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**Karl Ernst Osthaus: The Folkwang Museum and the
dissemination of international modernism**

Stonge, Carmen Luise, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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A

Karl Ernst Osthaus: The Folkwang Museum and
the Dissemination of International Modernism
by
Carmen Luise Stonge

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Art History in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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1993

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Abstract

Karl Ernst Osthaus: The Folkwang Museum and
the Dissemination of International Modernism

by

Carmen Luise Stonge

Advisor: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

This study examines the Folkwang Museum, and Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921), its founder, owner and director. Osthaus was a major patron of the arts in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and his museum in Hagen, Germany, was a vehicle for the dissemination of international modernism in Germany. It begins with the period shortly before the turn of the century, when old and new attitudes interacted with a society of enormous complexity, and fused together during a time of transition and changes in Wilhelmine Germany. An overview of Osthaus examines his origins, his plans to build a museum in Hagen, and some of the relevant artistic developments in Germany which influenced and shaped Osthaus's ideology towards art and culture. The study traces the Folkwang Museum's evolution and intertwines it with Osthaus and the Belgian artist,

architect, and interior designer, Henry van de Velde (1863-1957), addressing the important, interconnected alliance that Osthaus and Van de Velde formed while working together on the museum, and the revolutionary effect that their combined efforts had on the arts in Germany. In addition, there is an analysis of Osthaus's relationship to artists, both foreign and native, that exhibited in the Folkwang, and the astonishing array of acquisitions that the museum obtained at a time when other museums were still acquiring Old Master works and ignoring the young, then unknown masters of modern art. An important issue that is discussed is Osthaus's promotion of women artists, and his sustained support and exhibition of their work over many years. Additional information details how international modernism and Expressionism simultaneously struggled for acceptance in Germany with the formation and success of the Sonderbund Association in the industrialized Ruhr and Rheinland regions, exhibitions that presented the latest trends in both native and foreign contemporary art. Osthaus was one of the driving forces behind these exhibitions which promoted international modernism. By examining the intersection between German modernism and international modernism, this study demonstrates that Osthaus and the Folkwang were both active catalysts in the promotion and acceptance of international modernism and Expressionism in Germany before the First War.

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In Germany there were numerous people who provided friendly and helpful assistance. I would especially like to thank Anna-Christa Funk-Jones, at the Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Museum in Hagen, for her generous time, courtesy, interest and concern. Without her expertise in archival skills, and her vast knowledge of Osthaus and the Folkwang, this project would have been impossible. She kindly provided me with telephone numbers, names and addresses of people to visit and thus allowed me to gain greater insight into this topic. I should also like to thank the staff at the Karl-

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In the picturesque small city of Lüdenschied, Frau Malve Steinweg was kind enough to invite me into her home and tell me about her aunt, the painter Ida Gerhardi. She owns the largest collection of this artist's work and proudly showed me her entire collection. Frau Steinweg also generously gave me two hard to obtain exhibition catalogs of Gerhardi's work. In Frankfurt the staff at the Städtische Galerie im Städel'schen Kunstinstitut were most helpful and courteous, as were the librarians at Frankfurt's Stadt und Universitätsbibliothek, Senkenberische Bibliothek. My parents, John and Luise Burke, patiently accompanied me to numerous museums in Germany. My mother often helped me to discern illegible, old, hand-written letters, and she came to enjoy the challenge of trying to decipher an artist's scratchy handwriting.

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of this study is the Folkwang Museum, and Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921), who was its founder, owner and director. Osthaus was a major patron of the arts in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and his museum in Hagen, Germany, was a vehicle for the dissemination of international modernism in Germany. By 1910 Osthaus had helped to firmly establish modernism in the Ruhr and Rhein regions, but his seminal role in helping to achieve this has been unexamined. Most of the existing research on early twentieth century German art history has primarily focused on the Berlin art world, and to a lesser extent on Munich and other areas. This study will concentrate on the Ruhr region, in the western segment of Germany, which was very receptive to foreign artistic influences, and was an important center for the international modernist movement between 1902 and 1912.

During this time span, the term "international modernism" in Germany referred to various stylistic trends and tendencies in art which were perceived to be of a foreign origin, especially French origin. For example, Impressionism, Symbolism, Art Nouveau, Post-Impressionism, Fauvism and initially Expressionism were all foreign

inspired styles, and any stylistic borrowings by German artists from this potpourri of international styles was deemed to be un-German, and even unpatriotic. This study endeavors to help enhance our understanding of international modernism in Germany via Osthaus and his collection in the Folkwang Museum.

The Folkwang Museum contained Osthaus's private art collection which he made available to the public. In Europe this was an unusual and unprecedented event.¹ Almost without exception, every European museum by the beginning of this century was first a private, royal collection.² The French Revolution established that royal collections belonged to the public, and throughout the nineteenth century they were made available to the general populace.³ By building a museum to house his collection, it is apparent that Osthaus had grand plans for his collection from the beginning. The Folkwang, which was also Osthaus's private residence for several years, was immediately accepted as being a museum by art historians, critics and the public. Shortly after it opened in the summer of 1902, it was heralded as being an "exemplary" museum and "the first modern museum" of art.⁴

In 1896, when Osthaus inherited 65 million marks (then the equivalent of \$15,483,563) at the age of 22, he originally planned to create a museum of natural history

with his inheritance.⁵ However, after meeting the Belgian architect and designer Henry van de Velde, who designed the interior of the Folkwang, Osthaus became interested in art. Van de Velde encouraged Osthaus to concentrate on collecting and exhibiting modern artworks, not building a museum of natural history. By presenting outstanding aesthetic models in the Folkwang for industry to emulate, Osthaus aspired to improve the social and cultural atmosphere in the industrial town of Hagen. The aim of Osthaus's museum project was educating public taste and presenting culture in a previous cultural wasteland.

Although the Folkwang was located in the Westfalen province of the heavily industrialized Ruhr, it attracted artists from all over Europe and provided them with a forum where they could create, exhibit and sell their work. The Folkwang was the only museum in Germany where artists had the opportunity to view and study works that were not represented in any other German museum at that time. It exhibited paintings by Munch, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Matisse, sculpture by Minne, Kolbe, Rodin, Archipenko and Kogan. The Folkwang also featured contemporary art by the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter, who became known as German Expressionists. In addition, it simultaneously provided a forum for women artists. An investigation of some of the women artists who exhibited there will reveal societal attitudes towards women in Germany before and during the

...

