

"THE MORROW'S UPRISING"
WILLIAM MORRIS
AND THE ENGLISH FOLK REVIVAL

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Recently Roy Dommett, the distinguished English morris dancer and dance researcher, published an historical sketch entitled "How Did You Think It Was? The Political Background to the Folk Revival, 1903-1912."¹ His essay is directed at the thousands of people in Britain and North America who enjoy the dances, tunes, and songs revived by Cecil Sharp and Sharp's followers. Dommett hoped to correct the idyllic impression that most adherents now have of the movement, reminding us that many of the early revivalists were political radicals, for whom the music and dance were integral tools in their struggle toward cultural regeneration and social reform.

The present paper is an attempt to provide a deeper background for the values and goals of the folk song and dance revivalists. I propose that the revival was a continuation of Victorian conventions of dissent, particularly the medievalism of William Morris. In developing this idea I will first describe the nineteenth-century cult of the medieval, applying the anthropological concept of "revitalization movement." I will then give an account of medievalism's influence on socialist theory and its relevance to the urban folk revival, with special reference to Cecil

Sharp and his sister, Evelyn Sharp.

Medievalism was one expression of the Victorian romantic sensibility. The eighteenth-century British antiquarians had glorified the classical era; they sought relics of the past in Roman place names and ruins. But their later collections of "popular antiquities" were influenced by continental notions of nationalism. These compilations of lore, which included descriptions of beliefs and customs as well as texts of indigenous ballads and tales, laid the groundwork for the literary romanticization of the Middle Ages. The new trend was exemplified early in the nineteenth century by the historical fiction of Sir Walter Scott and the fictionalized histories of Thomas Carlyle. The Norman Conquest was thought to have resulted in the consolidation of a fully civilized English nation, and so the medieval period, as represented by oral legends and architectural by-gones, was the best focus for those who were both patriotic and romantic.²

For the writers and artists who disseminated images of the Middle Ages throughout literature, architecture, graphic design, and the decorative arts during the nineteenth century, medievalism was an escape from the horrors of industrial capitalism. Today, it is hard to imagine the air and noise pollution resulting from the sudden commitment to unmodified coal-fired engines, or the water and waste problems that ensued from stacking thousands of rural households together in urban tenements. John Ruskin, a pivotal intellect in this critical movement, wrote:

... these horrible nests, which you call towns,

are little more than the laboratories for the distillation unto heaven of venomous smokes and smells, mixed with the effluvia from decaying animal matter, infectious miasmata from purulent disease.... [We] turn every river of England into a common sewer, so that you cannot as much as baptize an English baby but with filth, unless you hold its face out in the rain; and even ~~that~~ falls dirty.³

Furthermore, a sense of social disintegration was experienced by radical thinkers who were sensitive to the exploitation of the new urban working class, and the hypocrisy of their fellows in the affluent classes. In the words of William Morris:

I hold that the condition of competition between man and man is bestial only, and that of association human. A mask is worn by competitive commerce, with its respectable prim order, its talk of peace and the blessings of intercommunication of countries and the like; and all the while its whole energy, its whole organized precision is employed in one thing, the wrenching of the means of living from others. I tell you it is not wealth which our civilization has created, but riches, with its necessary companion poverty, or in other words slavery.⁴

These environmental and economic dysfunctions were felt to be symptoms of a deeper moral malaise originating in the egoisms of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The yearning for the lost benefits of religious certainty, social integrity, and creative personal craftsmanship led many leisure-class misfits to idealize the small-scale monastic communities and villages of the Middle Ages. Their dream was of a communal rehabilitation, and their rhetorical concepts were aesthetic and ethical. Although the movement was an elite one, it was marked by an emotional intensity that allowed it to resemble a religious cult.

Most of the research on nativistic revitalization movements has been done by anthropologists using Third World small scale examples. In a 1956 survey article Anthony Wallace concluded that as a recurrent feature of human history such movements display uniform processural dimensions, passing through the stages of reformulation, communication, transformation, and routinization.⁵ Typically, in a colonially setting, one or a small group of native speakers seize upon an idea, believing that it has the potency to alter the parameters of existence and remove a source of oppression. The central idea might be represented by symbolic behavior, a common or rare substance, or a past or predicted event. If the idea can be enacted properly, then the believers will be saved from harm inflicted by a dominating or invading group.

