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**CRAFTSMANSHIP IN  
COMPETITIVE INDUSTRY**

# CRAFTSMANSHIP IN . COMPETITIVE INDUSTRY

BEING A RECORD OF THE WORKSHOPS  
OF THE GUILD OF HANDICRAFT,  
AND SOME DEDUCTIONS FROM THEIR  
TWENTY-ONE YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

By

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*"If you have an Idea, and it  
is a good Idea, and you will  
only stick to it, you will come  
out all right in the end."*

CECIL RHODES.

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*To those Members of the Guild  
of Handicraft, who, whether  
working in the Guild's Shops  
or not, have decided to stick  
to it and see it through.*



*Hammerman at work on the Pitch Bowl, illustrating a craft revived at the end of the 19th Century, and now being again destroyed by unregulated machine competition. (See p. 96.)*

## CHAPTER I. THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT & ITS ETHICAL PURPOSE.

The Arts and Crafts movement began with the object of making useful things, of making them well and of making them beautiful ; goodness and beauty were to the leaders of the movement synonymous terms.

The attempt to carry through these principles has brought those who have worked consistently at the details of their crafts face to face with a series of problems they never anticipated at the outset, and has made them, in the course of the last 25 years, shape for themselves a view of life which differs from that generally held. This view may take now a political, now a social, now an æsthetic form ; it may or may not be directly practicable, but it claims to be based upon experience, and to have a definite objective in modern English life and thought.

As far as an artist may have politics at all, I figure the outlook in England to myself in the following formula. Our political theories are determined ultimately by the great economic factor of Industrial machinery. It is this that has given us our great cities, our colonial expansion, the fact of our Imperialism, the theory of our Free Trade. Industrial machinery is now finding its limitation, and therefore a new political era is beginning. The signs of this are in the three protests against the old order, which have cut completely across the old lines of thought. The first protest is Socialism which says " Look what a fearful mess the uncontrolled use of Industrial machinery has made of our civilization, we must start sweeping things up from below, and



get rid of the curse of cheap labour." The second protest is Tariff Reform, which says "The Free Trade theory that sacrifices everything to provide cheap food for our industrial centres, is out of date, we must have a new fiscal system, so devised as to give expression to that racial consciousness which our Colonial expansion has brought about. The standard of the English speaking people must be one standard." The third protest against the Industrial system is the protest of the Arts and Crafts, the protest of the individual, who says "What is all this worth after all, and where is it leading us? Neither your Socialism on the one hand, nor your expression of racial consciousness on the other, is of any use unless you determine what is right and what is wrong in your industrial production, unless you say what ought and what ought not to be made. Let Socialism sweep up by all means, and let Fiscal Reform tie the English people together and make their standard one, but we, the Arts and Crafts, are here to determine what Standard is, to show it you in product and producer alike; we are here to bring you back again to the realities of life, to the use of the hand and the brain, of which your Industrial machinery has deprived over half your population."

Thus it comes that those men whose names are connected inseparably with the Arts and Crafts, perhaps form part of that movement which is discrediting conservative and liberal alike, which is giving to the English cities a consciousness, and making for the reform of Parliament; the movement by which a new ideal is shaping in national education, an ideal higher than the petty sectarianism of the last generation—the generation of the churches—and by which technical schools are springing up all over the country, and efforts are being made to get once more

at the secret of the hand. It has many names, this movement, and many helpers, but it is the same movement by which men like Bishop Ingram and Bishop Gore are seeking again to socialise the Anglican Church, or by which the Fabian Society is salting the English municipalities, by which Bernard Shaw and Granville Barker are fighting for the expression of ideas and a deeper moral sense in the modern drama, by which Sidney Webb throws the dry light of economic truth upon the facts of our social environment, and some few of the more intelligent landlords are silently setting to work trying new methods upon their estates, simplifying their lives and touching reality. It is an idealistic movement, this of which they are part, and it is their function, the function of the Arts and Crafts, to express it, to be its plastic voice.

Through their workshops then, and the work of their hands, have they been brought step by step into touch with the great problems of English life, and arguing from their experience they do not accept the views usually taken by politicians and economists as to their solution. Thus it is usually held as an axiom that production on a large scale—through the factory system—is more economical than small production—the production of the hand or the domestic industry. It is held that because this has been shown to apply in competitive industry, that therefore it must be true nationally, that because it has been shown under a system of private enterprise how the hand and the domestic industry has been extinguished by the factory system, that therefore it must necessarily apply also to the whole community, that the saving must increase proportionately. The artists and the craftsmen deny that this is so, and they think it can be proved.

Yet upon this assumption, viz., that what is economy to the individual trader is, if pooled and taken over by the State, also economy to the community, largely rests the argument for Collectivism as laid down by the Socialists. In my view, and arguing as I do from the experience of a great number of small hand workshops in town and country alike, there are very many industries to which the collectivist theory cannot be made to apply at all, there are others to which if it be applied, the waste and loss to the community in life, in physique, in human output is vastly greater than the gain, and there are others yet to which it not only does apply but in which it admits of great extension.

I deduce from this in the first place that it is necessary to distinguish between the different sorts of Industry. That secondly we cannot study Industry individually but must consider the bearing of the different Industries upon life as a whole, and thirdly that Industry itself and the life of our great towns, must be readjusted to the agrarian question, the question of the land, of how people are to live on it, of what are the forms of labour best suited to it, and of how in consequence the factory system with its machinery for reduplicative production must be regulated and controlled with a view to the land question, and the standard of life and quality.

The vital consequence of this proposition is best set forth in the form of a parallel—the parallel of slavery. The wage-slave of to-day, may or may not be in a better position than the bond-slave of classic times, or the serf of the Middle Ages; but the machinery which he works, and the method in which he works it, constitute a growing danger to the whole community. It is usually held that slavery, while it is bad for the slaves, is worse for the slave-holders,

because it demoralizes them, it makes them wasteful, callous, helpless, they lose their grip upon the realities of life. They grow indeed like the mysterious rich person in the travels of Maundeville, beyond the realms of Prester John, who was so rich that he had to have his meat stuffed into him because he had lost the use of his hands. That is much the position at which we are in danger of arriving. Yet the danger is not so great for the machines and their drivers,—the people that do the meat stuffing,—as for the whole Community, who, like the great rich person beyond the realms of Prester John are losing the use of their hands and getting more and more out of touch with actual things.

The Arts and Crafts movement then assumes through its contact with the realities of life, an ethical significance of the greatest moment. It touches both producer & consumer alike, & so it touches everybody. It brings indeed into modern Industry a little of that Soul, that imaginative quality in which our civilization is so lacking. It reminds us that the imaginative things are the real things, and it shows us that when they are to be expressed in man's handiwork, they must come into immediate contact with material, must touch actuality.

What I seek to show is that this Arts and Crafts movement, which began with the earnestness of the Pre-Raphaelite painters, the prophetic enthusiasm of Ruskin and the titanic energy of Morris, is not what the public has thought it to be, or is seeking to make it: a nursery for luxuries, a hothouse for the production of mere trivialities and useless things for the rich. It is a movement for the stamping out of such things by sound production on the one hand, & the inevitable regulation of machine production and cheap labour on the other. My thesis is that *the*

*expensive superfluity and the cheap superfluity are one and the same thing*, equally useless, equally wasteful, & that both must be destroyed. The Arts and Crafts movement then, if it means anything, means Standard, whether of work or of life, the protection of Standard, whether in the product or in the producer, and it means that these two things must be taken together.

To the men of this movement, who are seeking to compass the destruction of the commercial system, to discredit it, undermine it, overthrow it, their mission is just as serious and just as sacred as was that of their great grandfathers who first helped raise it into being, and thought that they had built for it an abiding monument in a crystal palace of glass & iron. They want to put into the place of the old order that is passing away, something finer, nobler, saner; they want to determine the limitations of the factory system, to regulate machinery, to get back to realities in labour and human life.

As for their own particular work, their buildings, their furniture, their metal work, their pottery, the things they make with their hands, they know that they can do these things if the community will only give them the opportunity. They want to be allowed to do them, to do good work & useful work, and in so doing live the decent quiet lives of good citizens, they want to do this under conditions best suited to the work they offer, and the children—the young citizens they bring up. They are not interested in the race for riches, they see something better, on the other hand they do not see how their work,—the work of the Arts and Crafts,—can be practised with the constant haunting fear of the workhouse for themselves and their families. The work they have to do postulates time, thought,

technical skill and experiment, they cannot do it "to date," they often cannot do it "to price." They consider that the mental vision of the Englishman has been so deflected by the mechanical conditions of modern life, that he unconsciously measures everything by a machine standard, and there are certain things that cannot be so measured. The Arts and Crafts claim to be among such things, just as the coming of seeds in the ground, the times and seasons of the year and the changing of the character of youth. They are of the fundamental necessities, they are among the basic educational needs of the community, and the community must find a place for them and give those who practise them a stable economic basis. Some of us indeed go further, and say that the proper place for the Arts and Crafts is in the country, the place where the children ought to be, in among the direct, elemental facts of life, and away from the complex, artificial and often destructive influences of machinery and the great town. Some of us would hold that this in itself implies the need for regulating machinery with a direct ethical objective.

For this reason, therefore, also most artists & craftsmen would join issue with the more materialistic tendencies of Socialism, and say that these are sometimes even intensifying and developing the evils that must be fought against, and they hold that a politico-economic theory that sees in a supreme development of the factory system and its perfect regulation, the solution to all the difficulties of modern life is not sufficient. They demand more than this. Speaking from the experience of their workshops, and the work of their hands they do not believe that such a theory, growing as it has out of the industrial system, the system of machinery, can possibly be final. They admit that it may apply to a large part of the factory organiza-

tion throughout the country, perhaps to the majority of human occupations, but they maintain that those who practise in the Arts and Crafts never are and never can be of that organization. In so far, therefore, as the working theory of Socialism is based upon and serves the need of the factory system as a whole, it must and always will exclude them, and in that sense they cannot be Socialists.

They perhaps go further and claim that when the work that they do is put to comparison with the work of the factory system, their work is better and more serviceable to the community than the work produced under the factory system; they observe that the two cannot co-exist, and they claim that theirs being more vital to the community, the other should be checked and regulated, not in their own but in the community's interest. This claim is made not from any æsthetic reasons, for they do not take their stand upon æsthetics, but from reasons human and ethical, and that have to do with national character and life.

The working theory of Socialism does on the other hand appeal to many of them very strongly in its bearing on all those basic needs of modern life, the needs which may be said to be common to Industry as a whole, and which tend to limit competition from below. The clearing away of slums, the better regulation of workshops, the strengthening and consolidating of the trade union principle, the doctrine of the minimum wage, old age pensions, the regulation of markets, closer intercourse between England and her Colonies, and the reform of the English land system, all these things which are part of the programme of the working Socialist, or of the social reformer, they many of them welcome, because they believe that they will make their little work-

shops and their existence as citizens more possible. The fact that to obtain these things it may be necessary to interfere with the rights of private property or curtail privilege does not much concern them. They merely say, "That must find itself, we also not only have a right to live, our life is part of the community's need, its higher need, and these things are necessary to our life."

On the other hand, again, they do not disguise from themselves the fact that in the near future there is a risk of their means of livelihood being taken from them by the loss of their patronage. They have been dependent largely upon the support of the well-to-do; if they are to be treated as luxuries they would by any heavy taxation of the well-to-do be themselves cut off, and the person they love most in all the world to work for, is the old country gentleman, the representative of traditional culture, who still in his treatment of them throws in a touch of 18th-century courtesy, a quality of feudal sympathy and patronage. Whether they repair for him a church, or build for him a house, he is the patron they most appreciate and with whom they are most at one. But the coming change is obvious, they find that the old country gentleman is passing away, he lets his house to another who knows not Joseph. His land is being portioned out for game preserves, he is interested no longer in the Arts and Crafts of the district, or they have drifted away, he now buys machine products in the town. If society is making of the artists and the craftsmen a marginal thing, is it not doing this of him also. The marginal things may in hard times have to go, and in so far as the artists and the craftsmen minister merely to the trimmings and frillings of communal life they may themselves be cut off; perhaps it is better that they should.



Those masters of craftsmanship, however, who look more deeply into the purpose of the Arts and Crafts and the conditions of modern Industry in which they are fulfilling themselves, know that their purpose is useful public service, and that if this purpose be temporarily obscured, it will be made clear again ; that their purpose fundamentally is utility and utility of the best. Their mission is to establish Standard ; to determine the right and the wrong in commodities, to say which of them are better produced by the hand than by the machine, to say which are the things where individuality is a prime factor, which are the things best made for their own sake, which best develop character and invention in the maker.

But the coming change is obvious and perhaps in the coming change the craftsman will seek employment from the municipality instead of the cultured country gentleman. That is what my socialist friends think, & they appear to think the craftsman will be as well off under King Stork as under King Log ; I think it doubtful. There is little sign as yet that the leaders of Socialist opinion have given any thought to the principles underlying craftsmanship, and they have therefore not thought it needful to find any place for the craftsman in their state. This is due to the fact that they approach these matters from the outside as quasi scientific problems, or from the point of view of machine production, and do not touch them directly as does the Craftsman with his workshop experience. It is therefore very difficult for them to understand his point of view.

One of the objects of this book, in which this point of view is set forth, is to get the craftsman himself to see it ; for then he is not only more likely to combine with his fellow craftsmen, and thus bring practical pressure to bear upon those who are to shape the new

State, but he will more readily realize his own position in the coming change. The approaching economic revolution in England will largely take the form of a struggle between the Cities and the Parliament, the cities which represent Democracy, & which are trying to get control of their own economic environment, and Parliament which represents privilege, privilege as expressed in land, capital, and the control of the means of production. In this struggle there seems little room for the craftsman, and so it behoves him to carve out a way for himself. I am in hopes that some of the experiences and some of the suggestions in this book will help him towards doing this.

In so far then as the justification of the Arts & Crafts is the Standard they set, the real want they fulfil, in so far must the craftsmen themselves come to be more real and more direct in their hold on life, the men & women who practise craftsmanship must not be dependent on their craftsmanship alone. They must be ready to take a hand at the elemental processes of life, work on the land, cooking and baking, husbandry, the things of the house, the more direct things that show what it is well to have and what it is better to do without, all those things that imply a simpler living of life. The townsman of the future will I think largely live out in the country, and he will have to do more with his hands than he does now, perhaps he will bring with him what he has learnt in the town. But to perfect and fulfil the life of Civic democracy, the lesson of the great town, we must go beyond it, we must learn the lesson of the country also, the Arts & Crafts must go "back to the land," they must in part at least be self supporting. While on the one hand they must obtain a control over their own market, & by collective action establish a limitation of machine

production, they must on the other hand become self dependent, at least in part, by a return to the direct processes of husbandry, a return to the land. *The Arts and Crafts and the problem of the land in England, are complementary to each other.*

What I have endeavoured to set forth in this book is the practical effort of a body of English craftsmen, who aided by a little group of capitalists, have taken their labour, their skill and their traditions with them, packed up their kit and gone off into the country to labour. How far they have succeeded or failed it is not for me to say. The deductions I make are from their experience, and indeed anything I may say is of value only in so far as their experience has tested it. If it can be shown that they have succeeded in certain directions, it means that others shall succeed also and go further ; if they have failed it means nothing more than that for the time being the right way has not yet been found, and that others will find it.

## CHAPTER II. THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF THE GUILD OF HANDICRAFT AND WHAT IT HAS TRIED TO DO.

The story of the Guild of Handicraft at the close of 20 years of life, or as some will prefer to put it, at the commencement of its majority and a new phase of its development, may be summed in a sentence. It has temporarily ruined itself in an attempt to uphold Standard and humanize work ; and to show, in other words, that standard of workmanship and standard of life must be taken together and that the one is dependent upon the other.

The wise, hard, shrewd business man will no doubt say—indeed I have heard him say—“ I told you so.” But that scarce suffices as prophecy, and it lacks definiteness. I propose in the following pages to show that the business man is wrong ; that his prediction is only partially true, that a great many things have happened in the 20 years, that were undreamed of by him or us, at the outset ; that rapidly changing economic conditions have affected the whole problem of the Guild of Handicraft and the Arts and Crafts movement of which it is an expression ; and that apart from its artistic product, in building, furnishing, silver, jewels & books, which we are here not called upon to judge, these being workshop matters and matters for the future, the Guild of Handicraft has arrived at certain social and economic results, which may claim to be of real value towards national life and towards those aspirations of labour and craftsmanship which will in the future largely help shape national life.

When we say that the Guild has ruined itself, we mean that as far as its legal position as a limited liability company is concerned it has gone as far as it can go in that direction, and that this chapter in its history ends at the close of the year 1907. The condition of limited liability has been an episode in the Guild's life, and the principles for which the Guild stands, will now have to develop in some other way in order to find their fulfilment. In plain business terms the Guild had dropped at the beginning of its twenty-first year and at the end of a period of acute commercial depression, a substantial sum of money, upwards of £6,000—£7,000, the money of its shareholders, many of whom are the workmen themselves, in the attempt to carry through certain principles of workmanship and life.

These principles may be briefly resumed. There should be under some collective grouping, a number of workmen practising different crafts, carrying out as far as possible their own designs, coming into direct contact with material, and so organised as to make it possible for the workmen to be wherever necessary in direct touch with the consumer.

The crafts were mainly those that had to do with Architecture and they were mainly handicrafts, that is to say machinery was not repudiated, but the idea was that in those cases where the hand was better used it should be used, and that the customer was not to be put off with the machine-made article on the score of cheapness, neatness or trade finish. Thus a timber plank, it was held, could be sawn by the circular saw (see p. 19), but should not be subsequently carved by machinery. A silver plate could be rolled by the mill, but the actual dish or cup should not be subsequently spun in the chuck (see p. 21). In this we considered, and still do, that there

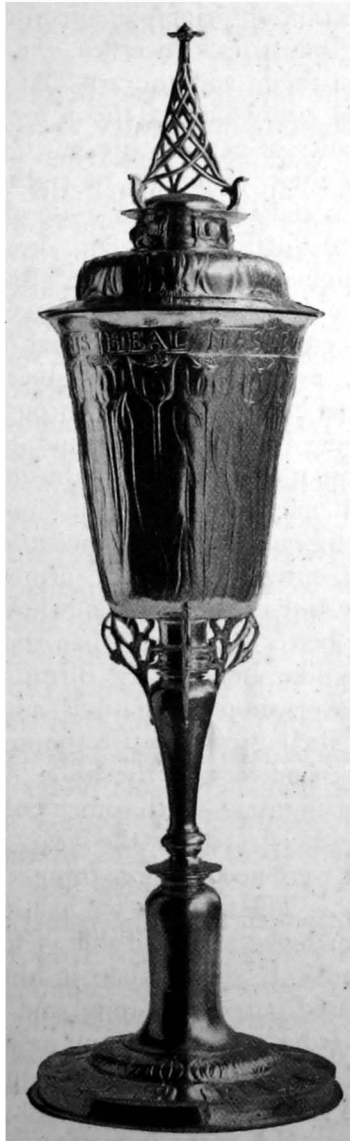


*Circular Saw in the Guild's Power House, illustrating the right use of machinery.*

lies a vital question of principle, affecting the whole future of the industries concerned, the life of the men engaged in them, and the arts and crafts which can and should grow out of them for the greater honour and beauty of national life.

In addition to these principles of right and wrong in craftsmanship and the use and abuse of machinery, the Guild went further. It laid down, and has consistently applied the principle, that the men themselves should hold shares and have an interest and stake in the concern, that personal interest must affect product, especially such product as has an intrinsic personal quality, and that through the men's appointed labour director they should have a voice in the management & policy of the business. It was even hoped at one time that the business might ultimately belong entirely to the men themselves.

Finally, as the outcome of these principles, it was felt that for the sake of the work and the life growing out of it, some better conditions than those prevalent in a great city like London, or Birmingham, with their horrible workshop associations and the dreary confinement of their grey streets & houses, should be given a chance; and for this the move of the whole concern into the country—with some 150 men, women and children—was effected in the year 1902. For this move there were needed three things: enthusiasm, skill and money. The first two we had in abundance, the third we borrowed. The Table of Curves that I give in Appendix I. shows that in the year 1901 when we increased our share capital and borrowed of our bankers in order to establish our new workshops in the country, the business was developing rapidly, the London West End shop in Brook Street was doing well, the sales were increasing, the business had for 15 years paid 5 per cent. upon its invested



*Hammered Silver Cup of which the parts are "raised" by hand out of the sheet, and not spun by machinery upon a "chuck."*



capital and there was every prospect of a continuance of work and prosperity.

If we follow the line of curves, however, from the year of our going into the country, in 1902, what do we see? The working expenses line goes up, the line of stock goes up, and, though the line of sales goes up also, it goes very slowly and in no relation to the other two, while in the year 1905 it is stationary and in the year 1906 it drops disastrously.

Another thing, however, was also happening as a result partly of the Country move, partly of the decrease of purchasing power in the Guild's clientèle, which the curves do not express. The sales though stationary in quantity decreased in value. That is, the work they represent has not been work of such good quality, or work on which such high profit was made. A great deal of it indeed was work in trifles, little work, and work of which we were not particularly proud. I wish to draw a distinction here because, as I shall show later the real standard of excellence, the quality of our work, the skill of our workpeople, has been raised by going into the country, but the public has simultaneously demanded of them a great deal of cheap indifferent work that they would prefer not to have made. Where in the years 1900-1 some of the Guild's customers spent say £50 in the year with it, they in the years 1906-7 spent only £5 or £10; they perhaps still asked for "individual things," but they asked for a cheaper article. I say that this was partly due to our move into the country, because we did not in the country feel justified in refusing the cheaper work, it took the place of making stock, it was often more profitable, and the turnover was immediate. Had we been working in the town we should, as I shall show presently, have been able to refuse it

In view of these facts and the changing economic conditions with which the Guild was faced, the course taken by the directors of the Company was indeed the only one open to them. They were Trustees of the Capital committed to their charge, and the shareholders, of whom a large proportion were the workmen themselves, were necessarily their first consideration. At the close of the year 1906 they encountered a heavy loss, £2,000, with a drop in their sales on a turnover of £10,000. They tried to meet this boldly by cutting down expenses and writing down the value of the shares 50 per cent. in order to meet the depreciation of stock that had taken place, and by an appeal to the shareholders for a further £1,000 fresh capital. The writing down was agreed to, but only £600 of the £1,000 asked for was subscribed. The £400 balance could no doubt have been found had there been any prospects of its return in the near future, but the sales in 1907 dropped further, it was impossible to reduce expenses on the one hand, or to make fresh stock on the other. The glut of commodities on the market and the decline in purchasing power of the customers showed too unmistakably that the existing stock, (some £7,000 worth) would have to be still further written down, *i.e.*, far below the cost of production, if it were to have any chance of sale, or if it were to have a market price at all.

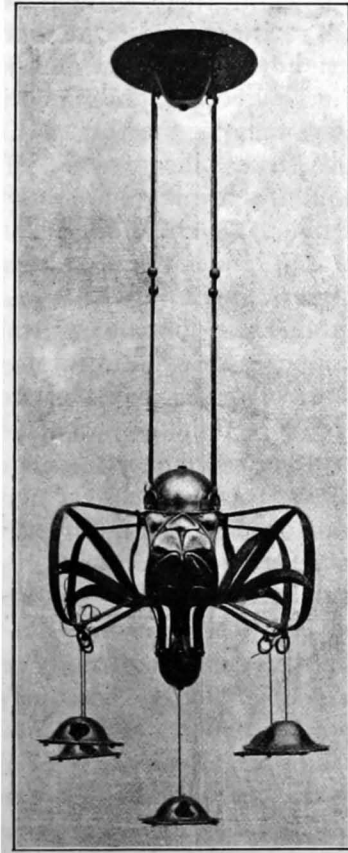
We tested this in several ways, but an illustration taken from two of the Guild's shops, the metal shop and the smithy, will best show what I mean and how our experience worked out. The Guild had for many years made Electric Lights of various shapes and forms, the workmen for the most part designing and developing these themselves, but the stock had been growing in excess of the sale and the directors stopped the making. In the year 1906 they valued the stock,

writing it down on their books at 75 per cent. below the cost of labour and material. At this figure they thought they were safe, but in 1907 they determined to test the actual market value at an auction of electric light fittings, and selling them without reserve, they realized them at a further 50 per cent. reduction. So that an Electric Light (see p. 25) which had cost £5 to make in labour and material, & for which the customer would normally pay about £7, had, four years after making, an actual market value of 12/6. The position was not very different with many other of the Guild's products; their value being principally labour they turned out to be quite unsalable except at what Mr. Premium would call "frightful reductions."

Thus the whole question of the continuity of the Guild as a limited company had to be faced, for the issue before it turned upon the value of craftsmanship, upon the market value of the commodities offered for sale, upon the value in the market of the workmen of whom the business was composed, and upon the value of their capacity, skill, intelligence, tradition, and power to make more things if required.

"If you cannot sell your things," says the financier, "your things are worth nothing" if you cannot sell your skill, your skill is worth nothing;" then he adds in a rider—"of course there is a wrecking price—are you prepared to take that—how long can you wait? how long will your bankers and your shareholders wait? As for your workmen and their traditions, & their standard of life—that is not a question of practical finance and is no concern of mine—let them find their own market individually!"

That, without any reference to ethics is the way in which any financier must under modern industrial conditions look at any business, and if he finds that the wrecking price must be accepted he proceeds to



*The Electric Light Fitting used in illustration of  
the arbitrary reduction of labour values.*

wreck accordingly. Not with any evil heart or uncharitableness, but simply as part of a system, and through the ordinary processes of liquidation, voluntary or otherwise. In short he finds the artistic business, the business of Craftsmanship, of high standard & all that workshop Tradition implies, to have, at certain periods, no value in the market at all ; and therefore if he is wise he leaves it alone, or buys it at the wrecking figure as the case may be.

Now the Guild's shareholders as will be seen in the sequel, are the most charming and enlightened shareholders in England, so are the Guild's bankers ; but no amount of courtesy, chivalry, taste, kindness or long-suffering can immediately affect the working of economic conditions ; it does affect them in the long run as I shall hope to show, but immediately these conditions are all powerful. To its shareholders then the Guild had to say, "this business of yours and ours cannot permanently be conducted in the manner in which we have for the last ten years been trying to conduct it."

I will now give some of the practical reasons why this has been found to be so. To begin with then, the business of the Guild of Handicraft has not been one business but eight distinct businesses, each involving special technical knowledge and skill. "Art," Michael Angelo said, "is only one," and the genuine artist, the fine craftsman, can see it in no other way, but the modern business man can have none of this ; he specializes. He says "the fact that you have a number of craftsmen working at different trades, learning from and inspired by the excellence of each others occupations is a deterrent rather than an aid to business—I have to concentrate—it is only by concentration that profits can be made !"

Then this carrying on of eight different businesses,

though they have played into each others hands, has involved a great deal of secretarial work; more secretarial work and charges than each business individually would have needed if conducted on the same scale as a small private venture.

In the next place the conditions of limited liability have been proved to be exceptionally costly when applied to an organisation like that of the Guild. The necessity for keeping books and accounts in perfect order, the intricate detail of the men's holdings and their weekly calculation and adjustment, practically necessitated a special clerk and book-keeper. The conduct of a large concern through limited liability may be simple enough, the carrying out of the principle of the labour directorate and the men's holdings as laid down in our Articles of Association might in a large concern entail no very great extra cost, but when applied to eight small concerns the burden of extra secretarial work at £200 or £300 a year is considerable.

It is not sufficiently observed, I think, how the complexity of modern business methods is coming in itself to be more and more a tax upon labour. While valuing at its true worth the ignorant workman's criticism that the dead expenses are a burden to business, there is no doubt that a larger proportion of the product than is healthy or wise is often absorbed by what the workmen call the "black coats." Economic conditions at present necessitate this, but it does not alter the fact that 40 per cent. or more is a very high figure to pay for what might be called expenses of notation, for marketing, for seeing how one was getting on and for the privilege of being allowed to work. Thus we ourselves have found that the conditions of limited liability and all it involves have made us continually employ much costly labour of secretaries

and foremen in "taking stock." Too much taking of stock grows to be an expensive luxury.

There has then been the problem of profit sharing, and the labour directorate, both these have been of the very greatest help towards the fundamental needs of the workshop, the standard of work and life, and for winning the interest of the men; but they have sometimes tended to impede the manager, where swift responsible action was needed. To put it quite plainly, management by business methods means that your manager shall be in a position to sack the whole staff at a week's notice if he thinks right; management with the co-operation of labour means that there is a check upon him. The greater security of labour, however, is purchased at the cost of a weakening of the management. In businesses where the market is secure, management with the co-operation of labour works very well, but when rapid change and adaptation to market conditions are needed it leads to difficulties.

Finally there has been the move into the country and all that it has entailed. The initial cost of the move and the preparation of the new workshops, the difficulty of country housing which took three years for its adjustment, the difficulty of carriage and high railway rates, the difficulty of buying in large instead of small quantities without accumulating too great a surplus stock of raw material in all the different businesses, the difficulty of country education which was far behind the standard required by London workpeople, the difficulty of how to maintain standard while working for stock, and lastly the difficulty of keeping hold of the Guild's market in the face of a growing competition, and in an acute period of industrial depression: all these things had in one way or another to be grappled with.

In fine it has not been this or that problem, or the fight for this or that principle that has destroyed the Guild as constituted up to the close of the year 1907, but the complexity and variety of the difficulties with which it has had to deal simultaneously. It has stood so far and continues to stand for a right method in Industry. If, under competitive conditions the right cannot be found, other conditions must be created in which it can. That will remain the Guild's problem in the future as in the past.



### CHAPTER III. THE COMPETITION OF MACHINERY AND THE COMPETITION OF THE AMATEUR.

The Guild then represents in petto the relationship of some eight different workshops, and of the skilled craftsmen that compose them, to Industry as a whole. What are the principle forms of competition against which it has to contend? They are primarily two: the competition of machinery and the competition of amateur work. Both these forms are unfair.

It will be observed that I am not considering as unfair competition the pitting of the products of one good shop against another; the products of fair wages, clean life and sound conditions may rightly challenge comparison one with the other. If A. can make his work as well as B., if both have been judged by the same standard, if the work of both be offered to the customer in the same market, his choice becomes a matter of taste, or some moral quality in the work of the one shop as against the other may give it a superior excellence. Such competition is fair competition because it is in moral qualities or turns upon æsthetic choice, it stimulates further and finer production; but any competition by which the man is undersold by the machine, or by which one of the producers undersells the other because he has other means of subsistence is unfair competition.

Now I do not wish it to be supposed that I want in any way to have an embargo put upon the invention of new machinery. The Luddites in the 18th Century broke up the Spinning Jenny, and the makers of wigs in the reign of George III. petitioned parliament to stop people wearing their own hair, because it

interfered with their handicrafts. Both efforts were futile. But I do wish to see the province of the hand work and the province of the machine work so defined; that the former when it is demonstrably better in its direct product and its human resultant than the latter, shall not continue to be at the latter's mercy. I wish further to see, and I hope shall succeed in showing the need of, such workshop regulation as shall make the competition between the hand and the machine impossible or at least negligible; and I wish finally also to see some internal arrangement of the crafts by which a check shall be put upon the unfair competition of the amateur. I do not want to stop him producing, I merely want to stop him accepting an unfair price for his work, a price that destroys the lives of others.

It may be argued that there is nothing new in this, that competition between the hand and the machine has been going on ever since the beginning of the Industrial revolution, if not before, that the hand has almost always been beaten by the machine. While the other sort of competition, that between the skilled craftsman and the amateur goes back to the beginning of time. All this is quite true; but the difference, and the answer to the argument, lie in the altered modern economic conditions.

Whether it be the competition of the one or the other, we have come to a time when it is possible and expedient to control them, when it is possible for the production of the amateur to be limited in respect of sale, and for Industrial machinery which has now been so highly developed in many directions to be given an extended usefulness on the one hand, and to be curtailed in its mischief and waste on the other.

Let us examine first the competition of the machine and see how it bears upon the Arts and Crafts. We

have had in this country 150 years of machine development, we know that the machine has come to stay, we know its value, we also now are beginning to know its limitations, we know that it has revolutionized every craft practised by man, and we know that though it has, like all revolutions, brought much sorrow with it, its power is a beneficent power. Just as the institution of slavery was a beneficent institution by comparison with the savage Tribal extermination which it superseded, just as the institution of feudal serfdom under the mediæval Church was a further advance upon the buying and selling of men which slavery implied, so the institution of machinery—the Industrial system as it is called—is beneficent by comparison with the mediæval system under which the serf was “adscriptus glebæ.” Each system gradually evolved out of beneficence into abuse, & devised methods within itself for regulating and checking its abuses.

Now when we come to think of it one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the end of the 19th Century has been the revival, in almost every department of life, of handwork—the Arts and Crafts. Why, it might not unreasonably be asked, if machinery has once and for all come and destroyed the organisation of the old hand workshops, why are they all suddenly being revived? What does it mean? Why do we see again hand weavers, hand printers, hand silversmiths, hand book-binders, why have a hundred and one different crafts, in metal, in wood, in iron, in textiles, in pottery, in leather, in glass, in stone, suddenly thrown aside mechanical aids and started again from the very beginning? Is it nothing but a stupid anachronism? All these antiquated mediæval methods that we thought were decently dead and buried with the extinction of the

Guilds of Craft, why are they suddenly all coming to life again ?

The answer is that the Industrial system has found its limitation, has got as far as it can go ; the personal, the human factor has reappeared, and the movement of the Arts and Crafts which has grown out of Industrialism is a rebellion of the individual against its abuse.

One of the directors of the Guild of Handicraft, Ltd., when it was decided to wind up the Company, gave it as his opinion that the sum of £2,000 spent purely in advertisement over a period of two years would have brought and might still bring the business round. The £2,000 was not there and so the question was an academic one, but I doubt whether the view he took was right. The difficulty lies deeper. It might have re-made the business, but I do not think the £2,000 would ever have come back. I think, too, that something else would have happened. The business if re-made would have been another business—a business dependent not on handicraft but on re-duplication. And it is here that we touch the central point as between the hand and the machine. Eliminating the factor of time, it ought often to be possible to produce a piece of handicraft at the same price as a piece of machine stuff of similar pattern, but as soon as you take it to market the conditions are changed, and it costs you about 50 per cent. more to market the piece of hand work than the piece of machine stuff. It is exceedingly difficult to get the customer to see the reason of this, but the business man acquainted with the intricacies of buying, selling and production grasps it at once.

The crux of the situation in terms of business is that whereas every machine-made article shares its dead expenses with a thousand of its fellows, the pro-

portion of dead expense or establishment charge is of necessity very much higher on hand-made goods, where each article is specially designed to meet the particular requirements of its purchaser. Hence the gross profit on a piece of hand work has to be correspondingly greater, while that of a piece of machine stuff may be infinitesimally small, and yet the result in net profit on the two may be in inverse ratio, that is to say the hand-piece may be produced at 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. gross profit and sold at a net loss, while the machine piece may be produced at a 10 per cent. gross profit and sold at a net profit, the profit and loss in either case being calculated over the whole workings of the business. As a further consequence the machine business grows greater and stronger with each piece sold, while the hand business remains stationary or comes to an end. This was graphically brought home to me once when going over the works of the Gorham Manufacturing Co., in Rhode Island, the greatest silver-smithing house in America. The manager by way of comparing the petty methods of the Guild of Handicraft with the splendid achievements of Providence, R.I., took me into one of his immense workrooms, a room devoted to polishing. There were some 200 fellows in long red brown rows, each in front of a red brown wheel, they were all dressed in red brown smocks, they were covered with red brown dust, they were all polishing tea-pots. "My good Sir," said the manager to me with humorous patronage, "While you're niggling at one little tea-pot I turn two hundred out at a bang." It was perfectly true, and yet I knew that in the matter of tea-pots my way was the right way and the way of Providence wrong.

When we pursue the question further and introduce the element of time, which for the sake of argument

we eliminated before, we are met with a fresh series of factors, all of which economically aid and cheapen the machine product, while they hinder and make dearer the hand product. These are locomotion, questions of export and import, the extra cost of material purchased in small as against large quantities, and the question of the turnover of capital invested. The Arts and Crafts and the products of Industry while they constantly impinge upon each other and must be studied in their relation to one another, are like two trains running side by side, but of which the "Slow" gets in to its destination first because the station happens to be the next along the line. If the "Slow" moreover goes to a pleasant little wayside country station, and the "Fast" only goes to the terminus in the great town, and you happen to want to go to the little wayside station, the "Fast" is of no earthly use to you. Everything indeed points to the need of regulating machinery on behalf of the Arts and Crafts, of differentiating between what ought and what ought not to be made by the hand or by the machine, and of once again introducing into our commodities those ethical considerations which we have so long ruled out, because we could not see how they should be applied. We want to get again to the little wayside station in the country, we don't all want to rush to the terminus in the great town.

Now let us examine the other form of competition, that of the amateur. It may seem paradoxical, but the amateur who has fastened like a leech upon the Arts and Crafts movement, is the direct outcome of the Industrial system. He is the person of leisure who practises the Arts and Crafts because he has not got to make his living out of them. He is supported by the unearned increment of the Industrial

system. In a certain sense he is a healthy and honest outcome of the teaching of Ruskin when he advised people again to make things with their hands, to ornament them for their own pleasure, and to delight once more in their own labour. I have great sympathy with the amateur. Much more, my skilled workmen tell me, than I ought to have! Ever since the beginning of the Guild it has been the tradition of the Guild workshops to allow amateurs to come in upon payment, in order to work at the bench under the supervision of one or other of the craftsmen. Not counting the many hundreds of schoolmasters and others who worked in the old School of Handicraft at Essex House,\* we have trained or had at the Guild benches some 100 amateur workers, ladies, school masters, technical teachers, clerks and miscellaneous people who wanted in one way or another to work with their hands. These people worked with us for varying periods of from one month to a year, and though they have often grumbled at the price they have had to pay, they none of them regretted in the end what they got for it. This grumbling at the price charged (usually about £1 a week) is the result of that persistent undervaluing of human labour in which, owing to machine conditions we, especially the more educated and academic portion of the community, have all been brought up. We cannot understand how £1 a week can be a fair charge, and yet when we measure it in rent, fire, light, food and clothing, when we consider that the skilled craftsman's wage runs at £2 10s., and that by our presence as troublesome learners we are taking up half his week's time,

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\* See my *"Endeavour in the teachings of John Ruskin and William Morris."* (1901.)

and constantly asking what are to him insufferably silly questions, is it so unreasonable? The amateur does not in fact realize the latent value of that which the skilled craftsman can give him.

Until the formation of the Campden School of Arts and Crafts under the Gloucester County Council, of which I shall say something in Chapter XIV, amateurs continued to be trained in the Guild workshops; then it was found to be a mutual advantage to pass on the amateur students to the little technical school across the road, the committee of the school making their own arrangements with the Guild's craftsmen.

Now I do not think that the Guild has experienced any serious direct competition at the hands of amateurs who have worked in its shops. Some of our workmen differ from me on this point, but I always reply "Even if it be so, we could not have helped it; had they not learnt of us they would have learned elsewhere; the movement is for learning and appreciating craftsmanship, the honour of the hand, we may as well be ahead of the movement as behind it."

But there is no doubt that collectively the output of the amateur, which is in the bulk an output of very second-rate work, has been great, and it has absorbed a large part of the skilled craftsman's market in several directions.

In the Guild's workshops our fellows are rightly nervous of this competition of the amateur, especially the lady amateur, and albeit with the utmost consideration they speak of her generically as "dear Emily." I have seen a great deal of her work in the last ten years, she is very versatile, she makes jewellery, she binds books, she enamels, she carves, she does leather work, a hundred different graceful and delicate crafts. She is very modest and does not profess to



any high standard, nor does she compete in any lines of work where physique or great experience are desired, but she is perpetually tingling to sell her work before she half knows how to make it, and she does compete because her name is legion and because, being supported by her parents she is prepared to sell her labour for 2d. an hour, where the skilled workman has to sell his for 1s. in order to keep up standard and support his family.

