‘You must make it the fashion:’ selling utopia in Roycroft and Arden, 1895-1915

by

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ABSTRACT

The arts and crafts movement, a design style and reform movement in the late nineteenth century, formed as a reaction to the socio-economic inequities of industrialized labor in Britain before appearing in America at the turn of the century. The arts and crafts embraced simplicity and solid craftsmanship, however, the American marketplace forced the movement into a paradox when consumers demanded cheap, widely available goods. Wrapped in the ideology developed by John Ruskin and William Morris, arts and crafts goods present a unique opportunity to study the paradox between consumer dreams and realities. In the United States, Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens formed the arts and crafts utopian colonies of Roycroft, in East Aurora, New York, and Arden, Delaware, respectively. A comparative study of these communities is merited because the former focused on commercial endeavors while the latter preferred to follow political and educational pursuits over the production of goods. Furthermore, the managerial styles of Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens determined each community’s subsequent relationship with middle-class consumers as they took their goods to market. Roycroft and Arden both used the discourse of the arts and crafts movement to financially support their goals; at the same time, they contributed to the discourse by modifying its language to meet consumer desires, and expanded it to include a greater body of adherents who used, accepted, or assimilated the movement as they so chose. The framework developed by Roycroft and Arden familiarized the public with the design style, while putting tools into place that would allow consumers to attempt a lifestyle of authenticity if they so wished it. The arts and crafts movement, as presented by the colonies, allowed consumers to embrace or discard the ideological tenets, and therefore claim or reject the sense of authenticity that perceivably accompanied the goods.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

People say to me often enough: If you want to make your art succeed and flourish, you must make it the fashion: a phrase which I confess annoys me; for they mean by it that I should spend one day over my work to two days in trying to convince rich, and supposed influential people, that they care very much for what they really do not care in the least, so that it may happen according to the proverb: Bell-wether took the leap, and we all went over. Well, such advisers are right if they are content with the thing lasting but a little while; say till you can make a little money ... otherwise they are wrong: the people they are thinking of have too many strings to their bow, and can turn their backs too easily on a thing that fails ... it is not their fault, they cannot help it, but they have no chance of spending time enough over the arts to know anything practical of them, and they must of necessity be in the hands of those who spend their time in pushing fashion this way and that for their own advantage.

- William Morris

Architect Elmer Grey wrote, in his 1907 article in *The Architectural Record*, “The term ‘arts and crafts' is one of somewhat indefinite meaning.” Although the arts and crafts movement had been present in the United States for more than a decade, its enigmatic nature was no clearer for Grey than it would be for historians a century later. Scholars writing on the arts and crafts movement in the United States disagree about the definition of the movement, its causes, its ideologies, its applications in American society, and its outcomes. Neither solely a school of design nor an ideological shift, the arts and crafts movement reflected the ambiguous, and often contradictory, nature of turn-of-the-century American ideology.

The arts and crafts movement developed as a reaction to the poor social conditions of the new industrialized working class in Great Britain. Living in slums that sprang up around factories, “the unlucky worker may sink into the deepest poverty, actually culminating in homelessness and death from starvation,” wrote Friedrich Engels. The working class lived in houses “blackened by soot” along

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streets filled with “ankle-deep” piles of “refuse, garbage and filth.” Working long,
dangerous days at the factory proved no better than those spent at home: employers sought high profits at the expense of their employees, who were seen as dispensable. Engels argued that the insecurity of industrial labor was “even more demoralising than poverty.” Factory work prevented the working class from seeking their own paths of employment. “Man knows no greater happiness,” stated Engels, “than that which is derived from productive work voluntarily undertaken. On the other hand, man knows no more degrading or unbearable misery than forced labour.” Just as Engels saw Communism as an answer to the problems of the working class, others stepped forth to offer their own solutions.

As early as the 1840s, English architect A.W.N. Pugin expressed concerns over the industrialized world’s separation of “art and labor,” as well as designer from craftsman. John Ruskin, followed by William Morris a decade later, saw the same separation; both offered their own solutions to repair the rent between man and his labor. Ruskin, the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, hoped to change public perceptions through his architectural theories, while Morris, a well-respected interior designer, sought practical solutions to reform society through the decorative arts. The arts and crafts movement formed organically around their ideas on how to address the problems of industrial society. Followers, such as designer C.R. Ashbee, applied the ideas of Ruskin and Morris by establishing utopian communities, while others admired the movement for its aesthetics, or used it as a framework for reform.

In the United States, the concomitant socio-economic conditions of industrialization developed fully by the 1870s, just as the arts and crafts reached fully maturity in England, and reformers in America eagerly grasped the movement as one option for attempting to remedy the society shifting under their feet. Industrialization made a profound impact on Americans’ perceptions of work

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5 Ibid., 131.
6 Ibid., 133.
and their emotional and economic links to it. Cities burgeoned with new arrivals, most of whom became factory laborers. Rural families watched as their children left the farm to seek economic and cultural opportunities unavailable to them in the country. Slavs and Italians streamed from Europe en masse, pouring into large urban centers where they nestled their communities amongst established Irish, German, and African-American neighborhoods. Many of the city's newest arrivals found jobs in factories where they worked long, grueling hours before heading home to their tenement slum apartments. The work environment changed for the middle class as well. Growing businesses required more bureaucracy, leading to what journalist Barbara Ehrenreich termed as the “professional-managerial class:” a group of “salaried mental workers” who contributed to the “reproduction of capitalist culture,” including those in newly formed fields, such as advertising. These new middle-class Americans moved out of the cities into nascent suburban areas, just outside the teeming cities.

Extra-occupational life changed during the period as well. An increase in manufacturing technology made a wider variety of goods available at lower prices. Choice, accessibility, and cost spurred a consumer revolution; with the support of the new mass media, products found their way into urban homes through department stores, and into rural homes through catalogues. New technologies, such as electric lights and the telephone, made life more comfortable and improved communication; new entertainments competed to fill the void. Never before had Americans - new and established - lived amongst so many people so unlike themselves or had so many available choices. Overwhelmed by variety and increasingly cut off from nature, late nineteenth-century seemed, to many Americans, increasingly unstable.

The growing ethnic diversity in East and West Coast cities required citizens to rethink what it meant to be an American, and the United States

struggled to establish a clear national identity, patched together from its own history and its Western European heritage. As Britain and France colonized the globe, the United States attempted to showcase its importance on the world stage. However, the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition, meant to celebrate the achievements of the United States, only exacerbated Americans’ feelings of inferiority to continental Europe, in the beauty and usefulness of its decorative arts. As Americans struggled to understand the shifting political, economic, and social makeup of their country, they sought new answers to long-held beliefs and the arts and crafts movement filled that void for many in the new middle class.

The British arts and crafts movement rested on two ideals: first, it was a style with simple motifs and steadfast design of architecture and the decorative arts, inspired by nature, and second, the belief that, through a practical application of the first ideal, man would be reunited with joyful labor. Both principles appealed to Americans who believed the former could cure Victorian buying habits that encouraged people to accrue to excess as a remedy to unhindered consumption, while the latter might offer a solution to the burgeoning social woes brought on by industrialization. However, in the capitalist marketplace of America, the paradox of the two ideals - that a piece created by an artisan in his or her atelier cost significantly more than a similar, but machine-produced, item - became immediately problematic. How could the arts and crafts movement be successful in a country where the consumer sought a particular look, but at the lowest available price?

In the American capitalist marketplace, William Morris’s model could simply not compete if the movement wished to remain relevant. Inevitably, leaders of the American movement made compromises. While proponents remained adamantly against industrialization, with its large-scale factories and dehumanizing work conditions, most accepted the use of machines for a portion of the production process, thus allowing the ateliers and studios of individual

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artisans to remain competitive on the market.\textsuperscript{13} Paradoxically, by creating arts and crafts objects and designing arts and craft homes, ideologues - some more than intentionally than others - made the movement available for commercialization by merchants and advertisers in the consumer marketplace.\textsuperscript{14}

Combining the British movement with homegrown philosophical movements, such as transcendentalism, the American arts and crafts movement diverged into multiple approaches, depending upon which aspects of the movement appealed to the group or the individual. Upper-class Bostonians found the movement aesthetically appealing, and decorated their homes with its ceramics and embroidery, which they admired as \textit{objets d'art}. Additionally, they believed its theories for social reform could be applied toward providing jobs for the working class. For middle-class Americans, who felt cut off from 'real life,' the arts and crafts movement seemed like the perfect way to re-establish a connection to nature, or as historian T.J. Jackson Lears argued, to “reintegrate selfhood by resurrecting the authentic experience of manual labor.”\textsuperscript{15} They formed schools and utopian colonies that became destinations for proponents of women's rights and radical political factions, such as Socialists, Communists, and anarchists. Others in the middle class simply enjoyed the look of the arts and crafts, and made the consumer choice to decorate their homes with it, as they would with any other design style.

For many Americans, the discourse of the arts and crafts movement provided them a construct with which to assimilate the changes occurring around them in society, while providing them with a new way of thinking about the role of the home and the decorative arts in their lives. However, in becoming a

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[13]{Brandon K. Ruud, “‘To Promote and to Extend the Principles Established by Morris’: Elbert Hubbard, Gustav Stickley, and the Redefinition of American Arts and Crafts,” in Apostles of Beauty: Arts and Crafts from Britain to Chicago, ed. Judith A. Barter (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2009), 85, 105.}
\footnotetext[15]{T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 60.}
\end{footnotes}
commercial product, the social mission of the arts and crafts movement eventually faded away. Selling its goods kept the body alive longer, but at the cost of sacrificing its soul. Inevitably, the arts and crafts movement, upon becoming one of many choices available in the marketplace, declined in popularity as new styles, such as Prairie School and Art Deco, and the reintroduction of older styles, such as Colonial Revival, replaced it in department store windows and mail-order catalogs.

Historiography

Most arts and crafts scholars choose 1915 as the movement’s symbolic end: the year Gustav Stickley’s *The Craftsman* declared bankruptcy and Roycroft’s Elbert Hubbard died on the *Lusitania*. For the next sixty years it remained obscured in time, a relic of a design movement less important than its contemporary schools, Art Nouveau and Beaux-Arts, or the Modernist schools, like Bauhaus, that succeeded it. The significance of the arts and crafts movement changed in 1972, however, when Robert Judson Clark curated an exhibition at Princeton University on “The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916.”"¹⁶ Overnight, the arts and crafts movement seemed to gain new relevance. Perhaps the movement’s utopian communities felt familiar to those experiencing the counter-culture of the 1960s, but in the midst of renewed questioning of capitalism and consumer society, a re-examination of the arts and crafts movement came to seem increasingly timely.

In an effort to understand how Americans accepted the arts and crafts movement as a remedy to the rapid socio-economic changes occurring in the late-nineteenth century, historians turned their attention toward the movement in the 1980s. Meanwhile, art historians and material culturists began to examine arts and crafts objects. Historian T.J. Jackson Lears wrote the first key work addressing the subject, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the*  

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¹⁶ Clark, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916.*
Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920, in 1981. The five years later, historian Eileen Boris wrote Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America. The following year, curator Wendy Kaplan edited, and contributed to, The Art that is Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920. As these three scholars - and the others who followed - posed various definitions of the arts and crafts movement, a theme emerged. Whether looking forward or backward, adherents of the American arts and crafts movement - unlike the leaders of other schools of design at the dawn of the twentieth century - intentionally sought to reform the society in which they lived by democratizing design.

Early scholars focused their approaches on either consumers or producers of the American arts and crafts movement. Lears, who made the first consumer-centered argument, attested that the antimodernist desires of the American bourgeoisie led them to see the movement as a “means of personal revitalization” - a pastime - rather than as a vocational calling. Subsequent scholars, including art educator Mary Ann Stankiewicz, art historian Pamela Todd, and design historian Beverly K. Brandt, also took a consumer-focused approach in their work. Boris, meanwhile, chose to examine the arts and crafts movement from the viewpoint of the producers, who hoped to work for the purpose of personal satisfaction. “If a worker chose the market rather than his heart as a guide,” Boris argued, “the pursuit of profit would undermine his standards of workmanship and destroy his joy in labor.”

20 Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920, 64.
22 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, 29.
Kaplan, art historian Rosalind Blakesley, and architectural historian Catherine Zipf made subsequent producer-focused arguments.\textsuperscript{23}

Historians found little unity in the approaches chosen by those arts and crafts proponents who wished to remedy America’s social problems. While some adherents sought to free man from joyless labor by establishing independent ateliers, collective workshops, or utopian communities, others embraced radical political movements, such as socialism, or the fight for women’s rights, and many chose to incorporate its spiritual aspects into their personal beliefs. Historians noted some proponents saw the commercial value of such efforts and began to sell the movement to the middle-class as an in-home remedy for problems felt within the family itself. Once on the market, consumers had the option to perceive their newly-purchased arts and crafts lamp as a healing balm to alleviate the stress of modern life, or simply as a decorative source of illumination for their living room. However, the marketplace erased much of the movement’s potential to transform society in the way its leaders originally intended.

Boris and Blakesley agreed that leaders of the arts and crafts movement believed a system of independent artisans who had full autonomy over their own design and production would provide personal fulfillment in labor. Boris maintained that the arts and crafts revival of handicrafts “reunited the minor arts, returned pleasure to labor, and eliminated alienation.”\textsuperscript{24} Continuing, she noted the importance of satisfaction in the creative process, which allowed each worker to enjoy his or her “fruits of labor, including pleasure from the actual process of making.”\textsuperscript{25} That “creative satisfaction and artistic control … integral to a successful design,” attested Blakesley, led to “works of extraordinary vibrancy and intellectual rigour.”\textsuperscript{26} Stankiewicz disagreed, placing the emphasis not on artisanship, but on what those goods meant in the market. She noted that “artists and craftworkers were … historicist in their desire to return modes of production

\textsuperscript{24} Boris, \textit{Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America}, 12.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 156.
\textsuperscript{26} Blakesley, \textit{The Arts and Crafts Movement}, 229, 9.
to pre-industrial models,” but showed a willingness to “participate in the growth of industrial capitalism.”

For some artisans, however, self-governance remained elusive. At arts and crafts colonies, such as Rose Valley in Media, Pennsylvania, directors controlled the community’s production, leaving the artisans with little to no independence. “Woodworkers had no creative control,” wrote historian Robert Edwards, “over the product’s design nor were they accepted as peers by the residents of the community (where most of the workers did not reside).”

Lears argued the upper-class leaders simply expected the working classes to be their “docile employees.”

Furthermore, successful artisans lost touch with day-to-day production when they hired employees to expand their business. The artisan became “separated from the production of the work he has designed and is no longer a craftsman,” noted architectural historian Robert W. Winter.

Boris expressed similar concerns over the separation of labor from art. She saw “managers … increasing their power over craftsmen [in] a new labor contract system where the master craftsman functioned like a foreman.”

Although some artisans found solvency in their ateliers, arts and crafts goods needed a larger marketplace if the movement was to succeed. Historians found that arts and crafts proponents employed, and modified, aspects of the movement’s ideology, such as socialism, spirituality, social reform, and its support of women’s rights, to educate the public about the movement’s goods. However, scholars disagreed on the extent of adherents’ employment of the movement’s various facets. Historians argued that leaders of the American movement had no cohesive political message. Furthermore, scholars disagreed on the role of socialism played when present in places such as arts and crafts utopian communities. Early scholars like Lears claimed middle- and upper-class

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27 Stankiewicz, “From the Aesthetic Movement to the Arts and Crafts Movement,” 170.
31 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, xiii.
Americans saw “class-oriented social movements” like socialism as “frightening spectacles.” Boris countered that socialists in the United States always “stood on the periphery” of the arts and crafts movement, never providing any real threat to Lears’ bourgeoisie. However, in a recent examination of utopian arts and crafts colonies, architectural historian Mark Alan Hewitt argued that the communities believed “capitalism, consumer culture, the unequal distribution of wealth, and predatory industrialism were the great evils of the modern world,” and favored socialist practices. While residents of utopian communities experimented with the more radical aspects of socialism and other political and economic ideologies, most arts and crafts societies, clubs, and businesses claimed the more neutral elements of socialism, and in the end, historian Carl E. Schorske noted, “Socialism became Americanized as do-it-yourself Progressivism.”

While some in the movement turned to socialist aspects of the arts and crafts to solve society’s most troubling problems, other reformers turned inward, toward a more personal and self-reflective spiritual answer. By 1900, arts and crafts ideologues had a profusion of alternative spiritual options from which to form their beliefs. Lears contended that the majority of upper- and middle-class Americans turned inward, seeking to revitalize traditional faith practices, such as Catholicism, as “therapeutic antidotes” to the chaos of urban life. Blakesley agreed, claiming that the resurgence of “church decoration comparable to that of High Anglicanism” drew wealthy Bostonians back into the pews, and Stankiewicz concurred that Boston aesthetes to be prime contributors to “the rise of art as religion.” If traditional religion, and its accompanying aestheticism, nurtured the

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33 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, 28.
34 Mark Alan Hewitt, Gustav Stickley’s Craftsman Farms: The Quest for an Arts and Crafts Utopia (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 50.
36 Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920, 184, 194.
37 Stankiewicz, “From the Aesthetic Movement to the Arts and Crafts Movement,” 168.
soul in the late nineteenth century, so too did other non-theological belief systems. Transcendentalism was of great importance to many in the movement, especially those living in utopian arts and crafts colonies. Curator Lionel Lambourne argued Transcendentalism to be essential to arts and crafts communities because its “teachings were ... poetic and ecological.”

Curator Jeannine Falino agreed, stressing that the writings of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman “sustained” the community of New Clairvaux. Some arts and crafts utopian communities also incorporated elements of the Country Life movement, a group formed to preserve rural life, in their attempts to “revive and repopulate the agrarian base.”

Some in the movement, especially wealthy women, believed its ideals of uniting art and labor as a means of social reform for the working class could be applied in the United States. Upper-class women received their first introduction to the movement as needlework lessons at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Finding the work to be a soothing remedy for their “relatively easy but empty” lives, wrote Boris, they grew to believe the arts and crafts would benefit the poor in the same manner.

Blakesley added that, in addition to “reviving lost techniques,” arts and crafts reformers provided “training and employment to disadvantaged groups” who had never experienced anything other than factory drudgery. Kaplan perceived this as “nostalgia for the handicrafts of a preindustrial period, combined with efforts to give those in poverty a respectable way of earning a living.” While arts and crafts ateliers for working class women claimed minor successes, Zipf, and others, concluded that the arts and crafts never did attract many “lower-class women, whose limited resources outweighed” what the movement could provide them.

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38 Lambourne, *Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago*, 146.
40 Ibid., 377.
41 Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America*, 123.
Although the arts and crafts movement could provide only minor opportunities to the working class, middle- and upper-class women found the movement provided them with not only employment, but opened doors in their struggle for women’s rights. Women found a place in the arts and crafts workshop because of its similarity to home industries in the nature of the work and in the goods produced there. Zipf argued the tradition of home industries for handmade goods provided women a smoother transition into roles as arts and crafts artisans. “As handcrafted work became desirable … traditional “women’s work” became more valuable in both a social and an economic sense.” The arts and crafts movement allowed women to push these boundaries of societal “sex role expectations and sexual division of labor,” claimed Boris, because women first chose occupations that fell within culturally acceptable realms. Since women had traditionally pursued handicrafts as a domestic occupation, doing the same work outside the walls of the home seemed logical and acceptable in proper society.

Despite the “unseemly” appearance of women being paid for their work, female artisans did sell their weaving and pottery, then stepped across society’s prescribed boundaries into male-dominated careers in architecture, publishing, and business. Boris stated the movement “opened a field for paid labor considered to be women’s own.” At arts and crafts publications, women served as editors and authored articles calling for suffrage; in arts and crafts colonies such as Arden, women had suffrage from the community’s inception in 1900. American women found their external worlds expanding, not just due to professional employment and their involvement in social reforms and suffrage demands, but also from the American arts and crafts movement’s connection with consumerism and the mass media.

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46 Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America*, 120.
50 Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 49, 55. Historian Ann Douglas argued that as the primary decorators of, and purchasers for, the home,
As the arts and crafts movement developed in America, leaders still needed a viable consumer base from which they could support their artisans. If leaders could convince society of the benefits inherent in the ideology of the movement - if they could use the lifestyle to sell the goods - they could create a feasible market. Several aspects of the arts and crafts movement - including its masculine aspects, the idea of the sacrosanct home, and simple living - appealed to those Americans feeling weightless amidst the fluctuating conditions of society. Boris contended that the cult of masculinity was “central to the craftsman ideal.” Lears attributed this to the perceived sense of a world increasingly feminized throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. As a result, middle class men sought the “cult of the strenuous life” amidst a “feminine world of empty formalities.”

Many men in the arts and crafts movement attempted to visually differentiate themselves, from what they interpreted as the feminization of the middle-class man, through a change in wardrobe. Sally Buchanan Kinsey, Consulting Editor of Nineteenth Century, wrote arts and crafts men favored “country tweeds and easy tailoring … in rustic contrast to the sober suitings of conservative gentry.” As men increasingly saw a life of business as devoid of meaning, and of rugged pursuits, they sought respite in their homes.

Adherents of the movement believed the arts and crafts home to be sacrosanct. Arts and crafts designers believed “that industrialism had shattered the family,” wrote architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson, “bringing rootlessness and a loss of tradition; hence, emphasis centered on the family and women gained power as the United States became a consumer culture. Additionally, women chose reading as a primary leisure activity as household responsibilities lightened, thus increasing their influence over their husbands as mass media took hold.