In actuality, as the new formulation is communicated to more converts, and as it interacts with the established status system, it is often transformed from a force for change to a rite of helplessness or complacency. Either it fails to upset the powerful, or its mere appearance is adopted as fashionable. Even if it succeeds in upsetting the powerful, after the necessary adjustments the elements of revitalization themselves become routine and conservative.

In 1972 Wallace offered another article on culture change, focusing on Western industrialized societies.⁶ He extends the model of paradigmatic process developed by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, applying it to technical and artistic "schools of thought" as well. The process consists not of discrete stages after the original innovation, but of simultaneous aspects including paradigmatic core development, exploitation, functional consequences, and rationalization. These aspects are remin-

iscent of the theoretical stages of a tribal revitalization movement. What the two processes have in common are individuals who are dissatisfied with existing norms, and who are vulnerable to exploitation even as they undertake corrective changes.

The most dramatic setting for the study of individuals estranged from society is a rite of passage. Drawing upon Victor Turner's insights into the ritual process, one may generalize that if a normative society is composed of various and unequal categories of members engaged in a worldly competition for property and praise, then the ritual initiates will be given opposing qualities. Furthermore, if people are ordinarily concerned with proper manners, grooming and composure, the initiates may invert accepted etiquette. One may note an intriguing similarity between the liminal attributes of individuals undergoing rites of passage and the deviant attributes of individuals involved in revitalization movements, opposing them together against the normative attributes of a generalized status system.⁷ I offer a few of Turner's examples in the following chart:

Liminal/Deviant : Normative	
homogeneity	: heterogeneity
equality	: inequality
anonymity	: systems of nomenclature
absence of property	: property
no distinctions of wealth	: distinctions of wealth
nakedness or uniform clothing	: distinctions of clothing
humility	: just pride of position
foolishness	: sagacity
disregard for appearance	: care for appearance

It is illuminating to consider medievalism as the organizing concept of a revitalization movement or paradigmatic process,

with William Morris as a main prophet or innovator. It is clear that the first seven attributes in the liminal list are identical with crucial features of medieval society as imagined by Ruskin and others, whereas the last two attributes are characteristic of the ritual clown and artist-as-deviant. As a young college graduate (1834-1896), he grew his hair scandalously long and wore flamboyant clothes. He had been familiar with Scott's novels since childhood, but was introduced to the socio-economic ideal of the Middle Ages during the early 1850's by studying Carlyle's **Past and Present** and Ruskin's "The Nature of the Gothic." Although he replaced his early enthusiasm for religion with a humanistic materialism, through his art, poetry, literary criticism, utopian fiction, social commentary and political activism he preached the model of medieval morality and aesthetics with great fervor for the rest of his life. In his later years, when he was often lampooned for his unruly hair, full beard and single baggy frayed suit, he achieved a synthesis of his ideals with Marxian socialism.⁸

Even though Morris's model was located in the distant past, he was a progressive reformer. He made a life-long study of the Middle Ages, and his medievalism matured from the escapism of **The Earthly Paradise** (1868) to a political activism consistent with the utopian vision in **News from Nowhere** (1890). He was well aware of the feudal abuses, plagues, and sudden brutal violence which characterized the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. He stated his attitude in this way:

We should learn from the Middle Ages what it alone is able to teach us, not revive or imitate it through indiscriminating admiration, and less yet condone its defects of any kind for the sake of its picturesque. We should study it in order to find out

for our own guidance what conditioned the lofty standard of work to which it attained, and learn how to re-knit the broken threads of tradition, then intact, applying our discoveries to the daily work of our own day, adapting them where necessary to our increased mechanical powers and wider desires.⁹

For Morris the appealing essence of the medieval world resided in the oneness of creativity and labor. He believed that the unity of art and work could never be restored to the working classes until the premises of capitalist enterprise were overruled. He knew that medievalist notions, if they were not selective and sophisticated, could be used to reassure conventional values, and he resisted any concession in his program. In trying to avoid the exploitation of his ideas he opposed the Gothic Revival in architecture and the exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society as being superficial gestures. He refused to engage in parliamentary politics and even declined an invitation to become Poet Laureate of England. He was determined to reintroduce the spirit, and not the facade, of the Gothic aesthetic.

