

5 The Guilds are Forged

"Early in 1883, the pupils of R. Norman Shaw, RA, formed a Society for the discussion of Art and Architecture. Its members," recalled Edward Prior, "though trained as Architects took the name of Art for the Association, and called themselves the 'St. George's Art Society' as meeting under the shadow of St. George's Church Bloomsbury"¹—and perhaps under that of Ruskin's St. George's Guild.

Shaw's Bloomsbury Square office was the main nursery of the young men who founded the Arts and Crafts movement, and they owed much to his training. Shaw was much more liberal than his own master Street. W. R. Lethaby, who was Shaw's chief assistant from 1879, recalled, "Mr Shaw was extraordinarily generous to his clerks, sometimes letting them 'design' minor matters, not because of any gain to him but because he thought it would make their work more interesting and be a training."² However much Shaw's own style changed, his assistants remained fondly indebted to him for their grounding in the craft of architecture.

The St. George's Society was the first association to emerge from the fizzing and often rumbustious atmosphere generated by four of Shaw's pupils. Lethaby at twenty-six was senior to the thirty-one year old Edward Prior, Mervyn Macartney, thirty, and Gerald Callcott Horsley, twenty-one. The four were made five by Ernest Newton in whose Hart Street rooms they met. Newton had been Shaw's chief clerk until 1879, when Lethaby took over.

By October 1883, the Society had become aware that meetings of young architects were not enough. Prior recalled, "Art and Architecture were drifting asunder. Was it possible to bring them together again? Close connection had been historically necessary to both. Was this now to be accepted as mere ancient history?"³

On one hand, the Royal Academy was "now giving

its favour almost entirely to oil painting", selecting members "more often on the basis of culture or professional success, than in view of the merit of their art. On the other there was the Institute of British Architects, whose theory of architecture had driven from its doors most of those architects whose art was acknowledged; which had forbidden to Artists a personal interest in their handicrafts and had opened its doors so widely to business interests that Surveyors had become the largest element of its body."⁴

Macartney and Horsley were deputized to ask Shaw for advice. Prior reported his reply that "In France, Architects, Painters and Sculptors were trained together in one common school of the Arts. If Architecture in England was missing its way, it was for the young men to bring her back from professionalism. The Architects of this generation must make the future for themselves and knock at the door of Art until they were admitted."⁵

This is worth a digression. In the '80s and '90s there was a great row about whether architecture should, as the RIBA hoped, be put on a professional footing, like law, medicine or divinity, with a central professional body setting educational standards or whether it ought to remain essentially a craft—taught by masters to apprentices in a way little changed since the middle ages.

Not surprisingly, Shaw and his pupils took the side of art and craft. In 1891 the imbroglio was brought to the attention of the public by a manifesto in *The Times* opposing a move to make architecture "a close profession" by law with entry regulated by examination which "by raising artificial barriers, would have a tendency still further to alienate"⁶ painting and sculpture from architecture. Among the manifesto's signatories were Shaw and contemporaries such as Webb, Jackson, and Bodley; Lethaby and his generation, Macartney, Newton, Prior, Horne and Ricardo;

and among the non-architects, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites: Madox Brown, Burne-Jones and Holman Hunt were for once prepared to make cause with academicians like Alma-Tadema.

Shaw and Jackson edited a book, *Architecture, a Profession or an Art*, published a year later, in which essays by the editors and Lethaby, Prior, Newton Bodley and others aired the argument further. Their objection to the examination system was explained to be not only that it would sever architecture from the other arts, but that it would also give the training of architects an entirely wrong bias towards business and theory. The proposals of the RIBA and its allies to allow architects to practice only after examination, would, they believed, actually reduce standards of design and competence for "if he cannot properly direct the execution of his design, discriminate between good and bad materials, and judge of the qualities of workmanship, [no-one] has claim to be looked on as an architect however much he knows of law, surveying, 'business' and all the routine of professional practice".⁷

The objectors to the proposed law had nothing against formal architectural education. Indeed Jackson and Shaw both taught in the Royal Academy Schools, and the men of Lethaby's generation attended classes there or at the Architectural Association. And they recognized the difficulties of part-time education. Shaw wrote to a friend, "by the time they have worked in their respective offices from 9.30 to 5.30, and then three days a week from 6 to 8 in the schools, getting home about 9, you could hardly expect them to throw themselves with much ardour into the study of 'descriptive geometry applied to scientific masonry'".⁸

In the end, the breach between the RIBA and the protagonists of architecture as an art (and craft) was