First World War. Osthaus also displayed non-Western art and artifacts in the Folkwang next to his modern art collection to show the cultural and artistic affinities of these works. At the time, this was an unprecedented presentation method, and this study will explore how it inspired artists and initiated changes in the arts and in museology.

Due to Osthaus's successful efforts in Hagen and the surrounding Westfalen and Rhein regions, this western region of Wilhelmine Germany developed into an important artistic center by 1910, which was rivaled at that time by only Berlin and Munich. By 1910 Hagen was dotted with numerous examples of modern building design, which included villas, a municipal theater, a park for outdoor concerts, a worker's community for the city's textile industry, a museum, and a crematorium. Osthaus played a major role in all of these building projects which helped to dramatically change the overall look of Hagen, as well as the living conditions there.⁶ In addition to the powerful artistic and cultural stimulus that Osthaus created in this region, there were two other factors which contributed to the receptive atmosphere of international modernism there. One of these factors was geography, and the other was large scale industrialization.

Since the Rhein and Westfalen regions were geographically closer to France and Belgium than Munich or Berlin, these regions shared stronger cultural ties with

their foreign neighbors. An example of this cultural diffusion was that artistic trends and cultural influences crossed over geographical boundaries in the west more easily than elsewhere in the Wilhelmine Empire. The second factor, massive industrialization in the Rhein and Sauerland regions, also helped to contribute to the success and acceptance of international modernism there. German industrial moguls in these major industrial areas had vast amounts of newly accumulated wealth to buy and commission artworks for their mansions. Osthaus knew many of these wealthy industrialists through familial connections from his boyhood, and he later encouraged these industrialists to support the arts by commissioning works from the artists and architects he promoted in Hagen and the Folkwang. Several of his wealthy acquaintances commissioned Van de Velde, and the German architect Peter Behrens, to design bigger, more modern mansions, and others purchased or commissioned paintings and sculptures from Folkwang affiliated artists to decorate their homes, and some of them even became collectors themselves. With the surplus of wealth accrued from industry in these regions, a demand for cultural pursuits arose. It was in this context that Hagen's art community assumed increased importance, and Osthaus's achievements there became widely acclaimed throughout the Ruhr and Rhein regions. In Berlin, however, Osthaus's achievements came to be regarded as a threat to that city's leadership in the German art world.

The directors of state museums throughout Germany were more rigidly bound than Osthaus by administrative and acquisition policies. When state museum directors wanted to acquire foreign or modern works, they were not allowed to display them without first obtaining official permission. For example, even Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911), the director of Berlin's Painting Gallery, had limited power. When he attempted to have several French artworks donated by wealthy friends, he was overruled by the Kaiser.⁷ Meanwhile, Osthaus assembled an outstanding collection of international artworks when modern artists, both foreign and native, were more or less banned from museums in Berlin, as well as other major state museums throughout Germany.

By 1911 other museum directors began to purchase modern works, despite the government's resistance. This should no longer have been controversial by then, but it was. Count Harry Kessler (1868-1937), in Weimar, had organized shows that featured works by Claude Monet and Gauguin, but in 1906 when he exhibited some nude drawings by Rodin, he was suddenly forced to resign.⁸ In 1909 when Friedrich Wichert (1878-?) acquired Edouard Manet's painting, the Execution of Maximilian, for the Mannheim Kunsthalle, he was severely criticized for purchasing the work.⁹ When Gusatv Pauli (1868-1938) purchased Van Gogh's painting Field with Poppies for the Bremen Kunsthalle in 1911, he was immediately

attacked by the Bremen Kunstverein for acquiring this work.¹⁰ Osthaus had been acquiring Van Gogh's work for the Folkwang since 1902, but many state museum directors were just then following his example. In 1911 both the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Köln and the Städelches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt acquired their first Van Gogh acquisitions, and in both cases these works were the most advanced examples of modern art in these museums.¹¹ Not until after the First War was Ludwig Justi (1876-1957), who replaced Tschudi as the director of Berlin's National Gallery in 1908, able to begin buying and exhibiting examples of international modernism and Expressionist works.

International modernism in Germany has not received the same degree of attention that has characterized the research on French modernism. Discussions of international modernism in Germany prior to the First War tend to focus primarily on the Secession and Expressionist movements. Two major books on the Secession have been published by the historian Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany (1980), and the art historian Maria Makela, The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich (1990).¹²

In addition there are an abundance of studies on Expressionism. Most of these studies acknowledge Osthaus's role to some degree, but they do not exclusively focus on

Osthaus. The exhibition catalog essay by Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Scholarship: Past, Present, and Future Directions," in German Expressionist Prints and Drawings, Volume I (1989), surveys the history of Expressionism.¹³ Peter Selz's book, German Expressionist Painting (1957), briefly mentions Osthaus in conjunction with the 1912 Köln Sonderbund exhibition, which Osthaus helped to organize.¹⁴ Magdalena Moeller's study, Der Sonderbund: Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf (1984), mentions Osthaus, but its emphasis is on the history of the Sonderbund.¹⁵ The essay by Andreas Hüneke, "Moritzburg Halle - Folkwang Hagen/Essen. Parallelen und Unterschiede von der Gründung bis 1937," in the book Museum und Gegenwart (1985),¹⁶ remarks on the significance of Osthaus's early collecting of Expressionism, but concentrates on investigating the parallels and differences between the collection in the Folkwang in Hagen, and later in Essen, and the museum in Moritzburg-Halle. Jill Lloyd's recent publication, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity (1991),¹⁷ discusses Osthaus's collection of non-Western art in the Folkwang, but it focuses on the stylistic development of the German Expressionist artists, Die Brücke, and their appropriation of tribal art. The catalog raisonné, Emil Nolde. Catalogue Raisonné of the Oil Paintings. Volume I, 1895-1914 (1987),¹⁸ by Martin Urban, the former director of the Ada und Emil Stiftung in Seebüll, and the leading Nolde scholar, does not mention Osthaus's

important sponsorship of Nolde's work in Germany, which first brought this artist to the attention of other collectors and directors.