Anthony Wallace distinguishes three types of revitalization movements according to source identification: those that are purportedly **utopian**, those that profess to **revive** a traditional culture, those that seek to **import** a foreign pattern.¹⁰ Morris's medievalism was of the first type, although his program involved the revival of anachronistic features and might be thought of as revolution through reminiscence. Other exponents of dissent in turn-of-the-century England were less utopian, especially those who, like the suffragettes and pacifists, were absorbed in single issues. Many of these radicals had great respect for Morris and were influenced by his ideas. Yet the tendency of medievalism to be transformed into trivial expressions

of refined taste caused the new generation of political activists to place their faith in the importation of untried ideas, and the creation of a strikingly new social order. One might say revolution by innovation.

This basic choice between conservative revival and radical innovation was one which all reform-minded Victorians had to face. Nowhere can the dilemma be more clearly seen than in the case of Cecil Sharp and Evelyn Sharp. Although the family was of modest middle class background, Cecil (b. 1859) and Evelyn (b. 1866) along with six other children were given every encouragement possible in music, literature, and basic education; they grew up to be actively critical of normative society.¹¹ Cecil Sharp heard some of William Morris's early lectures on art and society while attending Clare College at Cambridge University, and the young student became known as a freethinker and a radical. He became more reserved and cautious during a ten-year sojourn in Australia. Back in London he continued to read Morris's works. He married, and he and his wife hosted regular gatherings in his studio to discuss philosophy, religion, politics, and art. Later he was active in the Fabian Society and described himself as a conservative socialist. A statement by Hubert Bland, another member of the London Fabian Society, helps to put the attitudes of the group in perspective:

We felt we had the misfortune to be born in a stupid, vulgar, grimy age... and so we turned away from it... disgusted with the present, apprehensive of the future, we naturally were amorous of the past. I think on the whole we preferred the thirteenth century to any other century... we called ourselves the elect... Mr. William Morris was our laureate; his work our standard.¹²

in contrast to Cecil Sharp and his associates, Evelyn Sharp was not apprehensive of the future. She became an authoress, a militant socialist, and a leading activist in the women's suffrage movement, being on numerous occasions harrassed, forcibly evicted from government meetings, or jailed. She and Cecil disagreed on methods, yet they remained personally close. She was a member of his folk dance demonstration team.¹³

To understand how Cecil Sharp's revival of English folk song and dance relates to Victorian medievalism it is necessary to note that one prescription William Morris repeatedly made for his ailing society was the return to the mirthful fellowship and ceremonial merriment that had characterized England in an earlier time. Although during his career Morris reinterpreted many material features of medieval culture, his model was still and silent. The lyrical content of the Middle Ages was approximated by epic translations and imitative poetry, but all movement and melody had seemingly vanished.

Morris was not a musician, but he held strong convictions about music history and musical taste. In his opinion, style began to be debased with the invention of counterpoint at the close of the Middle Ages. He detested most Romantic composers, particularly Wagner. He disliked the piano, preferring more venerable instruments such as the violin and lute, and more ancient forms such as plainsong. He collected texts of folk ballads. As Paul Meier has written, "If we wish to determine the personal factor in Morris's utopia... two traits should be borne in mind: on the one hand, this love of folk music and, on the other, the lively pleasure he derived from listening to natural sounds..."¹⁴ In Morris's own words, "Nor would he who took to heart the piping of the wind and washing

of the waves as he sat at the helm of the fishing-boat, be deadened to the beauty of art-made music. It is workmen only and not pedants who can produce real vigorous art."¹⁵

In trusting the musical talents of workmen Morris had in mind the rural peasant and not the urban factory hand. He was appalled by the music hall entertainments enjoyed by the working class:

The ordinary man in the street is steeped in the mere dregs of all the Arts that are current in the time he lives.... In the Art of Music what the 'unsophisticated' person takes to is not the fine Works of Art, but the ordinary, commonplace, **banal** tunes which are drummed into his ears at every street corner. That is natural. In other words, there is a tendency for all people to fall under the domination of tradition of some sort; and fine tradition, the higher tradition, having disappeared, men will certainly fall under the power of the lower and inferior tradition. Therefore, let us once and for all get rid of the idea of the mass of the people having an intuitive idea of Art, unless they are in immediate connection with the great traditions of times past, and unless they are every day meeting with things that are beautiful and fit.¹⁶

Recalling that Morris wished to study the Middle Ages in order to re-knit the broken threads of tradition and adapt his discoveries to the needs of the future, it is not surprising that he fantasized about the return of ancient styles of music and communal entertainment. Old Hammond, the guide in **News from Nowhere** which is set two hundred years after the socialist revolution, tells the visitors to utopia that "what of art existed under the old forms, revived in a wonderful way during the latter part of the struggle,¹⁷ especially as regards music and poetry." William Morris often talked to peasants about craft work, but he apparently

did not guess that they might have preserved musical knowledge as well. He died in 1896 never having found a source for ideologically appropriate songs and dances.

Like William Morris, Cecil Sharp was affected by the materialism of his own age. In other words, he was agnostic and ambitious. To use the central image of Morris's best known poem, he wished to be remembered for somehow making a contribution to the earthly paradise of twentieth-century England, preferably in his chosen profession of music. In 1899, when he was a forty-year-old frustrated composer who happened to see his first morris dance, the gates of salvation slowly began to open. Within three years he had published an anthology of English folk songs from printed sources, and then in 1903 he began his own field collection of songs, tunes, and dances. Of course Sharp was not the first Londoner to collect rural songs and tunes, but he was the first to do so with the avowed purpose of their mass popularization. And in the notation and revival of ritual dances and plays, country dances, and seasonal customs he was participating in a unique effort.¹⁸

The concept of revival of medieval culture had been so commonplace among middle class intellectuals in London during Sharp's formative years, and the silent omission of performing arts from this revival was so crucial, that it is little wonder that Sharp, a self-trained and unacknowledged musician, embraced traditional dance, music, and song with all the enthusiasm of a second generation prophet. These folk forms seemed to be the exact counterparts, preserved orally, of the material crafts and land use patterns from which Morris had drawn such inspiration. It was as if Sharp had discovered the proper musical accompaniment to the

opening exhortation of Morris's early romantic vision:

Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
 Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
 Forget the spreading of the hideous town;
 Think rather of the pack horse on the down,
 And dream of London, small and white and clean,
 And clear Thames bordered by its gardens green.¹⁹

The attempt to renew ritual dancing in the hideous town of London began in 1905, when Herbert Macilwaine, musical director of the Esperance Club, contacted Sharp. The Esperance Club had been founded by two socialist philanthropists, Mary Neal and Emmeline Pethick, to provide model housing and working conditions for young working women. Sharp put them in touch with traditional morris dancers from Headington, and there began a remarkably productive collaboration among Sharp, the staff of the Esperance Club, the traditional dancers, and the working women of the club.²⁰

Within a few years Mary Neal came to rival Sharp as a teacher and proponent of folk song and dance. In Sharp's opinion the repertoire consisted of received forms which were to be meticulously imitated, whereas to Neal the value of the material lay in its social implications. Sharp also became increasingly uncomfortable with the militancy of the Women's Social and Political Union, to which Neal and several other dance enthusiasts (including his own sister) belonged. Neal and Sharp disassociated with some bitterness, thus dividing the movement between those for whom art was inseparable from politics and those for whom art was inseparable from technique. As summarized by Mary Neal:

It is merely an example of a deeply rooted, age-long controversy which is always going on. It may be described as the difference between the form and the

life, the bookman and the workman, between the pedant and those in touch with actual life itself.²¹

