Aesthetics Politicized: William Morris to the Bauhaus

Lauren Weingarden has a Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Chicago School of Graduate Studies, on the subject of Louis Sullivan. She is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History at Florida State University.

(Fig. 1, 2) In 20th-century histories of modern architecture and the decorative arts, the Arts and Crafts movement under William Morris' leadership has been viewed in a linear historical context with the first generation of the Modern movement. The Modern movement most completely realized its normative procedures in the teaching and designs of the Bauhaus. However, viewed stylistically, there appears to be little in common between Morris' designs for handcrafted objects inspired by medieval prototypes and Bauhaus designs for mass-produced objects inspired by Euclidean archetypes. A theoretical link can be identified between Morris and the Modernists in their shared functionalist notion that beauty results from the truthful representation of construction, materials, and use. But Morris' apprehension of the machine is antithetical to the Bauhaus aestheticization of the machine.

Yet, the succession from Morris to the Bauhaus can be more fully substantiated in ways that suspend stylistic categorizing and strictly formal analysis. Modernist historians, whose views have been limited by these latter methodologies, have not delved deeply enough into the problem of how functionalist aesthetics and a contingent urge for social reform were passed on from one generation to the next. Consequently, they have not considered how such a transference took place through a set of formal conventions and artistic procedures. In this paper I will show that Morris politicized the discourse of functionalist aesthetics and in doing so provided a consonant mode of representational imagery. By examining the socio-political dimensions of their shared functionalist aesthetics, we can better understand how Morris' craft values and methods were subsequently appropriated and extended by his Modernist followers.

Morris: Medieval Revivalism to Socialist Aesthetics

When, beginning in 1856, Morris chose to reform 19th-century art and life by reviving medieval architectural and decorative arts with organic functionalism, the outcome of a social harmony among people living in close contact with nature. August Welby Pugin argued for a renewal of medieval piety by way of a return to medieval building and artistic practices. For Pugin, medievalism provided a corrective for 19th-century moral and religious corruption initiated by the Reformation and its attendant "paganisms", aberrations represented by 19th-century classical revival styles and industrialization. With equal fervor, John Ruskin castigated the "machine." He contrasted "mechanistic and later in his career directed his aesthetic arguments against industrial capitalism. Ruskin especially venerated the decorative handwork of medieval architecture as functions of collective religious beliefs and psychological needs characteristic of medieval pantheism.

Morris further developed and secularized these discussions. He renovated the techniques of medieval handicrafts first as a means of aesthetic reform and then as a means of socialist, political revolt. Morris' direct involvement with politics began in 1876 and in 1883 he resolutely emerged as a political activist, joining the Democratic Federation and then in 1884 helping to found the Socialist League. These political activities helped him to conceptualize a connection between the artistic creative process and the means of production within a particular socioeconomic base. In this way, Morris corroborated a passage in Marx's Grundrisse, a manuscript first published posthumously in 1939. Here Marx compared ungratifying factory labor with medieval handwork produced under feudalism. In the mechanized factory, where labor becomes abstract labor power, the worker is deprived of "enjoying the work as a play of his own mental and physical powers." This is not so in the latter case. Marx commended medieval handicraft as human labor that is "still artistic, it still has the aim in itself."4

Following Marx's dialectical system for explaining revolutionary change, Morris adapted Marx's notion of "artistic" labor to his own aesthetic ends. He contrasted "artificial luxury," "undless toil," and "the division of labor" with "real wealth," "useful work," and integrated labor.

First, Morris argued that under industrial capitalism artificial needs and superficial ideas about luxury are imposed on the consumer from without—owners of the means of production, motivated by profit-making, market sham in the
firmly grounded in social action.

Visual counterparts of Morris' socialist aesthetics can be observed in the objects manufactured at Merton Abbey, the rural workshops of his firm Morris & Co. (Fig. 3) Personally inspired by the natural and artistic conditions of this rural setting, Morris prescribed to the maker and user an honest, simple life, an existence represented in the "Popular" and "Democratic" arts. Placing his products, like those of medieval art, within this tradition, Morris intended these works "to teach men to look through the art at what art represented ... to be understood, and to be helpful to all men." Thus, Morris clearly revealed the structural, materials, and functional properties of his furniture designs and two-dimensional, organic wallpaper and textile patterns to signify concrete, objective truths.

name of art. As a result, art becomes a commodity. Morris berated as dehumanized art machine-made, mass-produced household artifacts rendered in florid styles of earlier epochs, and executed with simulated precious materials and with deceptive illusionistic devices. He viewed this kind of artistic production as a perpetuation of class divisions and elitist art, as conditions leading to political revolution. But Morris welcomed such an event because, for him, the most pernicious effect of the capitalist market is that human labor itself becomes a dehumanized commodity. We can assume that Morris, like Marx, considered dehumanized or "mechanized" labor an "abstraction." Morris explained how the laborer forced to sell his or her labor and do repetitive mechanical work, is denied the pleasure of conceiving, executing, and using the products of his or her work. With this division of labor, a rupture occurs between creating and making and between making and using. Human faculties become fragmented and the laborer becomes alienated from his essential humanness—he is at once severed from his organic relationship with nature and from his social bonds with the rest of humanity.

