THE BOOK THAT NEVER WAS

THE ARGUMENT

How William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones attempted to make of The Earthly Paradise a big book with “lots of stories and pictures”; how they fared in this endeavor; and how their dream, though it evaded them, has yet outlived them.

JOSEPH R. DUNLAP

Illustrated by EDWARD BURNE-JONES

Oriole Editions: New York

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and other poems
by Christina Rossetti

London and Cambridge
Macmillan and Co. 1862

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AND
OTHER POEMS.

BY
CHRISTINA ROSSSETTI.

WITH TWO DESIGNS BY D. G. ROSSSETTI.

Cambridge
Macmillan and Co.
AND 23, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
London
1862.
The Book That Never Was
PART I

Though the taste for long narrative poems that was apparent a hundred years ago has not persisted to the present day, it was sufficiently strong through much of the nineteenth century to make the reputation of many men of letters. One of them was William Morris whose Life and Death of Jason (1867) and The Earthly Paradise (1868–70), which contained twenty-four narrative poems, brought him immediate fame.

Throughout his career as writer, designer, decorator, printer, lecturer, business man and socialist he was known as the author of The Earthly Paradise. Now that the remarkable character and achievements of William Morris are being reexamined after some years of indifference, it seems fitting to mark the centennial of The Earthly Paradise by telling the story of the cooperative venture that sought to publish it in a great illustrated edition, of its collision with mid-century typography, and of its twentieth century sequel.

William Morris entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1853 with a great interest in literature, art and the Middle Ages. Here he met a number of young men, including Edward Burne-Jones, who came from Birmingham where the worst effects of nineteenth century industrialization on the working class were visible. His friends awoke in him compassion for the victims of these degrading conditions, and his reading of Ruskin’s works
convinced him that the social and economic structure of the country should be changed so that men might enjoy their daily work and thus be able to create objects both useful and attractive which, he felt from the surviving evidence, had been possible in the Middle Ages despite the violence and hardships of those times. To both Morris and Burne-Jones the Middle Ages were fully as alive as their own day and in some ways more desirable. They read widely in medieval literature, especially Chaucer and Malory, and spent long hours over illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. In 1856, their last year at Oxford, they participated in the publication of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* to which Morris contributed some very "medievalistic" prose and verse. Two years later he published his first book of poetry, *The Defence of Guenevere*. Its colorful verses on themes suggested by Malory and Froissart showed how vividly Morris pictured the subjects about which he wrote; but the reading public did not find his unusual poetry to its taste, so nine years passed before Morris published his next book. When *The Life and Death of Jason* appeared in 1867 his style had become more ornamental than intense, the tale was long and romantic, and the public was pleased with it.

In these nine years Morris had dedicated himself to art, first for a short period in an architect's office, then as a painter with Burne-Jones under the inspiration of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, ultimately as the director and a contributing designer of the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. (later Morris & Co.) "Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and the Metals" (also stained glass, wallpaper, and later, printed and woven fabrics, carpets, and tapestries) which was founded to show the mid-Victorians that useful objects could be well designed and that artists need not confine themselves to painting and sculpture. In the early 1860s Morris and his artistic friends had combined their talents to decorate and make a "palace of art" of Red House, the handsome home in Kent built by Philip Webb for Morris and his bride, Jane Burden; and from this enthusiasti-
Acknowledgments of assistance and thanks to those persons who provided it should, I presume, be limited to one's contemporaries, though I should very much like to express my gratitude to Messrs. Apuleius, Adlington, Morris, Burne-Jones, Allingham, Wardle, Mackail, Cockerell and others, including May Morris and Georgiana Burne-Jones, for a most enjoyable period of research among the works they have left us.

More conventionally, but no less sincerely, I wish to thank Miss Mary Peirce and the late Miss Margaret Peirce from whom I obtained my set of the Cupid and Psyche prints; Dr. Ken Goodwin of Queensland University for several excellent leads; Dean Loyd Haberly of Fairleigh Dickinson University whose contribution is made clear in these pages; also Ronald Briggs, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the William Morris Society; Miss Elizabeth deHaas of the Emery Walker House; A. R. Dufty, Esq., of The Society of Antiquaries; Professor Carole Silver of Stern College; Mrs. Barbara Dunlap; Mr. Norman Strouse; and the patient publisher, S. A. Russell.

I greatly appreciate the assistance given me by cooperative staff members of the British Museum Department of Manuscripts and Print Room, the William Morris Gallery, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Beinecke Library of Yale University.

And I thank especially Miss Yerchanik Iskenderian of the City College of New York who assisted me at a crucial moment.

Joseph R. Dunlap
and William J. Linton, the great wood engraver who was responsible for engraving the title page. Yet this full-bodied beginning was followed by a conventionally printed title page which looks anemic in comparison, and by two hundred pages of lustreless type. The poems were set with wide leading in a thin modern face that loses by its contrast with the engraved pages whatever little vitality there may have been originally. This same contrast between decoration and type determined the fate of the Book that Never Was.

About 1864 Morris made the acquaintance of Frederick S. Ellis and they became fast friends. Ellis was a dealer in early manuscripts and rare books into whose shop Morris would drop on his way home to Red House. After circumstances caused him to move from Kent to London in 1865, Morris had more time to spend at Ellis’s shop and was able to acquire volumes from the period he loved. Quite early in their acquaintance Ellis sold Morris a copy of Boccaccio’s *De Claris Mulieribus*, printed at Ulm in 1473 by Johann Zainer, and full of quaint woodcut illustrations. This volume and the *Schatzbehalter* from the press of Anton Koberger of Nürnberg were favorite picture books of the Morris family, according to May, the younger of the two daughters of Jane and William Morris. Thus Morris added an interest in early printed books to his love of illuminated manuscripts. In both media the stories come alive through the miniatures or woodcut. In the same way Morris visualized his own narratives, and it was not long before he decided to emulate the printing masters of the fifteenth century in a project of his own.

While he was busy launching a commercial enterprise, Morris had written little poetry, but in 1865 as the time drew near for the family to move for reasons of health and business from the “palace of art” to the Firm’s premises at No. 26 Queen Square in London, Morris was full of his new, ambitious project: nothing less than a combination of his literary talents with the artistic ability of Burne-Jones in a monumental volume inspired by Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. In *The Earthly Paradise* refugees from the Black Death that ravaged fourteenth century Europe exchange stories every month with a group of Greeks who have retained the culture of their classical ancestors on a remote island in the Atlantic Ocean. Twenty-four narrative poems, two for each month of the year, were to be illustrated by wood engravings, and the resulting folio volume would be issued at Queen Square. The enthusiasm of Morris and Burne-Jones for this project is clearly shown in the published recollections of Georgiana, the wife of Edward Burne-Jones, and in the Diary of William Allingham, civil servant and poet. “The last visit we paid to Upton [Red House],” wrote Lady Burne-Jones, “was in September 1865 . . . The talk of the men was much about *The Earthly Paradise*, which was to be illustrated by two or three hundred woodcuts, many of them already designed and some even drawn on the block.” In the summer of 1866 William Allingham was visiting in London. On Monday, July 30, he noted in his diary: “Kensington Square [the home of Burne-Jones at that time]. Studio. Psyche. Book planned, Morris and ‘lots of stories and pictures.’” On Wednesday, August 1, “At dinner William Morris, pleasant, learned about wines and distilling. The Big Story Book, woodcut of Olympus by N. Jones. M. and friends intend to engrave the woodblocks themselves—and M. will publish the book at his warehouse. I like Morris much. He is plain spoken and emphatic, often boisterously, without an atom of irritating matter.” A few weeks later Allingham accompanied Georgie and Ned Burne-Jones on a holiday to Brockenhurst. Of the latter he noted: “Saturday, August 18 . . . He occupies himself when in the mood, with designs for the Big Book of Stories in Verse by Morris, and has done several from Cupid and Psyche; also pilgrims going to Rome [from “The Hill of Venus,” the Tannhäuser story], and others. He founds his style in these on old Wood cuts, especially those in *Hyperotamobdia* [sic], of which he has a fine copy. His work in general, and that of Morris too, might perhaps be called
a kind of New Renaissance." Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, first published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499, is one of the great masterpieces in the history of printing. Their use of it indicates the heights to which the partners aspired. After an excursion to Winchester on Thursday, August 30, Burne-Jones said, according to Allingham, "I am very sorry, but I've been so lazy I've not done a single thing for the book," to which Morris gave a slight grunt. Then Ned produced his eight or nine designs for the wood-blocks, whereupon Morris laughed joyously and shook himself. The seriousness which the associates brought to their project is reflected in May Morris's note: "There used to be weekly dinners to discuss 'The Earthly Paradise' while it was in progress; the company was usually confined to Edward Burne-Jones and Philip Webb, my mother remembers."  

To Morris the illustrations were an integral part of the undertaking. "Morris always had a yearning for illustrations to his poems; he saw the stories in brilliantly defined pictures, and desired that other people should do so, too. 'There is nobody but Burne-Jones who can do them,' he often said." Morris not only saw the episodes as pictures, he also visualized them as illustrations in a book. "Even while he was writing he saw the episodes as pictures and noted in his margins hints for the wood cuts that Burne-Jones and he were to make for the beautifying of his poems." Marginal annotations may be seen today on a number of the manuscripts for these poetic tales, and a notebook, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which belonged to Burne-Jones before he moved from Kensington Square in November 1867, contains lists of subjects for several more. In a number of instances Morris indicated whether the cuts should be big or small; twice he made reference to illustrations in early printed books or manuscripts, and several times he sketched roughly the way he wished the scene to be drawn. 

The most extensively annotated manuscript is the one for Morris's first version of the "Prologue" to *The Earthly Paradise*. 

On it he made notes for twenty-three big and fourteen small illustrations. For "The Hill of Venus" he suggested twenty-five numbered illustrations and he visualized two of them in terms of mutually familiar sources: 

"16 playing in garden (like Ship of fools) 
17 same but like Romance of Rose"

As May Morris put it: "These directions to the artist were from some favorite manuscripts or printed books that were in his mind." For one of the eighteen cuts suggested on the manuscript of "The Palace East of the Sun and West of the Moon" Morris's quick pen drew a figure or two beside a vertical line to indicate how he visualized "burning door, lady receiving him." He used the same method for one item in a list of suggested illustrations for *Jason*, and again on the manuscript of the first version of "Cupid and Psyche." There are nine numbered annotations on the manuscript for "The Proud King," and one each for "The Lady of the Land," "The Watching of the Falcon," "The Writing on the Image," and "The Story of Dorothae" (not included in the final publication). 