The scholarship on the male artists of German Expressionism is extensive, but there is no comprehensive study of the German women artists who were active during the years of German Expressionism.¹⁹ Thus far, only Käthe Kollwitz, Paula Modersohn-Becker and Gabriele Münter are well-known and studied figures in German art history.²⁰ Although it has been eleven years since Renate Berger's pioneering study, Malerinnen auf den Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert: Kunstgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte (1982),²¹ there have been no additional studies by art historians that investigate the social conditions and restraints that German women faced while pursuing their careers as artists.²²

In contrast to the vast scholarship on Expressionism, there is no single study on Osthaus that analyzes his important role in the development of international modernism in Germany. The most concise source of information on Osthaus is a German study, Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk (1971),²³ which is a compilation of essays by the former director of the Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum in Hagen, Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, along with seven other German scholars. This is an impressively researched book, but it is essentially rooted in biographical methodologies which

are repetitive in several sections.

Hesse-Frielinghaus's essay, "Folkwang 1. Teil," in Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, primarily focuses on the Folkwang's acquisitions and the provenance of the works that Osthaus purchased. Her methodology for examining this topic is strictly chronological. Walter Erben, one of the co-authors on this project, discusses Osthaus's background from a psychoanalytic point of view. His essay, "Karl Ernst Osthaus, Lebensweg und Gedankengut," provides valuable information about Osthaus the man, especially his youth and student years. Much of the information that he writes about, however, is also discussed by Hesse-Frielinghaus. Klaus Volprecht's contribution, "Die Sammlung Aussereuropäischer Kunst," examines the Folkwang's non-European collection. Sebastian Müller's essay, "Das Deutsche Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe," concentrates on Osthaus's activities in the German Museum for Art in Commerce and Industry, which was co-founded by Osthaus and the Deutsche Werkbund in 1909 and became the showplace for the Werkbund (founded in 1907). Peter Stressig and Justus Buekschmitt jointly authored "Karl Ernst Osthaus - der Planer und Bauherr," which examines the architectural projects that Osthaus commissioned in Hagen, and his relationship to, and with, a variety of leading German architects at the beginning of this century.

The strength of this joint study is that it is an invaluable source for background information. Its weakness is that it is redundant in parts and fails to connect Osthaus with broader cultural, social and art historical issues. The study by Hesse-Frielinghaus, et al, does not analyze Osthaus's seminal role in championing the acceptance of international modernism, or the significance of the Folkwang, which helped to disseminate the works of contemporary European artists in Germany in the years between 1902 and 1912.²⁴

Hesse-Frielinghaus also compiled and edited almost all of the correspondence between the Osthauses and the Noldes that exists in Hagen and the Nolde archive in Seebüll. This hard to find publication, Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefwechsel (1985), is a valuable source for understanding and reconstructing the relationship between the Osthauses and the Noldes.²⁵ Much of the information contained in these letter exchanges has not been investigated. In addition, Hesse-Frielinghaus has compiled and edited the correspondence between Kirchner and several of the Brücke artists and Osthaus, in Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen. Also published in 1985, these letters provide a wealth of information on Kirchner as well as Osthaus.²⁶

The exhibition catalog Der Westdeutsche Impuls 1900-

1914. Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet (1984) is a compilation of nine different essays about the diverse projects that Osthaus commissioned in Hagen. Only Johann Heinrich Müller's essay, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und seine Hagener Folkwang-Idee," however, focuses on Osthaus and the Folkwang Museum.²⁷ Müller's discussion essentially repeats much of the same information that was written earlier by Hesse-Frielinghaus and Erben in 1971 and contributes little new information.

Paul Vogt's book, Museum Folkwang Essen: Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet (1983),²⁸ primarily examines the acquisitions and purchasing costs of some of the artworks that Osthaus acquired for the Folkwang Museum, which is located in Essen today. Vogt does not discuss Osthaus's role in the dissemination of modernism in the Ruhr, nor his impact as a museum director in Germany.

Laird Easton's recent PhD dissertation in history, The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler, 1868-1914 (1991), is essentially a biography.²⁹ Kessler, like Osthaus, was a patron of the arts, and part of Easton's dissertation examines how Kessler became interested in modernism. Easton recounts the story of how Kessler attempted to make Weimar into a cultural center, and failed at this attempt. This study does not discuss Osthaus, but nevertheless it raises some interesting and suggestive ideas

about cultural ideologies at the turn of the century that were prevalent among wealthy, educated young men.

Although the German Museum for Art in Commerce and Industry was co-founded by Osthaus and the Deutsche Werkbund, and shared space with the Folkwang in Hagen, it will not be included in this present study. In contrast to the limited scholarship that has investigated the significance of Osthaus and the Folkwang Museum, there have been several studies that have discussed Osthaus in relation to the Deutsche Werkbund and the German Museum for Art in Commerce and Industry.³⁰ The German exhibition catalog Der Westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914, Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet, Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Cöln 1914 (1984),³¹ examines Osthaus's participation in the 1914 Werkbund exhibition in Köln. This is the best source for those who are interested in Osthaus's participation in and relationship with the Deutsche Werkbund.

There are substantial primary sources housed in the Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive in Hagen: thousands of letters, postcards, receipts, newspaper accounts, obscure but invaluable exhibition catalogs, pamphlets and other documents from both Osthaus and the Folkwang. In addition, there are still a few remaining relatives and close friends in the Hagen area who knew Osthaus and/or the artists and other people associated with the Folkwang. Not far from

Hagen is the Folkwang Museum in Essen, which now contains the bulk of the original collection, but no documentation on the Folkwang when it was in Hagen and owned by Osthaus.³² For contemporary accounts in newspaper and magazine publications that were not available in Hagen, the Frankfurt University library is a rich and valuable source. These primary sources helped to piece together this institutional, social-historical collage which recounts the story not only about a revolutionary museum and its founder, but the birth and triumph of international modernism and German Expressionism in the early years of the twentieth century.

The chapters within this study examine how Osthaus and the Folkwang helped to disseminate international modernism in Germany. Under Osthaus's direction, the Folkwang became a major cultural force in Germany. Its history, narrated in the following chapters, is part of the history of Germany's turbulent encounter with modernism and the international avant-garde. The first chapter of this study focuses on the period shortly before the turn of this century in Berlin, when old and new attitudes interacted with a society of enormous complexity, and fused to prepare for a period of change in Wilhelmine Germany. This chapter provides a brief overview of Berlin, which was in the process of several rapid transformations in the arts, culture, politics and society. Osthaus was affected and influenced by these transformations in Berlin. He believed that a strong

polarity existed between Berlin in the east and the Ruhr in the west. In chapter two a biographical overview of Osthaus will focus on his origins, educational background, early interests, and plans to build a museum in Hagen. This chapter will also include an account of some of the relevant artistic developments in Germany at that time which influenced and shaped Osthaus's ideology towards art and culture.

