Designing Preservation: Waterways in the Works and Patterns of William Morris

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Abstract: Historians have demonstrated awareness of William Morris's environmental ideologies yet have widely ignored this aspect of his work. Morris's writings on the environment have commonly been described as romantic, escapist, and utopian; if this remains how they are interpreted, historians risk losing valuable insights into the innovative and progressive qualities of Morris's environmentalism. William Morris's environmental ideologies were innovative for his time and applicable for today. Through an exploration of his designs, in which he employs the Thames River as a tool of ecological commentary, it will become clear how Morris's concerns for environmental preservation, freedom, and justice were embedded within his art.

Environmental historian Carolyn Merchant wrote, “For the twenty-first century, I propose a new environmental ethic—a partnership ethic. It is an ethic based on the idea that people are helpers, partners, and colleagues and that people and nature are equally important to each other.”¹ In 1884, artist and writer William Morris asked in a public lecture if the conquest of nature had been complete. He posed this question because of his concern that humanity was too preoccupied with their societal organization and advancement, which according to Morris took place at the expense of nature. Humanity’s competitive character and desire to conquer nature in the name of industrial progress, as Morris argued, “drives us into injustice, cruelty, and dastardliness of all kinds: to cease to fear our fellows and learn to depend on them, to do away with competition and build up co-operation, is our one necessity.”² In this statement, Morris has cleverly suggested that nature and human beings may be interchanged to represent what he has termed ‘our fellows’ and in so doing, he described a relationship based on equality. Morris and Merchant, despite operating in different time periods, both acknowledged the importance of rethinking humanity’s relationship with nature. This makes the similarities between Morris’s 1884 ideologies and Merchant’s 2004 ethic impossible to ignore.

The discourse relating to William Morris has largely focused on his work as a Socialist writer and artist, his role as founder of Morris & Co., his textile designs and his architectural feats as

demonstrated in his Red Hill home. Historians have demonstrated awareness of William Morris's environmental ideologies and work as an environmental advocate and conservationist, which has resulted in more recent academic interest in this field of study. Several authors have acknowledged Morris's contribution to the field of environmental studies.³ However, few have acknowledged the literal and metaphorical attachments to waterways found within Morris's writings. Morris's writings on the environment, particularly his 1890 novel *News from Nowhere*, provide valuable insights into the innovative and progressive qualities of Morris's environmentalism. Several authors have linked *News from Nowhere* to Morris's environmental thought, but few have made the connection between this and his original designs.⁴ I will argue that William Morris's environmental ideologies were innovative in his time and applicable today. My objective here is to explore how Morris advocated for a partnership with the natural world. In order to develop this argument, this paper will call upon a detailed analysis of Morris's wallpaper and textile designs, in which he employs the Thames River as a tool of ecological commentary. This will ultimately illustrate how Morris's concerns for environmental preservation, freedom, and justice were embedded within his art.

Morris was able to rely on the Thames as a device to advocate for environmental preservation because of the already existing popular dialogue surrounding the pollution of the river. Through the mid-to-late nineteenth century London faced a sanitation crisis which deeply affected the condition of the Thames River. The crisis was directly associated with the transition from localized cesspools to water-courses and sewer systems, which resulted in heavy drainage of waste into the Thames River. Thomas Cubitt, one of London's leading builders of the time, observed, "now sewers having been very much improved, scarcely any person thinks of making a cesspool, but it is carried off at once into the river...the Thames is now made a great cesspool instead of each person having one of his own."⁵ In combination with the large amount of dumping in the river, London witnessed an increased population growth during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which resulted in the outbreak of cholera and roughly 40,000 deaths during this same period.⁶ In his publication, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Capital*, Stephen Halliday argues "the absence of any clearly defined germ theory of the propagation of disease it must have been very tempting to conclude that epidemics were spread exclusively by the foul-smelling air which was so evident rather than by water which looked clean, unless examined under a powerful microscope."⁷ Halliday continues by explaining how eventually, with extensive scientific and ecological research, which included the testing of water in the towns with higher percentages of illness, it was discovered that contaminated drinking water caused the infection and

spread of the disease. The knowledge of the polluted and disease filled river clearly translated into several of the illustrated cartoons of the time.

