BIBLIOGRAPHY/ESSAY

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE STUDY OF MATERIAL CULTURE

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Among contemporary folklorists, William Morris (1834-1896) is remembered, if at all, as a founder of the folk revival movement in England in the late nineteenth century. While this movement undoubtedly influenced many folklorists, 1 Morris himself has not been recognized for his direct contributions to the study of folklore. This misconception can be remedied by glancing through Morris's numerous articles on material folk culture, 2 as well as his translations and studies of Icelandic and Scandinavian epics. 3 Most of these are, unfortunately, available only in the Collected Works. 4 | have cluded all of the articles relevant to material folklore in the annotated bibliography at the end of this essay.

Morris was one of the most important and remarkable men in Victorian England. A man of incredible energy and breadth of intellect, he made important contributions to so many fields that just listing them would take several pages. He was a revolutionary, one of the founders of British socialism, of the Fabian socialists, and an important influence on the development of the Labour party. He was an early environmentalist and one of the first to warn about the threat of overpopulation. He was a leading poet (offered the poet laureateship of England on Tennyson's death, but turned

it down) and novelist, a major influence on the Irish nationalist literary movement and founder of the modern "heroic fantasy" novel. His News from Nowhere is one of the most important utopian novels. He was a painter of the pre-Raphaelite school and one of the fathers of art nouveau. He was one of the most superb and important printers of all time, founder of the Kelmscott Press. He was an influential literary and art critic, an important architect and influence on Frank Lloyd Wright. He built houses, designed and printed wallpaper and tiles, designed and wove cloth, rugs and tapestries, practiced natural dyeing, designed and made stainedglass windows, and designed furniture. including the famous Morris chair. He was a formidable medievalist. He translated many of the major European epics into somewhat flowery English, and was the first to translate some of northern European epics. As if this were not enough for the life of one man, he also did extensive research into folk crafts and material culture, writing a substantial number of scholarly essays on the subject. 5

Morris's intellectual forbears included John Ruskin and Karl Marx, as well as romantic nationalists such Herder and the Grimm brothers who idealized peasants as pure and close to nature.

Morris grew up in a time when industrialism appeared to be rapidly destroying England. The countryside was polluted, the cities were turning into slums, and the mass of men were performing rote and often dangerous tasks in the factories for very low wages. Morris's thought was revolutionized when he read Ruskin's The Stones of Venice, especially the chapter on Gothic architecture. Here Ruskin emphasizes that the division between "fine arts" and "crafts" is artificial

and dangerous; in a healthy society, art is appreciated by everyone, not just an elite, educated class. He despised the factory system because it encouraged mass production and sameness. He detested ideals of formal perfection in the arts, stressing the importance of imperfection and variation, of individuality and creativity. He believed that the designer should be the same as the workman, the artist identical with the laborer. He wrote that, in modern industrial society:

It is not, truly speaking, the labor that is divided; but the men: --Divided into mere segments of men--broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little piece of intelligence that is left in a man is not enough to make a pin, or a nail, but exhausts itself in making the point of a pin or the head of a nail.

On the other hand, if you will make a man of the working creature, you cannot make a tool. Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do anything worth doing; and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dullness, all his incapability,...but out comes the whole majesty of him also.⁷

Morris picked up from Marx the idea that "natural man" found and made his own identity through interaction with nature, that it was through his daily work or labor that a man expressed or identified himself, and that capitalist production had alienated man because it separated him from the tools, materials and products of his labor, giving an external monetary reward but not him the reward of the labor itself. For Marx, real human values and concepts of importance and beauty came directly from the point of production, from man's interaction with nature. He wrote:

The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means they find in nature and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered as being simply the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather, it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are.8

Labor is, in the first place, a process in which man and nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates and controls the material reactions between himself and nature. ... By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway.9

Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be a specific expression, corresponding to the object of your will, of your real individual life. 10