34 John Brett. "The Stonebreaker" (1857-8). Ruskin's call for truth to nature, faithfully followed by painter members of the Art Workers' Guild, conflicted with his axioms on changefulness and savageness, followed by the architects and craftsmen



largely healed when, in 1906, the RIBA set up a board of inspection for schools (on principles agreed by the two sides) and encouraged design work in school studios. But for Shaw, there was no forgiveness and, after an early resignation from the Institute, he twice turned down the royal gold medal for architecture which was (and is) in the RIBA's gift.* Now, after the results of nearly eighty years of Institute-supervised examinations, it is difficult not to think that Shaw and his co-signatories of the manifesto really had a great deal of right on their side. The trouble was that they gave no indication of how an aspirant of talent and appropriate experience should set up as an architect. But then, apart from offering a few letters after his name, nor did or does the RIBA.

Back in 1883, after Macartney and Horsley had got their answer from Shaw, the Five canvassed their friends and acquaintances and, at eight o'clock on January 8, 1884, twenty-one architects, artists and designers met in the Board Room of the Charing Cross Hotel under the chairmanship of John Belcher (1841-1913), an architect of the generation between Shaw and his clerks. As well as the Five, the meeting included architects such as John Dando Sedding (1838-1891) who, like Shaw, had been with Street, and Basil Champneys (1842-1920) another late Gothic Revival architect. There were painters, Alfred Parsons and J. McLure Hamilton, sculptors Hamo Thornycroft and Blackall Simonds and one designer, Lewis F. Day.†

The meeting agreed to set up a society which should consist of "Handicraftsmen and Designers in the Arts" aimed at reuniting the arts and crafts. There was a good deal of controversy about whether the society should seek publicity, with Macartney and Ernest Newton calling for a series of public exhibitions. Lethaby was vehement for "the institution of a National Gallery of Representative Modern Painting and Sculpture." But Prior and Horsley carried the day with the motion that "at present the proposed Society shall not aim at publicity." It was a temporary proviso of great permanence: through its period of influence in the decades around the turn of the cen-

tury to today, the society has always shunned publicity.

By the end of 1884 the society had acquired a name—the Art Workers' Guild—and had agreed to meet for practical demonstrations of craft techniques, discussions and for small private exhibitions. Of its first fifty-five members, twenty-six were painters, four sculptors, eleven craftsmen and fifteen architects.* It was a strange blend of academic artists with revolutionary architects and designers, between whom the only theoretical link was Ruskin.

Ruskin had called for a new relationship between designer and craftsman with the craftsman's mistakes being welcomed as a sign of honesty. But, virtually simultaneously, he had demanded the most scrupulous naturalism in painting and sculpture: "no artist [can] be graceful, imaginative or original, unless he be truthful".¹⁰ The marriage between Ruskin's theories of architecture and painting attempted by the Art Workers' Guild created confusions that were never resolved.

A much more straightforward realization of Ruskin's Gothic principles had been proposed a couple of years before by Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo (1851-1942), an architect of the same generation as the famous Five but from a completely different background.

Mackmurdo, the son of a wealthy chemical manufacturer, trained under T. Chatfield Clarke but left in 1869 "as ignorant of architecture as when I entered this architect's office."¹¹ He persuaded James Brooks, whose Gothic Revival churches he had admired when involved in social work in East London, to take him as an assistant. Brooks was as hard a taskmaster as Street and designed "every single incidental object and ornament", but there were "constant failures in getting these designs carried out with any degree of artistic sympathy" which "well nigh drove the man mad."

"I realized that in the same way I should suffer did I not build a bridge to overreach the void. I must become personally acquainted with the technique of those arts most naturally acquainted with architecture. Some knowledge might enable me to design with that technical propriety essential for the complete marriage of the imagination and the material."¹²

Mackmurdo's determination to achieve the consummation of design and craft so compellingly urged

* On the first occasion, the only previous refusee had been Ruskin, and the wits remarked that the one "had turned it down because he was not an architect, the other because he was."⁹

† The last two, with Sedding, and Walter Crane (the illustrator) belonged to a group called "the Fifteen" who had been meeting since 1880 in each others' houses to discuss papers on the decorative arts.

* The figures—and total—are Prior's.

in the "Nature of Gothic" must have been reinforced by a trip to Italy with Ruskin himself in 1874, after which Mackmurdo stayed on to study in Florence. Travelling with the arch-priest of the Gothic had a strange effect on Mackmurdo. He returned with a strong taste for the Italian renaissance which he never abandoned, and the conflict between the two ideals frequently doomed Mackmurdo's architecture to quirky mediocrity; but his allegiance to Ruskinian architectural principles bore far more impressive fruit.