While this aversion to mechanical production represents an extension of Thomas Carlyle's and John Ruskin's negation of the machine, Morris' original contribution to the Modern movement is of a constructive kind. Morris identified a system of craft values to facilitate the process of disalienation and, in turn, a peaceful revolution from capitalism to socialism. Although Morris patterned his utopian vision on medieval agrarian society, these same craft values were appropriated by the early Modernists when they embraced the machine as a tool for and symbol of universal social harmony and physical well-being.

The originality of Morris' craft values depends on bringing the 19th-century model for explaining the continuity between the creative process and aesthetic experience out of the transcendental realm and into the social, material realm of human experience. In the romantic-idealist model, the work of art mediates between the artist's apprehensions of a metaphysical, ideal reality and the spectator's intuitive insight of that ideal during the aesthetic experience. A highly abstract, subjective attitude pervades both the artist's and the receiver's experiences of art. In Morris' social-realist model, the subjective attitude is important only insofar as it can be externalized to communicate and gratify concrete human needs.

To identify the continuum between the creative process and aesthetic experience, Morris formulated what I will call the "joyful-maker—joyful-user" model. In a pre-Marxist lecture entitled "Art of the People" (1879) Morris used this model as a guide for discerning "real art." He established the notion that "real art is the expression by man of his pleasure in labor—an art made by the people and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and user." "Real art," he added "[is] an instrument to the progress of the world." Although he subsequently deflected the simplicity of his original statement with socialist explications, in these later statements the psychological congruity between making and using remains unchanged while becoming more firmly grounded in social action.

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about how these objects are made and how they are used.\textsuperscript{15}

Such a representational reading of Morris' arts and crafts designs is supported by his description of the kind of labor expended during the creative process, an account that conforms with a Marxist notion of praxis.\textsuperscript{16} That is, the finished object was to be a record of the craftsman's social consciousness put into practice and it was to mediate that consciousness to the user. Given the freedom to realize his total self through "useful work," the craftsman as laborer experiences an intermingling of the intellectual, emotional, and sensuous faculties. Morris assumed that since the craftsman takes a personal delight in this reintegration of labor, he simultaneously delights in satisfying corresponding needs in the individual user, thereby contributing to the physical and psychic welfare of the social body. Based on this assumption, in "Art and Socialism" (1864) Morris invoked handcraft, the product of praxis, as a tool for social change and a criterion for social evaluation.\textsuperscript{17}

Morris, like Marx, envisioned a future communist state wherein all forms of disalienated labor take on an aesthetic dimension and this, in turn, accounts for an aestheticized existence equally accessible to everyone.\textsuperscript{18} (Fig. 1) It was in this context that Morris turned his heuristic argument for joyful labor from the maker to the user. He thus admonished the middle class to re-evaluate the basic necessities of life and to purchase only those objects that satisfy these requirements.\textsuperscript{19} This transvaluation of values would have two propagandistic effects. On the one hand, it would destroy the foundations of capitalism. On the other, the middle class would educate the working class, revealing common human needs that are at once aesthetic and socially bonding. Morris hoped to make his products affordable for the working class, believing that the working class would emulate the middle class, and thus ascribe to craft values in work and domestic life. The working class would then demand qualitative changes in its daily labor.\textsuperscript{20}

These ideals are embodied in Morris' theoretical and executed schemes for the "total work of art." For Morris, the handcrafted domestic environment, workshops, and civic buildings built with local natural materials and surrounded by picturesque gardens and architectural elevations, signify "real wealth" and generate "true happiness," that which "lies in taking a genuine interest in all the details of life, in elevating them by art instead of handing the performance of them over to unregarded drudges and ignoring them."\textsuperscript{21}