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the hearth.” Zipf concurred that the “emphasis on the home … made the movement function as a lifestyle rather than as just a method of producing art.” Boris agreed, arguing that art was central to this arts and crafts lifestyle, as it “encouraged a loving, spiritual family life” and “sustained “the dear togetherness” of the nuclear family.” Less enthusiastic about the changing role of the arts and crafts household, art historian Cheryl Robertson remarked that, as men sought refuge in the home, the “usage of male-associated artifacts by all members of the family in all the rooms of the early twentieth century house” increased until it excluded women from all rooms excepting the kitchen. However, Boris countered that this shift transformed the kitchen into a “multifunctional” room in which the family could gather. To most in the movement, the arts and crafts design of the home, and its accompanying decorative goods, signified to others that those dwelling within had achieved harmony, warmth, and the simplicity of life.

The concept of the arts and crafts home incorporated elements from the Simple Life movement - a group formed by anti-consumerist advocates who believed owning only a few, necessary possessions allowed the individual to truly enjoy the simple pleasures of life. Wilson attributed its presence in the arts and crafts discourse as a response to the masculine need for “a rustic escape from the false, overly mechanized, and commercialized urban world,” while Lears argued it allowed upper- and middle-class Americans to resist “the emergent style of consumption” by revitalizing “older producer values,” such as “the sanctity of hearth and home.” Robertson claimed men “promulgated” the Simple Life to uplift themselves, while shifting “additional burdens onto women’s shoulders.” Despite this, she concluded that women did gain from “simplified

56 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, 60.
living" because reduced home sizes, modernized kitchens, and fewer domestic goods reduced “hours spent on routine housekeeping tasks.” Simple living also gave the family more time to spend on enjoying the products of the arts and crafts movement, either as pseudo-producers paying for classes at a studio or as consumers purchasing items to decorate their homes in the arts and crafts style.

Leaders of the arts and crafts movement found themselves in direct ideological conflict with consumerism. Morris’s gospel of people owning only what they need and no more, along with the concept that goods should be made to last, clashed with the “more is better, new is better” theme of early twentieth-century shopping habits. Craftspeople recognized the paradox, but knew they needed a market for their goods if they hoped to earn a living. However, they lacked a unified solution to this complex issue. Some artisans attempted to educate the public to increase sales without compromising the integrity of their work or lowering their prices. Leaders believed “if the public learned to appreciate beautiful things,” wrote Lears, “craftsmanship would become commercially viable.” However, according to Blakesley, others in the movement “believed fervently that the working classes should be encouraged to realize their potential as producers, as well as consumers, of art,” despite the fact that most arts and crafts objects sold “beyond the pocket” of most lower-class buyers. This paradox deepened as markets opened up for arts and crafts services and goods.

Some Americans sought to become consumer-producers, and schools for the upper and middle classes thrived. Art historian Marcia Gail Anderson cited the active arts and crafts community in Minnesota as a prime example. In Minneapolis, leaders established a guildhouse that “provided the space for studios and shops,” hoping it “would become the center of the art industries … in the region as well as the finest school for teachers of art, designers, and

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60 Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920, 88.
61 Blakesley, The Arts and Crafts Movement, 9, 8.
craftsmen.” The guildhouse offered coursework to any man, woman, or child who wished to learn an art, and increasingly began to attract students who wished to learn a hobby to occupy the increasing amount of time they found themselves free from work. Todd pointed out that, not only did “amateur groups … flourish in American mission halls” but “books and manuals were published … offering practical advice” for those who wished to pursue her artistic talent at home, on her own time.

While arts and crafts schools produced artisans, artisans produced goods that became a consumer choice associated with personal morality, in which, wrote Boris, consumers could “expose their own moral fibre.” Middle-class Americans sought to “emulate upper-class purchasing habits” which, as Stankiewicz explained, spurred the upper classes toward “changes in style … before the old wore out or broke,” or worse, before they found the middle classes wearing or owning the same goods they possessed. Consumers desired to make their own decisions from the plethora of choices available on the market; according to Todd, they became “interested in interior decoration and the statement and status ‘artistic’ choices could confer.” Commissioned arts and crafts items became increasingly popular among elite Americans; at the same time, Gustav Stickley’s bungalow - and its accompanying ideals - became affordable for the middle class. Boris asserted that the middle classes desired “the components of the craftsman ideal,” and if they found themselves unable, or unwilling, to fully live out the ideals of the arts and crafts movement, they could still purchase the look.

Arts and crafts artisans soon found themselves competing with companies that mass-produced the designs, unaccompanied by the ideals. Edwards noted

65 Stankiewicz, “From the Aesthetic Movement to the Arts and Crafts Movement,” 167.
67 Boris, “‘Dreams of Brotherhood and Beauty’: The Social Ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement,” 220.
“the ideals of the arts and crafts movement reached most of the American public wrapped in the visible trappings of style as distilled by manufacturers who were not always philosophers.”\textsuperscript{68} Further complicating the options available on the market, studios, schools, ateliers, and colonies produced arts and crafts goods that covered a wide spectrum of quality and price. Boris implied that this was a chaotic period, in which “enthusiastic collectors confused the sophisticated art of an earlier day with traditional crafts.”\textsuperscript{69} Art critics became, according to Brandt, essential players in the movement. Brandt argued the critic provided “inspiration at its beginning and judgment upon finished products at its end.”\textsuperscript{70} The critic instructed consumers on how to make the best choices, and guided the artisans in responding to market demand. The arts and crafts movement fractured: on one hand, critics supported artisans who designed and sold unique and expensive wares to aesthetes, and on the other, manufacturers mass-produced goods for the middle-class market.

Historians’ assessments of the ultimate failure, or success, of the arts and crafts in America centered around the ideology of the movement, and how leaders, artisans, and consumers interpreted that ideology. Both producer- and consumer-focused historians argued that the movement failed to provide a viable demand in the marketplace for goods crafted by the producers for whom it had developed to protect. Proponents had been unable to transform the idealism of the movement into a system that could penetrate the middle-class marketplace with competitive prices. Boris asserted that “the initial partnership of art and labor was nearly lost” by the end of the movement.\textsuperscript{71} Zipf noted that although women made advancements in business, the movement also “redefined their role” in the home.\textsuperscript{72} Radical political agendas faded; Todd suggested the “socialist impulse to change society” faded into “individual expression and creativity.”\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{69} Boris, \textit{Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America}, 125.
\textsuperscript{70} Brandt, \textit{The Craftsman and the Critic: Defining Usefulness and Beauty in Arts and Crafts-era Boston}, xviii.
\textsuperscript{71} Boris, \textit{Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America}, 189.
\textsuperscript{73} Todd, \textit{The Arts & Crafts Companion}, 30.
While Boris, Todd, and Zipf agreed that the movement failed producers because it neglected the arts and crafts ideology or because it unsuccessfully translated its idealism into action, Lears and Stankiewicz argued it failed producers because leaders decided to opt for accommodation of, rather than adherence to, its idealism. While the movement “eased adjustment to our twentieth-century world or organized capitalism,” Lears argued, it inevitably “led toward transformation of modern culture rather than protest against it.”

Stankiewicz asserted artisans found that, “their arts were increasingly separated from the life of the masses.” Boris concluded, “what began as a critique of art and labor … turned into a style of art, leisure activities, and personal and social therapy.”

While most scholars concluded the arts and crafts movement failed its producers, they agreed that the same ineffective commitment by the movement’s leaders toward its ideology provided success to the movement’s consumers. Historians on both sides of the producer-consumer argument concurred that consumers accepted the idealism of the movement, and incorporated aspects of it into their lives, agreeing that the arts and crafts movement democratized art by making value-laden, hand-produced goods familiar to individuals shopping in a middle-class marketplace. Consumers, in turn, saw the value of the “do-it-yourself” project as a therapeutic pastime for the entire family, whether as dad’s woodshop in the garage, mom’s Saturday afternoon art courses at the community center, or junior’s basket-weaving class at school. Boris argued “arts and crafts goods came to symbolize democratic art.” Kaplan agreed in her assessment: “the aim … was to incorporate art into everyday activity … thus to democratize it.” Blakesley found democracy in the “new understanding of the

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74 Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920, 83.
75 Stankiewicz, “From the Aesthetic Movement to the Arts and Crafts Movement,” 170.
77 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, xiv.
need for local and national expression in art and design.”

Women, too, gained some autonomy in a “middle ground in which women could parlay skills … into a thriving business operation,” Zipf argued, “at a time when they otherwise had very little.”

Even Lears acquiesced that the “complex blend of accommodation and protest” present in arts and crafts eased acceptance of “new and secular cultural modes.”

Another important body of scholarship for understanding the American arts and crafts movement is that of consumption. Economist Thorstein Veblen, in his influential 1899 *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, coined the phrase “conspicuous consumption” to describe the consumer habits of middle-class Americans. Veblen equated purchasing with power and success, arguing that “conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure.” Veblen stressed that there are always goods on the market that the individual cannot afford, creating “an ideal of consumption that lies just beyond our reach,” thus requiring frequent renewal of the consumer experience. Showing a blatant disdain for leisured consumption, Veblen argued that simple goods remained superior to those more expensive or aesthetically pleasing. Furthermore, he pointed out that machined goods served “their primary purpose more adequately” than their handmade counterparts.

While Veblen’s argument allowed arts and crafts proponents to find a compromise in their production methods, Veblen himself disliked the arts and crafts movement. “John Ruskin and William Morris were such eager spokesmen,” wrote Veblen, “and on this ground their propaganda of crudity and wasted effort has been taken up and carried forward since their time. And hence also the propaganda for a return to handicraft and household industry.”

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83 Ibid., 64.
84 Ibid., 96–97.
85 Ibid., 98.
donors contributing to the University of Chicago, where he worked, and his theories eventually led to the termination of his position.

Modern studies began in earnest in the 1980s when historians, sociologists, and anthropologists started to explore who controlled power in a capitalist marketplace and how behaviors of consumption were transferred and learned. Most scholars agreed that advertisers controlled the power in consumer relationships. Lears - the only scholar to discuss the arts and crafts movement and consumerism, although not in tandem - argued that advertisers controlled consumer behavior by creating a new mode of hegemony for the professional-managerial class (PMC) through a new complex system of symbols.86 Literary scholar Richard M. Ohmann concurred with Lears that advertisers formed a new hegemony for the PMC using mnemonic and representational devices, but viewed it as a more sinister ploy to exert further control over the working class.87 Christopher P. Wilson, another literary scholar, regarded consumer power as more inertly passing from advertisers, via consumer choice, to the PMC. Wilson similarly attributed the transmission of this behavior to consumer rhetoric used by advertisers in magazines.88 Historian Charles F. McGovern agreed that advertisers controlled the means by which Americans learned to be consumers and that ad agencies used specific “prescriptive” language to teach such behaviors.89 However, McGovern argued that advertisers - along with new advocacy groups formed to protect the consumer by enabling them to make well-informed choices - intentionally used political ideologies of nationalism and citizenship to inextricably link the idea of being an American with consumption habits. Thus, advertisers transformed consumers’ ideas to equate voting with

89 McGovern, Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945, 4.
purchasing goods: to have a voice in the American political system, one had to be a consumer.\textsuperscript{90}

However, other scholars believed that personal morals or emotions drove consumption to a greater degree than did economic or political motivations. In his 1903 \textit{The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism}, Max Weber made the argument that capitalism emerged from the Protestant focus increasing “the glory of God” through industriousness.\textsuperscript{91} A focus on thrift led the ethic to embody simplicity, and “set the clean and solid comfort of the middle-class home as an ideal.”\textsuperscript{92} Weber believed that America, “stripped of its religious and ethical meaning,” turned its focus to material goods that “gained an increasing and finally an inexorable power over the lives of men.”\textsuperscript{93} Historian Daniel Horowitz argued that some American reformers saw this ethical decay, and struggled to change consumption habits by applying moral pressure through consumer goods. Horowitz focused on analysts who recorded, then evaluated, the budgets of working and middle-class consumers. These budget report authors hoped that by linking poor consumer choices with middle-class concerns over alcohol consumption or growing immigrant populations, they could sway purchasing decisions toward building frugal spending practices.\textsuperscript{94} Sociologist Colin Campbell disagreed with Weber and Horowitz altogether, arguing that the Romantics facilitated the Industrial Revolution and influenced “the character of the modern economy,” not Weber’s Puritans.\textsuperscript{95} Campbell insisted that the Romantic ideal of substituting illusion for reality led to the bourgeoisie, the consumer, co-opting it for the unrestrained pursuit of profit, but, with it, lost the opportunity for spiritual enlightenment. For Romantic artists, their “concessions to popular taste” in order to ensure fiscal survival, threatened their enlightenment as well.\textsuperscript{96} Campbell

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 171.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 182, 181.
\textsuperscript{94} Daniel Horowitz, \textit{The Morality of Spending: Attitudes Toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940} (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), xxix, 70.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 209.
argued that in modernity, a “tension” existed between the rational marketplace and the “creative dreaming born of longing,” serving as the basis for the “dynamism of the West.”\textsuperscript{97} This tension is similar to the paradox between the ideology of, and the fiscal need for consumers in, the arts and crafts movement.

The tension between producer and consumer may be found in how goods are used in the marketplace. Anthropologist Grant McCracken wrote that goods are used to communicate, as \textit{langue}, and act as bridges to the “displaced meaning” of the ideal; they create a cultural context, allowing for the survival of the individual.\textsuperscript{98} Whether a system of symbols, consumer rhetoric, or mnemonic devices leading to a new hegemony of the middle class, or through the use of patriotism, personal ethics, or the desire to attain spiritual enlightenment, advertisers create consumer markets for their clients’ wares. Goods - and their accompanying sales pitch - allow the consumer to assimilate the product, along with a means to understand and assimilate it. The idea of a consumer language must be connected to the arts and crafts movement if “authenticity” is ever to be determined.

One notable absence from the American arts and crafts scholarship is a discussion of the movement’s discourse. Proponents of the arts and crafts movement produced an immense amount of writing, describing their ideas, but these texts have yet to be examined, except as art or as ‘arts and crafts goods.’ Scholars of the texts of the arts and crafts movement most often analyze the typography and illustrations, while neglecting to situate them into a larger critique of industrialization or discuss their involvement in the consumer experience. This is particularly so in the publications of Roycroft, where the works of Elbert Hubbard, when read for content, have tended to only be considered as contributions to wider social and cultural events in America occurring \textit{outside} of the context of the arts and crafts movement. This is surprising considering how Hubbard used his cultural commentary as a means of branding Roycroft.

\textsuperscript{97} Colin Campbell, \textit{The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism}, 227.
Furthermore, there is no scholarship on Arden as an arts and crafts colony at all, nor on arts and crafts texts in regard to consumerism.

Consumer goods have been examined, whereas the way in which producers chose to sell them - their advertising, publications, and markets - have not. This examination is important because it will offer a new interpretation of the goods of the arts and crafts movement as seen in through the context of its ideological wrapping. Furthermore, while almost every scholar - as shown in prior discussion - has acknowledged the producer-consumer relationship, there has yet to be a defining study examining the paradoxical nature of this partnership, which I believe is crucial to understanding the arts and crafts concept of "authenticity." The movement cannot be understood without it, for consumerism is where the public meets the art, and, indeed, what made the art possible in the first place. If the arts and crafts movement attempted to make living in the world a more manageable experience for its consumers, then examining two arts and crafts communities, one focused on producing goods for the consumer and the other on transforming consumers into producers, may offer insight into this quandary.

**Roycroft and Arden**

In East Aurora, New York, entrepreneur and colony leader Elbert Hubbard branded Roycroft and its product lines, including magazines, books, furniture, copper and leather goods, and even the colony itself, as a tourist destination. In Arden, Delaware, Frank Stephens and his colony experimented with putting their political ideologies into practice and maintaining a strong and vibrant tradition of public protest against societal woes. Roycroft and Arden seem similar upon cursory examination: both had charismatic leaders, formed around 1900, had community organizations like baseball teams and bands, and, most importantly, called themselves 'arts and crafts' colonies. Additionally, both colonies found success in their own right and existed far longer than the two or three years most arts and crafts communities survived. However, their underlying ideologies, and subsequent choices could not be more different, making them the perfect
communities to study side-by-side to explore the paradox inherent in the discourse of the American arts and crafts movement.

A discussion of these two arts and crafts utopian communities together, will allow us to dissect the paradox between the theoretical and applied components of the American arts and crafts movement. By examining each community’s ideology, perhaps the paradox of the relationship between pure arts and crafts ideology and the conspicuous consumer can be explained. Understanding how Americans translated the British arts and crafts movement at home, how Hubbard and Stephens adapted and employed those ideals in their communities, and the manner in which they produced and marketed their goods will offer a broader comprehension of the discourse of the American arts and crafts movement, as well as provide a dynamic example of the relevancy of the movement in the lives of middle-class Americans at the turn of the century.

Both Roycroft and Arden sold arts and crafts goods to the general public. Within each community, authenticity existed, but meant something different for Elbert Hubbard than it did for his employees or for Frank Stephens or the Arden folk, or for the consumer, whose end use of the Roycroft desk set or the Arden lamp determined its authenticity. To seek authenticity within an entire movement belies its meaning, which, in the words of the Bard, is “to thine own self be true.” I argue that Roycroft and Arden sold their leather medicine balls and andirons to consumers who had the option to ‘buy’ the discourse of the arts and crafts movement along with the goods. The ideological intent of Elbert Hubbard or the Arden folk is less relevant than the consumer’s choice to embrace or discard the ideological tenets, and therefore claim or reject the sense of authenticity in the American arts and crafts movement. The discourse - the words, lifestyles, symbols, and goods - created by Roycroft and Arden provided a frame of reference for the consumer who hoped to incorporate the ideology of the movement into his or her life. Without the accompanying information, authenticity for the individual consumer would not have been possible, but with it, middle-class Americans had the choice to embrace the movement as their own.
In order to understand why the arts and crafts movement attracted American consumers, an examination must be made of the arts and crafts ideology, why utopian community leaders chose to form colonies around the movement, and how they used its discourse to sell it to a wider public. Chapter Two will examine the ideological origins of the American arts and crafts movement. Beginning first in England with the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris, leaders in the United States, including utopian arts and crafts colonies, modified the movement by incorporating domestic reform themes in their attempts to apply it in American society. Chapter Three will focus on the arts and crafts colonies at Roycroft and Arden, including a discussion of the each community’s formation under charismatic leaders, how members functioned within the community, and how each colony’s practices modified and influenced the ideology of the American movement. Chapter Four will examine how Roycroft and Arden created an ideological package through their periodicals and interactions with consumer society, then presented it along with the goods produced in the community. The chapter will end with a discussion of how Americans accepted or rejected arts and crafts concepts as part of the goods they purchased. Understanding how Roycroft and Arden used the rhetorical devices of the arts and crafts to transmit the concept of authenticity within the greater discourse of the movement is imperative to understanding how the middle-class consumer received the ideals, and ultimately, how they incorporated those ideas into their daily lives.
THE IDEOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

Whenever people don't look at Nature, they always think they can improve her. - John Ruskin

Wealth is what Nature gives us and what a reasonable man can make out of the gifts of Nature for his reasonable use. - William Morris

Nature gives us her example. - Charles Wagner

The basic principles of the British Arts and Crafts Movement appeared as early as the 1840s, in the writings of English architect A.W.N. Pugin, who expressed concerns about industrialization’s separation of “art and labor, designer and craftsman” in terms steeped in nostalgia for the medieval Catholic Church. However, it was John Ruskin, the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, and William Morris, partner in the London interior design firm, Morris & Company, who - through their lectures and writing - formed the arts and crafts movement in their struggle to develop viable solutions that would reunite man and joyful labor. Furthermore, they sought to transform society by changing the way people chose and related to the decorative arts and architecture.

They did this by questioning the role of design in society. What is the role of domestic art or vernacular architecture in society? Is it meant to shape culture? Influence business? Cause astonishment? How is the individual meant to view a lamp, a chair, or their home? How do color, texture, and motifs relate to individual? Do they convey consumer choice? Do personal choices in selecting objects and design elements announce economic status or reveal an inner self? How does the craftsman relate to his art and what is his relationship with the

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consumer? Will making these changes improve life for the craftsman? Will they transform society? Is it possible to answer all these questions with a unified response?

Ruskin and Morris shared certain beliefs about modern society and its history. They agreed that industrialization dehumanized the individual, while new consumer habits encouraged the middle and upper classes to accumulate excessively, thus complicating life. Nineteenth-century England seemed hurried and exorbitant. Ruskin and Morris turned to an idealized medieval period where artisans saw their own craftsmanship through from cradle-to-grave and people found beauty in the simplicity of their few unadorned, but skillfully crafted, necessities. Ruskin believed the architecture of Gothic churches allowed their congregations to feel an “undiminished awe” in the presence of “some great Spiritual Power;” Morris found his inspiration in medieval tapestries.\footnote{104}

With theories rooted in Romanticism, Ruskin and Morris believed architecture and the decorative arts should tell a story, and it would be the vocabulary of that story with which they would frame their questions and solve society’s problems. They used emotional rhetoric, drawing their inspiration from nature. Ruskin claimed, “Great and good art must unite the two; it cannot exist for a moment but in their unity; it consists of the two as essentially as water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, or marble of lime and carbonic acid.”\footnote{105}

A generation later, Morris wrote, “I believe we should sow the seeds of a happiness which the world has not yet known ... the expression of man’s happiness in his labour - an art made by the people, and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user. That is the only real art there is, the only art which will be an instrument to the progress of the world, and not a hindrance.”\footnote{106} Ruskin and Morris created an arts and crafts discourse that influenced the way people designed, understood, interacted with, and communicated thoughts about the buildings and the objects around them.