Philip Webb's part in the undertaking is hard to assess. As we have seen, he participated in the planning sessions, and his share in the project might have become more apparent if it had gone farther. Morris evidently hoped that he would design some of the illustrations which, from their names, seem to involve architecture. In "The Palace East of the Sun and West of the Moon" one finds among the notes: "Dunwich (Webb) big," "London (do)," "Scanderson (Webb)." Webb's name also accompanies the note "The Homestead" in "The Lady of the Land." "The Story of Cupid and Psyche" was perhaps the first of the tales to be written for *The Earthly Paradise*. On the manuscript of the earlier version of it, now in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, Morris noted suggestions for twenty-one illustrations. These notes are nearly identical with a list in a notebook.
kept by Morris at this time (British Museum Add. Mss. 45305) in which the items are numbered 1 to 20. Morris more than doubled the number of cuts suggested for the final version, reaching a high of fifty-three. (See Appendix II for the lists and a fuller description.)

Burne-Jones has left a different set of figures. In a “List of my designs, drawings and pictures from 1856 when I began to draw” he noted:

“1865. Designed 70 subjects from the story of Cupid and Psyche, these Ruskin has.
1866. Designed 20 pictures for the Hill of Venus.
1867. Designed 12 subjects from Pygmalion.”

When one adds together the highest figure given for each poem, the total number of suggested illustrations is three hundred and twenty. One must take into account that the notes for “Jason” are incomplete, and that other lists may have disappeared in the course of time, but from these figures we can gain some idea of the tremendous goal the partners wished to attain. By his own testimony Burne-Jones designed at least one hundred and two illustrations for the great book, but he has also left sketches for other poems than those he listed. One of these, the title scene for “The Ring Given to Venus,” since it involves a statue, is frequently mistaken for a subject from “Pygmalion and the Image.”

We shall, however, concentrate on “The Story of Cupid and Psyche” as it was the part of the great project on which most work was done, which came closest to realization, and which has left most visible testimony of the spirit and realities of the enterprise.

From the surviving preliminary sketches preserved at the Pierpont Morgan Library and at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, it is evident that Burne-Jones took pains with his
work, often visualizing a scene in different ways which might mean changing the persons and the locale, or merely drawing different decorations in the background. The Court of Venus, for instance, was tried in a meadow, by a pool and elsewhere before the final version in a courtyard. Psyche when she spies on the sleeping Cupid comes with her fateful candle from the right, from the left, and in one instance even kneels on the bed to scan her mysterious husband at close range.

Burne-Jones drew the trial pictures in pencil on tracing paper, and later made more carefully drawn renderings which were transferred to the wood. In the book of sketches at Birmingham a note describes his method (Birmingham 648:27):

Once the main composition was sketched his designs were forwarded and completed by successive tracings enabling the artist to correct and develop his designs with comparatively trifling labour. This process as far as we know was only used by the artist for the drawings produced for the engravings for the Earthly Paradise and was not his usual practice.

The Ashmolean Library has forty-eight tracings at the later stage. They have been firmly drawn in pencil, after which a border was placed around each one. The border is an ink line one-sixteenth of an inch wide, which is the same width as the borders of the existing woodcuts. For the most part the drawings are close to the versions that were finally engraved, but there are enough differences to suggest that either the engravers had some other ideas of their own, or that another more exact set of drawings was made before the cutting began. Perhaps the variations were the work of George Wardle, later manager of the Firm, who transferred the drawings to the wood blocks. He has left three accounts of his connection with the project, two of which are at the British Museum and one in the Emery

From Sketch to Wood Block: Three stages in the development of the wood engravings for The Earthly Paradise.

a. Psyche spying on Cupid.
1. One of several early versions. Reproduced through the courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
3. Engraved by Morris.

b. Psyche hailed before Venus.
1. Morgan Library.
2. From Eros and Psyche.
3. As drawn on the wood block (reversed) but never engraved. Reproduced through the courtesy of The Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.
Walker House in Hammersmith. (See Appendix I.) In the account now in the British Museum Print Room, he states:

“They were all put on the blocks by me from B-J’s rather rough drawings on tracing paper . . . A few were given at first to ‘the trade’ to be cut but the result was so unsatisfactory that Morris tried to get the cutting done by un-professional hands.”

According to notes made by researchers at the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, the “trade” engraver was one Swain, who with the Dalziel Brothers, dominated mid-century commercial wood engraving, and that the block thus cut was the illustration of Pan and Psyche. From the entry in Allingham’s diary it would seem that Morris had decided to use “un-professional hands” before the beginning of August 1866.

Several persons tried their skill with the engraving tools. Wardle states:

“G. F. Campfield the foreman of Painters to the Firm and Miss Lucy Faulkner, sister of Charles Faulkner, each made a trial. I was also asked, and I began by cutting the block of ‘Psyche passing by the Shrieking [Speaking] Tower,’ I then cut ‘The Despair of Psyche after the flight of Cupid,’ after this I cut no more.”

The reason for this sudden cessation is entertainingly told in the other account at the British Museum:

“Mr. Morris asked me then if I would try to cut these blocks. This I did, and after a few experiments, he was well enough pleased to give me one and then another; but after that I got no more, and wondered for a while why? as I thought the second was certainly better than the first. The reason was a characteristic one, Mr. Morris
became possessed by the idea of cutting the blocks himself. If I could do it, why not he? and he took them all in hand and carried them through, though not without some lively scenes in Queen Square. He cut with great ardour and with much knowledge of the forms certainly, but the work did not always go to his mind. It was necessarily slow and he was constitutionally quick: there were then quarrels between them." 28

In a note accompanying the set of prints now in the William Morris Gallery, Sir Sydney Cockerell stated that thirty-five blocks were engraved by Morris, four by George Campfield, two by George Wardle, one by Charles Faulkner, one by Elizabeth Burden (sister of Jane Morris), and two by an unidentified engraver. For some reason, Cockerell replaced Lucy Faulkner with her brother, Wardle, who had participated in the project, mentioned Lucy but not Charles in two of his accounts, and Vallance included both Miss Faulkner's, adding that one of them "had learnt the technique of the process at Messrs. Smith and Linton's." 21 Georgiana Burne-Jones included her sister Louisa among the cooperating friends. "About this plan my sister Louie was of course eager, for she was to help in the engraving, on which she dreamed of spending quiet, busy years." Her engagement to Alfred Baldwin diverted her attention from wood blocks. 22

The diversity of persons involved in the project was typical of the social nature of many of the enterprises of the Morris circle in those years, and so was the enjoyment the work gave to those who took part in it. Morris, of course, took the lead. His daughter May has left us a child's-eye view of her father at work on the blocks that were to illustrate his poem.

"In the evenings ... there sometimes appeared a gloriously, mysteriously shining object, behind which he would work with bright cutting tools on a little block of wood, which sat on a plump leather cushion. The beautiful edition of 'The Earthly Paradise' that he and Burne-Jones had at heart had not yet been given up, and these were the wood blocks for one of its stories, the 'Cupid and Psyche' illustrations, most of which my father cut himself." 23

Having thus had personal experience with the craft, Morris developed strong and typical views on the subject of wood engraving. William Michael Rossetti, brother of Christina and Dante Gabriel, noted in his diary on 20 December 1867: "Talk about Linton's History of Wood Engraving which Morris and Webb would have stop at Bewick on the theory that all wood cutting since then has been wrong in principle." 24 Though the engravings for "Cupid and Psyche" are not in the same class with the masterly skill of Bewick's work, they are closer in spirit to it than to the bulk of nineteenth century wood engraving for books and journals in which the graver was bond servant to the pen and never dreamed of taking the initiative. There were, to be sure, fine artists whose drawings were engraved on wood by Swain or the Dalziels, but a comparison of the Moxon Tennyson or the illustrations in Good Words and Once a Week with the work of Morris and Burne-Jones shows the young men aiming in one direction and their contemporaries in another. 25

Unquestionably the planners of the great book had in mind examples from the past. Though, as Allingham asserted, Burne-Jones may have used Hypnerotomachia Poliphili as an inspiration for his designs, the prints that resulted from the cutting are far more akin to the darker, denser work of the northern woodcutters of the fifteenth century than the light open illustrations of Italy. 26 Whereas woodcuts printed in the masterpiece by Aldus show figures, furnishings and architectural features existing as outlines in a world of all-encompassing, all-reflecting white light, in the prints for "Cupid and Psyche" the figures appear to have been discovered by an external beam of light as
they perform their actions in shadowy interiors or beneath overcast skies. The contrast they form with the conventional thin line illustrations of the time is like the contrast between the solid furnishings of Red House and some of the objects of contemporary use. This forthrightness is further emphasized by the use of strong parallel lines for backgrounds, for shading (as in Bewick's work, there is no cross hatching), and for many elements of interiors and exteriors. Sometimes it is quite obtrusive as in several of the illustrations showing Psyche in the underworld where, perhaps rightly, the atmosphere is more gloomy. For the most part it becomes a back-drop for the figures, giving a consistent tone to the whole sequence. Perhaps as a contrast to this darker tone, the last two illustrations are larger and brighter than their predecessors. Psyche has passed through the darkness of her trials and tribulations, and now, with a procession of the gods, she enters "a vale beset with heavenly trees." The unshadowed landscape is bright with a full diffusion of light, and though the cuts were not done with the clear precision of the Hypnerotomachia, they are closer to the Italian style than any of the preceding ones. Allingham's reference during his August visit both to these illustrations ("Olympus") and to Aldus's book as a source, make it reasonable to suppose that the latter may have had some influence on them. Psyche, Cupid, Venus and the other personae of the tale, move solidly and purposefully through the illustrations rather than standing about in languid attitudes with the long necks and attenuated figures that characterize the later work of Burne-Jones, as may be seen in his illustrations for the volumes of the Kelmscott Press, especially in Love is Enough which contains illustrations in both his earlier and his later styles.

Forty-four blocks engraved for "Cupid and Psyche" survived to the end of the century when sets of prints were made from them. Two more: Pan and Psyche, and Psyche and the Opened Casket, were cut but are known only from early proofs. A variant of Psyche rushing out of the Palace was also cut (the block

This frontispiece shows a typical mid-century illustration engraved on wood by Dalziel Bros. From The Music Master by William Allingham, London, 1855.
is at the William Morris Gallery). Thus we can account for forty-seven blocks engraved for the Book that Never Was, i.e., most of the subjects for "The Story of Cupid and Psyche," but less than half of the pictures designed by Burne-Jones, and about a seventh of those suggested of which the record has survived. (See Appendix II.)

