

Wright's work was published in 1910 and 1911 by Wasmuth of Berlin who had issued Muthesius's *Das englische Haus* a few years earlier. Wright asked Ashbee, his closest European friend, to provide an introduction, and in it the English architect wrote "in a comparison of the work of Frank Lloyd Wright with modern work in England and Germany . . . a certain kinship is significant . . . In Germany the names of Olbrich, Hoffmann, Moser, Bruno Paul, Mohring suggest themselves. In England those of us who are sometimes called the Arts and Crafts men, Lethaby, Voysey, Lutyens, Ricardo, Wilson, Holden, Blow, Townsend, Baillie Scott. We feel that between us and him there is a kinship. We may differ vitally in manner of expression, in our planning, in our touch, in the way we clothe our work, in our feeling for proportion, but although our problems differ essentially, we are altogether at one in our principles. We guard in common the lamp of truth."¹

Between 1890 and 1910 artistic links between Britain and the German speaking countries were particularly close, and, to some extent, architecture followed parallel courses in the offshore island and in northern and central Europe. These developments were part of a rejection of classicism that swept Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.* The origins of the reaction have never been properly investigated but they undoubtedly owed something to Ruskinian theory and to the example of Morris and Mackmurdo. Architects as different as the Dutch romantic H. P. Berlage² and the great French exponent of Art

Nouveau, Hector Guimard,³ paid tribute to Ruskin, and Morris's designs were well known on the continent by the '90s. Another source of anti-classicism was the writings of the great French Goth, Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79). Viollet-le-Duc's analysis made Gothic out to be a much more scientific system of construction than Ruskin had suggested and he proposed various ways of using iron according to Gothic principles. His polemics had great influence throughout the Continent and in America where the young Frank Lloyd Wright was one of his many disciples. In England, there was a vogue for le-Duc's theories in the '70s and '80s.

By 1900, the European anti-classicists could be divided broadly, and with many exceptions on each side, into two camps by a line running roughly, along the Dutch/Belgian border and down through Munich to Vienna. To the south was the territory of Art Nouveau with its sinuous intertwined curves; its profusion of elaborate ornament; its structures curved and twisted to take the shapes of bones and plants. To the north, a much more protestant spirit prevailed. Structures were simple, straightforward and clearly expressed; ornament was restricted and, where it was used, it tended to follow the stiff, heraldic forms of the English Arts and Crafts movement.

In England, Art Nouveau was regarded with some horror. In 1904, the *Magazine of Art* held a colloquium on the subject in which architects as diverse as Jackson, Voysey and Blomfield were united in decrying the southern movement. Voysey, the most eloquent, welcomed "the condition that has made 'Art Nouveau' possible", but he savaged the manifestation as "distinctly unhealthy and revolting."

"Is it not", he thundered, "merely the work of a lot of imitators with nothing but mad eccentricity as a guide; good men, no doubt, misled into thinking that art is a debauch of sensuous feeling, instead of the

* In America, there was a similar reaction in the Shingle style and the work of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886). Richardson's last work was extremely changeful and bore a powerful personal stamp—great simple planes of rough ashlar penetrated by giant semi-circular arches round the major openings. His work was published spasmodically in Europe and has been said to have influenced architects as different as Townsend and Sonk.

expression of human *thought* and feeling combined.”⁴

Jackson described the characteristic feature of Art Nouveau as “the Squirm”. It is easy to see how the proper, rather priggish Englishmen were revolted by Art Nouveau’s total wilfulness, profusion of decoration and its overt sexuality (naked women figured large in Art Nouveau design, sometimes even forming the structure of chairs), all so alien to ascetic Arts and Crafts folk.

Art Nouveau architects were consciously trying to achieve a new style, derived from nature, in which materials, particularly metal and glass, achieved a writhing plasticity never seen before. The northern architects were much more conscious of their past. Like many Englishmen they turned to late medieval domestic architecture as the chief source of inspiration.

In Scandinavia, echoes of the past were pursued in an attempt to achieve nationally identifiable architectures. All four Scandinavian countries were seeking identity, and all four evolved varieties of what came to be known as national romanticism.

Denmark had a national cultural revival after the loss of Slesvig-Holsten in 1864 and was the first in the

field. Martin Nyrop (1849–1912) designed country houses in local styles throughout Denmark but he also received public commissions,* the largest of which was Copenhagen town hall (built 1892–1905). It was a celebration of brick—the material in which seventeenth-century Copenhagen was constructed—in dramatic contrast to the stuccoed classical public buildings of the previous eighty years. Basically a giant courtyard, the building was saved from symmetry by the great tower with its copper covered spire. The town hall heralded a generation of urban brick buildings, irregular and changeful, by architects such as Ulrick Plesner and Aage Langeland-Mathiesen.

Norway, which got independence from Sweden only in 1906, was as usual quieter than the other Scandinavian countries. Arnsten Arneberg (1882–?) was one of the first to bring the techniques of traditional timber farm building to the suburbs. He spent many years restoring the mighty Akershus

* Unlike the English Arts and Craftsmen, who rarely received public work, the architects of the national romantic movements did get large public works precisely because their work was identified with national aspirations. Their success is an indication that, had the British architects been given a chance, a great civic architecture could have evolved out of Ruskinian principles—a possibility that is denied even today by classicists.