In the United States, arts and crafts adherents added to the discourse by including elements of transcendentalism, thus giving new emphasis to the movement’s relationship to nature. To Ruskin and Morris’s theories on simplicity and authenticity, reformers added movements such as single tax, Garden City, Simple Life, and Rural Life to develop potential solutions to the nation’s social problems. Unlike the British movement, American arts and crafts leaders accepted mechanization, that is, the use of machines in production, as a compromise. If proponents hoped to establish a financially viable network of ateliers in a country where consumers could purchase cheap goods, they would need to use machines to streamline parts of the process, thus making arts and crafts goods competitive on the marketplace. Although many accepted mechanization, most adherents concurred with Britons’ disdain for the industrial system that treated the working class like interchangeable parts.

As the work of men like Comte, Darwin, and Nietzsche challenged the existence of God, the arts and crafts movement provided a spiritual, yet still intellectual, respite from the chaos of the late nineteenth century, just as elements of Romanticism had a century before. In forming the arts and crafts movement, John Ruskin and William Morris created a means by which architecture and the decorative arts could become part of the natural world as living entities in their own right. The movement attracted those who felt cut off from nature, because they had, in arts and crafts, an option to restore the connection between themselves and nature by choosing this style of architecture for, and decorative art to put in, their homes.

“A just and humble veneration for the works of God upon the earth.”

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Romantic thought began at the dawn of the nineteenth century as an intellectual reaction to rationalist Enlightenment thought and the French Revolution, and as an artistic reaction to Neoclassicist forms. Romantics believed reason had limits and believed more existed in the world than could be understood with rational thought. Passionate feelings ranged from ecstasy to

107 Morris, “The Art of the People,” 70.
despair; literature, fine art, and especially music, allowed the creator and the
listener (or observer) to feel this passion, an emotion transcending reason.
Influenced by Romanticism, John Ruskin lectured and wrote extensively on
architecture and art. Ruskin applied Romantic ideals to building design, thus
allowing the reader to understand the ideas in practice, and with a gift for prose,
he presented his theories in a way that allowed students and readers to visualize
his doctrine.

In 1848, Ruskin wrote *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, considered to be
the first writing to influence the arts and crafts movement. In it, Ruskin divided the
practice and use of architectural design into seven “lamps,” or rules, to light the
way: sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory, and obedience. Each “lamp”
illuminated a practice Ruskin considered essential to the design of living
architecture. The Lamp of Sacrifice allowed the designer to “exercise self-denial
for the sake of self-discipline” and honor “some one else by the costliness of the
sacrifice.” Ruskin equated this to the Old Testament tradition of offering one’s
best harvest or animal for sacrifice at the temple. Next came the Lamp of Truth, a
component essential to craftsmanship. Without it, the artisan withdrew their
“conscientiousness from among the faculties concerned with art.” Honesty
came through in handcrafted work, and Ruskin argued that architectural
authenticity came from The Lamp of Truth. Putting forward designs inspired by
nature erased concerns about a society in flux; an individual could be at peace
only in a building they did not have to question. Truth also required the absence
of any “architectural deceits” in design: no false structures, false surfaces, or
“cast or machine-made ornaments of any kind.” Ruskin believed nature -
apparent in living architecture - must be completely disconnected from industrial
production: he saw the two as totally incompatible.

According to Ruskin, Power and Beauty stood as the “two great
intellectual Lamps.” Power consisted of a “just and humble veneration for the

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108 Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.
109 Ibid., 17.
110 Ibid., 38.
111 Ibid., 39.
works of God upon the earth,” while Beauty came from an “understanding of the dominion over those works which has been vested in man.”\textsuperscript{112} While both originated in the connection between humanity and nature, each served a different function. Power began when a “young architect” explored nature, learning from its diversity of patterns and textures, and from its creativity in forming simple solutions to complex problems. Ruskin believed buildings designed in imitation of nature better served people. He wrote that a designer should not look “at a design in its miserable liny skeleton; but conceiving it as it will be when the dawn lights it, and the dusk leaves it; when its stones will be hot and its crannies cool.”\textsuperscript{113} Ruskin conceived, not of a static building impenetrable by time and weather, but of a changing, almost living organism in which people dwelled, worked, or worshipped. The Lamp of Beauty added the visual elements to Power’s structural design. Beauty must be “derived chiefly from the external appearances of organic nature.”\textsuperscript{114} Ruskin stressed natural curved lines over straight and asserted that ornamentation should be kept to a minimum. “What is the place of ornament? Consider first that the characters of natural objects which the architect can represent are few and abstract.”\textsuperscript{115} Ruskin believed in limiting design to simple and nature-inspired decoration in domestic spaces, where the eye would be at rest from employment at one’s labor, for only at home did the individual have time to reflect on, and reconnect with, nature.

In the Lamp of Life, Ruskin expanded upon his concept of dynamic architecture. If the Lamp of Power constructed vibrant buildings, then the Lamp of Life animated them. Ruskin believed that, “There is sensation in every inch” of living architecture.\textsuperscript{116} This sensation began with the thoughtful design Ruskin described in his essay on the Lamp of Power, but here he added the essential component: the contented artisan. “What is done with enjoyment - was the carver happy while he was about it?” For if the labor is not happy, the building “will not

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\textsuperscript{112} Ruskin, \textit{The Seven Lamps of Architecture}, 70.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 84.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 100.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 113.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 153.
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be living.” Vital architecture - designed by an honest architect, simply and inspired by nature, then built by a skilled artisan, contented in his work - encompassed the emotion, thought, and care of its creators, their very being. Ruskin wrote, “For we are not sent into this world to do any thing into which we cannot put our hearts.” True art established an unbreakable connection between the artist and the art; only through honest labor could an artisan imbue his or her work with soul.

The Lamp of Memory contained the emotional composition of a structure itself. Ruskin believed humanity could live and worship without architecture, “but we cannot remember without her. How cold is all history how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears!” In the Lamp of Memory, the physical became psychic: buildings remember personal events and cultural history. “If men lived like men indeed, their houses would be temples,” Ruskin proclaimed. Thoughtful architecture was completely unnecessary if men did not make “dwellings sacred to our children” and “build for the little revolution of his own life only.” Living architecture presented humanity with the opportunity to “benefit those who come after them; and of all the pulpits from which human voice is ever sent forth, there is none from which it reaches so far as from the grave.” Ruskin argued that only submission to nature and - much like today's environmental arguments for protecting today's resources for tomorrow's generations - “practicing present economy for the sake of debtors yet unborn” would birth great architecture.

Ruskin considered architectural memory as an opportunity to reflect on the past, but also as an archive of contemplation for future generations. No lamp had higher esteem among the people.

No matter how admirable the first six lamps, according to Ruskin, they failed when humanity refused to accept the seventh, The Lamp of Obedience.

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117 Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture, 165.
118 Ibid., 166.
119 Ibid., 169.
120 Ibid., 170.
121 Ibid., 176.
“How false is the conception ... which men call Liberty,” he wrote.¹²² While some considered ‘liberty’ to be freedom, equality, or anarchy, Ruskin argued that all required restraint, that is, obedience, to function in society. He equated this to the natural order of the universe, where balance and proportion allow all the components of nature to work in harmony. In the interconnectedness of life, there could be no true liberty, for a web of mutual dependence bound all life, both organic and inorganic, born of nature or built by man, into a unified organism. To produce natural architecture, the designer needed originality. According to Ruskin, all words, colors, and notes had “been determined long ago,” and could not be invented.¹²³ Therefore, originality was found in how the artist modified elements already present in nature. The individual with the power to create with existing elements could then apply their knowledge and skills toward “whatever ideas” he or she had to offer.¹²⁴

Obedience was “founded on a kind of freedom, else it would become mere subjugation, but that freedom is only granted that obedience may be more perfect.”¹²⁵ Opposing “rebellion against common laws,” Ruskin instead argued that the “vast quantity of idle energy” found in “semi-gentlemen” should be directed toward handicrafts.¹²⁶ The elite and wealthy upper-classes, among whom Ruskin counted himself, should pursue two courses of action. First, they, themselves, should take up crafts. Then, more importantly, they should attempt to elevate the living conditions of the working-classes: “It is not enough to find men subsistence; we should think of the manner of life which our demands necessitate; and endeavor, as far as may be ... [to] raise, as well as feed, the poor.”¹²⁷ Ruskin believed the elite position of the upper classes required them to care for the working classes in an economic capacity with employment; unlike contemporary design reformers, who believed the poor should learn to

¹²² Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture, 188.
¹²³ Ibid., 192.
¹²⁴ Ibid., 196.
¹²⁵ Ibid., 189.
¹²⁶ Ibid., 193, 199.
¹²⁷ Ibid., 201.
appreciate art, Ruskin wrote very little about teaching them to understand what he believed architecture represented.

After writing *Seven Lamps*, Ruskin built on his guiding principles, first in the voluminous 1853 architectural treatise, *Stones of Venice*, followed by a collection of lectures published in 1859, *The Two Paths, Being Lectures on Art*. Ruskin continued to advance his belief that “all the greatest art which the world has produced is thus fitted for a place,” which becomes “part of a great and harmonious whole.” Throughout his career, Ruskin used language associated with religion and spirituality to encourage the reader toward connecting the ecstasy of the idealized world with the tangible of the physical world. He called on the reader to “seize hold of God’s hand and look full in the face of His creation, and there is nothing He will not enable you to achieve.” Ruskin’s belief in the inextricable link between God and nature, and nature and man, provided the mainstay of his work. Honesty, integrity, design inspired by nature, simple motifs, and using it all to benefit humanity: these were the underlying traits of the British arts and crafts movement.

“We shall one day achieve EQUALITY ... and have leisure from poverty.”

John Ruskin’s work gained attention in the English art community, especially among the Pre-Raphaelites. Art students Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais formed the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848 as a reaction to conventional art, which they believed lacked a sufficient connection to nature and imagination. They called themselves ‘Pre-Raphaelites’ after their great admiration of medieval art; Hunt wrote, “there was not much healthy and good art after the time of Raphael.” Heavily influenced by the Romantics, their four doctrines required members to “have genuine ideas,” “study nature attentively,” “sympathise with what is direct and serious and...

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129 Ibid., 79–80.
132 Ibid., 7.
heartfelt in previous art,” and “produce thoroughly good pictures and statues.” Although not directly associated with Ruskin, their doctrine reflected his tenets and, in 1850, he publically defended the Brotherhood against negative press.134

William Morris, an influential interior designer in the London firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Company, joined the Pre-Raphaelites after becoming friends with Rossetti in the late 1850s; he introduced the Brotherhood to the decorative arts, such as wallpaper, embroidery, stained glass, and furniture. Ruskin’s 1848 *The Seven Lamps* influenced Morris, as did another work written that same year, Karl Marx’s and Friedrich Engels’s *Communist Manifesto*.135 Morris rejected Ruskin’s spiritualism, applied Ruskin’s architectural theories on nature, simplicity, and integrity to the decorative arts, and expanded on the use of art for social reform by adding his own ideas, inspired by his reading of Marx.

Morris knew that the way he chose to write and speak about design, labor, and humanity would shape public perceptions of his theories. He wrote,

> Out of all despair sprang a new time of hope lighted by the torch of the French Revolution: and things that have languished with the languishing of art, rose afresh and surely heralded its new birth: in good earnest poetry was born again, and the English Language, which under the hands of sycophantic verse-makers had been reduced to a miserable jargon, whose meaning, if it have a meaning, cannot be made out without translation, flowed clear, pure, and simple, along with the music of Blake.136

Morris found the words of Romanticist Samuel Taylor Coleridge inspiring: “With that literature in which romance, that is to say humanity, was re-born, there sprang up also a feeling for the romance of external nature.”137 Morris looked to the Romantics’ connections of humanity and nature, just as Ruskin had before him. Morris knew Ruskin already laid the groundwork for what he wanted to accomplish, writing that “surely the influence that he has exercised over

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134 Ibid., 11.
137 Ibid., 83.
cultivated people must be the result of that style and that eloquence expressing what was already stirring in men’s minds.”

Although Morris’s words bore few traces of Ruskin’s faith, he retained the idea of nature’s spirituality: “The hand of the craftsman is guided to work in the way that [nature] does, till the web, the cup, or the knife, look as natural, nay as lovely, as the green field, the river bank, or the mountain flint.” Morris believed that not only should artisans work with natural methods, but urged craftsmen to look to nature for inspiration. He agreed with Ruskin, who wrote: “rise early, always watch the sunrise, and the way the clouds break from the dawn; you will cast your statue-draperies in quite another than your common way, when the remembrance of that cloud motion is with you, and of the scarlet vesture of the morning.” Morris stressed the need for artisans to create objects inspired by nature, but knew their audience needed to understand the discourse of those buildings, tapestries, and chairs to make them part of life.

Morris continued Ruskin’s advocacy of the essential link between nature and humanity in design. He believed art required “simplicity of life” to possess “cheerful freedom, open-heartedness and reality.” Art needed designers to use simple, meaningful motifs, because “you must not only mean something in your patterns, but must also be able to make others understand that meaning.” Comprehension of art by all of humanity necessitated a universal framework for understanding which Morris believed must be found in nature. “For your teachers, they must be Nature and History; as for the first, that you must learn of it is so obvious that I need not dwell upon that now.” Morris urged artisans: “Now the only way in our craft of design for compelling people to understand you is to follow hard on Nature.” Only by following nature’s guidelines in form and

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144 Morris, “Making the Best of It,” 158.
decoration could craftsmen communicate the intention behind, and purpose for, their art.

Wealth is what Nature gives us and what a reasonable man can make out of the gifts of Nature for his reasonable use. The sunlight, the fresh air, the unspoiled face of the earth, food, raiment and housing necessary and decent; the storing up of knowledge of all kinds, and the power of disseminating it; means of free communication between man and man; works of art, the beauty which man creates when he is most a man, most aspiring and thoughtful - all things which serve the pleasure of people, free, manly, and uncorrupted. This is wealth.  

Design informed by, and understood as, nature stood as a language Morris expected to remain universally valid through the ages.

Morris shared concepts similar to Ruskin in how he thought about the connections between art, history, and nature. Morris strongly agreed with the theory that Ruskin set forth in the Lamp of Memory: that living architecture represented a continuous narrative, communicating the past to the present, and the past and present to the future. Morris wrote, architecture “embraces the consideration of the whole external surroundings of the life of man; we cannot escape from it if we would so long as we are part of civilization, for it means the moulding and altering to human needs of the very face of the earth itself.”

Public buildings and private homes physically symbolized the history of humanity, with their authenticity found in the degree to which they reflected nature. Just as Ruskin believed architectural design should be thought of as providing memory to future generations, Morris thought buildings preserved generational memory. However, Morris felt his generation destroyed architecture’s connection to nature in their design choices, and believed that “when men build [now] they cannot but take away some gift beauty, which nature or their own forefathers have given to the world.”

Morris wanted a universal discourse, not just between living people,

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147 Ibid., 186.
but amongst all people living at all times throughout history. All those people shared a singular one commonality: nature. Therefore, the solution to industrialization, Morris postulated, must come from nature and the reunification of man with joyful labor.

Unfortunately, the Liberalism of nineteenth-century British politics stood in his way. Industrialization separated man from labor, and Liberal policies allowed the wealthy upper- and middle-class factory owners to exploit the working class, if they so chose. Morris, an admitted member of the middle-class, wrote we “are the most powerful body of men that the world has yet seen.” However, the “creation of a powerful middle class freed from all restriction,” caused them to “enslave simple people” in “the hurrying blindness of civilisation.” Morris claimed he lived in a “Century of Commerce” in which factories produced superfluous items of “folly and luxury,” items “which people leading a manly and uncorrupted life would not ask for or dream of.” He found himself surrounded by fraud and pretention. He wrote, the “greatest foe to art is luxury, art cannot live in its atmosphere.” The death of art surrounded Morris in London, where people did not care about “the mutilation of an ancient building” because their love of luxury goods quashed their love of art. Morris believed greed degenerated religion into a “so-called morality,” remaining only as a “commercial necessity, masquerading in the forms of the Christian ethics.” In fact, the “real social product” of the Industrial Revolution, Morris thought, centered on “the final triumph of the middle classes, materially, intellectually, and morally.”

Art became a commodity, not a living creation, in this commercial society. “People say to me often enough: If you want to make your art succeed and flourish, you must make it the fashion: a phrase which I confess annoys me,” wrote Morris. He disdained the idea of “trying to convince rich, and supposed

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152 Ibid., 97.
153 Morris, Socialism, Its Growth & Outcome, 10.
154 Ibid., 172.
influential people” to buy and popularize his art.\textsuperscript{155} Morris believed, as had Ruskin, that upper- and middle-class men should be trained in an art to improve their understanding of it, and to fill their idle hours with productive work. However, Morris used stronger language than did Ruskin, who spoke more gently about those in his own class. The upper and middle classes, who accrued their wealth from the labor of others, must not have the \textit{option} to learn an art, Morris argued. Instead, society should “abolish a class of men privileged” and create a society where “all must work according to their ability.”\textsuperscript{156} Literary critic Joseph Bizup argued Ruskin and Morris advanced a “new ethics of production and consumption, organized around the making of ‘men’ rather than the circulation of things.”\textsuperscript{157} For Morris, art required intellectual effort from the new man - not a strong market - to be understood for its true worth. Furthermore, unlike Ruskin, Morris argued art must be universal to be true art: “I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few.”\textsuperscript{158} Art education for the working class would free them from the oppression they suffered under the elite classes.

Medieval guild communities attracted Morris’s attention as an ideal model for the unification of humanity and artful labor. “Time was when the mystery and wonder of handicrafts were well acknowledged by the world, when imagination and fancy mingled with all things made by man; and in those days all handicraftsmen were artists,” lamented Morris. It was a period where “life seemed impossible to the mediaeval mind without common action,” according to Morris, where serfs freed from feudal systems had the choice to become a “free labourer.”\textsuperscript{159} They could then seek an art for which they would receive support from their guild association, and although they had few material comforts, they also lacked violence and superstition. Morris’s idealized situation seemed the perfect system upon which to structure his solution.

\textsuperscript{155} Morris, “The Lesser Arts,” 16.
\textsuperscript{156} Morris, “Useful Work Versus Useless Toil,” 182.
\textsuperscript{158} Morris, “The Beauty of Life,” 35.
\textsuperscript{159} Morris, \textit{Socialism, Its Growth & Outcome}, 66, 69, 77, 86.
Morris believed art would solve the labor problem: “Nor can this reform be brought about save by art.”\(^{160}\) Since the wealthy upper class oppressed the poor into conditions so miserable that the latter felt no compunction to create, the working class must be allowed to establish a better environment for themselves. Morris wrote, “You cannot educate, you cannot civilise men, unless you can give them a share in art.”\(^{161}\) The working class needed more than a share in art - they needed to be happy in it. Like Ruskin, Morris believed in joyful labor, employment where “Art breeds Art, and every worthy work done and delighted in by maker and user begets a longing for more.”\(^{162}\) While chafing against the consumer system that created a wealthy, parasitic elite and miserable laboring class, Morris acknowledged the need for a consumer - the “user” - to appreciate and use the item produced by the artisan. Art left on the market provided nothing to the craftsman who made it, and who relied upon it for sustenance. To work, all classes must demand the goods produced in this system. The question became, “How shall we set about giving people without traditions of art eyes with which to see works of art?”\(^{163}\) Morris’s solution: unionize.

In order for the working class to have joyful labor, Morris wanted unions to fight for increased pay so that laborers had economic independence and power. Morris believed Socialism, a political movement historically supportive of unions, provided the best tool to achieve his goals.\(^{164}\) In his treatise on Socialism, Morris wrote that he agreed with Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*: the upper and middle classes continued to exploit the working class because “the masters for their part perceive this new [working class] spirit, and have begun a definite attack on the organisations which are instinct with it.”\(^{165}\) In other words, Morris believed the upper and middle classes feared Socialism, and attempted to dispel it, because it supported efforts of the working class to control “their own labour and its

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\(^{161}\) Morris, “The Beauty of Life,” 89.


\(^{163}\) Ibid., 193.


\(^{165}\) Ibid.
product.” If the working class controlled the means of production, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie could not be far behind.

However, Morris wanted more than economic freedom for the working masses in his quest for the reunification of man and joyful labor. He wanted them to have the financial stability necessary to provide them with free time to learn and appreciate art. Ruskin wrote, “where manufactures are strongest, there art also is strongest... Each must be followed separately; the one must influence the other, but each must be kept distinctly separate,” and Morris agreed: “I feel sure that the claims of art, as we and they will then understand the word, will by no means be disregarded by them.” Giving humanity joyful labor, as well as the appreciation of the products of joyful labor of others, imparted two important aspects of work: intelligence and imagination. Morris wrote, “Intelligent work is the child of struggling, hopeful, progressive civilisation” while “Imaginative work is the very blossom of civilisation triumphant and hopeful.”

“To Morris does the civilized world owe its salvation from the mad rage.”

In the United States, arts and crafts enthusiasts hoped to transfer Morris’s ideas of intelligent and imaginative work to their shores. The arts and crafts movement spurred aesthetic organizations such as the Society of Arts and Crafts in Boston (SACB), decorative arts workshops like Rookwood Pottery in Cincinnati and Stickley Furniture in upstate New York, and utopian crafts communities. However, the discourse expanded and changed when adherents brought it to America. Ideas from transcendentalism, anarchism, the Simple Life movement, the Rural Life movement, Communism, Socialism, the single-tax movement, and

166 Morris, Socialism, Its Growth & Outcome, 16.
170 Elbert Hubbard, This Then Is a William Morris Book; Being a Little Journey by Elbert Hubbard, & Some Letters, Heretofore Unpublished, Written to His Friend and Fellow Worker, Robert Thomson, All Throwing a Side-Light, More or Less, on the Man and His Times (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1907), 34.
the Garden City movement exerted varying degrees of influence, depending on
the intentions of the studio, organization, or colony.