I could keep an album of letters from Society ladies who have written to me from time to time about "dear Emily," what she can do, and how clever she is, and whether I could let her come and work for a month in the Guild's workshops, say in the summer when there is no hunting or dancing; they ask me how soon she will be able to earn her little pin money, or they ask would the Guild even pay her at once if they have an opening, and so forth. It is difficult to see how this is to be stopped, especially as there is so much that is good in "dear Emily." But it must be stopped somehow, and I have endeavoured in Chapter VII. to suggest some ways by which at least it may be regulated. We craftsmen in the details of our workshops and from the experience of our labour have watched these two forms of competition, the competition of the machine and the competition of the amateur, we have noted the way they are strangling the crafts and wasting human life, and we know these two forms of competition to be unfair.

#### CHAPTER IV. THE PROBLEM IN THE TOWN.

Now in the great town even this unfair competition can be faced, but experience has shown us that in the country the situation for the present at least is different. With the latter I shall deal directly ; the reason of the former is first to be considered.

As long as the Guild was in London it could stand up against depressions of trade by virtue of the good will and enthusiasm of its members—once more the human factor. Also it was able to protect itself in respect of standard because there was no need to do any but good work. We experienced during our 15 years in London two such depressions, and our method of meeting them was simple. We first worked short time, then our men stood down, usually by seniority. Being men of high skill and well known in their Trade Unions and the ordinary commercial shops, they had no difficulty in getting inferior work elsewhere ; being fond of their own shop and liking the spirit in which it was conducted, proud also of the work it turned out, they quietly came back again when trade revived. I can remember a time when half the benches at Essex House in Mile End were standing idle, and yet the whole organization was instinct with life & we continued to pay 5 per cent. on our capital. “Standing down” in London therefore did not mean starvation to the workman, it did not imply the risk of uprooting home and family in the search for work at a distance, and it did not mean loss to capital. It may be asked, then why was this not foreseen before the country move was undertaken ? Perhaps the best answer to this is a reference once again to the

curves in Appendix I. The upward tendency of the whole business was so marked, the purchase of the Guild's goods so steady, the presumption that the stock would continue to be marketable so fair, that there seemed every reason to hope for continuity. But it is questionable how far even in town the serious Industrial depression of the last three years, the deluge of cheap production, & the uncontrolled competition of the machine and the amateur would not have cut into and largely destroyed our market and affected the stability of the Guild's business.

All the other workers in the Arts and Crafts tell the same story, and it is noticeable that many of them in the last year or so have gone under, or have closed their workshops. They have discovered, in short, what we have discovered, that the Arts and Crafts have at present in modern Industry no stable economic basis. My own view in the matter is that staying in town we should probably have pulled things through though with great loss to our shareholders; but by going into the country we have done a still better thing and one which, if we carry our little ship off the rocks in the manner to be indicated in my later chapters, we shall never regret, and which may be an example to many who are working on lines similar to ours. We claim then that we solved the problem of how to conduct our little Arts and Crafts in the town, and to conduct them as we did; with the interest and co-operation of our workpeople. But then we had the market at our doors, we actually did our work in the market place, and it was possible in the larger whole to form as we formed, a little society of our own, taking advantage of industrial conditions when compelled to, throwing them aside when they were no longer needed. In this fact I find my first convincing retort to the business man's "I told you so!"

It will be evident however to the most superficial observer that the condition of any Arts and Crafts business if it seeks to stand on its own merits alone, must, under modern competitive conditions, be precarious. Even in the great town—that hot-house of exotics—its condition will remain an artificial one. And yet perhaps no more artificial than any of the great Industrial undertakings which depend not upon the real or permanent needs of the Community, but upon needs which are forced upon it by artificial or insecure conditions—soap for instance, the demand for which rests largely upon soot, and the filth of our great cities; or corrugated iron, the demand for which is a result of the general insecurity and unwillingness to use permanent building materials.

In the town we had not only the market at the door, we could draw from the best East London schools for our young apprentices, and from the best shops for our skilled workmen, we could watch closely the work of our colleagues and competitors, we had the South Kensington Museum as a source of inspiration, and we had trains and 'buses to take us there. We also had trains to take us out of the town for week ends, and the little country cottages we set up first at South Benfleet in Essex, then at Ruislip in Middlesex, Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire, and Drayton-St.-Leonards in Oxfordshire, helped no little to unite our people and give us the right taste for the country.

I seem to see in the prevalent fashion of the week-end cottage the beginning of that decentralization of industry which is to destroy the great town. Not a few of the little Arts and Crafts in this way have gone into the country, and perhaps in this way may come our second retort to the business man's "I told you so!"

We felt indeed long before the move was made that

to do our work of Arts and Crafts well we must get out into the country. For two years before the expiry of our lease at Essex House, we searched in the great town to see whether we could find there a suitable place for our new workshops. We tried Mile End and Bow, South Benfleet and the eastern districts, we tried Fulham & Chelsea and Putney and Brompton, we went north & tried Ruislip and Harrow. None of these for one reason or another seemed good enough, until we went right out into the little forgotten Cotswold town of the Age of Arts and Crafts where industrialism had never touched, where there was an old silk mill and empty cottages ready to hand, left almost as when the Arts and Crafts ended in the 18th century. Perhaps this historical—or is it sociological—expression of English life may yet give us the key to their development in the future.

The very fact, however, that the week-end stimulus is needed, that the museum and the technical school are not enough, that somehow we cannot do without country air and that all these other aids to life are required to make it possible for the Arts and Crafts to prosper in the great city, shows how artificial their whole condition is, and how we must ultimately look for some other basis upon which to set them if we wish them to be secure. What these may be I shall examine in later chapters. Here I wish to state my conviction that though in the great town they may for the time being be economically possible, they cannot there under modern conditions have any abiding home. Those of us who have for many years lived and worked in the eastern quarters of the great city, know only too well that for national character, for constructive purpose, for stable creation, something better is needed than the environment of an "East End," whether it be on the south side of



*Chipping Campden High Street.*

the Thames or the north, whether it be in Birmingham or in Sheffield, in Wolverhampton or in Glasgow, in Pittsburg or in Chicago. I have had 15 years of it in the worst parts of London, and so perhaps know. My experience indeed has been full of happiness, largely due no doubt, as it is with others, to persistently shutting my eyes; but, much as I like the East London cockney, his vivacity, his imaginative romance, his effervescent humour, his loyalty and affection, and the quality in him that is perpetually driving nervously for something new; much as I love him for these things, the great town which engenders him deprives him also of other qualities that are needful for the work I would see him do. Repose, margin, leisure, reserve, restraint, and colour in life, these other things are also wanted for the Arts and Crafts, and these other things are better found in country surroundings where there are green fields, and trees and beauty, where there is chance for good physical development, where there is no soot, no oppressive ugliness, and no daily nervous racket of locomotion to and from work.

When therefore we put ourselves the question—when I put myself the question in the light of the last six years' experience in the country—was the thing worth permanently doing in the town, and would you for the sake of economic success have continued it or start it again, I answer, No. The thing was not worth permanently doing in the town, what we gained in economic success we paid for in the human something that has given to the best of our later productions their quality, and to our workmen their character. Also we have gained by what we have done a certain finer outlook into life that has influenced all of us and our work. It would be comparatively easy with the experience of 20 years.

behind us to go back to London and start it all again—a new Guild of Handicraft in East London or elsewhere, many of its old members would return to it even there, but many would not, because they have seen how things can be better done; and some of us feel with Socrates that having once seen the Sun and learned the meaning of the shadows on the wall, we have no desire to go back into the den. True, Plato made some of his people return in order to teach those that were still chained, but in modern times there are other ways of doing this, and one of these ways, when the necessary experience has been gathered is to write a book, and reason with the den dwellers about their blindness.



## CHAPTER V. THE PROBLEM IN THE COUNTRY & THE COUNTRY HANDICAP.

In my "Endeavour in the Teachings of John Ruskin and William Morris," published in 1901, of which book the present is a continuation, I outlined the possibility of a move into the country and what we might hope from it. In the light of our later experience, the following quotation from the "Endeavour" may not be misplaced.

"Perhaps some day, some English landlord who has watched from his point of view the economic evil that has driven his people into the towns, has seen his farms dying away, and his small tenantry and labourers gradually dispersed, may hold out the hand to us, and make it possible for us to carry out our works in combination with some form of agriculture by small holdings, market gardening or co-operative farming. For we indeed realize from our side, the economic evils of the town. I believe this can be done if tried on a sufficiently comprehensive and yet a sufficiently unpretending scale. The experience of my friend Edward Carpenter and others who have attacked the problem from a simple, direct and human point of view, has gone to show that this is quite possible, if two things are borne in mind. First, if some other occupation besides agriculture alone be carried on, and second, if the bulk of the produce reared be retained for the consumption of the dwellers on the land themselves."

Six years is perhaps hardly time enough to test an experiment of this kind, especially if, instead of working on a large scale and with the assistance of any such imaginative landlord as is indicated above, our experiment has had to be tried on a very small scale with very little money, all of it borrowed, and on land that was very costly. But in so far as we have been able to try it my anticipations have come true. It has been possible for some of our workmen to live practically rent free by the produce of their little holdings, varying from  $\frac{1}{2}$  an acre downwards. One

of them made for me a calculation of the amount of stuff he could grow on his plot of 1-36th of an acre, and compared it with the price he paid for vegetables for his family of four people in the town, it worked out at a cash saving of 3s. a week. As his rent in the country was 4s. a week and his rent in town 7s. 6d. exclusive of fares, he made a further saving there.

The point to be observed is that his own labour was marginal, and he got in return for it the direct produce of the soil, unhandled and untaxed by middle men, in other words not having to market, he had not to pay tribute to the consumer in town. Some 12 of our London workmen & their families availed themselves of the opportunities gradually offered of small garden plots, or allotments, and I think none of them have regretted it. My hope is that later on this principle, so sound in itself, of helping the craft, may be developed in such a way as to be not merely a help but a mainstay for Craftsmanship. Of this however I shall speak later in Chapter XIII. and Chapter XIV. My purpose in this Chapter is rather to point to the difficulties and handicaps that have so far made the carrying on of the Guild's business in the country impossible. The slowness of everything, the absence of up-to-date appliances, such as the telephone, the difficulty of railway rates and carriage and the unwillingness of the Railway Companies to depart one fraction from the usage of 50 years ago, their system being based upon the hypothesis that the town and not the country is the objective, all these things and many others have hampered us, but they have done something else, too, they have tended to put the business and the workmen more and more into each others hands. The workmen have become indispensable to the business, and the business to the workmen. This in itself or from the point of view of the Guild

as a human organism is an excellent thing, but under economic pressure, in a period of bad times it is doubly disastrous.

I could show an instance of where a big contract of many hundred pounds was lost owing to the refusal of the Railway Company to make any reduction in its carriage rate. I could show another of where the Guild workmen—London workmen—have been ruled out of London County Council contracts which they had hitherto been able to take, because their shop was now no longer in London. I mention these here as examples of what seem to me to be perfectly remediable handicaps to country industries, and as illustrations of how we encourage the movement of workmen into our great cities instead of the reverse.

I am not sure that the greatest handicap of all to the doing of work in the country “efficiently,” or shall we say “competitively,” is not just the essential country quality or mood that we all most admire, & that we each individually aim to achieve as soon as occasion offers; a certain leisure, a certain largeness, a delaying, a dilettantism perhaps, a comfortable comprehension of things, it is difficult to know what to call it, its influence is so subtle, but it is this something that makes life good, that makes labour good when it is conscientiously done, but that also makes it expensive.

I would like to develop this idea because it seems to me to bear closely not only upon the Arts & Crafts, when pursued in the country, but also upon the dwellers in the country themselves. Whatever one may call it, this country mood seems to have affected very largely the attitude of people in the country towards the Guild's workmen, and it has certainly reacted upon them. Our experience has been that

we have received the greatest kindness, hospitality & courtesy from all ranks and from every quarter, but practical support—none. The whole thing has been regarded as play from beginning to end. Nothing so strikes the townsman when he settles in the country as the apparent unwillingness of people in the country to try any experiment themselves or allow others to try it. The townsman sees in their attitude a want of seriousness—an apathy.

Yet this attitude of theirs is not unnatural when we come to think of it, for life in the country is a very pleasant life, and people do not want to be disturbed. They take Lord Melbourne's view—"Can't you let it alone!" But it is the town—the great town—the industrial centre now as ever that stirs the puddle, and that says: "We will not let it alone, we cannot let it alone!" Indeed it is in the town, where 70 per cent. of the population of England dwells, that the real menace to the life in the country lies—the quick, active, disintegrating thought that is driving the townsman towards Social Democracy.

If it were only possible to get the fine old Conservative, the agriculturist, the aristocrat to put himself a little into the attitude of mind of the townsman, to see why there is this overpowering need for constructive social reform. If, for instance, it could be made incumbent upon every peer, or every Member of Parliament to live, without servants, for a month every year in let us say White Horse Lane, Stepney, or Flowery Dean Street, Whitechapel, we might arrive at a saner legislative point of view. Perhaps the wiping out of the Conservative Party in the Election of 1906, which was due to their blind incapacity to appreciate the real needs of the democracy & what it was feeling and thinking, may lead to some constructive change; but there are many who believe,



*Derelict Cottages in Camden High Street.*

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*The same reconstructed as one house.*

certainly most of the workmen I have had to do with in my life, that the Liberal Party will have to be similarly wiped out, before such change shall be. And what after all is the country as distinct from the town? Who are they that stand for it? I do not refer to the few kindly old-fashioned people who for generations have looked after their estates and still live on them, they are the signal exceptions upon whom the whole life of the countryside really turns; but outside them society in the country consists for the most part of amiable, idle people, interested in their horses and their motor cars and spending their lives in passing from one social function to another. They are merely hedonists, pleasure seekers, they will be charming to you as long as you succeed, and they will take no further note of your existence if you fail. They recognise no public obligations; and as their only function besides living pleasantly is to record votes in favour of the protection of rights of private property, for which in return they recognise few equivalent duties, they are a real danger to the State. Their life in short is parasitic; they are not part of the real working life of the countryside, and they are almost necessarily out of sympathy with any genuine attempt, such as the Guild's has been, for bringing fresh life into it, or finding useful and healthful livelihood for the many boys and girls whom a little place like Campden, for instance, turns out every year and sends to the great town there to learn the lessons of Social Democracy.

As for the exceptions, they are so pre-eminent when we meet them, that they are always unmistakable and we find them in every grade of life. Occasionally a landlord who devotes his whole energy to the realities—not the show—of public service; sometimes, but very rarely, a parish priest or a dissenting

minister, sometimes a farmer, a little local tradesman, craftsman or labourer, whose character tells constructively upon the social life around him. These are the real people of the countryside, it is they who do the work ; the majority of the well to do are amiable and idle, and the rest apathetic. If we go into the houses of these amiable and idle people, what do we find ? The question is not irrelevant, because it goes to the root of craftsmanship. We find rooms stuffed full of every conceivable commodity, for the most part tastelessly and ignorantly gathered together. We find almost everything the product of machinery, we find that these people whose idleness and wealth at least should warrant taste, are the destroyers of taste. Perhaps they have observed the prevalent fashion of buying old things, or things that look as if they were old, in which case this has helped to stimulate and build up a the growing industrial prosperity of centres like High Wycombe, where a special study is made of the fashion for antiquity, and where the Chippendale and Sheraton frets hang in rows along the factory walls, and the antique chairs and settees are turned out in hundreds to the hum of the latest American machinery.

Against all this, the machinery on the one hand, the antiquity on the other, and last the immense inpouring of cheap foreign commodities which flow into the world's free trade market, the English craftsman has to fight, to make a livelihood, & keep up the standard of life and the standard of workmanship.

It is this that is driving him into the town. There he can do it, as I have pointed out, because there he can grade his own labour, and has his Union behind him, and when the good shop is slack, he can go to the cheaper shop for a while ; but the handicap in the





*Derelict Cottages in Campden High Street.*



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*The same reconstructed as one house.*

country is all but insuperable. I say all but insuperable because in Chapter XV. I shall show the direction in which I think hope lies for little country industries. Whether the amiable idle people will block the way, not from any ill will, but from sheer idleness or inability to understand, remains to be seen. Indeed it is for their point of view in life that the English working craftsman has to pay—the “partridge and water colour point of view”—the point of view by which their sons are taught to shoot partridges and their daughters to be as the polished corners of the temple, *i.e.*, paint water colours, make photographs, do enamels and look charming.

For our part we had no cause to complain. The powers that be, though they had no money to spend with us, patted us benevolently on the back ; and the bulk of the village we had with us, not unnaturally so, for we paid a wages bill of from £5,000 to £6,000 a year, all of which was spent in the place, and we employed a good deal of local labour. But still it is no use shutting ones eyes to the handicaps, or pretending they are not there. Other venturers from the great towns will meet the same difficulties, and they may as well profit from our experience. Beside those to which I have already referred, any group of townsmen settling in the country will immediately be faced with further difficulties in housing, sanitation, education and amusement.

Let us take first the question of health. One of the standing difficulties is the insanitary cottage. It is practically impossible to get insanitary cottages condemned, because the official whose duty it is to do this, is appointed by the body whose members are owners of the insanitary cottages. To condemn them is sometimes as much as his place is worth, and it becomes a question of the interference with the sacred



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*A couple of New Cottages built for Guild Craftsmen.*

rights of private property. The appointment of the medical inspector should be made by some central authority, and his livelihood should not depend upon his local popularity—a readjustment of the law would save us much diphtheria and typhoid in the villages. There should be no vested interests in diphtheria and typhoid.

We were practically unable to get insanitary cottages condemned, our only way was to buy or lease, and then reconstruct them ourselves, and the pictures I give on pp. 50, 51, 54 and 55, show some of these reconstructed cottages in which the attempt was made, as will be seen, to keep the local amenities and at the same time provide the sanitary requisites. I wish to make it clear that all this was a great tax upon our resources, and militated against the success of our experiment. We laid out among ourselves collectively, and independent of the capital of the business some £3,000 in the problem of sanitary housing. On p. 57 and p. 59 I give examples of new cottages with gardens which I built, and which I offer as a type of what a decent craftsman's cottage in the country should be; each cottage has from a quarter to half-an-acre of land.

The difficulty in the way of education was a greater one even than that of health. In the country the question of education is one of politics. We have been nearly six years in the district now, but we have so far been carefully and jealously kept off all boards of managers and governors. The petty politics and the petty sectarianism, it is much the same thing, which rules in these matters, is of infinitely more importance locally than education itself, and the only way to be put on any of these boards is to take definite sides politically. As a Conservative one would be offered a seat at once, as a Radical one would be



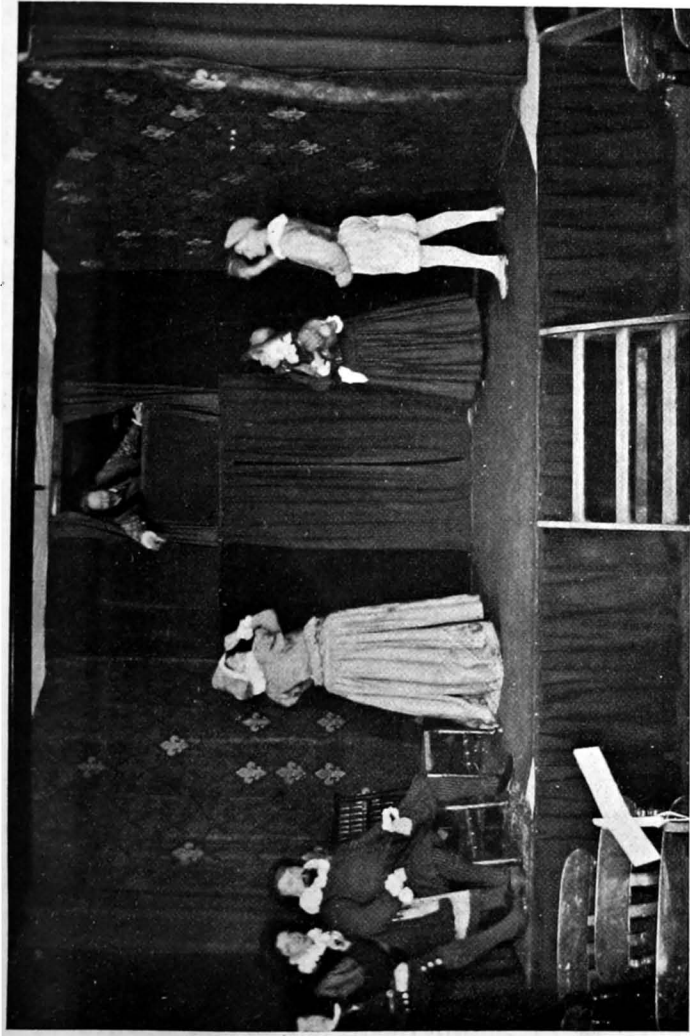
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*A group of four new Cottages built for Guildsmen and others.*

offered a seat to keep the other side quiet, as an Educationalist one has no *locus standi* upon a board whose function is education. Not being able to work through the boards, the next best way to get things done was to exercise pressure from outside. So we started on entirely fresh lines by forming a Higher Education School of our own. This school has now become one of the local representative institutions, and is doing excellent work. I shall have more to say of it in Chapter XIV., where I deal specifically with education in the Crafts.

Before leaving the question of education, however, I would like to give another instance of country handicaps. The doing of good work for us necessitated our drawing upon young skilled workmen from the towns, the country labour not being sufficiently educated, and naturally we drew from the best schools. In this way we got young scholarship holders from the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London, and the School of Art in Birmingham. The young craftsmen were only too glad to get into a good shop in the country under healthy and happy conditions, and asked if they could have their scholarships transferred to the Campden School of Arts and Crafts which was recognised by the Board of Education. But it was no use, they were tied by the leg to the great town, & told by the London & Birmingham officials that if they did not return they would forfeit their scholarships. Once again an example this of how men are dragged back into the town by *force majeure*, and how life in the country is by foolish and short-sighted regulations made for them as difficult as possible. In Chapter XIV. I offer some constructive suggestions as to how this may be overcome.

The last of the country handicaps to which I wish to point is the absence of amusement, of sport. Sport



*Scene from Beaumont & Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," as performed by the Guild in the Town Hall, at Campden.*

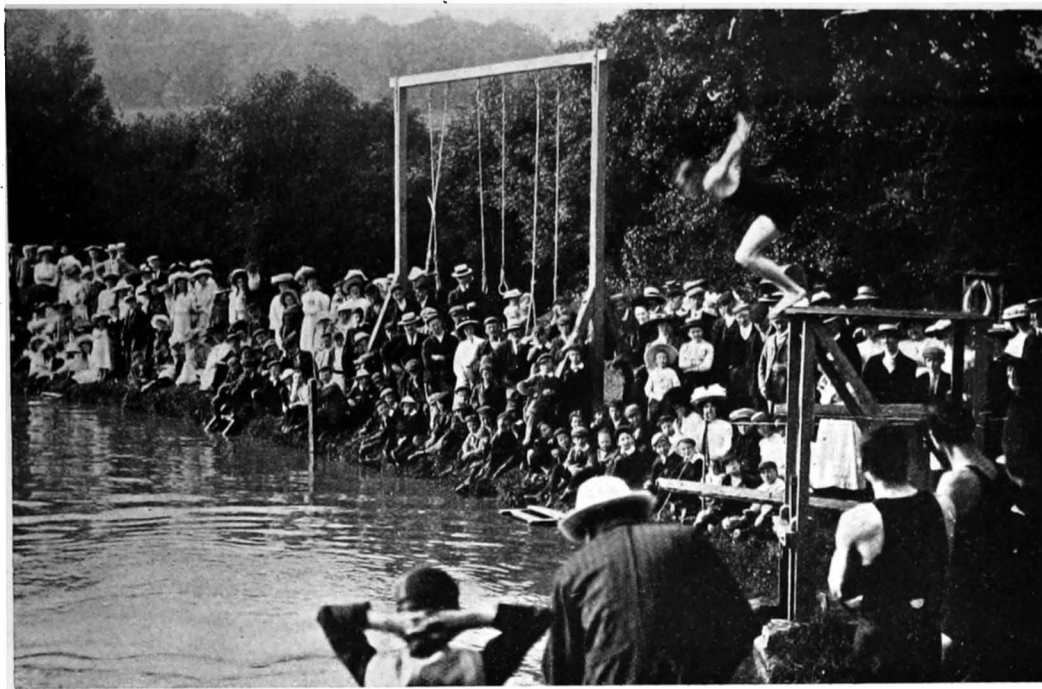
*Act 3, Scene 5.*

*"Hark you, here's none but lads of mettle, lives of a hundred years and upwards; care never drunk their blood, nor want made them warble: 'Heigh-ho, my heart is heavy.'"*



in the country is confined to the privileged classes. As the population decays and the countryside starves out, the village cricket match and all it stands for becomes more and more of a rarity, and in any case the labourers' lads cannot afford the dressing up, the flannels and blazers and things; often too there is no land for them to play on, except at, for them, prohibitive rentals. We found this to be so. Sport, indeed, one of the greatest of all humanizing influences, depends largely for its success upon the solidarity it brings with it. In a decaying countryside it is just this solidarity which is absent. The gathering of a number of townsmen into the country brought us face to face with this question, and our six years has proved to us one thing finally and absolutely. It has shown us the falseness of the common cuckoo cry that the townsman loves the music halls and the gas lamps. He does nothing of the sort; he hates them if he can get something better or more genuine. I studied this question very carefully, and during these years have learned to distinguish between good and bad recreation. Roughly I find it to be of two kinds, recreation that is a part of life, and recreation that is apart from life; the first is as much to be commended as the latter is to be condemned. The artificial pleasures of the rich, and the loafing of the East End wastrel, the spoilt workman, are both apart from life, both bad. Indeed the loafer—not the man of leisure, but the loafer—whether you meet him inside a country house, or outside a public house, is equally despicable; both are vicious, and it is the duty of the community to stamp them out. The growth of poverty increases the public house loafer, the growth of riches increases the country house loafer.

It is a most suggestive thing to compare in the countryside where the Guild is settled, the great



*Summer Sports in Campden Bathing Lake.*

tradition of popular sport known as the Cotswold games, that found its fullest expression in the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and that lasted until the enclosure of the Common lands in the middle of the 19th century, with the condition of the popular sports at the end of the century. Riding, hunting, coursing, running, wrestling, leaping, bar spurning, boxing, quarter staff, dancing, singing and music, with innumerable forms of healthy exercise for men & women were practised by all ranks and classes. There was a fellowship, a leisure shown in these sports, craftsmanship, and costume, and colour were a part of them, badges and prizes were distributed, we have records of communal festivals intimately associated with the conditions of communal agriculture, and evidencing a fine solidarity in the life of the countryside ; but in a short 50 years the whole of this is swept away and at the close of the century the countryside sports are reduced to a stray cricket club or so in which the casual labourers have no part, & the periodic visitations of gentlemanly shooters and riders who come into the district from God knows where, for the luxury of expensive sport.

We sought when settling in the country to give our fellows a variety of different forms of sport, simple for the most part, but such as would make again for the solidarity of life, and fit in with the different seasons of the year, and they were not slow to avail themselves of it. In the three pictures I show on pp. 61, 63 & 65, respectively, a scene from Beaumont & Fletcher play, the result of the evening study of the winter months as acted in the Town Hall of Campden, the summer sports at the bathing lake which was made a year after we came to Campden, where the trophies & cups to the best swimmers are being competed for, & the lads in their school garden. They had opportu-



*Gardening Class at the Campden School of Arts and Crafts.*

nities too for football, hockey, cricket ; and the foreman of the Guild woodshop, built up a fine band, recruited from townsmen and countrymen alike, which gives regular recitals, and through the medium of which much genuine music is homing once again in the village.

What we wanted—but did not get—from our friends & neighbours in the country was a little of the countryman's experience in country matters such as should enable the townsman to have another string to his bow, and be in the end not unprofitable to the countryman either. I think we shall get it later, but these things, like most things in the country, come slowly. There is a story told in a Hertfordshire village, of some London country holiday children, sharp as needles, with white cheeks and sparkling eyes, who were boarded out for a week with the cottagers. The London boys hung over the bridge watching the country lads fish. They had never seen the operation of fishing before, and so for three days they followed the process with intense interest ; on the fourth day they showed signs of restlessness ; on the fifth they began to mock their Hertfordshire cousins, and at the end of the week were teaching them how to do it better. It is less in the thought of doing it better, than of doing it in some way that shall make the work I want to do possible,—some form of agriculture that shall be contributory to the Arts and Crafts,—that I offer this parable. It has a double edge, for to my thinking the country can teach and help us even more than the town. But this leads me to a portion of my subject that I shall develop in Chapter XV. and so for the present I leave it. Ever since John Ruskin's early days, people have been trying to solve the problem which the Middle Ages solved, of doing good craftsmanship in the country ;



*The Chipping Campden Band.*

for us so far the problem has been insoluble, because as yet it is not possible for the working craftsman to live, and the countryside in which he might live is becoming more and more the preserve of the leisured classes.

## CHAPTER VI. SOME VIEWS OF OUTSIDE SHAREHOLDERS.

In the appendix I give a series of letters written during the year 1907 by different outside or non-Guildsman shareholders in response to one of mine, also given, which throw light upon the problems we are dealing with. These letters are necessarily anonymous, but they are many of them by men who occupy high official positions, who have to do with great business undertakings, or whose names are well-known.

The views expressed may in great part be taken as those of the absentee capitalist who is sympathetic with the objects the Guild has in view, who is usually a man of taste, and who may even be willing, for the sake of taste and the encouragement of good production, himself to lose money. What does their collective opinion imply?

If my shareholder friends—and I think I may say that all of the writers are personal friends of mine—will forgive me the impertinence, I will now deal with the several points raised in their letters somewhat as one might deal with examination papers. Not, I trust, in any too donnish manner, but simply as being in a position better able to judge than any of the writers the value of the individual view held.

I take the letters in the order of their arrangement. In letters No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, the straightforward commercial point of view is held without any beating about the bush. "The business don't pay, the business must be shut up, there's an end on't." This does not take us very far. For it is equivalent to



saying our problem of Arts and Crafts in the Country under healthy conditions is economically insoluble. Therefore, unless we are prepared to come back to the great Town and do it there as best we may, we must give it up. Well, that is a perfectly straightforward point of view, and it is the point of view that would normally be held by Capital when regarded quite unethically. The purpose of this book is largely to point out ways in which the difficulty can and will be got over. The purely business shareholder consequently does not help us much because he is not ready to go beyond the initial experiment—he will not make more than the first move in the game. Not that this is altogether fair in regard to Shareholder No. 3. “Frankly he always doubted,” but still he is willing to help, if only perhaps in the manner of the benevolent power in Tennyson’s Tithonus, who did “Grant our asking with a smile, Like wealthy men who care not when they give.”

Shareholders No. 4, No. 5, No. 6, No. 7 and No. 8, qualify the business point of view with a touch of philanthropy or idealism. They, therefore, go a little further. They as good as say, “True we have lost, but this is a thing worth losing on, we are willing to try again, to run the risk of losing more, not necessarily in the hope of getting back what we have lost, but because here is an Idea behind, and for Ideas we are willing to pay. We will back this dark horse of yours, we will roll another cheese down the hill.” I fancy it was in much this spirit that people subscribed money to Cecil Rhodes’ Cape to Cairo dream, not because they really thought they were going to see the dream fulfilled in their lifetime or his, but because there was an Idea behind it. This attitude is not the attitude of Commercialism, it is something bigger, but it does turn up in Commercialism sometimes.

It may be said, therefore, to take us a step further in our game, though it does not solve our problem. Shareholder No. 9 offers a solution. It is the solution already touched upon above, the solution found by some of the leading Arts & Crafts businesses—Morris', Benson's, Powell's and others that could be mentioned. But after all what does this solution amount to? To run a cheap or reduplicative business at a profit, in order that you may practise Arts & Crafts at a loss, is only a partial economic solution. It does not get to the root of the matter; we need something better. Whether we be on the extreme right with the Tories, or on the extreme left with the Socialists, or even wobble in the great centre with the Whigs, we want, if we believe in the Arts & Crafts, to find them an economic basis for themselves. Shareholder No. 9, it is true, comes nearer; he touches on the land question, but he has hardly made his suggestion when he scornfully dismisses it. I do not agree with the view he takes for reasons which later on in Chapter XV. I shall hope to make clear,—but he realizes that the essential characteristic of the Guild has been to make life through the Arts & Crafts a more complete thing. Cadbury's village at Bournville, as he points out, and Lever's village at Port Sunlight have sought to humanize leisure; the Guild at Campden has gone further & sought to humanize work. The distinction in modern Industry is a vital one.

Shareholder No. 10 gets us a little nearer still. Without actually stating how it is to be put into practice he lays down the principle. I quote his words:

"You must find some bond, some dovetailing into your surroundings, not only to solve the difficulties of the ebb and flow of employment, but also to give tone to your productions. In China, where they seem to think in salaries and wages, the *minimum* salary was supposed to be what a man could get from tilling a plot of land with his own hands. All above that was special merit. This seems bed rock, doesn't it?"

I think that does get us indeed to bed rock as far as the Arts & Crafts are concerned, and we may well learn a lesson if not actually from China then certainly from those countries where the Arts & Crafts have been or are still practised in conjunction with agriculture. We might point to it in Ceylon. I have myself seen it in Hungary, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany; many instances might be given. True, their success is often due to the fact that the Industrial system has never penetrated, but it does not therefore follow that we may not yet intelligently master it, or that we who are caught in it should not learn our lesson. For in so doing may we not be achieving two things, a revival of the Arts & Crafts, and a revival of agriculture also. Shareholder No. 10, then, holds the right end of the stick, but even he has, to my thinking, not got a complete grip of it.

To accomplish this we need other things as well, we need certain fundamental social reforms, we need a grasp of country conditions, we need a development of the co-operative spirit among craftsmen themselves, and we need the limitation of machinery in the interest of Arts and Crafts and Agriculture conjointly. These are the things which I shall try more fully to show in subsequent chapters.

Shareholder No. 11 helps us over another stile, he suggests a humanizing of the shareholder as well as a humanizing of the workshop. He suggests a plan by which groups of shareholders shall take the return on their investments, in kind instead of in cash; thus becoming a body of patrons and giving permanent support to a group of craftsmen—a suggestion, which if developed, as I shall show in Chapters XII. and XIII., might give us much of what was best in the mediæval system under which good craftsmanship so flourished.

Shareholder No. 12 makes the very pertinent comment, which in itself is a sort of corollary to No. 11, that profit sharing and joint stock holding when in conjunction are unsound in principle; with this I concur, for reasons which I shall try to set forth in the next chapter.

Shareholder No. 13 reminds us very aptly of the need there is in craftsmanship as in other things of touching the average want of the community. The want is there, the difficulty of fulfilling it, is one of method. The last of my Shareholders, No. 14,—I wish I might reveal his name,—lays the axe to the root of the tree. He brings out more than any of the others the larger educational & social ideas that underlie the Arts and Crafts. Taking the Guild of Handicraft perhaps as a type of what they should stand for in Industry he says:—

“From what I have seen and know of it, I have long felt it to be a piece of real civilization in Industry, combining not merely a corporate interest in the work done, but a corporate life outside work . . . The Guild in short has been a real society not an aggregation of ‘hands.’ It is this that I have always admired in it, and I think it a matter of very great regret that this little oasis of human life should be submerged in the unintelligent ocean of competitive industry.”

This shareholder indeed has recognised that the Arts and Crafts stand for civilization in Industry, that they imply life as a whole, and while he offers us no practical solution, not being himself in or of the workshop, he points for us the moral of the new State. He sees what so many of the disciples of Morris preach without practising, and what so many of the Collectivist Socialists have so far been incapable of seeing at all, that the new State, whether it call itself Socialist or Labour, Greater England, American or Cosmopolitan, Free Trade or Protectionist, must find a place for the Arts and Crafts if it is to attain

civilization. This shareholder—I wish there were many such—has from outside recognised the fact, which even we ourselves have but dimly discerned from within, that the Guild of Handicraft has been an attempt at civilization in Industry. Unconsciously we have arrived at this position through our work, unconsciously we have found out that it is just this that the Arts and Crafts can do for life, because like their own cunningly wrought vessels of silver and gold, they carry their own intrinsic worth, their civilizing force within themselves.

My little group of shareholders then, those of them particularly that are sorrowful at the loss of their investments, may at least take this to their comfort. The capital has not in the larger sense been lost. It has made for a civilization within Industry, and I do not for a moment doubt but that others will come forward and, seeing that the thing has once been done, will do it better and on a greater scale. Perhaps after all, modern Industry is worth civilizing! In a sense our little group of outside or absentee shareholders epitomizes the relationship of Capital to Labour on the one hand, and the relationship of Capital to Craftsmanship or non-mechanical labour on the other. What this little group of shareholders is *in petto* to the workmen of the Guild of Handicraft, the capitalists of the whole community are to the whole mass of labour, with perhaps a little more than the usual amount of idealism thrown in, and the investment of their capital (some £9,000 over a period of twenty years) in craftsmanship, could, to carry the analogy of the microcosm further, be fitly paralleled by the investment of the whole community in Arts and Crafts—it is a trifle. It is a trifle because the community has not as yet regarded the Arts and Crafts as other than outside life, as things that are

marginal, accessories, luxuries, trifles to be dispensed with when money is short, or that should not be allowed to come in the way of our great, logical, well ventilated collectivist system. But we of the Arts and Crafts are there to bring them into life once again, and to this end we have got to fasten them upon the real useful things of life. Hence we are brought face to face with the question of the limitation of superfluous machinery, and the control of industry by labour, as distinct from its control by finance. In our view the community is not interested in the Arts and Crafts, because it does not as yet understand what is meant by them; and because it thus regards them as unserviceable and marginal, it leaves them to scramble for themselves as best they may, supported hazardously as we have seen in the case of the Guild of Handicraft by a few kindly and sympathetic shareholders, who, after foregoing dividend and risking principal for four or five years, shrug their shoulders and say, "Now we must stop!" The community in short accords to the Arts and Crafts as yet no stable economic basis.

## CHAPTER VII. LIMITED LIABILITY AND PROFIT SHARING.

In this chapter I want to examine the good and bad in Limited Liability and Profit Sharing, as we have experienced it, and to determine the usefulness to the work of Arts and Crafts of these two media for carrying business through. The general conclusion I arrive at is that *the combination of Profit Sharing with joint stock enterprise is, as far as the Arts and Crafts are concerned, unsound in principle*, and I find myself in substantial agreement with Shareholder No. 12, to whom reference was made in the foregoing chapter. I will endeavour to set forth the reasons for this.

It may in general be said that Limited Liability and in lesser degree Profit Sharing are the products of the Industrial System, and as such are more applicable to the great industrial concerns than to the Arts & Crafts, which for success require smaller and more human conditions. The first provides a means of increasing collective capital, the second secures to the workman an interest upon the increment. It is not my intention to give any exhaustive review or criticism of either, nor am I capable of doing this. I wish merely to point to the essential features in either and show how they may help or hinder the work of Arts and Crafts. We have had ten years of limited liability and so have given it a fair trial; as to profit sharing, seeing that ever since we left London there have not been any profits to share, our experience can scarcely be said to be so conclusive. The two things however must be taken together.