220 *Gesellius, Lindgren and Saarinen. Saarinen's own house, Hvitträsk, near Helsinki (1901)*





castle, hard by Oslo harbour, on principles that would have delighted the British Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

In Finland, struggling to establish separation from Russia, three young architects, Herman Gesellius (1874–1916), Armas Lindgren (1874–1929) and Eliel Saarinen (1873–1959), started to build a group of houses for themselves at Hvitträsk near Helsinki in 1901. The group included a common workshop and studio in the best Arts and Crafts tradition. It consisted of a rough, stone ground floor, partly covered by plaster to give an irregular line (almost Deveyesque in its arbitrary irregularity and the impression it gives of a house built on ancient foundations). On top of this, the first floor was shingled, and the different levels were all tied together by sweeping roofs of pantiles. All materials were taken from local peasant precedents.

When they built in town, for instance in the National Museum, Helsinki (1905–1912), the partners adopted a much tougher style, partly based on romanesque, with a massive base course of squared granite rubble and a tower capped with brick and

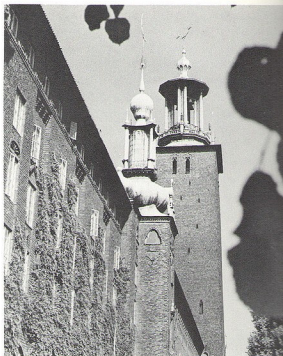
221 *Gesellius, Lindgren and Saarinen. Finnish National Museum, Helsinki (1905–12)*

copper. The minimal decoration was based on traditional Finnish forms and restricted to key areas—over the main door and on gable ends for instance.

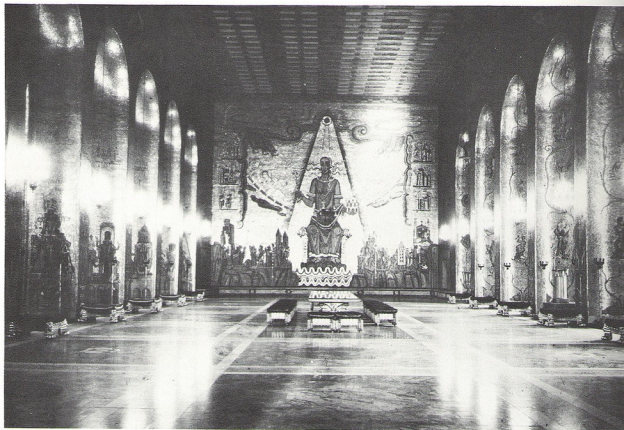
Lars Sonk (1870–1956) was even more austere. The squared granite of his Helsinki telephone exchange (1905) was rough, almost brutal; the asymmetrical elevation is banded horizontally by rows of windows, either arched or, on the main floor, with square lintels propped by circular columns, the capitals of which bear almost the whole of the building's simple geometric ornament. There is irony in the romanesque overtones of this building, and of the National Museum, for Finland had no romanesque tradition. National romantic architects were not only fired by Puginian fidelity to tradition, they were quite happy to take and reinterpret themes from the architecture of other nations: even Nyrop's Copenhagen town hall was consciously modelled on Sienna's.

The most splendid of all the northern public buildings was the Stockholm City Hall, built between 1909 and 1923 by Ragnar Östberg (1866–1945). Like Arneberg, Östberg was a devoted restorer of old buildings (for instance the hall of state in Uppsala castle), and in the Stockholm building he mixed much traditional Swedish detail with themes from Gothic and Byzantine architecture. It stands reflected in one of Stockholm's sea canals, a four-square block of plum coloured brick on rows of Byzantine arches. It is capped with a curving green copper roof and pinned down by a huge tapering tower in one corner. Inside, the glory of many splendid spaces is the Golden Hall, a secular cathedral lined with glowing gold mosaic which focuses on a great hieratic mosaic figure, stiff and powerful in the tradition of both Byzantines and Arts and Craftsmen.

The pioneering architect of the Dutch anti-classical movement was Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856–1934) who, though he practised for a time as a renaissance architect, then as a formalist Goth, evolved a much more changeful and savage style in the '90s.



222 *Ragnar Östberg. Stockholm City Hall (1909)*



223 *Östberg. Stockholm City Hall—the Golden Hall*



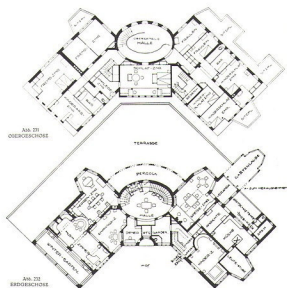
224 H. P. Berlage. Amsterdam Stock Exchange (1898–1908), east elevation



225 *J. M. van der Mey. Amsterdam Shipping office (1913-1916)*

In the Amsterdam stock exchange (built 1898–1908), Berlage married the brick techniques of traditional Dutch architecture with thin metal trusses which carried the glazed roofs on the three main halls. Externally, the building is a large rectangle, anchored, like the Stockholm and Copenhagen town halls, by a big tower in one corner. But the fenestration of Berlage's building is much freer, with the shape and size of windows (generally) dictated by what was going on inside.