Chapter three traces and examines the Folkwang Museum's evolution, which will be intertwined with Osthaus and the Belgian artist, architect, and interior designer, Henry van de Velde. Chapter four, "The Folkwang 1902-1906," addresses the important, interconnected alliance that Osthaus and Van de Velde formed during their working relationship on the museum, and the revolutionary effect that their combined efforts had on the arts in Germany. Chapters four, five and six focus on some of the artists, both foreign and native, that Osthaus exhibited in Hagen, and the astonishing array of acquisitions that the museum obtained at a time when other museums were still acquiring Old Master works and ignoring the young, then unknown masters of modern art. An important issue that is examined in chapter six is Osthaus's promotion of women artists, and his sustained support and exhibition of their work over many years; an area in which he was an unprecedented leader in Germany. Focusing exclusively on women artists who were associated with the

Folkwang, this chapter will hopefully facilitate and generate further research on this topic. These women were well-known figures in their own day and they warrant renewed attention and further study.

Chapter seven concentrates on the years 1910 to 1912, which encompasses a time span when both international modernism and Expressionism struggled for acceptance in Germany. During this time there was the formation and success of the Sonderbund Association in the industrialized Ruhr and Rheinland regions (Düsseldorf and Köln), which sponsored large, international exhibitions that presented the latest trends in both native and foreign contemporary art. Osthaus was one of the driving forces behind these exhibitions which promoted international modernism in an unprecedented large scale throughout the western region of Germany. This study concludes with chapter eight, which will briefly discuss some of Osthaus's activities and the history of the Folkwang after 1912.

By examining the intersection between German modernism and international modernism, this study will demonstrate that Osthaus and the Folkwang were both active catalysts in the promotion and acceptance of international modernism and Expressionism in Germany before the First War. This study coincides with a period of time when political, economic and societal factors combined to transform the visual arts in

Germany, from the late 1890s, when the battle for modernism and internationalism first emerged, to 1912, when this battle culminated in the Köln Sonderbund.

NOTES

¹ In Europe, the seventeenth century Swiss collector Remigius Faesch (1595-1670) also called his private collection a museum, but he did not build a separate facility to house his collection. See Nathaniel Burt, Palaces for the People. A Social History of the American Art Museum, (New York: Little Brown and Company, 1977) pp. 16, 23.

² The Glyptothek in Munich was begun in 1816, the Prado Museum in Spain was founded in 1819, the National Gallery in London in 1828, the Altes Museum in Berlin in 1830, and the Munich Pinakothek in 1836. In every one of these museums, private royal collections served as a core about which a museum grew.

³ For a general discussion of museums see Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types, Part of the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, Bollingen Series XXXV.19, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), especially Chapter 8, pp. 111-138. The Library in ancient Alexandria, which was called The Museum, is considered the world's first art museum because it contained artworks as well as books. The Louvre was the first public museum that still exists today.

⁴ In 1903 the influential writer and editor Karl Kötschau referred to the Folkwang as being an "exemplary" museum, and in that same year the journal Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration wrote that the Folkwang was "the first modern museum."

⁵ At the time, the currency value of one dollar was equal to 4.198 marks. See R. L. Bidwell, Currency Conversion Tables: A Hundred Years of Change, (London: Rex Collings, Ltd., 1970) p. 22.

⁶ Osthaus provided most of the funds for Hagen's municipal theater, which was designed by the architect Ernst Vetterlein (1873-1950). The textile workers community was designed in 1910 by the architect Richard Riemerschmid (1868-1957), who came to Hagen at Osthaus's invitation. The First War prevented the expansion of this model project

which was intended to be much larger than it was. In 1920 the German architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) also designed the plans for Osthaus's Folkwang Schule, in Hagen, but the school was never realized.

⁷ See Peter Paret's article, "The Tschudi Affair," Journal of Modern History, No. 53, December, 1981, pp. 589-618, for an in-depth account of Tschudi's career and eventual dismissal from Berlin's National Gallery. Tschudi was relieved of his post in 1908, when the Kaiser replaced him with Ludwig Justi, who ironically was also a champion of modern art. Also see Kenworth Moffett, Meier-Graefe as Art Critic, (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1973) p. 175, n. 389.

⁸ Paret, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, p. 158.

⁹ Moffett, p. 107, endnote 390.

¹⁰ Moffett, p. 197.

¹¹ Niels von Holst, Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs. The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present, Trans., Brian Battershaw, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967) p. 333.

¹² Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), and Maria Makela, The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹³ Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Scholarship: Past, Present, and Future Direction," German Expressionist Prints and Drawings, Volume I (1989), Exhibition Catalog, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, (Los Angeles: The Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1989) pp. 183-205. For documents see Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, (New York: G. K. Hall & Company, 1993), which focuses on Expressionism's reception in Germany. This book provides translations of numerous important documents, including letters, manifestos, reviews, critiques, diary entries, and exhibition catalog essays, that were previously not available to scholars. For a survey of Expressionism see Donald E. Gordon, Expressionism: Art and Idea, (New Haven, Connecticut, and

London: Yale University Press, 1987), which examines the social psychology, style and iconography of Expressionism. For specialized studies see the exhibition catalog Expressionisten: Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920, (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1986), which includes annotations on critics, patrons, collectors and museum directors. The exhibition catalog by Eberhard Roters, et al, Stationen der Moderne. Die Bedeutende Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, (Berlin: Nicolai and Berlin National Gallery, 1988), examines various twentieth century exhibitions in Germany, but does not include a discussion of the 1912 Köln Sonderbund. Also see Charles W. Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr, eds., Berlin: Culture and Metropolis, (Minneapolis and Oxford, England: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), discuss the impact of the city on Expressionist artists such as Kirchner and Grosz.

14 Peter Selz, German Expressionist Painting, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957).

15 Magdalena M. Moeller, Der Sonderbund. Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf, (Köln, Germany: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, 1984).