Once the cutting was well underway, the partners wanted to see how the book would look when printed in the projected double column folio. Morris naturally turned to the Chiswick Press for this job, and trial pages were set up there. The text for one trial was set in the Caslon type face which the Chiswick Press had been instrumental in reviving early in the 1840s. Another was set in Basel type which had been cut for Charles Whittingham on the model of a type face used by Froben of Basel early in the sixteenth century. Both types were conscious revivals from the past, but their weight and appearance did not give the desired result even though the Basel font was based on a type that was used in the days of Aldus. "The effect was very disappointing," reports Mackail, Morris's biographer. "The page, while not without a certain quality of distinction, suffers from technical defects, in both typography and wood-cuts, which are all the more emphasized by the high mark aimed at. Two etchings made by Burne-Jones for the story of "The Ring given to Venus" were not considered more satisfactory in their result as decoration for a page." 26

We are not, however, without some idea of what this pre-Kelmscott giant might have looked like. Though the trial sheets evaluated by Mackail are not known to exist now, they were briefly described in The Studio for October 1898: "A specimen sheet of four folio pages, with the illustrations running as a frieze across the top of the double columns of well-printed type on each page, was printed at the Chiswick Press . . . as a copy still extant bears witness . . . " 27 This sounds like a striking anticipation of the Kelmscott Press masterpiece, the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, on many of whose pages the designs of

Burne-Jones form a frieze above two columns of poetry set in the gothic Chaucer type face. The illuminated manuscripts and the incunabula that they both loved are quite likely the source of the format.

But this is not our only clue. Visible evidence in the form of a rough sketch by Burne-Jones on a small card now in the Fitzwilliam Museum indicates that they probably considered another layout for their pages. It shows not only another stage of their thinking about the appearance of their book, but it also furnishes some hints as to the probable size of the pages. In the sketch, the upper left and the lower right quarters of the page are occupied by roughs for illustrations, while the spaces below the former and above the latter contain horizontal lines to indicate the presence of poetry. This is not the frieze effect mentioned in The Studio, though it does maintain double columns. If a trial sheet arranged in this fashion was among those set up at the Chiswick Press, it seems not to have survived till 1898.

One would like to know if Burne-Jones, as his pencil drew these lines, was sketching a verso page or a recto page, or whether he and Morris were trying various arrangements before they took up the question of a two-page opening. The only clue is not conclusive. Next to the sketch in the lower right corner of the layout, Burne-Jones roughed out another illustration in the same manner as the first two, but with no lines of verse indicated nor any accompanying sketch in the upper right to simulate the balance of a right hand page facing the left one. The position of this outside sketch could indicate that a layout had been made for a verso page and that the recto was incomplete, or it may have had no relation at all to a double-page opening.

The identification of the little sketches, however, is not beyond conjecture. The “outside” one unquestionably is the counterpart of the illustration in which Cupid, with wings outspread, hovers over the sleeping Psyche. The one in the upper left corner of the layout, though less certain, is probably intended to represent Venus sending Cupid to annoy Psyche since the figures stand in much the same positions as they do in the final version with the wings of Cupid unfurled and the purposeful arm of Venus extended. The remaining sketch resembles none of the existing prints. It may be meant to show Psyche asleep before the advent of Cupid, since she had very little time for repose thereafter, or it may be an incomplete version of the sketch beside it. In any event, when he drew on this little card, the artist had in mind the designs that were to be cut, or indeed may already have been cut (though the existence of the last mentioned sketch suggests that they were still in the planning stage), and he wished to see how they might be integrated into a page design.

To estimate the size of a page thus laid out, one must consider the measurements of the illustrations as they would be printed from the engraved blocks. With two exceptions the prints are between four and four and a quarter inches high. The exceptions are the last two of the series: Psyche and the gods, the “Olympus” mentioned by Allingham, which are six and a quarter inches high by six and an eighth inches wide. The widths of the other cuts vary a good deal, but fall into three groups: (1) thirteen of them are about six inches wide, (2) twenty-three are in the vicinity of three inches wide, and (3) six are two inches wide. These measurements include the solid black borders one-sixteenth of an inch wide. Now with cuts four inches high, the overall height of the printed area would be at least eight and a half inches, allowing for the space indicated at mid-page between the lower border of the one and the top border of the other, and since many cuts exceed four inches in height, the depth of the printed area might be closer to nine inches. As to the width, the illustrations in the sketch appear to be in the three inch wide category. The large number of cuts in this category, not to mention those six inches wide, indicate the probability that each printed column would be at least three inches wide, and since many of the illustrations run an eighth of an inch or so beyond these measurements, the total width of
Then again was she silent; but her head sank not as before it did, but she looked straight forward smiling, as she said:

"Lo, now the guests they are bringing that ye have Yet guests but ill-entreated; for they lack their shield No spear in the hand they carry and with no sax are Lo, these are the dreaded foemen, these once so strong The men that all folk fled from, the swift to drive the The men that fashioned nothing but the trap to make They drew the sword in the cities, they came and And smote the shield of the Markmen, and point and They drew the sword in the war-garth, they swore to God's gifts from the Markmen houses where the table O Markmen, take the God-gifts that came on their O'er the hills through the Mirkwood thicket the Stone Again she stayed her song, which had been loud who heard her knew that the Kindreds had gained Hall-Sun was silent they fell to talking of this fair taking of captives. But presently she spread out her they held their peace, and she said:

"I see, O Wolving women, and many a thing I see, But not all things, O elders, this eye shall ye learn of For another mouth there cometh: the thicket I behold And the Sons of Tyr amidst it, and I see the oak And the war-shout ringing round them; and I see Unhewed amidst of the mighty; and I see his leap Strokes struck and warriors falling, and the streaks of But hereof shall the other tell you who speaketh after

And hath a voice most merry to tell of the Kindreds' 'Twixt each tree a warrior standeth come back from the And forth they come from the wild-wood and a little Then again was she silent; but her head sank not, as before it did, but she looked straight forward smiling, as she said:

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smiling, as she said:
"Lo, now the guests they are bringing that ye have
Yet guests but ill-entreated; for they lack their shield
No spears in the hand they carry and with no sax are
Lo, these are the dreaded foemen, these once so strong
The men that all folk fled from, the swift to drive the
The men that fashioned nothing but the trap to make
They drew the sword in the cities, they came and
And smote the shield of the Markmen, and point and
They drew the sword in the war-garth, they swore to
God's gifts from the Markmen houses where the table
O Markmen, take the God-gifts that came on their
O'er the hills through the Mirkwood thicket the
Again she stayed her song, which had been loud
who heard her knew that the Kindreds had gained
Hall-Sun was silent they fell to talking of this fair
taking of captives. But presently she spread out her
they held their peace, and she said:
"I see, O Wolling women, and many a thing I see,
But not all things, O elders, this eve shall ye learn of
For another mouth there cometh: the thicket I behold
And the Sons of Tyr amidst it, and I see the oak
And the war-shout ringing round them; and I see
Unhelmed amidst of the mighty; and I see his leap
Strokes struck and warriors falling, and the streaks of
But hereof shall the other tell you who speaketh after

Then again was she silent; but her head sank not as before it did, but she looked straight forward
smiling, as she said:
"Lo, now the guests they are bringing that ye have
Yet guests but ill-entreated; for they lack their shield
No spears in the hand they carry and with no sax are
Lo, these are the dreaded foemen, these once so strong
The men that all folk fled from, the swift to drive the
The men that fashioned nothing but the trap to make
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And smote the shield of the Markmen, and point and
They drew the sword in the war-garth, they swore to
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Unhelmed amidst of the mighty; and I see his leap
Strokes struck and warriors falling, and the streaks of
But hereof shall the other tell you who speaketh after

And hath a voice most merry to tell of the Kindred's
'Twixt each tree a warrior standeth come back from the
And forth they come from the wild-wood and a little
Then again was she silent; but her head sank not as before it did, but she looked straight forward
smiling, as she said:
"Lo, now the guests they are bringing that ye have
Yet guests but ill-entreated; for they lack their shield
No spears in the hand they carry and with no sax are
Lo, these are the dreaded foemen, these once so strong
The men that all folk fled from, the swift to drive the
The men that fashioned nothing but the trap to make
They drew the sword in the cities, they came and
And smote the shield of the Markmen, and point and
They drew the sword in the war-garth, they swore to
God's gifts from the Markmen houses where the table
O Markmen, take the God-gifts that came on their
O'er the hills through the Mirkwood thicket the
Again she stayed her song, which had been loud
who heard her knew that the Kindreds had gained
Hall-Sun was silent they fell to talking of this fair
taking of captives. But presently she spread out her
they held their peace, and she said:
"I see, O Wolling women, and many a thing I see,
But not all things, O elders, this eve shall ye learn of
For another mouth there cometh: the thicket I behold
And the Sons of Tyr amidst it, and I see the oak
And the war-shout ringing round them; and I see
Unhelmed amidst of the mighty; and I see his leap
Strokes struck and warriors falling, and the streaks of
But hereof shall the other tell you who speaketh after
For none other than the Shielings from out the wood
And they shift the turn with the Daylings to drive the
And to follow with the Wollings and thrust the war
Then again was she silent; but her head sank not, as before it did, but she looked straight forward with smiling, as she said:

"Lo, now the guests they are bringing that ye have yet guests but ill-entreated; for they lack their shield No spear in the hand they carry and with no axe are Lo, these are the dreaded foemen, these once so strong The men that all folk fled from, the swift to drive the The men that fashioned nothing but the trap to make They drew the sword in the cities, they came and And smote the shield of the Markmen, and point and They drew the sword in the war-garth, they swore to God's gifts from the Markmen houses where the table O Markmen, take the God-gifts that came on their O'er the hills through the Mirkwood thicket the Stone Hall-Sun was silent they fell to talking of this fair taking of captives. But presently she spread out her they held their peace, and she said:

"I see, O Wolflings women, and many a thing I see, But not all things, O elders, this eye shall ye learn of For another mouth there cometh: the thicket I behold And the Sons of Tyr amidst it, and I see the oak And the war-shout ringing round them; and I see Unshamed amidst of the mighty; and I see his leap. Strikes struck and warriors falling, and the streaks of But hereof shall the other tell you who speaketh after For none other than the Shieldings from out the wood And they shift the turn with the Daylings to drive the And to follow with the Wolflings and thrust the war And so good men deem the tidings that they bid them

the printed area would be about six and three-quarters inches. In "The Story of Cupid and Psyche" the longer lines of verse measure about fifty characters. It may or may not be significant that the Basel type face which the Chiswick Press employed to set up one of the trial pages contains a few more than fifty characters in three inches. Thus the narrower cuts could be accommodated above or below columns of type, as the sketch indicates, while the wide ones could be put in the frieze position at the head of two columns. In the matter of margins, Morris had yet to state the convictions that grew out of his study of typography in later years as to their proper proportions and placement on the page, but since he had in mind a big book, was acquainted with medieval manuscripts and incunabula, and was becoming used to the contemporary custom of issuing large paper editions along with the trade editions, his margins would doubtless have been generous. Though it is unlikely that Morris aimed at the "forma regalis" size of the early printers, he may have had in mind something closer to the "forma mediana" in which the average height of the folio was thirty centimeters or slightly over eleven and three-quarters inches, and the width was twenty-five centimeters—almost ten inches. Be that as it may, a reconstruction of this page fits quite comfortably on the familiar eight and a half by eleven inch sheet of the present day.