The general effect of limited liability is to accentuate the line of cleavage between capital and labour, to dehumanize capital, to make of the shareholder more & more of an absentee. Those of our outside or non-Guildsmen shareholders who during the last ten years attended the annual shareholders' meeting will have noticed the line of demarcation between capital and labour, expressed as between the absentee holder and the working holder. We were all shareholders in greater or lesser degree, but in the men's minds the difference instinctively was as between labour and absenteeism, the outside holders were listened to with courtesy and welcomed with distinction, but somehow they were not "labour." I on the other hand though one of the chief shareholders, was treated by the men as one of themselves, and because as working designer I was in and out of the workshops every day. \*

This is adduced to show the greater need there is in the non-mechanical forms of labour,—the Arts and Crafts,—of contact between men and men, between master and man, between senior and junior, between craftsman and apprentice. It is indeed necessary for those of us who work in these lines, to come into direct contact with our material, to devise, change, modify, invent as we go along, to talk about things at the bench, to approach our work simply, and straightforwardly.

Telephones, typewriters, stenographers, chartered accountants' method of double entry, patent filed correspondence systems, all the splendid complexities of modern business efficiency, do at present, but take us craftsmen away from our objective, they tend to make us less efficient in the particular work we have

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*\* Our first honorary Guildsman, however, my colleague on the board, was an exception to all rules, because he was everybody's friend and trusted by all.*



to do, they should not do this, but at present they do. It may also be said that the rigid control by finance which is implied in Limited Liability, the want of freedom in the directive head, tends to produce a certain type of workshop organisation. It is not necessarily the factory organisation, but it is an organisation that must check risk on the one hand and that tends to run up the price of labour on the other. It engenders a system under which everything to the least moment of a man's labour is calculated in terms of price, of monetary value, of so much per hour. Such an organisation and such a system is uncongenial to the Arts & Crafts, it is expensive and wasteful within the workshop itself. I would put it thus: When a man is engaged in work that he likes, or in which his own character or personality finds expression, he is invariably liberal of his time, he does not calculate to a nicety, he gives good measure because he likes to give good measure, he gives it not because he wants the other man to have it, but because it is a pleasure to him as the producer to give it. When he has to calculate to a nicety, to balance stock-holders' risks against his own labour, he reckons all this labour in cash, the cash calculation naturally takes precedence, and the *margin of good measure disappears*. He is in effect told, "Never mind whether you are going to like this work or not, what is it going to cost,—that's what we want to know,—so that we can protect our shareholders against loss."

Those who have worked in the shops will be familiar with the phrase, "the dead horse." The dead horse is the job upon which all the wages have been drawn, but upon which work has still to be done. It is an expressive metaphor, it suggests decomposition, work in which there is no more either of life or joy, but

which has none the less to be finished. The "dead horse" may turn up under any conditions where the workman undertakes to labour for a price, but it is not possible where there is both a margin of leisure and pleasure in the work.

For the Arts & Crafts then another system is not only desirable, but would certainly be more economical. Such a system should be one by which the little workman worked on his own, and took his own risks. A system by which, if he gave the margin of good measure, he would give it not to himself and not to the stockholder, but put it into the work.

Is it possible, I ask myself, that out of this system of the limited liability company which we of the Guild are now abandoning, something may yet be made to the service of the Arts and Crafts? Perhaps, for I fancy if at any later time one were again to contemplate the possibility of running productive artistic workshops upon the basis of limited liability the right way to do it would be to devise some way of paying dividend in kind, with the further understanding that Capital might if necessary be written down by division of manufactured stock among the shareholders. This would be equivalent to periodical subsidies from capital, for capital would have to be periodically renewed, but it would get us a little nearer the suggestion of humanizing the shareholders, which is touched upon in letter No. 11, referred to in the last Chapter. King Francis, when he was in the Castle of Little Nello and exchanged doubts and criticisms with his craftsmen, was just such a humanized shareholder; if things went well he took the work, if ill he shared in the rous; and though we are far from hoping for such enlightenment as the King of Culture showed, still this bringing of their personal interests together would be an excellent thing both

for the makers and the patrons of Arts and Crafts ; it would mean that the shareholder would not be merely a gatherer of tribute which he was to spend later in buying other commodities,—it would make the craftsman feel he was working for some human objective.

Nobody, however, could apply the term “tribute gatherers” to the Guild shareholders, for they in the last five years have had nothing to gather. Had these kindly, long-suffering people now been the richer by some silver teapots, some good tableware, some well printed books, some electric-light fittings or some solid furniture, it would surely have been better for them, it would have saved what is now likely to result, viz., the throwing away of these things at market value to satisfy the commercial conditions imposed upon a liquidator who is theoretically acting in their interest.

It seems, therefore, as if limited liability, in that it impedes direct contact between producer and patron, and sets up a complex machinery in between them, is unsuitable for the Arts and Crafts ; but that by some modifications in the Articles of Association, or the Company Law, whereby the return of labour could be made in kind, this might be remedied.

The results of profit sharing I have in part already touched on in Chapter II., where I pointed out some of the weaknesses of the system. Its principal disadvantage is the remoteness of the reward : interest, dividend, or bonus when widely distributed, and in accordance with rate of wages earned, is very trifling unless the profits be regular and high ; the reward when set beside the immediate value of the wage itself is too far distant. When, moreover, things go the other way, and the business is losing, the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. deduction from wages, by the payment of which,

as in the Guild of Handicraft, the men gradually acquired their shares in the business, was found to be an unfair tax upon the workman, for it hit him at a time when work was scarce and wages were reduced. Thus it became a handicap upon thrift rather than the reverse as originally intended.

These are the disadvantages of the system. On the other hand we may claim that during 20 years of work there has never with us been such a thing as a labour dispute, nor the faintest appearance of one. A perusal of the five volumes of minute books, three of the Guild's minutes and two of the Company's minutes, will show how point after point as it came up was settled, not in the foolish arbitrary way by the Capitalist dictator on the one hand, or the Trade Union dictator on the other, but with sweet reasonableness across the table. We have had every conceivable sort of detail in life and work to handle and discuss, and all has been done humanly; the carrying out of contracts, the question of bribery, trade union rules, the elections of labour directors, the appointment of manager, the dignity of foremen, the saving of gold and silver lemls, the abuse of the Queen's English, the slackness of work, levies for sickness or death, beanfeasts and plays, they have all been dealt with by or with the men, and the result has in every case been good—why not?

In my opinion, however, by far the most valuable portion of the Guild's profit sharing system has been the institution of the labour directorate—the system by which one director on the Board has every year been appointed by the head voting of labour as distinct from the share voting of capital. I have no hesitation in saying that during the ten years' incorporation this system has worked admirably. The men have every year selected for themselves, and the position on the

board has almost always been filled with loyalty and discretion. They selected in Guild meeting from the various trades of the Guild, and they chose four times a cabinet maker, three times a jeweller, once a wood polisher, once an enameller, and once a carver. I venture to think that many a great industrial concern might do worse than institute the principle of the labour directorate. Indeed, there are signs that the development of Industry is rapidly moving in that direction, and I believe I am right in saying that the Guild of Handicraft, Limited, was the first registered company that practically carried out this vitally important principle of the representation of labour. It will be observed that the labour director appointed by head voting is a very different person from the labour partner, in the unregistered business, or the regular director on the ordinary company board. He has the same powers, but his interests are not directly the interests of capital, and he looks at all questions first from the point of view of labour.\* As Industry grows less commercial, as the conception of the qualitative as distinct from the quantitative standard takes shape, as the Trade Unions begin more to accept responsibility for the standard of work as distinct from the rate of wages and the length of the hours of labour, so will this principle of the labour directorate become a force in Industry, and it will become a dominating force, because, not being directly concerned with profits, it will inevitably be on the side of Standard in workmanship and in life.

*\* I extract from "The Daily Telegraph" of Feb. 28, 1908, the following, which seems to be a step in the direction indicated:—  
"Sir William Mather, presiding at Manchester yesterday at the annual meeting of Mather and Platt (Limited), engineers, stated that it had been decided to create a special board of directors composed of heads of the various departments. It would be a body composed of servants of the company."*

## CHAPTER VIII. THE FOUR WAYS OUT.

How then are we to secure the economic basis for the Crafts for which we are searching, where are they to stand in modern Industry? how are we to check these wasteful and devastating invasions of the machine into provinces that should be sacred to human skill and imagination?

Our vision is limited to the economic conditions of our own day, but there seem to me to be four ways out, four lines upon which we must move. The Technical School, the Amateur, the Trade Unions, and the Land, or as it might be more fitting to call it, the small holding in the country. Before I develop the ideas under these four heads I would like to give some little experiences from the more human history of the Guild, to show how existing economic conditions militate against continuity in craftsmanship. It is perhaps a little early to write any account of the doings of those men who have worked in the Guild and left it to work elsewhere, nor would they like me to do so; but a general reference to what some of them are doing will not be out of place and will take me to what I want to say here. Several are running businesses of their own. Two or three are the responsible foremen or managers of large undertakings, one is a town councillor in a great industrial centre, whose following controls a large voting power, three or four hold prominent posts at, or are the heads of Technical Institutes, several are the trusted instructors under County Councils in different parts of England, and others of the younger ones are doing well and shaping ways for themselves in the Colonies. These

facts are not generally known except to me, because I have made a point of keeping in touch with as many as possible of the men who have passed through the shops. Most of these men too have their names still on the Guild roll. They like to remain connected with it. In watching their careers I feel a certain sympathetic unconcern, for I know the idealism is somehow going into the right place, and will tell in the end.

But there are two considerations arising from these facts that are worth noting. All the men to whom I refer were craftsmen and first-rate craftsmen; with hardly a single exception they did not wish to leave the Guild, & many of them continued with the Guild for lower wages than they could command outside it until circumstances in one way or another compelled them to leave, & leaving *has meant in almost every case abandoning the Craft.*

I always think that these facts are in themselves a heavy indictment of the existing system of Industry, and a refutation of the economic fiction that greed & idleness are the two factors that go to the making of the economic man. It gives one confidence too, an immense confidence, in the reserve power of the English working classes. They will do for their own organisations what they will not do for a system which exploits them, and it makes one believe that when they do get control of Industry they will shape the state into something much finer than it is at present, or that it can ever be made by those who are out of sympathy with labour.

Be that as it may, a great many of my best craftsmen have one after another and most unwillingly been driven out of the craft. What then, we ask, shall come of the craft? Is not the craft the *raison d'être* both of their life and the life of our Guild? These.

men loved their craft & had no wish to leave it, they for many years made considerable sacrifices to be allowed to continue practising it, circumstances finally forced them out of craftsmanship into workshop organisation, into education, into politics, into Socialistic propaganda. Perhaps it is good that this should have been, but again one asks how about the craft? Does it not mean that we are wasting the finer material of labour in road making and rough hewing? From the point of view of the Arts and Crafts we want to keep this finer material within our ranks.

Now of my four ways of doing this I am devoting to the first, The Technical School, and to the fourth, Agriculture, a special chapter. But I want here as far as possible to examine all four in their relation one to another. It is not by one cord alone that the Arts and Crafts shall be saved from falling back into the Industrial abyss, it needs a fourfold strand.

Let us take first the Technical School. I lay it down as an axiom that Education in the Arts and Crafts to be effective must be practical, and that practical education can only be got in the workshop. Hence if we are really to make our Technical Schools efficient we must have in them workshops where the best type of products shall be made and if need be sold. To put it the other way round, our Teachers must be not only teachers but also producers, and they must continue producing all through the time of their continuing to teach. This principle denied so far to the Arts and Crafts, is recognised & regarded as essential by the Scientists, who insist that no true education in Science can be given, except where research work is always going on. Research work for the craftsman is his own continuous & inventive production. The reason of its denial in the Arts & Crafts is Commercialism, the rule of Industry by finance.



The employers of labour who at present dominate the County Councils, through whom the money is voted for Technical Education, are quite right from their point of view in handicapping Education and making it ineffective. Why should they help train up young men to compete against themselves? As I have already shown in this book the profitable products are the re-duplicative products. What the employers of labour want are hands and occasional foremen, to this end the scope of the Technical School at present is necessarily limited.

I want, however, to see the Technical School very much widened, I want to see it become a sort of organisation for non-competitive municipal trading, but trading in the very best work only—a university of craftsmanship—and I want to see the axiom accepted that to be a good technical instructor in the Arts & Crafts the practising workman shall be encouraged to remain a working Craftsman. At present the reverse is the case. I have sent some eight of my craftsmen to different polytechnics or technical schools, they have all been good workmen, but in becoming teachers they appear to have become mere teachers. Now it is upon the opposite of this principle that the technical school should be run; nobody should be allowed to remain a teacher unless he gave continuous evidence of productive skill.

I shall return to this portion of my subject later, where I have devoted a special chapter to the Education question. If the saving of the Arts and Crafts through the technical schools is the first way out, the second is through the amateur. Now the amateur, whom we considered before under the synonym of “dear Emily,” should really be of the very greatest help to the Crafts; under a system of

healthy competition he would be. The amateur has at his disposal what the mediæval craftsman had— infinite leisure—and like the “artist in the City of Kouroo,” “Time is of no account to him,” so that he ought to be able to devote himself to Standard entirely; all he needs is proper training. It is probable that people with leisure will more and more tend to work at the crafts, and that through the amateur the traditional methods and the Standard of the crafts may be kept up, but much organisation is needed to bring this about. The whole system under which amateurs are trained, under which they exhibit and sell their things, needs ordering and drawing out of its present terrible confusion. Both they themselves and the craftsmen for whose market they compete, have got to be protected from the crowd of middle men, bric-a-brac hunters & sharks, who run so-called private galleries, where for large profits the stuff is sold. I do not see why this should not be regulated by the building of municipal galleries in connection with the technical schools, where periodical exhibitions might be held, and all craftsmen, whether amateur or otherwise, be allowed to exhibit and sell freely their own things, subject to a committee of approval, who should determine the standard and adjudge a fair price for the goods irrespective of whether a man or woman had other means of livelihood, was or was not an amateur. This would serve two purposes, it would get the amateur more under control, and so hinder his unfair competition with the skilled craftsman, and it would make it more difficult for the private gallery sharks to prey upon both. It is not only the private galleries that subsist upon the competition between Amateur and Craftsman. Many distributive houses, large and small, find in this unregulated warfare the best part of their Xmas profits

and their spring season ; and I know cases at present in which amateur jewellery that is produced for 7/6 a piece is sold in the West End for £2 2s. Numberless instances could be given. As these sheets are going to press I am informed of another case of a wealthy lady connected with one of the large London drapery establishments and who has some skill in enamelling. She devotes the proceeds of her craftsmanship, which she disposes of through the drapers, to the maintenance of cripple homes. The profits of course go to the draper, but I also happen to know the craftsmen whose livelihood she is destroying and whose Standard she is bringing down. The great house Novelty, Nobody & Co. who have done me the honour of stealing silver work from me, once stole pottery from one of the most hopeful little home Arts centres in England, thereby nearly destroying the output and ruining the craft. The process by which this was done was a recognised commercial one, and hence strictly according to the canons of modern business, it was the process of cornering, by which the whole output of the little pottery was quietly absorbed for several years by the great House, with a view to their becoming the sole agents, so that when the little pottery tried to make an opening elsewhere it was faced with the competition of its own products. In short, at the present moment the small working craftsman is largely in the hands of the distributor and is bled by him, while when he seeks to combine as we of the Guild have done, to do things on a larger scale so that he can become his own distributor, the cutting competition affects him equally, and he gets into the hands of his banker.

Our third way out is through the principle of Trade Unionism and the co-operation of the Trade Unions. There are two things that could be done here. The

first is to get the existing Trade Unions whose work touches more upon craftsmanship and less upon machinery, to give a greater recognition than they do at present to skill, to invite and encourage them to co-operate in educational questions, questions that deal with workmanship as distinct from wages. The second is to form a new trade union of Craftsmen only. In a certain sense the Art Worker's Guild is such a Union, but I would like to see a newer, larger and wider organisation formed, which would lay down rules among its members with a view to protecting them against the unfair competition upon which I have already laid so much stress. My experience with the many Trade Unionists that have passed through the Guild workshops, representing as they have done many of the leading Unions in London, convinces me not only that the men would be ready to welcome any movement in the direction of standard as distinct from wages, but also that they would not look unfavourably upon a newer and larger Union, such as a union of craftsmen would become, and into this Union none should be allowed to enter except such as had given satisfactory evidence of high technical skill.

One other way out there still is, and that is the land. The more I have watched competitive conditions in the town and the way in which periods of industrial depression affect the Craftsman in the Country, the more I am convinced that some subsidiary occupation which he can practise for maintenance rather than for exchange is essential to the Craftsman. We need not make of him what is known as a small holder, but he should have, in conjunction with a number of other Craftsmen working simultaneously, an agricultural occupation at his door that he can practise with his craft, an occupation that shall not in itself suffice to

keep him in comfort, but that shall supply him with the basic needs of life, bread, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk and poultry.

In my view none of these four ways will in themselves alone solve for us our problem of finding an economic basis for the Arts and Crafts, but taken altogether I think they will, for the reason that through them the subject will be tackled in town and country alike. We have had unfortunately too much legislation for the town alone.

## CHAPTER IX. THE ESSENTIAL NEED OF STANDARD AND ITS PROTECTION.

I have spoken a good deal about Standard, but have so far given no definition of the term. I mean by it in craftsmanship that model or test of excellence which is set up by authority within the Crafts, as having fixed or permanent value, beside which the Crafts, and the men that practise them shall measure themselves.

It is interesting to compare this use of the word Standard with the meaning implied in the term Standardizing as used in the trade. To Standardize means to make a pattern or type to which any subsequent quantity can be made. It does not postulate goodness, nor does it imply badness; it ignores quality, but it necessitates quantity.

The constructive economists, especially those of what may be called the Socialist school, are beginning to see the need of a dual Standard, a qualitative as well as quantitative, and in the determination of the former many of the trades of the country and all the arts and crafts are involved. How is it to be determined? It is the painter who can best say whether a picture is well painted, it is the lawyer who can best determine whether a deed is well drafted, the doctor must diagnose disease and prescribe the remedy, the chemist must test the experiment in the laboratory; and so it is in Industry. The standard in every industry is best determined by those that labour in it; theirs should be the authority, it is for them to say where is the fixed or permanent value. This is but another way of saying again that production must be controlled by the producer, and to this refrain we must continually be returning.

I wish in this Chapter to lay down four propositions, and they are the following :—

1. That Standard is inseparable from the right living of life. In other words that the man and the product must be regarded together.
2. That the proper solution to the over-production of cheap and worthless things is the limitation of their output and the improvement of their quality.
3. That for the sake of Standard the little workshops must be saved.
4. That the limitation of machinery and the consequent decentralization of the great towns is a necessary outcome of the three above propositions.

To begin with my first, viz., that Standard is inseparable from the right living of life, and that the man and the product must be considered together. It is only in quite recent times that this so obvious truth has been regarded as having any relation to practical things. When Ruskin nearly half a century ago said that "cheap things made cheap men," everybody thought the proposition absurd, but when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain suddenly repeated it as his own, in his own great city of Birmingham, at a time when things were getting unpleasantly cheaper and cheaper, it was found to be true. There is nothing like having the shoe pinch for bringing home the truth! The strange thing is that at all other great periods in the world's history, the great civilizations have accepted this truth as an integral part of their social economy. We, however, have been blinded by the apparent success and the superficial results of our

Industrialism from seeing it. But suddenly we are faced with a phenomenon, a monster with two heads, that we had never observed before. A vast output of rotten, useless, sweated, cheap industries, and a vast growth of nerveless, characterless, underfed, cheap men and women. The monster stands face to face with our civilization, it threatens to extinguish our culture, to destroy our life as a people.

It is perhaps superfluous to cite instances to show that the cheap product and the cheap human being re-act upon one another. Charles Booth's statistics of London, Seebohm Rowntree's statistics of York, the recruiting returns during the South African war, or an examination of the slums and slum product of every town in England are evidence enough. What I wish here rather to show is what is not generally accepted, viz., *that the cheap shop brings down the good shop*. We are so accustomed to the comfortable theory that in competitive industry the good will prevail, that there is always a market for the best, because there has usually been a margin of wealth in some section of the Community to provide the market, that we have never questioned this seeming truth. But it is not true, or rather it is a half truth, for its qualification lies in modern competitive conditions. There is a certain famous economic law known as Gresham's law by which the bad coin, if shot upon the market, drives out the good; the same law prevails in many forms of Industry, and in most of the Arts and Crafts. Unless protected in some way by labour legislation, by Trade Unionism, or in their actual market, the standard of certain productions tends under modern economic conditions to sink, and the human standard sinks with it; the good does not necessarily prevail.

I could give numberless instances of this from my



experience of the Crafts, but I offer three out of the Guild's history. In the year 1898 the Guild took over from William Morris's executors the plant of the Kelmscott Press, and made arrangements with some of his staff for joining its fellowship. Several important books were printed, and others planned, and for some years the traditions of good printing which the Master Craftsman had initiated were continued under the style of the Essex House Press, and with the assistance of many of our leading artists & designers.\* All went well for several years, and in the year 1901 the little press started upon the Prayer Book of King Edward VII. for His Majesty. Those of us who were actively engaged in the venture however had misgivings as to the gambling and speculation that seemed to be pursuing it, and we felt that it was more likely to injure than help labour and tradition. This came to a head in 1903, when some of the vellum copies of the Prayer Book upon the sheets of which I was still at work at Campden, & for which the Press was to receive from £20 to £30 a copy, "exchanged hands" in America, one for £360, another for £300. Now two things were happening at the same time. Our Press, encouraged by the prices the public were paying, planned the production of a Lectern Bible, † but similarly encouraged, ten, twenty, fifty other presses, mostly small producers like ourselves, in England and America, rushed in and started printing, many of them without any tradition or any control;

\* See "*Bibliography of the Essex House Press*," published 1904. Among those who worked for the Guild's Press were William Strang, Reginald Savage, Walter Crane, George Thomson, Laurence Housman, Paul Woodroffe, Edmund New, Fred Griggs, &c.

† See "*An Endeavour in the Teachings of John Ruskin and William Morris*," by C. R. Ashbee.

publishers and booksellers scrambled for the profits, and the public, like an overfed child, swallowed good and bad work alike till it was glutted. The point to be observed is that the actual cash paid by the public for Essex House Press books, over and above their real value in cost of product, but which the Press never received, was more than enough to print what would have been its greatest work, its Lectern Bible; but the inability of *labour* to control *market and output* resulted in the almost complete break up of the tradition. The work that my friend William Strang and I had been for a year or two engaged upon was abandoned, and his drawings distributed.

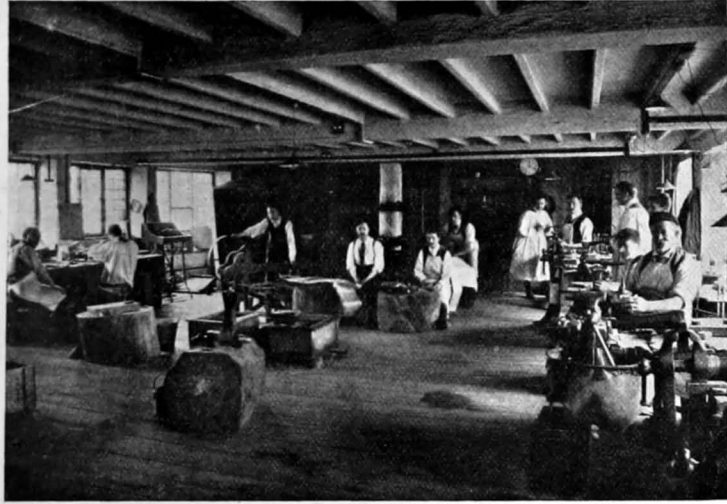
In other words, the price of the good books had to come down to the price of the bad books; to a price far below that at which it was possible to produce them, and when the balance of the Press stock was remaindered and touched bottom in 1907, the price began to rise, and various people, "stags" they are usually called, who regard books as commodities to gamble in, began buying again. Meantime, however, the work of good production ceased, the output had to be stopped, and the staff discharged.\*

The example of a Press, whether the printing is done by hand or machine, may be regarded by some as exceptional in character because of the artificial nature of the book market. I therefore draw my second example from the shop of the coppersmith, or as he is now more usually called, the hammerman

\* *The work of the Essex House Press still continues at Campden. We stopped it for a year owing to the depression and then revived it. My friend, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, is at present printing, on the Press on which the Kelmscott Chaucer was printed, & with the aid of some of the Essex House Press staff, his history of the Arts and Crafts of Ceylon. This fact, however, does not affect the argument of the break in Tradition and the spoiling of Standard, for it is exceptional.*

and chaser. In 1888 the Guild revived down in East London the Craft of hammered metalwork (it was by way of protest to the japanned coalscuttle with a landscape on the outside of it, which prevailed in those days); several young fellows were taught a useful and beautiful form of workmanship, and one which for its full development requires high Technical skill.

The frontispiece, drawn in 1889 by a past member of the Guild, shows one of these men at work. For the last four or five years however it has been observed that this form of craftsmanship has died out, orders for it in the Guild shops have ceased, the public no longer buys it, and the craftsmen have abandoned it and taken to other occupations because they can no longer make a living at it. At the same time every large distributive store in England, and every little ironmongers' shop in every provincial town, is loaded up with imitation *repoussé* work, the bulk of it stamped by machinery, the rest the work of boys who are never destined to learn the craft. In other words Gresham's law has acted,—the bad coin has driven out the good. The cheap uncontrolled product has destroyed the craft, the absence of Standard in the bad shop has brought down Standard in the good. As far as the Arts and Crafts are concerned, it is fair to say that the reward, or let us call it the penalty, for originality except in reduplication, is as often as not industrial extinction; I know that such a statement is directly counter to all individualist teaching, but it is none the less true. Here is a third example, this time from the silver-smiths and jewellers' shop. Some years ago I designed and made a silver brooch, it was exhibited at the Guild's depôt in Brook Street. A sprightly gentleman walked into the shop one day and bought it,



but the shopman's suspicions were aroused by the remark, "I suppose if I don't take the case you'll knock off 2s." That is not a remark that the average West End buyer makes, and the shopman wisely marked both buyer and brooch. Six weeks later he saw that brooch with 20 others like it in the window of Messrs. Nobody, Novelty & Co., with a label beneath it, "Our exclusive designs." I wrote to the eminent firm asking them how they squared this with their business conscience, though without in any way intimating that they were thieves; they replied with equal politeness, but with amazing cynicism, that all was as it should be, and that there was no such thing as a business conscience. The phraseology was somewhat as follows:—"Do you think, gentlemen," said I, "that to take the designs of another man, copy and sell them as your own, is altogether in accordance with the dignity of a house of your standing? I shall be glad to hear from you

on the matter and beg to remain, gentlemen, yours, etc., etc." The reply ran somewhat thus: "Your statement, sir, may be true, we much regret that such a thing should have happened. We cannot of course accept responsibility for the actions of our buyers. You will doubtless yourself have observed how difficult it is to place a new article on the market and that to do this at once implies many imitators, we ourselves have many imitators and beg to remain, sir, yours, etc., etc."

Setting aside the cynicism of the rejoinder, a rejoinder perfectly admissible under existing competitive conditions, and which any British jury would uphold, what I deduce from it is the need for the protection of Standard, but perhaps not in the way that at first sight appears. It is not I myself that desire to be protected from the eminent firm who have appropriated my silver designs—by no means. I ask much less and at the same time much more. It is not that I mind having my designs stolen, though I may pity the meanness of the thief, I know that I can always make fresh ones, and no thieving really hurts invention or imagination. What I object to is that under existing conditions the theft should make it impossible for me to produce, or for the public to possess good silver work and jewellery any more; that any Jack distributor with a little capital behind him can get mechanical or underpaid imitations made of them in some filthy phthisical cubby hole in a black, back street in the model city of Birmingham; that is what I object to, that is what is destroying my work and the work of my Guildsmen; because it destroys it at the source. It is the sweated shop, the cheap shop that is making the life of the good shop impossible. I know those back streets and their foul shops because I have been in them, I know the rotten



*The Guild Smithy.*

work that comes out of them, I know the men that work in them, some of the foremen who have indirectly to extract work from them have been workmen in the Guild and personal friends of mine, and they tell me what goes on, and how the processes of mechanical Industry in their wastefulness and their stupidity are conducted. I know that it is the uncontrolled stupidity and waste of such shops that make it impossible for the good shops to live. It is down at the bottom that we have got to start in order to re-create Industry, in order to reconstruct the workshop, in order to find again their permanent economic basis for the crafts in which Standard has its abiding home.

Perhaps I shall be told that I weaken my case by dwelling upon the unsanitary and evil character of existing competitive conditions and that the well-equipped factory of the most approved collectivist type will be quite as great a danger to craftsmanship. With that question I deal later on, but let us examine first our second proposition that the right solution for the over-production of cheap and worthless things is the limitation of their output, and the improvement of their quality. This seems such a reasonable proposition on the face of it that it is difficult to see how anybody should refuse to accept it. The real difficulty is how to put it into force, for everybody accepts it in theory. Most people as soon as they know the difference would, other things being equal, rather have a good than a bad piece of work ; but they do not know, and it often requires years of technical and expert knowledge to understand. Some judge, some adviser, some workshop expert is needed to say whether the stuff is bad or good, and this judging should be done in the workshop at the source. It would be such an obvious economy to the consumer,

for instance, in the matter of chairs, if instead of buying 20 successive bad chairs at 10/- each over a period of twenty years, the life of each chair being limited to one year, he bought one good chair at 20/- with a 20 years life, he would be paying 20/- for his chair instead of £10. Yet that is what the majority of the people of this country are doing, and a vast amount of poverty is directly traceable to waste on the cheap commodity, and all on the plea of benefiting the consumer. As for the producer it would be an equal advantage to him, for the production of the one good chair tends to make one good craftsman, while the production of the 20 bad chairs stimulates an endless quantity of half-skilled and ill-paid chairmakers. I feel here as if I were trailing my coat for the chair-makers of High Wycombe, among whom I have many personal friends, to tread upon: but that is as it should be, for the head and front of these discussions on Standard is that as consumers we do not know, but that as producers it is our duty to know and to judge, and that each industry contains within itself the determination of its own Standard.

This was brought home to me once in watching a country auction. Among the lots were two sorts of furniture, some well made Queen Anne, Elizabethan, and modern hand made pieces, and a quantity of the worst machine made "Curtain Road" stuff, stuff that is known as "slaughtered furniture." The bidding was fairly representative of a country sale and there were a number of farmers' wives and small tradespeople present, but whereas all the good pieces were sold for less than half what it would cost to remake them, all the rotten pieces went for nearly double their original retail price. The people were accustomed to the rotten stuff and so they wanted it, it was familiar to them and was part of their lives,



had they been accustomed to the good stuff they would have taken that with equal alacrity. The stopping at the source of the making of the bad stuff would have completely altered the bidding.

The limitation of output is often regarded, & rightly, as being a robbery of the community. If the limitation be one of worthless things, the robbery may be fortunate and beneficial, if, better still, the limitation be adjusted not only to the real wants of the community, but in accordance with a Standard of good, set up among the producers for the benefit of the community, all question of robbery disappears. The process, however, by which production is to be controlled, limited, and checked must be slow and gradual, but as in all things, it is the Idea that must come first ; and if the idea of the Standard of good can first be implanted in the minds of the producers whether masters or men, in every industry, we shall have got far towards carrying our second proposition into effect. Where output is limited now, it is usually done for purposes of monopoly, to make greater profits for masters, to raise wages for men, and if Standard is not at the same time considered, the Community gets no *quid pro quo* for the robbery inflicted upon it.

My third proposition is that for the sake of Standard the little workshops must be saved. The peculiar constitution of the Guild of Handicraft & its several shops has perhaps made it easy for me to test the comparative value of the small and the large shop ; because in the Guild we have so often been on the brink of the factory. When at one time we were employing from 70 to 80 men in the different shops, the temptation to adopt industrial methods was overwhelming, but, as an artist, one knew that to do this was to imperil Standard, and very often the Standard did fall. The point at issue, indeed, as between the



small shop and the factory is a vital one, for in it is involved the whole question of human individuality, of progressive invention, of tradition.

I will now draw an illustration from the Guild's wood shop. The cabinet I show on p. 105 shows what I mean. It represents the labour of one skilled cabinet maker for about three months at a wage of £2 10s. a week. For ten years the Guild made and stocked one or two such pieces of furniture each year, always from fresh designs, and whenever public exhibition was possible it succeeded in selling what it made. In the last few years we found that we had five or six such pieces on our hands; they represented so much Capital locked up, not only bringing no return, but subject to heavy depreciation; and when we were faced with the other fact that these pieces on strict business lines had to be "written down" to market value, *i.e.*, what they would fetch at a forced sale, it was obviously impossible to go on making. Here we have my theorem of the electric light over again, but adduced now as an illustration of the

embargo set by modern Commercialism upon individuality. It ought to be possible for men who have invention and skill to go on employing their talent for the benefit of the Community, but unfortunately it is not. The present system acts as a direct check upon fresh creation. It affects the different Crafts in varying measure, and it bears most heavily upon those Crafts such as cabinet making, where the value of the labour is higher than the value of the material. The experience of the Guild is borne out by most of my professional colleagues who have aimed at Standard in craftsmanship. One of the most beautiful of modern exhibitions of furniture was once held in Clifford's Inn Hall some years ago, and where the pieces shown, many of them simple, straightforward & useful pieces, bore the names of Lethaby, Spooner, Barnsley, Gimson, and others with whom the Arts and Crafts movement is identified. After the first few pieces had been made the little venture had to stop, the embargo upon fresh creation was prohibitive.

I have selected the illustrations for this book largely with the object of calling attention to this point of individuality in Craftsmanship. We of the Arts and Crafts claim that there is an immense fund of inventive skill that is at present running to waste, bleeding away, because it has no means of expressing itself; the commercial system gives it no scope. We claim that for healthy national life an outlet, a means of expression, must be given to this so serviceable human quality; we claim that it should be allowed to exercise itself in the useful rather than in the ornamental things. My illustrations, whether in building, in furniture, in table service, or in objects of personal adornment, show both; but whereas the Craftsman's bias is to



*A Cabinet with three months' labour for one Craftsman.*

design and to make the useful thing, the Community more often drives him into making the other, because it makes it impossible for him to market the former, because it allows his invention to be stolen, and appraises his market value at nil.

If the question as between the small shop and the factory involves human individuality, progressive invention and tradition, it involves *pari passu* the future of the Socialistic State. I was present not very long ago at a most interesting discussion among the members of the Junior Art Workers' Guild upon Mr. Penty's book "The Restoration of the Guild System." There were present some political Socialists, and a peculiar interest was given to the discussion owing to the fact that some of these gentlemen started theorizing with a sublime want of knowledge of the inner conditions of workshops. The line of cleavage between them and the craftsmen was almost immediate. "We must have good conditions in large shops which we can control," said the former. To which the latter replied "We can't do our work in large shops under the conditions you impose." "Then," said the others, "rather than forego the good conditions at which we aim, the Crafts had better perish." "That means," said the craftsmen, "perish standard and all hope of it." They insisted that a state which could make no provision for the Arts & Crafts was not worth fighting for, and they added the not unnatural implication that they were not interested in a state in which they themselves were going to be extinguished. It is difficult, sometimes impossible, for the craftsman to explain to the outsider why the surroundings of the big shop are uncongenial to craftsmanship. I will endeavour to make it a little clearer. The illustrations I took before to show how the bad shop brings

down the good, were taken from the Press, the Hammerman and the Jeweller, they might equally have been taken from any other of the shops conducted by the Guild of Handicraft, or from the multitude of building operations. If my readers will turn to Appendix IV. they will see I give there four representative cost sheets of work carried out in the shop of the Blacksmith, the Joiner, the Silversmith and the Jeweller. Each of these sheets represents the costing up of a piece of good craftsmanship, conscientiously done under good and healthgiving conditions, with interest, skill, and tradition on the part of the craftsman. But now I will ask the reader to apply to these four pieces the industrial method. He shall say to himself there is money in this if I can reduce the price. What happens? The process is as follows. A "line" has to be made in each article, this means that instead of one, there will be twenty, fifty or five hundred of each made; the article is standardized. Special machinery has to be prepared to make it, costs have to be reduced all round, subdivision of labour has to be introduced all round, with the result that the special skill and invention disappears, and instead of four good craftsmen knowing their trade thoroughly, forty or fifty partially skilled or completely unskilled "hands" are produced at lower rates of wages, and down comes Standard. Nor does the mischief stop here. Honest working conditions in the country can no longer be observed, for economy we must concentrate in the nearest great town, we overcrowd, we have unsanitary conditions and we have finally to saddle our production with an immense staff of clerics, accountants, salesmen, and black coated gentlemen generally, who all of them plead that they too must live. "Je n'en vois pas la nécessité," says my crafts-

man, and he shuts up his shop, there being an end of Standard for him whether of work or life.

Perhaps the answer still is, may it not be better to multiply these things cheaply in order to give the consumer more? If so, had not the Craftsman better go? To which the reply appears to be: These things are not in themselves worth having, they are only worth having in so far as the conditions of life they induce are good conditions. If we induce through them the unsanitary, uneducated, uncultured conditions of life of our great towns, we are better without the things, for they become by the nature of their production mere luxuries. And if the economic Socialist still argues, "Oh, but I propose to have healthy, clean, well regulated factories wherein to make the things," the retort of the Craftsman is "They cannot be so made, because my way of making them is an individual and personal way which is not possible for me if I am to be regulated, controlled, my labour sub-divided and my work moulded into lines such as is essential for the running of your great factories."

My last proposition is a necessary deduction from the foregoing; it is the limitation of machinery and the decentralization of the great towns. For it comes to this, that if we accept the proposition that, certain forms of production, for convenience called the Arts and Crafts, are better reserved for the hand, and if the shops in which they are made have to be protected, then the machine production which threatens their stability and destroys their standard must be regulated and checked.

My experience in the many shops with which I have had to do has shown me hundreds of different ways in which this can and should be done, but I am not here concerned with the details, as they apply in

different trades. I wish rather to establish the principle that is implied in the need for maintaining Standard. If this principle is once accepted in each trade or group of trades, the details of the limitation of each mechanical industry will instantly present themselves for solution and be solved.

But the limitation, or rather let us call it regulation, of Machinery in the interest of the Arts and Crafts will have far-reaching consequences, for it will of itself imply a large measure of decentralization. Just as Machinery has brought centralization of Industry, so the withdrawing from the province of Industry of all those forms of production which are better done by hand will have the result of making it possible for those things to be done in country districts. I am aware that this proposal of mine for the limitation of the province of the machine will be received by the majority of educated, intellectual and scientific people, the professional and well-to-do classes generally, as little short of madness, certainly as quixotic. But a long acquaintance with practical workmen, their thoughts and ways of looking at things, convinces me that it is inevitable. "When we do get the control of Industry," a workman once said quite simply at a Fabian meeting, "we are not only going to say what the wages of work are going to be, we shall say what the things are that we shall work at," and in that simple and naïve determination, the bulk of the wasteful and useless things of life will be swept away. In my view, the limitation of machinery will not come so much by direct regulation from above, it will come from down below, by way of rising wages, by way of state or municipal aid to the valuable and life-giving occupations, and so little by little the wasteful and useless and harmful things will become less possible, and the machines that make



them, being themselves unprofitable, will fall out of use, because it will be worth nobody's while to run them.\* The carrying out of the suggestions I made in the last Chapter, for the encouragement of craftsmanship would have the effect of strengthening the crafts in their competition with the machines, but so to the detriment of the latter, that many of the machine industries would tend to be extinguished, and the men engaged in them would probably turn to more useful occupations, and start learning their crafts once again.