Morris saw a well-developed sense of beauty as essential to a healthy, progressive and creative civilization. Art he saw as the expression of beauty. Following Ruskin, he deployed the separation of art from craft. Art and function or usefulness are not separable, he said. With this separation, useful objects become identical and dull; "art" becomes elite and esoteric, having no relevance to daily realities and therefore no importance, becoming "dull adjuncts of unmeaning pomp." 11 Morris did not believe in "art for art's sake." True art, being integrally associated with peoples' everyday lives, could adapt to meet the needs of individuals, communities or materials. Out of this adaptation. intimately tied up with function, comes true diversity and creativity. Morris described "a true living art, which is free to adapt itself to the varying conditions of social life, climate and so forth." 12

To Morris, art springs from nature. It is an expression of man's interaction with nature, and therefore will be specific and local to areas with corresponding environments and cultures. "Tradition" comes from this interaction of environment and people in a specific, local sense: it is ongoing, adaptive and dynamic. Morris lamented not only the sameness occurring among "useful things" in different areas of England but also the destruction of local arts in various parts of the world by colonialism, and its replacement by imitations of the West.

In his approach to the folk crafts Morris was, above all, pragmatic. He combined a scholarly interest in folklore (he never used the word) with an interest in the techniques and histories of specific crafts. He actively practiced these crafts. He was dyer, a weaver of rugs and tapestries, cabinet-maker and a house-builder; he also practiced and wrote about other crafts, such as stained-glass window design and bookmaking, which may not rightly be called folk crafts because they are more recent and elite. (Morris wanted these to become folk crafts.) He was a revivalist, actively trying to encourage traditional crafts and preserve old items of material folklore. He was the founder and president of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings. In one article he proposed a system of community handicraft museums to display material culture artifacts from the past of the community and to encourage the continuance of local crafts and folkways. These would be combined with specific crafts. 43 courses of instruction in The parallel with the folklife museums which were rising in Scandinavia at this time is obvious, although Morris never mentions

these and apparently did not know about them.

Every aspect of Morris's scholarship is permeated with his revolutionary socialism. He does not pretend to be an objective "scientist." He saw the study and revival of traditional crafts as the basis for remaking society. As Henry Glassie put it, "William Morris, blue suit crumpled and hair aflame, could stand before a gathering of genteel socialists, manual laborers, or artists, and proclaim a future based on the analysis of the folk craftman's art."14 With the revival of the handmade, Morris thought, the beautiful would once again be integrally tied in with the useful or natural, and real, natural man would once again come into his own-not the alienated man of industrial capitalism. Morris's vision was very Utopian and "back-to-nature." He influenced Frank Lloyd Wright with his idea of architecture matching and blending with environment. Wright wrote, "The true basis for any serious study of the art of Architecture still lies in those indigenous structures; more humble buildings everywhere being to architecture what folklore is to literature or folksong is to music. 1115

Morris's many articles on material culture deal with craft technique, with historical and geographical variants of crafts, and with descriptions of particular material culture items, mainly houses (especially those in danger of being destroyed). Many of his articles are very theoretical, or tied in with his revolutionary socialism. Some deal specifically with plans for craft revival. Morris never mentions his sources, and none of his articles are interviews with specific craftsmen, but his knowledge of traditional crafts is so vast and varied that he must have talked with various craftsmen. By the standards of modern folkloristics, Morris's methodology was poor--indeed, almost nonexistent. Taken in the context of his own time, however, he is to be commended for having become involved at all in the process of folkloric creation, and for going beyond the "armchair theorizing" so prevalent in Victorian England.

The science of folklore in Morris's England had barely started. It was a study by antiquarians of specific items from the past, which were viewed as curiosities survivals. The life ways of the lower classes were looked down on and not considered worthy objects of study by most educated men. This approach did not interest Morris; while he was interested in specific objects, he focused above all on the processes of folk creation, on the specific techniques of the craftsmen. In his theoretical articles he encourages a holistic approach, focusing community, although he did not really apply this approach to any specific fieldwork. His approach to material culture focuses on individual "imperfections" of the craftsman he interprets tradition according to his own individual needs, and on the "aims" of the craftsman and the "function" of the item being created, which determine its form. This is similar in some ways to the recent process-oriented movements in folklore, such Richard Bauman's focus on performance emergent through "the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence, and the goals of the participants, within the contexts of particular situations,"16 Of only "communicative resources" was these, not dealt with by Morris and he was, after all, interested in material culture. "Communicative resources" could be replaced "knowledge of craft".