It is next to impossible to estimate the thickness of the proposed volume. Morris had not finished writing his tales when the trial pages were set up. Some narratives were projected but never written; some were partially or wholly written but not included in the final selection; the tale of Jason and the Argonauts grew to be longer than he first expected and had to be published separately, as we have seen. When in 1890 The Earthly Paradise was first crowded into a single volume printed in double columns of small type, the number of characters per line in one column was not far from that of a three inch line of Basel type. Without illustrations, then, the great book might have approximated the four hundred and forty-five pages of the
volume of 1890, but a multitude of engravings, which in some instances take up half a page, would have increased that number considerably. (The Kelmscott Chaucer had eighty-seven illustrations, many decorations, and five hundred and fifty-four pages.) All in all, if The Earthly Paradise as planned had become a reality in the 1860s, it would have been as arresting a volume for its day as the Kelmscott Press volumes were in the 1890s. It would have owed next to nothing to contemporary publications but would have been one more skirmish in Morris’s continuing crusade against the taste of his time. Morris knew the magnificence that certain early printers brought to their volumes as they worked in the manuscript tradition, and he attempted to recapture some of it in his own way to bring it before the eyes of Victorian England. “The beautiful editions of later days were already in his mind,” wrote Wardle, “but indeed the time was too early.”

The tenacity of Morris and Burne-Jones in the pursuit of their ideal book is shown by the length of time in which the project was part of their lives and thoughts. Wardle wrote: “If you can find the date of the removal from Red Lion Square to Queen Square you will know when the series began, and you will know when the project of publishing was given up by the date of the first volume of the Paradise, something being allowed.” This would indicate a space of at least two and a half years, since the removal to Queen Square took place in the early autumn of 1865, and the first volume of The Earthly Paradise was published in April 1868. But as we have seen in the account of Georgiana Burne-Jones, plans and designs were well underway by September 1865, so it may not be inaccurate to say that Morris and Burne-Jones were involved with their book for close to three years.

Word of the illustrated story book reached the public about the time that plans for its publication were being abandoned. On April 18, 1868, a note in “Our Weekly Gossip,” a column in The Athenæum, asserted:

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“Mr. Morris is engaged in preparing for publication a new poem, or rather the first portion of a very extensive work which comprehends the ‘Jason’ already issued. For the third portion of the general work, which will appear at a convenient time, the poet and artist is executing a large series of designs, to be engraved on wood, and which will amount to about 350 in number, of which fifty or thereabouts, are already produced.”

Morris replied in a letter dated April 20 which was published in the issue for April 25:

“In a notice of forthcoming works by me contained in your ‘Weekly Gossip’ of last Saturday, there are some inaccuracies which I should be much obliged if you would correct. It is not my intention to republish ‘Jason’ in any other form than that in which it has already appeared; and the woodcuts mentioned in your paragraph, which have been designed as far as they go by my friend Mr. E. Burne-Jones, illustrate, not the third part of the ‘Earthly Paradise’ (for there will only be two parts of that work), but the whole. The time of publication, however, of this illustrated edition must, from the magnitude of the work, be very remote.”

Morris was correct in this last observation, but, as it turned out, there were indeed three parts to the first published edition of The Earthly Paradise, not counting Jason.

By this time Morris had changed his publisher from Bell and Daldy to his friend Ellis. Though the change was of financial benefit to both men, it had the effect of severing Morris’s connection with the Chiswick Press for twenty years. This is not to intimate that had he not done so, all his subsequent publications would have been unusual works of typography, but Ellis employed Strangeways whose printing was not distinguished;
and it is significant to note that when in the 1880s Morris renewed his interest in the making and the design of books, and wished to learn all the processes, he went for instruction to the Chiswick Press. Ellis made no mistake on his investment for each of the volumes, 1868, 1869 and 1870, was immensely popular.

All that remained of the dream of "lots of pictures" in the spirit of the spacious works of the fifteenth century was a wood engraving printed on the title page. It measured two and three-eighths inches wide by two and three-quarters inches high. In it three feminine minstrels, two playing lutes and one a rebec, stand in the classic pose of the Three Graces among flowers that grow by a low wall and the foliage that is wreathed above the wall. The background beyond the foliage is solid black rather than rendered by parallel lines as were the skies of Cupid and Psyche. The wall is depicted by a series of narrow vertical parallel lines divided into seven layers by horizontal white lines. According to Buxton Forman, this "book mark" was "made and cut upon wood by the poet himself." But Vallance and May Morris attribute the design to Burne-Jones and the engraving to Morris. In the tradition of the dolphin and anchor of Aldus Manutius, the cut appears at the end of the book as well as on the title page in all three volumes of The Earthly Paradise and in several editions following the first. Ellis liked it well enough to print it on the title page of the fourth edition of Jason (1869) after he had acquired the plates from Bell and Daldy, and he retained it for later reissues. The original block from which the first prints were made was destroyed in a fire at the Strangways establishment, so George Campfield re-engraved the illustration. The latter may be distinguished from the first by the presence of horizontal as well as vertical lines in the stones of the wall. Whether Morris designed it or not, the vision of young women standing among the flowers and foliage of an enclosed garden was one which he developed years later in
quite a different fashion into the one large tapestry, The Orchard, for which he designed the figures as well as the foliage.

When Morris and his associates engraved the designs of Burne-Jones on blocks of wood, they were performing in their own manner and according to their own taste a customary operation that was being undertaken for printing houses throughout the land and beyond the seas. Yet twenty-five years later, when Morris printed wood engravings on the pages of the books that issued from his Kelmscott Press, he was reviving a craft which was dying out because of the advent of photo-mechanical methods of reproduction. Regardless of the changes in the technology of printing, Morris preferred to illustrate his publications through the medium of wood since he felt that it best suited his work. His conviction of its value, drawn from the achievements of the past, allowed him to bridge the change in fashions and technical proficiency, and to lay the ground work for the development of the art in this century. His purchase of an illustrated incunabulum in 1864 showed his early enthusiasm for woodcuts. He continued to buy books of all kinds; indeed Warington Taylor, the Firm's manager at the time, wrote to Rossetti in 1867 saying that if Morris were to get hold of any of the Firm's capital "he will only spend it on books and wine." He is significant that in the list of books he owned in 1876, Morris took the trouble to note which ones contained woodcuts. Of twelve titles from the fifteenth century, nine were so designated, and of sixty-nine from the following century he noted that fifty-three contained cuts. Unfortunately he gave no indication of the dates on which he purchased the books, but it may be assumed that he had acquired a representative number of them before and during the years when the project was foremost in his mind.

Though he had not fully grasped the need for integrated book design, Morris had a keen enough eye to reject any inharmonious typography. When he investigated a new craft, Morris immersed himself in it, studied not only all its details but also how it was practiced in all ages. He thus became a master of the craft in the guild sense. Had he decided to investigate the arts of the book at this time he might have come close to the masterpiece he hoped to produce. But typographic masterpieces are not made by applying decorative elements to unrelated bases. The design of the type and its arrangement must not clash with the illustrations or other decorations. Morris apparently sensed the incongruity inherent in his attempts and postponed for a few years any more efforts in this direction.
Though plans were abandoned for an edition of *The Earthly Paradise* that would recapture something of the impressive style of fine incunabula, the dream did not die completely. Three and a half years later, Morris and Burne-Jones were again at work on a volume to be decorated with wood engravings, but on a less elaborate scale. This was the former's long dream-filled poem, *Love is Enough*. In a letter of October 2, 1871, Rossetti wrote “Morris has set to work with a will on a sort of masque called ‘Love is Enough,’ which he means to print as a moderate quarto, with wood cuts by Ned Jones and borders by himself, some of which he has done really very beautifully.”

Burne-Jones, writing in October also, described the new undertaking by saying that Morris “makes a poem these days in dismal Queen Square in black old filthy London in dull end of October he makes a pretty poem that is to be wondrously happy; . . . and it will come out some time next summer, and I shall make little ornaments to it.” In his account of work done in 1872 he included “Many designs for ‘Love is Enough.’” Years later Georgiana Burne-Jones recalled that “the idea of an illustrated *Love is Enough* excited both Morris and Edward: one full page design was completed and some smaller ones begun as well as several borders that Morris drew and engraved himself . . .”
Love is Enough.

The Muse.

Love is enough, though the world be nowhere,
And the woods have no voice, but the voice of complaining;
Though the sky be too dark for dim eyes to discover
The gold and coral and daisies fair
Bearing thereunder,
Though the hill be held shadowed, and the sea a dark wonder,
And this day draw a veil over all deeds passed over,
Yet their hands shall not tremble, their feet shall not falter;
The void shall not weary, the fear shall not alter
These lips and these eyes of the loved and the lover.

The Emperor.

The spars flashed by me, and the spars swept round,
And in my hopeless tangle was I bound,
But straw and stubble were the cold points found,
For still thy hands led down the weary way.

The Empress.

Through hall and street they led me as a queen.
They looked to see me proud and cold of mind,
I looked not though all my tears were seen,
For still I dreamed of thee throughout the day.

The Emperor.

Wild over bow and bulwark swept the sea
Unto the bare coast upon our lee,
Like painted cloth its fury was to me,
For still thy hands led down the weary way.

