

The first Morris Society: Chicago, 1903–1905

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The first Morris Society (1903–1905), part of an Arts and Crafts movement in the American Midwest, antedated its longer-lived spiritual heirs in England, Canada and the United States by more than a half-century. Two sets of its *Bulletin's* original print run of a thousand copies remain, but its efforts to promote crafts, foster cooperatives, found a 'Morris Movement', and to offer lectures in settlement houses and elsewhere have been almost entirely forgotten.¹

In the first *Bulletin*, a modest, neatly-printed, four page monthly newsletter which appeared during November 1903, its founders, among them Joseph Twyman (1842–1904) and Oliver Triggs (1865–1930), expressed these ambitious aims in more concrete terms: to encourage publication; organise an educational movement; maintain a museum, club-rooms and Morris library; and to encourage the founding of a larger network of workshops and schools of design, in keeping with the ideals of Chicago's Hull House and Northwestern University's Settlement House. This first issue listed seventy five charter members, and its successor in December forty nine more. Edmund J. James, former head of the University of Chicago's extension programme, and current president of the newly-founded Northwestern University (also located in Chicago), was the Society's first president, and its six vice-presidents included Ralph Radcliffe-Whitehead (recent founder of the Byrdclyffe Arts and Crafts Colony in Woodstock, New York State), William Ellis, co-founder of The Philosopher Press in Wausau, Wisconsin, and George MacLean, president of the University of Iowa, and an ardent defender of the creative arts as well as the experimental sciences.²

Triggs was the movement's secretary and its most active lecturer, and Joseph Twyman, a respected decorative artist and admirer of Morris, with whom he had become acquainted during a trip to England in 1883, its original *spiritus rector*. Other charter members included Gustav Stickley of the Craftsman Workshops, Richard Green Moulton, literary critic and University of Chicago Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation, and Charles Zueblin, a socialist, University of Chicago sociologist and founder of Northwestern University's Arts and Crafts

style Settlement House. Sydney Cockerell sent a letter from England welcoming the new venture. This was printed as a separate, uncatalogued supplement to the March 1904 *Bulletin*, but is no longer extant.³

In the January *Bulletin*, Wallace Rice, a poet, anthologist and future literary collaborator of the famous Clarence Darrow, indicated the Society's potential, and its underlying ideals:

William Morris was emphatically a workman, and no one since the Carpenter of Nazareth has done more to exalt the dignity of handicraft. ... It would seem on all these accounts as if the Morris Society, with members in all parts of the country, should be able to do something to bridge over the growing chasm between the classes and the masses by bringing the worker in literature and the finer arts into close contact with those whose concern is with the practical and essential arts, all working together for a common end. (pp. 3-4)⁴

The Society also organised a significant number of monthly lectures and what might now be called 'outreach' events—seventeen lectures on Morris's work and related topics were reported in the January issue, for example. Among the speakers listed were, as might be expected, Moulton, Twyman, Rice and Triggs, but also five women: Professor Cora McDonald from Colorado, Mrs Charles Zueblin, Mrs F.J. Hanchett, Mrs J.A. Wood, and Lillian M. Krinbill from Illinois. Dr Rachelle Yarros, an associate professor of obstetrics at the University of Chicago, who later became an author, settlement physician, and promoter of birth control, was an invited discussant in the Society's December meeting at the Art Institute. Twenty seven of the Society's one hundred and thirty nine original members were women who had joined independently, and thirty two more with their husbands. Mrs Martin Sherman of Milwaukee was the sole female among the original officers, but five women were members of its fifteen-member council. It also sought to foster ties with cooperatives, settlement houses, and Arts and Crafts ventures, among them the co-operative South Park Workshop Association and the Tobey Furniture Company (for whom Twyman had executed Morris & Co. designs), as well as sympathetic clergymen such as William J. McCaughan, pastor of Third Presbyterian Church, listed as scheduled to speak on William Morris on 15 January 1904.⁵

JOSEPH TWYMAN

The *Bulletin* for December 1903 reported that during its first months the Society had helped establish a reading group in Montana and two branch-organisations in Ohio. In February 1904 it described 'a strong Morris movement' in Denver, Cañon City and Greeley, Colorado, which 'ar[ose] mainly from the lectures of