There follows an annotated bibliography of such works by William Morris as seem relevant to the study of material culture, presented in chronological order."17 There is

quite a noticeable shift from theoretical to specific during the course of Morris's life. have left out numerous articles on "folk" crafts, such as bookand stainedglass-window making. l have left out also articles on non-material folklore such landic and Scandinavian epics. Morris's ideas on material culture are intimately tied up with his social activism, which can best be understood by reading his novels News (1890) and A Dream of Nowhere John Ball (1888), as well as his articles on socialism. His letters and notes, many of which have been published since his death, contain a good deal of information on material culture and handicrafts. 18

NOTES

- 1. See the article by Dillon Bustin in this issue.
- 2. Four books between them include all of these articles: The Collected Works of William Morris, volumes 22 and 23, ed. May Morris. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1914. 24 volumes. Edition limited to 1050 copies. William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist, ed. May Morris. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936. 2 volumes. Supplementary to the Collected Works. The Unpublished Lectures of William Morris, ed. Eugene D. Lemire. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969.
- 3. Morris translated many European epics and romances. See Collected Works 7 for "The Story of Grettir the Strong" and "The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs", Collected Works 10 for Three Northern Love Stories from the Icelandic and The Tale of Beowulf, Collected Works 11 for The Aeneid of Virgil, Collected Works 12 for The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs, Collected Works 13 for The Odyssey of Homer, Collected Works 17 which includes five "Old French Romances", and Artist, Writer, Socialist, volume 1, which includes The Prophecy of the Vala and The Story of Egil the Son of Scaldgrim, both from the Icelandic.

- 4. From hereon I shall refer to the works listed in footnote 1 as Collected Works, Artist, Writer, Socialist and Unpublished Lectures, respectively.
- 5. The best biographies of Morris are J. W. Mackail, The Life of William Morris. London: Benjamin Blom, 1968 (Orig. 1899), E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977 (Orig. 1955), and Philip Henderson, William Morris: His Life, Work, and Friends. New York: McGraw Hill, 1967.
- 6. "The Nature of Gothic," from **The Works of John Ruskin**, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, volume 10. London: George Allen, 1904. p. 196.
- 7. Ibid., p. 192.
- 8. The German Ideology, ed. with an introduction by R. Pascal. New York: International Publishers, Inc. 1939 (Orig. 1846).
- 9. Capital, volume 1, ed. Frederick Engels. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. New York: International Publishers, Inc. 1967 (Orig. 1867).
- 10. Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, ed., with an introduction by Dirk J. Struick, translated by Martin Milligan. New York: International Publishers, 1964 (Orig. 1932).
- 11. "The Lesser Arts", Collected Works 22, pp. 3-4.
- 12. Ibid., p.4.
- 13. "Technical Instruction", Artist, Writer, Socialist, pp. 205-224.
- 14. Folk Housing in Middle Virginia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975. p.9.
- 15. "The Sovereignty of the Individual", from Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings, ed. Edward Kaufman and Ben Raeburn. New York: World Publishers, 1969, p. 85.

- 16. **Verbal Art As Performance**. Rowley, MA.: Newbury House Publishers, Inc. 1977, (Orig. 1975). p. 38.
- 17. I have followed the sequence given by Lemire in Unpublished Lectures, pp. 291-322.
- 18. See The Letters of William Morris To His Family and Friends, ed. Philip Henderson. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950.

"The Lesser Arts". **Collected Works** 22, 3-27. Originally delivered as a speech in 1877.