I have entitled this Chapter "the essential need of Standard and its protection;" twenty-one years experience in the workshops have brought me gradually to the conclusion that the maintenance of Standard in modern Industry is not permanently possible within the workshops themselves; and to this I add the conviction that craftsmanship and indeed national life require that we should as a community recognise its essential need once again, and since we cannot find it within the workshops we must as of old set up an authority whereby we shall find it outside. And how is this to be done? The direction in which we must move constructively has already been indicated in previous chapters: it may be well to recapitulate. These constructive proposals of ours towards the rehabilitation of Standard group themselves under three heads: (a) the development of voluntary associations; (b) direct government or municipal legislation on behalf of the Arts and Crafts; (c) general as apart from specific legislation, such legislation as is sometimes called socialistic, but which has for its objective the

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\* I was told recently at High Wycombe that the American machine for reduplicating carving, an intrinsically worthless machine, was no longer profitable in the better shops.

general regulation of Industry in the interest of the whole community.

Under the first heading we should place the greater union and organization of Artists and Craftsmen among themselves, such as will enable them to act more together and independent of commercial influences, a greater development of bodies like the Art Workers' Guild, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects and such of the Trade Unions as touch by the nature of their organization upon the question of Standard.

Under the second, we should place a more intelligent government support and interest in questions of Art and Craft, such as is wisely accorded in countries like Germany, France, Austria, Hungary. A more liberal application of the principles of copyright and registration in cases where they are of service to the Arts and Crafts, assistance to the voluntary societies in the matter of exhibitions, grants of land and permanent buildings and so forth, and also the licensing of small workshops, perhaps through the medium of the voluntary societies.

Under the last head we should set all such aids to production as may be definitely shown to be common to all its forms alike, state education, the reform of the land laws, state pensions for old age, and above all and most important of all the establishment of the principle of the minimum wage, which is to be the chief means of stamping out cheap labour. The Principle of the minimum wage may be said to be the obverse of the medal of which Standard is the token head : but this leads us to certain international and racial aspects of Standard which I will consider in the next Chapter.

## CHAPTER X. ON THE WIDER NATIONAL ASPECTS OF STANDARD.

It is not part of my object to show what are to be the practical means by which we shall obtain the minimum wage, that is only the concern of the Arts and Crafts in so far as the recognition of the general principle is concerned. How to carry the principle out is the problem of every trade or group of trades; and to show how it could be done in such specific trades as I am intimate with, would take us into a multitude of detail with which it would be out of place here to deal. All that need now be said is that the soundness of the principle of the minimum wage,—a very different matter from its practical establishment,—may be taken for granted. Just as it is accepted and recognised now as an essential principle in all the higher forms of labour, so it must and will in the future be equally recognised in all forms of labour. It is recognised among lawyers, doctors, stockbrokers, teachers, architects, there is no reason why it should not be equally recognised and enforced in all avocations. Its inevitable corollary is the reform and industrialization of the prison system, for if a man will not work, neither shall he eat, but with that aspect of the question we are not here concerned.

My object in this Chapter is not as it has been in the other chapters to lay down proposals of a constructive nature, but assuming those already set forth to be sound, to show their bearing upon wider national and international questions, and to suggest directions in which we may have to modify our current generalizations concerning international problems, Free Trade,

tariff reform, questions of race, colour and creed. I wish also to point to the inadequacy of the official programme\* of English Socialism in its bearing upon these larger issues as it has been so far presented to us. Socialism for those who labour in the Arts & Crafts is only possible of acceptance as a working hypothesis if it recognises and determines Standard, and we craftsmen hold that upon the determination of the principle of Standard the Socialistic state must really hinge. Get Standard accepted, Standard of work and life, produce only the good things and the good men and women, and then will that sound economic basis which is postulated in the socialistic state be secured. The socialistic state indeed cannot be built upon a worthless output either of things or of men.† Now if Socialism is the first, Tariff Reform is the second of the forces that have cut across the lines of English political philosophy in our own time, Tariff Reform has also a close bearing upon the principle of Standard implied in the Arts & Crafts and emphasized in the last Chapter. Tariff Reform is an instinctive recognition of the fact that the commercial system has found its limitations, that other countries are now going to produce for themselves, which will mean the closing of old markets, and that expansion on the lines of new markets in unopened countries is no longer possible, because there will soon be none left to open,

\* See "*Fabianism and the Fiscal Question*," 1904.

† *If it be asked here how we should define Socialism, the ordinary economic definition as given by the Fabian Society would suffice for purposes of argument, though I personally prefer a definition of wider ethical bearing, I therefore offer my own definition, as given in "Socialism and Politics," published 1906, "Socialism is a faith whose objective is the betterment of society, which objective it is sought to arrive at through a more equitable distribution, based upon a more collective production of wealth, and the sanction for which rests upon scientific, historic and ethical principles."*

and that in consequence a racial drawing together is needed for the English speaking people.\*

The limitation of markets is one of the reasons given for Tariff Reform, but the answer of the Craftsman, as of the Socialist, must be, that the elimination of the bad commodity and the improvement of its type, *i.e.* Standard, is the corollary to the limitation of markets. Upon the basis of Standard, Tariff Reform will become not only possible, but essential, because it will individualize commodities, give them national and racial character, draw them little by little out of the sphere of economic or non-moral competition.

There is a point however at which the craftsman, every worker in non-mechanical industry and all those who are injured by machinery, must part company with the economic Socialist. That point is unmistakably emphasized by Mr. Bernard Shaw in the Fabian manifesto on Tariff Reform. The Society's reply to the Tariff Reform proposals is up to that point convincing. "All we have to do," it says, "is to meet foreign competition by improving our methods up to the limit of possibility." So far so good, but now follows the root fallacy of the Collectivist argument as applied to Tariff Reform. "If," says the manifesto, "we are then surpassed in economy of production for any reason whatever, we can surrender the industry without regret, and make ourselves dependent on other nations for it." What is economy of production? The fallacy is in confusing economy of production with cheapness, even when obtained by the most perfect factory organization, and based upon the principle of the minimum wage. Economy of production has nothing to do with cheapness, it is that production which most economises and at the

\* See Mr. Balfour's pamphlet on *The Fiscal Question*.

same time most encourages the finest faculties of men, their highest skill, their choicest imagination and invention, their finest physique. We craftsmen hold that economy of production is at stake under the factory system whether conducted upon Individualist or upon Collectivist lines, and if it can be shown, that economy of production is at stake under the best appointed factory system at home, the argument applies with equal force as against the factory system abroad, and its effect upon the home market.

The difficulty will, it seems to me, have to be met by a division of the industries into basic and personal, with which I deal in a later chapter, and by frankly recognising that machinery may be infinitely developed in the former, while it must be regulated or controlled in the interests of the latter. If this be done at home, it is obvious that for the maintenance of Standard the cheap or unregulated machine product must be kept out, or at least taxed up to a point at which it does not destroy the personal product. Mr. Bernard Shaw does not mince matters. "If," says he, "the future Russia or America builds all the ships in Europe, manufactures all the house fittings, makes all the hardware and soft goods, and, in short, as far as the ordinary every-day commodities of civilization are concerned, reduces the rest of the world to the dependence of a Rothschild, whilst the other nations emulate one another in scientific and learned handicrafts\* or headicrafts,† the only party to the transaction who need complain of having the worst of the bargain will be Russia or America as the case may be."

*\*What are "learned handicrafts"? Fine furniture, smithing, good silverwork, well-printed books? All handicrafts it takes years to learn.*

*† And "headicrafts," what are these? (I don't know the word!) Plays? economical and statistical inquiries?*

The learned handicrafts, as we craftsmen understand them, cannot be pursued as I have already shown in the previous Chapter under the conditions offered by the Collectivist State. And that being so we craftsmen tell the Fabians their State is not going to work. How indeed can it if they deprive the majority of its men and women of the possibility of attaining these higher things, those very things which Mr. Bernard Shaw wishes to retain. The majority of men and women work better with their hands than with their heads, and that is why a Collectivism which does not separate the personal from the basic industries, the non-mechanical from the mechanical, is doomed to failure. It is a one-sided view of life, this that the Fabian Socialist has so far evolved, and we Craftsmen cannot accept it. We wish to put our imagination, our skill, our character, our very selves into our work, even if it be "house fittings, hardware, and soft goods," or as Mr. Bernard Shaw has it "*the ordinary everyday commodities of civilization*," and we want to make of this work of ours just as good a job as Mr. Bernard Shaw makes of his plays, or Mr. Sidney Webb of his books.

That being so the principle of Standard must be considered as well as the principle of the minimum wage. The two sides of the medal must be looked at in relation to each other. Tariff Reform therefore, if it take the form of a protection of Standard, is the inevitable corollary of a Socialism that recognizes and does not ignore the Arts and Crafts. But here the question of Standard assumes its international importance; in this "If" there is a great qualification, for if the principles underlying Arts and Crafts are true for us, they are true for all foreign countries, & these principles are summed up in the opening sentence of our first Chapter,—*the making of useful things*,

*the making of them well and beautiful, goodness and beauty are one and the same.* To this end it is in the interest of every country that recognizes and acts on them, to make these things for itself and not as the Fabian manifesto proposes—to make itself dependent upon other countries for them. The Socialist Free Trade position, in short, as outlined in the Fabian manifesto, brings us to a *reductio ad absurdum*; by omitting the Arts and Crafts, it ignores Standard, and so defeats its own end of “economy of production” in the highest sense. By its inability to distinguish between what is basic and what is personal in human production, it intensifies the root evils of machinery, it still leaves us in the position of the mysterious rich person beyond the realms of Prester John—dependent for the essentials of life upon others.

There is, however, still a way of looking at things, the way that might be called that of the “Socialist Tariff Reformer” rather than that of the “Socialist Free Trader.” The Fabian is right when he says that protective duties on imports are not going to help us, but assuming the principle of the minimum wage, a Tariff on the basis of Standard, is a very different proposition. Such a Tariff, it appears to me, would offer a reasonable way of looking at the question internationally, for it would imply that each nation should have its own Standard, and such Tariff wall as it set up would be set up from the point of view not of taxing or keeping out goods, but of letting them in, provided their Standard was up to that of the home product & did not interfere with the conditions of the life of the home producer. This way of looking at the problem is economically sound, because it recognizes the fundamental principle of exchange as implied in Free Trade, and it combines with this the fundamental principle of the



minimum wage as laid down by the Socialists, and the fundamental principle of Standard as implied in the Arts and Crafts.

Let us look into the matter a little more closely. It is true that the question is wanting in actuality, because the causes that militate against the maintenance of Standard under modern Industrial conditions, are deeper than any question of Free Trade or Protection, for the degradation of Standard is as acute in Protected as it is in Free Trade Countries. It is safe, therefore, to say that the abandonment of Free Trade in England or its introduction into the United States or Germany would not, as far as we can at present see, affect the question one way or the other. The real trouble lies deeper. If we accept the Free Trade axiom, as indeed we must, that Trade is exchange, we picture to ourselves a big fair or bazaar, England let us say is displaying her wares. At one part of her exhibition are her great ships, her machinery, her engines, in another her cotton and woollen goods, in another her works of Art and Craft, in another her sweated industries, the filthy stuff from Whitechapel, Bow, Stratford, the rotten building materials, the rotten silver from Birmingham, the rotten furniture from Curtain Road and High Wycombe, the rotten cutlery from Sheffield. The foreigner comes to buy, one offers corn and wine, another Persian carpets, another tea, and they take in exchange our ships, our cheap cottons, our sweated matches. If we allow these things to be produced, exchange continues upon the line of production permitted.

But now we are proposing, by our acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage and the principle of Standard, to allow only good English work to be exchanged in our fair; obviously then if Gresham's law applies, that the bad commodity drives out the

good, the foreign cheap commodity must be put under some sort of restriction. It is clear that if Standard cannot be maintained without protection at home it cannot ultimately be maintained where free exchange of commodities exists. The reason for this lies in the varying climatic and social conditions of the different peoples, their characters, civilizations, customs, and the fact that the standard of life in one country differs from that in another. The Japanese craftsman eats rice; the English craftsman meat; the Egyptian felaheen, the Hindoo ryat and the African Kaffir, they all of them practise different forms of handicraft, they are all potential "machine operatives," but they all have different conceptions as to the standard of life. It is in the question of Standard that we find both the argument for and the answer to the doctrine of Free Trade, understood as Free Imports, a doctrine that is both true and false in accordance with the values we attach to life. The reverse or tail of our medal of Standard is the minimum wage,—*the minimum amount upon which the life of an English Citizen can or should be supported.* A tariff for the protection of Standard thus consistently carried out by all countries, or, let us say, by one country and then another, would give us the really vital thing in Free Trade, for it would not only give room but encourage the interchange among races of what they can best yield, and it would lead to those finer expressions of national and racial individuality which the Arts and Crafts imply.

This aspect of the problem has in it considerations of deep social significance, questions that involve our colonial and imperial development, our existence as a people. It affects closely our relationship not only to the peoples within the British Empire, but also

all those other peoples upon whom our economic system directly acts, the peoples to whom we lend capital, or whom we exploit. If, as the socialistic economists say, it is the fact of absenteeism in capital and land that is going to bring about their gradual absorption by the community, then this will have a world-wide application, and it will bear in varying degree upon peoples of varying forms and grades of civilization. The development of the socialistic state, in other words, will lead to two important things, it will lead first to the recognition of the Standards of other peoples, and secondly to the checking and even shrinkage of foreign trade markets, with their inevitable adjunct, militant imperialism. And it would imply more than this again, for the expropriation by the English working classes of capital at home, would mean that as far as foreign investments were concerned, the labourer in Argentina, in Egypt, in India, wherever the Investment might happen to be, would become tributary to an English working class State instead of to bodies of individual shareholders as at present. It is inevitable that the same movements that make for Standard of life in one country will tell in all countries, therefore a mutual recognition of Standard is likely to follow.

This is where enters the great idea of English inter-colonial union, loosely implied in Tariff Reform, the real objective of which is to set a racial Standard of life ; this idea has little connection with international Capitalism, though great Capitalists may hold it, and it is fundamentally opposed to the exploitation of coloured labour within the bounds over which the race Standard shall be made to apply.

Now it is a part of our British arrogance and insularity always to assume that any new idea that dawns upon

us is ours alone, and that other peoples cannot possibly share or think it with us. The idea of racial evolution & racial Standard however is one that is gradually taking shape all over the world. The Latin world has long ago appreciated its significance ; for the Teutonic world it was expressed by Bismarck ; we see it in Pan Slavism, we see it in the aspirations of the Magyar, it is the root difficulty of the colour problem in the United States, we see it in the Swadeshi movement in India, it has received its fullest modern expression in the Japanese national ideal of Bushido. And the inference we may draw from this is that cosmopolitanism is receding in importance as a political force as the national idea gathers strength. The great cosmopolitan movements are likely in the future to have influence primarily through national channels. As cosmopolitanism recedes, so with it will recede those world ideas which from time to time have touched the peoples, the universalism of the French Revolution, the militant Christianity, the English conception of Free Trade as a universal idea. Now Socialism is also one of the cosmopolitan ideas, therefore the Socialist State of the future will, it seems, be national before it can be cosmopolitan, and the Standard that each state shapes for itself, while influenced by all the others, will primarily be its own Standard. But the fact of the cosmopolitanism receding need not mean that the larger ideas will be kept from sight ; the passage through the channel may get us quicker, nearer to our end, and it may yield an interpretation of the ethical ideal through a medium of our own race, language, and hereditary training, which we can the better understand. We shall get to the greater cosmopolitanism again, when the races have been trained to see each others value, have touched each others ethics and thought, have

come to the knowledge of each others relation through modern scientific Truth.

At this point then we may be said to be upon bed-rock in our considerations of Standard, and if we ask ourselves the question : how comes it that we as a people have lost our conception of Standard? all we can answer is, because we have lost, for the time being, our religion. We have lost hold and footing of the ethical basis upon which standard of life and standard of production must ultimately rest ; we have allowed to slip out of our legislation those ethical rules upon which we as a Christian people were once nourished; we have assumed that the individual left free of restraint was able to restrain himself, and the individual has not been strong enough, not been Christian enough to do so. A new power has been put into his hand by industrial machinery and he has abused it. He needs once more the rod of discipline and this is what Socialism is bringing him ; we need not be afraid of this rod if we believe in the Christian ethic we profess. Constantly do we disguise from ourselves the fact that the fundamental teachings of Christianity, not necessarily of the Churches and the missionaries, but of Christianity, are akin to the teachings of Socialism, that the latter can indeed be shown historically to be an outcome and expression of the former; and we are also coming to see the further fact that the scientific basis of the latter is broadening. What is giving to the socialistic propoganda its enormous impetus at the beginning of our century is not only that it represents a reaction against the anti-religious, the materialistic view of life held in the Victorian age, but that science in its more modern developments, biology, medicine, sociology, economics, has in becoming less negative and more synthetic thrown its weight into the cause of social reconstruction. This

ethical foothold then, which we have lost, we must regain, and the doing of this is largely the objective of Socialism understood as an idealistic and not merely as an economic movement ; but the Socialists themselves have much to learn.

Here then we must for the time being leave our subject, for it is other races, other peoples, other religions that must, in helping themselves, help us ; races perhaps whose standards of life and whose Arts and Crafts we are at present through our Industrialism destroying.\* The Standards of one race we know may be higher and finer than the Standards of another ; all we can say of other races again is that their Standards are different from ours, perhaps neither higher nor lower, only different. It is mere midsummer madness for us to assume that Japan, and China, and India for instance, each with their centuries of civilization and culture will not in the end maintain and develop their own standards independently of us and ours ; for at bottom this question of Standard is a question of ethics, and it is determined by national idealism and national faiths. Ages of religious development have helped shape and mould it, & the study of comparative religions shows our Standards to have been shaped for us just as theirs have been for them, by the faith behind.

But in the last 50 years there has entered into our Western consideration of Standard a new factor. There has come the knowledge that behind our conception of good and evil, of right and wrong, stands a power, inscrutable, irresistible, continually moving, that tells us human nature is not fixed, and that may

\* *An interesting illustration of this, one out of many that could be given, is the destruction of the Indian Standards of Craftsmanship and life through the introduction of British Free Trade, see Sir Geo. Birdwood on "Industrial Arts of India," II, 64 1880.*

at any moment, as we ourselves change, change for us our Standards, the power that the Greeks discovered to be behind Zeus, the power that so often reveals itself to man's intelligence at those moments in human thought, a moment such as we are in, when the old Gods give way to the new. Our Western conceptions of Standard are still determined for us by the old Gods, constructive Socialism is about to change them, but only within the limitations laid down by modern science, that dark *'αναγκη* moving irresistibly behind what we suppose to be the will of Heaven.

## CHAPTER XI. THE ARCHITECT & THE CRAFTS.

These speculations in political philosophy whither we were led in our last Chapter may seem to have taken us from the immediate issues of our subject—Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry ; and yet it is not so, for our subject is one that is so deeply entwined with national character that we cannot properly understand its little touches of local colour and detail, unless we are able also to envisage it upon the greater canvas of national life. Moreover, as I have said before, the movement of the Arts and Crafts is a part of the Idealistic movement that is shaping our age ; and the comprehension of its great purpose, Standard, is only possible where the bearing of Standard upon national life is grasped. I wish now to approach my subject from another point of view, and again I trust constructively. Having determined the meaning of Standard and laid down certain propositions for its maintenance in the Arts and Crafts generally, I want now to take the occupation of the Architect and Builder, with which I am more familiar than with any other, & show how these propositions directly apply to that Craft and could be carried out in it.

Architecture, 'the Mother Art,' which should be guardian and helper to all the Arts and Crafts, has through the agency of industrial machinery and the contract system become in large measure the instrument of their destruction—an evil mother, destroying her little ones. Let us examine this ; and first let us ask ourselves how this 'looking within,' which is so deeply touching other forms of national life touches



the architects. This idealistic movement which is quietly changing the practical policy and the ethics of so many thoughtful Englishmen, how is it affecting the architectural profession? There is very little sign of its having as yet touched the profession; some dozen or so of the younger men are beginning to feel and express it in their work, but for the profession as a whole we can barely say that it is beginning to have an awakened consciousness. Our profession, indeed, is one of the most backward, one of the most unintelligent, and one of the most unorganized in the country. We have carried among ourselves to its logical & ignorant conclusion the principle of individualism, with the result that there is no body or group of bodies that stands in England for architecture as a whole, or that can fairly speak for every type and form of building; still less any body that has the sympathy of all practising architects or that can establish that Standard in building for which 'the profession' ought to have its being. It is true there are many bodies that speak in one way or another for the architects, but they have no cohesion and no unity. There is the Royal Institute, which professedly leads, there is the little group of Royal Academician Architects, which has an official glamour, there is the Society of Architects at war with the Royal Institute, there is the Art Workers' Guild, which contains the majority of what are called the "Artist Architects," and there is the Architectural Association. All these bodies have more or less conflicting interests, they overlap, they command a varying suffrage, outside them there has been and still is a very large percentage of men who have preferred to remain free lances because they feel that by doing so they can better further not only their own ends but perhaps the greater objects of Architecture.

From top to bottom there is a state of hopeless disorganization, there is no objective, no idea, no guidance, no control. As a consequence we architects are powerless to do what we want to do, and what ought to be done; our powerlessness is the result of our ignorance. And why should we disguise this ignorance from ourselves? Our ignorance is not one of technical detail, it is much more serious than that; it is an ignorance of our right relationship to the Community around us, and consequently of the work we have got to do. We have never been educated in these things, because there has been no school in which to educate us. Trained in the old-fashioned individualist office, each man for his little self, specializing in one type of designing or another, each man in his own little way, peddling about "four orders" and "styles," when we ought to have been at the bench or on the works with the men, we have none of us been able to form any conception of the relationship of our own little bit to the greater whole of the Community at large. The consequence is that 75 per cent. of the work that should be ours, the building of the Country, is being taken from us, and we ourselves have drifted outside the economic movement into a backwater of our own, a little backwater upon which whenever the sun shines it lights up some momentary, some placid reflection to which we give a graceful name: "Neo-perpendicular," "Queen Anne," "Georgian," "S.P.A.P.," "L'Art Nouveau," or "Pure Commercial," as the case may be, each sparkles for an instant on the surface of our little architectural pool. Any strong corporate influence or hold upon the building of the country we have none, that has been taken from us by the jerry-builder, the tradesman with a machine, the man who does it cheap. By allowing the cheap to continue

we are destroying the Arts and Crafts, and our own work with them.

Now the object of this Chapter is to insist that Architecture must once again be put into its right place, and to show how if this is to be effected three things must be done.

1. The profession must organize itself, and carry out a consistent policy of Trades Unionism and Standard.
2. It must define its position in relation to industrial machinery and cheap labour on the one hand, and to the Arts and Crafts on the other.
3. It must procure greater powers from Parliament or the municipalities for enforcing the maintenance of Standard.

In illustration of these three propositions I want to give some instances of the way I have tried from time to time with the workmen of the Guild of Handicraft to put the principles of Standard and the right limitation of machinery into practical force on different buildings which we have handled together. There is nothing like actual work upon buildings for bringing one into touch with the realities of labour, and the significance of machinery; there is nothing that so convincingly reveals to us the actual and possible limitations of mechanical industry as work upon the building itself. The architect who sits in an office, makes drawings and specifications and manipulates Committees, does not understand these things, as does the architect who is on the building, striving to get at good work, and finding out why his workmen cannot give it him. My first point of insistence then is that the profession must come into

line with the spirit of the times, must organize itself, and carry through a consistent policy of Trade Unionism and Standard. If the compulsory registration of architects is to mean anything it will mean :—

1. The full admission of the Trade Union principle in its application to the whole body of architects ;
2. That the State will allow no " black legging " among members of the profession ;
3. That the profession by such compulsory Trade Unionism will be giving a lead and affording an example to all those trades and crafts, each with their own Union, which it is controlling and directing ;
4. That Standard in building will become the objective of the profession as a whole instead of only a few men who have been specially interested in the art of their subject.

By such a pulling together the profession will be seriously and as a whole grappling with the question of Competitive Industry in its bearing upon Architecture. This fantastic, stupid, unregulated competition, which is destroying the crafts because it makes the maintenance of Standard impossible, is cutting into the very vitals of Architecture and Building. Thousands of cases could be adduced to show how the work of the architect and the builder is being taken away from them by those who are entirely ignorant of the needs of the craft, but who happen to have got control of some machinery for the manufacture of one commodity or other. The position here is identical with that of the Birmingham silversmith shops to which I referred in

Chapter IX. Steam joinery firms in Sweden, corrugated iron makers in Wolverhampton, concrete cement makers, manufacturers or exploiters of every conceivable untried commodity do now, provided they have enough capital behind them to control reduplication, compete with the architect and the builder and bring down the standard he may be trying to keep up. I will give an instance, one of many I could give, to show how the process works.

A gentleman, an Anglo-Indian officer, came to me recently, and wanted a little house built in one of the most beautiful spots in England. He was short of money, short of time, and short of taste, but quite willing to be guided in the right way. Unfortunately, however, he had seen an advertisement of some firms that called themselves "bungalow builders," and who notified to all and sundry who happened to be building that they would be saved 25 per cent. by coming to them. My hypothetical client put the case before me and showed me the specifications, plans and prices of two manufacturing firms, one in Norwich, another in Macclesfield, each of which undertook to "supply in sections and deliver to date." One of the firms even offered to send down "our architect" to advise as to the Art. I cubed the plans up at what they would cost to build with local materials at local building prices, and I found that they worked out at just about the same amount as the tenders of the "bungalow builders;" for labour in the Country was cheap owing to want of employment. This seemed to me hopeful, but then my friend said—"These Bungalow Builders offer to deliver at a price, and to a date, will you do likewise?" In other words would I give him an undertaking to make good

out of my fee as architect any extras in the builder's bill over a certain sum. I declined, and one of the finest sites in England, among thatched cottages and farmsteads where there is the loveliest building material, was threatened with an irruption of sectional half timber in the manner of the Swiss Cottage and the railway station, with a touch of L'Art Nouveau thrown in,—just such a little touch, as the young draughtsman on 30/- a week who drew the Bungalows in question may have learned in evening classes at Macclesfield or Norwich.

Now we may reasonably claim not only that the public, but the client and the Craft could and should be protected from this sort of thing, and that it is the duty of the Architectural profession to see that the protection is found. The finding of it leads me to my second proposition, viz., that the profession must determine its position in relation to machinery and cheap labour on the one hand and the Arts & Crafts on the other.

Let us take our Anglo Indian once again. For my part, I consider that my potential client, limited as he was in cash, time and taste, had a perfect right to bind me to a date, and limit me to cost; but with the machines of Macclesfield and Norwich against me I could not possibly compete as to the former, and the risk was unfair as to the latter. What the individual architect cannot do however, the whole body of the profession might do, *i.e.*, give security to the client for the fulfilment of a contract. The æsthetic question, the question of taste, of beauty, of style, of tradition, this all is involved in the ethical and economic considerations upon which we have to concentrate. About these æsthetic questions we need not concern ourselves, they are like all Art,—by the way; it is unfair to expect an understanding of them from

an Anglo Indian officer in a hurry, or from a manufacturing firm in Norwich or Macclesfield, whose sole object is to dispose annually of so many thousand half timber sections. Æsthetics we may leave to the producers themselves, they will find the way out, provided we first take away the economic handicap that is destroying them and crippling their power of individual production. *Our problem as a body of practical men is an ethical one at bottom*, for here again practical economics rest upon ethics. Our problem is Standard, the right and wrong in the Craft, the limitations of its boundaries, the understanding of its duties and rights.

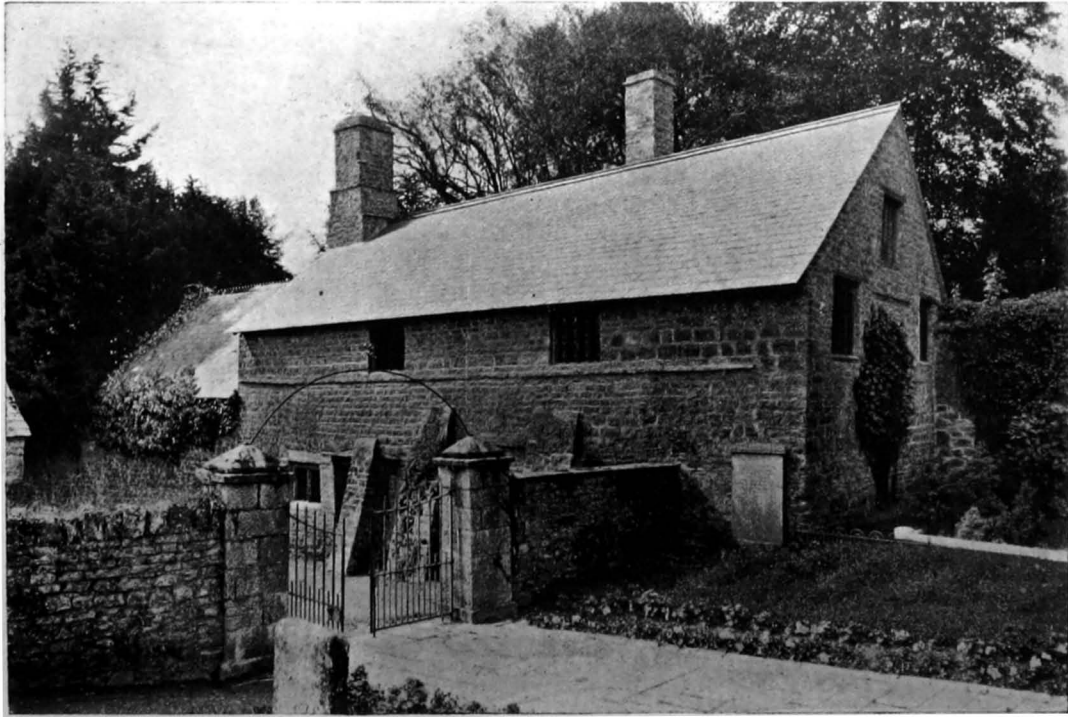
We are, as architects, now that the full significance of the Gothic revival has worked itself out and revealed itself, gradually learning to appreciate the economic meaning of the regulations made by the mediæval builders, and how they bore upon work. In the deed drawn up in 1356 by the London Builders and binding upon all, there is a clause by which when contracts were undertaken, their fulfilment was guaranteed by the craft in whole or part. When the craft is thus tied, in other words a "close profession," as it would be by compulsory registration, such an obviously sound principle could be easily carried through in our own day.

This question of collective or *mutual guarantee* is a very far reaching one, because it bears upon the humbler work of architecture, upon the little house, and hence upon the average need of the Community. As every architect knows, it is comparatively easy to make the large contracts, where there is plenty of margin, come out right; the difficulty is with the small ones. Perhaps one of the greatest questions before the country at this moment, is the question of housing for the working classes, in town and country

alike ; in other words how to build Cottages in the country and streets in the towns. At first sight it seems as if that were a question which we architects should solve ; are we solving it ? By no means. As a profession we do not touch the problem, as individuals we may build a street here, a cottage there, & then we find that we have to cease our work because we cannot as architects make it economically possible.\* We cannot get our prices down to the prices of the tradesmen who are undercutting us. The obvious remedy is for us to get those prices controlled and regulated, in other words to do away with the cheap commodity and the cheap labour which is making those prices possible and bringing down our Standard. Now this is a problem of practical economics ; applied to architecture, it leads to conclusions, the steps to which can only be taken by the Architects themselves, and it should be the duty, the business & the privilege of the Architects as a whole to take these steps, to advise and guide the municipalities, & bodies like the Fabian Society, or other forces who are influencing legislation. . . There should, it seems to me, be an economic Sub-Committee not only of the Royal Institute, but of every one of its affiliated societies in every provincial town for the direct purpose of raising Standard from below as well as influencing it from above. This would very soon guide the profession into defining its relation to machine production and cheap labour ; while the defining of its position towards the Arts and Crafts would follow as a natural consequence ; it would inevitably lead to its dealing with such questions as the clearing of slums, the shifting of taxation from house property,

\* See my "*Book of Cottages and little Houses, for Landlords, Architects, Builders and others,*" published (Batsford) 1906, where this subject has been exhaustively dealt with.





*A Village Hall in Somerset reconstructed on the Guild system, not the Contract system.*

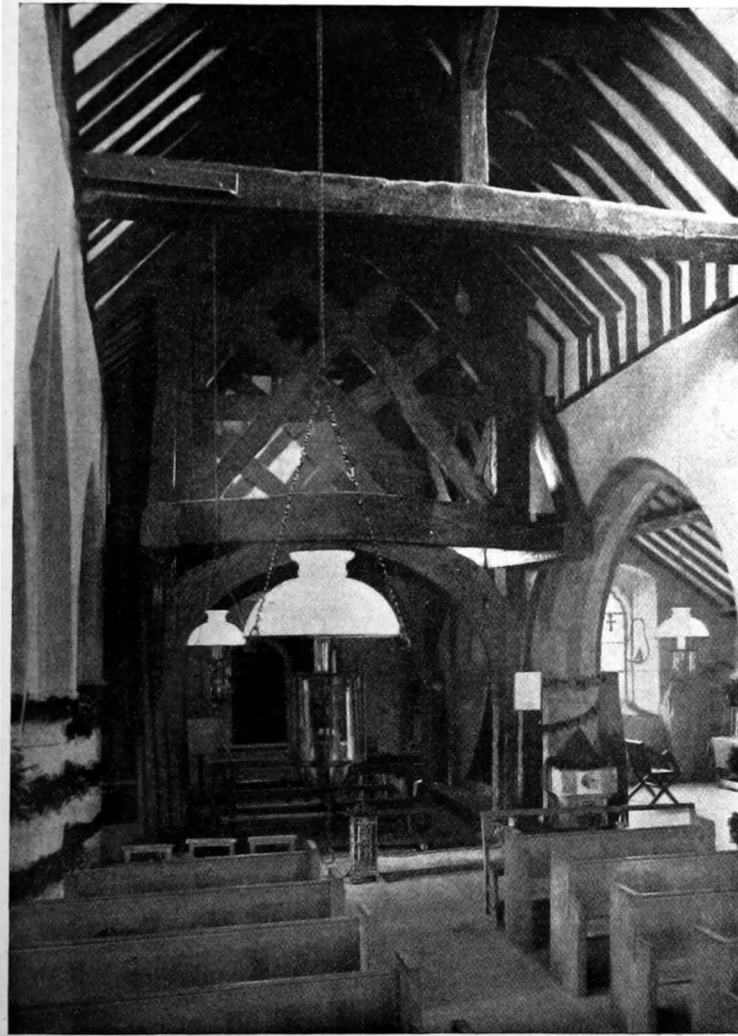


*The same showing a portion of the interior.*

all of which are vital to Architecture but about which the profession at present does not concern itself.

Our third proposition follows as inevitably. The profession as a whole must obtain from Parliament and the municipalities, greater power for enforcing the maintenance of Standard. When it has found out to its own satisfaction where the unfair and wasteful competition operates, it must obtain powers for limiting it. Powers "in restraint of trade," that is what we need, just as lawyers, doctors, dentists, midwives, and others have such powers now, so for the sake of Standard the architects will need to have them too. It is the other great mediæval Guild principle this, that went with the principle of *mutual guarantee*, the principle known to the Guilds as the *right of search*. It is only when the profession is united within itself that it will be able to act for itself no longer, because it will then identify itself with the whole Community, and when it is in this position it will act as an arm of the Community, not as a body of mutually competing units as at present.

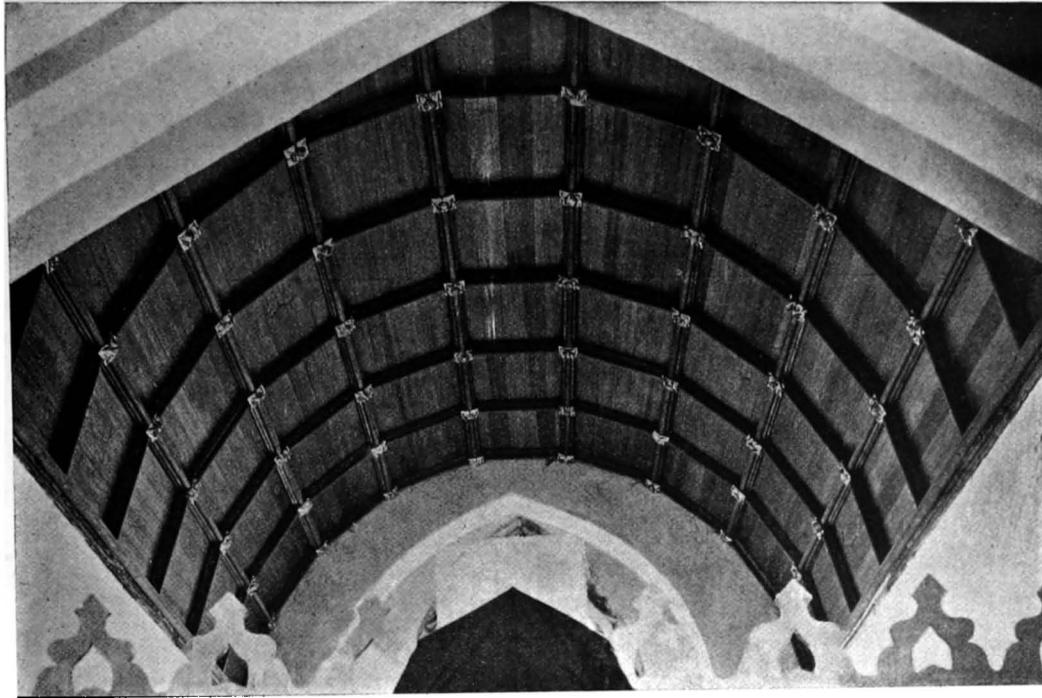
Now here are our three propositions, and if an attempt were made by the profession to carry them through we should soon find ourselves passing out of the present system of competitive contract into another. This other system we may for convenience sake call the Guild system. I would like to show more fully what is meant by this and how it would and indeed already does bear upon Architecture. Let us look for a minute at that strange and complex jargon of slipshod English known as the Architect's specification. In theory it represents his instructions to the different workmen, it amplifies his plan and drawings, it is arranged on traditional lines under the heading of ten or twelve affiliated Crafts that go to make up building,



*A Church in Essex partly Rebuilt under the Guild system as distinct from the Contract system.*

the mason, bricklayer, carpenter, plumber, plasterer, glazier, smith, painter, and so forth ; that is the theory. In practice the document is quite different, its chief import is its checking of the contractor. It is a sort of lordly instruction to the financial person to get the work done—no matter what the conditions of labour, as long as certain limitations as to cost and quality are fulfilled ; it serves to protect the client and justify the architect, it has become an instrument for sharpening and intensifying competition. It postulates not that the client is being served by the combined crafts, but that he is being cheated by the contractor, who is making his profits out of them, and that therefore it is necessary for an architect to be employed as a counter check. This indeed, in nine cases out of ten where ordinary work is concerned, is the principle reason why architects are employed at all : viz., that the client may save money, may cheapen the cost by protecting himself against “legitimate theft ;” — one black coat is employed to ward off another.