Berlage's use of brick in the '90s was a conscious return to roots and rejection of the architecture of stucco or stone. It was an inspiration to national romantics like J. M. van der Mey whose Amsterdam shipping office (1913–16), encrusted with sculpture growing of and out of an austere brick backdrop, all capped with a great grey knobby metal dragon back, was one of the last and most exuberant examples of savageness. Van der Mey influenced architects of the succeeding generation like Michel de Klerk (1884–1923) and Piet Kramer (1881–1961) whose Amsterdam school of housing, built of brick and tile, full of ebullience and often quirky expression, flourished into the '20s.



227 *Nikolasee house, ground floor plan*



226 *Hermann Muthesius. House at Nikolasee, Berlin (1907–1908)*

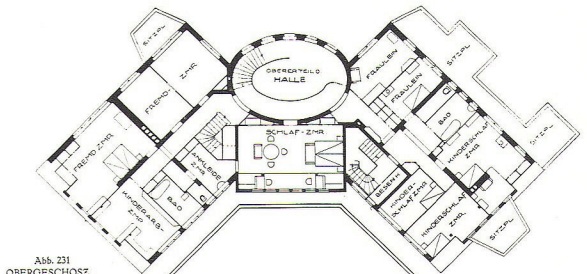


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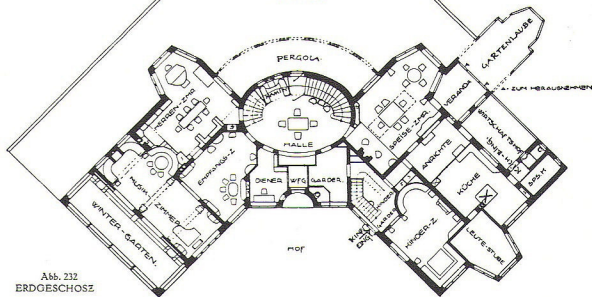


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228 H. M. Baillie Scott. Competition entry for "Ein herrschaftliches Wohnhaus eines Kunstfreundes" (1900)

In the middle of all these nationalistic architectural movements was Germany, and by the early 1900s, there too, many were calling for an architecture which could clearly be identified as German. Muthesius, for example, ended his introduction to *Das englische Haus* by urging his countrymen to "face our own conditions squarely and as honestly as the English face theirs today, to adhere to our own artistic tradition as faithfully, to embody our customs and habits in the German house as lovingly."⁵

Muthesius's own architecture in the years following his return to Germany was an uneasy blend of English and German. His mansion at Nikolasee, Berlin (1907–1908) appears at first sight to be a Prior butterfly house covered with north German timbering and high tiled roofs. But inside, the layout is quite different from the long, thin Arts and Crafts plan; much more squashed together, and given to German grandiose gestures.

Even while Muthesius was writing, architects like Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869–1949) and his pupil Heinrich Tessenow were producing much simpler villas and cottages in the north German tradition with white walls, pierced where necessary by simple shuttered windows, sometimes tied together by simple rectilinear half-timbering. These deliberately humble and atavistic buildings were expressions of the northern European romantic search for roots that had started with Old English forty years before. But there were much more direct links between Britain and the German speaking countries at the turn of the century. Baillie Scott and Ashbee were working on the Grand Duke of Hesse's palace in Darmstadt in 1897–1898. Their work and that of Voysey and Mackintosh was illustrated in German and Austrian magazines, and, in November 1900, Ashbee and Mackintosh showed

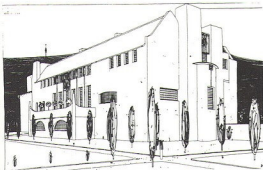
work (Mackintosh had a whole room) at the Vienna Secession exhibition.*

In December of the same year, the Darmstadt magazine *Zeitschrift für Innerdecoration* launched a competition for a house for an art lover "ein herrschaftliches Wohnhaus eines Kunstfreundes".⁶ No first prize was awarded but Baillie Scott got the largest premium, even though his elevations, which incorporated Scottish baronial drum towers, half-timbering and curious, elegant paraboloid gables were judged to be lacking in the modern spirit. They made a butterfly plan of no great size look like a castle. Mackintosh, though he did not submit enough drawings to qualify, was awarded a special prize. His elevations were a development of Windyhill (p. 105), austere planes of white harling punctuated irregularly by windows all of which had small square panes. The plan was basically rectangular: an elegant version of the long, thin Arts and Crafts layout extending sideways from a double-height hall.