Eliza G. Kleinsorge of the Colorado State Normal School'.⁶ Also during February, the *Bulletin* reported good wishes from the *Dial*, the *Artsman*, *Poet-Lore*, and the *Manual-Training Magazine*. The *Craftsman* meanwhile devoted a page and a half of its August 1903 issue to a description of the newly-formed Society's aims, as expressed by Joseph Twyman:

It seems to me that the day is nearer to the Morris Society period than that of the Shakespeare or the Browning; for William Morris wrote of Life and Work, of Beauty and Love, and lived all besides. We of today ... are looking, hoping, working for that Brotherhood which makes men considerate of their neighbor, all occupations pleasurable as well as useful, and each one willing to do his part toward making the world cleaner in spirit, more lovely and more just altogether. In this endeavor surely we can turn to no fellowship more profitably than to that of William Morris. (p. 394)⁷

A British-born poet, decorative craftsman, and advocate of Morris's ideals for 'the lesser arts', Twyman emigrated to Chicago shortly after 1870, and during later years became the chief designer for the Tobey Furniture Company, for whom he created a memorial Morris Room with textiles, wallpapers, and Burne-Jones windows.⁸ His death in June 1904 dealt the Society a near-mortal blow, for the *Bulletin* (July 1904, p. 2) noted that he had been 'its most efficient adviser and by far its most active recruiter'. Contributors to the memorial June issue explained why:

A friend has written ... of the charm of Mr. Twyman's character. His friends and neighbors felt this quality, this unsophistication of spirit, the charm of modesty, of candor, and of enthusiastic love of the things in which he was most interested. [Rev. Frederic Dewhurst]

He gave to tools a new beauty. He loved his tools as a naturalist loves flowers. Through his work the hands of a master craftsman become the most wonderful creation ... The influence of such men as William Morris and Joseph Twyman upon their times means an increasing eagerness of the people to possess the things that are beautiful and artistic ... [Chicago *Record-Herald*]

In his own crafts, in encouraging the planting of trees and shrubs in cities, in conversation, and on the lecture platform, his enthusiasm, and yet almost childlike gentleness, made him very forceful and persuasive. He fought the unending battle against ugliness and sordidness in any form. [Dr. Martin Schütze, Chicago *Evening Post*]⁹

Plans were announced after his death to preserve the Morris Room as Twyman had created it, and to publish a small volume of his poems later in the year, but a proposal to bring out a volume of his essays or designs was never realised.¹⁰

OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS

Oscar Triggs, who assumed the Society's presidency after Twyman's death, had earned a PhD from the University of Chicago in 1895 for a dissertation on John Lydgate's 'Assembly of Gods', but his chief interests lay in the social and the social-ist implications of the Arts and Crafts movement. An instructor in the Extension Division of the University of Chicago's English department from 1895 to 1903, he had been a founding member of the Industrial Arts League in 1899 and an editor of the works of Walt Whitman and other literary figures. Triggs had lived in England for three years before earning his doctorate, and had taken the occasion to make at least two visits to Merton Abbey, where on meeting Morris he had 'felt in the presence of a vital personality, who was in love with labor and all the life of the world'.¹¹

He was also the author of several books, among them *Browning and Whitman: A Study in Democracy* (1893); *The New Industrialism: Industrial Art* (1902), co-authored with Wilburn S. Jackson and Frank Lloyd Wright; *The Changing Order: A Study of Democracy* (1905); and *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (1902), published by the Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Arts League (Figure 1), from which the Illinois 'Daughters of the Revolution' (NB: *not* the 'Daughters of the American Revolution') extracted *William Morris*, a forty-six page pamphlet which appeared in 1905. During his *floruit*, Triggs seems to have been whirlwind of energy (Figure 2), and in the words of historian T.J. Jackson Lears, 'With his deep eyes, bushy moustache, and earnest manner, he became a familiar figure on public platforms throughout the Midwest'.¹²