The work of transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David
Thoreau, and Walt Whitman influenced utopian communities at New Clairvaux in
Montague, Massachusetts, Roycroft in East Aurora, New York, the village of
Arden, Delaware, Byrdcliffe in Woodstock, New York, and Rose Valley in Media,
Pennsylvania. Museum of Arts and Design curator Jeannine Falino stressed that
the writings of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman “sustained” the community at
New Clairvaux. At Roycroft, Elbert Hubbard named the women’s dormitory
“Emerson Hall” after Emerson who, along with Thoreau and Whitman, had a
room named after them in the Roycroft Inn. In Arden, Walt Whitman Way, a well-
worn footpath, crossed the Village Green between Red House and the open air
theatre where residents performed Shakespeare on warm summer nights. Writings by the transcendentalists regularly appeared in the periodicals of
Roycroft and Arden. Lambourne believed transcendentalism to be essential to
arts and crafts communities because its “teachings were … poetic and ecological.”

Linking the nature-focused ideology of Ruskin and Morris with that of the
transcendentalists seemed to be an organic process for many American arts and
crafts proponents. In Walden, Thoreau corroborated Ruskin’s and Morris’s
theories of simple, nature-inspired living when he wrote that “before we can
adorn our houses with beautiful objects the walls must be stripped, and our lives
must be stripped, and beautiful housekeeping and beautiful living be laid for a
foundation: now, a taste for the beautiful is most cultivated out of doors.” His
writings also encouraged communal employment: “to cooperate, in the highest as

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174 Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago, 146.
well as the lowest sense, means to get our living together.”\textsuperscript{176} In communities such as Arden, Thoreau’s essay “On Civil Disobedience” rallied residents to take radical action for their causes, even if it necessitated imprisonment. “Under a government which imprisons any unjustly,” remarked Thoreau, “the true place for a just man is also a prison.”\textsuperscript{177} However, at Roycroft - where commercial interests often guided the community’s message - Thoreau’s belief that the goal of manufacturers was “not that mankind may be well and honestly clad, but ... that the corporations may be enriched” may not have been an oft-quoted passage at the East Aurora colony.\textsuperscript{178}

Emerson, on the other hand, held great appeal for many utopian colonists, including Elbert Hubbard, who had abandoned his conventional life to create his own arts and crafts community. Emerson wrote, “Whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist,” and “truly it demands something godlike in him who has cast off the common motives of humanity, and has ventured to trust himself for a task-master.”\textsuperscript{179} While Emerson’s writings could be culled for bold statements of individualism, those favoring such a stance would certainly have felt a disdain for Emerson’s thoughts on consumer society. “The reliance on Property,” Emerson remarked, “is the want of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and at things so long, that they have come to esteem what they call the soul’s progress.”\textsuperscript{180} Hubbard later used Emerson’s ideas to sell his goods, by marketing his ideologies.

In the more radical utopian colonies, many of which formed in rural locations, the writings of anarchist Prince Kropotkin and Country Life proponent Leo Tolstoy were particularly influential. In \textit{Agriculture}, Kropotkin laid out his argument for a Revolution through farming. “Happy legions of occasional labourers will cover these acres with crops,” wrote Kropotkin, “guided in their work and experiments, partly by those who know agriculture, but especially by

\textsuperscript{176} Thoreau, \textit{Walden and Civil Disobedience}, 115.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid., 398.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 69.
\textsuperscript{179} Ralph Waldo Emerson, \textit{The Essay on Self-Reliance} (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1908), 15, 42.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., 56.
the great and practical spirit of a people roused from long slumber and illumined by that bright beacon: the happiness of all."\textsuperscript{181} For the less radical adherents, the Country Life movement, which attempted to preserve rural life, appealed to their desires to "revive and repopulate the agrarian base."\textsuperscript{182} As they formed, each utopian colony made their own selections as to which elements of the arts and crafts movement, and which of American or European ideas, they chose to incorporate into their practices. At the spiritual colony of New Clairvaux, their four "patron saints" consisted of "Ruskin, William Morris … Leo Tolstoy [and] Saint Bernard" in an eclectic mix of arts and crafts, Country Life, and Catholicism.\textsuperscript{183}

Unlike New Clairvaux, most colonies completely rejected conventional spiritual practices, opting instead to focus on making economic changes in society through political and educational movements. The founders of Arden based their community on the single-tax principles of Henry George, believing they could set the example which the nation would soon follow. George believed that land ownership led to modern feudalism, therefore, he advocated for land held in common, with taxes used for community improvements. Individuals, in George’s plan, then became leaseholders of the land.\textsuperscript{184} Most colonies embraced various radical political philosophies, such as Socialism, Communism, libertarianism, or anarchism. Others - like Elbert Hubbard, at Roycroft - incorporated social aspects of Socialism while remaining fully devoted to American capitalism. Some colonies embraced the educational goals of reformers like John Dewey and Margaret Sanger.

Regardless of colonies’ economic stances, each had to decide how to plan the layout of their community and the lifestyle that colonists would follow. Will Price, one of Arden’s founders as well as a prestigious architect, designed the village after the Garden City movement of fellow single-taxer Ebenezer Howard. Created as a solution for “how to restore the people to the land,”

\textsuperscript{181} Peter Kropotkin, \textit{Agriculture} (London: James Tochatti, 1896), 14.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 384.
Howard’s idea encouraged urban planning to build suburban communities just outside of metropolitan areas, thus restoring “the people to the land” while offering them the cultural conveniences of the city.\textsuperscript{185} Price used Howard’s layout to give the new village a “Central Park ... varied architecture and design ... common gardens and co-operative kitchens ... proper sanitary arrangements ... schools, swimming baths, libraries, [and] parks.”\textsuperscript{186} The design created centralized common areas, encouraging residents to live communally, and to spend time outdoors. Unlike most arts and crafts colonies that chose locations prior to establishment, Hubbard’s Roycroft grew one building at a time, in the center of the town of East Aurora. Regardless of location, most colonies chose lifestyles of simplicity. They may have additionally been inspired by Charles Wagner’s book, \textit{The Simple Life}. Wagner’s guiding principle, “simplicity is a state of mind,” matched well with arts and crafts ideals.\textsuperscript{187}

Regardless of their social and political changes, Americans contributed to the discourse of the arts and crafts movement while retaining its parent component: nature. The ideology of each studio, organization, and utopian community contained the elements laid forth by John Ruskin and William Morris. In their belief that architecture and the decorative arts could become part of the natural world as living entities in their own right, Ruskin and Morris attracted those who felt cut off from nature. In the arts and crafts movement, those individuals found an option to restore the connection between themselves and nature by choosing the style of architecture for, or the decorative art to put in, their homes. Americans changed the arts and crafts movement - often in ways that made it discernibly different from the British arm. However, they rarely failed to share Ruskin and Morris’s desire to reunify man with the nature from which he came. And, despite differences with the movement abroad and even amongst each other, American adherents never forgot Ruskin’s reminder that “art, devoted humbly and self-forgetfully to the clear statement and record of the facts of the

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., 54, 72.
\textsuperscript{187} Wagner, \textit{The Simple Life}, 17.
universe, is always helpful and beneficent to mankind, full of comfort, strength, and salvation."^{188}

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMMUNITIES OF ROYCROFT AND ARDEN

*The Arts and Crafts movement then, if it means anything, means Standard, whether of work or of life, the protection of Standard, whether in the product or in the producer, and it means that these two things must be taken together.* - C.R. Ashbee

Utopian arts and crafts colonies appeared in the late nineteenth century following a long tradition of American communitarianism. Over a ten year period, beginning with Roycroft in 1895, Arden, Rose Valley, Byrdcliffe, and New Clairvaux formed as alternative options to mainstream society. Historian Christopher Clark argued that communitarian societies most effectively achieved their goals in the 1840s for, by the 1890s, “they appeared puny, dwarfed by huge corporations and powerful state institutions.” Nevertheless, communal retreat from urbanized society in the late nineteenth century appealed to many in the arts and crafts movement. Perhaps the communitarian experience reminded adherents of the arts and crafts’ ideological connection to rural medieval artisan communities. The world was changing; Clark wrote, “precisely because this world was so new and so fluid, communities could appear to have reasonable chances of influencing the pattern of change.” For colonies inspired by William Morris’s utopian novel, *News from Nowhere*, it seemed as if living by example might be an important part of the effort. However, by 1910, only two arts and crafts colonies still existed: Roycroft and Arden. The others survived for only a few years before finances ran out, necessitating their closures. So how did Roycroft and Arden find success when the others failed?

Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens formed their colonies around a complex series of economic, political, cultural, and social choices, informed by the discourse of the arts and crafts movement. Additionally, they contributed to the discourse of the American arts and crafts movement through their

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191 Ibid., 10.
periodicals, lecture series, and goods. Hubbard used arts and crafts language to brand Roycroft and its product lines, including magazines, books, furniture, copper and leather goods, and even the colony itself as a tourist destination. In Arden, Stephens and the Arden folk used their own arts and crafts vocabulary to draw in residents with strong political ideologies who developed and maintained a vibrant tradition of protest against societal woes. Roycroft and Elbert Hubbard became middle-class household names, while Arden never achieved national recognition. However, Arden residents influenced their neighbors as they advocated for equal rights and the protection of children and when protested in the streets of Wilmington, Philadelphia, and New York. Both reached beyond their communities to change the lives of middle- and working-class Americans.

To understand how Roycroft and Arden transferred arts and crafts ideology via goods to the American consumer, several facets must be understood. First, Hubbard and Stephens made choices in forming their colonies - carefully choosing the makeup and roles of its residents - that determined how each colony functioned. Second, Roycroft employees and Arden residents actively participated in their communities - but in very different ways - thus affecting the development of craft traditions and intellectual traditions of each. Finally, understanding how Hubbard and Stephens wrote and spoke about their communities is essential to understanding how the American consumer came to accept the arts and crafts ideology and goods of each community - and reveal the reason for each colony’s success. The managerial styles of Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens, and their ability to transition their personal ideals into communal goals, determined each community’s subsequent relationship with middle-class consumers as they took their goods to market. At Roycroft, Elbert Hubbard maintained strict control of all aspects of community life, including the work environment, leisure time, and artistic license, to create a profitable business to support his lifestyle. At Arden, Frank Stephens and Will Price formed a community that adhered to guidelines informed by the community’s universal effort toward instituting socio-economic changes for society. The colony was a communal living environment, where residents chose to eat, live, and engage in
recreation, education, and artistic endeavors together. Arden’s founders became absorbed into the community and received continued respect, but not always allegiance, from the colony’s residents. However, people living outside of Arden never saw Stephens as the physical embodiment of Arden ideals, unlike Americans’ perceptions of Hubbard as Roycroft.

Elbert Hubbard: From Soap to Chairs

Elbert Hubbard had everything a man living in upstate New York in the 1880s could hope to achieve: a prestigious executive position with the Larkin Soap Company, a devoted wife, three sons to carry on the Hubbard name, and a comfortable rural-suburban home in East Aurora, just outside Buffalo. However, this existence left Hubbard feeling disappointed and restricted, until 1889, when he and his wife, Bertha, invited local schoolteacher, Alice Moore, to board with them. Alice encouraged him to pursue his passion to write. When Alice moved to Boston in 1893, Hubbard sold his company stock, left his family at home, and followed her there, under the guise of taking courses at Harvard. The following year, Alice gave birth to their daughter Miriam, and Elbert took a journey to England, where he found an occupation that would place his boredom on permanent hiatus.192

The visit that changed the direction of Hubbard’s life was an itinerary stop at William Morris’s Kelmscott Press. Morris built Kelmscott Press to realize his ideology in an ideal atmosphere where he could print beautiful books, spread his message, and experiment with methods to create joyful labor for his employees.193 The working model fascinated Hubbard, for in Morris, he saw a “man who could influence the entire housekeeping of half a world, and give the kingdom of fashion a list to starboard.”194 Hubbard hoped to imitate Morris’s creativity and duplicate his commercial success. Re-energized, Hubbard returned

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194 Hubbard, This Then Is a William Morris Book; Being a Little Journey by Elbert Hubbard, & Some Letters, Heretofore Unpublished, Written to His Friend and Fellow Worker, Robert Thomson, All Throwing a Side-Light, More or Less, on the Man and His Times, 36.
to East Aurora, ready to learn the art of printing and publishing. With plenty of capital from the sale of his Larkin stock, and the ability to sell water to a drowning man, he found work at an East Aurora printing house in 1895. He began to write, then publish, a booklet series called *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great People*, followed by *The Philistine*, a ‘Poor Richard’-like magazine full of quotes from famous people, advertisements, and Hubbard’s commentaries on society. Within a year, he found himself in possession of the presses when “the printers ... offered him their small plant for $1,000.”

In the spring of 1899, Hubbard received a puzzling telegram from New York Central Railroad executive George H. Daniels. Daniels read the March 1899 issue of *The Philistine* and wanted 100,000 copies of “Message to Garcia” to distribute to his employees. Hubbard was astonished: he had only written the originally untitled article to fill space at the back of the magazine. Nonetheless, Hubbard agreed to Daniels’s proposal. The demand brought on by publishing *Message to Garcia* as a book compelled Hubbard to add a large staff and expand his facilities in haste. He turned first to the sons and daughters of East Aurora farmers. As children, they could work immediately and their labor cost less than that of adults. Hubbard believed he offered them a golden opportunity: “the country boys and girls are given work at which they can not only earn their living, but get an education while doing it.” The State Inspector of Factories saw it differently, and “demanded the immediate discharge of a dozen girls and boys who are under 14 years of age ... employed by Hubbard in violation of the State labor laws.” However, the economic success of *Message to Garcia*, *The Philistine*, and *Little Journeys* secured his presses, and Hubbard easily replaced his young staff with local working- and middle-class women and men. Popularity drew visitors to Hubbard’s East Aurora, and with the financial means to do so, he began to build his campus, which he now called ‘Roycroft.’

196 Ibid.
The name “Roycroft” had been a remnant of the printing press he purchased, but Hubbard relabeled it as something much more grand. “Roycroft,” Hubbard claimed, meant “King’s Craft ... men who made things for the King. So a Roycrofter is a person who makes beautiful things, and makes them as well as he can.” Hubbard knew that the public’s perception of Roycroft was essential to his success, and he had the skill to market his product. He established his arts and crafts lineage by claiming to have met William Morris on his visit to Kelmscott, then proclaimed the work of the Roycrofters had “passed Morris far.” Additionally, Hubbard used arts and crafts language, similar to that of Ruskin and Morris, in his books, his publications - including The Fra, which he added in 1900 - and on his lecture tours around the country. That language, and the accompanying stories, always directed the audience back to Roycroft, his utopia.

Frank Stephens & Will Price, Architectural Radicals

While Hubbard learned to be a printer, Frank Stephens fought to put Henry George’s single-tax principles, to which he was singularly devoted, into practice. George believed that land ownership led to modern feudalism, therefore, he advocated for land held in common, with taxes used for community improvements. Individuals, in George’s plan, became leaseholders of the land. Stephens, seeking respite from his wife’s death with a cause into which he could sink himself, visited George in 1886. George “counseled Stephens to ... work for the land reform movement” in his role as a member of the Philadelphia Ethical Society, an organization that also fought for “a shorter workday, prison reform, women’s suffrage, free speech, and the abolition of child labor.” Stephens followed George’s advice, and returned to the Society, where he joined forces

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201 William Morris was in declining health when Elbert Hubbard visited Kelmscott in 1894, and it is unlikely that the two men met. Elbert Hubbard, ed., The Book of the Roycrofters (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1907), 14; “Mr. Hubbard on Roycrofters,” New York Tribune, 10 March 1900; Hubbard, The Roycroft Shop: A History, 21.
202 George, Progress and Poverty, 397–402.
with prominent Philadelphia architect Will Price. After a brief incarceration for protests that failed to persuade the Delaware legislature to institutionalize the single-tax system in 1896, Stephens and Price looked for a property where they could build a single-tax colony to show its principles in practice. They finally found the perfect spot in 1900: the 162-acre Derrickson family farm, just outside Wilmington. They purchased the land with $2500 cash down with the remainder of the $9000 purchase placed in a mortgage held by Joseph Fels, single-tax supporter and heir to the Fels Naptha Soap fortune.

Once they secured the location, Stephens and Price began to build their colony, and Stephens, an amateur actor, had the perfect name for it. He drew the name “Arden” from William Shakespeare's As You Like It and the colony’s motto “You are Welcome Hither,” from Shakespeare’s King Lear. The arboreal name matched the heavily-wooded property and the village’s motto recalled a simpler period from an Elizabethan past. Will Price designed Arden based on the Garden City movement, giving the village central greens, community gardens, and shared kitchens. Already proponents of the arts and crafts movement, Price chose to use medieval design elements in the village’s communal buildings and first homes and Stephens named one of Arden’s first buildings “Red House,” after William Morris’s home in Bexleyheath, Kent. [Figure 1] Arden board of directors president Mark Taylor wrote, “their aim was to produce the seamless integration of art and daily life that Morris ... had always intended.” Once he and Stephens established Arden, Price left to develop another arts and crafts utopian community, Rose Valley, outside of Philadelphia, while Stephens remained to advocate for Arden as a “show window for single tax.”

204 Taylor, Images of America: Arden, 10–12.
205 Ibid., 8.
206 “Arden’s History,” Arden Club Talk 2, no. 2 (December 1909), Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
208 Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, 54, 72.
Although Stephens established Arden to exhibit single tax in action, he hoped the community would attract free thinkers, and did not limit his invitations to those who shared his single-tax philosophy. Arden’s open door policy drew a diverse group of individuals who, like Stephens, sought a place to test and expand their personal ideologies. Ella Reeve Bloor, a founding member of the Communist Party USA, wrote in her autobiography that she, when approached with an invitation to move to Arden, told village trustees she did not agree with their philosophy. “The committee replied that while members of the colony would for the most part be single taxers,” remembered Bloor, “they would also welcome people of other political beliefs. So I decided to join the colony.”211 In addition to single taxers and communists, Arden attracted socialists, anarchists, free-love advocates, suffragists, pacifists, vegetarians, and even a few nudists.

Arden began as a summer colony and most residents worked in Philadelphia. The Harvey train station, conveniently located less than a half mile from Arden, conveyed them into, and out of, the city. Tents provided initial shelter for the leaseholders; many later built their own homes with assistance from local farmers.212 [Figure 2] Few remained in Arden over the winter in the first few years. However, Arden folk, as they called themselves, felt it vitally important to keep in touch, and the community established newsletters - first the Arden Club Talk, later replaced by the Arden Leaves - to do so. Stephens’ son, Don, along with Fred Steinlein, ran the first press that maintained the close connections Ardenites felt for each other.213 The community grew quickly after 1905, and by 1906, “the Inn was established on a firm basis, lots were selected and homes began to take shape in all directions.” Will Price drew up plans in 1910 to renovate an old barn sitting on unimproved land; Arden folk worked together on the remodel and soon had a Gild Hall. [Figure 3] By then, Arden had 115 leaseholders, fifty dwellings, and 150 residents in the summer, a third of whom lived there year round. Arden folk described their village as “a fistful of early English cottages furnished with early Norman furniture and early Mission

211 Ella Reeve Bloor, We Are Many: An Autobiography (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1941), 66.
212 Taylor, Images of America: Arden, 35.
213 Ibid., 47.
thoughters, set in an early Delaware landscape embossed with early rambler roses.”

Although Stephens founded Arden, he did not control it: every man, woman, and child in Arden had full suffrage, and those residents adhered to radical and differing political ideologies. Governance in Arden was raucous and messy, but Arden residents, not its founders, spoke on behalf of their village. Frank Stephens conceived of a place where others could see a successful single-tax colony, but wanted his community to serve more than just his personal goals. He wanted his fellow Arden folk to be able to demonstrate the success of their ideologies as well. Establishing Arden with a horizontal power structure, in which each member of the village could contribute, allowed every resident to pursue their ideals. Arden became a destination for radicals because it maintained the fluidity necessary for every resident to reach the full expression of their personal beliefs.

**Living in Utopia: Roycroft**

After the state forced Hubbard to relinquish his child laborers, he turned to the locals of East Aurora who eagerly accepted employment at Roycroft. Women constituted a majority of employees in the illumination workshop; it was clean work and socially acceptable for them to do, and Hubbard benefitted from their inexpensive labor. The wife of English arts and crafts reformer C.R. Ashbee, Janet Ashbee, visited Roycroft, recording her impressions of the print shop in her diary. “We see the girls deftly stitching leaflets into book form, all by hand,” wrote Ashbee, “we pass by great piles of hand-made, hand-printed, hand-illumined, hand-folded, and hand-stitched paper. Then come the final stages ... where silk, leather, and gilt coverings are put on.” Men ran the presses, built the buildings, became furniture-makers, or learned to work leather or copper. Roycrofters grew their own fruits and vegetables, and raised their own cows, pigs, and fowl,

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because Hubbard believed that it eliminated “the costly middleman, and you have your produce in much better conditions.”

Hubbard prided himself on teaching crafts to local residents in his employ, just as he had learned printing in an East Aurora shop. Hubbard said, “There are no skilled people in the Roycroft Shop, except those who have become skilled since they came here.” However, most Roycroft employees only learned basic skills in their assigned craft, because Hubbard used assembly-line techniques - in which an individual would learn only one part of the process - to produce most of his goods.

