new educators, like Morris and Tolstoy in their spheres, are in the broad sense of the term socialists, and their hands reach out not merely to educate the child in terms of

self-activity, but to shape society so that the newly formed individuality may not be thwarted and destroyed by environment. If the man in his industrial activities is not permitted to exercise his individuality, it is folly to educate the child in freedom. If education be expression, the child's self-activity cannot stop at the boundary of school-yards. If education is life, then the general life must be so shaped as to be in itself educative. In short, the new education, precisely in the way of the new art, makes culture coincide with life, and as the new art promises to destroy the professionalism and commercialism of the special artist, so the new education will eventually dispense with school-systems, all external machinery, even with teachers as they are now known, and will erect school-houses on an entirely new model—I think probably a building modeled on the idea of a workshop, wherein the life activity of the young will be developed at the freest yet with the most intimate relationship with all other social factors.

The subject of manual training will serve as a text for further discussion of this thought. Manual training has come into the schools but recently, but its meaning is rapidly growing in the public mind. Manual training is, as educators know, but another name for self-activity. It is a method

of education, and its spirit pertains to every class-room. Though when that is done, the "class," with all its traditional methods and meanings, presently dissolves, and the room itself is transformed into something new and strange. It is this very class-room, with its teacher in authority, its pupils in intellectual vassalage, its text-books (another form of authority), its recitations and examinations, its discipline, traditions, and methods, that manual training — entering secretly and in disguise by way of a workshop — has come to destroy. It has come also to create—to create self-control, self-activity, sovereign individuality. Through its agency education becomes expression, and tends more and more to become life.

A greater revolution cannot be conceived than that taking place to-day in the schools. The movement in education is one phase of a general emancipatory movement which has for its purpose the complete democratizing of the modern world. Morris and Tolstoy foretold the democratization of art, which means the association of art and life. The new education promises the association of education and life. In reality art and education are modes of the same activity, and they properly coincide in the larger synthesis we call life.

Considering the converging lines of all these tendencies, I see no reason why the workshop will not become at once the school and the factory. But this would mean an industrial revolution. It would mean that the workshop would aim to minister to the well-being of the workers, and not merely to make wares for sale. It would mean that men and women would take pleasure in their work, that their work was in line with their ideals. It would mean that by their work they would be attached to the past of life, and be brought into contact with their fellows. But a humanized workshop has yet to be evolved. Before industrialism can join with art and education it must pass through a long evolution, be disciplined by suffering, and tried by success. It is the part of the twentieth century to reconstruct the workshop, and to train for citizenship in an industrial Commonwealth.

Industrialism is now at the point of creating and enforcing its feudal discipline. The French Revolution marked the end of political feudalism and the rise of industrial feudalism — the attainment, that is, of practical political equality and the first stage of industrial organization. Practically all the incidents of Western peoples since the Revolution have had industrial bearing though

generally described in terms of politics. The three great American wars, though apparently one was fought for political independence, the second for political union, and the third for political expansion, were in reality industrial incidents, representing different phases of the establishment of the industrial *régime* in the new world. Either through blindness or policy, the men who formulated the American governmental papers have written them in political verbiage, obscuring the real facts of industrial evolution. Meanwhile the farms have been cleared, mines have been opened, canals and railroads have been constructed, engines and machines have been invented, capital has accumulated, laborers have formed their unions, and the great industries are in process of organization. In the organization of industry the model of political monarchy has necessarily been followed. Monarchy circumscribed the egotistic claims of individuals, put an end to private wars, economized the political energy of peoples, and afforded the necessary training ground for the evolution among the people of the consciousness of government. Without the assumption of a throne by a king, and the acceptance of these symbols of kingship by a people, the absorption of the functions of government by the people could never have taken place. Feder-