Popular magazines such as *Punch* and *Fun* published cartoons which illustrated the severe pollution of the river and potential health hazards which might occur if one were to drink or bathe in the water. For instance, *A Drop of London's Water* (Fig.1) depicts the parasites and

Fig. 1: John Leech, *A Drop of London Water*, Originally printed in *Punch Magazine*, 1850. Reproduced with permission from the original held in the Joseph S. Stauffer Library, Queens University at Kingston, Ontario.

bacteria found within the impure water. The drop of water being magnified is representative of the well-water and river water, which Londoners drank daily. The evil creatures contained in the drop are personifications of the diseases and illness's which corrupt the water but are not visible. Whereas, *Effects of Thames Water on the Pretty White Swans* (Fig. 2) demonstrates how the sanitation crisis affected the natural world's beauty. In the background industrial chimneys pump smoke into the clean air, while in the foreground a child peaks over a fence to find, at her dismay, a blackened swan passing by in the polluted river, which has also caused a small animal to turn belly-up, possibly the swans young. In the same year, *Punch* also published *Father Thames, Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London* (Fig.3). Father Thames is presented as a decrepit and grotesque creature emerging from the dirty water; his mutated offspring represent the contagious diseases of diphtheria, scrofula, and cholera which were found within the river; dead unrecognizable creatures, and the factories which aided in their demise surround the noble figure of London. These images were widely circulated and

Fig. 2: Artist Unknown, *Effects of the Thames Water on the Pretty White Swans*, Originally printed in Punch Magazine, 1858. Reproduced with permission from the original held in the Joseph S. Stauffer Library, Queens University at Kingston, Ontario.

Fig. 3: Artist Unknown, *Father Thames Introducing His Offspring To The Fair City of London*, Originally printed in Punch Magazine, 1858. Reproduced with permission from the original held in the Joseph S. Stauffer Library, Queens University at Kingston, Ontario.

their content increasingly recognizable and relatable. William Morris called upon this popular knowledge by subtly indicting the river's presence within his wallpaper and textile designs. By referencing the Thames through pattern and design, Morris was contributing to the already existing discourse about the pollution of the river. However, he took this a step further by visualizing re-growth and ecological stability, which was not only a stance against industrial exploitation, but it is also an example of how Morris was able to encourage environmental preservation.

Before examining Morris's designs in depth, it is necessary to explore his ideologies concerning art and nature. At the heart of Morris's beliefs is the idea that humanity is unable to make nature and beauty obtainable for all, which has resulted in exploitation and degradation of society and the environment. For Morris, social inequalities were closely related to environmental inequalities. In an 1884 publication Morris wrote, "Why should one third of England be so stifled and poisoned with smoke that over the greater part of Yorkshire the general idea must be that sheep are naturally black? And why must Yorkshire and Lancashire rivers run mere filth and dye? Profit will have it so...the 'organizers of labour,' who might better be called 'organizers of filth,' know that it wouldn't pay."⁸ In this same essay, Morris questioned the current situation of cramped housing arrangements and poor factory working conditions. He concluded the desire for profit corrupted the quality of life. By introducing concerns for humanity's well being with concerns for the environment within the same essay, Morris is essentially equalizing the two. This idea of an equal relationship between humanity and the environment was advanced and innovative, although somewhat idealistic, for his time. Yet, Morris also understood and appreciated the importance of relying on nature for the development and happiness of society, as long as this occurred in a sustainable manner. In the same year, Morris claimed, "wealth is what Nature gives us and what a reasonable man can make out of the gifts of Nature for reasonable use."⁹ In this example, it is clear that Morris is not naive to the necessity of environmental cultivation. However, by using the term 'reasonable,' Morris is expressing concern for over-consumption and exploitation of the land's resources. In this instance, 'reasonable' would imply a rational or practical use of the land, which would ultimately avoid exploitation. Reasonable use of the land is reference to Morris's belief that humanity has the capability to make sensible judgments which could benefit humanity and the natural world. For Morris, the happiness of humanity could not occur without it working in harmony with the natural world. Morris clearly saw the relationship between supply and demand by urging his contemporaries to avoid excess, which is arguably evidence of Morris's belief in environmental sustainability.