Morris decries the division of arts into "lesser" and "greater"; lesser arts become "trivial, mechanical, unintelligent and dishonest" while the greater arts become "dull adjuncts of unmeaning pomp." (pp. 3-4) Morris lists some of the crafts which he is itnerested in: "house-building, painting, joinery and carpentry, smiths' work, pottery and glass-making, weaving and many others." (p.4) He claims that form in folk art and craft is determined by use and meaning. Beauty arises out of nature and the function of the object. True art is expressed communally in the daily life of the folk community; it is lived. Morris encourages educating the young in traditional crafts, and makes the claim that art is a moral force: handicrafts can be the basis of revolution.

"The Art of the People". Collected Works 22, 28-50. Originally delivered as a speech in 1879.

Morris criticizes "art for art's sake", and emphasizes that the important things to study in the arts are the individuals and the community traditions that create it. "Real art is an expression by man of his pleasure in labor." (p. 42) He laments the destruction of real art in various parts of the world by colonialism, and stresses that "common" folk architecture, farmhouses and the like, must be preserved in Britain as well as acknowledged architectural treasures. He ends by tying art to morality and politics. "Real art...will be an instrument to the progress of the world, and not a hindrance." (p.46)

"Making the Best of It", Collected Works 22, 81-118. Originally delivered as a speech in 1879.

This is primarily a practical guide for beautifying "ugly", urban, mass-produced houses. Morris does incorporate some important ideas, such as that beauty comes necessarily from limitations arising from the material. He mentions the centrality of form and meaning in the handmade object. He states that traditions. When passed down from an older generation, must be understood and digested by the new generation if they are to be adaptive and creative. Thus

only lived traditions are true art; academic traditions are usually only imitative.

"The Beauty of Life", **Collected Works** 22, 51-80. Originally delivered as a speech in 1880.

The "beauty of life", Morris writes, is expressed through "living art"— that is, an integration of art and handicraft. He decries the elite idea of art, saying that educated men should study not only the classics but also their own local traditions. He stresses that true, meaningful innovation comes through tradition, and that creativity is an adaptive process to particular problems or situations in particular environments.

"The Prospects of Architecture", Collected Works 22, 119-153. Originally delivered as a speech in 1881.

Architecture is the union of various arts "harmoniously subordinated one to another." It "embraces the consideration of the whole external surrroundings of the life of man." Thus it is the study of the interaction of all the arts and crafts that make up the daily lives of people in a folk community. Morris descriptively compares the laborer's house with the rich man's house and finds more beauty in the former.

"Art and the Beauty of the Earth", Collected Works 22, 155-174. Originally delivered as a speech in 1881.

Art has been separated from daily life and utility:

Whereas once men were taught to look through the art at that which the art represented, they were now taught to deem the art an end in itself, and that it mattered nothing whether the story it told was believed or not. Once its aim was to see, now its aim was to be seen only. (p.161)

Morris prophesies a technocratic future in which man has been entirely separated from nature, without art and without meaningful human identity. He calls for rebellion and the creation of a new society in which a more traditional and craft-centered approach to art is combined with a closeness to nature and an end to rampant industrialism.

"Some Hints On Pattern-Designing", Collected Works 22, 175-205. Originally delivered as a speech in 1881.

This is primarily a call for the revival of more tradition-oriented pattern-designs for wall-paper, weaving, etc., and some practical hints on creating them. Morris emphasizes that before a design can be created, purpose, context and materials must be taken into account. Art must be studied in context. (Morris does not use this word.)

"The History of Pattern-Designing", Collected Works 22, 206-234. Originally delivered as a speech in 1882.

A brief history of pattern-designing from the early Mesopotamian civilizations to modern times. It is very general and impressionistic. Morris stresses that true art is imperfect and unique, not perfect, classical and static.

"The Lesser Arts of Life", Collected Works 22, 235-269. Originally delivered as a speech in 1882.