alism was the first step in transition from monarchy to democracy. The next stage is that of "anarchism," which, politically speaking, means control of one's self in all matters relating to the self and to one's fellows. By federal government the king was rendered impotent; by the exercise of self-control state and national governments are rendered unnecessary. In America the stage of anarchism has been reached by multitudes of citizens; and legislatures, in so far as they are merely law-making bodies, have less and less meaning and function, surviving as the English throne survives, as the symbol of the past. The real government in America is not at Washington or in any State Capital, but in the minds of the men and women who dwell within the bounds of the continent. The evolution of political governments is practically finished. Certainly every person capable of self-rule is granted that privilege. There may still be questions arising respecting suffrage; the rights of peoples, like the Boers, to political independence; the rights of island peoples, like the Philippines, to autonomy; the rights of peoples, like the Chinese, to their ancient customs; but nevertheless the vital interests of the world are not in these questions. The Boers lose their independence, the Philippines pass under

American wardship, the Chinese suffer the intervention of Western powers: a century ago no one of these incidents could have happened. Public opinion almost universally would have been strong in opposition. That the people who revere Washington pursued Aguinaldo is a sign of the passing of political consciousness. In some way these oppressed peoples are the victims of history; as those who are called "social degenerates" from the point of view of a higher civilization are victims, so to speak, of that civilization; or as the South American Republics, in assuming republicanism before receiving the discipline necessary to republics, are a sacrifice, as it were, of Fate.

The new civilization that is usurping the place of the legal and political order is industrial. An industrial civilization is not a government of laws but a co-partnership of men. "Industry," said Frederic Harrison, "is essentially republican; its life is the free co-operation of intelligent masses of men." It follows the industrial relationship, is personal and not legal, even while society is divided into the classes of the capitalists and the laborers, the exploiters and the exploited, the organizers and the organized. In the present relationship all the features of feudalism are found. And as the world is only at the beginning of its

industrial evolution it is likely that the process will run parallel at all points with the development of government. The old domestic system of industry, which the factory system superseded, was simply undifferentiated and unorganized industry. Corresponding to the political era of petty warfare was the period of competition. Competition has been the agent for the selection of the strong and the elimination of the weak. It has created "Captains of Industry" on one side, and an army of workmen reduced to order, and compelled to service, on the other. Industrial monarchy is now forming. The word "king" is constantly used to describe the great magnates. It will be the work of the twentieth century to establish the industrial king in a commanding position; his function will be, of course, not to make laws for his subjects, but to provide materials and set the task for labor. The king is necessary for the development of industrial consciousness.

A college president was quoted not long since as saying that in twenty years an emperor might be ruling in Washington. If the function of such an emperor be political, and he sits at Washington, he can do no harm. Political machinery is too cumbersome, too antiquated, for industrial uses. State socialism, within the boundaries, and accord-

ing to the fiction of a state, is forever impossible. Industry recognizes no false boundaries. The king will stand at strategic points, where materials are most accessible and laborers most numerous. The "trust" is the type of organization that will prevail during the period of monarchy. Already trusts are incorporated with charters, permitting the conduct of an almost universal business. The universal trust, of which we have read in humorous fiction, is a present possibility. One day the trust of trusts will be formed; its president will be at the center of a splendid organization; without friction or opposition of any kind he will control the wheels of industry. With the perfection of this organization, and the development in the minds of all of an industrial consciousness, the end of the monarchical stage will have been reached; then will begin the absorption by the workers of the function of the king, and some form of republicanism will be inaugurated. "An industrial world," said Frederic Harrison, "is a republican world. And the republican world is one in which the state belongs to all, exists for all, and lives by the help and good-will of all." But the final and permanent stage is democracy—the stage of industrial freedom and equality. Then once more the

individual will rise to his full stature, and the principles which are now dimly perceived and vaguely practiced by artists and craftsmen will be fully operative.