While Morris's ideas were disseminated in his lectures and essays, the development of Morris's environmental preservation is best demonstrated in his 1890 polemical romance *News from Nowhere*. The romance follows the protagonist William Guest, who has fallen asleep and awakes to a futuristic society which is based on common ownership. Guest, alongside his love interest Ellen, travels up the Thames River and observes a lack of industrial exploitation; there are no formal political, educational, class or gender systems, and people are free to make decisions that will benefit the overall happiness of humanity and the natural world. This utopian society comes to an end when Guest awakes, to his despair, still in the industrial based society he left. Morris questions the difference between a dream and a vision in order to educate the public on environmental issues and activate social change. There is something impractical, personal, and unachievable about a dream, yet a vision might have the ability to inspire and cultivate change. Throughout the novel, Morris gives lengthy descriptions of unspoiled and prosperous landscapes. When Guest first awakes he is confused as to where he is, because he is able to recognize the Thames but not its surroundings; stating, "For though there was a bridge across the stream and houses on its banks, how all was changed from last night! The soap-works with their smoke-vomiting chimneys were gone; the engineer's works gone; the lead-works gone; and no sound of riveting and hammering came down the west wind."¹⁰ Morris's choice of negative imagery, such as 'smoke-vomiting,' in regard to industry sets the tone for the rest of the novel. Historian Peter Gould argues that in *News from Nowhere*, "Mankind is the master of nature but the relationship is not exploitative as in capitalist society...care is taken to maintain the compatibility between the economic function of the countryside and its existence as something of beauty...nature is valued and protected in her wildness."¹¹ The value and beauty of nature is thoroughly explored throughout the novel, and Morris relies on the Thames River to express his love for the natural world, but more importantly, his ecological concerns.

By selecting the Thames River as the main setting for *News from Nowhere* Morris was able to continually reiterate his love for the waterway, which has essentially emphasized his desire to help preserve the important ecosystems the Thames housed. As the story progresses in *News from Nowhere*, William Guest's comparisons between this new civilization and the life he used to know rely heavily on the waterway. For instance, William Guest takes the time to describe certain parallels and similarities which occur to him as he travels up the river. He explains how, "Setting aside the hideous vulgarity of the cockney villas of the well-to-do, stockbrokers and other such, which in older time marred the beauty of the bough-hung banks, even this beginning of the country Thames was always beautiful."¹² In order to help look beyond the present day spoiled land, and to help support Guest's

vision of a beautiful waterway, Morris articulates a relationship between the visual and a strong and relatable emotional experience. Morris is able to do this through Guest's memories, for example Guest states that, "as we slipped between the lovely summer greenery, I almost felt my youth come back to me, and as if I were on one of those water excursions which I used to enjoy so much in days when I was too happy to think that there could be much amiss anywhere."¹³ Here Morris is using water excursions, which would have been familiar to his nineteenth century upper-middle class British audience, as Guest's memory to create an emotional response to the idea of a healthy waterway. Morris is using this playful example in order to instil in the minds of the reader a similar attachment to the Thames held by himself. As a result, this centers attention on the urgency to protect waterways from the perils of industrialization.

William Morris's focus on waterways is not exclusive to *News from Nowhere*. In fact, one of Morris's last works, which was published in 1897 after his death, was *The Sundering Flood*. This novel has been praised for its combination of romanticism, fantasy, and reality. However, for the purpose of this analysis, Morris's metaphorical and literal utilization of the river, known as the Flood within the novel, is of greater importance. Not unlike *News from Nowhere*, Morris uses a river to help develop the story of two lovers on a complex journey. In *The Sundering Flood*, the two lovers Osberne and Elfhild are separated throughout the novel by invasion, war, and adventure. Yet the original cause of separation is the simple fact that they live on opposite sides of the Flood. This is important to note because, yet again, Morris is relying on waterways in order to fully develop his character relations and plot. Using a river as the main setting of the novel has allowed Morris to express his own love, respect, and concern for the water within the novel as well as reality. For instance, within the first few pages of *The Sundering Flood* Morris writes, "they loved their river much and were proud of it; wherefore they said it was no sunderer but a uniter; that it joined land to land and shore to shore; that it had peopled the wilderness and made the waste places blossom, and that no highway for wheels and beasts in all the land was so full of blessings and joys as was their own wet Highway of the Flood."¹⁴ Morris has used his prose in this instance to create obvious connections between the novel and his own society. In this case, the Flood and the Thames can be interchangeable. It is clear that Morris viewed the Thames as a uniter, a river to be proud of, and that it too could turn 'waste places' into blossoming wildernesses. Morris's continuous focus on waterways and decision to write of the rivers in terms of beauty, richness, and possibility demonstrate his unconditional commitment to preserving the water, if not literally, at least metaphorically.