Eight borders and two decorated initial letters were engraved on wood before this project, like its predecessor, was abandoned. We are fortunate, however, that from this second attempt to create a fine book quite independent of current styles, two different trial pages have survived which demonstrate clearly the different worlds occupied by Morris and his friends on the one hand, and Victorian type and book designers on the other. The emphatic expression of the one overshadows the passive production of the other. The thin types of the latter cannot support the strength and vitality of the decorative initials and borders, and these types are poorer than the Caslon and the Basel faces which had proved unsatisfactory companions for the “Cupid and Psyche” wood engravings. In Goblin Market the engraved frontispiece and title page stand apart from the text, but on these trial sheets the initial and borders enclose the verse like an invasion from a more virile past into a diffident present. If Morris realized that the lines in the decorations should approximate the same weight and color as the letters in the type face of the text, he could do nothing to remedy the situation at that time. As it is, the trial pages stand as a vivid representation of the battle waged by Morris and his companions against what they detested in the nineteenth century. The firm of Morris and Co. was the chief instrument of this contest as it put their dreams in visible form into the households of England. The trial sheets show the advance guard of the crusade in its typographic incarnation engaging the enemy on both flanks. It was as yet an affair of outposts; the advantage remained with the established forms; but in two decades the major engagement would bring far different results.

Though the crafts of book design, illustration and ornament were laid aside, the story of “Cupid and Psyche” maintained its hold on the minds of Morris and Burne-Jones. Between 1870 and 1875 Morris spent much of his spare time writing calligraphic manuscripts and illuminating many of them with floral decorations. This was a popular mid-century pastime which Morris practiced in his own way, drawing inspiration from
medieval manuscripts without imitating them. The borders for the projected *Love is Enough* were designed and engraved in these years and bear some resemblance to these painted borders, and so does the willowy pattern that graced the cover of its commercial publication. Burne-Jones's chief contributions to his friend's manuscripts were a number of miniatures for a *Rubaiyat* of about 1873, and a series of illustrations for yet another attempted masterpiece that was never completed: the monumental *Aeneid* of 1874. In March 1874, about the time Morris was working on the jewel-like manuscript of the *Odes* of Horace, Cupid and Psyche returned to his mind. Mackail tells us: "... he was planning another [manuscript] of his own 'Cupid and Psyche,' with pictures from the designs which Burne-Jones had, five years before, made for the original scheme of the illustrated 'Earthly Paradise.'" But Virgil, it seems, usurped the place of Apuleius, and Morris turned to the *Aeneid* instead.

Had Burne-Jones illustrated a manuscript of "Cupid and Psyche" we would have seen painted miniatures directly from the hand of the artist to compare with the black and white illustrations which had passed through the renderings of Warde and the cutting of Morris and others. The artistic inspiration would have come from medieval miniatures rather than the woodcuts of incunabula; from the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth century. As it was, Burne-Jones painted easel pictures based not only on some of his designs for "Cupid and Psyche," but on designs made for two other poems in *The Earthly Paradise*: "Pygmalion and the Image" and "The Doom of King Acrisius" (the Perseus legend) which were never engraved on wood. From "Cupid and Psyche" he painted three versions of Cupid finding Psyche asleep; also the Procession to the Hill, otherwise known as the Wedding of Psyche; Zephyr and Psyche; Pan and Psyche, and Cupid aiding Psyche after she opened the Casket. His most impressive achievement, however, was his large frieze made up of scenes from the story for the morning room of the Earl of Carlisle's town house (built by Philip
Webb) at 1 Palace Green, London. These paintings may now be seen in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. The article in The Studio, quoted earlier, gives a brief account of this immense undertaking:

"In 1872 Burne-Jones arranged a selection from these Cupid and Psyche designs for the frieze in question, and the subjects (but slightly altered) were then drawn to the required size on canvas. Several of them were painted by the artist himself in that year, and for a long time he worked on the frieze at intervals, until, finding the task too arduous, he called to his assistance Mr. Walter Crane, who completed it. But some portions were retouched by the artist still later at different intervals up to 1881." 48

In the frieze and in his other paintings from these subjects Burne-Jones did not adhere strictly to the designs originally made for the wood engravers. One has, however, no trouble in recognizing the subjects and their relationship to the prints even though details and arrangements may vary. Although in one or two instances he painted a scene which was not among those that were engraved, Burne-Jones seems to have chosen, with only one or two exceptions, the subjects in Morris's lists. 49

In 1888, twenty years after the demise of the Book that Never Was, an illustration by Burne-Jones finally appeared in a book by Morris: the frontispiece to A Dream of John Ball. And it was in the same year that Morris, under the guidance of his friend and neighbor Emery Walker the printer, typographer and photoengraver, renewed his interest in the design and appearance of books. Walker's lecture on the typography of incunabula at the exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in London on November 15 inspired Morris to set about designing a font of type in the spirit of the early printers of Venice, and this led directly to the founding of his own Kelmscott Press in 1891. Though he designed the volumes printed there in a highly individual style which had more affinity with the fifteenth than with the nineteenth century, the Kelmscott Press played a key role in the revival of interest in printing, both private and commercial, which has had a visible effect on the appearance of books ever since in England and elsewhere. Morris brought to his new enthusiasm a quarter-century of experience in designing for other media as well as his more recently acquired knowledge from Emery Walker and from Charles Jacobi of the Chiswick Press that in designing a book the type face and the arrangement of the type on the page are fundamental, and that illustrations and decorations must be integrated with them. And now through the medium of the Kelmscott Press, Morris and Burne-Jones finally achieved their cooperative masterpiece of the book arts: the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, which holds an unchallenged place in the history of books and printing. The dream of the 1860s was thus realized in a sense in the 1890s by the reconstituted partnership in book creation. It was a big book with "lots of stories and pictures" though the stories were not by Morris but by his revered "master" who inspired The Earthly Paradise, and the illustrations numbered eighty-seven rather than several hundred.

Burne-Jones made more modest contributions to other volumes of the Kelmscott Press; usually one or two illustrations per title. Twenty-one of the fifty-three titles issued from the Kelmscott Press (1891–98) contained pictures, and Burne-Jones illustrated thirteen of these. 48 When these "big book" was in their minds, Morris had furnished Burne-Jones with a long list of subjects to illustrate The Life and Death of Jason; to the Kelmscott Press version the artist contributed two. The eight volumes of the Kelmscott edition of The Earthly Paradise contained no illustrations at all. "To the very last," Mackail quotes Burne-Jones as writing, "we held to our first idea, and hoped yet to see the book published in the Kelmscott Press in all the fulness of its first design." 48 Morris had come relatively late in life to the mastery of methods that would have brought reality to the dream of their youth that refused to die, but time ran out for both of them.
Yet Morris's "typographic adventure," as he called his printing, was not without echoes of the endeavors of earlier days. A drawing of winged Love crowning a pair of lovers, which Burne-Jones made for the projected Love is Enough in the early 1870s, was engraved on wood and used in the Kelmscott edition of this poem. According to Sydney Cockerell, Secretary of the Kelmscott Press, Morris designed two borders "intended for an edition of The Hill of Venus, which was to have been written in prose by him and illustrated by Burne-Jones." The death of Morris (October 3, 1896) prevented the realization of this scheme, but the borders were used in the Kelmscott Press edition of Morris's long poem The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs, for which Burne-Jones had first agreed to design at least five and twenty pictures. Later he cheered the failing Morris by offering to increase the number to forty—a pathetic echo of the eager plans of their youth. When Sigurd was published in 1898 it contained only two illustrations. That Emery Walker thought that these borders were designed for "Cupid and Psyche" is shown in his note on the margin of a proof of one of them. "The last border designed by William Morris. It was to have been used for a prose version of Cupid and Psyche which should have contained the forty odd blocks to illustrate the tale designed by Burne-Jones and engraved by W. Morris, circa 1870. Vide Mackail." If, however, one looks into Mackail's biography of Morris one sees no reference to "Cupid and Psyche" at this point in Morris's life, but rather, as Cockerell said, to "the tale of 'The Hill of Venus,' to be written in prose by himself and adorned by the twelve exquisite designs made by Burne-Jones for the story nearly thirty years before." That a prose version of "Cupid and Psyche" was indeed in Morris's mind is indicated by his daughter's note: "W.M. said he was going to write a prose C. & P. to go w. illustrations," but this does not say for which tale the borders were intended.

The last volume to come from the Kelmscott Press, A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press, 52
contained the only illustration for “Cupid and Psyche” to be published in the nineteenth century. The frontispiece is the picture of Zephyrus carrying Psyche over the cliff, and it is surrounded by one of Morris’s white vine and grape borders. Thus were joined the earliest and the latest endeavors of Morris in the book arts, and it is well to note that the latter were in the terms of the former. The strong forthright lines that would not come to terms with the typography of the 1860s did not look out of place when Morris provided both the type face and the typography in the 1890s. One might say that the times, and indeed Morris himself, caught up with the illustrations for the Book that Never Was. Yet when this last volume was published in March 1898, Morris had been dead for eighteen months.

The death of Morris did not put an end to hopes that at least some of the labors of his younger days might be realized. Robert Catterson-Smith, who had assisted Morris in his last days with designs for borders and initials, told the artist and designer Henry Holliday, according to a letter from Holliday to Cockrell, that shortly after Morris’s death “there was a project for publishing the Cupid and Psyche drawings, or woodcuts, or both, and the drawings for The Hill of Venus.” Whether it was for this project or for the one mentioned above, Burne-Jones did make three fresh designs for “The Hill of Venus” which Catterson-Smith inked in preparation for being cut on wood by W. H. Hooper, but there seems to be no record that they were engraved. 

In 1897, however, a few months after the death of Morris, an effort was made to publish “The Story of Cupid and Psyche.” Trial sheets were printed in January at the Kelmscott Press in Morris’s Troy type (his large gothic type face), and from the variety of the surviving pages one can see evidence of a real attempt to find a satisfactory way to place the poem on paper. Some were printed with an illustration; others with the text alone. From thirty-two to thirty-seven lines of verse were tried on sheets in the latter category. The illustrated pages show even

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So then was Psyche taken to the hill,
And through the town the streets were void and still;
For in their houses all the people stayed,
Of that most mournful music sore afraid.
But on the way a marvel did they see,
For passing by, where wrought of ivory,
There stood the Goddess of the flowery isle,
All folk could see the carven image smile.