Now under a Guild system where labour was better considered, and where Standard was observed below as well as above, a system in which the crafts were properly organized and mechanical industry regulated and de-limited, all this needless work & waste would be saved, the parasitical portion of the profession would tend to disappear, and the constructive, the creative, the practical portion would once again get a better chance. This parasitism in the profession is illustrated by the disproportionate value of an architect's services in surveying and consultative work, as against his work as a producer. He will snap up a fee of 40 guineas for a couple of days' work in advising or “surveying” while weeks of creative work of the highest skill, of the finest taste, of the most beautiful

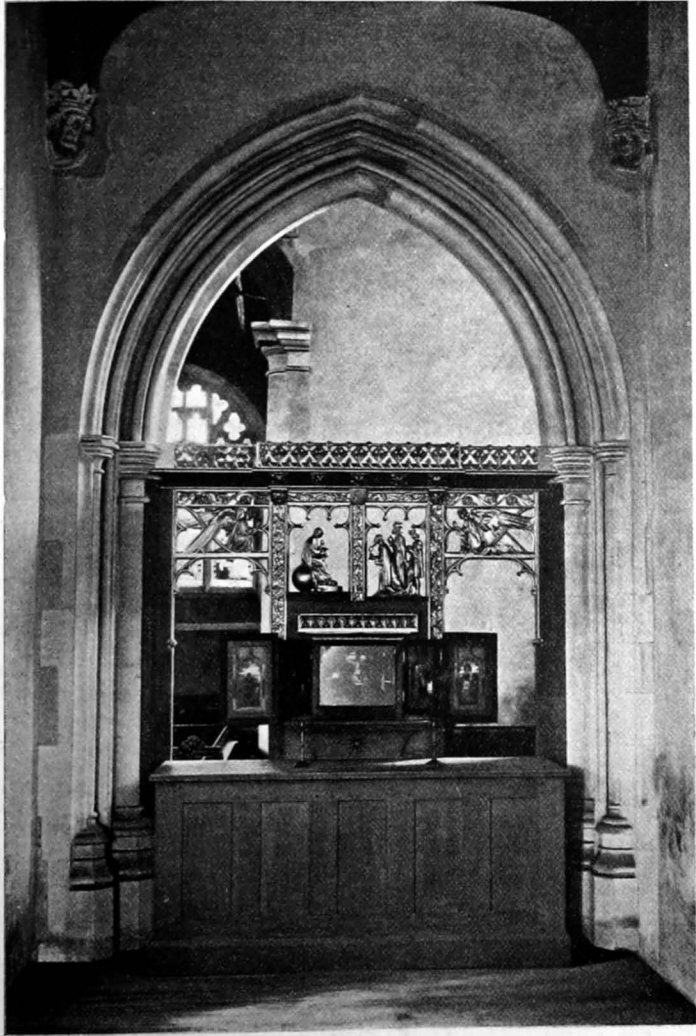


*A Church in Gloucestershire Reroofed under the Guild system.*

draughtsmanship and invention will not bring him in the same amount.

And how is this reconstruction in the profession going to come about, this change from the contract system to the Guild system? Until the three propositions I have laid down in this Chapter are generally accepted by the whole body of the profession, it cannot be effectively carried through, but much can & is being done by individual architects who have dissociated themselves from the arid professional ways of working, and have surrounded themselves with a body of craftsmen with whom they work in more or less close relationship. This has been the method pursued by most of those architects whose names are associated with the Arts & Crafts movement.

I could show a number of buildings that I have built, with the aid of the Guild craftsmen, upon what I should call the Guild system as distinct from the system of Contract. I have no hesitation in saying that the result has usually been better and it certainly has been more interesting. The difficulty of course has been that unless the margin allowed for extras has been very liberal these have sometimes been exceeded. But then, except upon expensive work, be it large or small, the contract system is unsuitable for providing work that is good. You do not get out of it the maximum amount of human value, and that system must in the end be the best where the men show most interest in their work. The contract system does not give them such an interest. Then some buildings cannot be built by contract at all. The pictures I give on p. 134 & p. 135 show a mediæval poor house in Devonshire which had been wrecked by a local builder, & which I rebuilt with the aid of the Guild workmen; it could only have been carried out in this way. So too the little Essex Church shown

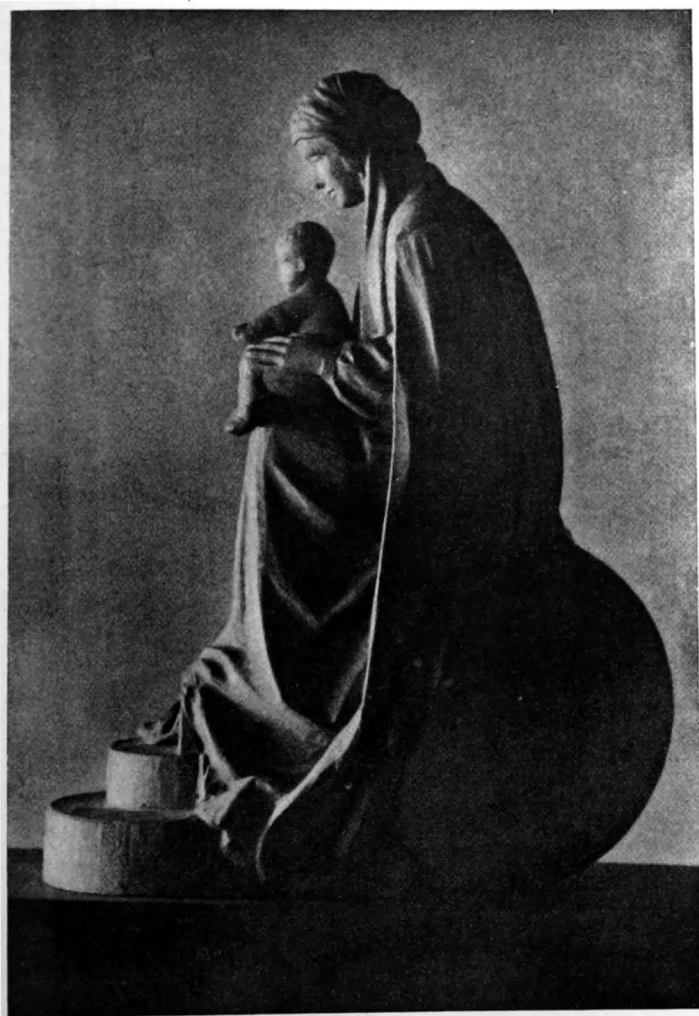


*Interior of an Epiphany Chapel in a Church in Wiltshire.*



on p. 137. It was much better for me working as an architect to have a group of conscientious workmen, say a joiner or two, a few masons, and a couple of blacksmiths, all of whom were intimate with me, knew my ways & worked in my spirit, than to "put the work out to lowest tender." Indeed, it could not have been so done, for the spirit & sympathy of the old work we wished to retain would have been lost. Another example where the bulk of the work was done not on the building but in the workshops of the Guild is show on p. 139, the interior of a little Gloucestershire Church for which the Guild joiners and carvers made the new chancel roof & then when all was complete went & themselves fitted it together in the building.

It may be said that these examples applying as they do to old work—work that is in the nature of repair or restoration—are not a fair test, and that to be effective, work of this kind must be done according to old methods; that is partially true, but my experience is that in new work the Guild system is even more applicable, for in such work, the quality of personal freedom, of individuality has more scope, and the craftsman if left alone works with more enjoyment. On pp. 141 & 143 I show such a piece of modern work, a reredos with its details which is being erected by the Guild craftsmen in a Church in Wiltshire while these sheets are going to press. The sympathetic handling of the carved detail in relation to the architectural whole could, to my thinking, be only properly obtained by such a more or less intimate association as existed between the craftsmen and the architect during the progress of the work. Nor does the system apply any less to building on a larger scale, on pp. 145 & 147 are shown houses that I have constructed in this way in London.



*Detail from the Reredos shown in the previous picture.*

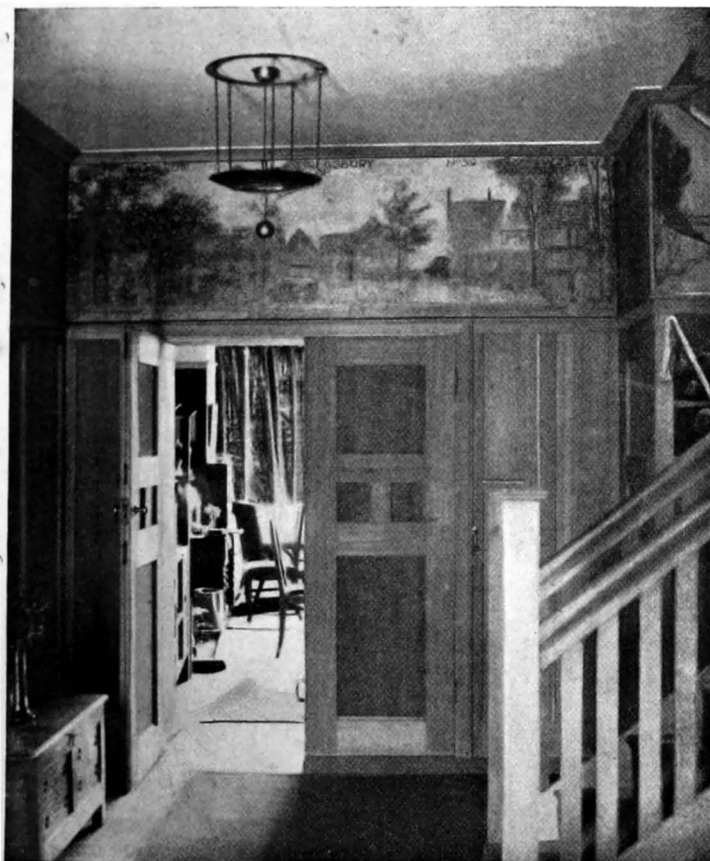
We are not concerned here with the details of the financial or other relationship between the architect and the workmen, the tie may be as elastic or as close as possible ; it does not matter as long as it is human, and has some ethical bearing upon life and work, as long as it is something more than the cash nexus. In this does the Guild principle lie, and with the principle only are we here concerned, for in it is involved the whole future relation of the architect to the crafts. His position at present is hopelessly unsatisfactory ; he may check, perhaps design, but he is not put into the much more important position of practically producing, of really seeing work through. Until the Community accords him this position also, until the architects themselves insist on having it, there will be but little hope for the craft of building. The architect will remain the arid professional man he at present is, outside social life, except that of the country house, and occasionally the church, where he gets his only opportunities, and the craft he practises will be arid even as he. The last picture I show in illustration of the practical working of the Guild system is of a Gloucestershire manor house upon which some dozen of my Guild fellows and I worked for about two years. We had to rebuild a ruin that had mostly fallen, and add a new wing. The foreman and I were at work together one day, trying to save a crumbling wall and much perplexed as to how the costs would work out and what our client, a paragon of clients, might say to us. "I suppose," put in the foreman laconically, "when the old monks had this place men hadn't to calculate things so fine as you and me," I explained that in all probability we should have been "kept" by the Abbey, given our housing, food, clothes, and good schooling for our little ones, with something over if the work turned out well.



*Houses in London built not under the Contract system but under the Guild system.*

He thought for a moment and then said, "Well, that's more than most of us get now." And he was right, it is just that insecurity of the weekly wage service, that constant effort to build character on foundations of sand, that makes it impossible for us under competitive conditions to get the best work out of men. For the building trade we want a new system that will give us once again more leisure, more margin, more permanence, more recognition of labour and skill. The building trade and the architectural profession that should guide it, have been rotted, corrupted, and degraded by Industrialism over which they have lost control, and I conceive the first duty of the profession in our day is to regain its hold corporately upon those economic conditions which are destroying it as an art and craft. In my view that greater solidarity between the architect and the crafts which is implied in the Guild system is bringing us a little nearer to our objective, and could we but realize it in the craft as a whole, it would mean for the public once again as it meant of old a boundless yield of the creative imagination of men, for it would bring once more that *margin of good measure* into the craft of building upon which we insisted before in other of the minor crafts in the shops.

Thus do we get back to our refrain ; production must be controlled by the producers. I remember 21 years ago when the original plan of the Guild and School of Handicraft was unfolded to an able and cynical business man, a near relative of mine, he said, "And so you propose first of all to educate people to produce the sort of things you think they should have, then you propose to make the things in question yourself, next you intend to be your own distributor ;—may I ask if you intend also to be your own consumer?" One might almost have answered

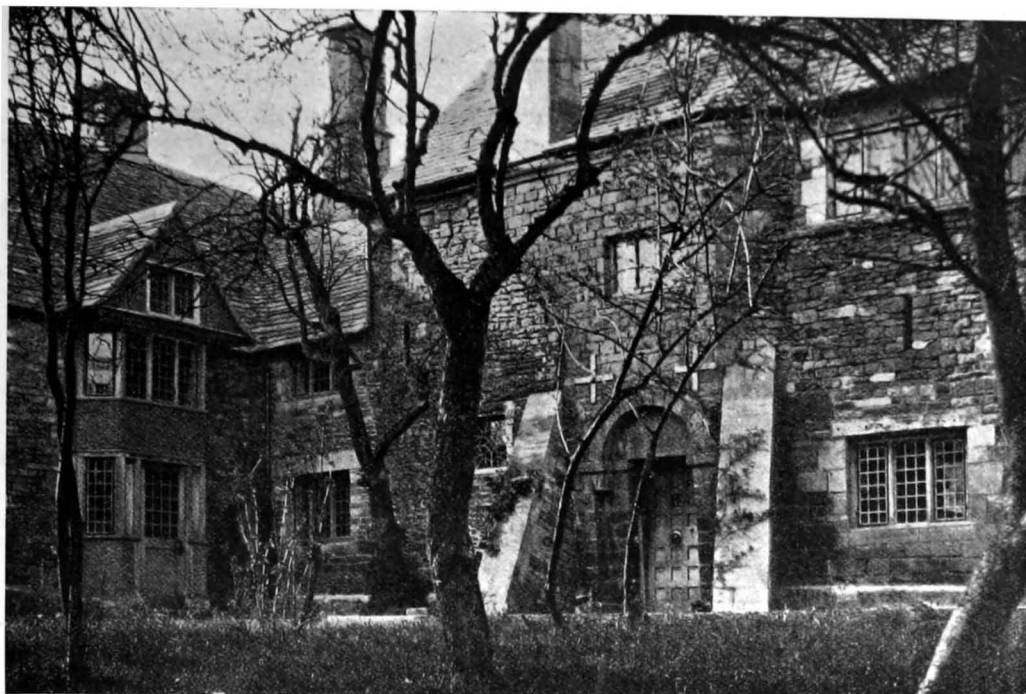


*Interior of a Hall in a London House, built, decorated, and in great part furnished, not under the Contract system but under the Guild system.*

“Yes!” The audacity of the proposal as presented to him was so great that it not only warranted the cynicism of his question but challenged the impertinence of the rejoinder. “Yes,” however could only mean one thing, the *labour state*. If production is controlled, distribution and consumption find their own level. But 21 years ago the “labour state” was as far away as the cloud-cockatoo-town of Peithateiros, the Athenian adventurer; since then the country has been covered with technical schools, the Science and Art Department has been reconstructed, the County Councils have been established, a labour Department has been initiated, and the cities of England with an awakened civic consciousness have for the most part accepted Trade Union principles & now do annually many millions of pounds worth of municipal trading of their own. The “Yes” has come in a manner which no one could have conceived.\*

Now the bearing of the individual experiment of the Guild of Handicraft upon the general questions here involved appears to be this. What applies in one case could and should apply with greater force to the whole; the position held by me in relation to the different shops of the Guild is *in petto* the relation which the whole body of architects might hold to the Arts and Crafts of the country at large. To the argument that this “will not pay the individual architect” we must set the reply that it will pay the Community as a whole, and that it is a matter of life and death to the Craft of Architecture. The Arts and Crafts of our day need, and to a certain extent

\* See also Howe's “British City,” in which are given the figures from the “Municipal Year Book” and from the author's report to the Washington Labour Bureau on Municipal ownership in Great Britain.



*A Manor House in Gloucestershire built not under the Contract system but under the Guild system.*



express an enlightened self-consciousness that distinguishes them from the work of the past ; theirs must be a knowledge of their right relationship to Industry as a whole. This is where the craftsman of the 20th differs from him of the 14th and 16th century. William of Wykeham, Henry Harland, Henry Eveleigh, John Thorpe, Huntingdon Shaw, Viansen, Torrigiano, Thomas Chippendale, all men who left an indelible mark on English craftsmanship knew their trade, no men more so, but set them in the modern workshop, in Sheffield smithies, Shoreditch woodshops, Birmingham metal shops, and we should see the high technical skill doubtless remaining, but infinitesimally narrowed down, and all the energy of genius thrown into grasping the social and economic condition under which the whole complex web hung together. It is these social and economic conditions which we architects have first to understand and then to control, if we are to lift the great Art we profess once more upon the pedestal that should receive it. Art, Architecture, the Crafts, are for the moment, alas, by the way. For a community of any honour these must be again made necessities ; they can only be made necessities by an understanding and an intelligent direction of the economic forces upon which they themselves depend.

## CHAPTER XII. THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE CRAFTSMAN IN THE FUTURE.

In considering the question of the economic status of the Craftsman in the future, I must remind my readers that he has, under existing economic conditions, no status as a craftsman at all. That is to say the actual market value of his skill is determined by the trade union rate of wages in the particular industry in which he works, in which he competes with or controls the machine.

Thus if he be a carver his rate is from 8½d. to 1/- an hour, if a smith from 7d. to 1/-, if a cabinet-maker from 8d. to 1/- and so forth. This rate is determined fundamentally by the action of industrial machinery, moreover this rate is nominal only, for the wage being weekly it is, as every workman knows to his cost, liable to practical stoppage through long periods of short time or cessation of work.

Now the only way in which the Craftsman of exceptional skill and with the ability to create and invent, can free himself from this weekly wage dependence is to become himself a small master, and by employing other craftsmen at the standard rate or below it, to divert such margin of profit as there may be into his own pocket. Moreover my experience shows me that the finer type of craftsman is more often not the type who has that particular organizing ability that makes it easy for him to do this; he is too absorbed in his work, and hence his reward often never comes to him at all. As I have also pointed out, owing to the non-existence of any Standard, the better and more individual the work the greater the risk to him or to any one financing him. The

attempt of the Guild of Handicraft was to combine various groups of men together under a collective holding of Capital and in so doing secure the craftsman's economic status. The experiment, as I have sought to show, succeeded on its human and æsthetic side, but has failed so far as a permanent undertaking, owing to causes outside the craftsman's control. Status in other words was attained for him in a singularly successful way on its human and social sides, for he lived his life, a life of considerable culture, skill and breadth of interest; but it has broken down economically, because social conditions are not yet ripe; we are as my shareholder on p. 73 says, still too uncivilized. Here again the Guild of Handicraft represents *in petto* the condition of the craftsman generally; his civic intelligence is increasing, so is his skill, so is his appreciation for culture; the choice of tools to his hand is enlarging daily, but his economic position and his opportunity of doing good work is growing more and more precarious, because he is at the mercy of an unintelligent industrial order—or disorder. This instability varies with the craft; but to say this, is equivalent to saying that *it varies with the development or the absence of regulation in industrial machinery* employed in the crafts in question.

Casting about him for some political ally, who shall understand his point of view, the craftsman turns from the spasmodic patronage of the Tory and the indifference of the orthodox Liberal to the Socialist. But here too he has so far looked in vain. The somewhat bourgeois point of view of the respectable Fabian Socialist for instance in matters that relate to Art and Craft is no use. The Fabian for the most part does not understand, it is not that he would not sympathise if he understood, but his point of view

in these matters is unpractical because it is narrow ; it is not based on personal experience, and artists and craftsmen have not as a rule the faculty of expression, except in their work, to make themselves understood. Now the points I wish to establish in this Chapter are three :—

1. An independent economic status must be accorded to the Craftsman.
2. Status in each trade should be dependent upon skill and excellence in the craft.
3. This is likely to come, but it will come gradually and through the two means with which I deal in Chapters XIV. and XV., a wider national ideal in Education and a linking of the craftsman to the land.

Little by little the constructive steps will be revealed; as the Social Democracy receives and accepts responsibility, as the new State we are shaping takes form and consciousness, each craft, each occupation, each activity in life will find its place in the new order, & its relationship to the greater whole grow clearer. By faith we shall remove mountains, but when some of us started preaching 25 years ago, nobody would listen, we were scoffed & jeered at; and now we have Cabinet Ministers trying in a purblind way to work things out practically,—one even who was a working craftsman himself, albeit an engineer. The idealists always win in the end. We could do with a little more understanding of labour in the Cabinet.

It is another interesting little record from the early history of the Guild that when the present head of the Local Government Board, John Burns, was an unknown "agitator" to the unspeakable scandal of

“the Times” and every respectable organ, we craftsmen in East London helped him with his dockers’ strike, and the Guild of Handicraft took from him and his two fellow “agitators” a commission for painting a blue silk banner for the new Trade Union—which showed the “dockers’ tanner”—a great Golden Sun of a sixpence rising gloriously above the unloaded shipping of the London Docks. That was a practical manifestation of Arts and Crafts in modern life. If I have carried my readers with me so far it will be evident to them that in order to secure this economic status for craftsmanship, two things must be done: we must in the first place free the Craftsman from the Trade by some independent means of distribution, and we must in the second place free him from the more purely wage protecting tendencies of Trade Unionism.

To take the first, there must be such greater freedom accorded to the man who has skill and invention as shall make it possible for him to continuously practise his work without being at the mercy of the “Trade;” and one of the first things that will have to be done is the creation of some distributive machinery, perhaps even State aided or controlled, that shall serve as a protection to him. At present he inevitably & again and again becomes the prey of the financier, or the distributor who lends money, and poses in the eye of the public as a manufacturer. The process is very simple, and it works in this way. I could show it in most of the Crafts with which I have had to do; it varies according to workshop conditions, but as the craft of silversmithing serves for a good example I take it once more in illustration. A firm of so-called “silver manufacturers” start a distributive business; they are not really manufacturers at all, they may be Jew financiers; they subsidize a number of little makers

in Birmingham or elsewhere, squeeze them dry one after another, then sell them up, and it often happens that the working craftsman who has invented and made quite decent things, has been lured into small mastership, then destroyed, and has afterwards had to hire or buy over again all his own stock at an exorbitant price, after it has been duly depreciated and sold by him at "market value" to the financing firm. This may happen over and over again and the profits are wonderful.

From these meshes of finance that are strangling them, ruining Standard and destroying status, the crafts must be freed, and the best way for this to be done is for some properly authorized and registered distribution to take the place of the present wrecking system. For my part I see no reason why we should not frankly work through the great distributive houses, license them if need be, make of the great stores, or of Messrs. Novelty, Nobody & Co., the recognised agents for certain groups or schools of craftsmen after their work has been duly passed and accredited by the societies or schools to which they belong. We need them as distributors, and a fair price should be paid for distribution as for production, but we must stop the wrecking & the sweating; for here, in the spoiling of tradition which comes of the former, and the constant bidding for cheaper labour implied in the latter, lies the ruin of the Crafts.

I trust I may not be thought to be unfair to the great distributors, and whatever I may have said of Messrs. Novelty, Nobody & Co. is not to be taken as personal; they are just parts of a system which we have got to change, and are changing. I have nothing against them except that they happen to be in the fortunate position of distributors, while my

Guildsmen and I are producers. "Heute mir und morgen dir"; the labour state of the next generation may turn the tables, and it is quite on the cards that their children, the little Novelties and the little Nobodies, may come before the children of my Guildsmen sitting in the consular chair to judge their skill in craftsmanship, and then it may be said of them, "What a handicap it must be to you, never to have had any workshop tradition, indeed you will be no good for this nobler work of production; therefore seeing, as Plato says, that those who be no good for anything else sit in the agora all day buying and selling, you must needs go back to the West End and serve behind the counter."

The distributive part of our problem of Arts and Crafts in modern Industry is important, but it is secondary, for *distribution is ultimately determined by production, and not by the demand of the consumer*. If the producer, as would be the case in a State where labour had a greater share, allowed only certain things to be produced, and such things only as are up to a certain standard, the distributor would only be able to sell those things; and however much the consumer might clamour, as we are now advised he does, for cheap goods and rubbish, he would not be able any longer to get them. To recall once again the instances cited in Chapter IX., whether we offer books through the publishers, or jewels in the West End, or furniture at a country auction, if we make these things well at the outset, the community in the end gets good work, not bad. Once regulate production, and stamp out the cheap commodity and the cheap life about which it turns, the fixing of the status of the craftsman will follow, and the thieving of invention, the cornering of products, the wrecking of good workmanship will be more easily dealt with.

“ A very dangerous Socialism ! ” say my Conservative friends. Mr. Balfour does not seem to think so, for the argument which he used in a recent speech against Socialism\* is the very one which we of the Arts and Crafts would use in its favour, “ You will never have individual initiative carried to its most effective limits,” said he, “ unless you give that security to the results of enterprise which, it used to be thought, was the primary duty of a government to give.” No champion of Socialism could have stated the case for the Arts and Crafts under a condition of regulated and non-competitive society more finely than Mr. Balfour. No doubt he was thinking of the enterprise of the financier, and the individual initiative which puts the craftsman at his mercy, but the craftsman who finds his enterprise and individual initiative destroyed, not unreasonably takes exception to the existing system, and asks for one in which he shall be given a little of that security which is now given to the financier.

The financing or exploiting firm, however, is not the only power from whom the craftsman has to emancipate himself. He has also to free himself from that other side of Industrialism which at present helps him half-heartedly ; he has to emancipate himself from the rougher element of labour that makes for levelling down rather than up, the power that in its struggle to obtain the minimum wage would do this at the cost of the finer skill. The danger here is not so great, but it is a danger none the less, for what applies to the great organizations of engineers and boiler makers, printers, and compositors, and many of those Trade Unions that are the outcome of Industrial machinery does not apply to the organization of the

\* *Mr. Balfour in the City.* “ *Times,* ” Jan. 24th, 1908.



crafts ; it does not apply to the net work of small workshops that are needed for Standard in craftsmanship. In other words the Guild system that we wish to re-create must relate itself to Trade Unionism, must get its position defined as guaranteeing Standard, must get itself accepted by the Trades Unions. The real crux of the difficulty here lies in the control of the small workshop, and the conditions of little mastership. Organized labour and Trade Unionism has learned from bitter experience that the difficult shop to control is the small shop, not the large factory. It is here, in the small shop, that the unsanitary conditions, the sweating, the long hours and the undercutting, have been the hardest to check. But I would see the small workshops licensed, and made the centres of highest privilege and Standard, and I see no reason why this should not be done by the Trade Unions themselves.

It will be obvious to all who have practical experience in those lines of work with which this book deals, that, given the minimum wage at one end of our scale, & at the other such facilities for distribution of good craftsmanship as should make it possible for the finer type of craftsman to continue doing his work without having recourse to the illicit advantages of little mastership, there would be less temptation for him to sweat his apprentices or keep his shop foul. That being so there would be no longer room for Trade Union opposition. Good work moreover, as every practical workman knows, has in it a certain ennobling quality that helps everything else along. Thus then are we led by easy stages to the second proposition which I am seeking to establish in this Chapter, viz., that the craftsman's status should be based upon skill and excellence in his work. One of the lessons of the Arts and Crafts movement is that

it can and should be graded on such a basis.\* The need for this the Trades Unions do not yet fully realize ; naturally so, for their concern has up till now been with the conditions imposed upon labour by Industrial machinery, and, as I have shown, these conditions exclude the Arts and Crafts.

If, however, by that more intelligent labour legislation at which we seek to arrive, we delimit machine production in the interest of the community as a whole, we inevitably make for status in craftsmanship,—status through skill. By gradually being given and accepting responsibility for Standard, the different Unions would very soon find this out for themselves, they would see too, as we of the Arts and Crafts now see, that this insistence upon status through skill is not incompatible with democratic principles, that indeed it is of the very essence of the finer Socialism that every man should give to the Community the very best that is in him.

The third point which I wished to make in this Chapter was that this status through skill is likely to be achieved for the Craftsman by means of a better developed educational system, and through some solution of the land question in his interest. But here we are met with what at the outset appears a difficulty. The land postulates life in the country, and educational facilities, as far as the craftsman is concerned, are in the town, and mean for him life in the town. A more intelligent system however will correct this, will adapt itself to country conditions, will take into special consideration the possibilities & needs of craftsmanship as carried on in the country,

*\* The Arts and Crafts exhibitions have shown that a number of young men immediately came to the front as soon as the chance was given. Had the Society been strong enough to stick more to its principles, this would have continued.*

and not lend itself to that sucking of everything that is best from the country into the town, which has been so disastrous to all country crafts. At present the Board of Education rules are planned upon the hypothesis, not of National education, but of education "in chunks" — primary, secondary, technical, & so forth. In large towns where these chunks can be duly cut off & divided, the system may work, in the country it does not work at all.\* Furthermore and as a consequence of this system of chunks, the Board's regulations are very complex and burdensome, and such a thing as Arts and Crafts, even of the very simplest, can hardly be said to come under its purview at all. The whole system as far as the country is concerned should not only be more flexible, it should also be more intelligent; there should be links between country schools and town schools, there should be summer sessions for town craftsmen in country schools, country areas should be grouped together, and the Inspectorate rearranged. All this could be quite easily done, but since there is as yet no consistent educational policy, all is so far in embryo, and much has got to be cleared out of the way first before new growth can be made. The entire question of education indeed has got to be grappled with seriously, and in its relation to the whole of National life; at present, few people think

*\* Here is an example of how the chunk system works. In a village of 1250 inhabitants are two schools both recognized by the Board. School A is equipped for Science and Geography, School B for Cookery and Carpentry. The village boys and girls attend both, but the Board puts School A into the secondary chunk and School B into the Technical chunk, with the result that because grant is paid to School A for Science and Geography, therefore grant is disallowed to School B for Cookery and Carpentry. As a consequence the village children have either got to pay specially for the cooking and carpentry teaching or do without it.—Q.E.D.*

of the future at all, only of the parsons and the endowments.

With some of these matters I deal more fully in Chapter XIV. Here I wish only to insist that for the economic status at which we must aim, sound technical education in craftsmanship is essential ; and further that if I am right in my contention that the place for the Crafts is in the Country, this education must be brought to the craftsman there. He should be able indeed to find in the country suitable education for his children, and higher education for himself, and he could himself be used to teach in those fundamentals which he understands, which are among the essential facts of life, and of the knowledge of which we have been deprived by Industrial machinery. Industrial machinery has sterilized our Education system, in my view we must revivify this system with the Arts and Crafts as our objective and with the conviction, to which the Community is bound sooner or later to come, that Industrial machinery must be checked and regulated in the interest of the Community as a whole.

If my ideal in Education is frankly advanced and modern, my ideal in the next matter that I wish to handle—the land—is as frankly mediæval. Rather I would call it a mediævalism modified by the conditions of regulated machinery. To the mediæval condition of course we can never return, but we have a great deal to learn from it, & this primarily, that the right relation of the Craftsman to the land should be one of sustenance, not of exchange. The proposition contained in this is one that depends for its value upon its practical working out. But I hope later on to give some definite proposals in this direction.

The economic status of the craftsman will largely depend in the future, as it did in the past, upon the

relationship of his labour in craftsmanship to what is got out of the land, and upon the directness of this relationship. A week's work for a 15th Century mason was equivalent to "three sheep and a pair of shoes." An English mason now can barely earn two legs of mutton in a week, let alone the shoes. Numberless other cases of the relative value of produce as against craftsmanship indicate in the past the craftsman's status economically. With such a margin the man had leisure to do good work, he also did less work, because the work done was good, and thus he had more time for making life all round more complete. The details of how this may be worked out I hope to show more fully in the last chapter but one of this book, but what I wish to insist on here is the necessary connection between status and land. A link with the land must, in the nature of things, imply economic stability. It is just this stability which the present weekly wage dependence of craftsmanship lacks. The times and seasons of the year somehow postulate a yearly not a weekly wage, they demand a year's looking ahead, and so it should be with craftsmanship, for craftsmanship, like the times & seasons, cannot be hurried. The beauty of mediæval work, as all students of the Middle Ages know, is in its sense of leisure, and that leisure can be shown in numberless cases to have a direct economic relationship to agriculture. Giotto's history of labour is known to all the world, and there is scarce a Cathedral in Europe in which the avocations of the months—the arts of agriculture—are not the working motives of the craftsman.

"Oh, but" it may be said, "we have altered all that with Industrial machinery." Yes, but however true it may be that Industrial machinery has changed our economic conditions, still its results are not the only

concern of national life. That state of wage-slavery and want of civilization in which we find ourselves now, must be corrected by a conscious search for the finer, the imaginative things of life, by an encouragement once more of the creative and spiritual powers of man. I believe we shall find much of this again if we secure the economic status of the craftsman.

Before we leave this question of Status, it may not be out of place to touch upon certain points of deeper significance involved in it. The craftsman stands for the dignity of labour—labour emancipated from machinery. In the attitude of the average man towards life we need a fuller recognition of this fact. But the advent of Industrialism which has brought into the house of every man, rich and poor alike, the cheap and ugly and uncontrolled product of the machine, has developed in us a most detestible flunkeyism. We British are sensitive enough to the Feudal idea, and its baser form—snobbery; but this deluge of the cheap machine product has made us measure everybody's worth by the number of mechanical objects he has about him—motor cars, or mantel shelf rubbish as the case may be. He who in these days has most, can indulge most in the two flaunting vices of philanthropy and patronage. We want a little robust democracy again as a corrective, and this re-establishing of the status of the craftsman, free of the machine on the one hand, and the support of the mechanically overfed on the other, is likely to bring this corrective.

Wise old Dr. Johnson defined a patron as one who paid with insults and was repaid with flattery. The definition still holds, but its psychology has been changed by Industrial conditions. The flattery now-a-days is in cloth and privilege, much as of old, and the implied insult comes from those who permit and

demand it, but the workman to whom has come a sense of a state that he is reconstructing, hates philanthropy as he hates patronage. Industrialism has sharpened his insight and brought him this hatred. A young Colonial girl on a visit to Campden once asked quite naively, when this question was under discussion, whether English boys were always supposed to touch their hats to peers and parsons. It was difficult to answer an unqualified Yes or No, but an old workman colleague of mine whose democratic instinct I respect, replied most effectively by refusing to touch his hat to anybody. So much do I admire the principle underlying his motive that I always recognize it by touching mine to him, and were it not for the half friendly, half grudging nod that I receive in exchange, I should have a malicious sense of getting the better of him in courtesy. I confess to a sneaking desire of some day being able to win him over to a return salute. But parson and peer alike can in these days only be accepted on the plane of innate gentility, if as is sometimes the case, they happen to be without it, democratic instinct bids us keep our hats on our heads.

Democratic instinct may be wrong, but when it does begin to question the social rightness of the position from which the good is administered, when the good itself comes to be regarded as a due rather than as a favour, the offering of the good grows to insult\*

*\* A fine illustration of this is in the now famous letter of the "Gilded Beggars," in which two ex-Prime Ministers and two financial peers appealed to the philanthropic public against putting in force an Act of Parliament which enabled the L.C.C. to feed the starving London School children. Mr. Balfour and Lords Rosebery, Rothschild and Avebury had evidently excellent hearts, but they must have been gloriously unconscious that their letter made many right thinking men tingle with shame and anger.*

and democratic instinct refuses any longer to bestow the flattery of thanks. That is why patronage and philanthropy conceived as the bestowal of good things from above downwards, are to the English workman with his constructive Socialism, anathema.

It will seem hard to many who love the past and the ethics of the past that so much of it must be brushed aside, but we are putting a finer thing in its place. Much too that we think is still there is gone long ago. What we need now is new centres of organic life, and we shall get these if we can find for the craftsman that economic status for which I am pleading. Industrialism is the great solvent that has loosed all existing bonds, and *we need bonds to build up a civilized life once again*. For the workman just at present there are practically no bonds outside his family. His trade union is the best thing he has, it gives him a partial guarantee of livelihood, it gives him *esprit de corps*, but it lacks the finer things of life, the soul. The Church means little or nothing to him, for it has not kept pace with his thought nor his economic needs; his parish means less, for the parish has been destroyed by Industrialism which has set labour moving. The only folk who are now interested in the parish as an organism, are the little shop keepers, and they have an eye to business; there can be little vital connection between the parish and labour under existing industrial conditions.

But once delimit machinery and regulate it, establish once again status in craftsmanship, status through skill, and all these things will grow stable; in our English manner too we shall use the old forms to put the new life in. An American friend of mine who recently came over to study England and English social questions, summed up his impressions in the phrase, "What one misses in English life" (he spoke



particularly of the life of the Craftsman with which I am dealing), "is the uplift!" It is just this "uplift" that so strikes the Englishman when he goes to America or the Colonies. I pleaded that it was more possible where the population was 16 to the square mile against 600, but I did not believe in the truth of what I was saying. There is no "uplift" in English rural districts. But I knew too from the experience of the Guild of Handicraft which has meant the bringing of a number of highly skilled & intelligent men together into an English country village that it was quite possible to find this "uplift" once again. What we need now is to secure the conditions of life in which it can find itself. The doing of this is partly political, but mainly religious, or should we not rather say ethical. It can both be found and given in the life each man leads, but it is the life of Craftsmanship that gives it a peculiar charm and possibility, could we but secure the economic status of the craftsman.

### CHAPTER XIII. BASIC CAPITAL AND PERSONAL CAPITAL.

In my last Chapter I pleaded for the independent economic status of the craftsman, & insisted that this status should in each case be dependent upon skill and excellence in craftsmanship. I showed how this was likely to come by way of a solution of the problems that face us in England—the education question and the land question. I want now to look at the question—the question of the necessities of craftsmanship—from the point of view of capital. How or in what form is the capital to be found to carry on the Arts and Crafts in a modern Industrial Community?

It is evident that in our national development, and this does not apply alone to England, we are rapidly approaching a condition in which certain forms of national work and the life that depends on them will be legislated for, and their capital controlled by the community: collective ownership in short applied to the great industrial concerns and the larger uses of machinery. It is, however, also evident that there are large numbers of human operations which cannot be treated in this way, and among them are the Arts and Crafts.

Now the experience of the Guild seems to have proved in the first place that until the operations of Capital in some of these larger undertakings are controlled, the little workshops will have but a slender chance, and in the second place that it is only in the little workshops, like those of the Guild, that the sort of work and the qualitative Standard aimed at can possibly be achieved.

The question, therefore, which now we have to put ourselves is : In what form is this other capital to be supplied to the craftsman ? It is the question of Status once again, in other terms. If we admit that the economic tendency of our time is to place the large basic industrial concerns under State and municipal control, and further that there are great numbers of small workshops which must both for the sake of product and producer be allowed to develop by themselves ; if we admit next that a line can and should be drawn between these two, we are faced with the question how are the economic conditions necessary for the continuance of the small workshop to be found ? In what form is the necessary capital to be supplied ? The answer lies in part in a recapitulation of the proposals I have already laid down in Chapter VIII. and in those I have still to develop in Chapter XV. ; but they have now to be stated in another way, we have now to look at them from the point of view of the small producer himself. Both question and answer are of the utmost importance in view of the rapid development of Collectivist principles in our great cities, and of that want of the finer qualities in our industrial life, the imaginative and non-material qualities.

Before offering the answer in detail let us develop the question. In what form shall the necessary capital be found for the craftsman, the little man, the man to whom Standard is the objective and for whom the little workshop is an essential ? Nick Bottom (or if we may transpose the names and crafts), Peter Quince, the blacksmith, Snug the joiner, Snout the silversmith, and Flute the jeweller, if my readers will refer once again to their labour sheets in Appendix IV.,—these are the people who are doing the real work of craftsmanship, they are quite capable of

making, Peter Quince his iron gate, Snug his cabinet, Snout his silver tea set, and Flute his jewel, if we would only leave them alone to do it. True a little refinement and schooling in tradition would do them no harm, and they might even act a Bernard Shaw play for Duke Theseus, or do a Bergamasc dance again in the intervals of their labour, if we only gave them leisure enough ; but at present their labour sheets show that they are too heavily taxed, that they have too many people to bear on their shoulders to make it possible for them to go on working as independent craftsmen.

I want to find for them a means whereby they can offer this excellent work of theirs to the community that needs it, at something approaching the labour price; how is this to be done ?