Morris translated these thoughts on the river into his work as an artist. I suggest several of his wallpaper and textile designs reflect his interest in the river as a sign that might convey ideas about environmental preservation. Morris lived and worked near the rivers Cray and Wandle, which flowed into the Thames, and therefore he had a close relationship and understanding of the natural world which accompanied and surrounded the rivers. In a letter to his mentor and colleague, John Ruskin, Morris wrote, "I need not say that I should be very glad to see you at our place at Merton Abbey: though I fear it would be a grief to you to see the banks of the pretty Wandle so beset with the horrors of the Jerry-builders: there is still some beauty left about the place."¹⁵ This reference demonstrates how Morris felt it was his duty to cultivate the remains of environmental beauty within his designs; to remind the consumer of the beauty and happiness which can exist within the natural world. In a lecture given in 1883, Morris expressed his hope that humanity and nature could work together in the promotion of more equal society; he urged his peers to, "keep the air pure and the rivers clean, to take some pains to keep the meadows and tillage as pleasant as reasonable use will allow them to be."¹⁶ Morris's idea, which suggests work and industrialization could coexist along with the prosperity of the environment, is echoed within his wallpaper and textile patterns. Morris called upon the image of the river because the environmental undertones were easily identifiable and could be related to the ongoing sanitation crisis.

Perhaps one of the best examples of Morris's ability to reference the Thames, in service of ecology, is his 1884 design, *Wandle* (Fig. 4). This design was one of Morris's more expensive and intricate patterns, but despite its cost, it became one of Morris & Co.'s most popular designs. Morris relied on three separate layers of intricate flowering in order to emphasize the idea of environmental beauty and richness; the vegetation within each layer becomes more prominent as it reaches the top of the pattern. To achieve an organic colouring, that is to say a natural and realistic colour, Morris utilized a combination of indigo discharge and block printing. Morris would dye the entire cloth blue and then would bleach, or discharge, the areas he did not want to remain blue; he would later use block printing to apply the remaining colours.¹⁷ For Morris, colour was an important aspect of design however he focused largely on perfecting the beauty of patterning. Morris strongly believed, "You may be sure that any decoration is futile, and has fallen into at least the first stage of degradation, when it does not remind you of something beyond itself, of something of which it is but a visible symbol."¹⁸ In other words, a pattern cannot be successful unless it is able to produce imagery of its original and natural form. For instance, a consumer of Morris's designs would be able to recognize the natural forms which are represented, and therefore have a stronger emotional response and

attachment to the pattern. This is evidence of Morris employing pattern to symbolize the river, which would therefore reference pollution and the call for environmental preservation.

Fig. 4: William Morris, *Wandle* design. Morris & Co. 1884.
Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In *Wandle*, it is clear Morris had the ability to successfully produce beautiful patterns by incorporating the symbol of the river. The strong diagonal stems of the plants sway across the design, as if they were meandering rivers. Morris emphasized this reference to the river by creating movement within the stems, and in order to encourage environmental sustainability, he depicted the rivers surroundings as rich and plentiful vegetation. The layers of flowers and vegetation suggest continues growth and prosperity because of the health of the flowing river. David Faldet, in his discussion of Morris's ecological ideals, found within *The River at the Heart of Morris's Ecological Thought*, suggests, "The stems of plant and vine take on the meandering shape of a river...a picture of what Morris dreamed the Thames might be, if liberated from the burdens placed on it by urban and industrialized Victorian England."¹⁹ In comparison to the political cartoons depicting a toxic river, Morris attempted to visualize what the river once was, and more importantly, what it could be again if society were to treat the natural world as its equal. Although *Wandle* was produced six years before the publication of *News from Nowhere*, the visual and rhetorical commentaries are complimentary, and in combination, reinforce Morris's belief in environmental preservation. Environmental scholar

Paddy O'Sullivan has argued, "the clarity of the London Thames in *News from Nowhere* is a sign that upstream not only has agriculture become less wasteful of nutrients and of soil, and not only are human wastes no longer dumped in rivers indiscriminately, but somewhere there are forests...in ecological terms, the whole strategy is one of sustainability."²⁰ To this I would add the idea that Morris's designs are able to fit into the innovative strategy of sustainability.