Triggs's exposition of Morris's views and belief in their ability to transform art were forcefully expressed in *Chapters*, a synthesis of its subject which included essays on Carlyle and Ruskin, followed by an eighty-three-page study of Morris's life and ideals, interspersed with quotations from essays unavailable to most of his American contemporaries, and graced with a final tribute by Walter Crane. Triggs argued for the unity of Morris's political and artistic endeavours, animated by his conviction that 'an implicit socialism may be understood as always abiding at the heart of [Morris's] life', (p. 89) for 'without a definite socialism his craftsmanship would have been wanting its motive, and without material craft his art would have been attenuated to the merest symbolism of dream'. (p. 63)

Unfortunately, Triggs was also the victim of undesired publicity. In October 1900, the ultra-conservative *Chicago Tribune*, and other newspapers, began to harass Triggs (married to the sister of Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury), ostensibly after he had sardonically claimed that John D. Rockefeller (founding donor of the University of Chicago) was 'as great a genius as Shakespeare'. When in 1903 the *New York Sun* derided one of Triggs's lectures, he successfully sued the newspaper in a lower court, but the judgment went to appeal. Before the



Figure 1—Frontispiece of Oscar Lovell Triggs's *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, Chicago: Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League, 1902.

New York Court of Appeals, future Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis and his law partner Samuel Warren argued that 'the articles in question ... are clearly defamatory in character and are libelous *per se*', but the court was unmoved, even finding the attacks humorous, and Triggs was fired shortly after by the University of Chicago in February 1904 (Figure 3).¹³

The thirty-nine-year-old Triggs had therefore been deprived of his life work and his source of income, a blow which endangered the Society and its precarious resources. Even during better times, it had not been affluent: the May 1904 *Bulletin* reported that the Society had taken in \$523.00 during the preceding year, leaving a current balance after disbursements of \$80.59, with a worrisome \$355 of unpaid dues. In October the Society reported that membership for artists, craftsmen and teachers would henceforth be one dollar instead of five, and in February 1905 the *Bulletin* announced that at the next annual meeting the fee for full membership would be reduced for all. It was presumably obvious to everyone