Obviously no capitalist would touch them as an investment even with Oberon as a guarantor and Puck to insure prompt payment of the dividend. The safe investments, the gilt-edged securities are not in the Arts and Crafts, not in the "hempen home-spuns;" they are in land, in ground values, in monopolies and patents, in food stuffs, transportation, beer, armour plate, insurance, and all such things as mainly apply to the Community's average needs. The others are unsafe, precarious, they are the personal things that apply to its finer needs, the things that signify the culture, the love of beauty, or the refinement and wider education of its citizens. Capital is wanted for both, but it is wanted for either in varying degrees. In the former it is needed in much larger quantity than in the latter, in the latter its proportionate return is much less, the proportion of labour to other charges is greater, and also the risk is greater, because so much of the unknown human quality enters, so much of the individual, of his

personal character.\* Little by little we are learning to differentiate between the capital that goes into the former and the capital that goes into the latter, the industrial capital and that "other" capital to which no distinguishing term can be given, but which we might call personal.

A study of the Arts and Crafts historically as well as practically shows that in the Middle Ages men had grasped the central need of industry, that labour and consequently the standard to be set in labour must be controlled by the labourer. The mediæval Guild system implied the predominance of labour over Capital. On the other hand the absence of machinery meant the absence of industrial capital. For us therefore is set a completely different problem. Now while the instinct of the working classes is leading them slowly and certainly towards the collective control of Industrial capital, they have not yet learned to separate the capital needed for industrial concerns from the capital needed for all those other things which cannot be fitted into the industrial mould. But a deeper study of mediæval life gives us the clue, while a practical study of the Arts and Crafts in the modern workshops shows us the road. The reason is obvious, there is no other way of practising the Arts and Crafts except the mediæval way; and the lesson of the making of a piece of work leads us to the way in which it must be taught, and the way in which the

*\* A case in point illustrates this. A young Guild craftsman had made a very beautiful ornament of gold and enamel, his experiments were successful up till the final firing when the whole piece with three months work collapsed in the furnace. The manager who very rightly was considering the shareholders and the dividend, asked "How am I to charge this up?" but though the Technique was now mastered the work was abandoned. Palissy and Cellini when they had similar experiences were not working on a weekly wage basis for dividends. A healthier social condition enabled them to pay for their own experiments.*

workshop must be ordered wherein it is to be made. Modern scientific knowledge and the position of the Arts and Crafts within modern Industry no doubt modify this ; but the key to the position is manual labour,—the labour of man's own hand, not the labour that is done for him by the machine, not the method of the mysterious rich person beyond the realms of Prester John. Once again let me repeat that I do not for a moment want to return to the Middle Ages. I want merely to get from them the realities, and the greatest of these was their mastery of the problem of labour, its organization, its qualitative standard, and the realization of its finer human purpose.

The practical study of workshop conditions, as they affect the Arts and Crafts in modern Industry, combined with a study of the economic conditions of the workshops of the past, point not only to a larger co-operation of labour, but to one that will leave considerable freedom to the individual craftsman ; & the following are offered as some of the forms in which Bottom, Snout, Quince and Snug shall be supplied with the capital necessary for them to go on with their occupations.

1. For the fuller carrying out of the Educational suggestions made in the foregoing chapter, we must have proper schools of craftsmanship both in town and country, but more especially in the country, where the craftsman shall receive the necessary training and if need be his certificate or hall mark of skill. A man's educational equipment is his most valuable form of capital. Here we should simply work along the existing lines. Such schools as the Central School of Arts and Crafts, The Birmingham and Manchester

Schools of Art, and the Leicester School, should be our models, or such a school as we have at Campden, and others. The admirable work of the Board of Education's Circulation Department should be further developed, and there should also be an interchange among the schools of their scholarships and other privileges.

2. A proper distributive machinery either through municipal galleries in connection with the schools (as indicated on pp. 85 & 87), or through the State recognition of existing distributive agencies, with a view to reducing the crowd of competing agencies that at present prey upon the craftsman, and set him to compete unfairly as has been shown in Chapter III.
3. Periodical exhibitions of the workmanship of craftsmen, preferably through existing societies, such as the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and other local bodies of like character ; and these societies should be given practical recognition by the State or the municipalities, much as the R.A. obtained practical recognition by the free gift of Burlington House,—so that their members should be able to exhibit regularly both collectively and individually without heavy cost to themselves and the imminent fear of bankruptcy to the whole Society from one unsuccessful Exhibition.
4. If in No. 1 we have our craftsman's training, and in Nos. 2 & 3 a systematic means to help him distribute his wares, we have

already found for him two of the main needs for which at present Capital is required. We must next go further and help him with his market. Undoubtedly the first market for such things as are not industrial and yet are needed,—the Arts & Crafts,—should be near at hand, should be the local market, the market close by the school where he has been trained. Local municipalities and district councils should and doubtless will support and give commissions to their own rate-supported schools, and the men and women of their training, and this should be insisted upon and encouraged in every possible way. There is obviously no sense in giving men a costly and careful training, and then providing them with no means of putting it to use.

5. Towards this end a development of the Collectivist principle seems inevitable. The city will and must obtain from Parliament greater powers for controlling its own economic environment, for checking local competition, for making it possible for its great basic industries to be conducted by itself, and for enabling its little workshops to be carried on cleanly and healthily.
6. But the city is likely to go further, viz., to acquire or control outlying districts of land where it can have country colonies or outposts of its own citizens, to run, as Glasgow does a dairy farm, or groups of small holdings for direct supply. This will serve



the double purpose of feeding the town-dwellers and of planting them out where necessary or desirable.

7. And this leads us to one of the most vital questions in modern civic development, the question of illness due to large workshops, the question of physique and the close pent-up life of the great town. Every English city will have to find means for securing occupations, as it could through the Arts and Crafts—in the country, under clean and sane conditions, for those of its citizens who have a tendency to weak lungs, nervous or other disorders, but who may be perfectly sound and fit in all other respects. Some of us have seen the North Italian coppersmiths working out in the open at their anvils in the sunny streets, that is the ideal way of working such an industry, and it can just as well be done in England. Every English village blacksmith still works thus, covered and open to the air.
8. All the above are proposals for finding non-industrial capital, and finding it in kind. The last proposal here offered is of a different sort. There should be groups, or leagues, or Guilds of customers combining together, to support and take the produce of groups of craftsmen. Those who followed me in my chapter on limited liability will remember that I there indicated a method in which this could be done. I conceive that a gradual building up of such organizations would tend, provided the crafts-

man's basic needs of food and housing were already met, to raise the qualitative standard, for it would set up among the different organizations a rivalry not of cheapness, but of excellence. The craftsman's output in other words would be decreased, and it would at the same time become really good, the annual cartloads of rubbish might give place to one good piece of work, we might even get again some of the leisure by which a monk of Bury put ten years in to illuminating one book.

It was a fine remark, upon which many people commented, made by one of the younger Socialist M.P.'s recently, when in his speech he declared that Socialism was the only idealistic movement left in Europe. He may or may not have been right, but that was the proper spirit in which to approach political questions. The spirit that grabs for one section of the Community, or from another, the spirit that rallies to the protection of property on the one hand, or for its division on the other, & without any reference to the greater national well being, is not idealistic at all. Those of us who are trying to think things out ahead of the politicians, and to give them working ideas, see that the logic of Collectivism, public trading, the State control of industrial functions, only takes us up to a certain point. It deals with the broad, basic needs of modern life, it does not directly help its finer, its more imaginative, more personal, less tangible needs. And those of us, who like myself and the many craftsmen who have worked with me at the different crafts in the Guild's eight workshops and upon the many buildings I have had to handle, know quite well that Collectivism

as a working system, though it may be applicable to the great mechanical industries, to electricity, to locomotion, to coal mining and so forth, has no chance of direct application to the little workshops, those little shops where the human something is wanted to make the work good, and to engender that idealism which our Socialist would see in life. The carpenters' bench, the cabinet makers' tool chest, the jewellers' blow-pipe, the silversmiths' stake, the blacksmiths' anvil, all these are best under the workman's immediate control, and to win their secret from them we want neither the exploiting individual capitalist as at present, nor the greater state capitalist proposed by the formula of Collectivism.

But there is another way yet in which this whole question must be regarded, another reason why the little shops must be saved. The ignoring of the little shops, means the ignoring of those multitudes of personal considerations and personalities so dear to the English Temperament. Every state of society is the resultant of the conflict of ideas within it, and it is probable that the labour state if it comes, will come as a compromise between the collectivist and the individualistic ideals of life. I do not think our Socialists will ever succeed in building up their labour State until they realize the power that these personal, might we call them feudal, considerations exercise over the English mind. Perhaps it is right that they should not succeed, that these things should not all be set aside; and here perhaps, in the maintenance of what is best in the direct relation of men of different caste and class and type, different training and tradition, the tie of the land, the link of culture and labour, here perhaps may lie the future of the great Conservative Party; beaten, broken, leaderless for the time being, & corrupted by wealth. If in the coming order of

labour it could gather round it all those personal interests, those finer aspirations of labour outside machinery, the other things that are dependent not upon industrial Capital, but upon that other, that personal capital which as in the great feudal period, we might once again give largely "in kind," there would be more merit in being a conservative ; for we should have an order more worth conserving :—there may be something in the Tory Socialism after all.

The English instinct perhaps is right that bids us save all we can of the inherited culture, of the traditional things that have given so much of what is fine and generous to English life ; on the other hand the instinct of the working classes is right too, which condemns the whole commercial system as non-ethical ; which condemns a system that subsists by grinding for a profit, a system which regards everything from the point of view of buying and selling ; which says "business is business," thus ruling out all the finer considerations of life, and which insolently assumes that commerce can be permanently conducted on those lines.

It has been said that the great organization of Imperial Rome lasted just so long as those who controlled it believed in it, and when they believed no more the system fell to pieces. One of the most hopeful signs in England and America is the growing disbelief of the leaders of Industry themselves in the work they are carrying on. I have talked quietly with many such. Whether in London, in the Midlands, whether in Pittsburg or in Chicago, I have observed first a doubt, then a cynical indifference—a shrug of the shoulders and *qui bono?* Very different this from the attitude of the old-fashioned merchant manufacturer, the old quaker of the generation of our parents and grandparents. When one touches

the man himself, apart from his routine, his associations, when one gets to the real human factor, as often as not he now disbelieves in the whole thing. The idealism of the Commercial system belongs to the "Crystal Palace" age of our grandfathers, it dwells in Industry no longer.

If that be so, indeed, is it not conceivable that an absolutely different character will clothe the great industrial organizations when their leaders suddenly find they are working not for themselves, but for the Community, the Idealism wanting now will be suddenly there. The purpose of this Chapter has been to point to the distinction between basic or industrial capital, and that other capital which we may term personal. Broadly, I conceive that the former is likely to be controlled for the benefit and to fulfil the material wants of the whole community. The latter must be allowed to go free, to flow, as it inevitably will, into the finer, the more generous, the more imaginative things of life.

Here again the Arts and Crafts movement contains deep lessons for Modern Industry, not alone of determining its right and wrong, of fixing its imaginative and its material limitations, but of simple and direct interpretation. We have forgotten all about the seven deadly sins in these days; we imagine perhaps that science has exorcised them, that we have evolved into some condition of character where it is no longer necessary for us to consider them other than as picturesque allegories. But the masque of life is never played out, and perhaps in the light of that keener national consciousness which the peoples and races are evolving, the old "seven deadlies" will stand as hale and lusty as ever.

What form, we might well ask, do they take in the pageant of Modern English Industrialism? For my

part I see always in prominence sloth and envy, and I see them much in the way Kit Marlowe saw them in the Tragedy of Faustus. Sloth the sin of our English and American leisured class, when impersonated by the gentleman loafer and parasite; "begotten on a sunny bank," at an English country house, perhaps, "where I have lain ever since, & you have done me great injury," he says to the militant Socialist who is proposing to disturb him, "to bring me from thence: let me be carried thither again!" As for envy, is it not the peculiar and pet sin of English labour—labour that has lost its anchorage and become un-skilled, the million spawned casual of the machine. The poet's words might well be inscribed over the doors of Salvation Army shelters, and serve as a text for Mansion House charitable relief Committees, or be written upon the banners of the unemployable employed as they march each winter to the West End. "I," says Envy, "am begotten of a chimney sweep and an oyster-wife. I cannot read (except cheap newspapers), and therefore wish all books were burnt. I am lean with seeing others eat. O that there would come a famine through all the world, that all might die, and I alone live (on the rates!), then thou should'st see how fat I would be. But must thou sit and I stand! Come down with a vengeance!" It was in that mood that the stones were thrown at the club windows in Pall Mall 25 years ago, when the Socialist movement first began in earnest.

The shams and the duties of life remain with us. Even though we have to admit that Democracy and the feudal ideal are hard to reconcile, that the teachings of modern science, of revolutionary France, of Industrial England, have knocked the bottom out of the Anglican Catechism, that in the deep of our

hearts we do neither desire nor pray to "remain in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call us," that we do not really any longer believe that we have fallen from the station of inferior Angels, but rather that we have risen from that of superior apes, and intend to rise higher. Granted all that, still the fundamentals remain, the need for Idealism, the need for Reasonableness; there remains the fact of Envy as distinct from the desire for personal progress, there remains the fact of Sloth as distinct from the love of wise leisure. It is in the study once again of these two "deadly sins" in English life, and how to correct them as a people, that we shall learn the way to determine "Industrial" from "personal" capital, and this may lead us to the greater knowledge of the true limitations of Socialism.

#### CHAPTER XIV. THE EDUCATION QUESTION AND ITS BEARING UPON ENGLISH CRAFTSMANSHIP.

I have put as the last two chapters of this book, before its conclusion, the question of education, and the question of the land. Their intimate bearing upon the future of the Arts and Crafts in modern Industry demand for them a chapter each. In the last we left our subject with the endeavour to find the ways and means by which Capital could be placed at the disposal of the craftsman—eight different ways were indicated, which, taken together, would enable him to stand alone in his little workshop within a state that was gradually assuming a non-competitive and collectivist form. In growing less competitive the State will become also more conscious of the need for upholding Standard and differentiating between the basic and personal forms of Industry.

Now just as it is a man's capital if he be well educated, so is it the community's capital if the whole body of citizens be so. In this Chapter, therefore, I desire to do two things: to show the bearing of the Arts and Crafts movement upon the education question and to illustrate this practically by the educational work that has been done by a group of men working in the spirit of the movement, though in a very small way, over a period of six years in the country; to show how they have tried out of existing conditions and with very imperfect machinery, to construct something that shall have some permanent value educationally.

Perhaps at the outset it might be well to put the question, what is the lesson that the Arts and Crafts



movement has for education? The answer will help us to the constructive issues of our subject, and the answer is this. The Arts and Crafts are a fundamentally educative force in themselves, but owing to the accidental position they occupy in modern Industry we need an educational system so constructed as to consciously supply the lacunæ which their exclusion makes.

From this we are led to the following deduction, viz.: that the education to be supplied by the State must have two objectives. It must be first an education adapted to the whole body of citizens whose chief concern in life is always likely to remain the handling and use of industrial machinery, and it must have also the possibilities of an education adapted to those who have ability to pursue the work of higher status implied in the Arts and Crafts.

If it be admitted that my view of the probable development of Collectivist principles is a right one, and also my contention that basic and personal capital will have to be differentiated, it is obvious that the educational system of the country will have to take this fact into consideration, and this at present it does not do. But here I would like to make a personal confession, and also anticipate a criticism from educationalists themselves; speaking as one of them I hold with them that all this Socialism, this state and bureaucratic interference, this complex supervision & regulation is odious and repulsive. The ideal way obviously is to find the educationalist, give him the money and leave him a free hand, but I see that this cannot be done in a democratic and partially civilized state, so I shrug my shoulders and say, "It is for the educationalists to educate the Board, to do this periodically, and get the system made as flexible as possible."

Now with our minds fixed upon the Arts and Crafts, and the two objectives in our educational system to which allusion has just been made, let us examine the bearing upon it of the great determining factor Industrial Machinery. Every form of Craftsmanship from the early Middle Ages down to the destruction of the crafts in the 18th and 19th centuries, carried its own educational ideal within it. The Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century and the coming of Machinery, which destroyed the crafts one by one, completely altered our national need in Education. The gradual settlement of some of the greater problems of Machinery altered the need again, our newer modern ideas of the function of the State, the colonial development of our own time, and the forming of our conception of the qualitative standard through the Arts and Crafts, is likely to completely change the need yet once more.

We are apt to overlook the permanence and continuity of the mediæval workshop organization ; all that was needed to meet the newer national wants of the Renaissance when our modern educational ideals first took shape was a greater scope for mental development, scholarship, "*literæ humaniores.*" Everything else was supplied by the crafts, for the mediæval organization of the Crafts was still in practical force. The Industrial revolution, however, destroyed their educational force, and, when the Education Act of 1870-1 was passed, the intention was to supply the bare needs of mental development, reading, writing, arithmetic. What we now need is something very different, we need something to mitigate Industrialism ; as the catch word has it, the three R's have to be supplemented by the three H's, Hand, Heart, Head, and that may incidentally mean that as a people we shall drop our H's no longer.

All this does history show us, but a finer teaching than the study of history is the educational bearing of a clean well-conducted workshop upon the men who work inside it, and whose livelihood it represents. That is the discovery of the Arts and Crafts. It is just in the inventive workshop, the workshop of craftsmanship as against the reduplicative workshop, the workshop of the machine, of Industrialism, that there lies *a fundamental difference in educational value*. The latter has its educational value too, in discipline, in order, in regularity, in *esprit de corps*, and so forth; but infinitely greater is the intellectual, the imaginative, the creative force that the workshop of craftsmanship gives its members. This has been observed times out of number by those who have visited the Guild workshops.\*

The distinction between the educational need of the Industrial workshop and the workshop of craftsmanship was well stated once at a conference on higher education convened by the Gloucester County Council when a number of employers of labour were asked to give their opinion upon the education needed for youths of from 14 upwards, and as to the value of apprenticeship or its possible substitute educationally. One of the manufacturers, a scientific instrument maker, got up and said: "I do not want for my workpeople what Mr. Ashbee wants for his. He wants men of high skill, invention, thorough training, I have no need for any of those things. All I need is accuracy, and this I get from my machinery, Therefore to be quite frank with you, gentlemen, I do not want any education for my hands at all, I

\*Many illustrations could be given especially from German and American sources. The interested reader is referred to a recent article by Berlepsch Valendas in "*Kunst und Handwerk*," 1908, IV.

want them as young as I can get them, I want to pay them as low wages as possible, I want to use them up as quickly as I can, throw them away and get others. Their education is no concern of mine whatever, that I hold to be a matter not for the employer of labour but for the state."

This distinction between the Arts and Crafts and Industrialism then, gives us an educational lead, and emphasizes the two objectives upon which I have insisted. It shows us how two forms of Education are needed for our young workmen. Education outside his work for the industrialist; Education once again in and through his work for the Craftsman. The Community needs both.

At this point then it may be permissible to draw attention again to the practical value of the Guild of Handicraft as solving *in petto* one of our national problems; for here we have another of the fundamental things which 20 years of work has proved, viz., the educational value of craftsmanship. Educationalists talk about this, but they have very little opportunity of working it out, for the simple reason that they have not at their disposal the practical workshops in which to carry out their ideas, and if they had the workshops, they have not the years of life needed in each individual trained, wherein to test the training.

The deeper study of history indeed shows us even more, it shows us how the life of the workshops has produced certain types of character; if we were to look more closely at the mediæval organization of cities like Florence, Nuremberg, London, we should have no difficulty in tracing the influence of their workshop conditions upon the character and type of the men they produced; men like Eveleigh, Harland, Huntingdon Shaw in London, the earnestness of Cromwell's Ironsides, the happiness of Simon Eyre

and his journeymen as Dekker drew them, Hans Sachs & Pieter Fischer in Nuremberg, Donatello, Brunelleschi, Caparra the "ready money" blacksmith, in Florence. Countless instances could be cited to show how the education in and of the crafts, produced certain types of character and citizenship. Who shall deny that they were worth having or that we might not consciously emulate them again. It is a question of freedom for the individual once more, freedom within a larger restraint, freedom for labour from the control of finance, and from those who would harness Arts and Crafts for purposes of exploiting and profit.

Production we have insisted must be controlled by the producers, but it will be evident to every thoughtful man; especially if he thinks about the education question that this requires qualifying in two respects. The producers must be educated, and the producers must include those who are responsible for the higher as well as the lower forms of production. We have not as yet thought of our Education system in relation to labour as a whole, much less to any coming labour State, and the unintelligent Socialist is as ready to undervalue brains and talent as the unintelligent Conservative is to overrate the danger of misdirected labour. But the time has now come when we must look at education from the point of view of labour, & of labour as modified and transformed by Industrial machinery.

If the educationalists and those who have the shaping of the system realized the meaning of this as fully as do those who work in the Arts and Crafts, if they realized that the casual, the cheap man, the man with no standard and no minimum rate, was the product of unregulated Industrial Machinery, they would allow the greater need for the State dealing with the fundamentals of citizenship on the one hand, and the

maintenance of Standard on the other, and not leave these to the haphazard care of individual enterprise as at present. In this country we are as deficient in educational system in the fundamentals of citizenship, as in higher technical education,—the two sides of our medal again. Our great polytechnics & Technical Schools have not yet found their feet, and in the simplest elements of Education we are as yet far behind. Cleanliness, Courtesy, Character, Citizenship, all these are matters upon which apparently it is not considered essential to insist nationally. We have relied upon the traditional culture of our leisured classes to help us through, and they have proved a broken reed, for they have not been intelligent enough nor strong enough to cope with the over-whelming pressure of cheap men and women from below, the cheap unregulated human product of the machine.

My contention therefore is that the Arts and Crafts in so far as they touch both sides of our medal, the finer "obverse" of Standard, and the simpler "reverse" of the minimum wage, *must be incorporated into our educational system.* They must become a part of its elementary work on the one hand, and we must on the other give scope & chance for the higher Standard and skill which they imply. Here again however the Socialist has the Educationalist by the heels, for he says, not unreasonably as to the first, "concede my rights of citizenship," and he adds as to the second, "what is the good of giving this higher Education if there is no employment for the higher labour." To this the craftsman adds the needful rider, "Regulate your machine output, control Standard, and let me do my work." So do we come back again to the same refrain with which we started in our first Chapter. The Arts and Crafts have as yet no economic basis, they are dependent upon the

whims of the few wealthy, they should be broadly based upon the wants of the whole community. The general purpose of this book in which their position in modern Industry is examined from all points of view, is to get the public to ask itself the question : How can this best be brought about ? How can we give them their economic basis ? At the present moment too they are engaged, in the sphere of Education, upon an acute if perhaps unconscious struggle with the Trade. The Trade has begun to feel the competition of the independent craftsmen, the combination of these craftsmen in Guilds, & the competition of amateurs. The Trade which should draw its inspiration from & be the revived and transformed by the Arts and Crafts, is endeavouring to destroy them. The way in which this shows itself is in the present attitude of Employers of labour towards polytechnics and technical schools, and in the expression of this attitude on County Councils. They begin to raise the cry " What is the good of this to us ? We want hands. We have to make profits in order to subsist ; craftsmanship as such, Standard, all these things for which you are clamouring are not our concern, we are there to exploit, not to produce." Education, for those whose primary interest is profit upon craftsmanship, cannot be an end itself ; there will be enthusiasts always, and men who see clearer, but at the present moment the national ideal in education suffers from the competitive struggle of the business men among themselves.

Looking at the question now from the point of view of Education in the country as against the town, we are faced with the further difficulty to which reference was made in Chapter XII. What strikes us above all is the complexity of the existing system, the impossibility of rightly applying to the village

what may work in the town, and the impracticability of the present system of education by chunks (see p. 160 and note).

We must reconstruct our educational system in its relation to the village,—the country side,—and as soon as we can get intelligent people in the country to see the need of education in the country at all, we shall probably do something, but the existing confusion is almost hopeless.

An official friend of mine at the Board of Education, who must be nameless, recently said with a sigh, "The Board are always longing to devise schemes for rural schools, but our experience is that people in the country don't want them ; what they really want & are always asking us for, is education that shall fit them to go into towns and to do better."\* Precisely! there we have it, and what we have now got to do is, *pari passu*, to devise schemes for getting the townsman to come out again into the country and show him how he can do better.

By way of illustration, a brief outline may now be given of the idea at the back of the Campden School of Arts and Crafts, the practical work it has succeeded in doing in a population of about 1,300, and incidentally of my own experience as Hon. Correspondent for Higher Education in the county area, over which it operates. My colleagues on the Higher Education Committee will probably agree that the educationalists just at present, what with the Board on the one hand, and the local authority on the other, are somewhat in the position of the oysters in the poem of the Walrus and the Carpenter. The Board is sympathetic and condolent, it invites us to walk and talk ; the local authority is brusque,

\*See also "*The Heart of the Country*" by F. M. Hueffer.



ruthless and rather like the Carpenter, it has other things to think about than education, and its first concern is to save the rates. The Walrus draws up regular and magnificent memoranda which the oysters really enjoy, it talks of many things, "of shoes, and ships, and sealing wax, of cabbages and Kings," but all that is neither here nor there to the practical Carpenter, he merely docketts the literature, continues to cut down the rates, and when remonstrated with just growls that "the butter 's spread too thick." In the county of Gloucestershire we have probably one of the most capable and intelligent County Education Committees in England, but whenever this body tries to make itself felt, or seeks to carry through any thorough or far reaching educational undertaking, it is swamped by the bucolic party, who decline to spend the necessary money, or to levy a rate for higher education. This is due to the present system of rating, that throws the bulk of the burden of taxation upon the wrong shoulders.\*

Then the whole system is so complicated that probably 25 per cent. of the money to be devoted to teaching goes in administration. In our little village technical Educational Centre, now that we have become a limb of the National system, we have been visited in five years by eleven different inspectors, many of them overlapping, and giving conflicting instructions, we have to do annually with more than fifteen separate educational authorities, we have to

*\*Thus the rating being upon the message, the professional man, or Tradesman, or the man of independent means in a small country town or village, who may be worth, let us say, £500 a year, would contribute a few shillings to such a rate, while a farmer earning the same amount from his business would have to contribute as many pounds, the result of course is that all the farmers are opposed to an Education rate, and are keen to cut down expenditure.*



*Camden School of Arts and Crafts, showing interior of a Malt House reconstructed as a Gallery and Lecture Hall.*

fill innumerable forms, be subjected to a variety of different audits, and all for the sake of an annual grant of £150. In case I should be thought to be exaggerating, I give in Appendix III. the list of these "thrones and dominions, principedoms, virtues, powers," and all this rigmarole, all this pishery-pashery before public money may be used in teaching a little girl to wash an apron or a village lad to use an anvil, not to mention some trifle of music or national literature, as a palliative to the maudlin sentiment of the parish magazine, or the uncontrolled rubbish of the cheap press. When to this there is to be added the fact that the chief work of an honorary correspondent is to ward off the attacks made upon him by one or other of the dozen or so educational bodies incessantly at feud, and ready to pounce upon him for extravagance, or bleed him in what they believe to be the public interest, it may readily be supposed that even a man of leisure shrinks from so thankless a public service.

Now the idea behind the Campden School of Arts and Crafts is this. It recognizes the fact that there are certain existing State aided agencies for education, elementary, secondary & so forth, over the area in which it has jurisdiction, and it recognizes the further fact that Industrial Machinery acts in a certain manner upon the trade and occupation of the area; it therefore seeks to fill up the gaps which the existing agencies cannot supply, and endeavours to give whatever the existing trades and occupations most need; and it does this with the deliberate intention and hope of giving to all its students, some 300 men, women & children, such opportunities for general improvement and culture as the means at its disposal warrant. It seeks to offer the highest and the lowest, thus endeavouring to be in itself a real centre of Education. In this way it



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*Cooking Class at the Campden School of Arts and Crafts.*

combines a University Extension Centre with technical work in stenography, typewriting, work at the bench, carpentry and the use of metals. It has country classes in farriery, farm occupations, cooking and laundry, and it gets the bulk of its students together with music, singing and popular lectures. There are village gardens, there is instruction in swimming, in the rights and duties of the citizen, and in physical drill. A comprehensive view of Education, within the conditions of modern Industry, and within the limitations of a countryside, is what we aim at. We are of course far away from the fulfilment of our aim, and the resources placed at our disposal are ludicrously inadequate, but we believe that we are working in the right direction. We believe too that the sort of higher education at which we are aiming is going to make for a finer citizenship under modern industrial conditions as they affect the English village.

Sometimes I seek to look at life through the eyes of my young artizans, and then I find life only tolerable if culture be permitted. The word culture is unhappy in its misuse, but culture and that which goes with it, culture in Matthew Arnold's sense of the term, is what I mean, leisure for reflection, for physical and mental fulfilment, the chance for one's own individuality, the sense that you are wanted in the universe, that a niche is reserved for you. For these things only does life under modern Industrialism seem tolerable, but are not these things almost everything? If we have decided no longer to rebel against the Industrial system, which chains us together, but to quietly and firmly set to work and reconstruct it (abandoning the position of Morris and Ruskin for instance—the intellectual Ludditism), looking more closely at how things have shaped since their death, we find industrial organization ever screwing down &

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*Physical Drill at the Campden School of Arts and Crafts.*

screwing down, we find the drive severer, the competition keener, we find industrial democracy ever closing in, the ranks growing more serried, the discipline more strict, the levelling and uniformity more necessary, more terrible.

What becomes of the individual, of what weight is the little human soul upon this dark archangel's scale. As my friend Mr. Sidney Webb I believe once finely put it, "the individual is the odd trick for which we stake all the rest," and with the knowledge of this, we can afford to dismiss the tirades of our monied and cultured friends against the "levelling" of Socialism. They are biassed, and miss the point; for the finer culture in these days of Industrial machinery is possible for all; *but it implies the regulation of machinery in the interests of all.*

It is just this knowledge that must help us through the quagmire of English Education. For those who work in Industry alone, the finer culture must be found outside, for those who work in the Arts and Crafts it may be found within. The educationalist's business, if he has grasped this truth, is to distinguish, to differentiate.

I was discussing these newer educational problems with a workman friend soon after the withdrawal of Mr. Birrell's abortive Education Bill of 1907, and asked, "Is it too much to hope that the leaders of constructive Liberalism—if there is such a thing—should give us a little guidance on this point?" He blazed up at me, "No, d— them, they're no good, and there's no such thing as constructive Liberalism!" I think this was unfair, but the essence of truth in his outburst lay here,—that they had not yet discovered the distinction between the Arts and Crafts and Industry, and hence no larger educational policy in an Industrial State was as yet possible for them.

## CHAPTER XV. AGRICULTURE AND THE ARTS AND CRAFTS.

In Chapter V. I gave a calculation by one of the Guild Craftsmen, accustomed all his life to town conditions, of the savings in the family budget by living in the country. Here is another which leads us still more directly to that question of the basic industry in addition to the Craft with which we must now deal. \*The budget is that of a highly skilled workman with a wife and three growing children, who in addition to his work tills a plot of half-an-acre. It is significant because it shows the figures with and without the basic industry.

Amount spent in the year *without* the basic industry £26, as analysed per week thus:—

	s.	d.
Vegetables - - - -	2	0
Bread - - - -	5	0
Bacon - - - -	1	6
Eggs - - - -	1	0

or say in round figures 10/- a week.

Amount spent in the year *with* the basic industry, *i.e.*, tilling a half-acre plot, £10.

In this expenditure is reckoned feeding of the pig, cutting the corn, buying seeds and other items. In addition to the cash saving of £16 there is fruit which comes in for nothing, poultry which is reckoned to pay itself, and probably a small surplus over.

Now setting aside the groceries, dairy produce and a certain quantity of meat, which may have to be

\* Other similar budgets have been given me, but the wife's plea often is that what is saved in the vegetable bill goes in increased cost on groceries:



purchased, we have in this produce of half-an-acre a very large proportion of the sustenance, the staple produce, needed for a family of five, for which nothing has to be paid beyond some healthy labour. If instead of a single family unit we have say 20 or 30 families of craftsmen, and conceive of these as each creating and consuming their own staple produce, and arranging among themselves for the distribution or marketing of the margin, we have what is tantamount to a small community of craftsmen, with an economic independence; in other words freedom for craftsmanship from the wage service of commercialism. We have health, and we have leisure for the individual.

We need of course some security in the land tenure, or some modification of the existing system which will give to the little Community the necessary stability. It will be observed that what we are aiming at is not exactly the village "allotment" on the one hand, nor the "small holding" on the other. The first postulates the agricultural labourer who lives primarily by working on the land, the second an independent agriculturist who lives primarily by supplying and selling his produce to an outside market. Out of these two conditions, however, it is possible that something can be constructed to serve the needs of craftsmanship, but the point upon which we have to insist is that the objective must primarily be *sustenance* and not *sale*. The condition aimed at must differ from the condition of the labourer in the matter of status and independence, and it must differ from the condition of the small holder in the matter of the sale of produce.

If now we look at the experience of small holders in different parts of the country, the people who are trying to make a living out of the land by the simple

processes, the Craftsmanship of husbandry, we find that the competition which they have to face is much the same as that of the Arts and Crafts, which we examined in Chapter II. It is the competition of machinery and the competition of the amateur ; only in the case of the English small holder the machinery is away on Canadian Farms and Argentine wheat fields, gardens in the South of France, or up-to-date ships manned by Lascars ; while the amateur competitor is the gentleman farmer often an American, or an English aristocrat whose estate is financed by an alliance with the industrialism of Chicago, Pittsburg, or Cincinnati. Also the competition is further intensified by the manipulation of foreign finance and the rigging of international markets. A recent advertisement for a small holding, not far from the centre in which the Guild does its work, elicited a large number of replies from people who wanted to give their holdings up, the reason given in many cases was that they had nothing to do in the winter, they needed another a subsidiary occupation, the money they got in the summer they lost or wasted in the winter. In old days, the days before industrial machinery, this occupation would have been supplied by the Arts and Crafts of the home. If therefore we could devise ways by which such small holders, as were able and willing to have "another string to their bow," could be freed from entire dependence upon an outside agricultural market, we should be doing much towards the establishment of a healthy and independent peasantry once again. There is no disguising the fact however that until recently there has been a want of sympathy between the large landlords and farmers on the one hand, and the small holders on the other ; the former do not really like the idea of healthy independence; things have been and are

still made needlessly difficult for the small man. If he starts in his own locality he has traditional obstacles to overcome, he is supposed to be rising out of his station ; if he settles in the countryside he is for long treated as an outsider and bled.\*

With the problem of the small holder as such we are here not concerned, it would be an impertinence for those who are not engaged in the raising and marketing of agricultural produce to lay down plans for those who have devoted their lives to the problem, but there is one question that the outsider may perhaps be allowed to ask. Are we really right in regarding Agriculture in the same way as we regard competitive Industry, as a matter of exchange ? Is it economically, is it nationally sound to do so ? Granted that it may be right and necessary for our great industrial centres to have foreign markets to draw from, is it a sound policy to deal with the home producer as if he were a foreign producer, as if his standard of life did not concern us ?

The question is apposite here because it has so close a bearing upon our problem of the Arts and Crafts. It never seems to occur to people that the fact of our sending everything up to market may mean that we have not enough left to eat ourselves. And yet that is what often happens, and the children in our villages are sometimes half starved because there is literally not sufficient nourishing food for them to eat. Everything goes as tribute to the great town, and the return in bad beer, bad clothing, bad machine-made utensils, bad tinned stores are no fair equivalent for what the village sends away. I have lived in a village in Oxfordshire where milk was very difficult

\* *For the first two or three years of the Guild's settlement in Campden, the local tradespeople kept up two prices, a price for "Campden people" and a price for "Guild people."*

to get except by special favour, and where the only bacon the cottager could procure was Chicago tinned stuff from the village store,—and that was before the American meat scandals. We may have to readjust our ideas of exchange in reference to English agriculture, we may find that economic exchange of agricultural produce must be distinguished from agriculture as a basic craft; and as a basic craft it is as I have insisted, the counterpart of the Arts and Crafts, the work of the hand shop as distinct from the factory. The agriculturalist and the Craftsman indeed are in the same boat, the key to their joint position is not primarily the marketing of produce but the maintaining of life; to enable this to be done some change in the existing system is needed.

The lesson that the Guild has really learned from its six years in the country, is that “Art is by the way,” that it will come of itself all right if the fundamentals are first provided. In and through the country we have discovered what these fundamentals are, and also that much of the great town that we thought so essential can be dispensed with, is no more needed, must indeed in a properly regulated State be destroyed. It is the directness of the workshop of craftsmanship combined with the directness of the processes of husbandry that has brought us to this conclusion. The Guild has learned another lesson also, viz., *that the weekly wage system which is incompatible with permanence & tradition in craftsmanship, is incompatible also with the processes of husbandry.* A man must, if he is to till a piece of land, be able to look not a week but a year ahead, he must be given the necessary sense of permanence and security. While therefore we have no right to speak for others, we are justified in laying down for our own guidance, for those who work at such Arts and Crafts as are best carried on in

the Country, the lines upon which a combination between agriculture and craftsmanship can be arrived at. The following proposals are offered as showing the direction in which it is probable that the Guildsmen will work in the next few years, with a view to acquiring that economic basis for the crafts at which we must aim.

1. The working craftsman who has determined to stay in the country shall have another string to his bow in the form of a basic operation on the land.
2. This in itself is not sufficient to make the basic craft effective ; it must be developed co-operatively among all the Guildsmen & such others as they may from time to time elect into their number.
3. The principle upon which this co-operation should be carried on must be the principle of sustenance, not exchange. That is to say the men should roughly plan out at the beginning of the year, what is to be grown on all the plots and pieces of land, they should then each use his own produce for his own domestic use, and exchange, except perhaps among their own number, should be marginal.
4. To enable every man to reap the full benefit of his own labour, produce and harvesting, the greatest latitude should be given ; to this end it might be desirable to establish a system of tokens, with a bank or clearing house for their exchange. The division of profits would thus be upon each man's

earnings and sales, and in accordance with the number of tokens handed in.\*

5. This plan would give the maximum scope for private industry and thrift. Also it would make it possible for such craftsmen as have not yet homes of their own, who do not want to work at the basic craft, or who are earning high and permanent wages, to reap the benefit of the co-operation and on their side assist the society.
6. One of the group would have to be distributor of the marginal produce, and direct the exchange, no doubt receiving the middleman's commission for so doing.
7. With this it would be desirable to combine a co-operative distributive store of the usual type in order to save for the producer a portion of the distributor's profit, which the producer with a little organization might easily retain for himself.
8. The market should be kept as stable and uncompetitive as possible, and regular fixed prices be arranged for, if that could be done.†

The above are an outline of the proposals. They postulate an existing body of producers in craftsmanship who are accustomed to work together, a certain amount of existing custom in the Arts & Crafts, the use of a certain amount of machinery for the rougher work, such as the circular saw, band saw, planing machine and lathes, a certain amount of land, and the

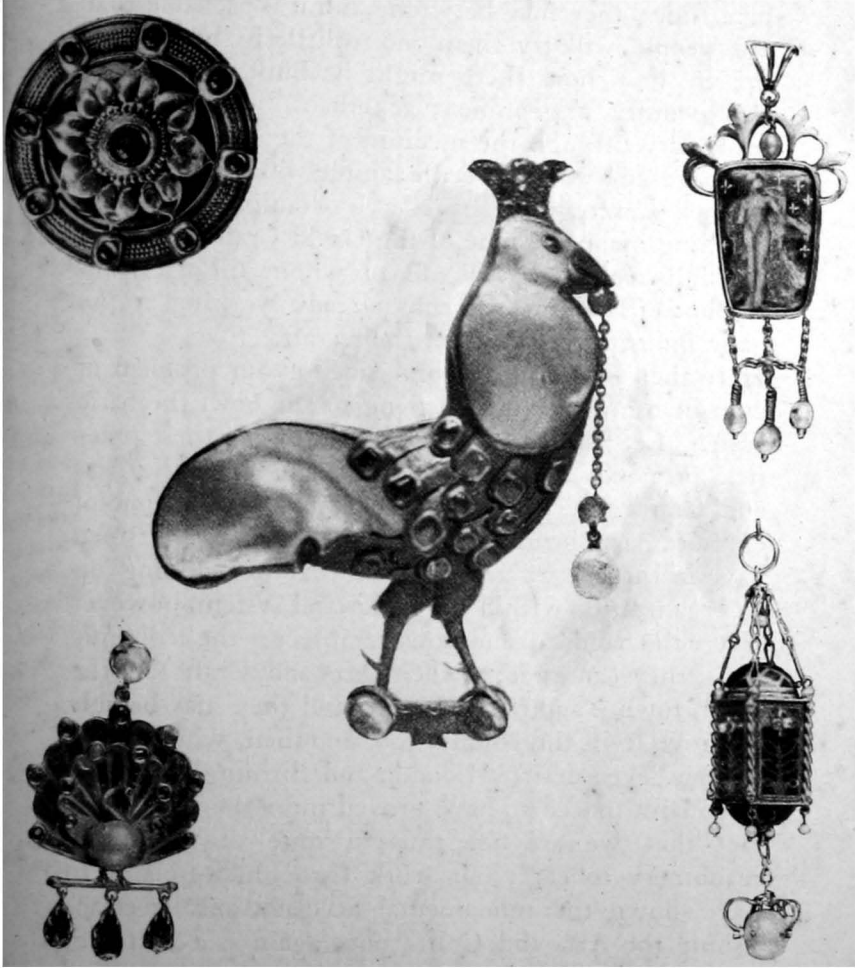
\* See also the excellent system advocated in Montagu Fordham's "*Mother Earth*."