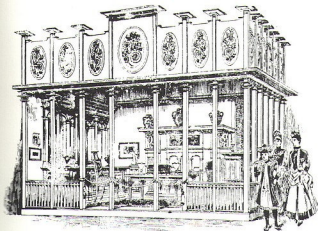
After he returned from Italy, Mackmurdo taught with Ruskin at the Working Men's College. In 1882, he started the Century Guild of Artists, "to render all branches of art the sphere no longer of the tradesman but of the artist." He had previously schooled himself in the "technique of modelling and carving, trying my hand at some ornamental stonework for the first house I built. I learned to do repoussé work in brass and mastered sufficiently the elements of embroidery to enable me to design for this art. Under a skilful cabinet maker, I learnt enough about materials and constructive processes to enable me to design pieces of furniture, with one or two of which I took a hand in

making."¹³ He had become the perfect Ruskinian architect.

But even this formidable combination of skills was not enough, and he decided that for the execution of design "which I was not capable of" he must attract "young men who were already working in their applied arts."

The Century Guild was founded by Mackmurdo, aged thirty-one, and Selwyn Image, thirty-three, designer of stained glass, book illustrations and embroidery. They were joined by the eighteen year old Herbert Horne (later to become architect, typographer and biographer of Botticelli), Clement Heaton, a stained glass artist and Benjamin Creswick whom Gillian Naylor describes as "the self taught sculptor who as a boy had worked in a Sheffield knife factory."¹⁴ Designer Heywood Sumner was also associated with the Guild, and William de Morgan, already established as a distinguished ceramicist, Mackmurdo said off-handedly "assisted me by executing my designs for tile work."

Workshops were set up for metal work and furniture and, in 1884, the Guild contributed a complete music room to the Health Exhibition in London. The



35 Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo. Century Guild stand at the Liverpool Exhibition of 1886



36 Mackmurdo. Writing table (1886)



37 Mackmurdo. 8 Private Road, Enfield, Middlesex (1883)

same room, with small variations, was seen at the Liverpool International Exhibition of 1886 and the Manchester Jubilee show of 1887.

The room was distinguished by thin columns capped by a series of wafer-thin squares, one of Mackmurdo's hallmarks. Another was in some of the furniture: the sinuous intertwined forms of vegetation fretted into the backs of chairs and the brackets of shelves and printed on wallpapers and fabrics. The sinuous motifs had some influence on the Arts and Crafts work—particularly on Voysey's early textile designs. But most members of the movement preferred stiffer patterns derived from heraldry; Mackmurdo's interlaced curves are supposed to have had a formative influence on Art Nouveau, the continental contemporary of Arts and Crafts.*

* Northern architects had been bidden to eschew the relaxed, sinuous line by Ruskin, one of whose definitions of Gothic was *rigidity*: "the Gothic ornament stands out in prickly independence and frosty fortitude, jutting into crochets, and freezing into pinnacles. . . alternately thorny, bossy, and bristly, or writhed into every

Mackmurdo's thin square-topped columns had more influence; Voysey adopted them in his furniture and, through him, they were picked up by Mackintosh. Mackmurdo used similar elongated effects in his most original architecture: they appear for instance in his curious house, 8 Private Road, Enfield (1883). The building is in a stripped classical style but in Mackmurdo's masterpiece, 25 Cadogan Gardens, London (1899), they are used with great delicacy in a sort of elegant Queen Anne style which is neither classic nor Gothic. Mackmurdo's last buildings, for instance his own house Great Ruffins in Essex (1904), are in a complicated and clumsy classicism—sadly disappointing after such an extraordinarily promising beginning.

In 1884, the Century Guild had started the *Hobby*

form of nervous entanglement; but, even when most graceful, never for an instant languid, always quickset: erring, if at all, ever on the side of brusquerie."¹⁵ But Ruskin warned against excessive rigidity.



38 Mackmurdo. 25 Cadogan Gardens, London (1890)

Horse, a magazine devoted to a revival of arts and crafts which, itself, did much to re-awaken the art of printing. The first issue was edited by Mackmurdo with woodcut illustrations involving curved plant forms designed by Image and Horne cut by Arthur Burgess. Image and Horne took the editorial chair in later editions.