In Morris's *Golden Lily* (Fig. 5) and *Cray* (Fig. 6) designs he is able to visualize sustainability through the subtle suggestion of environmental change and growth. The flowers Morris illustrates within these prints, such as the peony, tulip, and lily, would have been easily recognizable because they were commonly found in Victorian gardens. Morris's daughter May commented that the character of her father's designs directly reflected the natural environment of his own dwellings. For instance, Morris would commonly depict tulips and peonies because they were the richest blossoming of Morris's spring gardens at Kelmscott.²¹ Morris's proximity to the river allowed him to closely observe its natural surroundings, which included the changes and new growths within his own garden and this clearly translated into his wallpaper and textile

Fig. 5: William Morris, *Golden Lily* design. Morris & Co. 1880.
Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 6: William Morris, *Cray* design. Merton Abbey Workshop, 1884.
Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

designs. Morris stated, “rational growth is necessary to all patterns, or at least a hint of such growth; and in recurring patterns, at least, the noblest are those where one thing grows visibly and necessarily from another.”²² In this instance, Morris is discussing the growth and progression of pattern, however he is also commenting on the importance of including natural and ecological growth within the pattern. In *Golden Lily* and *Cray* Morris has discretely included different stages of floral growth and blooming in order to suggest sustainability. The stems of the flowers, representing the clean river, have now produced an abundance of prosperous vegetation; by including fully blossomed flowers and new buds, Morris is demonstrating how, with the conservation of the river, continuous environmental growth and sustainability will occur.

Through skilful design, William Morris was able to convey to his audience urgency for environmental preservation and sustainability. The already existing discussions and imagery about the pollution of the Thames River provided Morris with the necessary outlet for further exploration. Instead of presenting harsh depictions of pollution and illness, Morris chose to present an image of the river which would inspire change. Morris ingeniously concludes *News from Nowhere* with William Guest’s contemplation of what he believed to be a dream of a perfected society, yet Guest leaves his reader by claiming that, “if others can see it as I have seen it, then it may be called a vision rather than a dream.”²³ This inspirational notion of an achievable vision encourages Morris’s readers to change the way they live by changing their relationship with the natural world, and it is this vision which is symbolized and embedded in his wallpaper and textile designs. Florence Boos, introduces

the term ‘ecocommunity’ when she discusses Morris’s, “conviction that human happiness lies in our ability to live in (literal) symbiosis with our environment—understanding it, preserving it, transforming it and sometimes resisting it, in loving and artistic ways.”²⁴ Through the exploration of Morris’s numerous publications and original designs it is hard to ignore his call for an environmental partnership based on respect and sustainability.

William Morris’s writings offer evidence for his understanding of supply and demand, his exploration of the relationship between humanity and the natural world led him to call for environmental preservation and sustainability; an ideal which was extremely innovative for his time. William Morris was able to apply the principles and values of the arts and crafts movement, such as an appreciation for rural life and craftsmanship, to his environmental ideologies. Through experimentation with pattern and design, Morris was able to bring ideas of environmental preservation and sustainability into the homes of nineteenth-century upper-middle class and elite Victorians. Morris’s wallpaper and textile designs have been used here to demonstrate how ecological thought was embedded within his art. Morris is extensively studied in terms of his socialist and art historical accomplishments; it is only more recently that historians have reconsidered the importance of his environmental beliefs. Historian Paul Thompson for example argues, “Since his time the world has become immeasurably more urbanized, terrifyingly more militarized; market capitalism now has the entire world in its tightening grip and—often directly as a consequence—the environment is more degraded and more threatened than Morris could ever have imagined.”²⁵ In the current state of climate change, green house gases, a depleting ozone layer, and an increasing number of extinctions, Morris’s concerns and suggestions for an environmental partnership become increasingly important to consider. Although Morris highlights the importance of preservation and sustainability, his work also has the ability to affirm the indispensability of water as the primary source and bloodline of all natural life. To recall Carolyn Merchant’s partnership ethic, natural life depends on clean water for survival, while water depends on natural life to help maintain its own health. With the current issue of globally decreasing quantity and quality of freshwater sources, Morris’s love for waterways and emphasis on water preservation becomes increasingly relevant for modernity. Historians and Environmentalist would benefit from a closer examination of Morris’s environmental concerns for waterways in relation to the vitality of water as a means of survival.