The interiors of the two schemes were radically different. Scott used his dark interior half-timbering, as he had done in the Blackwell hall, enlivened by a simple, diagonal, coloured pattern on the edges of the beams and flowers and painted figures—very much in the Morris tradition. Mackintosh's music room was white and fine-drawn with tapering pilasters and an elaborate, thin, celtically curving, yet symmetrical screen over the piano which formed the focus of the space.

There was a clear affinity between the work of the British and Secession designers. Joseph Hoffmann (1870–1956) came closest to Mackintosh. His first house, the Villa Henneberg near Vienna (1900) echoed the plane walls and irregularly placed small

* The Secession was an association founded in 1897 by artists like Klimt, Olbrich, Moser and Hoffmann in rebellion against the academic management of the *Kunstlerhaus*. It included virtually all the Austrian artists of the *Jugendstil* (the Germanic contemporary of Art Nouveau), and its exhibitions were similar in content to those of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

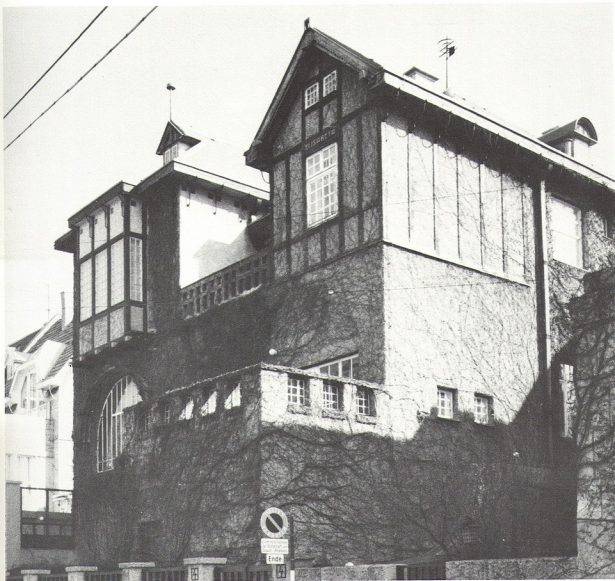


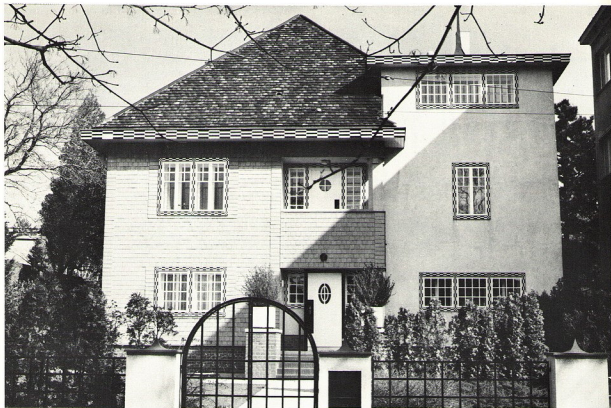
229 C. R. Mackintosh entry for "Ein herrschaftliches Wohnhaus eines Kunstfreundes" competition (1900)

paned windows of the Scot.* It even had a (partly)

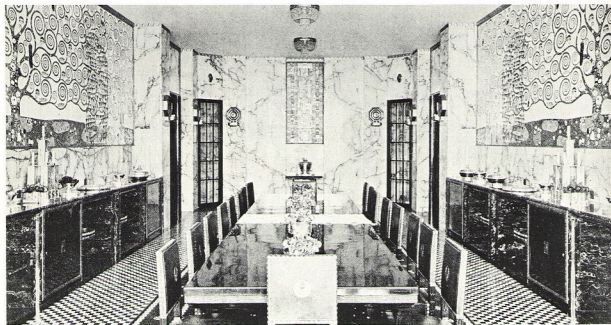
* British influence in Austria spread further than the Secessionists. One of the sternest critics of Secessionist wilfulness, Adolf Loos (1870–1933), whose pragmatic neo-classicism and hostility to arbitrary ornament earned him the reverence of Modern Movement architects of the next generation, designed cosy interiors complete with inglenooks and (often fake) exposed ceiling beams. Even his House on the Michaelerplatz, a block of flats on top of a store in the middle of Vienna's old city, has a row of Mackintosh-like small paned recessed bay windows between the giant Tuscan columns of the ground floor and the smoothly stripped upper storeys.

230 Joseph Hoffmann, Haus Henneberg, Hohe Warte, Vienna (1901)





231 Hoffmann. Haus Moll II, Hohe Warte, Vienna (1903)



232 Hoffmann. Palais Stoclet, Brussels (1905-11). Dining room with Klimt mosaics

double-height hall, though the plan was compressed into a square round it rather than being strung out in the British fashion. Fernand Knopff remarked in the *Studio* (which was very much aware of events abroad as well as at home) in 1901 that Hoffmann "is essentially rational and reasonable in all he does. His compositions are never extravagant, never intentionally loud, as are those of his more western *confrères*. He confines himself to . . . proportion and decoration, and thus is enabled to add to the beauty of the original lines of construction without addition and without alteration."⁷ One of Hoffmann's clearest debts to Britain is shown in his Haus Moll II (1904), built in Hohe Warte, a northern suburb of Vienna. There, a pyramidally topped two storey block, clad in hung slates is in the process of engulfing an early version of Voysey's Bedford Park tower house, shaved of its bay but complete with smoothly rendered white walls, shallow curved metal roof and a strip of small paned windows pressing up against the eaves.