The magazine was intended by Mackmurdo to publicize Ruskinian ideals of design and production and its early editions are studied with articles by a carefully chosen cast of nineteenth-century progressives: Ford Madox Brown, the Rossettis, May Morris (William's embroiderer daughter), Matthew Arnold, G. F. Watts and Oscar Wilde. Whatever the direct impact of the words (which seems to have been little), the image of the magazine was, according to Mackmurdo, so powerful that it inspired William Morris to begin printing and set up the Kelmscott Press.

The Century Guild was a commercial venture, rather like the Morris Firm, and a different kind of association from the Art Workers' Guild in which architect Edward Warren (Guild master in 1913) explained that "we neither seek public recognition, nor try to teach the world, nor even, definitely to teach each other; yet we are not without aims. Each member learns from each."¹⁶

T. G. Jackson remembered the AWG's meetings: "Morris once giving us an evening on paper-making, and bringing his paper-maker, Bachelor, who made a sheet for us in the room, showing how by a dextrous handshake, difficult to acquire and sometimes, strange to say, lost again, the workman secures that interlacing of the linen fibres which makes the durable hand-made article . . . The great feature of these evenings were the demonstrations by which the papers were illustrated. When enamelling was the subject there was a gas-stove in the room and enamels were prepared and burned. When plaster work was under discussion modelling and casting were going on before our eyes. I remember reading a paper on *Intarsiatura*, which was afterwards published, and showing a large number of tracings from old examples and also having one of Bessant's men cutting out and mounting veneers in the room. We also had exhibitions of all kinds of art and for some years an annual display of the members' own work in various crafts. This was superseded by the Arts and Crafts Exhibition which grew out of the Guild."¹⁷

C. R. Ashbee recalled less formal evenings. At one of these in the '90s, the Guild "held a mock trial, *Mrs. Grundy v the AWG*. Mrs. Grundy was indicting the

Society for indecency and for flaunting Art in divers colours in the Voysey manner—Prior was Council for the Defence; Selwyn Image for the Prosecution—Voysey himself was Mrs. Grundy and Cecil Brewer was her little boy . . . Cecil with his cheeks rouged, with short white stockings and pantaloons sat on a cornice in the Hall at Cliffords Inn sucking oranges with the peel of which he occasionally pelted his friends, and as he dangled a pair of long spindly legs he shouted mimic childish satire in his high pitched voice."¹⁸

Such behaviour was not the only reason why the Guild was reluctant to appear in public. There were fundamental differences between members. In 1891, Mackmurdo (who had joined in 1888) tried to get the Guild to take corporate action against decorations being carried out in St. Paul's. The trouble was that the scheme was being carried out by painter W. B. Richmond, Master of the Guild for that year. Two contradictory Guild resolutions were sent to the Dean, and, to avoid similar embarrassments, the Guild's rules on public action were gradually tightened.

As early as 1885, members of the Art Workers' Guild who believed in a Ruskinian fusion of art and craft realized that a new organization which did not include the academic painters and sculptors was needed if the message was to be carried to the public. W. A. S. Benson, metal worker and cabinet maker, and one of the members of the Guild, produced a scheme for the "Combined Arts". This took shape as the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society which held its founding show in autumn 1888, when the term "Arts and Crafts" (reputedly coined by bookbinder J. T. Cobden-Sanderson) first entered general currency.

The Society quickly collected the progressive element of the Art Workers' Guild and attracted new blood, some of which was transfused back into the Guild, for relations between the two associations were cordial and the membership overlapped (for instance, Walter Crane was simultaneously Master of the Guild and President of the Society in 1888).

Most notable amongst the new recruits was William Morris himself, who, after doubts about the financial success of the Society, threw himself into the project. (He was elected to the Art Workers' Guild at the same meeting as Mackmurdo on November 2, 1888.) By the early 1890s, the Society combined the talents of the Five and their group, Mackmurdo's Century Guild people and Morris's circle of Pre-Raphaelites (including non-academic painters like

Holman Hunt and Ford Madox Brown) and a large number of craftsmen. The only obvious omissions from this extraordinarily rich gathering were Shaw, Ruskin (who was by then going mad, and was not a designer), and Webb, who though he had faithfully soldiered through the nightmare maze of late nineteenth-century Socialist associations with Morris, was congenitally anti-corporate.*

The first exhibition brought a very favourable notice from the *Builder* which reported that "it represents the views and tastes of a sect; but the amount of beauty and variety in the work exhibited says a great deal for the talent and artistic feeling in the ranks of the sect, and it is impossible to go over it without reflecting what real progress has been made in decorative design during the last quarter of a century.