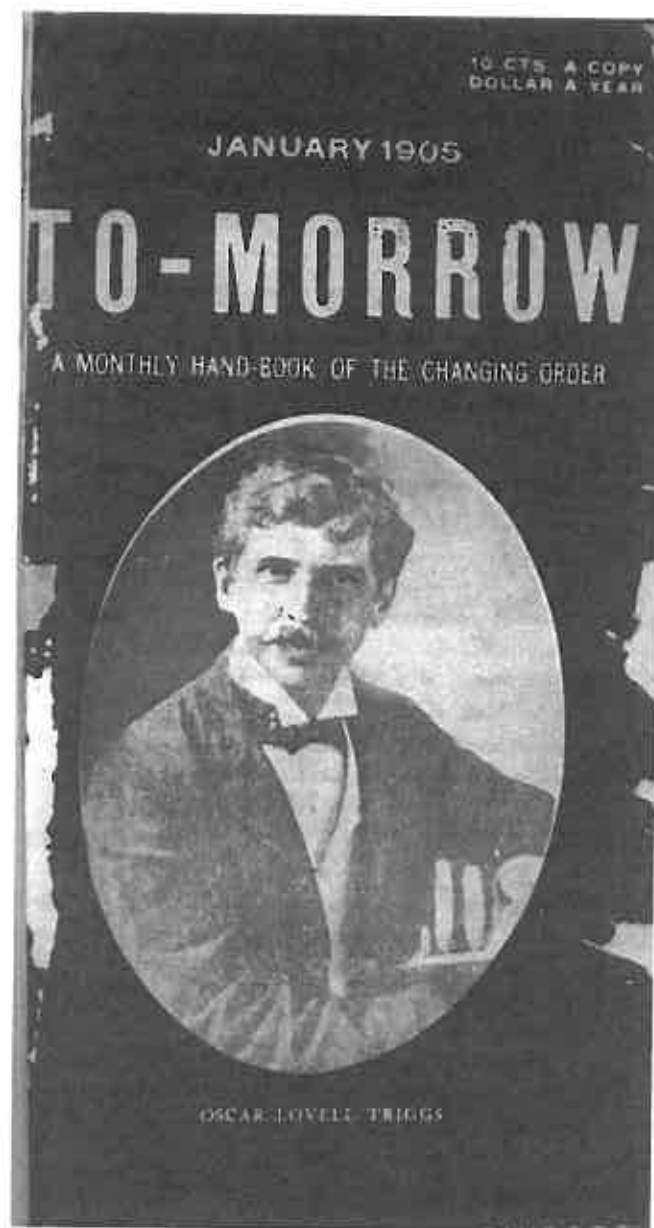


Figure 2—Front cover of *To-Morrow* January 1905 with photograph of Oscar Lovell Triggs.

DR. TRIGGS 'DISMISSED.'

Chicago Instructor Who Ranked Rockefeller with Shakespeare Leaveth.
Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Feb. 19.—Dr. Oscar Lovell Triggs, instructor in English at the University of Chicago, has been dismissed from the Faculty. In some quarters of the university community the action of the Trustees is regarded as a direct refutation of Dr. Harper's recent statement that any professor was at liberty to express any opinion he saw fit concerning Mr. Rockefeller or any other subject without fear of dismissal.

The statement of Prof. Triggs that brought him most conspicuously before the public was his ranking Rockefeller and Pullman with Shakespeare. In an explanation called forth by an outburst of criticism he said:

"The test of genius is quality of mind, not composition of materials. This age is primarily industrial, and the genius of today turns its attention to industrialism just as the genius of Shakespeare turned to the poetic drama."

Figure 3—Report from *New York Times* (Chicago, 19 February 1904) recording the dismissal of Oscar Lovell Triggs from the University of Chicago.

that a single dollar would not support an independent *Bulletin* and the Society's educational aims.

In the event, no annual meeting took place, and the last *Bulletin* in February 1905 (p. 1) reported that henceforth the Society would use *To-Morrow* (then edited by Triggs) 'as a medium of publication'. But the only such notice seems to have been an April 1905 announcement of an exhibition of Joseph Twyman's work arranged by the Chicago Architectural Society at the Chicago Art Institute. By April, the editorship of *To-Morrow* had been assumed by Parker H. Sercombe

(1866–1935), a former banker in Mexico, who had briefly shared Triggs's plans for a co-operative 'industrial college'.¹⁴ The May issue announced that

Dr. Oscar L. Triggs [has] resigned his connection with the *To-Morrow Magazine* to take up new work in another field. In this number Parker H. Sercombe gives editorially an outline of his message to humanity. (p. 48)

With Triggs's departure, 'The Strange Case of Triggs', an article announced as 'forthcoming', in which the latter proposed to discuss 'the double personality wrought by the imps of publicity', failed to appear, and during ensuing months, *To-Morrow's* references to Triggs became less favourable. The August 1905 issue reprinted a somewhat condescending account of his lawsuit which included a sarcastically worded attack on Triggs as a plaintiff. A dismissive notice in December of his *The Changing Order: A Study in Democracy* reproved him severely for his alleged advocacy of 'race suicide' (birth control).¹⁵

As for Sercombe's forays into 'reform' in the new-model *To-Morrow*, these consisted largely of self-promotion, advertisements for his own printers' cooperative, and a general call for industrial education. Little or no mention of Morris, the Arts and Crafts, or socialism appeared in its pages, and its title morphed from *To-Morrow: A Magazine of the Changing Order* to *To-Morrow: A Magazine for Progressive People*, *To-Morrow: A Magazine for People Who Think*, and finally, *To-Morrow: A Rational Monthly Magazine*, before it disappeared entirely in 1909.¹⁶

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The founders of the 'Morris Movement' which flourished briefly in farthest America only seven years after Morris's death sought to emulate his efforts to foster art, labour, and education in an egalitarian society. This first Morris Society achieved its immediate goals in sponsoring lectures, distributing educational materials, and encouraging its members and affiliates to study relevant writings by Morris and kindred authors. Its desire for an edition of all of Morris's writings was fulfilled a decade later by publication of the *Collected Works* of 1910–1915. Like other short-lived cognate undertakings of the period, such as the Bohemia Guild, the Industrial Arts League, and Stickley's Craftsman Farms, the first Morris Society provided a meeting place for reform-minded art lovers, craftspeople of different occupations, and others attracted to ideals of fellowship and social justice.