But Hoffmann's closest personal links were with Mackintosh. Hoffmann and Mackintosh designed rooms for Fritz Wärndorfer's house in 1902. The two architects corresponded, and Hoffmann visited Mackintosh in Glasgow. On the trip, he went to see Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft at Essex House and, full of the experience, he set up the *Wiener Werkstätte* in 1903. His partner was Koloman Moser (1868–1918) and their sponsor was Wärndorfer.*

The *Werkstätte*'s most important commission was the Palais Stoclet, built in Brussels between 1905 and 1911, for a rich art collector who had lived in Vienna. Externally, the building was changeful, building up to a rectilinear stair tower in the middle. It continued Hoffmann and Mackintosh's theme of small paned windows set in plain white walls. But the planes were created in sheets of sawn pale grey Norwegian granite, not simple Scottish harling, and the whole building was tied up by an ornate metal band which ran round every corner of the complex silhouette. The regular vertical windows of the main block give the impression that Palais Stoclet is basically a classical

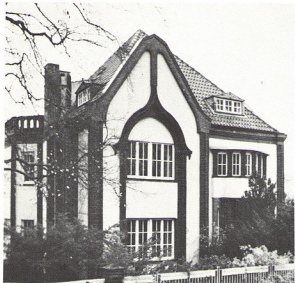
building, carved up and added to rather against its will, instead of one which has grown out of the clash of inner functions which Mackintosh expressed so beautifully in his entry for the *Haus Kunstfreundes*. Inside, the plan has some resemblance to Mackintosh's. The range of *Werkstätte* skills were used to their full in the most luxurious of materials, marbles and woods from all over Europe. Mackintosh's etiolation and refinement, stripped of his sinuous curves, tapers and witty incidents, form the dominating impression. The furniture and wall surfaces have the overriding rectilinearity of Hoffmann's work except in the dining room, which is enlivened by the complex geometry and brilliant colour of two mosaics by Hoffmann's fellow Secessionist, Gustav Klimt.

The Wiener Werkstätte was one of many communities in Germany and Austria. Some, like Karl Schmidt's Dresden *Werkstätte für Handwerkskunst* (founded 1898), were businesses like the Morris Firm—others were much more idealistic like Ashbee's Guild.

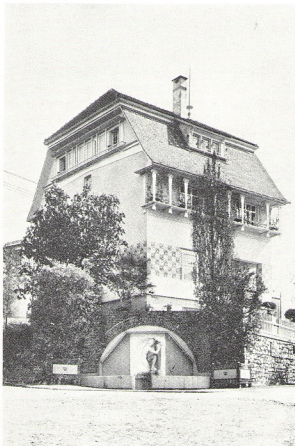
In 1899 Ernst Ludwig, the Grand Duke of Hesse, always indefatigable in his pursuit of the Arts and Crafts, decided to form an artists' colony at Matildenhöhe in Darmstadt to act as an inspiration for German design. He called on an Austrian, Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867–1908),* the Secessionist who had designed the group's exhibition gallery in Vienna, to act as chief architect for the colony's houses and for the Ernst Ludwig building, a combination of studios and bachelor quarters in the middle of the complex. W. Fred, reviewing the colony's first exhibition in the *Studio*, remarked that "they have worked together for some purpose. For the first time we are able to take a survey of the extent of art-handicraft. For everything, from the architecture of the exterior to the laid out table and the coverlet of the bed in every house, has been entirely designed by the artist and executed under his supervision."⁸ The colony included, besides Olbrich, Peter Behrens (1868–1940), painter, designer and architect (he was the only other artist who designed his own house), and a sculptor, a metal worker, a furniture designer and a painter. Fred emphasized that "Education by means of art-handicraft, not by dilettantism, but by

* The *Arbeitsprogramm der Wiener Werkstätte* by Hoffmann and Moser (1905) announced that the organization's message was "a welcoming call for those who invoke the name of Ruskin and Morris . . . We cannot and we do not wish to compete with cheap production; this above all is made at the worker's expense, whilst we consider that our first duty is to give him happiness in his work, and a life worthy of a man." Quoted by Godoli, Ezio in Russell, Frank (ed.) *Art Nouveau Architecture* Academy Editions, London 1979, p. 251.

* Olbrich was another Anglophile—for instance, he managed to spend half his Rome scholarship studying in England. He and Hoffmann were close; both studied under Austria's Norman Shaw. Otto Wagner (1841–1918), and when Olbrich moved to Darmstadt, Hoffmann took over his commissions for houses at Hohe Warte.