"Twenty-five years ago, such an exhibition as this—so full of fine colour and outline, and so devoid

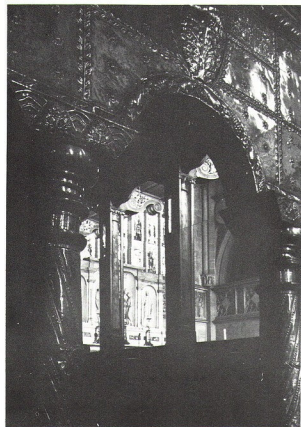
* Both Shaw and Webb's work was exhibited in the shows though.

of anything which can be regarded as vulgar, or in bad taste, would have been impossible."¹⁹ The Society's shows (held at the New Gallery, Regent Street) were not simply exhibitions of work but included lectures and demonstrations as well; in every sense, it was an extension of the Guild.

Cobden-Sanderson remembered "William Morris, on a raised platform, surrounded by products of the loom, at work on a model loom specially constructed from his design . . . to show how the wools were wrought, and the visions of his brain fixed in colour and in form; Walter Crane, backed by a great black board, wiped clean alas! when one would have had it for ever still adorned by the spontaneous creations of his inexhaustible brain . . . Selwyn Image . . . with sweet reasonableness depicting . . . the bright new Jerusalem; Lethaby entrancing us with the cities which crowned the hills of Europe."²⁰

The Society's aims were expressed in a series of papers, many of which had previously been published in its catalogues, collected in 1893 as a small, stout book edited by Morris. His introduction set the theme: "we can expect no *general* impulse towards the fine arts till civilization has been transformed into some other condition of life . . . Our business as artists [is] to supply the lack of tradition by diligently cultivating in ourselves the sense of beauty, . . . skill of hand, and niceness of observation, without which only a *makeshift* of art can be got." The Society's exhibitors, he believed, showed that "there is still a minority with a good deal of life in it which is not content with what is called utilitarianism"; they called attention to that "most important side of art, the decoration of utilities by furnishing them with genuine artistic finish in place of trade finish."²¹

Morris's contribution to the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society's exhibition was hailed by *Today*, the Fabian magazine, as one of his "best services to Socialism."²² But by 1893 he was a tired man with only three years of crowded activity to live. His somewhat bathetic conclusion was expanded by Walter Crane in sentiments which rivalled those of Morris at his height in an essay "On the Revival of Design and Handicraft": "The movement . . . represents in some sense a revolt against the hard mechanical conventional life and its insensibility to beauty (quite another thing to ornament). It is a protest against that so-called industrial progress which produces shoddy wares, the cheapness of which is paid for by the lives of their producers and the degradation of their users. It is a protest against the turning of men into



39 John Dando Sedding. *Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, London* (designed 1888)

machines, against artificial distinctions in art, and against making the immediate market value, or possibility of profit, the chief test of artistic merit. It also advances the claim of all and each to the common possession of beauty in things common and familiar."²³

Industrialization was reluctantly accepted by Crane, but, "we have reached the *reductio ad absurdum* of an impersonal artist or craftsman trying to produce things of beauty for an impersonal and unknown public . . . Under such conditions it is hardly surprising that the arts of design should have declined."²⁴ The aim of the Society's exhibitions was to break this vicious circle. "At present, indeed, an exhibition may be said to be but a necessary evil; but it is the only means of obtaining a standard, and giving publicity to the works of Designer and Craftsman."²⁵ And it asserted "the principle of the essential unity and interdependence of the arts."²⁶

This ferment of Arts and Crafts activity quickly had results in buildings, one of the first and most magnificent of which was Holy Trinity, Sloane

Street, Chelsea, (1888 on) by John Dando Sedding (1838–1891), finished by his pupil Henry Wilson. Sedding had worked in Street's office with Webb and Shaw and was a very early member of the Guild and the Society. Horsley commented that the two associations "were the means of bringing Mr. Sedding into touch with many artists and prompted him to gather round him to help him in his last work, the Great church of the Holy Trinity in Upper Chelsea, some of the foremost craftsmen of the day."²⁷ The most important artists (apart from Sedding and Wilson) were all members of both associations: Harry Bates, sculptor; F. W. Pomeroy, sculptor; Nelson Dawson, metal worker; and Burne-Jones (a member of the Guild fleetingly and an early exhibitor at the Society).