When the William Morris Society as we know it today was initiated, in London in 1955, the U.S. in 1971, and Canada in 1981, it most unlikely that its founders gave much thought to any predecessors. Yet the 'Morris Movement' formed directly after his death had interpreted his ideals deeply, as efforts to intertwine

art, labour, and education in an egalitarian society. No colonial outlier but an autonomous band of artists and reformists, its legacy remained in the progressive ideals of a Midwestern Arts and Crafts tradition in the succeeding generation.¹⁷

NOTES

1. The nineteenth century *fin de siècle* saw the rise of an Arts and Crafts movement in the United States. The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was founded in 1897 by Frank Lloyd Wright, the Industrial Arts League of Chicago in 1899 by Oscar Lovell Triggs and others. Cognate organisations included The Crafters (1901–1906), the Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League (1902–1904), the Chicago Ceramic Association (1892–1915), and the Craftsman's Guild (1900–1910). For an intellectual history of the movement, see Bruce Kahler, 'Art and Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Chicago, 1897–1910', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, 1986 (afterwards Kahler). The Morris Society is discussed on pp. 90–95. Print runs of the *Bulletin* may be found in the Newberry Library and the University of Chicago. Extant issues of *To-Morrow* (see below) are held at the Newberry Library, the University of Chicago Library, and the Chicago Public Library.
2. Its address was listed on its masthead from February 1904 onwards as issued at 5634 Madison Avenue, Chicago. At the time, this was Oscar Triggs's residence. George McLean (1850–1938), served as president of the State University of Iowa from 1899–1911.
3. Among Richard Green Moulton's books were *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1893), *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1895), and *World Literature and Its Place in General Culture* (1911). Zueblin was the author of *American Municipal Progress* (1902), *A Decade of Civic Development* (1905), and *The Religion of the Democrat* (1908). The Northwestern University Settlement was founded in 1891 in order to help the poor of Chicago's West Side; the present Arts and Crafts style building at 1400 West Augusta Boulevard, designed in 1901 by the architects Pond and Pond, has been designated a Chicago Landmark. An article by Zueblin's wife Rho Fisk Zueblin, which describes the couple's visit to Merton Abbey as her 'most hopeful and inspiring day in England', is discussed in Kahler, pp. 83–86; see also pp. 234–281.
4. Wallace Rice's remarks are most probably taken from his 18 December 1904 address on 'The Social Aspect of the Morris Movement', *Bulletin of the Morris Society* 1, 2 December 1903, p. 1.
5. Cora Martin McDonald had been a history instructor and head of the Academic Department at the State University of Wyoming; an essay by her

appears in *The Congress of Women*, 1893. Mrs Charles Zueblin (Rho Fisk Zueblin; see Note 3) was active in the University of Chicago Service League, comprised of women supporters of the Mary McDowell Settlement House. Lillian M. Krinbill was a primary school teacher in Princeton, Illinois, and Rachelle Yarros a physician, advocate of sex education and birth control, later worker at Hull House, and author of *Modern Women and Sex* (1933) and *Sex Problems and Modern Society* (1935). Her husband Victor, an anarchist, was the law partner of the famous jurist Clarence Darrow, who later defended Oscar Triggs in his 1907 divorce case; *Bulletin*, November 1903, pp. 3–4, December 1903, pp. 3–4. Women members of the Council were Mrs H.M. Wilmarth, Mrs W. Franklin Coleman, Mrs A.D. Bevan, Mrs Emmons Blaine, and Mrs. W.D. MacClintock. Of eight committees, two were chaired by women: Membership by Mrs W. Franklin Coleman, and Library by Mrs. H.M. Wilmarth ... Mrs Wilmarth is listed as a 1907 vice-president of the Chicago Twentieth Century Club. Mrs Emmons Blaine (Anita McCormick Blaine) was a daughter of Cyrus McCormick and donor to the University of Chicago, which named the Emmons Simmons Hall after her deceased husband. Mrs MacClintock is reported as giving a lecture at the University of Chicago Women's Union in 1907; *Bulletin*, January 1904, p. 3. McCaughan was pastor of Third Presbyterian Church from 1898 to 1907. In a sermon commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Knox, he is recorded as commending Knox as a pioneer in proposing a system of general education, and for suggesting that church wealth should be divided into three categories: 'one third to be used to maintain the ministry, the second to care for the poor, and the third to educate the people'; Philo Adams Otis, *The First Presbyterian Church, 1833–1913: A History of the Oldest Organization in Chicago*, Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1913, p. 140.