Despite production techniques that most certainly would have chafed William Morris’s sensibilities, employees took pride in their positions at Roycroft. In the 1910 U.S. Census, 171 East Aurorans reported their occupation as related to publishing, indicating they worked at Roycroft, the town’s only publishing house. The more compelling story is that twenty-one employees specifically named “Roycroft” as their place of employment. Despite the presence of a thriving business district, where men owned the shops they managed, the only other East Aurorans to give their employer’s name were a clerk at the Republican Motel, the manager of the Globe Motel, and a group of five women who taught at St. Clara’s Academy. Although it may have been a bias on behalf of the census taker, it might indicate that the pleasant work conditions and employee benefits provided by Hubbard, together with the camaraderie of the campus, made jobs at Roycroft among the most coveted in the area.

Going to work on the Roycroft campus had a certain appeal. Hubbard took Roycroft’s motto, “Head, Heart, and Hand,” from Ruskin who wrote “FINE ART is

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219 East Aurora had at least three hotels, in addition to the Roycroft Inn; a newspaper, a telephone and a telegraph office; a high school, a grade school, an industrial school, in addition to St. Clara’s Academy; twelve doctors, four dentists, an optometrist, a veterinarian; residents employed at a knitting mill, a plaining mill, a foundry, a feed mill, and a packing house; three photographers, several general and dry goods stores, at least two banks, a drug store, a book store, a novelty store, a tea & coffee house, and an ice skating rink.
that in which the hand, the head, and the heart of man go together." Adhering to this theme, Hubbard attempted provide for the intellectual and spiritual needs of his employees, during - and outside of - work hours. Employees began each day assembled for a "devotional exercise" before heading into the print shop through a door bearing the inspirational quote, "Blessed is that man who has found his work." [Figure 4] An ideal working environment, including two fifteen-minute recesses, a full hour for lunch, and the Shop’s “bathrooms, musical instruments, a well assorted library, & gymnastic apparatus," kept employees happy and devoted to Hubbard, who they called “Fra Elbertus." A bell mounted on the exterior wall of the Print Shop rang for breaks, lunch, group calisthenics - held on the lawn at regular intervals during the working days - and any time Hubbard wanted to show his staff off to his special visitors. Hubbard placed his office in a turret atop the centrally-located Print Shop so he could keep an eye on his entire campus from its windows.

In addition to a supportive work environment, Hubbard provided for his employees’ at-leisure time. He built housing on the campus for his male employees, and later constructed a women’s dormitory named Emerson Hall - after the transcendentalist he so admired - three blocks from the main campus. He personally financed banking services for his employees, and held a regular lecture series, with topics given either by himself or a special guest, at the Roycroft Inn. The Roycroft Chapel regularly hosted “musical programs, debates, games, and programs” to enliven the daily lives of Hubbard’s employees. The campus had a baseball team, and several musical ensembles, including a German oompah band. Each employee had the opportunity to make full use of these amenities, as long as she or he remained devoted to Hubbard. The Fra claimed to employ anyone who wished to work hard, and made sure to publicize his efforts in newspaper articles and speeches. Antone Woods, a young man

220 Ruskin, "The Unity of Art," 54.
221 Elbert Hubbard, The Roycroft Books, A Catalog and Some Comment Concerning the Shop and Workers at East Aurora, N.Y. (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1900), 16.
222 Ibid., 15.
223 Ibid., 16.
imprisoned for a murder he committed as a child, traveled from Oregon to East Aurora after his parole. Upon his arrival, Hubbard met him “at the station … to begin life again in the Roycroft shops.” With actions like these, Hubbard created dedicated, and thus controllable, employees, while defining Roycroft’s public image at the same time.

Hubbard developed Roycroft into a beautiful campus of buildings inspired by medieval villages of artisans, overseen by a hand-picked staff of foremen. In his lectures and in the pages of his periodicals, Hubbard began to construct the legend of Roycroft, drawn from its history and from his imagination. In Hubbard’s narrative foreman Anson A. Blackman, a dedicated, taciturn man, became “Ali Baba,” a man who could weave a yarn as easily as he could discuss his “cracker-barrel philosophy.” Hubbard constructed a wishing well on central campus, right next to a concourse he called “Emerson Walk.” Developing the idea of Roycroft was just as important to Hubbard as building its physical presence in East Aurora.

Hubbard used his business acumen to build a well-constructed campus with maximum visual appeal at minimum cost. He offered local farmers a dollar a load for field stones, marketing it as the prime opportunity to clear their fields of the rocky, work-slowing obstructions. With the stones, he built the print shop, the copper shop [Figure 5], the chapel, and the power house around a central green; each addition to the campus added new industries and increased the number of employees until Roycroft had more than 500 on staff. Biographer Freeman Champney wrote, “Hubbard seems to have thought of Roycroft as a sort of cultural farm: artists, writers, and thinkers would flower under his benevolent nurture, and their creative output would be his to package and market.” Hubbard excelled in bringing out the best in those working around him, as did his second wife, Alice.

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227 Hubbard, The Book of the Roycrofters.
Alice Hubbard attracted women who had interest in ideas of women’s equality and suffrage to Roycroft. Bertha Hubbard, Elbert’s first wife, sought a well-publicized divorce from Elbert in 1903 and he promptly married Alice, placing her in charge, just below his authority.229 Alice was a New Woman, and her activism, at times, conflicted with the slightly old-fashioned opinions of her husband. Articles by Elbert and Alice on suffrage and women’s rights regularly appeared in The Fra. In one such column, Alice wrote, “If women are capable of being partners with men in the most intimate and close relations of their lives, why not give them a dignified and unqualified liberty in all the freedom that men enjoy?”230 Hubbard countered back: “Suffrage for women means freedom ... for her own happiness ... so she may be a better mother ... [and] so she may be a better companion for man.”231 While Alice fought for equal rights, Hubbard constrained his support of suffrage to women becoming better spouses. Shop employees dreaded the sound of Alice’s silk shirts swishing down the hallway, but Hubbard remained the final authority at Roycroft.232

The expansion of Roycroft lines, and Hubbard’s general acceptance of people who rebelled against societal norms, attracted highly skilled artisans for whom the arts and crafts movement resonated. Illustrator W.W. Denslow arrived at Roycroft in 1896. It would be his work in East Aurora over the next four years that garnered the attention of the publishing industry and led to his future role as the illustrator for L. Frank Baum’s Wizard of Oz.233 In addition to book illustrations, Denslow created a decorative pediment for the Chapel built in 1899, bearing a lion with a striking resemblance to the Cowardly Lion.234 Jerome Connor, future Irish National Sculptor, spent 1898 building Roycroft’s department of “sculpture, ironwork, stonework, and ceramics.”235 Although he left the

229 “Elbert Hubbard Weds,” The Sun, 21 January 1904.
230 Alice Hubbard, “Mutuality,” The Fra 1, no. 5 (September 1908): 94-96.
232 Alan Nowicki (director, Roycroft Campus Corporation), in discussion with the author, July 2012.
234 Alan Nowicki (director, Roycroft Campus Corporation), in discussion with the author, July 2012.
campus after a disagreement with Hubbard, he accepted a commission from Elbert Hubbard II to sculpt “Fra Elbertus,” following Hubbard’s death in 1915.\textsuperscript{236} Other artisans followed in Connor’s footsteps, arriving at Roycroft for a brief tenure before leaving after disputes with Hubbard - although many, like Connor, left with fond memories of Fra Elbertus and the campus.

At Roycroft, artists had the freedom to express themselves and explore their art, but under the watchful and restrictive eye of Hubbard. If their work went against his Roycroft message, they had the option to change it, or to leave. Dard Hunter, arguably Roycroft’s most famous artisan, chose to work within Hubbard’s requirements longer than most. Hunter spent almost ten years on the campus, after his arrival in 1903. Well known for his stained glass work and woodblock prints, Hunter created pieces that filled the rooms of the Roycroft Inn.\textsuperscript{237} The building is resplendent with his medieval characters, use of color, and ability to capture light in the textured glass. He later experimented with watermarks, creating beautiful and intricate opaque designs in paper, becoming a “world authority” on making fine paper.\textsuperscript{238} 

\[\text{Figure 6}\] During his tenure at Roycroft, Hunter stayed on message, and Hubbard kept his best artist.

**Fighting for Utopia: Arden**

In Arden, the diffuse power structure of the colony developed organically around the interests of its residents. Using medieval terms, Arden folk formed community groups they called ‘gilds.’ Frank Stephens firmly believed participation in Shakespeare plays bolstered the ability to speak well in public forums, so he started the Players’ Gild.\textsuperscript{239} \[\text{Figure 7}\] The Gild invited residents to “go, not with the idea of seeing a finished performance, but to see our own people do the best they can with the talents and time given them.”\textsuperscript{240} The Musicians’ Gild allowed all Ardenites to share in the joy of participating by offering several ensembles,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{236} Alan Nowicki (director, Roycroft Campus Corporation), in discussion with the author, July 2012.
  \item \textsuperscript{237} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{238} Koch, “Elbert Hubbard’s Roycrofters as Artist-Craftsmen,” 79.
  \item \textsuperscript{239} Stephens, “Autobiography,” 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{240} “Gild News: Players Gild,” \textit{Arden Leaves} 2, no. 5 (September 1912): 3, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
\end{itemize}
including a stringed instrument group, an orchestra, a “Kiltie Band,” a glee club, and a fife and drum corps “for the younger boys.”241 As at Roycroft, Arden offered banking services to its residents, but as a non-profit credit union called the “Raiffeisen Gild.”242 Any profit earned by the gild immediately returned to the village collective, not to any one individual.

Arden folk did most activities communally in the village’s first decade. The absence of kitchens in early Arden housing encouraged communal dining at the Arden Inn. The Inn, owned by communists George and Minnie Newcomb, served primarily vegetarian meals, “family-style at large rustic tables.”243 Socialist leader Joseph E. Cohen, in a pamphlet on Arden, noted that guests at the Arden Inn, “partake of the fare upon which Arden dines, and none of the residents of Arden sleep in better quarters.”244 The Gardeners’ Gild shared their expertise with those in need of “a scientific course”, as long as their students could get up early enough to join the gardeners in their “gardens at 5 A.M.”245 Outdoor spaces became shared living spaces: children played games on the Village Green and the ice cream parlor, The Cooler, provided respite from summer heat while giving Arden folk a place to discuss politics or practice speaking Esperanto.246

Arden residents believed intellectual growth to be of central importance to their utopia. They established a library where they donated or lent books to share, and a report from the library committee noted “several magazines have been subscribed for.”247 Stephens believed a universal language would create a more equitable society, and formed the Esperanto Gild so Ardenites could learn and practice it together. Arden folk subsequently called Stephens “Patro,” that is,

242 “The Raiffeisen Gild,” Arden Leaves 1, no. 3 (January 1911): 11, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
245 “Arden Club Talk.” Arden Leaves 1, no. 7 (May-June 1911): 4, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
246 Taylor, Images of America: Arden, 47.
247 “Reorganization,” Arden Club Talk, First Trial, 23 October 1908, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
‘father’ in Esperanto.\textsuperscript{248} Upton Sinclair, who lived in Arden for a year, learned enough Esperanto to ask for his dessert: “I studied the language for three weeks, and when I went to supper at the inn I would say, ‘Mi desiras lo puddingo’ - at least that is the way I recall it.”\textsuperscript{249} Resident Scott Nearing offered economic classes for Arden folk on “The Standard of Living,” “Race Suicide,” “The Inelastic School System,” and “The New Status of Women.”\textsuperscript{250} Each class consisted of a forty-minute lecture, followed by thirty minutes of discussion. Like every other organization in Arden, the economic classes provided a continual give-and-take through which residents could learn from, and challenge, each other.

Occasionally, Arden residents used community organizations as vehicles of protest. Arden had two baseball teams - one for men and one for women - as well as tennis courts, for recreation.\textsuperscript{251} In 1911, political dissent in Arden boiled up on the tennis courts, resulting in jail time for a number of Arden folk. It started when shoemaker George Brown, a “philosophical Anarchist” disrupted a discussion club with “his opinions on the physiology of sex.” Although the club requested he “shut up,” wrote Upton Sinclair, “he stood on the elemental right of an anarchist to say anything anywhere at any time.”\textsuperscript{252} The club reported his disruptive behavior to the authorities, and Brown served a short jail term.\textsuperscript{253} Several weeks later, as Sinclair and a dozen other residents played tennis on a Sunday afternoon, law enforcement arrived to arrest them for violating Delaware’s Blue Laws. Sinclair believed he was involved in the arrest because including his name would “punish Arden by putting it on the front page of every newspaper in America.”\textsuperscript{254} It did exactly that. On August 2, 1911, the cover page

\textsuperscript{248} “Esperanto,” Arden Club Talk, Second Trial, 28 November 1908, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
\textsuperscript{250} “Program for Economic Class,” Arden Club Talk, Seventh Trial, June 1909, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
\textsuperscript{251} “Something Done!” Arden Club Talk, Sixth Trial, May 1909, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
\textsuperscript{252} Sinclair, American Outpost: A Book of Reminiscences, 234.
\textsuperscript{253} I currently have little evidence to suggest how the surrounding communities dealt with Arden in their midst.
\textsuperscript{254} Sinclair, American Outpost: A Book of Reminiscences, 235.
of the *New York Times* reported Upton Sinclair “and his ten associates” received a sentence to serve eighteen hours at the workhouse.\(^{255}\)

Despite the tendency of Ardenites to engage each other in heated political skirmishes, they did agree when it came to human rights. Both men and women in Arden actively participated in the suffrage movement. In the village itself, women had full suffrage in all matters pertaining to the community. Arden held a “Suffrage Day” in 1912; events included a parade, a mock election, and instruction in ballot casting for women.\(^{256}\) [Figure 8] Outside Arden, the threat of imprisonment did nothing to deter the active group. The *New York Times* reported another protest in 1913. “At the tollhouse the hikers were met by Edward Potter and a number of small boys, all bearing the banners of the Suffragist Club of Arden.” Furthermore, the article noted, “For ten years women have voted on affairs of common interests.”\(^{257}\) At Roycroft, Hubbard prevented Alice from possessing full autonomy, but in Arden, women found no such limitations to their social and political experimentation.

Like women, children found Arden to be a place to independently learn and grow. At Arden’s inception, children of all ages had suffrage in village decisions. Although the village eventually revoked the voting rights of children (charges of infants’ votes being swayed by their parents decided the issue), Arden folk still considered them vital members of the community. An editorial in the *Arden Leaves* encouraged “helping these little ‘citizens of tomorrow’ to right lines of thought and action, in order that they may carry on the work we have begun with more of success than has been possible for us.”\(^{258}\) Residents advocated “organic education” to encourage the “education of the entire organism of the child.”\(^{259}\) In 1910, Arden folk saw hopes for organic education come to fruition when the Potters moved to Arden.


\(^{256}\) “Suffrage Day in Arden,” *Arden Leaves* 2, no. 2 (June 1912): 10, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.


\(^{258}\) “Arden Summer-Camp-School,” *Arden Leaves* 2, no. 2 (June 1912): 4, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.

\(^{259}\) Ibid, 5.
Cora and Ed Potter moved to Arden from Brooklyn, New York where they directed “the Living House” at the anarchist Playhouse School. Cora Potter opened Arden’s first kindergarten, also called the Playhouse School, in 1910, at Red House. Two years later, she started the Summer Camp School, where girls and boys from ages four to sixteen received “manual training under the advice of skilled craftsmen,” as well as instruction in “field geography, nature study, art, music, dancing, expression, literature and storytelling, field sports and swimming, domestic science and social service.” Arden’s children learned the importance of community involvement from their parents and practiced it in the village. At age ten, Harold “Hal” Ware organized Arden Gardens, “a vegetable and flower operation.” He carefully packaged his goods for sale, advertising them in the Arden Leaves and selling them in Arden and Wilmington. In 1913, young men formed a “Boys’ Gild” to provide community services like firefighting and to attend to emergencies. They also claimed a room in Red House as a clubhouse where they could meet to read, play games, and practice for their Fife and Drum ensemble. All Arden folk actively engaged in every aspect of their community whether political, social, or cultural, and they strengthened their beliefs by challenging each other.

The Utopian Message: Roycroft

Unlike the Arden folk, who communally determined the direction of their village, Elbert Hubbard fiercely protected his brand by tightly controlling the ideas flowing into, and - more importantly - out of Roycroft. In order to maintain his vision, Hubbard needed complete authority over Roycroft and its products. Everything coming out of Roycroft required a uniform message and a continuous look to sell the brand. As a former soap salesman, Hubbard knew that he needed a market that would buy Roycroft above other choices, in order for his colony to

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260 Taylor, Images of America: Arden, 81.
261 “Arden Summer-Camp-School,” Arden Leaves 2, no. 2 (June 1912): 5, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
succeed. Always willing to please his consumers, Hubbard stayed flexible in the products he offered. Building and protecting the brand remained of utmost importance to him, and he made all decisions based on whether they would benefit or harm Roycroft. Hubbard’s determination to protect his colony led to disputes with local leaders. In 1905, a power struggle between Hubbard, the president of the state water commission, a railroad vice president, and Unitarian minister erupted over “personal ambitions” of each to “be the undisputed boss of little East Aurora.”

Hubbard’s desire for complete control also led to conflicts between the Roycroft message and the social reforms occurring in the early twentieth century, including the development of labor unions.

Hubbard refused to allow his employees to unionize, believing that it would “paralyze human freedom and stop progress.” Although he complained bitterly when the Federation of Labor placed Roycroft on the Unfair List - “Isn’t that terrible!” - he never relented to their pressure. This was a far cry from Morris’s philosophy that, “The time of unreasonable and blind outcry against the Trades Unions is, I am happy to think, gone by.” However, Hubbard’s business acumen made Roycroft a highly successful endeavor, in part, because of the decent working conditions he provided to his employees. He saw no reason to change them, nor did his employees, if the absence of union talk in the records are any indication. Additionally, it is no surprise that with his strong business background, and with the railroad industry supporting his launch to success, Hubbard found himself an ardent apologist for big business. However, in his support of industry, Hubbard laid the groundwork for ideological accusations of hypocrisy because he used language that blurred the lines between capitalism and the more socialist-leaning aspects of the arts and crafts movement.

In England, William Morris’s advocacy of socialism tied it to the arts and crafts movement. In America, arts and crafts adherents loosened the connection, but Hubbard used socialist terminology as buzzwords, causing radical critics to

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264 “Political Feud in East Aurora,” The Minneapolis Journal, September 15, 1905.
266 Ibid, 65.
question his intentions. In a 1909 advertisement, Hubbard announced he would hold a “Congress of Socialism” at the Roycroft Inn. The ad welcomed all to enjoy the “spirit of Comradeship” and proclaimed, “Socialism is coming. The question is, in what form, when, and how?”

However, in a later issue of *The Fra*, Alice wrote in “The Unearned Joy-Ride,” that socialism “is a Utopian dream as near realization now as in the time of Sir Thomas More.” The mixed messages coming out of Roycroft angered radicals across the country. An editorial in an Ohio newspaper acerbically remarked, “Elbert Hubbard was interviewed in Indianapolis recently, and in speaking of the workers in the Roycroft shop, said in part: ‘We have a fund of $300,000 laid by.’ Wonder if he didn’t mean this ‘we’ editorially?”

Many socialists and communists initially viewed Roycroft with curiosity, thinking it possessed the potential to be a viable utopian community. The perception that Hubbard masqueraded his capitalism behind socialist language caused ideologues to put pen to paper, turning out fiery missives condemning Hubbard and his operation. *The Montana News* wrote that “Roycroftism may be a pleasant form of capitalism for those that like to take their whisky that way, but we don’t want the public to be deceived into the idea that it is done in the interest of the ‘other fellow.’” The article continued, calling Hubbard’s work “pseudo social reforms under the head of ‘Benevolent Feudalism.’” An Illinois newspaper, *The Day Book*, criticized his connection to the railroads and refused to amicably spread the Roycroft message: “Hubbard may think he needs my help, but he won’t get it. I have no objection to Elbert pulling down all he can get from Big Business, but ... I haven’t time or inclination to carry a message to Garcia for Fraud Elbertus.” While American socialists and communists believed Roycroft and its leader to be a sham, Hubbard cheerfully continued broadcasting his Roycroft philosophy, neither seeking nor needing the support of radical outliers to

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270 “Elbert Hubbard was interviewed,” *The News-Herald*, March 24, 1904.
succeed in his endeavors. His consumers wanted the cultural trappings of the arts and crafts movement - not the accompanying radical politics.

Contemplating Utopian Possibilities: Arden

Whereas politics at Roycroft remained suppressed below Hubbard’s capitalist focus, the wide spectrum of political beliefs among Arden folk created an atmosphere in which they regularly challenged each other’s ideas. Arden provided a haven for radicals: the community actively protested, performed small-scale experiments within the village, and regularly ended up in jail. Whether in or out of residence at Arden, they used the Arden Leaves as a sounding board. In 1913, Arden folk spent nine months arguing “The Great Question” in the pages of the Leaves: “Christ or Nietzsche? Are there other choices in the world?”273 Habermas noted that “the public that read and debated [periodical articles] read and debated about itself,” a thought never more true than in Arden, where residents believed in the importance of their discussions.274 Arden folk seriously committed themselves to changing the world, despite the sacrifices they believed they made.

“We, pioneers of the years to come, in the little hamlet that may be made as a city set upon a hill, a city of refuge ... [seek] recognition of common rights in it that will prevent its being monopolized. We, who have left behind so much of what men call the comforts of civilization, have left behind something of its fear and its despair ... We have found by wood and open field, in that cottage and cabin, something of that which it has lost, something of hope.”275


Arden folk remained devoted to their causes, despite the problems it caused them. The intellectual environment attracted many, who joined the colony to learn and grow in their own philosophical pursuits.