But when anigh the hill’s bare top they came,
Where Psyche must be left to meet her shame,
They set the litter down and drew aside
The golden curtains from the wretched bride,
Who at their bidding rose and with them went
Afoot amidst her maids with head downbent,
Until they came unto the drear rock’s brow;
And there she stood apart, not weeping now,
But pale as privet blossom is in June.
There as the quivering flutes left off their tune,
In trembling arms the weeping, haggard King

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One of several trial pages pulled at the Kelmscott Press in 1897 after the death of Morris but before the death of Burne-Jones ended a second attempt to publish “The Story of Cupid and Psyche” with the original blocks. Here one of their wood engravings of the 1860s stands with the Troy type designed by Morris in 1891. Reproduced through the courtesy of the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow.
more variety. The picture placed above the text was that of
Psyche being led to the Hill. On some sheets the poetry was
set flush with the left side of the cut; on others the lines were
indented up to half an inch, and the number of the lines so set
varied from thirteen to nineteen. Since a line of verse set in
Troy type tends to run between four and five inches, there was
no question of placing two columns below a wood engraving
that was six inches wide, but the frieze effect was maintained. 82

On the 5th of February 1897, the trustees of the deceased
William Morris (Cockerell, Ellis and Mrs. Morris) agreed with
Messrs. Longmans that “Longmans shall publish at their own
expense and risk a new edition of W. Morris’s ‘Cupid and
Psyche’ illustrated by E. Burne-Jones. 500 copies.” 83 But once
the plans were not realized, and in spite of all that Morris
and Burne-Jones accomplished in their lives, the illustrated
“Story of Cupid and Psyche” remained part of the Book that
Never Was. Cockerell’s note gives the final word:

“It was arranged that the book should be printed after
the close of the Kelmscott Press at the Chiswick Press
but the death of Burne-Jones in June 1898 put an end to
the project.” 84

Though they were never published together, the blocks for
“Cupid and Psyche” and Love is Enough were printed privately
with no text, and were made up into sets some of which are
now in libraries and others are in private hands. In his note
accompanying Emery Walker’s set, George Wardle wrote:

“There were two sets of proofs made, one in 1887 or
thereabouts, of which I have a set. Another set was
‘pulled’ later not long before Morris’s death I think. In
the first set there were about half a dozen repeats. I know
nothing of the second. Campfield made the first set . . .”

Cockerell, however, recorded more than two sets. In a note
dated July 10, 1910, he mentioned “eight sets of proofs printed
under Emery Walker’s direction for Morris at Clifford’s Inn.
Two of these sets were incomplete and were made up in Dec.
1901 at Clifford’s Inn.” 85 Thus in the closing years of his life
Morris could view the one aspect of their project in which both
he and Burne-Jones took a hand; the one portion that was
realized. The provenance of some of these sets of proofs and
prints is clear but of others it is quite cloudy. The standard set
contains forty-four illustrations to “Cupid and Psyche” plus
two initial L’s and eight borders for Love is Enough, but not all
sets are complete.

Between the years 1910 and 1915 May Morris edited the
Collected Works of her father in twenty-four volumes. In
volume three she reproduced the cut of the three musicians that
had been part of the title page of the first edition of The
Earthly Paradise, 86 and in volume four, two of the illustrations
for “Cupid and Psyche”: Psyche at the entrance to Hades
(called Going into Hell, on Morris’s list) and Psyche in Charón’s
Boat (otherwise The Head Rising Up). 87 Some years later, May
issued two volumes about her father which included a number
of his previously uncollected lectures, essays and poems. In the
first volume she printed Syrinx and Psyche (or The Task of
the Gold Wooed Sheep—the Reeds). 88 These pictures, together
with Zephyrus and Psyche mentioned earlier, are the published
representatives of the great project; close to a tenth of those that
were engraved.

There is a somewhat unexpected, but gratifying, epilogue to
this story of the Book that Never Was, whose tribulations ap-
pear to have paralleled in some ways those endured by Psyche
but without her happy ending on Olympus. Ironically, though
so few of the wood engravings done for “Cupid and Psyche”
were published, over twenty of the drawings made for them by Burne-Jones were printed as illustrations to a poem not by Morris but by Robert Bridges. *Eros and Psyche*, first published in 1885, was printed in 1935 in a fine limited edition at the Gregynog Press in Newtown, Wales, under the supervision of Loyd Haberly who has kindly supplied the following account of the undertaking:

“Dr. Bridges was a friend of mine, whom I wished to honor after his death by bringing out what he had dreamed of, his Eros and Psyche with the B.J. illustrations. And Burne-Jones was Welsh enough to adorn a Gregynog book. The Misses Davies of Gregynog Hall approved of my plan to bring out the book in a type re-designed by Graily Hewitt and myself from that used by Neumeister for the first Paradiso. It was of the right weight and height to fit with the size and weight of the B.J. pictures—tracings in Oxford’s Ruskin Drawing School.

“I got the drawings most likely to come out well photographed on wood and then I and Miss Dorothy Haskley, a fine artist very close to Sir Sidney Cockerell, inked over the lines with fine brushes. I had the advice of Mr. Catterson Smith who had helped engrave the Kelm-scott Chaucer blocks. I personally engraved the title page picture and those on pages 3, 38, 45 and 112. I recall doing those. The others were engraved by a Mr. Beedham, one of the old-time wood-block engravers for publishers and commercial notices.”

Dr. Haberly selected twenty-four illustrations from the set of tracings now at the Ashmolean Museum. Since they are on transparent paper, and since he was not acquainted with the engraved versions, he was not always sure of the orientation intended by the artist. Thus on the title page Cupid comes from the left rather than from the right to find Psyche asleep. The poetry of Robert Bridges was printed in a single column four to five inches wide with generous margins on either side. The narrow (three inch) pictures were set below the text on the pages on which they occur, while those six inches wide were placed above the text. No page, however, bears more than one illustration, and many have none at all.

One is struck immediately by the difference between the two renditions of the same subject. The darkness and weight of the work done by Morris and his friends contrast strikingly with the lighter, more open, appearance of the engravings that adhere more closely to the drawings. One seems to see here the difference between the light touch of Burne-Jones’s pencil and the strong forthrightness of Morris employing the edged tool. Any tentativeness of the former’s implement disappears with the stroke of the latter’s graver. Here and there details differ as well. One instance occurs in the picture of Psyche and the Reeds. In the drawing it is evident that the sheep across the river are taking an interest in what Syrinx is telling Psyche, whereas in Morris’s engraving they are intent on their grazing.

Twenty of Dr. Haberly’s choices coincide with engravings made by Morris and his friends, but fortunately four do not, thereby adding to the printed representations of the story. These illustrations show Psyche Entering the Court of the Palace, Psyche Getting up in the Morning, and Psyche before Venus, as well as the picture of Psyche and Pan which, as we have seen, may have been cut by “the trade,” and therefore was not available to be included in the standard set of prints taken from the blocks. Thus the publication of the Gregynog Press *Eros and Psyche* reduces to three the number of subjects listed by Morris which have never been reproduced.

*Eros and Psyche* does not pretend to be the book planned by Morris and Burne-Jones, but by means of the Gregynog edition one can read the ancient story and see how they visualized it a century ago.
From Pencil to Graver: Contrasts between engravings done for the Gregynog Press *Eros and Psyche*, which follow closely the lines of Burne-Jones's pencil, and those made for *The Earthly Paradise*.

1. The task of the gold-wooled sheep—the reeds (Syrinx and Psyche).
2. From *Eros and Psyche*.
3. Engraved by Morris.
b. Psyche in the garden of the Palace.
1. From *Eros and Psyche*.
2. Engraved by Campfield.

c. First visit of the sisters to Psyche.
1. From *Eros and Psyche*.
2. Engraved by Morris.
After this essay was completed, the writer learned that at long last Burme-Jones's illustrations for "Cupid and Psyche," for which blocks exist, are to be published in England together with Morris's first version of the story. Mr. A. R. Dufty of the Society of Antiquaries of London will provide an introduction. This publication will enable a wider audience than heretofore to see how these two nineteenth century artists and medievalists visualized the classic tale; and at the same time it will testify to the remarkable longevity of the Book that Never Was.

Though he had no kind words for the Renaissance, William Morris has been called a Renaissance man chiefly because of his mastery of many fields of endeavor. In yet another way he may be likened to the men of the fifteenth century who found more meaning in the culture of classical antiquity than in the works of man during the intervening centuries. They discovered a living past existing beyond the dead past, and in bringing what they chose from its store houses to their own day they changed western civilization. Morris, in turn, hurdled their new birth; found life, color and stimulation in the centuries disregarded by the Humanists; and brought thence what he felt was sorely lacking in his own restless, eclectic time. He described his work as "the embodiment of dreams," and to Morris dreams meant action, not repose. As we watched his early attempt to embody a typographic dream, we have seen clearly that he was not trying to escape into the Middle Ages, but was hoping, rather, to confront his contemporaries with his version of a great tradition to which he gave allegiance; a tradition which they had forgotten and which they could not approach.

This, then, is the story of the first hundred years of the Book that Never Was, but which refused to vanish even when it was forced to yield its substance to the format it sought to displace. Other volumes that have been planned but not published have utterly disappeared. Few, indeed, of those that achieve publication are able to affect the appearance of another book seventy years later, or remain unforgotten for a century. So if we cannot salute the centennial of the completed structure of the "embodied dream," we can mark the anniversary of its remains which are sufficiently unusual, being the work of unusual men, to warrant this excursion in search of them.
APPENDIX I

Accounts by George Wardle of
Engraving the Blocks for "Cupid & Psyche"

(From "Memorials of William Morris, Christmas 1897"
British Museum Add. Mss. 45350)

Morris asked me soon after this to put on wood some drawings
Burne-Jones was then making for illustration of the Cupid and
Psyche. I was very glad to do so; and here began an experience
often repeated when I came to know more of the ways of the
firm. It was practically impossible to get the drawings properly
cut. Perhaps if Mr. Morris could have given the price which a
first-rate cutter would have charged for doing the work with his
own hand, they might have come out as they were drawn, but
in the ordinary course of the trade it was impossible: I think also
that same ‘course’ would have prevented the arrangement, had
there been no other difficulty.