6. The May 1904 *Bulletin* reported one hundred and seventy-five members, and noted its publications: five thousand leaflets, one thousand copies each of an article by William Ellis and letter from Sydney Cockerell, five hundred copies of a 'Program on the Life of William Morris' by Dr. Martin Schütze, and two hundred copies of 'A List of Books on Industrial Art', co-published with the Crerar Library (then independent; now a scientific and technological library operated by the University of Chicago).
7. The editor of the *Craftsman*, George Wharton James, in turn lectured to the Morris Society in December 1904 (Figure 4). The *Bulletin* (December 1904, p. 2) reported that 'Mr. James has caught the vital spark of enthusiasm for art and humanity that made Morris great'.
8. Dr Martin Schütze described the Morris Room in the June 1904 *Bulletin*: 'The chandeliers, curtain clasps, endirons, all in copper, and the carved mantel were designed by Joseph Twyman; the panels in the cupboard and

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No. 2

LECTURE BY DR. O. L. TRIGGS

The lecture upon "William Morris and His Art," announced in the November *Bulletin*, was duly delivered on December 3 by Dr. O. L. Triggs to a thoroughly interested audience. The slides proved to be excellent, and, if only their interpreters be as well informed in the letter and as congenial with the spirit of the great Morris as Dr. Triggs showed himself to be on this occasion, future exhibitions of them will grandly promote the movement for which the Morris Society stands. The slides are at the disposal of any member of the Morris Society for one week at a charge of five cents per slide.

LECTURE BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

On December 15 the Morris Society was so fortunate as to secure another lecture upon Morris, this time from Mr. George W. James, so widely and favorably known as editor of *The Craftsman*. The lecturer devoted himself expressly to the personal aspect of the great poet, craftsman, and reformer; and thus showed in most interesting fashion the entire mental soil out of which the superlative traits of Morris could grow. The lecture will appear in full in the *Bulletin*.

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Figure 4—Morris Society Bulletin, December 1904. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

over the mantel, painted by Miss Louise Twyman, his daughter, were under his direction. The hangings and wall paper are original Morris materials'. (p. 4) Joseph Twyman was the designer of Villa Louis, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, now a National Historic Landmark. For another description of the Morris Room, and Twyman's role in promoting Morris's ideals, see Kähler, pp. 73–75, 268–74. Twyman found Morris's art 'like a flash of lightning appearing in a heavy-laden, troubled sky; a flash so bright ... as to illumine