The discourse among Arden’s residents drew others to the village. Socialist Scott Nearing spent summers in Arden while he taught economics at the University of Pennsylvania because “Town meetings and fireside [discussion groups] provided me with a liberal education - the various points of view being ably presented and discussed by enthusiastic and well-informed advocates.”

Although Nearing soon found out “every town meeting was a war of words between old-time single-taxers and Johnny-come-lately socialists,” he stayed for a decade, enjoying the intellectual stimulation the community provided.277 Others, like socialist Upton Sinclair, lived in Arden for a year or two, then moved on when they felt their contribution to the community to be at an end or to follow a new opportunity to protest for their cause elsewhere. Some, like communist Ella Reeve Bloor, used Arden as a base of operations, leaving for protest rallies and lectures, then returning for rest and reinvigoration.

Short- and long-term residents alike questioned their own convictions: “Will Arden folk fall into the ruts of a workout conventionality, or will they be wise enough, as a community, to begin their social experiments where others have left off?”278 They also discussed Arden’s position as an instigator of positive change, rather than reactionary response, in society. In “The Fence or the Ambulance,” a poet asked Arden folk if it would be they who created a system in which preventative measures, or ‘fences,’ outweighed the curative practices, or ‘ambulances,’ of the society in which they lived. In the final stanzas, the optimism and activist spirit of Arden rings out:

But a sensible few, who are practical, too,
Will not bear with such nonsense much longer;
They believe that prevention is better than cure,
And their party will soon be the stronger.

277 Ibid., 40–41.  
278 “An Autumnal Sermon,” Arden Club Talk 1, no. 9 (October 1909), Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
Encourage them, then, with your purse, voice and pen,
And (while other philanthropists dally)
They will scorn all pretense, and put up a stout fence
On the cliff that hangs over the valley. 279

Conclusions

Roycroft freed Elbert Hubbard from living a conventional life, while Arden incubated Frank Stephens’s radical reform ideals. Both colonies developed far beyond a wealthy man’s playground and a summer camp for socialists and anarchists, respectively. Hubbard provided his employees with a supportive, healthy work environment on the picturesque Roycroft campus, extending their benefits to include opportunities for intellectual and spiritual development and meeting their day-to-day needs for housing and financial management. Although employees had the option to refuse such services by seeking them elsewhere - Roycroft was in the center of the village of East Aurora, after all - yet many chose to actively participate. In return, Roycrofters gave Elbert Hubbard their allegiance, allowing him to mold Roycroft into an idealized, cohesive product ready to be sold.

In Arden, Frank Stephens remained dedicated to his single-tax causes, while providing a platform for others who chose to similarly devote their lives to personal political goals. The politically diverse colony acted as a laboratory for its residents to work out complex socio-economic disputes on a micro level. Despite frequent clashes between residents fiercely attached to their beliefs, the colony lived communally. They lived and learned together, challenging each other politically, artistically, and on the tennis court. Stephens became one of Arden’s residents, not the face of the colony; Upton Sinclair, during his short tenure, and anarchist George Brown appeared in the press far more often than the village’s eloquent founder.

On the Roycroft campus, employees labored under ideal conditions by late nineteenth-century standards. They had ineffable opportunities for personal

279 “The Fence or the Ambulance,” Arden Leaves 2, no. 1 (May 1912): 8, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
growth and community recreation; these circumstances benefitted the employees as well as their employer. These conditions allowed Hubbard to sell Roycroft as a medieval utopia, and its arts and crafts goods as individual possibilities to share in that ideal. In Delaware, Arden folk embraced reform aspirations, before turning to arts and crafts goods as a means to create vocational means in the village. The managerial styles of Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens, and their ability to transform their personal goals into communal ideals, determined each community’s subsequent relationship with middle-class consumers as they took their goods to market. Only with a solid ideological structure inside the community could Roycroft and Arden then support a transfer of those ideals to the public as an accompaniment for the goods they produced.
"They who dwell here fashion useful and beautiful things with their hands, or they mimic nature from the colors of the palette, or they are fighting with tongue and pen for a better day for humanity."
- Joseph E. Cohen, "Arden" 280

“Just remember this: it is not the thing itself that lives; it is what is said about it.”
- Elbert Hubbard, "The Art of Advertising," The Fra 281

At the very heart of the arts and crafts movement lay its credo of authenticity: create simple, steadfast designs, inspired by nature, that will transcend changing styles and evade obsolescence. In the United States, this idea clashed with the movement’s primary mission of reuniting man with joyful labor when both ideas came into direct conflict with the industrial machine that turned out inexpensive household goods in a wide selection of styles. The movement’s leaders struggled with the paradox before them: in order for their mission to succeed they needed a steady base of consumers regularly buying arts and crafts goods to support ateliers and studios. However, by meeting consumer expectations for a variety of cheap, readily-available goods, artisans compromised the movement’s conception of authenticity.

American proponents split over how to resolve this paradox. In Boston, the Society for the Arts and Crafts supported individual artisans who made aesthetic objects d’art for elite patrons who turned away from the movement as new styles appeared on the market. At Rose Valley and at Byrdcliffe, wealthy founders provided the start-up funds for the communities, but their workshops failed to be profitable, and ceased operations within a few years. However, at Roycroft and at Arden, the communities thrived, both remaining solvent decades beyond the commercial obsolescence of the arts and crafts movement itself. So how did they achieve success where others failed?

A parallel examination of the texts of Roycroft and Arden is important because, on the surface, the colonies appear to have little in common. Although both considered themselves “arts and crafts colonies,” Arden produced few arts and crafts goods their first decade of existence; during the same period, Roycroft employed 500 and methodically turned out products to a national market. While the campus of Roycroft appeared to be straight out of a medieval village, the village of Arden - excepting a few buildings designed by Will Price - initially resembled a hobo camp full of tents and amateur structures of hodgepodge construction.

However, Roycroft and Arden shared commonalities. First, each had a charismatic leader who felt able to connect the arts and crafts ideology to the desires of the American public. Second, both wrapped the ideology in the rhetorical and visual devices of the movement to introduce the arts and crafts to the public. Third, each created arts and crafts goods that they sold as representations of the movement’s highest ideals. Finally, consumers, motivated by personal ideals or aesthetic desires, purchased arts and crafts products and, in doing so, accepted or rejected the ideology that accompanied the object. Roycroft and Arden used the discourse of the arts and crafts movement to financially support their goals; at the same time, they contributed to the discourse by modifying its language to meet consumer desires, and expanded it to include a greater body of adherents who used, accepted, or assimilated the movement as they so chose. This acceptance, or rejection, of the movement’s ideology as it accompanied the object acted as the key to authentic experience. Each consumer, by making the choice to embrace the discourse of the arts and crafts, experienced authenticity as its linguistic, political, spiritual, aesthetic, and economic components transformed his or her life.

The Soap Man

Elbert Hubbard knew how to read his customers, and that where he fulfilled their desires, profit would follow. Furthermore, he read consumer trends and used them to his full advantage. In his earlier career as a Larkin executive,
Hubbard encouraged stores to carry Larkin soap by printing the merchant’s name on the packaging, thus offering a “house brand.” As brands competed for customers, Hubbard developed the concept of the premium, offering ceramic dishes to consumers who sent in wrappers. As people flocked to clubs and civic organizations, Hubbard used consumers’ desires to belong to groups and developed the “Larkin Club,” a group of ten housewives who bought a $10.00 “combination box” direct from Larkin on a monthly basis. These clubs increased profit for Larkin by cutting out the middleman, and made consumers feel they made the best choices for their budgets - especially because each box came with a premium that the club raffled off amongst its members. Hubbard also used catch phrases such as “factory to family” to draw attention to his product. Hubbard would later use these concepts - the premium, the in-home clubs, the combination boxes, and catchy language to attract customers - to advertise and sell himself and his utopia at Roycroft.

Hubbard himself had much to say about selling, buying, and advertising, and regularly devoted pages of *The Fra* to discussions of consumer society. In an article entitled “The Buying Mood,” Hubbard wrote, “Salesmanship consists in making the ‘prospect’ feel as you do about your products ... If in business to stay, it is necessary to build up an honored name for the article, person, or concern, and that can not be achieved through dishonor.” He encouraged his readers to embrace advertising, for it kept business alive, but to stay alert and only purchase goods honestly advertised. “Sincerity is the thing,” remarked Hubbard, “but if it isn’t there, you can’t write it in, and expect it to ‘take.’ So, advertising is a simple thing - the simpler, saner, more unpretentious it is, the better.” By making a case for honest advertising, he implicitly notified his readers that he, Hubbard, should be trusted - whether in advertisements for Roycroft products in

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284 Walle and Brimo, “Elbert Hubbard,” 67.
285 Ibid.
his publications and in the mainstream media, or for any other product to which he sold the use of his name.

The Independent Lecturer

Frank Stephens knew how to rally an audience. Like Elbert Hubbard, Stephens had no professional experience in his craft; both men simply had innate ability. Stephens frequently appeared on lecture circuits in Pennsylvania and New York as an advocate for single-tax principles, women’s suffrage, pacifism, anti-imperialism, and the anti-vivisection league. A promotional brochure noted Stephens spoke with a “clear, brilliant, forceful and convincing method” as “a fair antagonist.” The brochure concluded that “though he hits hard, he is sympathetic.” Stephens rarely spoke of his own oratory skills, leaving it to the audience to judge his effectiveness. Although a well-known speaker by 1907, Stephens gave “instruction” and “demonstration in modeling” (presumably as a sculptor) as previous experience on his application for a Lecturer position with the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. He offered three courses - “Art & Economics,” “Medieval England,” and “Shakespeare’s Gentlemen” - related to “the growth of art inherent among all classes by social enforcements, and the modern movement toward village life and the arts & crafts revival.” By offering these courses, Stephens appeared prepared to make the argument that society’s economic schisms could be repaired by the introduction of the arts as a potential solution.

In response to a letter he received from Joseph Fels, Stephens refrained from characterizing his own work, instead urging Fels to make his own judgment based on what was reported to him, and “by seeing the records of attendance at the different courses I gave and seeing how the attendance at the end compared with that at the beginning.” Although Stephens neglected to promote himself,

287 “Frank Stephens,” undated promotional flier, Series 7, Box 19, Folder 10, Delaware Historical Society.
288 Frank Stephens, “Lecturer’s Registration Blank,” dated Feb. 4, 1907, Series 7, Box 20, Folder 1, Delaware Historical Society.
the lecture circuit actively endorsed him, rarely failing to mention his radical ideas. One promotional flier stated, “Trained as a sculptor... Frank Stephens still prefers to lecture. He begs the distinction of having served a term in jail for the right of free speech.” Another declared, “he studied sculpture for ten years, at last coming to the conclusion that what is required by this civilization is not knowledge of how to create works of art but rather of how to sell them. He decided that the chief service for art now is not work directly for it, but is work for economic changes which may make the pursuit of art less difficult in the future.” Continuing, the brochure noted Stephens was an “opponent of tariffs, banking monopolies, and imperialism [and] took part in the revolt against the Republican influence.”

Stephens relied on this reputation to draw new supporters for his causes. Arden became an incubator for his - and others’ - causes and Stephens remained undaunted in his role as advocate for Arden. In “The Spirit of Arden,” Stephens appeared costumed for a Shakespeare play in a photograph, accompanied by this tribute:

His vision and perceptions - which for many years were merely vision and perceptions - are not realized in the daily life at Arden. They are incarnated in the free institutions of this free people. That is his reward. And an ample reward it is. He says he is the happiest person alive. I believe him. He is neither selfish nor unselfish. He is selfless. He thinks in terms of Arden. His personal life and his personal fortunes are forgotten by him as objects of thought. This is not sacrifice. It is, however, a most beautiful and prophetic picture of regenerate life on earth, to be realized by all human beings when we learn to identify our private hopes with the destiny of the race.

While Hubbard regularly received scathing press regarding the dissonance of his ideology, no such claim ever appeared about Stephens.

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290 “Frank Stephens,” undated promotional flier, Series 7, Box 19, Folder 10, Delaware Historical Society.
The Brotherhood

Elbert Hubbard knew that if he wanted to sell Roycroft-produced arts and crafts goods, he needed to teach his audience - middle-class Americans - why they should wish to own furniture or desk sets more expensive than they could purchase from their Sears catalog. A hammered copper desk set in Roycroft’s 1910 catalog cost $18.00, but consumers could buy a solid brass desk set for $5.95 at the Abraham and Straus department store; Hubbard needed to justify why his customers should spend more to buy his product.293 [Figure 9] In The Roycroft Dictionary Concocted by Ali Baba and the Bunch on Rainy Days, the first entry in A, ahead of “Abel: The first squealer,” was that for “Advertising,” defined as “The education of the public as to who you are, where you are, and what you have to offer in way of skill, talent or commodity.”294 In the ‘Advertising Issue’ of The Fra, Hubbard wrote, “All literature is advertising. And in the final analysis all genuine advertisements are literature.”295 The task Hubbard faced may have been daunting to others, but the consummate salesman knew exactly what he needed to do in order to sell Roycroft goods to the public: he must make them understand its philosophy in a way that made them feel like they had a part in developing it.

Scholars agree that Hubbard played a major role in spreading the arts and crafts philosophy in the United States, although they disagreed on how sincere Hubbard actually may have been. Boris claimed Hubbard “manipulated antiestablishment symbols to support the existing culture,” Lears argued Hubbard’s commitments to Ruskin and Morris “were always ambiguous,” and literary critic Jules Zanger stressed that Hubbard’s class bias made the middle class relate to Roycroft because he shared their sense of “moral and cultural superiority.”296 Regardless of his devotion to the ideological tenets of Ruskin and

296 Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, 146; Lears, No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920, 68; Jules
Morris, Hubbard introduced the arts and crafts movement to a much larger segment of society than had anyone else. “Hubbard’s real gifts were as a popularizer,” wrote Lambourne, he “brought a sincere, if over-simplified, version of [arts and crafts] ideals to a very wide public.” Ruud concurred that “despite the publication’s array of subjects, Hubbard did not provide a far-reaching forum for the societies and practitioners of the Arts and Crafts movement.”

So, if not sincere about spreading the arts and crafts ideology, how did Hubbard ensure the principles - as he presented them - would find a receptive consumer market? “The Roycrofters evolved their own language,” Champney concluded, one that had a “nominal orientation to the medievalism of William Morris.” Hubbard drew his rhetoric from Morris, along with Ruskin, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, and a plethora of other nineteenth-century philosophers. He developed a writing technique in which he composed passages in their style or transformed their words into quotable quotes. For example, Morris focused on how redemptive work would transform the individual, writing that “Art made by the people is a joy” and that “the greatest foe to art is luxury.” Hubbard, with the sale of expensive, albeit high-quality, Roycroft goods in mind, reframed Morris’s ideas of simple, modest goods to support his company’s production goals. Hubbard wrote of Morris’s design company: “the one motto of the firm was, “Not how cheap, but how good.” While Morris probably would have agreed with Hubbard’s emphasis on quality, he never uttered the quote attributed to him by Hubbard. Historian William R. Leach postulated that “cultures must generate some ... imaginative notion of what constitutes the good life. They must bring to life a set of images, symbols, and signs that stir up interest at the very}

297 Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago, 154.
299 Champney, Art & Glory, The Story of Elbert Hubbard, 65.
301 Hubbard, This Then Is a William Morris Book; Being a Little Journey by Elbert Hubbard, & Some Letters,Heretofore Unpublished, Written to His Friend and Fellow Worker, Robert Thomson, All Throwing a Side-Light, More or Less, on the Man and His Times, 15.
least, and devotion and loyalty at the most.” Edwards claimed that “terminology was important to mass producers” to increase sales; Hubbard certainly would have been familiar with this concept from his time at Larkin. Indeed, how you sell a product is, perhaps, more important than what is said about the product itself. A newspaper reporter wrote of Hubbard’s work, “it must be admitted that it has an air of seriousness that is very deceptive. There is a meaning in the work, but its riddle will hardly be read by those who fancy there is a fool masquerading as a philosopher.”

Since Hubbard used rhetoric that called up images of medieval villages, picturesque landscapes, and non-conformity to Victorian American society’s profuse rules of etiquette, then how he used descriptive language, and chose word patterns mimicking those of arts and crafts leaders, must be examined to understand how he conveyed complex socio-economic and cultural ideas to his consumers in a way they would be willing to adopt. Historian Peter Burke, in Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence, made his case for evaluating images for historical scholarship. He concluded, “in the case of images ... the historian needs to read between the lines, noting the small but significant details - including significant absences - and using them as clues to information which the image-makers did not know they knew, or to assumptions they were not aware of holding.” While Burke’s theories are certainly important for visual analysis, this passage offers an interesting perspective on evaluating texts. Scholars may disagree on Hubbard’s personal goals for Roycroft, but they do concur that Hubbard intentionally framed his words, in Roycroft’s books, periodicals, and catalogs, on his lecture tours, and in newspaper interviews, with a very specific outcome in mind: that of selling Roycroft - its goods, its campus, its ideas - to the public.

304 “Not to Be Taken Seriously.” The San Francisco Call, 3 January 1897.
305 Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing: the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 188.
So what was the Roycroft ideology? What did it mean to be a "Roycrofter"? In *The Book of the Roycrofters*, Hubbard preached to his readers:

But you know you belong to the Brotherhood when you feel the absolute nothingness of this world of society, churches, fashion, politics and business; and realize strongly the consciousness of the Unseen World of Truth, Love and Beauty. The first emotion on coming into the Brotherhood is one of loneliness and isolation. You pray for comradeship, and empty arms reach out into the darkness. But gradually you awaken to the thought that you are one of many who hope and pray alike; and that slowly this oneness of thought and feeling is making its impress felt. Then occasionally you meet one of your own. This one may be socially high or low, rich or poor, young or old, man or woman — but you recognize each other on sight and hold sweet converse. Then you part, mayhap, never to meet again, but you are each better, stronger, nobler for the meeting.\(^\text{306}\)

Habermas contended that "relations between author, work, and public ... became intimate mutual relationships" wherein participants could learn more about themselves and how to empathize with others.\(^\text{307}\) Hubbard offered Roycroft as a respite from the chaos of modern society, a fellowship of similarly-minded people, and a new way to think about life.

This new way of thinking involved other changes as well. Hubbard encouraged his readers to dwell in beauty, for “the best art of the Roycrofters is seen in their homes.”\(^\text{308}\) Of course, the current Roycroft catalog’s pages offered multiple options to see that they carried out this artistic ideal. Customers could learn more about fulfilling their dreams by subscribing to “two magazines of world-wide circulations,” periodicals that “to a certain degree, advertise and sell the wares of the concern.” A journey to the Roycroft campus provided even greater gratification. Not only could they stay at the Roycroft Inn, but they could remain “to study bookbinding, music or art.”\(^\text{309}\) While Hubbard remained transparent about the fact that periodicals and campus visits provided revenue


\(^{309}\) Ibid., 16.
for Royncroft, by including his readers outside of East Aurora - whom he called Royncrofters-at-Large - Hubbard implied that they somehow benefitted from the steady stream of profit flowing into his colony.

Hubbard wanted his readers to always feel as if they were an important part of the Royncroft community to maintain their customer loyalty. Furthermore, he met their needs by encouraging their pursuit of topics with cultural and intellectual significance, as long as they concurred with his own interests. Hubbard read extensively, and had the ability to consolidate complex theories and concepts into a catch phrase. These ‘Fra-sized’ segments allowed his readers to feel part of the Zeitgeist, although they did not necessarily understand what they were buying in to. In an article written by Hubbard in The Fra, he managed to compress Nietzsche, Kant, Schopenhauer, Hegel, Darwin, and Jesus Christ into four pages of ‘quotable quotes,’ while neglecting to discuss their philosophies. Instead, he used key words and phrases from their writings, such as Nietzsche’s “Will to Power” and Schopenhauer’s idea that “all is vanity.”

While he did not transmit complex ideas to his readers, he may have inspired some to seek out additional reading, either on their own, or in local clubs. Fortunately for his Royncrofters-at-Large, Royncroft published the Little Journeys, a pseudo-biographical series that expounded on famous individuals’ lives and philosophy. However, Hubbard rarely chose to delve deeper into philosophical works in the pages of The Fra for doing so would have created a shallower market for Royncroft goods. In the end, Hubbard ably achieved a delicate balance between his Royncrofters-at-Large who wanted to become more intellectual and those content with the light reading they found in their mailboxes each month.

Character-Molding in a Delaware Colony

While Hubbard turned Royncroft into a successful business, Frank Stephens focused on his one mission in life: “the preaching of the gospel of the

311 “Where Children are Taught to Live Art as Poetry,” The North American (September 8, 1907), Delaware Historical Society.
In an unpublished autobiographical sketch, Stephens reflected that although his architectural terra cotta business flourished, and he became involved in several arts organizations, he found nothing more important than Single Tax principles. Stephens avidly supported George’s economic solutions for society’s downtrodden, making it his life’s work. Stephens’s love of Shakespeare and medieval England predisposed him to Will Price’s interests in the arts and crafts, making the movement the ideal style for Arden’s physical appearance. Stephens reflected that, along with Single Tax principles, the arts and crafts movement held “tremendous power for advancing our economic ideas.” Furthermore, Stephens realized that the ideology of the arts and crafts movement supplied a “field for propaganda offered in political work.”

Stephens remained dedicated to his cause, despite fellow Single Taxers modifying their goals over time. He knew he needed to “follow a course which my judgment still approves,” even if that meant losing friends and minimizing his influence. While Stephens persevered steadfastly in his beliefs, he believed that all ideals should be challenged to ensure they stood up to scrutiny. In Arden, Stephens created an experimental village where others could come to practice their politics, and confront the weak points in their, and in others’, arguments. Arden was fundamentally a community of learners. As Arden folk rehearsed their Shakespeare plays each summer, Stephens prepared a lesson to accompany the performances. On an “As You Like It” script, Stephens jotted down his notes: “Questions - What is lesson of Play? As to general lesson - to a better off worth working for? Does it not defend our environment? Are we responsible for environment? What can we do?” Questioning enveloped every aspect of Arden, even its entertainments.