16 The essays by Andreas Hüneke et al, in Museum und Gegenwart, (Halle, Germany: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1985), examine Expressionism in less well-known areas of Germany.

17 Jill Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, (New Haven, Connecticut, and London: Yale University Press, 1991).

18 Martin Urban, Emil Nolde. Catalogue Raisonné of the Oil Paintings. Volume I, 1895-1914, (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1987).

19 For a discussion of the male German Expressionists, see the following references. For a general overview of Kandinsky and the artists of the Blaue Reiter see Klaus Lankheit, "A History of the Almanac," The Blaue Reiter Almanac (1912), eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, Documentary Edition, ed. Klaus Lankheit, (New York: Viking, 1974) pp. 11-48. For a discussion of Kandinsky's relationship to Symbolism, see Rose-Carol Washton Long, Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. Also see Rose-Carol Washton Long,

"Expressionism, Abstraction, and the Search for Utopia in Germany," The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting, 1890-1985, Exhibition Catalog, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986) pp. 201-217, for an examination of Kandinsky's knowledge and application of theosophy in creating abstracted images. Donald E. Gordon's book, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), remains the definitive catalog raisonné on this artist's work. Horst Jähner's book, Künstlergruppe Brücke: Geschichte - Leben und Werk Ihrer Maler, Second, expanded, edition, (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 1986; Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1984), is an important general study and provides an abundance of information on these German Expressionist artists. Gunther Thiem's and Armin Zweite's 1989 catalog, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff: Retrospektive, Exhibition Catalog, (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1989), is a comprehensive study of this artist who has been generally less studied than Kirchner or Nolde. Reinhold Heller's catalog essay, "Brücke: Preliminary Observations," Brücke: German Expressionist Prints from the Granvil and Marcia Specks Collection, Exhibition Catalog, (Evanston, Illinois: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1988) pp. 3-9, re-evaluates the formation of the Brücke artists group in Dresden in 1905. He argues that previous scholarship has overemphasized the connection of the Brücke's name and programmatic language with Nietzsche's book Thus Spake Zarathustra (1883-85). The exhibition catalog that Stephanie Barron organized, German Expressionist Sculpture, Exhibition Catalog, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), examines the works of well-known figures within the Expressionist movement, as well as some lesser known artists.

20 Most studies on German women artists have been formulated by iconographical or biographical methodologies. For example, the most recent major study on Kollwitz, by Elisabeth Prelinger with essays by Alessandra Comini and Hildegard Bachert, Käthe Kollwitz, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; and New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 1992) does not analyze the disturbing images that Kollwitz created of grieving women. Such images comprise a large body of her work, yet only the psychoanalyst Alice Miller, The Untouched Key: Tracing Childhood Trauma in Creativity and Destructiveness, trans. Hildegard and Hunter Hannum, (New York: Doubleday, 1990), has discussed this recurring theme. Shulamith Behr's book, Women Expressionists, (New York: Rizzoli International

Publications, Inc., 1988), is a thin survey that adds nothing new to the scholarship on German women artists.

21 Renate Berger, Malerinnen auf den Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert: Kunstgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte, (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1982).

Berger's book examines the lives of several German women artists (including the French artist Suzanne Valadon), and the social conditions under which they worked. Extensively documented and containing a lengthy biography, Berger focuses on women working in the fine arts, and excludes women's craftwork.

22 Only J. Diane Radycki's short essay, "The Life of Lady Art Students: Changing Art Education at the Turn of the Century," Art Journal, Spring 1982, pp. 9-13, has examined the exclusionary practices of art academies towards women before and immediately after the turn of the century. In addition, Richard J. Evans, a social historian, has concentrated on societal attitudes towards women at the turn of the century in Germany. See his essay "Liberalism and Society: The Feminist Movement and Social Change," Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978) pp. 186-214, as well as his books Comrades and Sisters: Feminism, Socialism and Pacifism in Europe 1870-1945, (Sussex, England: Wheatsheaf Books LTD, 1987), and Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee, eds., The German Family, (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

23 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, et al, Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971).

24 In 1984 the German scholar Sabine Pistor wrote her PhD dissertation, titled Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921), (Marburg, Germany: Philipps Universität, 1984). Pistor's project, which is primarily biographical, relies exclusively on the 1971 scholarship by Hesse-Frielinghaus, et al, and in 131 pages adds nothing new to this topic.

25 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed., Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefewechsel, (Bonn, Germany: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985).

26 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, Special edition, Westfalen, Vol. 52, No. 1-2, (Munster, Germany: Verlag Aschendorff, 1974).

27 Johann Heinrich Müller, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und Seine Hagener Folkwang Idee," Der Westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914. Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet, Die Folkwang - Idee des Karl Ernst Osthaus, Exhibition Catalog, (Hagen, Germany: Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, 1984) pp. 11-29.

28 Paul Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen: Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet, (Köln, Germany: DuMont Buchverlag, 1983).

29 Laird McLeod Easton, The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler, 1868-1914, Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1991) p. 357.
Also see Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Der Werkbundgedanke," Frankfurter Zeitung, 2, July 3, 1914, n. page, and Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Ein Fabrikbau von Peter Behrens," Frankfurter Zeitung, 10, February 10, 1910, also reproduced in Gartenstadt, Vol. 4, No. 8, August 1910, pp. 88-93.

30 For example, Joan Campbell's study, The German Werkbund. The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), includes a brief discussion of Osthaus's role in the Deutsche Werkbund, which attempted to construct a link between high and popular culture. A three page account of Osthaus is also included in Charles R. Richards, Industrial Art & the Museum, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1927), in a section titled "The German Museum for Art in Commerce and Industry, Hagen." Richards notes that the German Museum for Art in Commerce and Industry was co-founded by Osthaus and the Deutsche Werkbund. In addition, the collaborated study by Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge, Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG, Trans., Ian Boyd White, Reprint: Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG, 1907-1914, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1979; Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1984), also includes references to Osthaus and his support of the Deutsche Werkbund as well as the AEG.

31 Der Westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914, Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet, Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Cöln 1914, Exhibition catalog, (Köln: Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1984) pp. 80-92.

32 The archive in the Folkwang, Essen, has all the correspondence of Osthaus's wife, Gertrud, who died in 1971.

She was very active in the museum's daily functioning and was close to many of the artists whose work Osthaus collected. Her correspondence has not yet been examined, and would no doubt be an interesting subject to investigate.