- the earth from then to now, and still on into an immeasurable distance of futurity'. (Kahler, p. 74)
9. From the funeral sermon by the Reverend Frederic E. Dewhurst, pastor of the University Congregational Church of Chicago, *Morris Society Bulletin*, June 1904, pp. 2–3. Other tributes were reprinted from the *Chicago Record-Herald* and the *Chicago Evening Post*, pp. 3–5.
 10. His *Poems* seems to have appeared in 1904. See J. T. White, 1906, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. 13, p. 199.
 11. It was doubtless Triggs who, after Twyman's death, decided to incorporate the *Morris Society Bulletin* into *To-Morrow: A Monthly Hand-Book of the Changing Order*, of which he was then the editor. He disappeared from cultural history shortly thereafter, for reasons set out here and in the sequel to this article (Helsing, this volume pp. 49–50). Triggs's PhD was published by the University of Chicago Press, 1895; Triggs, *The Changing Order: A Study in Democracy*, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1906, pp. 127–28, as cited in Kahler, p. 83. For a discussion of Triggs's writings, see Kahler, pp. 76–83, 177–231. The son of a Methodist minister and his wife, Triggs was born on 2 October 1865 in Greenwood, Illinois. He spent several years on a farm in southern Minnesota, and earned a B.A. and an M.A. at the University of Minnesota before attending the University of Chicago.
 12. *Browning and Whitman: A Study in Democracy* was issued by the radical London publisher Swan Sonnenschein in 1893, *The New Industrialism: Industrial Art* in Chicago by the National League of Industrial Art, and *The Changing Order: A Study of Democracy* by C. H. Kerr, a Chicago publisher of labour-movement and socialist titles. The essay extracted from *Chapters* was also published in 1905 by the 'Oscar L. Triggs Publishing Co.' at 358 Dearborn Street, then Triggs's address. For the description of Triggs, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 67.
 13. *New York Times*, 20 October 1900. Another *Times* article, 'Prof. Triggs on Literature' (Chicago, July 17), found it newsworthy that Triggs had told a literature class that many hymns were 'doggerel' (For discussion of this incident, see Kahler, pp. 181–84). In the absence of evidence it is difficult to state the precise grounds for Triggs's dismissal. In *Worshipping Walt: The Whitman Disciples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, p. 279) Michael Robertson has claimed, achronologically, that Triggs was dismissed for including Whitman in his lectures during the 1890s. In 1905, *To-Morrow* cited an article noting that the publicity surrounding his court case was the cause of his dismissal (and the dates would seem to support this), but other newspaper articles claim that the publicity surrounding his Shakespeare/Rockefeller comparison (part of a critique of literary lionisation of past

authors) had been the motive.

Four years later, in 1907, after Triggs's divorce (see below), *The San Francisco Call* of 11 April 1908 ran an article entitled 'Triggs of Free Love Fame is Again Married' which reported that 'unconventional ideas relative to the subject of love of woman had brought about his exile', and caused him to be 'branded as an iconoclast'. In reporting his firing, the *New York Times* noted with amusement that the university's action contravened the claim of its president William Rainer Harper that 'any professor was at liberty to express any opinion he saw fit concerning Mr. Rockefeller or any other subject without fear of dismissal' (20 February 1905). As is made clear in Walter Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the University*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, Chapter 4, 'Academic Freedom and Big Business', Harper's claim was at least disingenuous. Whatever or whoever brought about Triggs's dismissal, a *Tribune* article of May 1906 quoted Triggs's wistful remark that he had been 'almost ruined for life by newspaper notoriety [much of it generated by the *Tribune* itself] ... I am not a sensationalist. I just want to live my life quietly and to do my duty and what good I can, but they won't let me'.

A contemporary analysis of the motives for these attacks appears in Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check: A Study of American Socialism* (n. p., 1919). After noting that (on the basis of no evidence whatsoever) Triggs had been charged with promiscuity and even cruelty to his wife, Sinclair comments, 'No radical in America can be divorced without being gutted, skinned alive, and placed in the red-hot gridiron of Capitalist Journalism' (pp. 334–35). Sinclair had also interviewed Triggs, who remarked that 'no one could stand up against this kind of attack and retain a position in a conventional university ... It is a poor way to treat human material, but so be it'. (*Idem*).

For an account of the appeal, see Floyd Abrams, *Friend of the Court: On the Front Lines with the First Amendment*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2013, pp. 237–38. Triggs's was one of several notable apparently politically-motivated dismissals from the University of Chicago and other institutions during this period, prompting the founding of the American Association of University Professors.

14. The April issue included an essay by Triggs about William Morris's Oxford days, almost certainly designed as the first part of a series. It did not end with the statement that it was to be continued, however, and no further segments appeared. Sercombe appears in several accounts of banking, Mexico, and of patent disputes; see William Greenleaf, *Monopoly on Wheels: Henry Ford and the Seldon Automobile Patent*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011, p. 123, and John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolutions: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp.