This probably Morris's best general article on traditional crafts. He emphasizes the central importance of studying tradition within community, which simultaneously meets material and spiritual or imaginative needs. He discusses, one after another, pottery, glass-making, weaving, natural dyeing, printing patterns on cloth and paper, furnituremaking and traditional clothing patterns. For each one he describes the relationship of specific functions and materials to form. In the section on natural dyeing, for example, he discusses which colors are made from which natural materials in Europe, where these materials are found, and what the local uses of them are. He discusses these crafts historically as well as geographically, giving special emphasis to living techniques. In the section on clothing, he names specific artists and writers from specifperiods who have accurately described characteristic clothing of the time. His knowledge of geography and history is somewhat limited but still remarkable when one considers how unprecedented this kind of study was. His technical knowledge of the crafts themselves seems excellent obviously comes from direct experience. In conclusion, Morris stresses that the process of creation in the folk crafts is a combination of a knowledge of tradition and desire to satisfy real needs. He warns against slavishly

copying old ways in handicrafts revival; central to the folk tradition is a continual, though conservative, change in response to changing needs.

"Technical Instruction", Artist, Writer, Socialist, 205-224. An interview with Morris by members of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in 1882.

This article deals largely with Morris's own business of weaving, dyeing, cotton-printing, carpet-weaving, glass-painting and cabinet-making. In it he proposes setting up a series of regional museums throughout Britain which would display the folk crafts in their local variants—not just the completed items, but the processes of creation. This would not only show people their local traditions but also, hopefully, inspire and teach them so that they will continue the traditions themselves. He proposes local schools which would teach traditional handicraft techniques.

"Art and Labor", **Unpublished Lectures**, 94-118. Originally given as a lecture in 1884.

This article traces the relationship of art styles to sociopolitical systems (in an extremely simplified manner), from Greece to Rome through the European Middle Ages down to present day Europe. He romanticizes the Middle Ages as a time when art and labor were inseparable, a product of communal interaction of free and equal men. He decries capitalism and industrialism for separating art from labor, taking all meaning and pleasure out of work, and turning the mass of men into cogs in a machine. He finishes with a call for socialism. This article has the same basic structure and theme as "The History of Pattern-Designing" and "Architecture and History", but it is broader in its scope.

"Textile Fabrics", **Collected Works** 22, 270-294. Originally delivered as a lecture in 1884.

This is much longer and more detailed than the 1893 article on the same subject. It includes technical information on various sorts of weaving and a lengthy description of historic and geographic variations in weaving techniques. It also includes a much briefer description of dyeing techniques and the sources of natural dyes. It ends with a plea for the integration of art and craft, and for the

central place of beauty in daily life.

"Architecture and History", Collected Works 22, 296-317. Originally given as a lecture in 1884.

This article traces the history of architecture and house-building as communal activities. He focuses on general attitudes toward building design and construction through European history. He ends with a plea for unity of designer and maker and a call for socialism.

"The Aims of Art", **Collected Works** 21, 81-97. Originally given as a lecture in 1886; published as a pamphlet in 1887.

A socialist tract, stressing that man's true creative expression is through his labor, and a condemnation of capitalism. On the last page he stresses looking for function, intention and context in art, not for ideal aesthetic criteria: "It is the aims of art that you must seek rather than the art itself."

"Of the Origins of Ornamental Art", Unpublished Lectures, 136-157. Originally given as a lecture in 1886.

Morris divides the "productions of labor" into two kinds: the "needs of the body" (subsistence, shelter, etc.) and the "needs of the mind." The ornamental arts come between and combine these two. He describes his concept of an early, preliterate, communal society, an egalitarian culture in which each person fulfills his own duty to the best of his ability and gets an equal share of the produce. This is where the crafts came to be. Beauty and use are one and the same, as they are in nature. The craftsman has a special, magical role. Morris emphasizes the "miraculous power and creation", "the hope and sense of power and usefulness which men felt in the making of things." With the rise of slave societies such as Greece, the idea of perfection in art was introduced. Art and utility were separated. Art became "fine art", the domain of the privileged and powerful. Morris traces the ornamental arts on through to the nineteenth century, decries capitalism, and finishes with a call for socialism.