Those who visit the church now, expecting it to be encrusted with Arts and Crafts gems, are initially disappointed. Of the thousands who pass it every day, few must notice its recessed dusky brick facade in which two thin towers frame a giant clear glass win-

40 *Sedding, Holy Trinity, west front*



dow which is contained by an ogee arch. The only relief is a certain luxuriance in the tracery of the window and a jolly, almost jangling, fussiness in the stone strap-work above the top of the arch and in the stone frills at the top of the towers.

Inside, the first impression is of equal austerity. The nave and chancel are formed into one great room, wide and high and very light from the mighty west window. The pale stone columns soar towards the vaults* with scarcely a break, only corbelled angels where, in traditional Gothic, the capitals would be. The simplicity is due to lack of money and to Sedding's early death (the church was started only a couple of years before). For instance, a Burne-Jones frieze which was to have run between the arcade and clerestory was never executed. Nor was the banded masonry Sedding originally intended for the nave and aisles. But Gerald Horsley's perspective of the design shows that Sedding's intention was to create a simple big well-lit space in which the plain structure dominated and knit together the contributions of individual artists—the effect we get today.

Throughout the '90s, Arts and Crafts artists contributed to the church—wherever you look, the details are exquisite. Burne-Jones designed (and the Morris firm made) the east window with panel after panel of elegant Pre-Raphaelite saints. Richmond was responsible for the windows of the north aisle and Christopher Whall those of the south with their linear naturalistic scenes above abstract chevrons of coloured glass, equal to anything produced by Mackintosh or Wright in the same period (1904–23). Pomeroy did the angels on the chancel columns. Sedding and Wilson as well as Dawson were responsible for the metal work—which ranges from delicate, Italianate tracery in the chancel gates (by Sedding who had strong affections for Renaissance detail) to robust, heraldic gilded strap-work in the organ screen (by Wilson and Dawson).

Of course, the whole effect is Gothic—but of a special kind. It was stripped to its structural essentials. The carefully placed ornament was not executed by ordinary craftsmen, as it should have been according to the theories of Pugin, Ruskin and Morris, but

by fellow members of the Guild and of the Exhibition Society, who were enlightened and agreeable enough to be trustworthy and avoid the potential catastrophes of real Ruskinian savageness.

Sedding at Holy Trinity got as near to resolving the Puginian paradox as any Arts and Crafts architect. The church was a precursor of many simple yet rich, rather introverted Arts and Crafts ecclesiastical buildings built in the two decades around the turn of the century.

1 Prior, E. S. "The origins of the Guild", lecture to the Guild 6, December 1895. Printed in H. J. L. J. Massé *The Art Workers' Guild 1884–1934*, Oxford 1935, p. 6

2 Lethaby, W. R. *Life of Webb*, *op. cit.*, p. 75

3 Prior *op. cit.*, p. 7

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *The Times* 3.3.1891, quoted in *Architecture a Profession or an Art*, eds. Shaw, R. N. and Jackson, T. G., John Murray, London 1892, p. xxxiii–xxxiv

7 Shaw, R. N. and Jackson, T. G., *ibid.*, p. 7

8 Saint, A. *Richard Norman Shaw*, Yale, New Haven and London 1976, p. 316. The quotation is from a letter from Shaw to Frederic Eaton 9.11.90.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 318

10 Ruskin, John *Modern Painters*, Vol. I, p. 47

11 Mackmurdo, A. H. *History of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, typescript in William Morris Museum, Walthamstow, chapter VIII

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 Naylor, Gillian *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, *op. cit.*, p. 117

15 Ruskin, John *Stones of Venice*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204.

16 In Massé *op. cit.*, p. 4.

17 Jackson, T. G. *Recollections*, ed. Basil H. Jackson, Oxford 1950, p. 218

18 Ashbee, C. R. *Memoirs*, typescript in the Victoria and Albert Museum library, Vol. II, p. 59

19 *Builder*, Vol. LV, 1888, p. 241

20 Cobden-Sanderson, J. T. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, Hammersmith Publishing Society, 1905, p. 17

21 *Arts and Crafts Essays* by members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Rivington Percival & Co., London 1893, p. xii

22 Quoted in Thompson, E. P. *William Morris*, *op. cit.*, p. 540

23 Crane, W. "Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft" in *Arts and Crafts Essays*, *op. cit.*, p. 12

24 *Ibid.*, p. 10

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

27 Horsley, G. C. "The Unity of Art", in Shaw, R. N. and Jackson, T. G. (eds.) *Architecture: a Profession or an Art*, John Murray, London 1892, p. 202

* Rebuilt after destruction in the Second World War.