Frank Stephens, like Elbert Hubbard, was highly literate. However, unlike Hubbard, who reduced dense philosophical theory into small bites that may or
may not have been true to the original intent of the thinker, Stephens selected key words, phrases, and thoughts - without changing their meaning - to educate his students, his audience, and his community. In a speech given at a women’s suffrage rally, Stephens used the Declaration of Independence as the backbone of his argument for equal rights. He argued that the “self-evident truth upon which the demand for the vote for women is based is the same as that upon which this nation is established as a free republic.” He continued, “If we do not believe this truth, then we should at once stop lying about it, and ... return at once to ... government by divine right.”

Calling upon the words, and ideas, of the founding fathers, Stephens appealed to Americans' patriotic beliefs to fight for women’s right to vote. Moreover, Stephens expected his audience to have a basic familiarity with important nineteenth-century philosophers. In a speech for animal rights, he referred to John Ruskin as the “great anti-vivisectionist” and quoted John Stuart Mill without providing any additional information on their theories. Such references would have been immediately understood by a learned audience, while leaving uninformed listeners in the dark. However, such lectures may have spurred a trip to the library for those eager to learn more about the men and women whom Stephens held in such high esteem.

The elevated standard of educational development and debate that existed at Arden influenced every other aspect of village life. Arden had a strong internal ideological agenda, and Arden folk spent relatively little time, in the village’s first decade, developing a cohesive relationship with the conventional consumer. The public was certainly welcome at Arden, and they visited the village for regular activities throughout the year. However, Arden charged only nominal fees to cover operating costs at those festivities, and Arden folk never used them as fundraising events. Arden became ‘consumed’ by its residents as a place for them to challenge their convictions and practice their beliefs. Additionally, the village served as a refuge for its residents, as a place to come

317 Frank Stephens, “Address for Woman Suffrage at Chautauqua Meeting,” undated, Series 7, Box 20, Folder 6, Delaware Historical Society.
318 Frank Stephens, There Is an Advantage (Aeolian Hall, New York: Anti-Vivisection League, April 24, 1926), Series 7, Box 19, Folder 10, Delaware Historical Society.
home to after practicing those convictions out in the world. Stephens concluded, in a poem about Arden:

For stars will shine again, and day will brighten,
And rough roads smooth, that Love shall tread adown,
And evensong ring brave, and sad hearts lighten,
As hope leads home to Arden Town.319

Only later, when Arden folk wanted to work, as well as live, in the village did residents seek to profit from a more recognizable form of consumption.

**A Catalog of Roycroft Books and Things Craftie**320

With a Roycroft philosophy in place, something was required to transfer that ideology to the consumer. As it so happened, Roycroft produced arts and crafts goods for sale. Habermas wrote that “culture products,” such as philosophy, literature, and art, “became similar” to public information, and “as commodities they became in principle generally accessible.”321 If ideas could become goods available to the public, then goods, in turn, must be able to serve as information surrogates, carrying the idea until consumed by the individual. Since Hubbard required a customer base to keep Roycroft profitable, he had to sell them more than just a tangible product - he needed to make his products convincing bearers of arts and crafts ideas.

As Roycroft publications began to gain popular support - *The Philistine* surged from a June 1895 circulation of 2,500 to a monthly printing of 225,000 in 1900 - Hubbard realized the periodical was the perfect vehicle to sell Roycroft.322 Upon the 1899 success of *Message to Garcia*, which sold more than 40 million copies in its first two decades in print, Hubbard transitioned his personal appearance from that of corporate America, to one more distinctly arts and crafts. He adopted casual, country wear, a cowboy hat, and a floppy tie that became his

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321 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, 36.
322 Koch, “Elbert Hubbard’s Roycrofters as Artist-Craftsmen,” 67, 72.
ubiquitous trademark, and appeared in photos on his horse or with his working-class employees. \(^{323}\) [Figure 10] The look of the Roycroft campus and its “Fra-in-chief,” complemented the pithy advice, quotable quotes, tongue-in-cheek stories, and the plethora of advertising for Roycroft products that came neatly packaged in every issue of *The Philistine* and *The Fra*.

With an avid readership across the United States, and a demand for all things ‘Roycroftie,’ a lecture tour seem an obvious choice for feeding the interests of Roycrofters-at-Large and drawing new customers into the flock. Hubbard spoke in large venues and small, giving his audiences the opportunity to see Fra Elbertus in person and to become part of the Roycroft experience without leaving home. Hubbard promoted his colony in New York by touring lecture and vaudeville circuits in 1901; four years later, his tours included stops across the country, including Vermont, Minnesota, Utah, California, and Washington. \(^{324}\) He used his 1901 lecture series, “Roycroft Ideals,” to introduce his audiences to the colony, expounding on the curious and experimental nature of the community. Hubbard also used his lectures to sell Roycroft products and its ideology. In Minneapolis, he delivered his speech “Overcome Disadvantages of Civilization” to a packed auditorium. The editor of the *St. Paul Globe* found the lecture “up to Mr. Hubbard’s high standard, and was delivered in his well-known effective manner.” Hubbard could charm his listeners and on this particular evening, he kept his audience “in convulsions of laughter.” \(^{325}\) In addition to his tours, Hubbard regularly endorsed products - using his name and that of Roycroft

\(^{323}\) Zanger, “‘A Message to Garcia’: The Subsidized Hero,” 99. A Russian railroad executive picked up a copy of *Message to Garcia* when visiting New York. After receiving permission to translate it, the missive was distributed to all Russian soldiers. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese military obtained a copy and translated it into Japanese, distributing it to their troops.


\(^{325}\) “Heard Mr. Hubbard,” *The St. Paul Globe*, October 20, 1901.
- for other businesses, including the “Jones Under-Feed Stoker,” Maxwell Automobiles, and The System Company’s “Pigeonholes” filing cabinet.326

Hubbard’s lecture tours and public promotions increased the monthly circulation of his periodicals, and the number of books he sold. Furthermore, his shameless promotion of Roycroft through his magazines, books, and circuit riding attracted guests to East Aurora. Hubbard met visitors’ demands by building a hotel so they could stay on campus. The Roycroft Inn began humbly as the Hubbard home, but the influx of tourists to the campus quickly overran it. This prompted Hubbard to demolish his home in 1905, and replace it with a larger building, full of well-lit dining and drawing rooms, ample open-air porches, and cozy guest rooms. Instead of numbering the rooms, he named each after an influential arts and crafts thinker, such as Morris, Ruskin, and Whitman; to furnish the Inn, he employed his own craftsmen to build chairs, tables, and clocks. When visitors to the Inn asked Hubbard where they could purchase the furniture, their queries birthed a new industry on the campus. From that point on, each piece of furniture at the Inn had an inventory number, placed in a discreet, yet visible location so guests could order by part number.327 [Figure 11]

Advertisements for the Roycroft Inn appeared in almost every Fra. The February 1911 issue compared the Inn to an eighteenth-century coffeehouse, the “trysting-places for the wits of England.” Selling the Inn as a site for intellectual stimulation, Hubbard assured the reader that calm could be equally achieved in “every corner - from the sociable, wide hearth-settles in the living-room to the dignified modeled leather wall-seats in the salon,” all of which suggested “comfort and peace.” The accompanying illustration, a woodcut by Dard Hunter, showed the Reception Room of the Inn in an image that evoked the medieval heritage claimed by the arts and crafts movement.328 [Figure 12] Hubbard attempted to appeal to socialists by calling the Inn “The Roycroft Phalansterie,” a name

327 Alan Nowicki (director, Roycroft Campus Corporation), in discussion with the author, July 2012.
328 “Early Taverns and the Roycroft Inn,” The Fra 6, no. 5 (February 1911), xx.
borrowed from Charles Fourier’s utopian ideas.\textsuperscript{329} [Figure 13] The concept may have attracted Roycrofters-at-Large that flirted with some of socialism’s lighter concepts, but it appeared false to ardent radicals. Joseph E. Cohen, in comparing his visits to the Roycroft and the Arden Inns, noted, “Unlike Elbert Hubbard’s travesty upon hospitality at East Aurora, the Inn at Arden is run, not for profit, but for the accommodation of friends.”\textsuperscript{330} Socialists like Cohen who travelled to Roycroft found themselves chaffing under the highly capitalist enterprise of its director.

Hubbard entertained a growing number of visitors who came to Roycroft, eager to live the experience themselves. Celebrity visitors like Marshall Wilder and Joaquin Miller joined masses of middle-class Americans flocking to the campus. Hubbard organized a wide array of conferences reflecting his own interests to bolster Roycroft’s image. In June of 1909, he held conventions for advertisers, socialists, and women’s suffrage, along with “The Roycroft Convention,” and the “New Thought Convention,” for “folks who do their own thinking instead of sending it out like the family wash.”\textsuperscript{331} Eager to draw in leaders of industry, Hubbard advertised the Inn as the ideal site to host their business conferences. The \textit{New York Times} reported that the men who attended the Convention of Publicists and Printers had “forsworn high collars and [are] trying hard to look ‘Roycroftie’.\textsuperscript{332} He sold the Roycroft life to his guests by offering them the novel opportunity of “institutional chore-doing” such as “making hay, cutting wood, or hoeing potatoes” when they visited the campus and stayed at the Inn.\textsuperscript{333} Despite Hubbard’s enjoyment of payments from his guests for services rendered by them, visitors left East Aurora as reinvigorated or newly committed Roycrofters, ready to spread the message at home.

Very rarely did Roycrofters-at-Large ever leave upstate New York without a new item from the Roycroft collection. The furniture shop, started by necessity

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{329} “The Roycroft Phalansterie,” \textit{The Fra} 4, no. 5 (February 1910): xvi.
\bibitem{331} “Summer Advertisers,” \textit{The Fra} 3, no. 3 (June 1909), xvi.
\bibitem{333} Champney, \textit{Art & Glory, The Story of Elbert Hubbard}, 181.
\end{thebibliography}
when Hubbard first built the Inn, grew to meet the demand of campus visitors, then expanded rapidly as Hubbard began to advertise it in his periodicals and mail-order catalogs. The campus machine shop became the Copper Shop when demand for hand-hammered copper desk sets, “Easter flower-holders,” and lamps increased.\textsuperscript{334} Leather workers made wallets and “ooze-leather pillows;” Denslow developed the artistic division of the illustration and illumination department, Connor created sculptures for the campus, and Hunter worked in stained-glass for the campus and in paper and watermarks for Roycroft’s special edition books.\textsuperscript{335} Recalling ideas from his Larkin days, Hubbard developed value-added products, so Roycrofters-at-Large could purchase a seasonal “Goodie-Box,” containing Roycroft-made maple syrup candy, “Roycroft nut-bread,” “Prize Roycroft potatoes,” “York State apples,” “Roycroft Bacon,” and “a Special Surprise - A Piece of Roycroft Art Work That Will Make Your Heart Thrill,” to share with their family at home, or to send to their loved ones, during those special holiday seasons.\textsuperscript{336}

The commercial success of Roycroft products furthered the debate over the merits of making money off the arts and crafts movement. Hubbard was a blatant apologist for selling the movement to the middle-class consumer and this spurred occasional criticism of Roycroft’s production methods. All Roycroft goods received individual attention from employees during some part of the production or construction process. However, handmade goods in copper and leather sold next to hand-finished items such as illuminated books and machine-lathed chairs without any distinction as to their processes of production. For purists, the fact that Roycroft produced wood chairs with legs turned by lathe, but then added chisel marks to make them appear completely hand made, smacked of hypocrisy.\textsuperscript{337} It did not help that Hubbard perpetuated the 100% hand-produced myths. He claimed to sell furniture “made by hand,” with “the loving marks of the

\textsuperscript{334} “Easter Flower-Holders,” \textit{The Fra} 14, no. 6 (March 1915), xvi-a. “Hammered Copper and German Silver,” \textit{The Fra} 7, no. 1 (April 1911), lxi.
\textsuperscript{336} “A Valentine Goodie-Box,” \textit{The Fra} 14, no. 5 (February 1915), xxxviii.
tool” upon it. However, Hubbard never responded directly to his detractors and Americans became more familiar with the arts and crafts movement through the writings of William Morris and John Ruskin because they appeared in Roycroft publications. Furthermore, the middle-class gained an appreciation for domestic goods that, if not completely hand made, had at least been thoughtfully made at Roycroft. By 1910, Hubbard controlled a highly popular brand that sold from coast to coast.

**Old English Celebration in Delaware Town**

In Arden, cultural and socio-economic ideas became the colony’s commodity. Their periodicals, *Arden Club Talk*, then later the *Arden Leaves*, had a circulation primarily limited, although not restricted, to Arden residents. Advertisements in the *Arden Leaves* came from Arden businesses, such as the Arden Dairy and the Arden Grocery, or from Wilmington businesses that sold goods related to activities in Arden, like “Brosius & Smedley, Lumber” and “J.C. Johnson & Son, Metallic Roofing, Heaters, Stoves and Ranges.” Johnson & Son’s advertiser - probably the company itself - must have understood that the colony’s members knew each other to be reliable when mentioning they “installed a number of heating systems for Ardenfolk whom we can give as references.”

No commercial goods appeared in the page or two dedicated to ads; no Arden resident ever endorsed a product. Simplicity dominated advertisements in Arden periodicals: ads had no images, simple fonts, and straightforward information. In other words, goods that sold in Arden did so on their own merit, not on slick, persuasive advertising. Furthermore, the advertisements in the *Arden Leaves* indicated that the few businesses in the community required little advertising to stay in operation - word of mouth in Arden most often did the trick.

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338 Hubbard, *This Then Is a William Morris Book; Being a Little Journey by Elbert Hubbard, & Some Letters, Heretofore Unpublished, Written to His Friend and Fellow Worker, Robert Thomson, All Throwing a Side-Light, More or Less, on the Man and His Times*, 12.


Arden did advertise outside the village, especially when it came time for their festivals. Arden folk loved to celebrate the character of their village, and they held the Arden Fair and an Arden Field Day in the summer. They celebrated Walt Whitman and Henry George by having a Day for each, and summer evenings were not complete without Shakespeare plays at their outdoor theatre, or a bonfire accompanied by a sing-a-long of tunes and lyrics composed by Frank Stephens. For all these events, Arden welcomed the public. They advertised with fliers in the local area and in newspaper articles in Philadelphia, and presumably, Wilmington. The admission fee covered the expenses of hosting the event - at the Second Annual Field Day in 1909, ten cents admitted the visitor - but these events rarely turned a profit for the village. For the price of a ticket, Arden folk entertained their guests, but never neglected to educate and inform while doing so. At 1910’s Henry George Day, Arden folk transformed their village into a scene “representing feudal life in the ‘Merrie England’ of Robin Hood’s time.” [Figure 14] Arden folk dressed in “costumes modeled after those of the period,” entertaining guests much as actors at a modern Renaissance Fair would do. However, in addition to the theatrics, Arden offered visitors the opportunity to hear from speakers on Henry George’s single-tax theories. Learning always accompanied play at Arden, and Arden folk always welcomed visitors arriving at the village eager for intellectual development.

During the first decade of Arden’s existence, the village offered few items for sale. Those that existed provided Arden folk with basic needs, necessities such as dairy products, vegetables, and dry goods. No market for Arden goods existed outside the community. However, as Arden folk took up residency year round in their enclave, they began contemplating how to earn a living, not in Philadelphia or Wilmington, but ‘at home’ in Arden. By 1908, individual residents offered their employment services - a few of which had craft roots - to their fellow Arden folk, so they could work from home. A regular column, “Arden Industries,” appeared in the Arden Leaves, advertising “Carpentry and Building … House Designing … Photography, Lantern Slides … [and] Weaving,” in addition to

341 “Picturesque Figures in Pageant at Arden.”
“Building Material” and “Farm Produce.” Those offering services or goods found success, and residents who commuted to Wilmington or Philadelphia hoped to emulate their endeavors.

In their search for home-based employment - and perhaps in their desires for more creative freedom - Ardenites turned to the arts and crafts movement as an artistic current that paralleled their political goals. While Arden looked ‘arts and crafts’ in some of its architecture during its first decade, early residents made little effort toward Morris’s dream of reunifying a person with joyful labor. Frank Stephens lectured on the arts and crafts movement in his Extension lecture series, but focused on its socio-economic reform aspects. However, the movement offered a solution for those wishing to work at home and Arden folk felt that “the development of the crafts and arts will make the ideal environment for serious educational work and capital will flow where conditions fully justify.” Creating a community-supported workshop would allow everyone the opportunity to learn a craft: “There must be many things to be done at the carpenter’s bench and the glazier’s … which will give a living to the skilled and an education to the unskilled.”

In 1912, the Arden folk launched their largest project to date: the Arden Forge. The May 1912 Arden Leaves ran an advertisement for the “Arden Smith Shop,” announcing “its readiness to accept and promptly execute commissions for Ornamental Iron Work and all kinds of smithing and hand forging.” The Arden Forge catalog advertised the ironwork as “individual pieces of craftsmanship wrought at the open forge by the hammers of craftsmen who take pride in their work, just as did the village blacksmiths of our forefathers’ time.” A pair of Arden bookends, of either the “Gothic” or the “Bookworm”

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342 “Arden Industries,” Arden Club Talk, First Trial, 23 October 1908, Arden Craft Shop Museum Collection.
346 “Arden Forge Catalog,” Arden Forge, undated, Delaware Historical Society.
design, sold for $6.00 - a comparable price to the “$4.85 and up” prices of the “Patina Bronze Book Ends” advertised in the New York Times.\(^{347}\) [Figure 15] Within a few years, a small salesroom at the Red House offered Arden-made items to visitors, and Arden goods eventually sold in several department stores in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.\(^{348}\) The frequent festivals held at Arden offered Arden folk regular opportunities to draw visitors into the forge, who “crowded into the Arts and Crafts Shop to inspect the pieces of art and craftsmanship - the work of the colonists.”\(^{349}\) Art increasingly became an important part of village life.

This new emphasis on art increased the number of independent artisans moving into the community, and the village added cultural diversity to its spectrum of political radicalism. The Arden Forge building expanded to include a village Craft Shop that provided artisans with studio space to work. The shop allowed customers, like those who visited “Miss Elene Darling’s leaded glass studio,” to watch artists in the process of creation.\(^{350}\) Ardenites soon used the Craft Shop for “wood-working, silversmithing, leaded glass work, weaving, painting and modeling.” Upon opening, the shop also became the site of summer camp activities for Arden’s children.\(^{351}\) In a New York Tribune article, “Restoring to the Home its Individuality,” the author recounted a visit to the Arden Craft Shop.\(^{352}\) Presenting Arden as a “single tax colony successfully experiment[ing] with arts and craft,” the article outlined what that meant: work “caressed into being by the hands of master workmen” ended with a finished product that was one of “simplicity and durability.” It also meant, according to “Mr. Stephens” that “inferior materials make inferior craftsmen,” implying that Arden only produced the highest-quality goods. While sporadic newspaper articles drew attention to Arden’s artisanal offerings, Arden folk never made a coordinated effort to advertise or distribute their goods. Instead, they left it up to artisans to maintain


\(^{348}\) Taylor, Images of America: Arden, 94.

\(^{349}\) “Single taxers and Socialists,” unknown newspaper, 1914, Series 20, Folder 6, Delaware Historical Society.


individual relationships with their customers, just as they had developed associations amongst themselves.

The Roycroft Fraternity

Unlike the local distribution network at Arden, Hubbard made Roycroft a national name, almost overnight. By 1901, Missourians could buy Roycroft’s “especially charming” furniture pieces at Barr’s Department Store; two years later, Cordes Furniture in San Francisco included Roycroft in their offering of “all the worthy makes.” Although he did not pioneer the term “mission” - a colloquial and commercial name for arts and crafts furniture and homes - he created a narrative that implied that it was all his idea. A 1907 article in the Salt Lake Tribune, fashion columnist Frederic J. Haskin credited Hubbard with the idea: “Mr. Hubbard had among his family treasures an old desk ... a remnant of the days when Spanish priests ... fashioned their simple furniture.” Hubbard “in casting about for a new style of furniture,” continued Haskin, “hit on the plan of copying the “mission” work for desks and bookcases.” Concluding, Haskin noted, “it is [now] sold in every furniture store in America.” It is doubtful that this idea originated with Haskin, most likely coming from Hubbard in response to a letter of inquiry, or drawn directly from a Roycroft catalog or periodical. With a wide distribution of his furniture already in place, Hubbard sought to dominate the entire arts and crafts movement by making his product synonymous with the Mission style.

By 1900, middle-class consumers recognized the name “Roycroft.” Hubbard offered products at all price ranges, seeking to reach as wide a market as possible. At Powers, a department store in Minneapolis, customers purchased Roycroft books with S.&H. Green Trading Stamps, while collectors in New York sought “scarce and rare” copies of the Roycroft limited-edition publication, On the

353 “Our Third Floor Department,” The Republic, December 22, 1901. “Your Credit is good at Cordes,” The San Francisco Call, October 4, 1903.
Heights. Hubbard worked with department stores to install Roycroft counters; at Manhattan’s Lord & Taylor, customers could purchase “a little round hand-hammered copper bowl” that supplied “just the right touch, particularly when this love of a bowl is filled, as it should be with violets.” Retailers began to reference Roycroft, even when the product did not come from East Aurora. At Hale’s, in San Francisco, the art department offered Kodak albums in various colors, including “seal brown, Roycroft green, tan and crimson.” The public came to know Roycroft - as a brand and as an idea - and it spread into the mass media. In the 1911 serial novel, “The Girl of My Dreams,” Hubbard’s unique apparel made an appearance.