† This seems to have been done by Mr. Vincent in Sussex, see his pamphlet on small holdings.

necessary cottages. Most of these we have; my further proposals for securing the basic industry will take time; they may be wrong, but it is probable that our people will try them and so little by little build up, or show how there might be built up again in this country a genuine "ackerbau" or system of husbandry through the medium of the Arts & Crafts. On page 205 will be seen examples of jewellery and enamel, and on pp. 207 & 209 examples of silver-smithing made by some of the Guild Craftsmen, men of high technical skill, all of whom till a certain amount of land, and are thus already working at the basic industry as well as at their craft.

Here then is the agricultural side of our problem of craftsmanship, the other string to the bow, the basic craft. Let us now illustrate and examine these practical proposals and show their bearing upon the Arts and Crafts as a whole; we shall find it to be one of extraordinary intimacy. Architects and craftsmen have in the last 25 years proved that by building up an organization within the Industrial system, however severe the handicap and however insecure the economic basis, they can practise their Arts and Crafts in the great town; another 25 years and they may be able to prove it in the country too, and then, who knows, we may even destroy London and Birmingham!

We claim indeed to have proved more than the mere fact that we are able thus in spite of Industrial machinery to carry our work through, we claim to have shown the fundamental need not only of establishing the Arts and Crafts once again as a factor in national life, but the need of definitely dissociating them from machine production, and of regulating and limiting the machine accordingly. What still remains to be proven is that *their organization under healthy country conditions is economically right.*



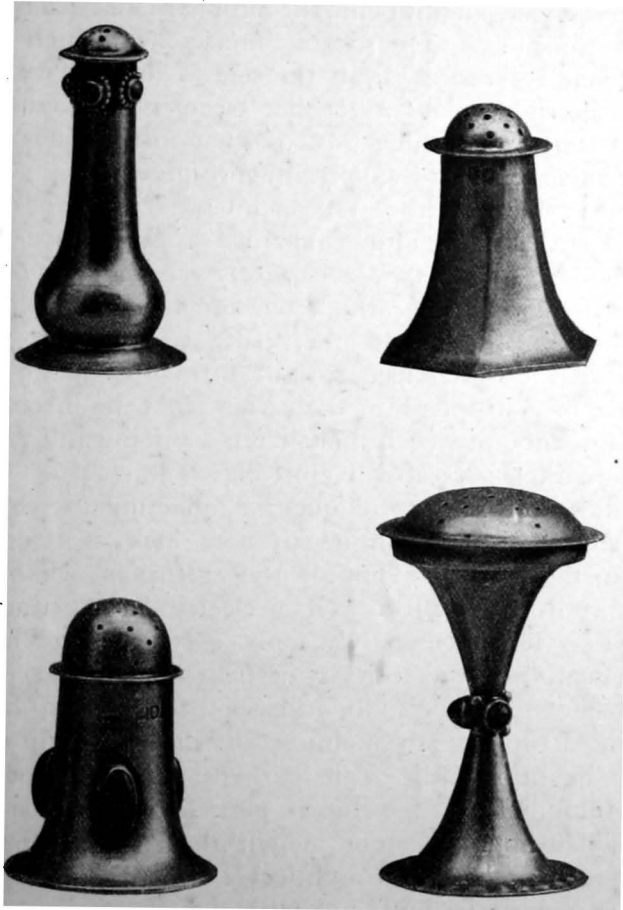
*Examples of Jewelry made by Craftsmen who are also engaged upon their own tillage.*



At first sight this seems to give the lie to that Socialistic state, that State interference, to which so many allusions have been made in these pages ; but we who are working at the problem practically do not think so. The State interference which we demand is freedom from the rule of finance, we ask for the right to labour, for that "security to the results of enterprise" which Mr. Balfour insists\* it is the "primary duty of a Government to give."

The problem of the Arts and Crafts then and the problem of Agriculture, regarded as sustenance and not as exchange, *are the counterpart to each other.* Let us now examine this from other points of view. To do this I will ask the reader to return to the theorem of the electric light fitting on p. 25 the piece of craftsmanship, as distinct from the mechanical product, of which the fair retail price was £7 and the market value after a short period was 12/6. We dealt with it then as a question affecting the shareholder and financier ; let us now look at it again from the point of view of the craftsman, whom in the end it most affects. The electric light fitting, it will be remembered, was only a type of the hand product, the same arbitrary destruction of value could be shown to apply to a tea-pot, a chair, a hand printed book, a jewel, almost any craftsmanship that can be mentioned, with perhaps the exception of building, where the value is partially maintained because of the land upon which the building stands. My experience as an architect and builder however is that even in building, with few exceptions, the better the work is, the less saleable it becomes. Consequently *the man who stocks houses*, usually called the speculative builder, *as others stock furniture, silverwork, or items of craftsmanship, gets*

\* See Chapter XII. p. 157.



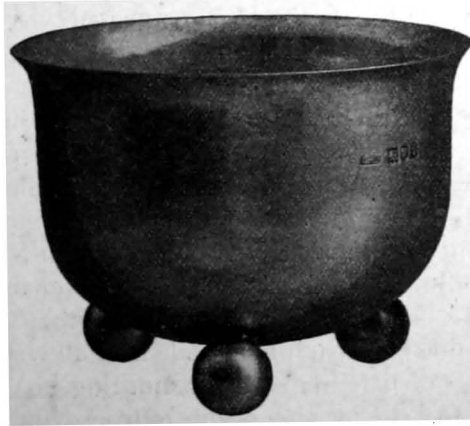
*Examples of Silversmithing by Craftsmen also engaged upon their own tillage.*

under existing conditions *a better return from bad work than from good.*

Our theorem of the electric light fitting shows conclusively that it is impossible for the Craftsman to carry his own stock, *i.e.*, he cannot do this and live. It may be possible for him to make one £10 piece of work or even two, to show the excellence of his craftsmanship, but if the customer then comes along and says beneficently, "For the privilege of selling this piece to me for 25/-—its proper market value you know—you must now forego one month's wages," which, calculated at his working wage of 35/- a week, represents the difference between the market value & the cost of production, it is obviously equivalent to a month's starvation for the craftsman before the next piece can be started.

Clearly then if he cannot make stock he must have some other source of livelihood which shall render it possible for him to tide over, and command the fair price for his labour in craftsmanship. I submit that the answer to this is the land, some such system for controlling the produce of the land and using it for the craftsman's own subsistence as has been outlined above. And at this point it is necessary to emphasize again the sharp distinction between the workshop of craftsmanship & the industrial workshop, the factory; to show how different is their bearing upon the agricultural problem. The factory must work to regular hours and routine; the Craftsman on the other hand has control over his own time, not being tied to Industrial machinery, he can follow the times and seasons of the year, he can squat on his work.

We will now bring the point home in another way and from conditions in foreign countries. Here is yet a further practical example, this time from the Guild's carving shop. In 1904 the Guild carvers



*Examples of Silversmithing by Craftsmen also engaged upon their own tillage.*

were asked to do a statue in wood for an English Church. The commission hung in the balance for a time, between the carvers at Campden or the carvers in Bavaria. The architect pleaded for the carvers at Campden, because they could do the work better. The customer pointed out however that the carvers in Bavaria could do the work cheaper by at least 25 per cent. Finally the Campden carvers got the work, provided that a certain price was not exceeded. This meant that the client paid a little more for the privilege of better workmanship, and the Campden carvers forwent their profit for the privilege of getting the commission. So far so good, but what puzzled us was how, other things being equal, the Bavarian carvers should be able to put a statue on the English market, carriage included, at 25 per cent. less than the English workman. I had been to Bavaria, and from a superficial visit to the country it had seemed to me that there was no great difference between the standard of life of the Bavarian and the Campden workman. The unexpected visit of two Bavarian architects to Campden to study English Arts and Crafts for their government just after the statue was completed, cleared up the difficulty.

“The art of our carvers is abominable” said they with Teutonic directness, the word used was “scheusslich,” “and you deserve to have the statue, but our people have great technical skill, and they have two immense advantages over yours which will always make it possible for them to beat yours in price. They have their own little land and homestead, and they get their material for nothing. When we have learned the Arts and Crafts from you, we shall be able to wipe you out altogether; that is one of the objects of our visit to Campden.”

It transpired upon further questioning that the



*A Carved and Coloured Wooden Statue (St. Benedict) to illustrate the competition of the Campden Carvers with the Bavarian Carvers who have their own "Ackerbau."*

Bavarian carver's homestead meant sufficient land to grow vegetables and corn for his own consumption, that the craft of baking was still practised by the women of the house, that they kept a pig and perhaps cows for which they had some rights of common pasture, that they did not *sell* their agricultural produce, as the Englishman does *at a loss* but ate it themselves. And that last and most important of all an intelligent State seeing that here was the basis of a useful and healthy country industry which it was undesirable to sweep into the great town, had stepped in and impropriated the old manorial rights of cutting timber, reserving them primarily for the industry and no longer allowing the strongest man in the district to do it any way he liked.

"Why cannot you do the same?" said my guests, "if you want to be even with us you will have to, there is surely land about here, and there must be manorial rights;—there have been manorial rights in Europe everywhere, what's become of yours?" Most Germans are educated historians. I hushed him with bated breath; to whisper such a thing in an English country district, would be regarded as wild & wicked Socialism, a scandalous interference with the "sacred rights of property." I merely said that with us the land was difficult to get except in large quantities, that all common pasture had been destroyed by the Enclosure Acts of the 18th and 19th centuries, and that manorial rights for cutting timber now resolved themselves into a few bundles of faggots down the road a mile away, the timber itself being cut for the private use of the Lord of the Manor, "and I've no doubt," I added, with English doggedness, "he makes very good use of it." My persistent Teuton smiled. "I observed when in your workshop," said he, "that you have to buy *your* timber from us in Austria!"



*Silver Cup with Modelling and Chasing, made by the young  
Guildsman to whom special reference is made on p. 214.*



The case of our wooden statue was given to show the advantage of the "ackerbau." On the preceding page is a silver cup, a rather tragic example of waste, owing to the non-existence of the "ackerbau." This beautiful piece with its delicately modelled figure was made by a young guildsman who died of phthisis. He was one of the finest modellers I ever came across, his touch was exquisite. I made his acquaintance first in 1888 in Whitechapel, where he was earning 15/- a week by trundling a catsmeat barrow. He came to the School of Handicraft in the evenings, and I was struck with the extraordinary fidelity and feeling with which he made a copy of the St. Cecilia of Donatello. We then took him into the Guild and put him on to modelling & chasing in silver, and the Guild still has many beautiful patterns from his hand. In 1901 his lungs gave way, and I sent him with his work into the country, but he came back after a few months; without his shopmates and away from the Guild life, he could not stand the loneliness. He died the year after we came to Campden. Had we gone out a few years earlier I am convinced that his life could have been saved. This case is one of many that could be given and it is offered here as an example of waste. I have had among the young fellows who have passed through my hands some six or seven cases of phthisis, several of which have ended in early death. It is a curious thing, perhaps there is some scientific reason for it, and it is not coincidence, but in almost every case these young men have been men of delicate creative temperament, they have had some quality in them which made of them fine craftsmen in the particular lines which they took up. It should be possible for these people to work in the country at their crafts, and we

may reasonably claim that it is the duty of our legislators, especially of our municipal legislators, to see that this is done. I think there should be country annexes to our great polytechnics and schools of craft, country scholarships, and a regular system of planting people out. What we of the Guild have done in a small way could easily be done by the Community in a large.

Perhaps when some of our Socialistic theorists become a little more practical, and give up regarding the factory system as the be-all and end-all of the labour state, they will devote a little thought to this question. If they will not turn their attention to Art and Craft for its own sake, they might turn their attention to phthisis, and find in Art and Craft as I would see it, *i.e.*, in small healthy country hand workshops, a solution to one of the most terrible problems of the factory system in the great town.\*

How then it may next be asked, are the first steps best taken to make the "ackerbau" through the Arts and Crafts a thing of practical possibility over the whole country. Is there any machinery existing through which it might be worked? In my view the organization of the "Home Arts and Industries Association," which has behind it a long record of excellent work in many English counties, might be used as a jumping off point. But its scope would have to be widened & its work become more serious and thorough. Without in any way underrating the enthusiasm, and the labour of love that has been bestowed upon the "Home Arts and Industries" movement, or without belittling the social work it does in many English villages, most artists and craftsmen feel that there is a want of earnestness about it,

\* See Chapter XIII, p. 174.

it is not large and direct enough in conception, it is too amateurish, it has too much of patronage, its bearing upon life is too trifling. If it could be so widened as to introduce the real occupations of the home, and if the standard of the little Arts and Crafts it practises could be raised, it would have a much greater value in National life. A little more dairy produce and poultry, and baking of bread, and a little less fretwork and bent iron knick-knacks, would be of much more real value to those whom it seeks to serve; and this would lead in the end to greater results for the Arts and Crafts as a whole and for life in the country. It is difficult moreover to quite meet the criticism made by a London artisan who saw how his own wages were being reduced by amateur competition. "Selling the produce of village classes," he said, "makes it possible for agricultural wages to be kept down, because the villagers are enabled to work for less money at their own work by doing the labour of others, which others can do better than they."

What we have to aim at is self dependence for the labourer, for the husbandman, for the craftsman; that, it seems to me, should be the objective of the "ackerbau" through the Arts and Crafts, not the increase of a money wage; and to do this, the basic crafts must be encouraged again and not the trivialities of the fashionable drawing room. It is ridiculous that children of the village should be taught to make bric-a-brac when the fundamental needs of the home, cooking, baking, laundry, needlework, carpentry and the simplest forms of husbandry remain unlearned.

In this village there are women who spend from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the weekly wages their husbands bring home, in buying bread from the baker. Why should they not bake themselves? It is the very

rarest thing for the woman now to bake in the home, the craft like so many others is almost extinct. No doubt the enclosure of Commons, the gradual absorption of all the land by the big people, and the reduction of the labourer to the status of the casual has led to the destruction of the craft as a home craft. Yet in most of the old cottages I have handled in Gloucestershire, and I have reconstructed some 20 or 30, I have usually found an oven, as a rule walled up in the 18th or 19th century. Baking, like cooking, should be regarded as one of the fundamental crafts, and should be taught again in the schools, until such time as it is once more practised in the home, and with baking we should set all the simple processes of husbandry, but with this definite objective, *self dependence, not wage earning*. It is probable that out of such simple facts—facts at which our study of the Arts and Crafts in their relation to agriculture brings us—that a wider national policy may be evolved which will make the great industrial centres have their own markets, wherefrom to draw, and which will make it possible for the villages once again to be self dependent and to have a life of their own that shall not be at the mercy of the great city and of cosmopolitan finance.

It is impossible to close this Chapter without putting one more question. Is the power that at present rules the countryside to be the chief factor in its reconstruction? Is the country gentleman going to help or hinder us in our effort at rebuilding the "ackerbau," the system of husbandry, through the Arts and Crafts?

The country gentleman knows that as long as he can command the country polls he is safe; but how long is this likely to last? The gradual sapping of the country by the town, the gradual drifting from the

one into the other of all its best vitality, the passing of craft after craft out of every countryside and its reduction to a condition of parasitism, can only end in leaving the country gentleman, and his allied farmers, if indeed it leave them, without such backing in the country as will make it possible to meet the impending attack of Social Democracy. That this attack should be made without full understanding of country conditions and with all the narrow prejudices of the town would be disastrous, *and yet that is an imminent national danger.*

At the election of 1905 a cartoon went the round of the countryside and helped the Liberal candidate to a great many of the votes that won him his seat. The cartoon represented a badly drawn but very patient ass bearing the legend "the land of England." Upon its back sat three men, the first in front smoked a cigar and wore a coronet, he impersonated the wicked landlord. The second was holding on, if somewhat uncomfortably, for he was depicted as taking up more room on the ass's back than the joint occupation warranted, in fact he was a little too stout for the seat; he was the big farmer. The last figure was slipping off the ass's tail. From the mouth of each, in the Rowlandson and Gillray manner issued a scroll. The first said, "I'm all right as long as they don't tax ground rents;" the second said, "I'm all right as long as they don't raise the rates," but the third said, "Please what's to come of me?" The political sting to the cartoon was given by an extract from a speech of the late Lord Beaconsfield, in which he compared the land of England to the beast of burden bearing on its back, three people, and predicted that possibly some day one of them might be slipping off.\*

\* See also Lieut.-Col. Pedder's significant book "Where men decay, a survey of present rural conditions, 1908."

Power at the hustings is in cartoons, not in statistics, but the fundamental statistics of the district in which the cartoon carried weight are those that tell the story of the agricultural casual, the product of Industrial machinery ; these statistics, which the farmers themselves supply, show that the average of permanent employment per acreage is one "signed on" man to every 100 acres of land. It is owing to such conditions that a rebuilding of the "ackerbau" is perhaps not only possible but necessary.

The points we have considered in this Chapter may be now resumed as follows. First that agriculture, or should we not use the more fitting word husbandry, and the Arts and Crafts are necessary counterparts of each other ; secondly that agriculture, except in so far as the great industrial centres are concerned, should be regarded from the point of view of sustenance and not of exchange. Thirdly that just as a delimitation of machinery is inevitable to check industrial waste, so also is there likely to follow a similar delimitation of agriculture for home service, for sustenance, as distinct from exchange.

The idea may be a fantastic one, but it is worth considering, that the problem of how to save English agriculture, and how to find their economic basis for the Arts and Crafts may in the end turn out to be the same.

## CHAPTER XVI. THE FUTURE OF THE GUILD OF HANDICRAFT AS A FACT & AS AN IDEA.

The object of these pages has been to show that the carrying through of the experiment of the Guild in the country in the manner its promoters had hoped was premature ; that the thing can be done, but not yet ; that we must wait until the public thought & the public conscience are a little more with us. The Arts and Crafts, it would seem, *cannot be permanently carried on*, on any large scale, *where the community's first concern is to exploit them for profit*. The realization of this fact is a matter of time.

For the understanding too of the practical difficulties that lie in the way, we must, in my opinion, look to two forces in the community ; to the more intelligent type of craftsman who understands workshop conditions, and with him the amateur who is beginning to learn what craftsmanship means ; and also to the more intelligent of the country gentry, those who live less in town and more in the country, those particularly who have roots in the country and are capable of seeing what is going on and where we are drifting to, and whose horizon is not limited by the need for rushing about in motor cars and the shooting of rabbits and partridges.

With regard to the country gentry their power for good is as great as their power for passive resistance, but until they can take a more serious view of life & their obligations as citizens, until in short they are prepared to work in a more cultured and intelligent manner, we shall make but little progress. Will

they do this? The privilege of gentility must be paid for by intelligent sacrifice, but we shall have to give up a good many of our present false standards of life and most of our silly class prejudices. The spirit of my dream of a reconstructed countryside is best expressed in the Will of Cecil Rhodes where he repudiates the loafer, and at the same time insists that so much of the best work in England has been done, and must continue to be done, by an intelligent landed gentry. The attack of Socialism will be largely, if indirectly, an attack upon the country gentleman, but the attack can be warded off by accepting the gospel of work, and by differentiating in our legislation, between the workers and the idlers; between the people that live their lives and the absentees; between those that perform intelligent public service and those that play or muddle their lives away.

As for the immediate & practical side of the experiment with which we have here dealt, it is no good knocking your head against a brick wall; and since it has been definitely shown that it is impossible to carry on Arts and Crafts upon any large scale, under existing industrial conditions, we must set to and devise other ways in which the work we want to do can be done. People may be sympathetic and helpful, but when you have lost their money in social experiment, however ultimately successful, they do not usually lend you any more; they look to others to take a turn. When, moreover, you have come to the conclusion, after 21 years' careful & close experiment, that "Arts and Crafts" cannot be permanently conducted upon "business lines," *i.e.*, cannot be carried on so as to pay interest on capital and be profit bearing, you have to turn about & think out new ways in which they can be carried on.

That is the position in which the members of the



Guild of Handicraft, like many others who practise the Arts and Crafts, at present find themselves. The various suggestions, that in this book have been made for modifying social conditions in the interest of Arts and Crafts, & the finer social life they postulate, will take many years to bring about, perhaps for the most part they will never be realized in the ways in which they have been outlined; it remains then for those who practise the Arts and Crafts to shape for themselves ways in which they can get their work done & lead the lives they want to lead, as best they can. We need not cry for the moon, but the Utopia of a saner social legislation may be nearer than we think, and whether it be or not, we may take comfort by always remembering that the best work is the work that is done by personal effort & energy, & that the individual eludes every system, however perfect, however rotten.

William Morris once said that our greatest standby as craftsmen was the knowledge that we were handing down the golden chain of the Arts to some greater period that we ourselves should never see. May-be the view from the Pisgah heights is finer to some who have longer sight than to others; also there is happiness & stimulus in it, as in any far looking out. But the immediate issue is always with us, & the immediate issue for the members of the Guild of Handicraft who have decided to see their little venture through, in the country, under such new conditions as are possible, may be summed as follows:—To surmount the rent difficulty by securing their workshops; to circumvent the difficulty of obtaining such fresh Capital as they may need to enable them to continue their work; and to make some arrangement for finding a basic occupation on the land, & doing this co-operatively with a view to having another string

to their bow. The first of these difficulties we hope to get over by forming a small group of existing shareholders or others into a trust for acquiring the buildings and plant, and leasing them to the men direct for purposes of Arts and Crafts. The second will be more difficult to do, but we may be able to build up gradually some body of patrons out of our clientèle, who will, in the manner indicated before, & by means of annual subscription and regular exhibitions, take good work in kind or allow it to be made for them. Also we may gradually persuade some of the more advanced municipalities to co-operate with us in the planting out of craftsmen into the country. The third, the basic operation on the land for sustenance, not exchange, I have already outlined in the last Chapter ; its realization must be a matter of practical experiment.

These difficulties may take many years to surmount, and hence it will mean for our little society that it will have consciously to abandon Standard; for unless and until our craftsmen can find that economic basis that will enable them to do the best work only, they will have to work at their crafts for the Trade, or as best they can. It will mean too that the co-operative principle will be in abeyance, though it may not inconceivably be replaced by a larger and more effective co-operation through a union of little masters, who may also combine for the distribution of agricultural surplus. My hope and belief, however, is that the men who have adapted themselves to so many changing conditions, will devise the way, and that they will use the good name of the Guild under which they will continue to be united, for such work only where some guarantee of Standard can be arrived at. I have confidence in these men, and with any luck, or even moderate success in pulling their little businesses

through they will each in their respective crafts carry to a finer issue the traditions of the Guild. There will be others too, younger ones to join them.\*

So much for the fact ; now for the Idea. How is this best to be summed ? That Standard of work and Standard of life are one ; that beauty of work and goodness are for the craftsman best expressed in the making of things that are serviceable ; that this implies the acceptance by the Community of Standard as a working principle, with its concomitant, the control and regulation of machinery ; that the recognition of Standard excludes the possibility of economic waste ; and that the Socialistic State or the State at which we are aiming is not possible without the recognition of Standard.

These are some of the aspects of the idea, which has formed itself out of the 21 years of the Guild's life—out of its effort to embody the Arts and Crafts movement. To put the matter from another point of view we might express it thus. Most people, whether they be Socialists or Tariff Reformers, or both, or neither, are probably agreed that one of the greatest problems before the Country is the problem of unemployment. This problem is not an English one alone, all industrial countries have to face it. What is the cause of it ? what is it due to ? Economists and politicians give various answers but the Arts and Crafts have an answer of their own. They may or may not be right, but it is this.

There is not enough work to go round because the bulk of the work is done by industrial machinery, & much of it badly so done ; moreover the fresh inventions of men, and the labours of their hands, are perpetually being taken from them and exploited by those who have capital and are thus able to control

\* See Appendix V. "*The Guild Roll for 21 years.*"

industrial machinery. In addition to the fact of this immense output of industrial machinery, which is more and more displacing human labour, there is the further fact that, owing to the absence of Standard, 50 per cent. of the output is not wanted, is wasteful, is non-productive, that is to say, it not only displaces work that is life-giving and useful, but it employs men in other work that is life-destroying and useless.

The solution to the problem then, as contributed by the Arts and Crafts, and as offered in these pages, where neither the Socialistic nor the Tariff Reform proposals are accepted without qualification, is that *a line must be drawn between the industrial and the non-industrial*, between the basic & the personal productions of men, that the one shall not be allowed to trench upon the other, that the best way to do this is to accept the Collectivist principle within certain limitations, and in so doing again make it possible for the craftsman to put his labour at the service of the Community. In short to free him from the precarious weekly wage-dependence, which at present makes his work impossible.

From the point of view of the Arts and Crafts the industrial system is wasteful, because it is not giving to the Community what it needs, in distinction to what it "wants," and because at the same time it is making it impossible for those who could give it to do so. Until this fundamental wastefulness is realized, we of the Arts and Crafts believe that *neither the Socialist nor the Tariff Reformer will solve the problem of unemployment*. That this point of view is a right one, this idea a sound one, the Guild from its experience claims to have proved.

The claim to the establishment of a truth rests, it will be urged, not upon the success or failure of one

or even a hundred experiments ; but it was suggested recently by a member of the Guild of Handicraft that the time had come for writing the history of the Guilds in England at the close of the 19th century. An account, in other words, of those organizations within the State that are seeking to clarify its Industry, to establish the fact that production is a social duty, to set a Standard for its life & craftsmanship. The principle of voluntary association which had built up the civilization of Hellas & Mediæval London, & which Prince Kropotkin calls "mutual aid," was again expressing itself as "a factor in evolution" ; & the current of men's minds was turning towards these young efforts at reconstructing the State from within. Perhaps the suggestion was a sound one, & somebody with the necessary knowledge & sympathy may think it worth while to carry it out ; but with a view to determining here what is fact and what is idea, in the specific effort with which this book deals, I would like to quote an extract from the little code of rules which the workmen of the Guild of Handicraft drew up among themselves in the year 1899, a year after the formation of the company. They felt that as Incorporation under the Companies' Act stultified all the old regulations for mutual order & workshop discipline which they had so long been working on, a fresh code was desirable, & they divided it into two : rules by which they were bound under the company's Articles of Association, and "Guild rules" which they could make or unmake themselves. This book of rules they printed at their own cost, & a copy was given to each newly-elected Guildsman. It opened thus :—

"The Guild of Handicraft is a body of men of different trades, crafts and occupations, united together on such a basis as shall better promote both the goodness of the work produced and the

standard of life of the producer. To this end it seeks to apply to the collective work of its members whatever is wisest and best in the principles of Co-operation, of Trade Unionism or of the modern revival of Art and Craft, and to apply these in such manner as changing circumstances permit or as shall be most helpful to its individual members.

“The Guild was founded in the year 1888 and conducted for ten years as a private industrial partnership, all the members who were duly elected into the Guild being from the time of their election jointly liable with the founder for all they had. But in 1898 in order to limit the liability, the business was re-constructed. With a view to safeguarding the old spirit, the old rights, and the old privileges, the former governing body of the Guild was retained but given a definite status. Its objects therefore remain the same as of old, viz., to do good work, and to do it in such a way as shall best conduce to the welfare of the workman. And as there are many means that help to this end besides the mere labour in the workshop, so the Guild also seeks to aid its members in such ways as the following. To pay no less than the minimum trade union rate of wages when such exists. To afford to the workmen such facilities for improving his position & powers as shall from time to time seem best, seeing that good work and good conditions are inextricably connected. To encourage the holding by the Guildsmen themselves of the capital needed for conducting the business to the end they may some day become the sole owners. To promote among old or young the study of good craftsmanship by means of technical classes or otherwise. To help with a provident fund in sickness or at death. To form at Essex House a library of such works as may be most helpful to its members, and to promote that other side of life, which whether in time of holiday or work, whether in sports, by music, by drama, or any form of Art brings men together and helps them to live in fellowship.”

Now this recital by the men of the objects of the Guild is surely significant: it not only laid down what had been done, but the ideal at which they aimed, and the important thing to observe is the conscious effort to humanize work, a thing very different, as the shareholder who wrote letter No. 9 in the Appendix has pointed out, from humanizing play. Almost all the objects laid down in the above have been carried out, even to the acting of dramas by Ben Jonson, Dekker, Beaumont & Fletcher, or the pensioning of an old Guildsman, one of the

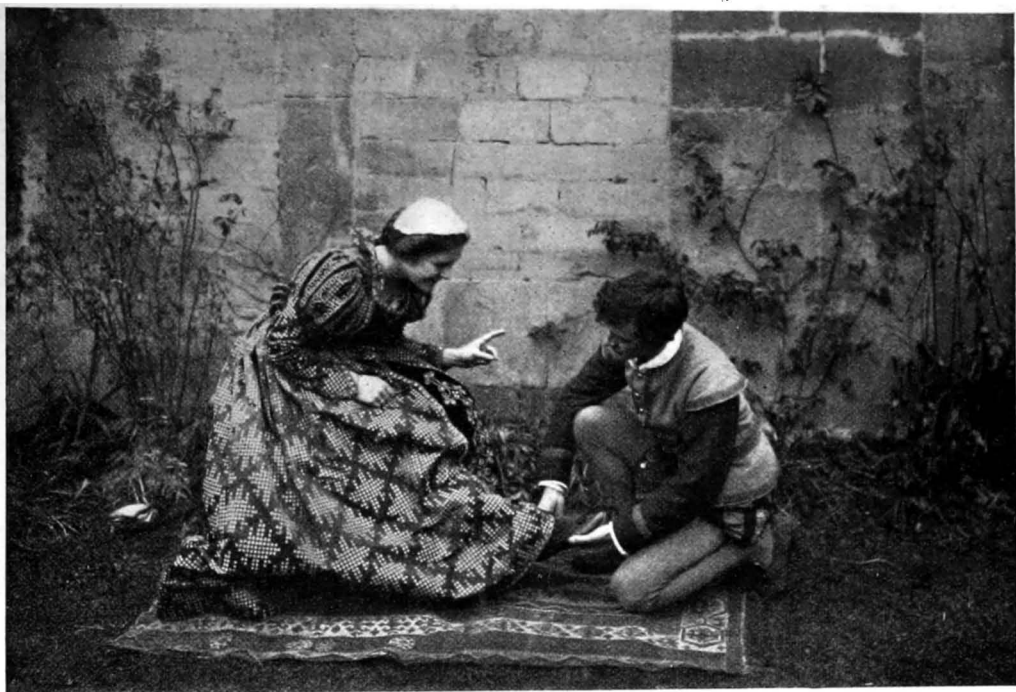
Chartists of '48, but whose little pension unfortunately ceases with the closing of the company.\*

At the conclusion of the rules is what is called the New Guildsman's clause, & it runs as follows :—

“Inasmuch as membership in the Guild of Handicraft gives a man greater privileges than he can receive in any ordinary shop, makes him part owner of his workshop, gives him a voice in the government, a nomination on the Board, an appeal, a holding in the capital, and a share in such profits as it may be decided yearly to divide, together with such other benefits as may appear recorded above; so more is demanded of him in return. He is expected to take more responsibility for his work, to be thrifty of appliances and of time, to bear his part with more thoughtfulness in the life of the whole concern, and to help in making more perfect that organization which, in an undertaking inspired by the newer ideals of Labour and practical co-operation takes the place of the master's eye.”

The rules bear the signature of four of the men who served on the committee for drafting them, a cabinet maker who occupied a leading position as organizer of one of the London Trade Unions, a metal worker who is now in charge of the craftsmanship of one of the great northern polytechnics, a blacksmith from Bethnal Green, who was helped to his craft by one of the University settlements, & a compositor from the Kelmescott Press. To the last-named we are all particularly indebted, much of the spirit and thought of the passages quoted is due to him, & it is good to reflect that before he joined the Guild he worked for nearly 20 years with William Morris, and helped him edit the *Commonweal*,—& thus may some of the

*\*This was Reinhart Read,—“Old Dick Read” as he was known in the workshop. He died as these sheets were going to press, at the age of 83, and the day after the last payment of his pension was made to him by the Company. He was a fine type of English workman, strong, stern, uncompromising, but very proud, and also very tender to those whom he regarded. He is one of the five cabinet makers mentioned in Sidney Webb's “History of Trade Unionism” who went to prison in 1875, and whose courageous action led to the Repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871.*



*"A man, and want wit in extremity?  
Pull on my shoe." play the Shoemaker,  
Act 4, Scene 4.*

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*From Dekker's "Shoemaker's Holiday," as acted by the Guild in 1908.*



master craftsman's life have passed into the practical shaping of our Guild rules.

Here again we find the expression of the Idea, the attempt to bring into Industry some of that ethic, some of those Ideals that are making for the reconstruction of the State from within. The Guild's work, as may be judged by the pictures in these pages, is scattered about all over Europe and America, & it has not been our object here to deal with it from its technical or artistic side. Our purpose has been to consider its economic and ethical aspects, and to show how these & the life, have been & are inseparably knit. To the intelligent & thoughtful craftsman indeed these things are his religion, these things are what he makes sacrifices for, & what he dreams about—they personify humanity. His Sabbatarian observance, his pleasure in ritual, his conventions at birth, marriage and burial, are not so real to him, & do not so completely pervade his life as do the economic and ethical aspects of labour. It is here that his Christianity has found itself, here the humanism he has inherited from the Renaissance; & here too, in a certain fearless stoical regard for the great problems of life, is modern Science as it has so far come to him.

These things are hard of expression, & to the craftsman there is the need always of giving them a concrete form. A fine piece of building might do it, a building that has summed in it the labour for many years of many men; a stray word might do it, or some mark of affection from the finer spirits; for the rest such an Idea may-be never finds embodiment at all, or passes among men in silence & fulfils itself gradually. To me, perhaps, its completest expression in the life of the Guild is to be found in its Song Book, printed and published by the Essex House

Press in 1905, and entirely ignored by the general public. Up & down the gamut of human life and thought from childhood to old age they are grouped, these songs of the Guild singers, into ten sections—songs of praise, of comradeship, love and courtship, of loyalty & the land, songs of the sea, songs of the crafts, & many that were written for the singers themselves. Somehow this little book has brought them into touch with the sweetest & the kindest, the most remote and the most modern, the greatest of the poets and the humblest makers of the folk song, Chaucer and Burns, Sir Walter Raleigh, Dekker and Kipling, David the Psalmist and Purcell are of the company. It has meant a great deal to many who have been of or with the Guild, this little book; the lyrics from the plays they acted, the rounds and catches that they sang, and the subtle thread that ties it all together is melody, now in the form of plain song, now of chant, chorus, madrigal, now majestic, now burlesque, handled by the skilled musician, or hummed and whistled at the bench. Melody like perfume is remembrance, and it gathers about itself many of the finer, the dearer, the more sacred things of life.

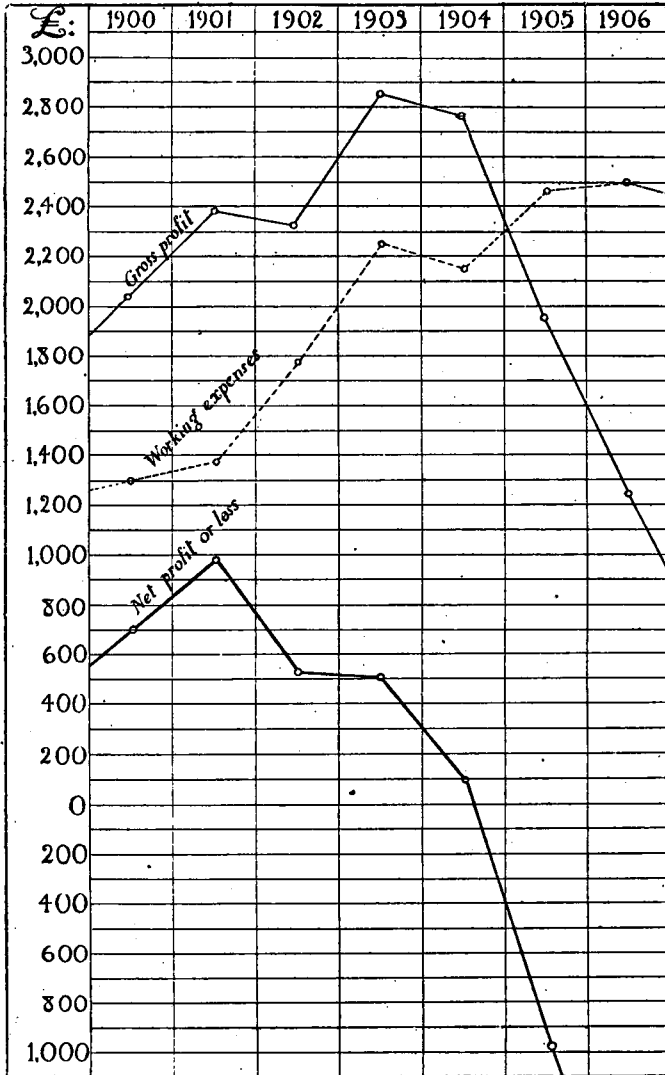
Such things help the Idea, they lead to the creation of those new centres of organic life which in modern Industry we need, that finer civilization to which reference has so often been made in these pages. Through such things we shall once again get at our lost conception of the dignity of labour, & at the realization of Democracy. It is such new centres of life that we need, that something which we must get at ourselves, that no State legislation can give us. We may as well be honest about it; not in the State, not in the outside forms, but here at home in the innermost is it, that Democracy ever breaks down, in

our own incapacity, our own unwillingness to judge of others correctly, to accept others at their real worth. We are always striving for some easy, some plausible, some external or showy standard to gauge excellence by ; does a man wear a golden ruff, a silken hat, are his nails pared, his manners or his boots polished ? The true democrat must not only have the power of reading character, but the much greater power of so effacing himself as to accept every character that he reads sympathetically. Perhaps self-effacement is the wrong word, perhaps the better word were self-assertion, for when a man has won for himself this finer judgment, and has entered into this enjoyment of facing another soul stripped of all externals and emptiness, there begins a striving, a contest, a sort of divine struggle for the mastery. What it is, this indefinable striving for the better by the aid of the good, we cannot say, nor do we know how to define it, but we have seen birds towering to the sky.