233 Peter Behrens. Own house, Matildenhohe, Darmstadt (1901)



234 Olbrich's house, Matildenhohe, Darmstadt (1901)

the daily use of household furniture and utensils, is the special desire of those who in Germany and Austria are fighting for the new art."⁹

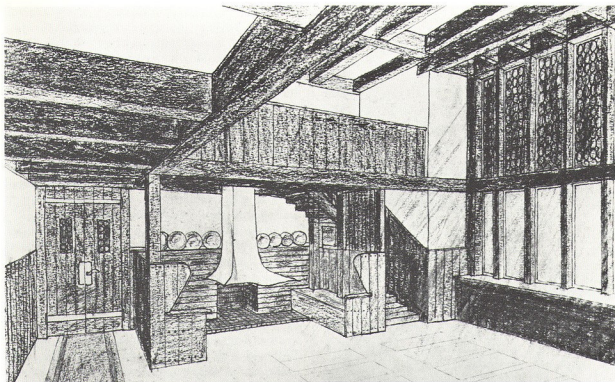
Olbrich's houses varied from free reinterpretations of traditional German styles, with big gabled roofs of blue slates and red tiles on top of white walls relieved by stencilling in chequerboard and stylized tree patterns, through an almost Art Nouveau freedom to a severe rectilinear essay in which small paned windows irregularly pierced smooth walls, themselves capped with a pronounced mortar-board roof. His Ernst Ludwig Haus was an essay in strong horizontals with small paned windows symmetrically set about a great, ornate semi-circular door which was flanked by giant free-standing statues—the sort of building that Townsend in his prime might have produced had he ever been given an open site.

The Darmstadt colony was crowned by the *Hochzeitsturm*, designed in 1907 to celebrate Ernst Ludwig's wedding: a tower topped with the shape of a flat hand, with curved copper cascading round the fingers at the top and strapped in the most changeful manner with horizontal bands of windows partially wrapping round the structure. It was Olbrich's most original work and one of his last.

Grand Duke Ernst Ludwig's aim in setting up the Darmstadt colony was to improve the quality of design in Hesse—and thence in all Germany. Another German petty prince, the Grand Duke of Saxony, made a bid for design leadership when he appointed the Belgian Art Nouveau architect and designer Henry van de Velde (1863–1957) as head of the Grand-Ducal school of Arts and Crafts in Weimar in 1902. This grand-ducal competition was not just a matter of late feudal one-up-manship.* Germans regarded good design as vital for the future of the fatherland. Like Britain, Germany was facing tariff walls, but Germany lacked the enormous resources of the British colonies to feed on and sell to. So German products had to sell on quality—but their reputation was not high.

Muthesius commented in 1907 that "in architecture we rank as the most backward country in Europe, because German taste in general is regarded as being at the very bottom of the ladder. In fact our artistic reputation has sunk so low that 'German' and

* Nor was it limited to these two grand dukes; as Wolfgang Pehtnt has pointed out, Karlsruhe, Düsseldorf and Berlin merged their academies of art and their schools of craft at about the same time as Weimar. (Pehtnt, *Wolfgang Expressionist Architecture*, Thames and Hudson, London 1973 p. 109.)



235 Adolf Loos. Living room design (1899). Loos, though he attacked the British influenced Secession architects, was himself devoted to Arts and Crafts motifs

'bad taste' have become practically synonymous."¹⁰

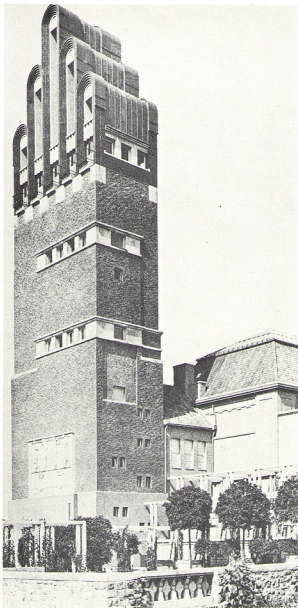
In the same speech, he pointed out that "helping the modern movement is by no means a commercially unsound proposition. The large number of industrialists who followed the new path as a logical decision have obtained significant financial success. It is enough to mention the *Dresdener Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst*, which in the space of eight years developed from very humble beginnings into a concern with a colossal turnover, capable of employing hundreds of carpenters."¹¹

Later in 1907, Muthesius was instrumental in founding the *Deutscher Werkbund*, an organization which brought together architects, artists, designers, industrialists and men from the *Werkstätten* with the expressed aim of improving German products. In the same year, Peter Behrens of the Darmstadt community was appointed as design consultant to the giant *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft*. There was no question that machinery should not be used to the full. Morris's teaching that working with machines

made men into slaves was completely ignored in the pursuit of economic success for the German nation, but the arts and crafts were still held in high regard as test bed for product design and as a sort of conscience. Muthesius believed that "the arts and crafts are called on to restore an awareness of honesty, integrity and simplicity in contemporary society."^{12*}

As the *Werkbund* matured, it became increasingly clear that there was little place for craftsmanly elements. The dynamic of the *Werkbund* was generated by cross-fertilization of artist and industrialist. Walter Gropius (1883–1969), a young architect member, wrote, "The artist has the power to give the lifeless machine made product a soul; it is his creative force that will live on, actively embodied in its outward form. His collaboration is not just a luxury, generously thrown in as an extra, it is an indispensable part of the industrial process and must be regarded as such."¹⁴