Gropius: Arts and Crafts Revivalism to Technological Humanism

It was on the basis of similar socialist claims for art that Gropius re-organized the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts into the Bauhaus, becoming its first director from 1919 to 1927.\textsuperscript{22} When founded, the Bauhaus was financially and ideologically supported by the new Social-Democratic government of Saxe-Weimar. Despite this state sponsorship, the Bauhaus was attacked from its inception by the culturally and politically conservative citizens of Weimar for what they perceived as bohemianism and bolshevism. Consequently, after his first polemical statements coincident with the founding of the Bauhaus, Gropius prohibited his faculty from publicly joining any political parties. However, he and his colleagues had aligned themselves with leftist politics in other ways, so that while socialist rhetoric was quelled in official Bauhaus addresses and publications, socialist overtones persisted in its theoretical discourses.\textsuperscript{23}

Before World War I, Morris' cohesive program for the democratization of the arts had become fragmented, reaching Gropius through several discursive channels.\textsuperscript{24} However, in the years immediately following the War, Gropius seems to have become re-acquainted with Morris' ideas largely unaltered. Gropius' post-War dicta for artistic and social reform correspond more closely with Morris' discourse than do his pre-War writings. These textual similarities suggest that he read Morris first-hand or received Morris' ideas indirectly through his political and artistic collaboration with Bruno Taut.\textsuperscript{25} In March 1919 Gropius, with Taut, organized the left-wing association of artists and architects, the Arbeitsrat für Kunst—Work Council for Arts. The successor of the earlier Novembergruppe—named after the November Revolution—the A.f.K. intended to ally itself with the German proletariat both in name and in deed. In the first case, German labor unions, traditionally aligned with Marxism, were called "Arbeitervereine" or "workers' soviets."\textsuperscript{26} In the second case, the founding members of the Work Council for Art adopted as "guiding principles" a program to democratize art in ways that re-echo Morris' aestheti-

cized utopian-socialist existence.
"All 'popular' arts might all be summed up in one word, Architecture,"26 in his first Bauhaus address, Gropius insisted that when artists, sculptors, and architects join together as a community of craftsmen, "A new cathedral of the future will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith."27 (Fig. 4) In a later 1919 address to the Bauhaus students Gropius added that this new cathedral, what some of his colleagues called the "cathedral of socialism,"28 would "shine with abundant light onto the smallest objects of everyday life."29

Carrying Morris' ideals for a "popular" art to their logical extreme, Gropius originally conceived the Bauhaus, or "house of building," as a "new guild of craftsmen," modelled on "medieval lodges," communities of builder-artisans assembled for cathedral building. Morris had also thought of his workshops as guilds, but the Bauhaus expanded this prototype. Entering students were called "apprentices," advanced students "journeymen," and teachers "masters." Traditional workshops for metal, wood, glass, and textiles with local artisans as instructors existed along side more conventional studio classes where professional artists taught students the rudiments of artistic design. However, Gropius envisioned a time when the whole school would become a workshop and accordingly he couched the Bauhaus curriculum in Morris' language of joyful labor. Gropius stated that by learning to integrate traditional craft skills with artistic principles, the student would experience "the joy of artistic creation," and inevitably design beautiful, useful objects.30

The products of the workshops dating from the first years of the Bauhaus exemplify that a return to crafts was connected with purging art of its false bourgeois values. An attempt to discover the formal and practical origins of applied arts in regional folk art, accounts in part for the deliberately crude finish and awkward proportions that characterize these works.

Beginning in 1921, however, a shift occurs in the Bauhaus program away from romantic idealism to technocratic pragmatism. There are several reasons for this shift. First, the public criticized Bauhaus' works as frivolous and anachronistic. Second, by this time, most of the early modernists who were searching for a universal vocabulary of forms considered the look of handicrafts as too individualistic. Third, because of the long-range objectives for financial independence, a plan that depended on income gained from selling Bauhaus designs to industry, Gropius was forced to take a more pragmatic approach involving a new unity between art and industry. In line with this enterprise, by 1921 increasingly more mechanical equipment was being acquired by the Bauhaus workshops. The formal ramifications of Gropius' new guidelines can be seen in a comparison between the crudely rendered, expressionistically faceted cathedral on the cover of the 1919 Bauhaus manual and the new 1922 Bauhaus logo in which abstract geometric precision prevails.31 (Fig. 5)

What is important about Gropius' shift in priorities at this time is that through this transition we can trace how Morris' craft values were transmitted into a machine aesthetic. Gropius achieved this conversion in two ways. First, by accepting machine production as a material fact of the 20th-century, he completed the proletarization of the artist that Morris had begun. In an industrialized society, of which Morris was also a part, it can be more convincingly argued that the artist is a member of the proletariat when he
or she works directly with the machine as a means of production. Accordingly, while the craft-oriented workshop was the paradigm for the classroom during the first years of the Bauhaus, in the years that followed the workshops become small, mechanized factories, where prototypes for mass-production were conceived and fully executed. Second, Gropius believed that standardized housing, what he considered the mark of humanity's subordination of the machine to its own needs, would help to reshape society through the equal distribution of the products of humanized technology.