One of the first signs of the development of industrial consciousness was the change in the world's attitude toward work. In an aristocracy work is condemned; education is directed to securing a personal culture, purely passive in its nature, which will enable an idle nobility to live contentedly in courtly fashion, in romantic war, in sports, or happily in a palace of art. In industrialism idleness is condemned and work is extolled, and the instinct for workmanship overcomes the leisuristic habit. In an aristocracy the learned professions simulate the graces of the nobility; in industrialism the professions lose their importance, the best minds finding their freest exercise in originating and controlling industrial enterprises, or in engaging in some higher form of craft. At the beginning of the twentieth century the legitimacy and the necessity of work are fully recognized. A passage from a recent address by Bishop Spalding, on "Work and Leisure," may illustrate this phase of the theoretical acceptance of labor:

"Life is energy," said the Bishop; "we feel

ourselves only in doing, and when we inquire what a man's value is, we ask what is his performance. The deed is the proof of faith, the test of character, and the standard of worth. To do nothing is to be nobody, and to have done is to have been. True work fixes attention, develops ability, and enriches life; it strengthens the mind, forms the will, and inures to patience and endurance. It is what we do and suffer to overcome nature's indifference and hostility to man's well-being and progress; it is the means whereby what is not ourselves is taken hold of and made to do us service. True work, then, is furtherance of life, and it cannot be rightly understood unless it is looked at in this light."

Of great significance in this connection is the appearance of the magazine entitled *The World's Work*. Commenting upon American life, the editor in the first issue reached this generalization:

"In American life, as the century ends, the keynote is the note of joyful achievement; and its faith is an evangelical faith in a democracy that broadens as fast as social growth invites. The republic has been extended, held together, again extended, and it is still the harbor of refuge and the beacon of civilization. Its influence has broadened the thought of the Old World, and is now

felt in the oldest world. It is liberalizing kings toward their uncrowning, and softening class distinctions, and it is making all artificial authority obsolete. Its century of action and of social experiment has turned all formal philosophies into curiosities of literature. It has now yielded material for a new period of constructive thought."

And in defense of the dignity and idealism of his field the editor made annoucement:

"The higher organization of industry has for half a century engaged the kind of minds that once founded colonies, built cathedrals, led armies, and practiced statecraft; and to an increasing number, work has become less and less a means of bread-winning and more and more a form of noble exercise. The artist always took joy in his work; it is the glory of our time that the man of affairs can find a similar pleasure in his achievements.

"It is with the activities of the newly organized world, its problems, and even its romance, that this magazine will earnestly concern itself, trying to convey the cheerful spirit of men who do things."

The world is nearly ready to accept the truth of these propositions. But it seems not to be generally understood that if the kind of mind that once founded colonies, built cathedrals, and

practiced statecraft, enter the industrial field the conditions of that field are destined to change according to the standards of the new minds. If industry is to become a form of noble exercise, then the essential nobility of life must appear in that industry. All work is not elevating or conducive to pleasure. Again I quote from Bishop Spalding:

"To know the worth of work we must consider, first of all, what is its effect upon the worker. If it warp, cripple, and degrade him, it is not true work, though he should thereby amass vast wealth or gain great reputation. The work is best which best helps to make men and women wise and virtuous, and that which breeds vice is worst, is little better than idleness, which is evil because it breeds vice."

The Bishop then spoke of present economic and commercial systems as subversive of civilization. "They sacrifice men to money," he said, "wisdom and virtue to cheap production and the amassing of capital." After speaking of the effects of competition on weaker concerns and wage-workers, he continued: "On the other hand, the capitalists, the captains in the armies of laborers, are, under the present system, driven like the workmen themselves. The necessity of

ceaseless vigilance and effort keeps them under continual strain. Like those they employ, they become parts of a machine, and therefore, partial and mechanical men. The sense of inner freedom dies within them, the source of the purest joy runs dry, and they are made incapable of thinking great thoughts or walking in the light of high ideals. They are the victims of their own success, and having great possessions, are poor in themselves. The work, then, which we are doing, and the conditions under which we are doing it, whether we be rich or poor, are unfavorable to the best kind of life."

Bishop Spalding then spoke of the wise use of leisure, saying the theater might be a school of refinement, but it was not, and that the club and dinner habits were wrong. Fewer hours of toil would not benefit if the leisure were spent in saloons.