PROLOGUE

The city of Hagen, today known as the "Gateway to the Ruhr," is located in what was once the heart of Germany's industrial region. Although the Ruhr was not an important industrial center in the early part of the nineteenth century, by the end of that century it was one of Germany's most important economic centers. The Ruhr became the main artery of Germany's coal, iron and steel industries. As far as one could see, in the area between Dortmund to the east and Duisburg to the west, factory chimneys and furnaces, belching thick black smoke, punctuated the land.¹ The following 1903 eyewitness account succinctly describes how this vast industrial wasteland once looked:

Virtually the entire Ruhr district between Oberhausen and Dortmund, Duisburg, Hattingen and Recklinghausen already has the appearance of a continuous giant city, its individual parts linked by a thick network of electric trams, state railways and spurs to individual mines, vibrating above and below ground with the most vigorous industrial and mining activity, and teeming with a giant army of workers.... Wherever one looks ... there are the broad outlines of waste-tips, chimneys and smoking furnaces. The whole scene is enveloped and covered by a misty, dusty, dirty veil which often scarcely allows the blue sky to be seen and which falls on the rows of houses, the churches, etc., as a coating of dirt.²

The Ruhr region attracted a large number of workers from both Berlin and the surrounding rural countryside, and between 1880 and 1910 the population in the Ruhr grew by 200 percent. In 1850 there were less than 13,000 miners working in the Ruhr, by 1900 the number grew to 227,000 and in 1913 the number rose to 395,000.³ In Hagen the population increase was much more modest; in 1786 it had 66,700 inhabitants and by 1928 the number increased to only 100,000. Hagen was in close proximity to the Ruhr coal mines and since it was a major producer of iron and steel, it quickly became a noisy, dirty city, covered in a veil of thick black soot.

Although by mid-nineteenth century Hagen was in the heart of a highly industrialized area, its hard working inhabitants still had close ties to the land. As the century progressed, however, the small provincial city and its population gradually changed. The city became dotted with large, ostentatious villas which belonged to wealthy factory and coal mine owners and steel and iron barons. But the majority of the population in Hagen and its surrounding environs was comprised of the newly formed lower working-class, consisting of coal miners and factory workers, and their impoverished families.

The gray industrial smoke and pervasive blanket of soot that covered everything in Hagen did not foster an

atmosphere that was conducive to a bustling street life filled with cozy cafes like in cosmopolitan Berlin or Munich. Hagen had neither congenial public meeting places for people to congregate, nor a cosmopolitan atmosphere. Culture was virtually non-existent and life was generally quite dismal there. A journalist from the Frankfurter Zeitung noted that in Hagen the "people walk slow and lumbering, as though they have lumps of clay on their feet."⁴ In Hagen people did not dress up elegantly in their best finery to stroll leisurely through the streets. The fashionable and more healthy place to promenade was in the woods surrounding the city because industrial pollution was an acknowledged health hazard, and lung damage was a highly feared effect.

Scattered throughout Hagen today are numerous and impressive examples of Jugendstil architecture. The city's music school, the former private residence of the city's mayor, Cuno, was designed by the architect Peter Behrens early in this century (1908-11).⁵ One of Behrens' architectural assistants on this project was Walter Gropius, who founded the Bauhaus in Weimar nine years after this building was completed. Hagen's Crematorium, the first structure of its kind in Germany, was also designed by Behrens in 1907-08 and modeled after the 11th century Church of San Miniato in Florence. The Jan Thorn-Prikker Haus, designed in 1910 and located just outside the city's limits,

was once considered to be revolutionary, and inspired other architects. The French architect Charles Edouard Jeanneret, better known as Le Corbusier, carefully studied this house, especially its system of architectural units, which he later adopted in his own designs. On Christian-Rohlf's Strasse there still stands a pristine villa, once the private residence of an industrial mogul, which was designed in 1905 by the Belgian architect, Henry van de Velde, and built in 1914. In the wealthy "Stirnband" (headband) section on the edge of the city, Van de Velde also designed Osthaus's palatial mansion, Hohenhof (1907), which has recently been restored and once again furnished with its original Jugendstil furnishings and contents. Not far from the Hohenhof is the Steger House (1912), which was designed by the Dutch architect J. L. M. Lauweriks for the sculptor Milly Steger. Although much of Steger's work was destroyed in World War II, her most famous work remains intact, and may be viewed on the facade of Hagen's Municipal Theater. All of these architectural projects were commissioned by Osthaus. Today, one of Hagen's main streets is named in honor of Osthaus, and it leads into the city's center, and the Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Museum, formerly known as the Folkwang. In his own lifetime Osthaus was widely recognized for his achievements. He had vowed to improve the living conditions there, and he brought culture to this once culturally impoverished wasteland in the Ruhr region.

Osthaus's purchase of a painting by the French artist Auguste Renoir was the first step in that direction.⁶

NOTES

¹ Stephen Hickey, "The Shaping of the German Labour Movement: Miners in the Ruhr," Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany, ed, Richard J. Evans, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978) p. 216.

² L. Piper, Die Lage der Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet, Berlin, 1903, as cited by Hickey, pp. 216-217.

³ Hickey, p. 217.

⁴ Anselma Hein, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk: Ein Tag in der Hagener Kunststadt," Frankfurter Zeitung, No. 186, morning edition, 7 July 1912, p. 1 (Front Page).

⁵ Cuno's residence was commissioned by Osthaus, and the mayor rented it from him.

⁶ Fritz Meyer-Schönbrunn, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk," Westermanns Monatshefte, Vol. 121, No. 726, February, 1917, pp. 797-798.