Throughout this new phase and in his post-Bauhaus writings, Gropius considered an education in the crafts imperative to achieving a "new unity" between art and technology. For example, in a 1922 circular to Bauhaus faculty, Gropius held the Bauhaus responsible for "educating people to recognize the world in which they live." Therefore, he concluded that the crux of Bauhaus teaching was "to combine the creative activity of the individual with the broad, practical work of the world . . . so to be able to create typical forms that symbolize that world." By preserving in pedagogical form such conceptual associations between craft values and praxis, Gropius could further insist on the organic integrity and human meaning of Bauhaus objects. Indeed, he made craft techniques the means for sustaining "the creative process as an indivisible whole." In doing so, however, he pointed to and extended an inherent contradiction in Morris' thought and practice, leaving this contradiction unresolved.

Such a contradiction can be located in the joyful maker-joyful user model for the creative process and aesthetic experience. In Morris' workshops, independent artists designed patterns to be executed manually by artisans, occasionally aided by the machine. Gropius acknowledged the inevitability of this division of labor between designer and maker under industrial conditions, but he argued that the gap between the artist-designer, and the machine operator could at least be compensated for by comprehending how human behavior and social consciousness permeates every phase leading to the finished prototype (Figs. 6 & 7). Streamlined precision, machine finished surfaces, and lucid geometric contours were meant to represent the designer's rational selection from a series of intuitive experiments with materials, functions, and technological devices. Here Gropius assumed that the artist-worker humanized the machine "by freeing the machine from its lack of creative spirit," and in the process making the "useless" machine useful.

Morris to the Bauhaus: Image-makers for Social Reform

What remains implicit in Morris' and Gropius' theories is their overriding concerns for satisfying what they believed to be psychological and sensory needs of the designer and user, needs gratified during the acts of creating, using, touching, and perceiving. For this reason, potentially stagnant and lifeless material and functional straightforwardness are offset by refinement of form, finish of surface, and elaboration of structural relationships that exceed utilitarian considerations. What Morris' and Gropius' discourse suppresses is the nature of repetitive, mindless work of the artisan or machine operator—the most detrimental condition of the division of labor that both theorists abhorred.

Yet, this conflict might be alleviated by considering the ways that Morris and Gropius fostered the aesthetic of functionalism as a social function. Gropius, like Morris, assumed that when the maker becomes the user he or she would "overcome the fragmentation of existence." And so, just as Morris had emulated in his hand-crafted designs the clear readability of medieval prototypes, Gropius likewise defined the principles of Bauhaus production in terms of the social meanings and popular comprehension of abstract forms. He identified the "new attitude" toward designing for machine production in a machine age as "the limitation to characteristic primary forms and colors, readily accessible to everyone." Beginning in 1922 he had retrieved an early Modernist conviction that the geometric precision of building types which produce and are produced by the machine provides the imagery most typical of the modern age. Gropius stated: "Just as the Gothic cathedral was the expression of its age, so the modern factory or modern dwelling must be the expression of our time: precise, practical, free of superfluous ornament, effective only through the cubic positions of the masses." After realizing just such functionalist imagery in his new Bauhaus buildings in Dessau (1926), Gropius could make this claim: "To build means to find forms for the activities of life." Within Morris' and Gropius' systems of politcized aesthetics, material, structural and abstract formal properties that exceed practical demands can be correlated with Stefan Morawski's definition of a Marxist notion of "realism." That is, mimetic representation is subjugated by "a most typifying social representation." Given this definition and the extra-artistic meanings Morris and Gropius assigned to functionalist imagery, we can identify two ways of reading the Arts and Crafts or Bauhaus object: 1) as the image of a collective activity and 2) as a record of the maker's disalienated and, in turn, beneficent social acts. Because of their expectations for such readings, functionalist realism was to serve Morris and his Bauhaus followers as a trajectory into a future socialist state. Therefore, what remained constant among these designers was their concern for rendering legible—whether by hand or machine—the process for making an ideal real. Thus when we defer strictly formal analyses of functionalist design, and reconstitute unchanged theoretical norms with their conventional forms, apparent stylistic incongruities between Morris' and Bauhaus objects begin to dissolve.