But with the absorption of the higher type of mind in industrial pursuits such conditions are destined to pass away. Industry will be moralized and intellectualized. Already those who have acquired great wealth by means of the present system are seeking to know their duty in regard to that wealth. Humanize the system still further, and not only the wealth will be mor-

alized, but the entire system as well. But the more hopeful sign of change is taking place in the workshops outside the system. In these independent workshops the elevation of work is steadily taking place. If a great poet like William Morris can find a more secure satisfaction in his workshop than in his library, if a large-minded lawyer like J. Cobden-Sanderson can find a fuller exercise of his faculties in book-binding than in law-practice, there must be some exceptional resources in work as yet quite unsuspected by the majority of mankind. Infuse these larger minds into industrialism, and it will follow that the system will be purged of many of its evils, and that work will change its character till it yields the highest pleasure.

Two modes of economy are combining to release for the higher individual work vast numbers of industrial agents: the machine and the "trust." The machine is a device for transforming potential or unapplied energy of the universe into practical energy with the least possible intervention of the human hand. The perfect machine is the automatic machine. Science and invention promise the construction of machines for certain purposes so simple and efficient that the human hand may be wholly withdrawn from their manip-

ulation. The organization of industry and the organization of the organization effect a similar economy of persons. The great organizer, building with men as the machinist with iron, brings into being a self-directing, self-supporting system. Mr. Carnegie is quoted as saying that if all his money and materials were taken away from him, he could regain them all if his organization were left intact. With the further removal of friction by the co-ordinating of systems by the trust, the work of the world is conducted with the least possible expense of energy.

Put these facts together and we have, first, the general tendency on the part of all to be active in some sphere, but this is met by the opposite tendency to eliminate persons from the organized systems of production. It is not likely that either of these tendencies will change; men and women will continue to love to work, and the machine and the trust will but increase their economy. There is but the one outlet into the field of individual work, the field that affords the greatest opportunity for free labor, where work is undertaken as a satisfaction to personality and as a pleasure.

The emancipation of labor is accomplished by changing the character of labor. No one desires

to be free from work, but to be free and self-directive in his work. The machine in doing the drudgery of the world is undoubtedly an instrument for the furthering of industrial liberty. Voluntary co-operative individualism is the goal toward which the whole industrial world is now tending.

Appendix I.

A Proposal for a Guild and School of Handicraft.

An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Industrial Art League at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, November 23, 1901.

James Russell Lowell once said that the ideal school would be a place where nothing useful should be taught. The transcendental view of education has long been abandoned by educators, but the practical view that the ideal school would be a place where nothing useless should be taught has not yet come into full acceptance. The tendency, however, to discard the useless and to develop the useful is quite marked in recent years, and it is not impossible that the school I have in mind to describe, which is essentially a workshop and not simply a place of instruction, will be the ultimate result of the modern trend toward the practical. The rapid development of the manual training school is evidence of the vitality of this movement.

The industrial factor co-operating also to this end is known as the Arts and Crafts movement. As the name given to the new industrialism implies, its supporters propose the association of art and labor — in which association, of course, art is to give up something of its special and "fine" character and become practical, and

labor is to rise above its drudgery and become pleasurable. By emancipating and individualizing labor it tends to become artistic. By subduing art and rendering it useful it tends to become real and vital. By applying the principles of both art and labor to either an artist or workman the ideal craftsman is formed—a craftsman that is a new kind of artist and a new kind of workman. Such a craftsman satisfies all the life conditions that economists like Ruskin and Morris demand, and he is indeed the product of their teaching.

And now the query rises whether, by combining the new educational tendency and the new industrial tendency, a new sort of institution may not be established, which shall serve the ends of the industrial commonwealth now forming in this country, better than any existing institution. Might it not be possible to turn the school into an actual factory, and transform the factory into a genuine school? Even now some manual training schools approximate the factory in appearance, and some factories, with slight modification, could easily be made into ideal communities, entirely self-subsisting, in which an individual, while "earning his living," might also be educated by the self-same work.