Mr. Morris asked me then if I would try to cut these blocks.
This I did, and after a few experiments, he was well enough
pleased to give me one and then another; but after that I got
no more, and wondered for a while why? as I thought the
second was certainly better than the first. The reason was a
characteristic one. Mr. Morris became possessed by the idea of
cutting the blocks himself. If I could do it, why not he? and
he took them all in hand and carried them through, not without
some lively scenes in Queen Square. He cut with great ardour
and with much knowledge of the forms certainly, but the work
did not always go to his mind. It was necessarily slow and he
was constitutionally quick; there were then quarrels between
them.
These designs were by E. Burne-Jones for the "earthly Paradise," the greater number being for the Cupid and Psyche, the first poem taken up for illustration. They were all put on the blocks by me from B-J's rather rough drawings on tracing paper. Before the plan of so publishing was abandoned the blocks here printed had been cut. A few were given at first to "the trade" to be cut but the result was so unsatisfactory that Morris tried to get the cutting done by un-professional hands. G. F. Campfield then foreman of Painters to the Firm, and Miss Lucy Faulkner, sister of Charles Faulkner, each made a trial. I also was asked, and began by cutting the block of "Psyche passing by the Shrieking Tower." I then cut "The Despair of Psyche after the flight of Cupid," after this I cut no more. Morris himself seeing that wood-engraving of this kind did not require an apprenticeship, took up the work and he liked it so much that he cut all the remaining blocks. The greater number are therefore by him.

(With the set of prints at the Emery Walker House, 7 Hammersmith Terrace, London)

I began to put the drawings on wood about the time Morris & Company moved into Queen Square. I came up to see Jones about them and things were only just getting into shape in the premises at this time.

The intention was to publish the Earthly Paradise with these blocks. They are not all of them the Cupid and Psyche story. I transferred all of them to the wood from Jones's drawings on tracing paper and I cut two of them. Miss Faulkner (Mrs. Orrin Smith) did one or two. Campfield one other but when Morris thought them so easy "her could do that hersel" like the Welsh giant and he did the greater number. If you can find the date of the removal from Red Lion Square to Queen Square you will know when the series was begun; and you will know when the project of publishing was given up by the date of the first volume of the Paradise, something being allowed.

There were two sets of proofs made, one in 1887 or thereabout, of which I have a set. Another set was "pulled" later not long before Morris's death I think. In the first set there were about half a dozen repeats. I know nothing of the second. Campfield made the first set (pulled I think you call it).
APPENDIX II

Morris's Lists of Illustrations for "Cupid & Psyche"

1. British Museum Add. Mss. 45305

1 Venus & Psyche big
2 Oracle (big)
3 Marriage Procession (big)
4 Zephyr Carrying her off (small)
5 in the palace big
6 1st Visit of her Sisters small
7 3 visit of her Sisters small
8 Discovering Cupid small
9 Cupid going away small
10 Pan small
11 Ceres temple small
12 P. before Venus big
13 The Seeds small
14 The Sheep black water & speaking tower big
15 ass with load. Women weaving
16 Charon small
17 Proserpine giving her box small
18 P in swoon small
19 Cupid touching with arrow
20 P. among the Gods big

2. Yale University, Beinecke Library, Tinker Collection 1596
Early Manuscript of "Cupid & Psyche" annotated for illustrations.
3 verso Oracle big
10 " Marriage procession to the hill big
19 " Zephyr carrying Psyche small
23 " The Court of Palace will do with another small one
24 " 2 pictures of P looking about
25 " Psyche in palace eating, rubbing, looking into cupboard big
39 " first visit of sisters. Small
48 " last visit of sisters. Small
52 " discovering Cupid Small
54 " Cupid going Small
55 " Pan & P. Small
61 " Ceres temple Small
67 " Psyche terrified big
69 " The Seed & Sheep big
76 " Black water & speaking tower (big)
85 " Men & ass, women weaving. Small
86 " Charon small
90 " Proserpine giving the box small
92 " P. in swoon small
93 " Cupid rousing P small
98 " double of Psyche among the Gods

In the Morris papers at Kelmscott Manor there is a list identical with this one. To each entry, however, except to the first one, is added the line of the poem to which the illustration refers. The wording of these lines coincides with the text of the manuscript at the Beinecke Library, but agrees only partially with the published version.


1 Venus
2 Psyche
37 the gold-wooled sheep
38 The black water
39 The casket
40 The speaking tower
41 Going into Hell
42 Coming out into Hell
43 The weaving women, &c
44 Charon’s fee
45 The Head rising up
46 Cerberus
47 Proserpine giving the Casket
48 Psyche and the opened Casket
49 Cupid reviving Her
50 Entry among the Gods


1 Venus
2 Psyche
3 Oracle
4 Procession
5
6 Cupid sent
7 Cupid finding
8 Zephyr carrying
9 Court of Palace
10
11
12
13
14
15

16 Song
17 Song getting up
18 waiting for Cupid
19
20 Visit of sisters
21
22 Peeping
23 Going away
24 further away
25 river
26 Pan
27 1st sister
28 2d do
29 Sisters death
30
31 Juno and Ceres
32 to Venus
33
34 Seeds
35 reeds
36 black water
37
38 Casket
39 tower
40 going into Hell
41 coming
42 Fates
43 Charon
44 Cerberus
45 Proserpine
46
47
48
49

74

75
50 the box
51 the revival
52 Olympus

It may be seen at a glance that the first two lists of subjects resemble one another closely, indicating that No. 1 was made for the earlier version of “Cupid and Psyche.” Longer and more detailed, Lists 3 and 4 are quite similar to each other though the latter contains more numbers and briefer titles. Since List No. 3 gives the fullest information, its numbers and descriptions have been used to identify the illustrations.

Morris and his friends engraved at least forty-three of the subjects in List No. 3, plus one that occurs only in List No. 4. In List No. 3 Morris allotted one illustration apiece to each of the three tasks that Psyche was forced to perform for Venus, whereas in List No. 4 he gave two numbers each to “reeds” (the second task) and “black water” (the third task). Two designs were drawn and engraved for the second task: the first of them, sometimes called Syrinx and Psyche, has been mentioned above; the other which is no. 38 in List No. 4, would have to be numbered “37a” in List No. 3. It shows Psyche wading across the river with her skirt full of wool from the ferocious sheep. Only one block was cut for the third task.

Two problem cuts that do not appear in the set of forty-four are nos. 18 and 48. The former, Psyche and Pan, has been mentioned earlier as the block that may have been engraved professionally but unacceptably; the latter, Psyche lying by the open Casket, is known only by its proof also. Cockerell’s note on it (William Morris Gallery) says: “Evidently engraved by Morris. I have seen no other proof of this subject and the block is not known to exist.”

Writing about 1910 in the introduction to volume 3 (p. xxiii) of the Collected Works of her father, May Morris stated that “As the ‘Cupid and Psyche’ woodcuts are numbered, there were fifty-one blocks cut, but seven of them are missing.” This shows that she knew List No. 3 and, of course, the forty-four prints, but it is not conclusive evidence that all the blocks projected for “Cupid and Psyche” were in fact engraved.

Many interesting details arise from the study of the lists in relation to Morris’s two versions of the tale, and in relation to the original story by Apuleius as it had long been known in England through the Adlington translation of 1566. For example, the sequence in List No. 3, in which Venus orders Cupid to bother Psyche before the oracle sends Psyche to the hill, follows Adlington, whereas in both versions of Morris's poem he places the oracle and the procession to the hill before Cupid’s flight, as in List No. 4.

Sometime between the writing of his earlier and his later versions, Morris decided not to follow Adlington, as he had done at first, and bring Psyche to the gods of Olympus “into the Pallace of heaven,” but to have her meet them, rather, in “a vale beset with heavenly trees.” Though the outdoor version prevailed both in the published poem and in the last two pictures of the series, the preliminary sketches at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery show that Burne-Jones drew designs for both the interior and exterior versions (Birmingham 648, nos. 81–86). From Allingham’s reference to a woodcut of “Olympus” (List No. 4, nos. 52 and 53), it would seem that the decision for change had been made before August 1, 1866. Yet when Burne-Jones painted the frieze for the Earl of Carlisle, he chose to place the scene indoors.

List No. 1, no. 19, calls for an illustration of “Cupid touching [Psyche] with arrow.” According to Apuleius and Adlington, Cupid used an arrow to revive the swooning Psyche who should have known better, after all she’d undergone, than to disobey the warning and open the dangerous casket; but when Morris came to recount the incident he found that a whisper in the ear did as well as the arrow.
About the only time Psyche showed any shrewdness at all in the tale was when she went to tell her sisters that Cupid loved them, which led them to jump to their deaths. Morris included these visits to the sisters in his earlier version, called for them in both of the expanded lists, and both blocks were engraved (List No. 3, nos. 29 and 30). Yet in spite of all this exertion he would have had to abandon the blocks, since in the final version of the story in *The Earthly Paradise* he absolved Psyche from all complicity and had Cupid deceive the sisters through dreams. So it seems that Morris’s decision to keep Psyche simple, long suffering and Victorian came after the abandonment of the Book that Never Was.

The blocks for “The Story of Cupid and Psyche” are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery owns two blocks on which the picture was drawn in pencil but which were never engraved. No. 647’27 shows Psyche and the Speaking Tower—the design later cut by Wardle (see Appendix I). No. 646’27 is a drawing for Psyche before Venus (List No. 3, no. 35) which got no farther than this transitional stage in the 1860s, but which may be seen on page 131 of *Eros and Psyche*. Here also are the copper plate engraving and proofs which proved unsatisfactory for the first scene of “The Ring given to Venus” (1030’27 and 1031’27) incorrectly cataloged as The Heart Desires from “The Story of Pygmalion and the Image.”

At the William Morris Gallery a fully engraved block for Psyche rushing out of the Palace (List No. 3, no. 26) differing in a few details from the print, is attributed to Lucy Faulkner (see Note 19 and Appendix I).

The blocks for *Eros and Psyche* are the property of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Cockerell attributed the engraving of the blocks to the following persons. The numbers follow List No. 3 with the one exception noted.

Morris: 1-8, 14, 16-19, 22-24, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36-38, 41-44, 46, 49-51
Also List No. 4, no. 38 (“37a”)
Probably 45, 48
Campfield: 10, 11, 12, 13
Wardle: 26, 40
Elizabeth Burden: 25
Faulkner: 15
?: 29, 32
A discarded trial of 33 is marked “? Campfield.”