These words could have come from William Morris himself, but it is not fair to force Sharp into the role of pedant in opposition to those in touch with life. Significantly, the Headington dancers sided with Sharp in his dispute with Neal. Yet the controversy reveals how politically complacent and artistically inflexible Sharp could be in contrast to Morris. It is interesting to compare Sharp's behavior and appearance during this routinization stage of medievalism with that of Morris during the reformulation stage forty years earlier. Morris expressed his deviance; Sharp suppressed his, and did not affect any flamboyance. According to Maud Karpeles, Sharp's biographer:

Any display of singularity was displeasing to him; and he followed the convention in behavior as well as in appearance unless there was a very good reason for departing from them. "It saves so much trouble," he would say.²²

Of course Cecil Sharp was not independently wealthy and even beyond the dynamics of the revitalization cycle, he had more at stake than Morris in seeming conventional. But he was alienated from established society, and (like many ethnographers) his intimate association with the peasant folk became a release for his tendencies towards a personal rejection of his society. In describing his informants he wrote:

The peasant is the sole survivor of a homogeneous society with few class distinctions. Looking back on twenty years' contact with him, I should name his chief characteristics reserve, personal detachment and dignity. He is gentle, unobtrusive, unassertive... He is considerate to a fault and has a quiet natural courtesy of his own.²³

This list is an inventory of medievalistic virtues. Sharp also readily accepted the long hair, untrimmed beards, and raggedy clothes that characterized many of the folk musicians, referring to their subculture as "a case of arrested degeneration."

In 1908 Sharp published **English Folk Song: Some Conclusions**, in which he set forth his assumptions and opinions concerning his chosen speciality.²⁴ Throughout the book he draws upon the concept of race to support his contention of an instinctively English musical idiom that had been abandoned by the urban, educated majority of the population. His theory of pre-rational oneness, which allowed the communal composition of songs and dances, was consistent with previous theories extolling a time before all differentiation of mental style, private interest, and social class. While Sharp was writing **English Folk Song**, economic imperialism and racial prejudice were carrying the trajectory of nationalism to its ultimate and paradoxical goal: the identification by the educated public of their industrial states with pre-historical, pastoral, egalitarian tribes. If Victorian medievalism had harkened back to the cozy communalism of the Middle Ages, Edwardian nationalism was seeking the cultural womb of Celtic tribal unity.

The new emphasis on paganism was consistent with earlier medievalism because the ancient magical beliefs and practices were thought to have survived into the Middle Ages. This fascination with pagan beliefs was incorporated into the folk dance revival during the first decade of the twentieth-century. One of Sharp's first converts was May Morris, William Morris's daughter. In a reply to a letter in the **Daily News**, late in 1912, which had been critical of the revival, she wrote:

I invite [the correspondent] to my own village on some day of the Festival; then... let him look me in the eye, if he can, and declare that he has not felt a thrill of pleasure, of sympathy and recognition, as it were, before a dance that, now just a gay and colorful pastime, has its roots away back in a world that was young, whose warriors danced in worship before the altars of their gods.²⁵

The attitude that folk music and dance were colorful pastimes that could also be a source of national pride helped to finally subvert medievalism as a movement toward socio-economic reform. To refer to the analysis of Anthony Wallace:

By **exploitation** is meant the recognition and embracing of the paradigm, at some stage in its evolution, by an economic, military, religious, or political organization which sees in its application an opportunity for the protection or advancement of its own interests... The discovery of relevance is the moment of exploitation. At once the paradigmatic community is confronted by organizations, up to and at times including the sovereign institutions, which make claims upon them.²⁶

Although Morris stubbornly resisted the exploitation of his work, Sharp yearned to have his work officially accepted. He was pleased to accept an invitation to become musical tutor to the children of the royal family, and he cooperated with educational and cultural institutions whenever possible. His own movement had survived its rite of passage by 1912. During the previous year Sharp's work had been recognized by the government, and he had been awarded a Civil List Pension by the Prime Ministry. His approach was endorsed by the Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, who invited him to lead the annual Vacation School of Folk Song and Dance. He was invited to lecture and present his dancers at the Festival

of Empire in the Crystal Palace. And finally, he had successfully established the English Folk Dance Society.²⁷