Work, when rightly understood, furnishes every necessary means for the development of the highest human life. As practiced at present, work is more frequently the curse it is popularly supposed to be than the blessing the moralists affirm. If once it can be made pleasurable — pleasurable because free, and free because its

prosecution is in the direction of a man's individual life — this question of the ages is solved.

As yet our civilization seems cumbersome, and costly, and ill-regulated. A philanthropic proprietor of a factory devotes a portion of his surplus wealth to building and endowing a school. Now a little more philanthropy on the part of the proprietor would save the double expense of maintaining both a factory and a school. If he were to realize in the factory itself the full opportunities of labor, if his men worked with pleasure upon the objects they desired, inasmuch as their work afforded them the fullest possible satisfaction, the factory would then be a school — a ground, that is, for individual growth and development.

That the factory will some day be transformed in the manner I suggest I do not doubt. For only a few years has the Gospel of Wealth been preached, and the principle of trusteeship put into practice by the world's money-holders. And already streams of wealth are returning to the people in universities and art institutes and libraries. When, now, the man of millions, convinced also of the Gospel of Labor, recognizes the opportunities of his factory as he does now of his wealth, the next step in the socialization of industry will be taken, and the world will be advanced by that degree. But meanwhile may not a beginning of such socialization be made, in the construction of an ideal workshop and the testing of its advantages?

I wish to propose, then, the establishment of a Guild

and School of Handicraft. For the purpose of this outline the practical difficulties in the way of building such an institution may be ignored. I conceive a workshop, or series of workshops and studios under a single roof, owned and conducted by the craftsmen themselves—so owned that the entire returns from the sale of products accrue to the workers, and so conducted that each craftsman works individually as a unit, and yet co-operatively as forming a part of a community or guild. In order to get the best creative results from a workman it is essential that he work individually—that is, that while making goods for sale he exercise his own talent for designing and organizing materials according to the conception and order that are regnant in his own mind. But in order that the advantages of centralization and general organization may be claimed, it would be necessary for the members of the group to work co-operatively, according to some principle of government determined by the guild. Co-operative individualism is the necessary working theory of a free workshop.

This one fact almost of itself determines the kind of work to be undertaken, and the character of the products that would constitute the commercial output of the guild. The field would be that indicated by the term Industrial Arts, or the more popular term, the Arts and Crafts. The function of the machine is clearly to do most of the mechanical work of the world, and all its drudgery. The ideal machine is automatic; the better and more perfect the machine, the more able is it to dispense with

an operator. For the present at least the machine is calculated to do the lower kind of work, and to render serviceable to the world the less skilful and less intelligent workmen. The higher the work, the more of intelligent design necessary for a product, the greater is the need for skilled craftsmen to initiate and execute a given design.

Here, then, is the opportunity of the artist and craftsman. In the field of the industrial arts the artist-craftsman will find the fullest scope for his intelligence and personality. To his surprise Morris discovered that the crafts offered him more scope for expression than literature, and Cobden-Sanderson found in bookbinding that which the lawyer's brief denied him.

The guild may be large or small according to the circumstances. An experimental guild might be made up of fifteen master-workmen and their necessary assistants; an architect, decorator, sculptor, wood-worker, metal-worker, potter, glass-worker, printer, illustrator, bookbinder, etcher, weaver, embroiderer, leather-worker, and photographer. A chemist and physicist would be needed to assist in solving the special industrial problems connected with the crafts. One such institution, in a central city, equipped with the best modern appliances, conducted by skilled artisans, intent upon "making things," to be sure, and yet working primarily for the pleasure found in the making—such an institution might fairly effect a revolution in our conceptions and methods of work, and incidentally benefit the world

by increasing good taste and raising the standard of living.

But I have called the workshop also a school. A school, indeed, would such a workshop be, not only for the master-craftsmen engaged in actual production, but also for their assistants and apprentices, and for the limited number of special students the shop could accommodate; a school, too, of more genuine character than the present schools where learning is gained abstractly and with no definite relation to life. I conceive of such a working guild as being the unit of the social organization that pertains to an industrial commonwealth. I can foretell that such a workshop would grow into a kind of industrial "settlement," social in its motive, co-operative in its method, complete and self-supporting in its results. The system is capable of indefinite ramification and expansion, and may indeed include trades and industries other than artistic. In fact, this proposal meets that of Mr. Gilman in his recent volume "Back to the Soil," only I should say, rather, Back to the Workshop. In general outline, such is the Arts and Crafts Institute that the new—newer than the new—education and industrialism demand.