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Notes


2. Similar perspectives of stylistic discontinuities and ideologically contingent continuities also appear in these more specialized works on the Arts and Crafts Movement and the Bauhaus: Gillian Naylor The Arts and Crafts Movement MIT Press (Cambridge) 1971, Pp. 9-10; Marcel Franciscono Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar University of Illinois
Press (Champaign-Urbana) 1971, Pp. 25-28. In her otherwise extensive study of the socio-economic and political conditions that fostered and then defeated the Modern movement in Germany, Barbara Lane missed Morris' connection with Gropius because she considered Gropius' post-World War I writings a “return to Ruskinian Romanticism” (Spring 1985, JAE 38/3).

2. Notwithstanding the need for a comparative study of the socio-economic and cultural conditions that distinguish Morris' Victorian England from Gropius' pre- and post-World War I Germany, the purpose of my paper is to trace the line of development of Modern functionalist conventions. Assuming that artistic events are conditioned in part by historical events, I will isolate the more specialized artistic discourse that takes place between individual artists, artists and artfacts, and artists and literary texts.


5. “Art of the People” (1879) and “Prospects of Architecture” (1881) are among Morris' strongest pre-Marxist indictments against "sham" and its social consequences; see The Collected Works of William Morris (ed. May Morris) Longmans Green & Co. (London) 1915, Vol. XII (hereafter cited as CW). The following writings are socialist versions of this same argument: "Art and Socialism" (1884), "Useful Work versus Useless Toil" (1886); "The Revival of Handicrafts" (1888); see especially P. 134 (where Morris refers directly to Marx) in CW Vol. XXIII.

6. In "Architecture and History" (1884; CW Vol XXII, P. 309) Morris located the inception of the division of labor in the Renaissance, a condition that contrasted with the medieval craftsman's integrated labor.

7. Cf. Morris' analogies between the division of labor and "mechanized labor" and "mechanized existence" discussed in “How We Live and How We Might Live” (CW Vol. XXIII, P. 11) and Morawski's discussion of Marx's theory of "abstract" alienated labor (op. cit., Pp. 16-24).


11. As Morris became more politically active a shift takes place in his theoretical writings. He increasingly moved from describing designs to explaining their meaning. Compare, for example, "The Lesser Arts" (1877) and "Some Hints on Pattern Designing" (1881) CW Vol. XXII with “The Art of the People” (1879), an explanatory lecture that anticipates the later socialist tracts. We can also notice that as Morris adapted socialist ideologies to his aesthetic discourse Morris & Co. designs became more simplified, suggesting that Morris has isolated the organic principles of design directly from nature rather than indirectly as they were mediated by medi eval art.

12. Praxis is defined by Schlomo Avineri in The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx (Cambridge University Press [Cambridge and New York] 1968, P. 138-139) as Marx's attempt to reconnect abstract theory with concrete social action. As such, praxis is "a tool for changing the course of history and a criterion for social evaluation. Praxis means man's conscious shaping of the changing historical conditions . . . Praxis revolutionizes existing reality through human actions."


14. For example, Morris, "Dawn of a New Epoch," Pp. 136-137. Morris' utopian vision is most completely described in his utopian novel, News From Nowhere (1888).

15. See Morris, "Art and Socialism" for his proscriptions and prescriptions to the middle class.


17. Morris, “The Aims of Art” (1886) CW Vol. XXIII, P. 94; Morris restated this axiom.


19. In Architecture and Politics in Germany Lane describes Gropius' and Taut's revolutionary and utopian ideals in creating the "new architecture." For better or worse, the general public and left-wing governments subsequently associated these forms with socialist politics. Lane, however, discounts Bauhaus affiliations with any one political party, see Chapter III "The New Architecture and the Vision of a New Society" in Architecture and Politics in Germany; and Hans Wingler (ed.) The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago MIT Press (Cambridge) 1969 for the National Peoples Party and the Minister of Culture's reports on Bauhaus activities (1920) and the Bauhaus response to these reports, Pp. 37-39.


21. A typical transition form Primitivism to Constructivism and de Stijl to a machine aesthetic can be seen in the work of one designer see Marcel Breuer's chairs: "African Chair" (1921), "Armschair" (1922) and "Tubular Steel Chair" (1925) in Wingler, op. cit., Pp. 306-307, 451.


23. Gropius, ibid, P. 51.


25. Gropius, "Lecture to Students at Jena's Technische Hochschule" (May 1922) in Lane, op. cit., P. 66.


28. Schlemmer, op. cit., P. 69: this phrase was deleted in the official exhibition catalogue but the first draft of the "Manifesto of the First Bauhaus Exhibition" was printed and circulated.


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33. Gropius, ibid, P. 51.

34. Gropius, "Principles of Bauhaus Production" (March 1926), Wingler, op. cit., P. 110.

35. Gropius, Lecture to Students at Jena's Technische Hochschule" (May 1922) in Lane, op. cit., P. 66.