"The Revival of Architecture", Collected Works 22, 318-330. Originally published in the Fortnightly Review, May

Morris encourages the revival of local traditional styles in architecture, rather than the imitation of classical styles. He romanticizes the Middle Ages as a time when architecture had imagination and really met human needs. He traces the history of "elite" architecture as a progressive degeneration culminating in Victorian architecture which is "no longer passively but actively ugly." (p. 329)

"The Revival of Handicraft", **Collected Works** 22, 331-341. Originally published in the **Fortnightly Review**, November 1888.

Morris laments the passing of the handicrafts and with them all true standards of beauty and quality in life. He blames this, citing Marx, on the rise of capitalism, which reduces all human motivation to greed for money and possessions and, by putting all knowledge of material production processes in the hands of the capitalists, eliminates knowledge of production techniques from the minds of the workers. This is mainly a political article, which puts the study and revival of traditional crafts in a central for the transformation of society.

"Art and Its Producers", Collected Works, 22, 342-355. Originally given as a lecture in 1888.

Morris stresses that true art rises out of labor and serves a function in daily life. He urges a return to a more cooperative, funtion— and beauty—oriented approach to art and its production. He describes and idealizes the medieval quild system.

"Gothic Architecture", **Artist, Writer, Socialist**, 266-285. Originally given as a lecture in 1889. Published as a pamphlet by Kelmscott Press in 1893.

This article includes a brief history of Gothic architecture, but is mainly important in that it is one of Morris's most eloquent statements on his ideas of art and the creative process of the craftsman. He encourages revolt against the "utilitarian" factory system and wants to "catch up the slender thread of tradition before it is too late." (p.268) He says that true artistic freedom is expressed through community; "tradition" is an understanding of real

contextual needs which give rise to " a true living art, which is free to adapt itself to the varying traditions of social life, climate and so forth." (p.283)

"The Arts and Crafts of Today", Collected Works 22, 356-374. Originally given as a lecture in 1889.

Morris laments the passing of traditional crafts and the elitism of contemporary arts. He proposes to bring traditional arts and crafts back into a central position through the study of handicrafts and the union of beauty with utility.

"Art and Industry in the Fourteenth Century", Collected Works 22, 375-390. Originally published in Time, November 1890.

A romantic, poetic and inaccurate description of daily life in a fourteenth century English rual community. It mainly serves the purpose of contrasting favorably with life in Victorian England, thus setting up a call for socialism. The important thing about this article is not so much what is actually said but that the focus of historical study is not on kings and battles but on the holistic, daily lives of peasants living in communities.

"On the External Covering of Roofs", Collected Works 22, 406-409. Originally given as a lecture in 1890.

A very brief article in which Morris lists some of the various roofing materials on traditional English architecture, some basic characteristics of each one and where they are found and used.

"The Influence of Building Materials Upon Architecture", Collected Works 22, 391-405. Originally given as a lecture in 1892.

This is an attempt to correlate architectural styles from various parts of Britain with specific building materials found in these areas. Morris focuses on wall materials—various kinds of stone, wood, brick, and terra cotta—and roof materials, primarily slate and thatch. He discusses ways in which houses must be designed when built with specific materials. This article is somewhat brief and covers its subject somewhat scantily, but it

sets an important precedent in English folklife research.

"Textiles", Artist, Writer, Socialist, 244-250. Originally given as a lecture in 1893.

A detailed description of techniques for tapestry, carpet-weaving, mechanical weaving, printing or painting on cloth, and embroidery. Meant for the active craftsperson.

"Of Dyeing As An Art", **Artist, Writer, Socialist**, 260-265. Originally given as a lecture in 1893.

Meant as a practical guide for the natural dyer. Morris lists the natural sources of many different colors and describes how they should be prepared, including the combinations of dyes to make intermediary colors. He traces the development of chemical dyes and laments their coming.

"Gossip about an old House on the Upper Thames", Artist, Writer, Socialist, 364-371. Originally published in The Quest. November 1894.

An informal, poetic, but detailed description of the "Kelmscott Manor" in Kelmscott England, built originally in the 1600s. Morris wrote quite a few articles of this sort, but they do not generally deal with folk architecture. Many of them are included in Artist, Writer, Socialist.