Appendix II.

The Industrial Art League.

(Reprinted from The House Beautiful, February, 1902.)

Industrial art is a name given to a form of art that is grounded in life and industry, and is distinguished, therefore, from the "fine" arts, which are leisuristic in their appeal, represent special status, and require genius for their development. The term "arts and crafts" has also come into general use as indicating the same association of art and labor. When these two elements — art and labor — come into association, each loses something of its special character, but art gains in so far as it is vitalized by use, and labor gains in that it is refined by beauty and energized by pleasure.

The Industrial Art League was organized in Chicago in 1899, and was subsequently incorporated as a non-pecuniary corporation, with the object of promoting the industrial arts. The convictions which prompted the organization were that art in a democracy is naturally industrial, and that the democratization of art means the return of art to the people, and the establishment of life upon the basis of art. The ultimate ground of such an art is pleasure — the pleasure which

springs from free and skilful labor. After various formulations the "object" of the league came to be stated in the articles of incorporation in the following terms:

The league aims: 1. To provide workshops and tools for the use of guilds of artists and craftsmen, and means for the exhibition and sale of their products; 2. To give instruction in the industrial arts; 3. To establish industrial art libraries and museums; 4. By publications and other appropriate means to promote the arts and crafts.

It will be noticed that these four propositions involve four functions: that of work, instruction, exhibition, and publication; and that these functions require at least three separate institutions: workshops in which manufacture and instruction may be carried on in association, exhibition and sales rooms where products from the workshops may be sold or permanently exhibited, and special means of spreading and enforcing the doctrine of work so as to build up a united community of workers and patrons.

The Industrial Art League is now well established, with a considerable membership, and a popular and efficient board of trustees, and the first steps in carrying out the original plans have been taken. The officers for the present year are Frank O. Lowden, president; Emil G. Hirsch, vice-president; Newton A. Partridge, treasurer; Oscar L. Triggs, secretary; and E. P. Rosenthal, manager. The executive committee includes, besides the president and secretary, Herbert S. Stone, chairman,

Alfred H. Granger, William R. Harper, Marguerite W. Springer, and Charles F. Browne.

The league, while not conducting any workshop directly, is giving assistance to several groups of workers, and is associated with a number of co-operating shops. Among these are the Schreiber shop in Longwood, and the "Quisisana" shop at La Porte. It is the intention of the league to build as soon as possible a central workshop for the accommodation of all the crafts — a place where work may be conducted with commercial, artistic, and educational motives — which shall also serve as a sort of industrial laboratory where new materials and processes may be experimented with, and special invention encouraged. So far as practicable, the old guild system will be established in workshops.

An exhibition and salesroom is located in Chicago, at present at 264 Michigan Avenue. Here in a suite of four rooms are put on sale selected products from the shops already mentioned, and the work also of individuals. The Atlan Ceramic Club has a very attractive permanent exhibit. A recent accession is the Herbert A. Coffeen collection of Indian goods, consisting of blankets, baskets, pottery, moccasins, etc., all of genuine native manufacture, and illustrating one phase of handicraft. The league does not purchase goods, but simply exhibits, receiving a small percentage of sales to cover expenses.

Circulars and pamphlets, special articles on industrial themes contributed to magazines, and more com-

prehensive studies in volume form represent the activity of the league in respect to publication. A course of lectures on industrial and social topics is conducted yearly; this year a course of fourteen lectures is given at the Fine Arts Building in association with the Illinois Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution.

The league is also collecting books for an Industrial Art Library. This library will be built up on three lines: It will include: 1. Books of general sociological and industrial import; 2. Books treating technically of the arts and crafts; 3. Books illustrating the history of printing and book-making.

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