During the First World War, while Sharp was in the United States collecting songs and dances in the Appalachian Mountains, almost all of the young men among his followers were killed in battle in France. Sharp was emotionally devastated, but he persevered after the war, and by 1924, the year of his own death, the folk revival was a routine feature of English national culture. By that year there were forty-three provincial branches of the English Folk Dance Society; in London alone over one thousand people attended classes and social dances every week. In his last years Cecil Sharp was given honors befitting an accepted member of the fashionable establishment. His annual festivals were graced by the presence of Queen Mary. He was requested to address Parliament and the Imperial Education Conference. An honorary degree was conferred upon him by Cambridge University.²⁸

Even in these later years of acclaim Sharp's activity reflected a vague hope for a reformulation of society-- a hope that had been more explicit in his younger days. Whereas Morris would have insisted that a socialist revolution could insure the revival of community music, Sharp was content to conclude that the revival of racial (i.e. national) music could substitute in part for socialist reform. His cause was embraced by high society because he stressed aesthetic and not political motives. He concluded **English Folk Song: Some Conclusions** with these words:

In a material age... such as the present, there is an especial need for fostering the growth and development of those things which, like good music, exercise a purifying and regenerative influence. If, therefore,

the English folk song is, as I fervently believe it to be, music of the very highest quality, that alone is sufficient justification for advocating its revival.²⁹

Whatever beneficial results Sharp achieved in his lifetime, he did not assure the purification and regeneration of English life. In retrospect, it is clear that the alternative strategy of his sister Evelyn Sharp had a more lasting impact, even though while he was teaching folk songs to the Prince of Wales, staging singing game demonstrations in the Crystal Palace, and holding folk dance festivals at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, she was being arrested on the streets of London. One of Evelyn Sharp's comrades in the protest ranks, whom she married late in life, was the journalist Henry W. Nevinson. The gentle derision in which such radicals came to hold the medievalism of Morris and Sharp is felicitously expressed in the following passage from one of Nevinson's essays, written in 1914 in praise of the Italian Futurists:

... we have been commanded to imitate the blessed ages of romantic mystery and touching faith, when happy craftsmen chipped and chattered in the cheaping-stands, knights quested for distressed damsels in haunted forests, and John Ball founded the Fabian Society. Under these behests we have worshipped Burne-Jones and his yearning dreams; we have stocked our minds and homes with medieval trumpery; we have constructed battlements to our seats of learning, towered walls for our peaceful streets, angled houses for our rotund persons, ingle-nooks, beams industriously marked with the adze, maypoles, Morris dances, and all the other artful and crafty contraptions of modern Oxford and the Garden Suburbs.³⁰

There are two targets of Nevinson's sarcasm: the idealization of the Middle Ages and the exact imitation of historical forms and techniques. Morris dreaded these two

tendencies among his disciples. As a revitalization movement, medievalism began to be transformed and routinized while he looked on in frustration. Even though Morris became increasingly deviant during the course of his lifetime, his followers without exception became increasingly conventional, especially after his death in 1896. In terms of the dynamics of the movement, Sharp's contribution was too late to have much power as a force for social change, although it did enrich the culture. Over the decades his material has provided excellent recreation. In the 1970s the revival was itself revitalized, and for a new generation of adherents traditional music and dance became once again a statement of counter culture.

In the United States, as in England, routinized expressions of Victorian medievalism are easily noticed in the intellectual milieu. In Bloomington, Indiana, one need look no further than the neo-Gothic architecture of many campus buildings, the antics of the Society for Creative Anachronism, or the story books and greeting cards inspired by the Middle Ages on display in the campus stationary shop. (It is pertinent that some of the carols performed by members of the Indiana School of Music in thirteenth-century costume at the annual Madrigal Dinners were collected by Cecil Sharp in Somerset.) William Morris intended his movement to have a more pervasive influence, beyond the university and the campus elite, than these examples suggest. One of his later poem cycles, **The Pilgrims of Hope**, contains a poem entitled "Message of the March Wind," in which a young couple from the countryside stand on a hill at twilight and view the distant glowing haze of London. They intend to travel

to the city the following day, bringing a message of reform and redemption to the grim, helpless working class. With the next day's quest in mind, the man says to the woman:

Come back to the inn, love, and the lights and the
fire,
And the fiddler's old tune and the shuffling of feet;
For there in a while shall be rest and desire,
And there shall the morrow's uprising be sweet.³¹

Despite the aptness of the image for his purposes, Morris did not know any fiddlers at the time he wrote **Pilgrims of Hope**, nor was he ever to perform any old tunes or set dances. Perhaps if Cecil Sharp had begun his collecting and reviving immediately after graduating from college he would have had Morris for a student. At that stage in life Sharp would have been in complete agreement with Morris's purposes, and would have been happy to teach him, as he later taught his daughter, May. To use her words, the elderly Morris would undoubtedly have felt "a thrill of pleasure, of sympathy and recognition" in experiencing the evocative power of England's folk musical heritage.

NOTES

1. **Morris Matters** 3(Summer 1980): 4-9. Reprinted in **Country Dance and Song** 11/12(1981): 47-52.

2. The best brief introduction to medievalism I have found is the chapter "Medievalism and its Utopian Ferments" in Paul Meier, **William Morris: The Marxist Dreamer** (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1978), 94-164. See also "The Romantic Social Vision: Carlyle and Ruskin" in Stanley Pierson's **Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism: The Struggle for a New Consciousness** (Ithaca: Cornell

University, 1973), pp. 22-38. Scott's folkloric activity is assessed in Richard M. Dorson, **The British Folklorists: A History** (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 107-118.

3. **Fors Clavigera**. Quoted in Meier, **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 128.

4. Quoted from Volume XXXIII of **The Collected Works of William Morris** in Paul Thompson, **The Work of William Morris** (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1967), p. 234.

5. "Revitalization Movements," **American Anthropologist** 58(1956): 264-281.

6. "Paradigmatic Processes in Culture Change," **American Anthropologist** 74(1972): 467-478.

7. See Victor Turner, **The Ritual Process** (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1969), pp. 106-107.

8. The biography I have used is Jack Lindsay's **William Morris: His Life and Work** (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1975). For a recent assessment of Morris's socialist activities see Florence Boos, "William Morris's Socialist Diary," **History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Historians** 13(Spring 1982): 1-76.

9. From a letter to H. Halliday Sparling, his son-in-law, quoted in Meier, **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 473.

10. Wallace, "Revitalization," p. 275.

11. Biographical information in this paragraph was taken from Maud Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work** (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967), pp. 1-22. Sharp's familiarity with Morris was discussed with me by May Gadd in personal communication, Pinewoods Camp, Plymouth, Massachusetts, July 1975.

12. Edith Nesbit Bland, ed., **The Essays of Hubert Bland** (London: 1914). Passage quoted in Pierson, **The Origins**, p. 113.
13. Dommett, "How Did You Think?" p. 49. Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, p. 2. Evelyn recorded her political observations in semi-fictional form in **Rebel Women** (London: A.C. Fifield, 1910).
14. **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 548.
15. From **The Society of the Future**. Quoted in Meier, **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 548.
16. From **Address on the Collection of Paintings of the English Pre-Raphaelite School**. Quoted in Meier, **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 398.
17. Meier, **Marxist Dreamer**, p. 549.
18. Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, pp. 23-67.
19. **The Earthly Paradise**, in **Collected Works**, III, p. 3. Quoted in Thompson, **The Work**, p. 172.
20. Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, pp. 68-77.
21. Ibid. p. 80.
22. Ibid. p. 19.
23. From a lecture to the English Folk Dance Society Summer School, 1923. Quoted in Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, p. 178.
24. 4th ed. (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1965).

25. Quoted in Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, p. 119.
26. Wallace, "Paradigmatic Processes," pp. 470-471.
27. Karpeles, **Cecil Sharp**, pp. 82-86.
28. Ibid. pp. 135, 176, 181, 183.
29. Sharp, **English Folk Song**, pp. 179-180.
30. From "Marinetti: Futurist" in Henry W. Nevinson, **Visions and Memories**, collected and arranged by Evelyn Sharp (London: Oxford University, 1944), p. 80.
31. **The Collected Works XXIV**, pp. 369-370. Discussed in Thompson, **The Work**, pp. 187-88.