Chapter I

The Stirrings of Modernism: Politics, Art and Society at the Turn of the Century

Following the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, a newly united Germany confronted issues concerning the country's national identity. Although the Germans were united geographically and politically, it quickly became evident that they lacked social and cultural unity.¹ Overshadowed by and obsessed with the widely acknowledged preeminence of French culture, the Germans adopted an increasingly nationalistic posture in the process of self-definition. Kaiser Wilhelm II (who ruled from 1888 to 1918) believed that unity and nationalism could be fostered by isolating German culture from its larger, international heritage.² He warned that French culture should be avoided in trying to forge a German cultural identity. In an attempt to promote national unity, the Kaiser intervened in the arts and dictated an official German style. By doing this, however, he further weakened German society and the Imperial system.³ The cultural and political climate in Germany at the beginning of this century was rife with conditions that produced a shift from a national to an international outlook.⁴

In addition to Germany's rivalry with France, there were also internal problems that produced a change in the character and composition of the German nation. The founding of the German Empire, On January 18, 1871, at Versailles, had been engineered by the statesman Otto von Bismarck. Shortly after Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister in 1862, events occurred which escalated into war between the German Confederation and Austria. By the time that Bismarck came to power, however, relations with Austria were already strained and war seemed distinctly possible.⁵ In the 1860s the rivalry between Austria and Germany centered on the control of the military and the political reorganization of the confederation. Whatever one side proposed, the other rejected.⁶ Under the terms of the Gastein Convention (1865), the Danish duchies of Holstein were to be administered by Austria and Schleswig by Prussia, but friction soon erupted over the duchies. Bismarck was determined to force Austria out of Holstein and win Prussian support in Germany.⁷ In 1866 the lingering conflict of sovereignty over the duchies erupted into civil war, which resulted in Austria's separation from Germany. By 1867 Bismarck had successfully forged the North German Confederation and paved the path to German unification a few years later.⁸

The founding of the German Empire resulted in the creation of a fragmented "small Germany" which lacked

political unity among its separate states.⁹ Regional and national minorities, especially the Poles, Alsatians and Bavarians, wanted to keep their autonomy and were reluctant about accepting the legitimacy of the new German Empire.¹⁰ Overall there was little celebration among the Germans on the historic occasion of unification, except in Berlin, the new capital of the Wilhelmine Empire where the streets were bedecked with flags and garlands, in honor of their new emperor, the aging Kaiser Wilhelm I.¹¹ In 1871 still over fifty percent of the German population was agrarian, yet soon after unification, Germany found itself in the midst of an industrial revolution, which was accompanied by radical social changes.¹² Berlin to the east, Hamburg in the north, and the Ruhr region in the western segment of the Wilhelmine Empire became meccas for workers in search of jobs. Farm and village dwellers migrated in large numbers from the countryside to towns and cities where factories appeared to offer an abundance of easier jobs and better wages.

Industrial expansion continued at a rapid pace, and by 1885 thirty percent of Germany's workforce was employed in industry or manufacturing. Due to industrialization, Germany underwent a period of tremendous transition which included the growth of a working class and the country's transition from an agrarian to an urban culture. By the end of the century, the German landscape surrounding many cities had changed radically. The following eyewitness account

addresses this dramatic change:

The day is blackened by smoke pouring from a hundred stacks, the night is a gleam with the angry lights of thousands of coke ovens and blast furnaces, the earth trembles under the whizzing of cars laden with coal and iron. New factories have constantly sprung up, equipped with the latest technical contrivance, and whole new streets of workingmen's dwellings lead out from every suburb far into the open country. In the early morning miles of becaped workingmen fill the walkways on bicycle through the streets, in the evening the earth fairly quakes under the tread of the army and labor taking its way homeward.¹³

Numerous other changes occurred as well, and, from 1871 to 1890, during a period known as the Gründerjahre (founding years), the Wilhelmine Empire was also beset with cultural despair and internal tensions.¹⁴

National awareness and German national movements emerged in the years prior to 1890, which created tension in the empire. In 1873 the journalist Wilhelm Marr published a pamphlet titled The Victory of Judaism Over Teutonism, introducing the term "anti-Semitism" in Germany, in which he accused Jews of turning Germany into a "new Palestine." By the late nineteenth century many Jews had prospered in banking and commerce in urban areas, but many belonged to the lower working class. This was ignored, however, and successful Jews were a source of jealous ill feelings among a large number of non-Jewish Germans, from the impoverished aristocracy to struggling shopkeepers. Anti-Jewish hostility continued to increase after Germany's economic

crash of 1873 and its subsequent depression.¹⁵ The Verein Deutscher Studenten (League of German Students) was founded shortly thereafter to expressly further anti-Semitism and nationalism in universities. In addition, the writings of Paul Lagarde (1827-1891) also stressed nationalist sentiments, as did the music of Richard Wagner, who advanced anti-Semitic ideas in his Bayreuth circle of acquaintances.¹⁶

Anti-Semitism has an extremely complex history, and the following is only a brief synopsis of the political attitude and racial prejudice against Jews in nineteenth century Europe. The rise of anti-Semitism in Germany is closely linked to Volkish ideology and the Volkish interpretation of history. The term "Volk" has a more comprehensive meaning than its literal translation, "people." Volkish ideology is a product of the nineteenth century romantic movement, and like romanticism it emphasized irrational and emotional qualities.¹⁷ Since the late eighteenth century, Germans used the term Volk to signify the "union of a group of people with a transcendental 'essence.'"¹⁸ Volkish theorists proposed that there was a link between the human soul and its geographical surroundings in nature. The characteristics of one's soul were therefore determined by one's native landscape. According to some, but not all, Volkish theorists, the Jews were essentially nomadic, desert people, and were perceived to be shallow, arid people who

lacked creativity. In contrast, the Germans, who primarily lived in mysterious, misty forests, were profound and creative.¹⁹

The Volk was a historical unit to which Germans belonged. Small towns, mountain villages, forests and rural areas were "rooted" in this historical unit and were fused with nature. Peasants and burghers who inhabited these areas symbolized the Volk's long history and harmonious fusion with nature, the landscape. Jews were excluded by some, but not all, Volkish theorists because they had not lived in this type of environment for centuries. Being a nomadic people, Jews were identified with the pejorative qualities of "uprootedness," urbanism and modernity. To be "rooted" to one's regional landscape for centuries was an admirable trait, and a major characteristic of the Volk. Nature was equated with the landscape, and it embodied "rootedness" and the life spirit of the cosmos.²⁰ According to Volkish ideology, the Volk were intermediaries between man and a higher spiritual reality.²¹ The Volk movement was an agrarian form of romanticism, and the rural German population became equated with being the protectors and upholders of the national spirit.²² The Jews were excluded from the Volk due to their "uprootedness," and were perceived to be alien outsiders.²³

Volkish theorists argued that the rapid growth of

cities in the nineteenth century, resulting from the influx of major population movements, created a loss of old Germanic Volk traditions. Most of the immigrants coming into cities came from agrarian or small town backgrounds, and they had to adapt to a lifestyle that was totally foreign to them. They faced gloomy living conditions, exclusion from city social life, urban poverty and isolation from their own social and cultural heritage. The stark contrast between the stratification of German society in cities, with the abject poverty of the urban proletariat at one end, and the enormous wealth of the aristocracy and upper classes at the other, added additional problems and tensions.