- 102–104. The ‘industrial college’ was to be located on Sercombe’s premises on Calumet Avenue.
15. ‘The suit for damages which Mr. Triggs (formerly editor of *To-Morrow Magazine*), brought against a New York paper on the ground that its factious criticism of him had been the occasion of his loss of a professorship at the Chicago University [as we have seen, this was likely not the case, but the reverse], has been accorded Mr. Triggs with six cents damages—and nothing more saturnine could have been devised. The scornful laughed deep in their throats; perhaps some members of the English Department with which the professor was once associated laughed too—they who had never been ridiculed, and know not the torment of it! ... And now, in a current periodical, occurs a characterization, more clever and more cruel than anything that has yet been written about the little man. “A Triggs”, says the writer, “if we may attempt a definition, is a man who aspires to an egregiousness far beyond the limits of his nature. He is a fugitive from the commonplace, but without means of effecting his escape”. (From *Reader Magazine*, ‘What They Say’, p. 50); ‘Nemesis got hot after Triggs when she ran him up against Sercombe Himself—calamity? I think so. But she biffed him below the belt when she allowed him to go into court because a penny-a-liner intimated that he was a geezer. Nobody can make you ridiculous but yourself. And the man who goes to law to get revenge is as big a fool as one who goes to law for money’. (‘The Informal Brotherhood’, p. 51)
16. After his dismissal, according to the *Tribune* (25 May 1906, p. 5) Triggs briefly wrote copy for a ‘Wabash Avenue furniture company’ (the Tobey Furniture Company at the corner of Wabash and Clinton Streets). On 11 April 1908 the *San Francisco Call*, which announced his marriage in 1908 to Ada Beall Cox (1869–1946), a former student in one of his courses who had obtained a postgraduate degree in social work at the University of Chicago, described Triggs as having settled in California, where he ‘is writing and farming’, and quoted his mother-in-law’s report that after his dismissal Triggs had ‘engaged in settlement work’ in Philadelphia and New York, and worked briefly for a newspaper in Canton, Ohio before moving to California. An article in the *Spokesman Review* (14 April 1908) noted that Triggs was the son of a Methodist pastor in Watsonville, California, and was ‘working out his farm ideas’ and writing in nearby Turlock, California.
17. Janette Knowles, ‘The Arts and Crafts Movement’, in *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, Andrew L. Cayton, Richard Sisson, & Chris Zacher, eds, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006, pp. 556–557.

‘A Vestibule of Song’: Morris and Burne-Jones in Chicago

Elizabeth Helsinger

Two narrow windows, either side of the doorway from street to vestibule, guard the main sanctuary of the Arts and Crafts interior of the Second Presbyterian Church of Chicago.¹ Morris & Co. stained glass is rare in the United States beyond the East Coast, but these windows are lovely examples of designs used multiple times by ‘the Firm’ in other commissions, primarily in Anglican churches in England. Burne-Jones’s slender, haunting female figures represent two virgin saints of early Christian Rome and Antioch martyred for their faith; Saints Cecilia and Margaret. Cecilia is dressed in deep blues; her body, forming the S-curve of medieval paintings, and shown in three-quarter view, stands against a background design of realistically-rendered, deep-green lemon-tree leaves with their fruit; blue-green grass grows under her feet. Margaret, robed in shades of deep red, and holding a green palm of martyrdom by her right side, strides toward the viewer. She is shown against a visually very different background of stylised foliage painted on diamond-shaped lozenges of clear glass. Each saint is accompanied by her identifying attribute. Cecilia, long invoked as a patron of music, carries a small portable organ. Beneath Margaret’s feet lies a magnificently-coiling dragon, reminding viewers that she has been miraculously disgorged from its satanic jaws; she was often invoked as protector by women in childbirth. Irregularly-shaped panes of richly coloured glass, in some places overpainted with delicate patterned detail, have been fitted together in order to construct both windows.²

What are these windows doing in a nineteenth-century Presbyterian church in the American Midwest? Why these particular saints? Indeed, why are Anglo-Catholic saints there at all? In what follows I wish to tease from the history of these windows a less familiar story about music as it unites Morris, Burne-Jones, and a church in Chicago. Morris & Co.’s prestige in visual design, together with accidents of circumstance which made these windows available, certainly played a large role in their transatlantic journey. Yet as I hope to show, it is particularly appropriate that Saints Cecilia and Margaret should stand in the vestibule of this