* The attitude was common in the years just after the turn of the century. Even a machine fanatic like Wright believed that the Arts and Crafts shop should be the "experimental station that would represent in miniature the elements of the great pulsating web of the machine."¹³



236 *Joseph Maria Olbrich. Hochzeitsturm, Matildenhöhe (1907–1908)*

Gropius was deeply interested in factory design, believing that “a worker will find that a room well thought out by an artist, which responds to the innate sense of beauty we all possess, relieves the monotony of the daily task and he will be more willing to join in collective undertakings. If the worker is happy, he will take more pleasure in his duties and the productivity of the firm will increase.”¹⁵ If the workers were

not to be freed of the tyranny of machine processes, they could at least be kept in order with the new architecture. A new factory building could be good for business too. He was sharply critical of “distorting the true character of the building by allowing it to masquerade in borrowed garments from an earlier period which have absolutely nothing in common with the sterner purposes of a factory. The good name of the firm can only suffer from a building got up in fancy dress.”¹⁶ Gropius built several factories before the war, including a model factory at the Werkbund’s big exhibition at Cologne in 1914. That was mostly of steel and glass—machine-made elements with craftsmanship reduced to an absolute minimum.*

But when Gropius was made successor to Van der Velde at the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts† and turned it into the Bauhaus, the most renowned art school in the twentieth century, he put great stress on teaching the crafts. The first rule of the school was that “thorough training of all students in the crafts provides the unifying foundation.”¹⁷ It was one of the last manifestations of the notion, shared by Ashbee, Wright and Muthesius, that the crafts should be the conscience of industry: the early Bauhaus was a direct descendant of Lethaby’s Central School.

Nevertheless, Gropius was in fact wedded to machines, so much so that in 1922 he wrote to his fellow Bauhaus masters praising the work of “young artists . . . beginning to face up to the phenomena of industry and the machine. They try to design what I would call the ‘useless’ machine.”¹⁸

So the wheel had turned, and William Morris was stood on his head. Instead of the machine being the hated brutalizer of humanity, it was held to be the prime focus of artistic inspiration. The Modern Movement in architecture was being born, and, over the next fifty years, standardization, machine worship

* Apart from contributions by Gropius and his partner Meyer and one or two other architects who built in the machine style, most of the other Werkbund pavilions were vaguely classical. Hoffmann, Behrens and even Muthesius, who had so sorrowfully chronicled Norman Shaw’s conversion to classicism, all produced buildings with overtly classical elevations.

Hoffmann’s conversion to classicism had begun some years earlier. For instance his Haus Ast (1910), next door to the Haus Moll II, is fluted like a flattened out Doric column pierced by regular rows of windows and topped with a classical cornice covered with curving celtic ornament.

† Eckhart Muthesius, Hermann’s son, has told me that Gropius owed his position to Muthesius’ recommendation. Eckhart, incidentally, was the godson of Makintosh and Frank Newbery (head of the Glasgow School of Art in the first decade of this century).

and distrust of the craftsman gradually became some of the dominating themes of architecture.

Though the gentler principles like fidelity to place were eschewed, a few Arts and Crafts ideals were taken on board by the Modern Movement. Even changefulness was embraced by some Modern Movement architects, and when the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in 1925, the new building was carefully designed by Gropius to show the difference between living quarters, studios, offices and workshops in a Manx wheel plan with three thin limbs spreading from an ill defined centre.

The Modern Movement took over the Arts and Crafts dislike of period styles (though not its reverence for tradition). Modern Movement architects became fanatical in their hatred of the styles of the past. But in their dominant idea that form should follow function, which had been so clearly spelled out by Pugin, they continued the Arts and Crafts horror of shams—at least theoretically (though many early Modern Movement buildings were built of brick made to look like concrete, just as many Arts and Crafts buildings were given fake half-timbering). And the movement inherited a kind of social idealism; but, while the socialism of Morris had been concerned to liberate everyone, that of the Modern Movement was concerned with standardization and minimal norms, with only the architect free to decide how people should live. The Puginian paradox was finally and brutally resolved, with the designer in complete control and the craftsman reduced to the status of fitter and machine minder.

In the '30s, the authoritarian Modern Movement was banished from Germany* by the even more authoritarian Nazi government which, in reaction to machine architecture, reintroduced some of the ideas shared by the Arts and Crafts movement and the National Romantics of the turn of the century.

Art and architecture were, of course, subject to close supervision by the Nazis, perhaps closer than other branches of intellectual endeavour, because of Hitler's own artistic pretensions. He took the arts very seriously: "I am convinced that art, since it forms the most uncorrupted, the most immediate reflection of the people's soul, exercises unconsciously by far the greatest influence on the masses of the people."¹⁹



237 *Völkisch architecture: Franz Hufnagel, Siedlung Heddernheim (pre 1941)*

Translated into Nazi jargon, the echoes of Morris are clear.