Notes

- ¹ Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 223.
- ² William Morris, "How We Live and How We Might Live," lecture delivered to Hammersmith Branch of the S.D.F at Kelmscott House, November 30, 1884, ed. A.L. Morton *Political Writings of William Morris* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 146.
- ³ The writings of David Faldet, Florence S. Boos, Peter Gould, and Paddy O'Sullivan have contributed greatly to this research.
- ⁴ David Faldet has contributed to this discussion and has made important comparisons between Morris's designs and ideals as an environmentalist, including Morris's interest in waterways, but more work can be done in this area.
- ⁵ Thomas Cubitt qtd. (1840) in ed. Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Capital* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001), 46.
- ⁶ Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Capital* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001).
- ⁷ Ibid., 129.
- ⁸ William Morris, "Why Not," originally published in *Justice* vol. 1 no. 13, 1884. In *Political Writings: Contributions to Justice and Commonwealth 1883-1890*, ed. Nicholas Salmon (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), 25-26.
- ⁹ William Morris, "Useful Work Versus Useless Toil," delivered before the Hampstead Liberal Club, 16 January, 1884, ed. A.L. Morton *Political Writings of William Morris* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 91.
- ¹⁰ William Morris, *News from Nowhere or An Epoch of Rest* (1890), ed. David Leopold (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.
- ¹¹ Peter Gould, *Early Green Politics: Back to Nature, Back to the Land, and Socialism in Britain 1880-1900* (Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1988), 35.
- ¹² William Morris, *News from Nowhere or An Epoch of Rest* (1890), ed. David Leopold (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 130.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ William Morris Society. *The Sundering Flood*. Kelmscott Edition, 1898. Morris Online Edition, 2010. <http://www.morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/sunderingflood.html>. Nov 25, 2010.
- ¹⁵ William Morris, "Letter to John Ruskin, April 15 1883," in *The Collected Letters of William Morris* vol. 2, ed. Norman Kelvin (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 186-87.
- ¹⁶ William Morris, "Art Under Plutocracy, lecture delivered in the hall of Oxford University College, 14 November 1883, in ed. A.L. Morton *Political Writings of William Morris* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 63.
- ¹⁷ Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America: Design for the Modern World* (New York: Thames & Hudson in association with the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2004). See also, Lucia van der Post, *William Morris and Morris & Co.* (London: V&A Publications in association with Arthur Sanderson & Sons Ltd., 2003).
- ¹⁸ William Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern-Designing," lecture given at the Working Men's College 10 December, 1881, in ed. May Morris *The Collected Works of William Morris* Vol. XXII (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 179.
- ¹⁹ David Faldet, "The River at the Heart of Morris's Ecological Thought," in *Writing on the Image: Reading William Morris*, ed. David Latham (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 76-84.
- ²⁰ Paddy O'Sullivan, "Struggle for the Vision Fair: Morris and Ecology," in *Journal of William Morris Studies* 8.4 (Spring 1990, 5-9), 4.
- ²¹ May Morris quoted in Lucia van der Post, *William Morris and Morris & Co.* (London: V&A Publications in association with Arthur Sanderson & Sons Ltd., 2003), 67.
- ²² William Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern-Designing," lecture given at the Working Men's College 10 December, 1881, in ed. May Morris *The Collected Works of William Morris* Vol. XXII (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966),
- ²³ William Morris, *News from Nowhere or An Epoch of Rest* (1890), ed. David Leopold (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182.
- ²⁴ Florence S. Boos, "An Aesthetic Ecocommunist: Morris the Red and Morris the Green," in *William Morris Centenary Essays*, ed. Peter Faulkner and Peter Preston (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), 45.
- ²⁵ Paul Thompson, *Kelmscott Lecture 1990, Why William Morris Matters Today: Man, Creativity, and the Future World Environment* (London: William Morris Society, 1991), 15-16.

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