The newcomer glided in. His long, dank hair hung down to his collar, his white, thin hands plucked with melancholy grace at the roycroft tie he was wearing, and his eyes, which were set deep in his head, gleamed weirdly.

“Alas!” he said, “it is you!”

Certain ideas accompanied the tie - a persona, a mentality, a way of thinking. Hubbard sold every Roycroft item wrapped in an idea, and the public had gotten the message.

Many Americans embraced Hubbard’s Roycroft ideal and sought to live it themselves. In 1907, “Dr. Bierle,” of Philadelphia, purchased 100 acres in the Poconos to “establish a colony of Roycrofters.” By 1913, Bierle’s Hawthorne Inn and Cottages offered visitors “beautiful surroundings and magnificent views.” Of course, guests interested in leisure reading could always pick up a “Roycroft made book” at the front desk. In Pensacola, Florida, residents could stop by the craft shop of Mrs. Katherine P. Wright who operated “a limited and miniature edition of the Roycroft Shop of National fame,” to see her work in copper, wood,
or leather. While Bierle and Wright created their own versions of Roycroft, others traveled to East Aurora to become part of the colony’s story. Dr. James Eslin and Katherine G. Raymond met at Roycroft during a convention, and later returned to become the first couple to marry in the Roycroft Chapel.362

Roycroft became a destination for vacationers who wished to experience the colony firsthand. In a New York Tribune article, “Motoring Over the Trails of the Five Nations,” a half-page map and travel itineraries directed potential tourists toward towns of historical or cultural interest. The map noted East Aurora as the “Home of the Roycrofters, Founded by Elbert Hubbard.”363 Some, like Mrs. Thomas C. Bourne and her son, began their summer at the “Roycroft Summer School,” before taking a tour of the Great Lakes and Canada.364 Roycroft visitors returned home and shared their experiences locally: in newspaper columns, as illustrated programs with stereopticon slides, and in lectures.365 Roycroft visitors enjoyed their experiences and they made sure their friends, neighbors, and - occasionally - complete strangers benefitted from the insight they gained, and hopefully experienced the joy they felt, on their journey to East Aurora.

Hubbard encouraged the activities of his Roycrofters-at-Large. He began to publish a column, called “The Roycroft Fraternity,” in each issue of The Fra. The column contained a list of questions drawn from the same issue - such as “Who was Chaucer?” “Is muck-raking a laudable ambition?” and “What is Religion?” - for Roycrofters-at-Large to discuss in local meetings.366 [Figure 19] Local groups popped up across the country. From Washington D.C. to Spokane and Honolulu, and from Georgia to North Dakota, Roycrofters-at-Large gave lectures and held discussions over light refreshments.367 Unlike the

366 “The Roycroft Fraternity,” The Fra 6, no. 6 (March 1911): xxii.
conventioneers drawn to the Roycroft Inn, women composed the majority of early Roycrofters-at-Large groups, which often sprang up from existing ladies’ circles. They read Roycroft publications together, over a Roycroft dining table, while drinking tea out of Roycroft china. At Christmas meetings, they enjoyed Roycroft maple sugar candy. A journalist at the Houston Daily Post sneered, “Women have made a fad of Fra Alberto all over the country, and in every town there are a lot of them who carry his gewgaws around and babble about Roycroftery as silliily as they know how.” However, other newspapers ran a weekly column devoted to “Roycroft Philosophy.” The columns contained Hubbard’s folksy brand of quotes and advice, such as “The joy of reading consists in self-discovery,” “Do not argue with customers or contradict them,” and “Thought is supreme.” Negative press discouraged few, and devotees of Hubbard continued to admire his philosophy and flocked to Roycroft and its products.

Roycroft appealed to many because of the way Hubbard presented the colony. He offered his Roycrofters-at-Large an idyllic campus to remind them fondly of the pastoral beauty of a simpler age, and produced domestic arts that changed the interiors of Victorian middle-class homes into medieval-inspired living spaces. He loved to take campus visitors to his favorite spot at Roycroft: the well. [Figure 16] Constructed of large, smooth field stones, and built directly in the center of the campus, the well had a thirty-foot well sweep to assist with raising its bucket. Hubbard enjoyed having his photo taken with his visitors at the well, and the well appeared regularly in The Fra and in advertisements for the Roycroft Inn, which announced its location as “across from the well.” Perhaps the well symbolized how far he had come in his transformation from soap executive to Fra Elbertus, or maybe it served Hubbard, his Roycrofters, and his

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368 Hubbard, A Catalog of Roycroft Books and Things Craftie.
Roycrofters-at-Large as a metaphor for the deep sources of creativity that sustained a vital community.

**Guild Industries, Outdoor Amusements à la Henry George**

While Elbert Hubbard promoted Roycroft on a national stage, Frank Stephens traveled in the mid-Atlantic region, lecturing on topics of personal interest, such as single-tax principles. As Arden began to produce goods, Stephens expanded his talks to include lectures on John Ruskin, William Morris, “Arden Village: A Social Experiment,” and “Artsman and Craftsman: Common Purpose and Common Failure.” The arts and crafts goods coming out of Arden failed to gain national attention but, perhaps, that was never the intended goal of the Arden folk. However, as a radical enclave, Arden kept in touch with other similarly-minded communities. Fairhope, Alabama, a single-tax colony, regularly reported on Arden events in their newspaper, the *Fairhope Courier*. Residents there received the delightful report that Arden intended to install a permanent “path” system. Of course, they “presumed, foot walks, not ordinary right angling street-side walks.” Ordinary was never an issue in Arden.

In scattered regions along the Eastern seaboard, communities admired Arden residents for their singular devotion to living out their political dreams in their village. Just south of the New Clairvaux colony in Springfield, Massachusetts, a journalist reported that Ardenites built the “dreamland” of Arden after the communal principles of Thomas Jefferson, Henry George, and William Morris. Drawing their ideas from Morris’s *News from Nowhere*, continued the article, Arden residents “set apart a green in the center” of the village. The same vein of admiration appeared in an article on Arden in Waterbury, Connecticut’s *Musical Comment*. The author wrote of the “picturesque” village,

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372 “Thriving Single Tax Colony,” unknown newspaper, undated, Series 4, Box 20, Folder 6, Delaware Historical Society.
373 “Frank Stephens: Travel Talks and Lectures,” undated pamphlet, Arden Bindery, Series 7, Box 20, Folder 2, Delaware Historical Society.
374 “Items from Arden,” *Fairhope Courier*, June 3, 1904, Series 4, Box 20, Folder 6, Delaware Historical Society.
“Arden offers a home” to “musicians, and artists of the brush and pen, to men and women, brain weary, and longing for the inspiration of Nature.” The author noted that Arden counted among its admirers “men and women who are ‘doing things,’ in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.” While never gaining commercial success, the work - both artistic and social - going on in Arden rarely failed to attract admirers.

Conclusion

The utopian arts and crafts colonies of Roycroft and Arden appealed to two contrasting consumer markets. Roycroft goods, along with the accompanying ideology, attracted mainstream middle-class consumers who desired something more fulfilling than what Roland Barthes called the “anonymous ideology” of bourgeois consumer culture, without giving up their comfort at home. Arden’s consumers, on the other hand, came to the colony with the expectation of gaining greater personal insight, and rarely left with a tangible object to represent that intellectual growth. McCracken stated that “goods are an opportunity to make culture material.” However, this is a paradoxical situation because the consumer can never successfully lay claim to goods’ “symbolic properties.” While this may be true, it does not prevent the consumer from continuing to pursue the culture inherent, but unattainable, in the goods themselves. Art historian Peter Bürger argued that the needs of bourgeois society can “find a home in art, because art is removed from the praxis of life.” Furthermore, “values such as humanity, joy, truth, solidarity are extruded from life,” noted Bürger, “and preserved in art.” Consumers continue to purchase goods, in the hope that they will eventually gain the intrinsic values accompanying the objects. However, Campbell noted that modern people ultimately fail to transform the “‘iron cage’ of

379 Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 50.
economic necessity” into a “castle of romantic dreams.” In other words, the consumer is caught in a perpetual cycle of purchasing goods in an attempt to capture the elusive mystique that accompanies the object. Unfortunately for the individual, the ideas remain out of reach even after the good is possessed and the cycle begins anew.

Roycroft and Arden effectively adapted the discourse of the arts and crafts movement by modifying their language to meet the desires of their consumers to gain the values by purchasing the goods. Through periodicals, lecture series, catalogs, and on-campus events, Roycroft and Arden appealed to the perceived desires of their audiences in order to gain their trust and their business. Each customer, whether of tangible goods or political ideas, chose to use, accept, or assimilate the arts and crafts movement in their own way. The dream of an arts and crafts lifestyle motivated some customers, while others purchased the movement’s goods for purely aesthetic reasons. In the end, individuals chose for themselves whether they accepted the myth or the reality of the movement, and to what degree they integrated the arts and crafts ideology into their lives. The acceptance, or rejection, of the movement’s ideology, acted as the key to an authentically lived arts and crafts experience for the consumer.

William Morris developed the idea of arts and crafts because he wanted people - working class men and women - to be free from the physically and mentally oppressive industrial system, and because he, himself, found so much beauty in art.

I had thought that civilisation meant the attainment of peace and order and freedom, of goodwill between man and man, of the love of truth and the hatred of injustice, and by consequence the attainment of the good life which these things breed, a life free from craven fear, but full of incident: that was what I thought it meant, not more stuffed chairs and more cushions, and more carpets and gas, and more dainty meat and drink- and therewithal more and sharper differences between class and class. 

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Morris decried civilization for its excessive consumption, and he would have found Hubbard’s manipulation of the arts and crafts highly distasteful. However, by the time the movement reached the American public, American leaders had modified it far beyond its British origins, and consumption played a central role in the arts and crafts in the United States.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines authentic as “of undisputed origin or veracity; genuine.” However, it is not the origin of the goods, produced at Roycroft and Arden, that are in question; this study endeavors to understand how the colonies created a template for the arts and crafts lifestyle authentically lived. Ruskin wrote that “art, devoted humbly and self-forgetfully to the clear statement and record of the facts of the universe, is always helpful and beneficent to mankind, full of comfort, strength, and salvation.” So how did the arts and crafts ideology - in its role as a nature-inspired consolation for the ravages of industrialization - pass from ideologue to consumer? To understand how middle-class Americans became familiar with the “authentic arts and crafts experience,” we must examine the traits that determine “authenticity.” There is a framework that must be present in order for authenticity to be perceived. First, there must be an established tradition, represented by a set of patterns that alert the consumer to its presence, a general cultural acceptance of, or agreement on, those patterns, and a history. Second, the object or concept must be recognizable as representing that tradition.

The fluidity of the arts and crafts movement makes this structure nebulous at times. However, through rhetoric and product design, Roycroft and Arden used this framework of authenticity to flesh out the arts and crafts movement. They established tradition by basing their own work on an earlier set of patterns drawn from the writing of Ruskin, Morris, the transcendentalists and from Morris’s design firm. Arts and crafts became familiar to readers of mainstream periodicals, such as *Ladies’ Home Journal*, through feature articles on arts and crafts goods and homes, as well as in advertisements for products endorsed by Hubbard.

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Roycroft and Arden used Ruskin’s and Morris’s fondness toward the artisanship of the medieval period to create an extended genealogy of the arts and crafts style, making it seem older than its sixty-year history. Finally, Hubbard claimed the mainstream names - “mission” and “bungalow” - as having their genesis at Roycroft, thus blurring the lines between his goods and those produced in the furniture factories of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The late nineteenth-century middle-class American consumer most likely had little to no experience evaluating work, as an art historian would, leaving them to develop their personal style from cues given by someone more knowledgeable. People like Elbert Hubbard and Frank Stephens readily served as guides, introducing middle-class Americans to the arts and crafts style through their writing, their lectures, and their goods.

Hubbard and Stephens had a monumental role to play when they chose to form arts and crafts colonies. If we see what Ruskin and Morris left the leaders of the American movement as a curio cabinet, then Hubbard and Stephens had to determine how to fill its shelves. Drawing from social, cultural, and political traditions and trends, each man created a unique arts and crafts experience. To give it the air of authenticity, they had to teach consumers how to recognize it and accept it, including those consumers who would never buy their products. Hubbard made the name Roycroft nationally popular; Americans who never bought a Roycroft chair or subscribed to one of Hubbard’s periodicals knew the name and what it represented. Hubbard succeeded in establishing Roycroft as “authentic arts and crafts” in the United States. On a much smaller, localized scale, and representing a very different version of the movement, Stephens and the Arden folk accomplished the same goal. Roycroft and Arden goods, within the discourse of the arts and crafts movement, came to serve the emotional needs of their consumers within the sanctity of their homes, recalling Ruskin’s words that “if men lived like men indeed, their houses would be temples.”

If authenticity lies within the heart, and the home is its physical representation, then

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consumers’ embrace of both Roycroft and Arden served the American arts and crafts movement faithfully.
The Well

In the spring of 1915, Elbert Hubbard decided to travel to Germany, hoping to persuade his friends there to seek a peace settlement. Despite the advance warnings, he and Alice boarded the *Lusitania*, never to return to their beloved Roycroft. Elbert’s son, Elbert “Bert” Hubbard II, stepped into his father’s leadership role, until bankruptcy forced Roycroft’s closure in 1938. Although most agreed Bert had a better head for business, Roycroft lost the idealism and charm it had when Fra Elbertus ran the show, transforming campus visitors, subscribers, and customers from strangers into Roycroft family.\(^{385}\)

When Roycroft disbanded at the height of the Great Depression, few took notice. Auditors destroyed unclaimed records and auctioned off durable goods. Buildings fell into disrepair, and people forgot about Roycroft. That is, until Kitty Turgeon and Robert Rust fell in love with, and bought, the Roycroft Inn in the early 1970s. Thus began a long labor of love for Turgeon, who systematically purchased as many Roycroft buildings as she could to prevent their destruction. She believed that “the craft is the outward expression of the invisible philosophy” at Roycroft, and chose to dedicate her life to preserving it, while educating others of its merits.\(^{386}\) Today, Turgeon is a founding member of the Roycrofters-at-Large Association, a respected group of juried artisans and master artisans, who are allowed to use the Roycroft symbol on their work, which they sell at the Roycroft Copper Shop. Turgeon has now sold off most the buildings to private organizations that developed with the intent of restoring Roycroft to its former glory; she still lives in Roycroft muralist Alexis Fournier’s bungalow on the edge of campus. The Roycroft Campus is vibrant but, with six managing organizations, is still attempting to establish priorities for a cohesive vision of the new Roycroft. In 2012, the Roycroft community celebrated the grand opening of the reconstruction of the Power House with a “Fra”ternity Party, complete with live

\(^{385}\) Kitty Turgeon, interview with the author, East Aurora, NY, 2012.

\(^{386}\) Kitty Turgeon, interview with the author, East Aurora, NY, 2012.
music, drinks and food, and a ‘toga’s optional’ invitation. [Figure 17] Hubbard would have loved it; he so enjoyed having a good time.

Hubbard left one last surprise for his present-day Roycrofters-at-Large. In 2010, as state archaeologists completed a survey during a restoration project on the campus, they made a startling discovery while attempting to locate the well. The excavation revealed that it was a well that never drew water; the well was simply an ornamental pool. The well that Hubbard loved being photographed in front of with his visitors, the well that had a 30-foot well sweep, the well “across from the Roycroft Inn” never actually provided water. The story of the well is a fitting metaphor for Hubbard’s legacy at Roycroft. He never needed a working well to sell Roycroft to his followers - only the illusion that it existed - just as his Roycrofters-at-Large did not require a working well in order to appreciate the beauty and simplicity of the art it represented.

Walt Whitman Way

In May of 1915, just before Scott Nearing left his Philadelphia residence for a summer at his Arden home, his secretary telephoned him: the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania had expelled him for his “outspoken opposition to child labor” and he no longer had a job. Nearing spent one last summer in Arden before moving his family to Ohio to take a new position. Anarchist shoemaker George Brown died in August, and the village lost others over time. Vegetable peddler Hal Ware grew up and moved away - first to school at Pennsylvania State University, then to the Soviet Union to assist Lenin using his agricultural innovations. ‘Patro’ Frank Stephens died in 1935. The number of artists swelled and residents with new radical political ideologies moved in.

Most Arden folk stayed, though, and created multi-generational Arden families by passing their leaseholds to their children. In 1922, Ardenites formed an adjacent village, Ardentown. In 1950, in response to a wish expressed by

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387 Alan Nowicki (director, Roycroft Campus Corporation), interview with the author, July 2012.
Frank Stephens as early as 1917, Ardencroft formed specifically to encourage African-Americans to take leaseholds. Additionally, the Ardens - as the three villages call themselves - sought a petition from the state to desegregate their school, while it was still illegal, in 1952. Still vibrant after more than a century, Arden folk continue to bear the attributes of the community's founding members. Many adhere to radical ideologies, and environmentalism has been added to the causes embraced by community members. The Arden Club still offers Summer Camp School free to the children, paid for with village subsidies. Every summer, the Shakespeare Gild puts on a work by the Bard at the Frank Stephens Memorial Theatre. They dress in the Arden Craft Shop Museum, then cross the Village Green on Walt Whitman Way to arrive the theatre en masse, like Gild members in every play since Arden's inception. [Figure 18] They are still adamant and vocal at their town meetings: in June 2012, they spent more than ninety minutes discussing changes to a playground area on the Village Green. While 'the Ardens' may have mellowed a bit with time, many would agree with what the Arden Leaves editor wrote one-hundred years ago: "Individuals alone never succeed. ... The constant return of humanity to the community idea ... seems to show that there is a deep fundamental truth in it. A community may fail, but faith in the principle never relaxes." Frank Stephens, visiting his Arden today, would still recognize the vibrant spirit of the community that village children today call "Arden, my Arden."

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392 Personal observation by author.
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SECONDARY SOURCES


APPENDIX


4. "Blessed is that man who has found his work," door on the Roycroft Print Shop, East Aurora, NY, 1902.

5. Roycroft Copper Shop, East Aurora, NY, constructed 1902.


13. Sign for The Phalanstery at The Roycroft Inn, East Aurora, NY, c. 1905.

(R) Picturesque Figures in Pageant at Arden, Sept. 3, 1910.


The Roycroft Fraternity

Questions from this number of THE FRA. Use these for topics of discussion at the meetings of your Junta. Members who are working for Certificates or Diplomas should answer the questions on separate sheets and send papers to us for examination and marking—no charge.

Lesson Number One
1. Define the following: (a) Science; (b) Philosophy; (c) Psychology; (d) Economics.
2. What do you understand by Institutionalism?
3. What is Religion?
4. What do you understand by the Religious Institute?
5. Who was (a) Adam Smith? (b) John Stuart Mill? (c) Karl Marx?
6. In what respect is it true that “to cheat another is to cheat yourself”?
7. Define (a) Altruism; (b) Individualism; (c) Socialism.
8. What is meant by “free government”?
9. What is a Political Economist?
10. What is Voodooism?
11. What is your conception of the term, Businessman?
12. What is your idea of Success?

Lesson Number Two
1. What is meant by the “Spoils System”?
2. What is a Corporation?
3. Is muck-raking a laudable ambition?
4. What is meant by “Division of Labor”?
5. Do you believe in Woman’s Right—to support man? Why?
6. In your opinion, is what is the present high cost of living due?
7. What do you think of the average every-day novel (a) as literature? (b) as art? (c) as a conservator of virtue?
8. What is an “Independent” Newspaper?
9. What is meant by the expression, “Liberty of the Press”?
10. In your opinion, is the modern newspaper a powerful agent for good, or is its influence largely imaginary?
11. What is “Neighborhood”? Is it a disease?
12. State briefly for what the following are noted: (a) Wendell Phillips; (b) Asbury; (c) Pythagoras; (d) Edmund Clarence Stedman; (e) Andrew Jackson; (f) Charles Kingsley; (g) James Hargreaves; (h) Charles Goodyear.

Lesson Number Three
1. What is (a) Honesty? (b) Virtue? (c) Truth?
2. Is Selfishness ever commendable?
3. Who was Chaucer, and for what is he noted?
4. What were the Dark Ages?
5. Who was (a) William Cobbett? (b) Horace Walpole? (c) Reynolds? (d) Romney? (e) David Hume? (f) Benjamin West?
6. Distinguish between a bibliophile, a bibliophile, a bibliophile, a bibliophile, a bibliophile.
7. What is a Deist?
8. Point out the difference between Logic and Commonsense.
9. Were Paine and Ingersoll Atheists? Why are they so cordially hated by preachers? What is a preacher, anyhow?
10. In your opinion is Heaven an eternal Smoke?
11. Is the Christian Church progressive?
12. What is (a) University? (b) College? (c) an Academy?

Lesson Number Four
1. Do you walk on the Sunny Side of the Street?
2. What is meant by the statement that milk is a “perfect” food?
3. What is Buttermilk?
4. What is the difference between bacterie, germs, microbes and bugs?
5. Are the Express Companies a menace to our Post-Office?
6. Who was the first Postmaster-General of the United States?
7. Is the Post-Office conducted for the benefit of the people, or for the aggrandizement of office-holders, or just for fun?
8. Do you believe in One-Man Power?
9. Who were the following: (a) Aristides? (b) Aristotle? (c) Socrates? (d) Burns? (e) Gellion? (f) Huss? (g) Servetus? (h) Luziner?
10. Where is Odessa? For what is it noted?
11. What and where was the Pantheon?
12. If you had only ten dollars in the world, and you owed that amount for pew-ter and also for groceries, which account would you pay?