Not known to have been engraved in the 1860s: 9, 20, 21, 35, 39-47
Loyd Haberly chose for *Eros and Psyche*: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8-11, 15, 16, 20, 22-24, 28, 29, 33-38, 50, 51
Currently unengraved and unprinted: 21, 39, 47, also List No. 4, no. 40
NOTES

2. Goblin Market was published by Macmillan & Co. and printed by Bradbury and Evans.
6. Ibid. p. 139. “N. Jones” is Ned Jones before he added the Burne.
7. Ibid. p. 140.
8. According to the list of books in his personal library in 1876, Morris owned a copy printed in 1535 “in Venetia.”
10. Collected Works, v. 3, p. xxvi. Philip Webb, the architect who designed Red House and who contributed designs for furniture and other products to the Firm, was a lifelong friend of both men.
12. Ibid. v. 1, p. 439.
13. Collected Works, v. 24, pp. 90-170. One instance in which May Morris included the notes for illustrations with the text.
14. Ibid. v. 6, p. xx. In the list of books owned by Morris in 1876 there is an entry for “Stalitfera navis Basilie: 1497 Woodcut” (to transcribe it as he wrote it), but none for Le Roman de la Rose.

Among the many woodcuts which are integral parts of Sebastian Brant’s Ship of Fools, only two are set in anything resembling gardens. One illustrates the section entitled “Of folys that can not kepe secrete theyr owne counsell.” It shows Delilah cutting off the hair of Samson as he head lies in her lap which would seem to have taken place after the playing ceased. The other, illustrating “The oblection of lust blamin vertue,” shows a girl and two musicians (male) standing on the grass before a hedge of tall flowers. A door in the structure on the left gives on a bedroom from which the girl may have stepped, as she wears only shoes, a headdress, and a casually held scarf. The musicians, wearing contemporary costume, hold respe-
tively a harp and a lute. In this sense they may be playing. The first of these cuts is reproduced in Barclay's translation (Edinburgh, 1874), v. 1, p. 243; the second in v. 2, p. 289. Alexander Patterson (1874) describes the first in English, was originally published by Pynson in 1509.

The Romance of the Rose exists in many manuscripts and early printed editions well described by F. W. Bourdillon in The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose, London, Bibliographical Society, 1906. If Morris had medieval manuscript miniatures in mind, identification would be difficult. If he was thinking of an early printed book with woodcut illustrations which were used in quite a number of editions, the possibilities are comparatively few, to judge by those reproduced in volume 7 of Le Roman de la Rose, edited by Jules Croissandeau, Orleans, Herlitz, 1878-80. A half a dozen or so of these contain grass and trees, and there is the inevitable finale of the Lover and the Rose and the garden. One cut, no. viii, shows two men and two women holding hands in a line, stepping forward as if in a dance to the sound of a trumpet blown upper left. The grass they tread on is the only indication of a garden. The dance is the nearest thing to "play" in any of the cuts. See also in Bourdillon, facsimile plates III, IX, XXX, XXXIII for various early woodcut renditions of "La Carole" here numbered 13. Thirty years after Morris wrote these notes on his manuscript, Burne-Jones drew two illustrations of dancing in the Garden of Mirth for Chaucer's version of the poem which was included in the great Kelmscott Press volume of the latter's works (pp. 256-257), but in these pictures all the dancers are girls.

15. The subject lists in the notebook of Burne-Jones may be summarized as follows:

"The Man Born to be King" 8 subjects, 1 big, 7 little
"The Doom of Acrisius" 28 " 18 " 10 "
"Atalanta's Race" 8 "
"Pygmalion" 6 " plus indeterminate marginal figures
"Jason" 95 "

The list for "Jason" is incomplete as it stops in "Part XIII" whereas the published poem contains seventeen "Books." Ten are marked big and two little. A sketch for one of the big cuts is entitled "Jason claiming the throne—pointing to his foot." Morris's quick lines show the action quite clearly.

There seems to have been little correlation between the numbers given here and those associated with the same titles elsewhere. May Morris gives a list of thirteen subjects noted on the manuscript of "The Doom of King Acrisius" (May Morris, v. 1, pp. 439-40) of which she writes "My father's notes of the subjects for the Doom of King Acrisius are descriptive and lively" (Collected Works, v. 3, p. xxiii). Obviously they too more than doubled by the time they reached the notebook. She also mentions annotations on the manuscript for "Capid and Psyche" and "The Deeds of Jason" but gives neither the notes nor the numbers (loc. cit. and Collected Works, v. 6, p. xx).


17. Sketches and designs by Burne-Jones for The Earthly Paradise are located in the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, the Pierpoint Morgan Library, the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, and the Ashmolean Museum.


19. The William Morris Gallery owns a block (B193) cut by Lucy Faulkner which shows Psyche rushing out of the palace in pursuit of Cupid who is high in the air. It differs in several respects from the final version.


24a. This difference is clearly shown on page 28 of John Russell Taylor's The Art Nouveau Book in Britain, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1967, where Morris's cut of Syrinx and Psyche is contrasted with Dalziel's engraving of Burne-Jones's Sigurd from Good Words, 1862.

25. Mrs. Deirdre Stam of Chicago suggests that the thick outlines and two dimensional emphasis may be derived from his working at the same time with stained glass.

26. Mackail, v. 1, p. 196. May Morris says flatly that the etchings were not a success; Collected Works, v. 3, p. xxiii.
29. May Morris remembered that “The house seemed pervaded by small rolls of printed paper, which I know now to have been proofs of ‘Jason’ or ‘The Earthly Paradise’; I still vaguely remember wondering why those roles used sometimes to make the master of the house angry.” Collected Works. v. 3, p. xxii.
32. The Athenaeum, no. 2112, April 18, 1898, p. 562.
33. Ibid. no. 2113, April 25, 1898, p. 593. Also Collected Works. v. 3, pp. xxii-xxiii.
39. Ibid. v. 2, p. 24. The full page design was not engraved at this time but was cut later to illustrate the Kelmscott Press edition of Love is Enough in 1897 (see p. 28 above). Cockerell and others attribute to Burne-Jones the design of the border with putti. Morris engraved it as well as the seven that he designed himself.
41. In 1902 the New York firm of R. H. Russell published The Doom of King Acrisius from The Earthly Paradise as a separate volume with illustrations from the paintings of Burne-Jones. It was followed in 1903 by Pygmalion and the Image similarly illustrated. Fitzroy Carrington wrote introductions to both volumes.
42. Malcolm Bell, Sir Edward Burne-Jones; a Record and a Review, London, Bell, 1898.
   - Cupid finding Psyche 1865 watercolor, 26½ x 13½ p. 35
   - “ “ 1871–72 oil (3rd rendering) p. 47
   - Wedding of Psyche 1873–75 oil p. 52
   - Zephyr and Psyche 1865 watercolor p. 35
   - Pan and Psyche 1872–74 oil p. 51
   - Cupid aiding Psyche 1867 watercolor p. 38
   - Bell also describes the paintings inspired by the stories of “Pygmalion and the Image” and “The Doom of King Acrisius.” In Burne-Jones, London, Methuen, 1904, pp. 86 and 181, Fortunée de Lisle lists two versions of Pan and Psyche painted in oil between 1869 and 1874.
43. The Studio. v. 15, p. 4. Most of the frieze is illustrated in this article.
44. One exception is a painting of Psyche lying in the valley to which Zephyr took her, Studio. p. 7.
   - The Golden Legend, 1892. Two
   - The Order of Chivalry, 1893. One
   - The Wood beyond the World, 1894. One
   - Sir Percivale of Gales, 1895. One
   - The Life and Death of Jason, 1895. Two
   - The Well at the World’s End, 1896. Four
   - Sir Degrevan, 1897. One.
   - Sir Ysanebrace, 1897. One.
   - The Story of Sigurd the Volsung, 1898. Two.
   - Love is Enough, 1898. Two: one of which was the full page design drawn for the projected edition in the early 1870s.
   - A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press, 1898. One, i.e. Zephyr and Psyche.
47. S. C. Cockerell, “An Annotated List of All the Books Printed at the Kelmscott Press in the Order in which they were Issued,” published originally in A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press, Hanmersmith, Kelmscott Press, 1898, and reprinted as a supplement in H. H. Sparling’s The Kelmscott Press and William Morris, Master-Craftsman, London, Macmillan, 1924; see pp. 170 and 174 of the latter volume.
49. This border is in the possession of Dean Loyd Haberdly of Fairleigh Dickinson University.
50. Mackail, v. 2, pp. 343–44.
51. May Morris, MS note at Kelmscott Manor, in A. R. Dufy, Kelmscott, An Illustrated Guide, London, The Society of Antiquaries, 1939, p. 34. The whole quotation as given by Mr. Dufy reads: “W.M. said [of them] many times Oh they’re not so bad, but E.B.J. was sensitive abt. the drawing and his early work and wanted to tone up and have Hooper do it. W.M. threatened him—Look here, if you don’t do this the drawn blocks will certainly be printed when you and I are not here to see it. W.M. said he was going to write a prose G. & P. to go w. illustrations.”
51. The letter and the three original drawings as well as the photographs of them which Catterton-Smith prepared are in the William Morris Gallery: J845, D280, D281.

52. There are twelve trial pages at the William Morris Gallery. Seven of them are in a group marked K774; the rest are with a set of prints from the blocks for "Cupid and Psyche" and Love is Enough, K775, to which Cockerell added:

"These five trial pages were printed at the Kelmscott Press in January 1897, when there was a project for issuing Cupid and Psyche in Morris's version with some of the foregoing cuts and with new engravings of the less successful subjects to be done under Burne-Jones's direction."

Taken altogether, these trial pages show the following variations in the number of lines printed on them:

Without illustration: 32, 34, 37 lines
With illustration, lines flush left: 16, 19, 21
   "  " indented ¾ inch: 14
   "  " indented ½ inch: 13

53. William Morris Gallery.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., K775.

56. Collected Works. v. 1, p. x.

57. Ibid. v. 4, facing pp. ix and x. Five borders and two initials for the projected Love is Enough were printed in Collected Works. v. 9.

The illustration of Psyche in Charon's boat was issued separately with the note.

"This illustration, entitled 'Psyche in Charon's Boat,' was engraved on wood by William Morris from a design by Edward Burne-Jones and forms one of a series in illustration of the story of Cupid and Psyche in The Earthly Paradise. It is proposed to issue one or two of these designs, which have never been published, though one of them formed the frontispiece to the 'Note on the Kelmscott Press' by Mr. S. C. Cockerell.' (Beinecke Library, Tinker Collection, 1597)

Notes at the William Morris Gallery are vague on the origin of this item, considering it a prospectus for either the "1890 series or for May Morris's Collected Works." Mention of the last Kelmscott Press volume shows that it is no earlier than 1898. No other pictures of this series appear to have been issued in this format.