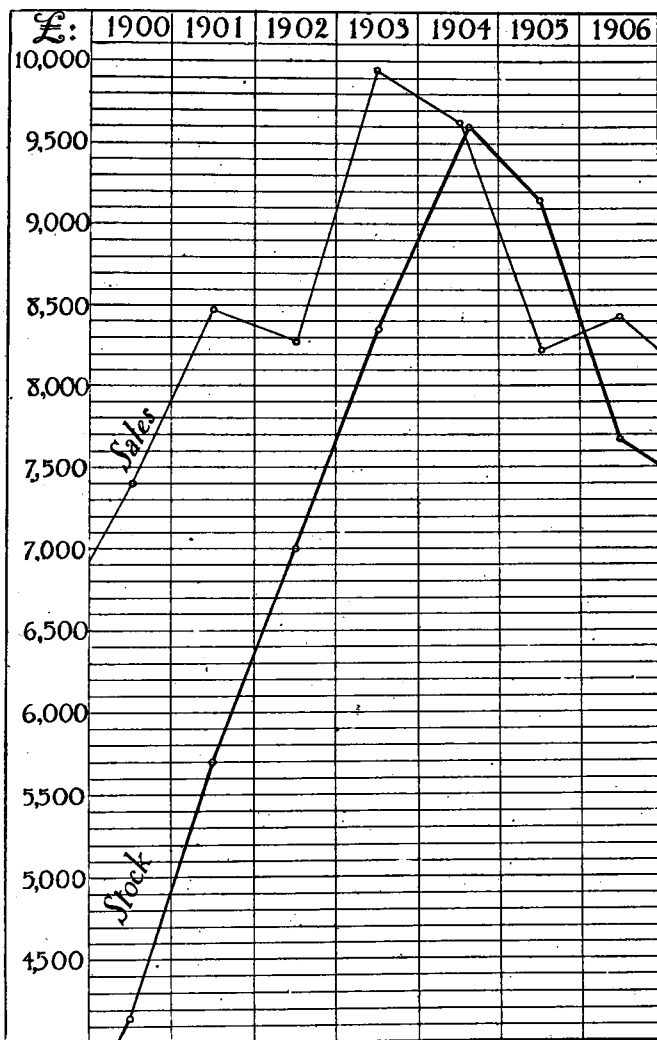
As for our little Guild, perhaps like the spotted snake, it is now changing its skin as in some new spring, or for some fairer brilliancy. Those who are still in it and of it fully know its limitations, its difficulties, its failures. They know that the work they have set their hands to is a sound work ; that much of what they have done has had real value, that many things have not turned out as they had desired. They hope that the economic changes they believe to be in sight, will help and not mar their work, while as for the immediate readjustment of the little undertaking which has called forth this book, it is but an episode in the greater movement of the Arts and Crafts in Modern Industry—what does it matter ! When the heap of the ants is overturned, there is a momentary confusion, and then the pile begins again.

## APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX I.



The upward grade of the business for the first 15 years follows the



curves of 1900 & 1901, the move into the country took place in 1902.

## APPENDIX II.

### MR. ASHBEE'S LETTER TO THE OUTSIDE SHAREHOLDERS IN 1907 AS TO THE RAISING OF FRESH CAPITAL

"The annual Balance Sheet of the Guild of Handicraft is being sent to you and to our other shareholders with this. It is not a cheering document for you will see from it that we have made heavy losses. The reasons for these have been indicated in this and the preceding annual reports.

"In view of the proposal as to the future of the Guild which is being placed by my co-directors and myself before the shareholders, I think it desirable also to add certain considerations personally which perhaps may have weight with you, but which it is not fitting to incorporate in a report which deals solely with the immediate business aspects of the Guild.

"You are being asked whether you will join with the other shareholders in taking up a certain number of 6 per cent. preference shares, and you will not unnaturally say—'so large a proportion of the money I have already found for this undertaking must be considered as lost, what justification can be shown for this loss, and if I subscribe further what prospects are there that my preference shares will not go the same way?'

"A close examination of the Guild's work and development shows certain important facts that have business and social aspects of no small consequence.

"The Guild has been in existence for just 20 years, during the first 15 years it has been steadily growing, it also paid a steady 5 per cent. on its invested capital. The period of its losses synchronizes with the removal of its works into the country and the losses are attributable almost entirely to the conditions which working in the country during a period of trade depression has imposed upon us. We had just removed our shops in town, laid down our new plant and works, and at much cost and outlay conveyed our workpeople, nearly 150 men, women and children into Campden, when three successive years of serious commercial depression came upon us. We were faced with the alternative of making stock or sacking our workpeople—the strictly business procedure would perhaps have been to take the latter course, but we were precluded from doing this because our business is so largely contingent upon the skill and training of our workpeople, many of whom have been with us from the very beginning, and moreover they are shareholders in the concern. Had we still been in London the difficulty would not have arisen,

for to discharge a man temporarily from a good shop in which he has an interest is not a serious matter if you do not break up his home, but in the country all the other considerations of life enter, viz : his house, his moving expenses, his children's schooling and so forth. Had we discharged our men, we could not possibly have got them back again, now that the trade revival has come.

"We adopted the other alternative of making stock, and our loss is largely due to our realizing stock on a falling market. We also, as the balance-sheets show, reduced our wages, and it is gratifying to note that our workpeople accepted this reduction rather than leave us, though in many cases I think that they could have commanded higher wages in town.

"The question now arises—is the condition through which we have passed of a kind to recur, and is it therefore wiser to say the thing cannot be done, the works had better close down, and the crafts and the workmen had better be allowed to drift back into the great town, we will not throw good money after bad ?

"I think not. That we shall again have depressed trading conditions is certain, but a few years more will see us much stronger to meet them. Already our workpeople are beginning themselves to devise means individually for lessening the strain upon the business in the event of slack times : thus they are combining other operations with their crafts, taking up land, etc.

"The handicaps that are imposed upon Country Industries are still enormous, but a progressive legislation and a wiser foresight are little by little lessening them—every year things become easier. Among these better conditions that we believe and hope are likely to come, may be mentioned—easier railway rates, easier and cheaper telephonic communication, better conditions in the country as to land, and housing and education.

"Those of our shareholders who have visited Campden, cannot but have been struck with the successful way in which this body of London workmen have settled down to the problem of the re-adjustment of life in the country, have disposed once for all of the foolish and ignorant argument that the young townsman prefers the gas lights and the Music Hall,—and have shown that if he be given a healthy and sane alternative in the country he infinitely prefers the latter.

"The net upshot of the Guild's work then may be regarded as twofold:—

- (a) It has for a period of 20 years produced a high standard of Craftsmanship in a variety of different crafts and much of its production (setting aside qualifications of taste) will, we believe, rank as among the best English work of the last two decades, much of it being already regarded as standard work in this country and abroad ;



(b) It has in the course of this production trained up and developed a body of workmen with a higher standard of life—men who have learned to carry the ideas of their craft into the life they lead.

“Incidentally the result of its work has been the revivification of a decaying Gloucestershire village, the building of clean, new houses and workshops, the laying out of gardens and allotments, the employment of a good deal of country labour that would otherwise have drifted into the town, and the establishment of a Higher Education School (The Campden School of Arts and Crafts) under the Gloucestershire County Council for some 300 men, women and children, that has been very largely run by the workpeople of the Guild.

“All these things are at stake if the Guild should be unable to find the fresh capital needed for paying off its bank overdraft. We believe that we have already turned the corner, and that the revival of trade and the new business management that we instituted a year ago, the economies in matter of salaries, premises, etc., that have been effected will produce considerable results next year.

“I venture to hope then that though you must necessarily first look upon the question as a business one, you will allow that it has other sides that are not unimportant in modern life, and that you will join the other shareholders who believe in the future of the undertaking, in subscribing for a certain number of preference shares.

“Had we been makers of armour plate, or patent medicines, or any other of the much advertised mechanical productions that appear to be among the necessities of Modern Life, our pecuniary results so far might have been different, but as we merely make good things of individual merit, and where reduplication is impossible, cheapness and large profits are not open to us, but we still anticipate once again a steady return on our investment when we have cut our present losses, and when we have adjusted ourselves to our new working conditions; for the money that has hitherto been paid to our bankers in interest on loan, will in future go to our preference shareholders in dividend. I myself am one of the principal subscribers, may I hope that you will be another?

Yours, &c.,

#### REPLY No. 1.

"I cannot afford to find any money from the philanthropic point of view touched upon in your letter, and the experience of the recent working is not otherwise encouraging. If work cannot be found for them in the ordinary course of the business it scarcely seems that a body of workpeople ought to be maintained indefinitely out of the Company's capital at the risk of its entire disappearance, and if the undertaking cannot be successfully conducted on business lines in the country I really think the attempt ought not to be persisted in.

"I am sorry that things have not worked out very successfully since the move, but I do venture to urge that this undertaking cannot succeed in the long run unless it is primarily conducted as a purely business concern."

#### REPLY No. 2.

"Thank you very much for your letter. It is indeed a sad report. I feel that the experiment of the Guild has now been duly tried and has not succeeded.

"It is extremely doubtful in my opinion whether the Guild under the present conditions, can ever be a real financial success, and in that case to take these proposed preference shares, would only perhaps postpone the evil day. If the Guild decided to wind up, I would suggest that it should be done gradually so as to avoid a forced sale, and also to give the workmen time to find other employment and homes for their wives and families. If they are skilled men they should have no difficulty in finding work if they are given reasonable time."

#### REPLY No. 3.

"Frankly I have always doubted the benefit of moving the Guild from London, except for the workers. So much of your business was I believe owing to commissions being given by people who like to be in close touch with the producers and in the case of important work like to see it in progress. There is much truth I think in the criticism in Reply 9, and like 1, I hope you will put the undertaking on a purely business footing. I think on the whole that I will take up a few preference shares and enclose the application form."

#### REPLY No. 4.

"Thank you for your letter about the affairs of the Guild. I am sorry that things are not going as well as they were. Having just promised to invest all my available savings and some prospective ones in the

Oxford Garden Suburb Scheme, I am afraid I cannot afford to take up any considerable amount of the new shares, but I should be willing to take £ . . . . . If there is a difficulty in getting your shares taken up I might be able to take a few more a little later on."

#### REPLY No. 5.

"I have been waiting to answer your letter until I received the Annual Balance Sheet; but that I have not yet got.

"I am truly sorry at the report your letter makes; on personal grounds as regards yourself; and on public grounds; for your installation of London works into the country is one of the experiments from which one hoped for permanent success and achievement.

"I cannot of course from such meagre knowledge as I possess, form an opinion as to what steps should be taken and will not prejudice the matter by attempting to do so.

"When I have seen the Balance Sheet I shall be better able to reply to your appeal about taking up any preference shares.

"I am very sorry to think of your having to encounter so much trouble and anxiety."

The same writer adds :

"Since writing two or three days ago I have received the Annual Report and Balance Sheet. I will do what you ask and take the new preference shares in proportion to my present holding. The position of affairs is not satisfactory but I hope your expectation of improvement will be realised.

"I notice at every Exhibition how many products of Handicraft from numerous sources are sent, and it is evident the competition has become very severe."

#### REPLY No. 6.

"On reading your letter I felt my answer must be *no*, but on reading the report and accounts and seeing the efforts that have been made to straighten things out, I am willing to find my share of the £1,000 to give the Guild another chance. This appears to be about £ , but if others are not able to or do not find their share, I will go to £ , if the whole £1,000 is found. I do not desire any shares in exchange, but probably you think it convenient to deal with all alike. "Hoping it will now come round."

#### REPLY No. 7.

"Whilst I must agree that the accounts for 1906 are not cheerful, still I hope you will not be discouraged but will 'try another round.'

"I shall be glad to subscribe for £            of the new preference shares if that will be of any service.

"You have gone into the important question of 'running into stock' so fully that I need not comment upon it."

#### REPLY No. 8.

"I have signed the Form of Proxy and sent it. I think the action your Board propose is a wise action and I hope it will give the Guild a good re-start on its way. The Guild *deserves* to succeed as it has been an unselfish effort from the very beginning. There is a great belief—a current running in the opposite direction to *it*—as to '*chacun pour soi*,' but I have a strong conviction that the Guild's little beginnings are destined to grow into a big thing and a solution of many problems.

"Don't regret the struggles, there is great truth in 'progression by antagonism.' It has proved itself true throughout history. It purifies effort, gets rid of the dross and hardens mental muscles!"

#### REPLY No. 9.

"Many thanks for your letter which is full of interest. I have kept it back a few days waiting for the Guild Accounts which have not yet turned up: however the broad fact is that you have made a loss, and I know the tendency of shareholders to look upon a loss for a year or two as *the* important factor, it is important of course, but in your case there are other issues which are also important, and they should be fairly stated and considered.

"Your letter attributes your loss to being obliged to make for stock and then being obliged to sell in a falling market, and you base your hopes for the future in a turn of the market—aided by economies, &c., &c. I don't think that goes to the root of the matter.

"I had a little experience last year in selling several large pieces of furniture made by Morris & Co. The result showed that there is no general public for such things, each individual piece is made for an individual buyer, and probably if Morris & Co. had to make such things for stock they would soon be in the same hole as you are. They have as the result of a longer existence a considerable and more or less constant demand for certain wall papers and cretonnes, and machine-made carpets and other repeat orders where their prices don't differ much from those of ordinary commerce. Such orders don't of course solve the question of finding employment for specially trained cabinet makers, carpet makers, and metal workers, but the profit on them goes to pay expenses at Oxford Street.

"The Arts and Crafts movement has not yet got to the point when

you can go on making specially designed metal work or furniture with the certainty that customers will turn up sooner or later and give you your price, and that therefore the only thing necessary is to have enough capital to hold a big stock in bad times.

"I don't believe you can promise continuity of employment to your folk at Campden on present lines and be sure of a profit.

"At the same time I think the community at Campden is an experiment of first-rate importance.

"Cadbury's village at Birmingham is excellent as far the cottages and all the life out of business hours goes, but modern conditions of cheap production and the full use of machinery rule supreme in work hours, *they have humanised leisure, you have tried to humanise work as well.*

"Of course modern hurry renders the problem more difficult. If a man could give you a good order he would like it all done in a week if possible, anyway he nearly always wants it as soon as possible; he won't let you use it as a sort of balance to go on with in slack times, and put it aside in busy times. Under ordinary conditions of quick delivery you can't possibly ensure regular and continuous high-class work. The only possible way to find continuous high-class work is to persuade people not to be in a hurry so that you may always see your way *at least* six months ahead, and regulate your rate of production accordingly—under modern conditions I don't think this is possible.

"As an alternative can you find other work for which there is a large and constant demand and which you can produce at a competitive price; which your skilled hands would be willing to do at lower wages in their slack time? That is of course what they do in London now. When there is no work for them on their own high-class job, they take a common job at a lower price, and a post card brings them back in a week when you want them.

"You have not succeeded in producing the right alternative at Campden. You have been making for stock individual things which have no general sale, and which you have had to sell at a loss as if they were ordinary stock patterns.

"That I think is the problem. Your *raison d'être* is to make first-rate things, each with an individuality; to do that without sacking your hands in slack times, you must be able alongside this to produce some articles of general demand at a competitive price. Your skilled hands must be content to be shifted from the high wages of the art shop to the lower wages of the trade shop as the exigencies of trade demand. There is no reason why the output of the trade should not be good of its sort—just as Cadbury's Chocolate is good. Whether such a trade shop can be successfully run, and what it should turn out, are questions on which I have no experience, but there is lots of experience in your shops and you know all about it, or can easily find out.

“That is, I think, the remedy for your present ills. I can only suggest it but I have no knowledge to enable me to fill in detail.

“One other word on quite another side issue. Don’t talk about market gardening as a means of making money in one’s spare time! Market gardening to make money must be well done, and at certain seasons a gardener must up with the sun and late to bed, whether the shops be busy or slack. A small garden as an occupation for a man’s leisure is another thing—nothing can be better—he gets new potatoes, green peas, fresh strawberries, etc., for himself and family, luxuries very different from the things called by the same name in town. His potatoes, cabbages and so on, things he would have to buy anyhow are a fair *quid pro quo* for his rent, and the dainties which he goes without in town, are a lavish reward for some very pleasant work.

“I am as strong a believer as ever I was in the general aims of the Guild, I hope the good work at Campden can be developed—and I am very sorry I can’t come over to help to talk it over.”

The following from the same writer came two days later.

“The Balance Sheet, &c., turned up this morning, and is certainly bad reading.

“One or two points strike me.

Sales	..	..	..	..	..	£8,436
Purchases	..	..	..	..	..	£2,156
Wages	..	..	..	..	..	3,569
Reduction of stock	£9,153					
	7,663					
				1,490		
					7,215	
Gross profit about	..	..				<u>£1,221</u>

This is not nearly high enough, on this *barest* cost you are not adding quite  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on £7,215 is about £1,260. I know that you sold a good deal of stuff cheap last year, I don’t know the details of this or how far the figures realised were below stock figures. This of course has to be allowed for as modifying my  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

“I think this forced sale should be treated separately and not lumped in with the normal sales of the business, as it renders any comparison impossible. You say nothing about how your stock is valued. It should, I think, be the barest cost—no profit of any sort should be divided on goods until they are sold.

“I see you have written down your stock to £1,330. How has this figure been arrived at? It is of course in addition to the loss below stock figure incurred in the clearance sale.

“Is the whole of this dead loss below cost, or does some of it represent profit divided before it was earned?

“As to the future I have sketched an imaginary balance sheet for a bad year on the basis of two shops, one for high priced goods and one for trade goods—I have allowed £4,000 for wages which is a little more than you want.

#### ART BUSINESS.

Purchases .. ..	£1,000	Sales .. .. .	£6,500
Wages .. .. .	2,000		
Designs, &c. ..	500		
Profit.. .. .	3,000		
	<u>£6,500</u>		<u>£6,500</u>

#### CHEAP BUSINESS.

Purchases .. ..	£2,000	Sales.. .. .	£4,500
Wages .. .. .	2,000		
Designs, &c. ..	—		
Profit.. .. .	500		
	<u>£4,500</u>		<u>£4,500</u>

#### PROFIT AND LOSS.

Management ..	£1,500	Gross Profit..	£3,000
Advertisement ..	500	Brought down ..	500
Depreciation ..	500		
General Expenses ..	500		
Profit.. .. .	500		
	<u>£3,500*</u>		<u>£3,500</u>

Net Profit, £500.

Of course I don't give these figures as authoritative or final, but the problem is—*how to pay about £4,000 a year in wages, keep steady employment, produce works of art, and avoid making a loss.*

“As you say, had you been making armour plate or patent medicine the problem would have been different!

“I wish you luck with your meetings, and I am very sorry I can't be with you.

“I return the Proxy duly signed.”

REPLY No. 10.

"I cannot say yet how many preference shares I will take. Meanwhile, let me point out one flaw in your 'inducements.' You say the interest hitherto paid on the Bank Loan will be paid to the preference shareholders. I imagine the said interest has been paid out of capital and has gone to help increase the reduction that now has to be made in the Shares. If you earn enough to write down things amply and then have something over, well and good, the preference shares will look for a dividend after setting aside to reserve and all that. But not until the earnings are sufficient. Preference shares differ from debentures in that they only partake of profits which would be available for the ordinary shares if they weren't there. But never mind—If we subscribe more money, it will be to keep the Guild and Campden together.

"It seems to me there is *one* hopeful paragraph in your letter. That is No. 8.

"Surely, the success of your removal to Campden can never be complete until you have ceased to be 'aliens in a distant land.' You must find some bond, some dovetailing into your surroundings, not only to solve the difficulties of the ebb and flow of employment, but also to give tone to your productions.

"In China, where they seem to think in salaries and wages the *minimum* salary was supposed to be what a man could get from tilling a plot of land with his own hands. All above that was special merit. This seems bed rock, doesn't it?

"Before I got your letter, I tried to put on paper the other evening what was running through my head. I send you my notes for what they are worth:—

"The excuse of healthy surroundings and healthy enjoyment of leisure is a good primary reason but is only valid in relation to big towns, and not as between country district and country district.

"If one examines the manufactures of England carried on in country districts, one generally finds that their link with their locality is or has been either ease of trading, or association with some other local product or trade. And if we proceed to dot Guilds all over England, should we not at once expect local characteristics in their productions. Would the Gloucestershire products be precisely the same as those from Essex or York?

"Can the Guild survive the obvious handicaps existing in the remoteness of Campden?

"Is there a way to draw upon local labour supplies for temporary help, or to supplement Guild employment when it is slack by applying surplus energies in local work? Is there any local material—oak, chestnut, clay, leather, stone—that can enter into its productions, or,



are there any *local needs it can supply*. In the past a "Campden Chair" would mean a chair *used*, not made, in Campden, though of course probably also made there.

"The problem you set about solving when you moved out into the country was how to run an 'industrial village.' Now a man who imports his material from outside, and sells it again outside, having expended on it a certain amount of labour, which he would be able to expend on it anywhere, such a man cannot be said to be more than accidentally or sentimentally a citizen of that villiage.

"Now the reason that such industries are nearly all at home in London, is that in London, the labour problem is made most easy for them. In such a large pool, it is easy to catch temporary workers, and it is justifiable perhaps to throw them back into so large a pool when done with.

"But in the country all is different, and some other reason must be found. In London no one requires an excuse for being there, in the country unless you are of it, you are only a guest or a sojourner."

#### REPLY No. 11.

"Your letter gives me much to think about, and you ask me to assist you further by putting more money into the Guild.

"Well—my reply is—your proposition is not a 'business proposition,' and therefore I ought to say *no*. But when I ask myself ought I to regard it as a 'business proposition' I say *no* also and therefore will I take my share with the others, perhaps even a little more, and subscribe up to a limit of £—.

"I sincerely hope your other shareholders will respond likewise and find you the £1,000 you need, to pacify your bankers, and to carry on. I suppose if the money is not forthcoming you will have to liquidate. I should look upon this as a very great misfortune, not only for industrial and æsthetic, but also for human and ethical reasons. The Guild has, in my opinion, done a very great work, but its greatest work seems to me to have been that it has set a sort of standard for craftsmanship and life in industry, which has had a wide influence on the conditions of production in this and other countries. As long as it continues to exist I think this influence for good exists also. That is my reason for being unbusinesslike and continuing to support you.

"I suggest, however, that if you cannot raise your new capital you try another experiment. Why not call your men together and give them the opportunity of starting at Campden little shops of their own! The Guild as at present constituted has a jewellers' shop, a silversmiths' shop, an enamellers' shop, a joiners' and cabinet makers' shop

a carvers' shop, a blacksmiths shop and a machine shop, and also, though I believe you are not at present printing, you have among your Guildsmen some of those who have been trained in the great traditions of the Kelmscott and Essex House presses, and produced some of their best work. Well, here we have eight shops all told, each with their special types of skill and ability. Is it not possible that in each of these shops men might be found capable of running them as private businesses, under their own names but with the general name of 'The Guild of Handicraft'? It would of course mean *little mastership* as against '*Co-operation*,' but I don't think the disadvantages of *little mastership* in your lines of work are so very great, and there would be immense savings in establishment charges and dead expenses.

"It would mean, too, that the separate shops would have to make their own bargains with the liquidator, and possibly you might have to find somebody to stand between them and the landlord in the matter of rent, but that would not be difficult to do.

"I hope, however, that it will not come to this, because I see no reason to suppose in the present conditions of Industry that a group of little shops will be any more financially successful than a Guild of units working under the Registered Companies Act, as you do know, moreover, the men would be greatly handicapped at starting in the matter of capital.

"I still assume that you will succeed in raising your fresh capital, and continue as at present, but in that case I offer you another suggestion. You have tried to 'humanise business,' why not humanise your shareholders? I think you would find some of them quite amenable.

"What I suggest is this: If you cannot pay dividend in cash, why not in kind? If you have to reduce capital because you are overstocked owing to 'having to feed your men in the country' why not give your shareholders the opportunity of taking some of your stock before you wipe out their shares? They all presumably believe in your products or they would not take up your shares.

"I put my own case. I have had no dividend for four years and now I am having my capital reduced, but what, meantime, have you been doing? Why, writing down stock by 40 per cent. to meet market necessities and selling many of your beautiful products at less than cost of production; (witness your sale of last year at Dering Yard) this may quite possibly happen again. Now, I should feel much happier and much more inclined to subscribe fresh capital if I knew that though my shares were reduced by 40 per cent., I were now the owner of a nice guild cabinet, or a silver tea service, or a set of Essex House Press Books, to give as wedding presents, instead of knowing, as I do, that you have drastically pulled your balance sheet round, by selling your stock at ruinous prices to others who are making a good

profit out of it (Messrs. D . . . & Co. for instance)—and writing down the rest to saleable prices. This may satisfy your auditors and bankers, but what consolation is that to me?

“It is an economic axiom that fresh capital is being perpetually created and perpetually destroyed, is it not? You, in so far as you are engaged in producing works of permanent ‘individual merit,’ are essentially among the creators of it. When, therefore, you take a turn at destroying, *e.g.*, writing your shareholders capital down, I as a shareholder say, ‘give us the chance of *humanising* us first, by inviting us to take your productions at the full retail value.

“My suggestion is economically quite a sound one; because the Guild’s productions are based upon a hypothetically fair payment of wages for workmanship of high skill, and if you adopt the strictly business course of reducing the value of the stock upon which your wages and expenses have been paid, beyond its value of cost, to its value at forced sale, your shareholders must be the losers also.

“My suggestion, you see, though economically sound, is not ‘*strict business*,’ because Art and Craft, in my opinion, never have been and never can be run on ‘*strict business*’ lines; they must have some other basis, whether of patronage, or support, or State aid. The failure, so far of the Arts and Crafts movement economically, is because it has not yet succeeded in finding this basis, I’m trying to help you find it.

“I commend my suggestion, therefore, to your Board of Directors to work out, with the Company’s lawyer, and with the co-operation of the other shareholders next year—if you pull through.

“This brings me to my last point. . . I want you to pull through, because I want to see your new Manager given a real chance. . . You appear now to have at the head of your works a man who has the business experience, combined with the necessary character, strength and sympathy. I think you have never had this before. I don’t blame you, but I think you have yourself been, perhaps, too absorbed in the æsthetic and ethical ideas that underlie the work, besides you have had your architecture to attend to. These ideas of yours I hold to be absolutely sound. I don’t wish to see them perish for want of proper business application or of proper business opportunity. Therefore I want to see your new man encouraged, helped along, backed up in every possible way, and that means backed up with money and given more time (he has barely had a year yet) if he is to make for the Guild fresh business openings, bring things round, make your productions move, get them more known, and adapt the Guild’s business to its country conditions.

“Indeed, I don’t think £1,000 is near enough, and I shrewdly suspect that in a few years you will be asking me again for more capital; well! I don’t know whether I shall subscribe a third time,

but I may judge you by your results in the future, as I have in the past, and as you know *I hold that these results have been good.*"

#### REPLY No. 12.

"I am much obliged to you for sending me the expressions of opinion on the position of the Guild of Handicraft. I did not answer the previous appeal because I did not think you wanted answers from those who were not taking up shares, and I must now answer much as No. 1. I understand that the difficulty is caused by the fact that the Guild from its constitution can hardly discharge workmen when trade is slack, and the inference that I draw from this is *that the combination of workmen's Co-operation with outside shareholders is bad in principle.* I cannot therefore consent to throw good money after bad, and a co-operative movement supported by charity is worthless, however good the object in itself may be. I also think as No. 1, that it is a pity to combine the two objects, co-operation and artistic work, since the latter, I suppose, needs capital which a co-operative society cannot command, at all events until it has been in existence much longer than the Guild.

"I am very sorry that with all sympathy for your objects I cannot give you a more satisfactory answer."

#### REPLY No. 13.

"I had to come to the conclusion that other interests needed my spare cash more than the Guild. Sympathy without coin is not worth very much. My own view is that the price of your Guild work is so high that it can only appeal to a very limited market. When you started hardly anyone else was working for this market, now very many firms are doing so. As to remedy I think the suggestions of your correspondent No. 9 about two classes of work seem excellent, and the only alternative I believe is for the men themselves so to reduce the price of their goods, as to appeal to a wider market. Low wages and regular work are better surely than high wages and no regular work. All the taxation returns make it increasingly clear that the number of 'rich' people is very small and that the great spending power of the country rests with people of moderate incomes who naturally like a good article such as your people make, but have only a limited sum with which to buy anything.

#### REPLY No. 14.

"It was with very great regret that I learned that it might be necessary to wind up the Guild of Handicraft. From what I have

seen and know of it, I have long felt it to be a piece of real civilization in industry, combining not merely a corporate interest in the work done, but a corporate life outside work and relations which have seemed to me very charming and fruitful, in matters of amusement and general culture, between the members of the Guild and Mrs. Ashbee and yourself. The Guild in short has been under your guidance a real society, not an aggregation of 'hands.' It is this that I have always admired in it, and I think it a matter of very great regret that this little oasis of human life should be submerged in the unintelligent ocean of competitive industry.

### APPENDIX III.

LIST OF THE AUTHORITIES with whom the Hon. Correspondent in the N. Glos. area has to correspond either directly or indirectly before any comprehensive scheme of Village Education can be carried through on public money.

The Board of Education—Primary.  
The Board of Education—Secondary.  
The Science and Art Department.  
The Circulation Department, South Kensington.  
The Gloucester County Council.  
The Higher Education Committee of the Gloucester County Council.  
The Agricultural Committee of the Gloucester County Council.  
The Gloucester School of Domestic Economy.  
The Trustees of the Campden School of Arts & Crafts.  
The Governors of the Campden Grammar School.  
The Managers of the Church of England School, Campden.  
The Managers of the Roman Catholic School, Campden.  
The Campden Higher Education Committee.  
The Campden Higher Education Sub-Committee for Finance and General Purposes.  
The Campden Higher Education Sub-Committee for Hygiene and Domestic Subjects.  
The four or five Sub-centres in adjoining villages which with the view to further complication the Board of Education is dignifying as separate schools.  
The four or five bodies of Managers of adjoining Village Elementary Schools.  
The Oxford University Extension Delegacy.

And the above have to be approached in a different manner, through one, two or in some cases as many as six different officials; forms and registers of different types and often in four duplicates have to be filled in, and practically a third of the small grant (£150) devoted to education has to be employed in administration over and above all the voluntary labour that is freely given.

APPENDIX IV.

No. 1.

Date, 2nd March, 1907.

WOOD SHOP COST SHEET.

ORDER No. 9178.

DESCRIPTION.		DESIGN No. 1178			MATERIALS & SUNDRIES.		
		ESTD. P.C. £10			Wood .. ..	17	0
CABINET OF OAK.					Mouldings .. ..		
Wanted by		Urgent.			Polishing .. ..		
TOTAL COST.					Glass .. ..	9	0
LABOUR.					Carving .. ..		
'Snug the joiner'	6	12	1½		Turning .. ..		
				6	12	1½	
Materials, etc., as detailed ..				1	7	5	
				7	19	6½	
Shop charges.. .. .				1	19	11½	
				Total			
				9	19	6	
Selling Price		£14 10 0			Completed.....		
					Examined } NICK BOTTOM & Passed } (Foreman).		
					REMARKS.		

It will be observed in the above that there are two percentages put on the top of Labour  
 The first is for Shop or Establishment charges and has to cover all costs over and above Labour  
 Rent, Rates and Taxes of Workshops; Gas, Water, Fuel; Depreciation on Plant, Tools,  
 Plant, Tools, &c.

The second percentage, after production is complete but before the final selling price to the  
 Rent, Rates and Taxes of Distributive Premises in London or elsewhere; Charges of  
 Telegrams, and Sundry Expenses; Advertising and Catalogues; Legal Charges, Auditors'

No. 2.

Date, 14 March, 1904.

SMITHY COST SHEET.

ORDER No. 2650.

DESCRIPTION.		DESIGN No. 435 ESTD. P.C. 58/-		MATERIALS & SUNDRIES.	
1 LARGE SET OF FIRE IRONS (IRON AND COPPER).				Iron .. ..	1 6
<i>Wanted by</i>				Steel .. ..	
TOTAL COST.				Copper .. ..	1 0
LABOUR				Brass .. ..	
<i>Peter Quince</i>	2	5	9	Nuts .. ..	
<i>His Boy - -</i>		1	0	Bolts .. ..	
			2	Screws .. ..	
			6	Castings .. ..	
Materials, etc., as detailed ..			2	Rivets .. ..	
			9	Bushings.. ..	
			2	Design .. ..	
Shop Charges .. ..			12	Sundries.. ..	3
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## APPENDIX V.

### THE GUILD ROLL FROM 1887 TO 1908 INCLUSIVE.

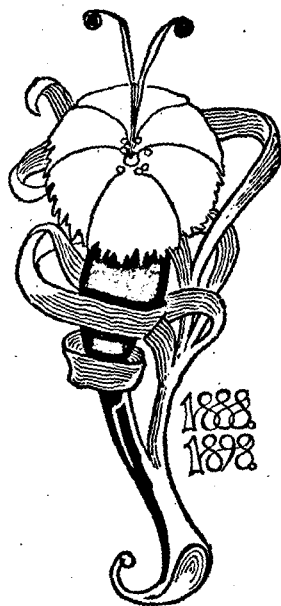
		Year of Election.		No. of years Service.
C. V. Adams . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1888	Resigned .	10
C. R. Ashbee . . .	Architect . . .	1888		21
C. W. Atkinson . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1893	Deceased .	7
J. Baily . . .	Silversmith . . .	1899		13
J. Barlow . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1894	Resigned .	6
T. Binning . . .	Compositor . . .	1899		9
G. M. Bishop . . .	Hon. Guildsman . . .	1906		2
C. Bray . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1899		7
F. Brown . . .	Blacksmith . . .	1901		6
A. J. Cameron . . .	Metal worker . . .	1896		15
J. Chatterton . . .	Silversmith . . .	1901	Resigned .	1
J. S. Collings . . .	Joiner . . .	1899		3
W. Curtis . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1889		20
C. H. Daniels . . .	Jeweller . . .	1901		7
H. T. Dennis . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1894	Deceased .	4
C. H. Downer . . .	Blacksmith . . .	1898		14
R. Eatley . . .	Pressman . . .	1903		4
W. C. Edwards . . .	Silversmith . . .	1904		5
W. English . . .	Joiner . . .	1900	Resigned .	2
J. W. Field . . .	Joiner . . .	1900	Resigned .	3
W. Flowers . . .	Metal worker . . .	1891	Resigned .	2
A. Gebhardt . . .	Jeweller . . .	1902	Resigned .	3
W. Hardiman . . .	Silversmith & Modeller . . .	1893	Deceased .	16
W. T. Hart . . .	Carver . . .	1907		6
G. Hart . . .	Silversmith . . .	1908		6
T. E. Hewson . . .	Silversmith . . .	1905		3
W. H. Hill . . .	Compositor . . .	1903		4
R. M. Holland . . .	Hon. Guildsman . . .	1898		10
G. E. J. Horwood . . .	Jeweller . . .	1902		11
F. H. Hubbard . . .	Secretary . . .	1888	Resigned .	2
E. Jackson . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1899		3
T. Jelffe . . .	Cabinet maker . . .	1894		15
T. R. Jelffe . . .	Pressman . . .	1904		3
C. Kennedy . . .	Jeweller . . .	1901	Resigned .	1
J. T. Lodder . . .	Pressman . . .	1900	Resigned .	5

		Year of Election.		No. of years Service
W. Mark . . .	Enameller . . . . .	1901		8
J. McQueen . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1900	Resigned .	3
A. Miller . . .	Carver & Modeller . . . . .	1904		6
S. Mowlem . . .	Pressman . . . . .	1899	Deceased .	3
W. J. Osborn . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1892		18
H. Osborn . . .	Turner . . . . .	1902		5
H. T. Page . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1901	Resigned .	1
J. Pearson . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1888	Resigned .	8
A. Penny . . .	Chaser . . . . .	1904	Deceased .	4
H. Phillip . . .	Engraver . . . . .	1901		2
R. G. Phillips . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1889	Resigned .	3
H. Phillips . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1889	Resigned .	3
C. Plunkett . . .	Wood polisher & Gilder . . . . .	1898		12
H. D. Pontin . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1899	Resigned .	4
F. Prout . . .	Secretary . . . . .	1890	Resigned .	3
J. W. Pyment . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1894		16
A. Ramage . . .	Compositor . . . . .	1904		3
R. Read . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1894	Deceased .	4
J. E. Reid . . .	Draughtsman . . . . .	1890	Resigned .	2
R. Ricketts . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1898	Deceased .	3
A. Riddell . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1900		5
C. V. Robinson . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1900	Resigned .	2
A. G. L. Rogers . . .	Hon. Guildsman . . . . .	1889	Resigned .	3
C. Rome . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1901	Resigned .	2
A. G. Rose . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1890	Resigned .	12
W. Scurr . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1901		5
W. Stevens . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1899	Resigned .	3
T. C. Sutton . . .	Wood polisher . . . . .	1898	Resigned .	1
W. Thornton . . .	Blacksmith . . . . .	1894		14
J. Tippett . . .	Compositor . . . . .	1899	Resigned .	4
E. Toy . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1901		5
A. S. Tuckey . . .	Salesman . . . . .	1899		5
J. W. Tuckey . . .	Salesman . . . . .	1901		3
E. Viner . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1901	Resigned .	3
W. H. Wall . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1905		4
W. Weale . . .	Joiner . . . . .	1906		3
J. T. Webster . . .	Hon. Guildsman . . . . .	1906		2
W. A. White . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1890		17
J. Williams . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1888	Resigned .	4
W. H. Wride . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1906		3
G. Yonwin . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1894	Deceased .	3

OTHERS WHO SERVED THEIR APPRENTICESHIP OR WORKED THEIR  
TIME IN THE GUILD SHOPS WITHOUT TAKING UP FULL MEMBERSHIP:

		Year of entry.	No. of years Service.
J. G. Angus . . . . .	Clerk . . . . .	1902	3
Nellie Binning . . . . .	Bookbinder . . . . .	1902	2
A. Bunten . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1902	6
J. Cameron. . . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1903	4
F. Cliff . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1899	5
D. Collins . . . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1902	1
C. Corbin . . . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1902	3
S. Cotton . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1896	8
W. Curtis . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1903	4
F. Dowsett. . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1900	6
Lottie Eatley . . . . .	Bookbinder . . . . .	1902	2
R. Eatley . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1904	3
W. Fenn . . . . .	Clerk . . . . .	1901	1
Edgar Green . . . . .	Bookbinder . . . . .	1902	2
L. Hughes . . . . .	Blacksmith . . . . .	1896	5
H. Humphries . . . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1903	4
Stanley Keeley . . . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1902	5
C. Kelsey . . . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1896	5
J. Maryon . . . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1896	2
Mark Merriman . . . . .	Enameller . . . . .	1902	5
W. Merriman . . . . .	Clerk . . . . .	1904	2
W. Moran . . . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1904	4
W. Palmer . . . . .	Pressman . . . . .	1903	3
F. Partridge . . . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1902	2
A. Pilkington . . . . .	Joiner . . . . .	1895	5
Fred. Pontin . . . . .	Cabinet maker . . . . .	1899	4
Anne Power . . . . .	Bookbinder . . . . .	1902	4
S. Reeve . . . . .	Silversmith . . . . .	1901	3
S. Samuels . . . . .	Jeweller . . . . .	1898	3
A. Tracey . . . . .	Blacksmith . . . . .	1902	3
F. C. Varley . . . . .	Enameller . . . . .	1901	6
G. Vickery . . . . .	Secretary . . . . .	1907	1
H. E. L. West . . . . .	Metal worker . . . . .	1898	4
E. S. Williams . . . . .	Accountant . . . . .	1903	3
E. Williams . . . . .	Clerk . . . . .	1906	1

In addition to the above there have been employed some half-dozen men or boys from time to time in unskilled labour.



Printed for the Author by  
Messrs. Grant & Co., Ltd.,  
and  
Published by the Essex House Press,  
Campden, Glos., and  
16A, Brook Street, London.

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