The people—the *volk*—were of great importance to the National Socialists who favoured two styles of architecture which were supposed to be easily understood by everyman. There was a stripped classical style used for great public buildings by architects like Speer—a kind of architecture in which Hitler took particular interest. And, of less interest to the party leaders was *völkisch* architecture, intended for the houses of the masses and based on the vernacular building of rural Germany. Schultze-Naumburg, who had been preaching the virtues of native architecture from early in the century (p. 202), became an enthusiastic Nazi supporter, glorying in the peasant house as "a reservoir of all genuine *völkisch* qualities", whose form was "bound to the blood"²⁰. Winfried Wedland, a professor at the Berlin Academy, celebrated the small house as "the seed-core of the *Volk*", in which "everyone who builds . . . must feel the duty to do a small service for art, something to give a house a more beautiful character.

* Leading lights of the Modern Movement fled to England, then to America, where they found their machine worship remarkably acceptable in the land of Henry Ford.

This does not always have to be figures for the garden or a painting. A pair of carved beams or a carved door will do."²¹ It was a version of Lethaby's brown bread and dewy morning approach to architecture translated to Hansel and Gretel.

Many small *völkisch* houses were built all over Germany, often in small new settlements laid out on Garden City principles, but the most celebrated *völkisch* building was much grander. At Hermann Goering's Karinhall shooting lodge north of Berlin, a courtyard was enclosed by a thatched roof over white walls liberally besprinkled with antlers. The main reception room was a great German hall, focusing on a mighty fireplace complete with inglenook quite in the Arts and Crafts fashion.

Modern Movement critics of the Arts and Crafts have made play with the similarities between the work of Arts and Craftsmen and Nazi architects, implying some sort of guilt by association. Yet evil men may sometimes embrace noble ideals—that does not besmirch the ideals, it improves the men. *Völkisch* architecture can scarcely be added to the horrendous catalogue of crimes perpetrated by the Nazi state. Providing good, simple housing for the people was one of the few decent things that the Nazis did.

The same critics imply that, because the early Modern Movement was execrated by the Nazis, it is in some way virtuous. But it was the Modern Movement that housed ordinary working people in factory-like barrack blocks*: it was that movement which so lovingly embraced the tyranny of the machine, and it wanted to reforge man in quite a new image, free of all the inherited detritus of the past. The final, paradoxical irony of the Arts and Crafts

movement is that, devoted as it was to freedom and individuality, it should have been the reservoir for two such authoritarian streams as *völkisch* architecture and the Modern Movement.

- 1 Ashbee, C. R. "Frank Lloyd Wright: a study and an appreciation" reprinted in Kaufmann, Edgar *Frank Lloyd Wright, the Early Work*, Horizon, New York 1968, p. 7
- 2 Singelenberg, Pieter H. P. *Belage, Idea and Style*, Utrecht 1972, p. 149
- 3 Guimard, Hector *Architectural Record*, Vol. XII, 1902, p. 127. Guimard was identifying the sources of Art Nouveau for an American audience.
- 4 Voysey, C. F. A. in "L'art nouveau: a symposium", *Magazine of Art*, Vol. II, 2nd series, 1904, p. 212
- 5 Muthesius, Hermann *The English House*, trans. Janet Seligman, Crosby Lockwood Staples, London 1979, p. 11
- 6 Kornwolf, James D. M. H. *Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts Movement*, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore and London, 1972 has a detailed discussion of the competition, pp. 216–238.
- 7 Khnopff, F. *Studio*, Vol. XXII, 1901, p. 264
- 8 Fred, W. *Studio*, Vol. XXIV, 1902, p. 26
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 95
- 10 Muthesius, Hermann "The meaning of the Arts and Crafts", lecture at Handelshochschule, Berlin 1907. Translated in Benton, T. and C. *Form and Function*, Crosby Lockwood Staples, London, p. 40
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 39
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 38
- 13 Wright, F. L. "The art and craft of the machine", in *Frank Lloyd Wright Writings and Buildings*, ed. Kaufmann, E. and B. Raeburn, Horizon 1960, p. 70
- 14 Gropius, W. "The development of modern industrial architecture", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* 1913 translated in Benton *op. cit.*, p. 53
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 54
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 53
- 17 Gropius, W. "The statutes of the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar", translated in Wingler, H. M. *Bauhaus*, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass and London 1978, p. 44
- 18 Gropius, W. "The Viability of the Bauhaus Idea", 1922, in Wingler *op. cit.*, p. 51
- 19 Taylor, Robert R. *The Word in Stone*, University of California, Berkeley & London 1974, p. 31. Taylor, whose book chronicles the architectural theories of the Nazis, is quoting a 1935 utterance.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 224. Taylor is quoting a 1934 book by Schultze-Naumburg
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 221. The quotation is from *Kunst und Nation*, 1934.

* I do not wish to suggest that the Nazis who tried to house the *Völkisch* in decent dwellings, yet kept starving slaves in work camps, were in any way the moral peers of the Modern Movement.