In glaring contrast to the plight of Germany's urban poor, Berlin became the glittering focal point in the Wilhelmine Empire for the rich. The Tiergarten section of Berlin, the habitat of the aristocracy and the wealthy commercial upper class, was filled with opulent homes and offices, in contrast to Berlin's Wedding and Moabit tenement slumsw. The residences of Germany's elite sported elegant neoclassical facades and courtly styles of ornamentation. Although the aristocracy had lost much of its gilded glamour by the turn of the century, they continued to play a decisive role in society and culture. Many of its members occupied senior posts in politics and the army, which was the backbone of the empire.²⁴ The aristocracy, along with

the Kaiser and his court, were Prussia's power elite, and they determined the behavior and aesthetic taste of the bourgeoisie.

For the first time in Germany, however, there was also a new leisure class, created from the accumulation of vast fortunes made in manufacturing, industry and commerce. This new segment of the social strata, the upper bourgeoisie, had virtually unlimited funds to spend during Germany's economic boom shortly before and immediately after the turn of the twentieth century. Their incomes allowed them to devote time to cultural pursuits, and participate in the arts, whether as patrons, collectors or as consumers.²⁵ The upper bourgeoisie commissioned architects to build their luxurious mansions, artists to paint murals and paintings to decorate them, and craftsmen to furnish and fill them. Due to their patronage, art, architecture and literature became more independent of the courts, and eventually also freed artists from their dependence upon government sponsorship.

While the German bourgeoisie of the Gründerzeit celebrated materialism, and a booming economy, some intellectuals were pessimistic about the empire's future and became critics of the regime. One of these critics was the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), who was a champion of the modern. His writings were in total opposition to the traditional and more conservative views of

the older generation. In his first book, The Birth of Tragedy (1871), Nietzsche questioned the value of existence. He believed that creativity was vital for existence, and encouraged Europeans to participate in the formation of a new culture. Nietzsche's most influential and widely read book, however, a philosophical allegory titled Thus Spoke Zarathustra (1883-1885), inspired a young generation living with chaos and uncertainty.²⁶ The book dealt with man's passage through life amidst forces of good and evil, and it became highly popularized after the philosopher's death. In Zarathustra Nietzsche had created the allegorical "Übermensch" who came to symbolize the new man in post-industrial society. The main character, Zarathustra, teaches the Übermensch about the will to power; that one is only bound by one's own powerlessness.²⁷ Nietzsche's writings went virtually unnoticed in his own lifetime until German artists and writers discovered his teachings. Nietzsche's attack on bourgeois values, the stagnating status quo, and his emphasis on the re-evaluation of all values, turned him into a cult figure after 1900.²⁸ What was especially appealing to artists, writers and architects was Nietzsche's message that through evaluation one creates value, but first one had to shed the past.²⁹

Many German writers and artists were influenced by Nietzsche's criticism of bourgeois materialistic values and the new political and social order. The playwright Gerhart

Hauptmann (1862-1946), who admired Nietzsche's writings, was openly critical of the political and social order. His play, Die Weber (1892), was banned for detailing the futile 1844 uprising of the Silesian textile weavers against their employers, the Zwanger manufacturers.³⁰ The impoverished textile workers in Die Weber, and their oppressive working conditions, became contemporary symbols of the German lower working classes who were exploited by mechanization and wealthy factory owners. After attending Hauptmann's play in 1893 at Berlin's Deutsches Theater, the artist Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945) created a series of graphics based on Die Weber, which illustrated the weavers' meager existence, the deteriorating effects of harsh labor and poor nutrition. Her print cycle, titled A Weavers Rebellion (1895-1897), was critically acclaimed and nominated for a gold medal, but Kaiser Wilhelm II vetoed the award due to the strong political content of the work.³¹

Although the Kaiser's constitutional authority allowed him to intercede in artistic affairs in Prussia, he was unable to successfully dictate an official, unified style.³² German art consisted of a variety of stylistic forms. Since the early nineteenth century many independent art academies had flourished in Germany, unlike France where a centralized cultural center for the arts in Paris attracted painters, sculptors and writers. In Germany there was no one cultural center for the arts, and in the provinces, where several

academies were founded, the arts retained their cultural independence.³³ Although Munich, in the south, had once been an important artistic center, by the 1890s its glory was on the decline, along with that of German art in general.³⁴ Haunted by France's preeminent recognition in the visual arts, the Kaiser became determined to rival French artistic achievements. However, by the end of the nineteenth century German artists were still producing a plethora of independent styles. In an attempt to remedy this situation and simultaneously foster German unity and nationalism, the Kaiser aggressively intervened in the arts. He personally favored an official, academic style and believed that by promoting a policy of cultural isolationism it would help boost the arts in the German Empire and foster a unified style of art. The Kaiser's intervention was also prompted by his awareness of popular taste, the stirring of modernism, and his sense of obligation to squelch it. The emperor intensely disliked French-inspired modern art, and he firmly believed that German artists who produced it were doing the German people and the nation a disservice.³⁵

When Wilhelm II addressed the nation, in 1901, he made it distinctly clear that art should be uplifting, uncomplicated and convey a message of German loyalty and pride. His narrow conception of what constituted good art included idealized nudes, patriotic and historical scenes, and realistically rendered landscapes.³⁶ He warned that

modern artists commit a "sin against the German people" when they depict "misery." Provoked by artists such as Kollwitz, who had portrayed the misery of the lower working classes in her weavers print cycle, the emperor declared:

The supreme task of our cultural effort is to foster ideals. If we are and want to remain a model for other nations, our entire people must share in this effort, and if culture is to fulfill its task completely it must reach down to the lowest levels of the population. That can be done only if art holds out its hand to raise the people up, instead of descending into the gutter.³⁷

The Kaiser felt totally justified in expressing these views, because they reflected the taste of many upper and middle class Germans. For politically correct models to emulate artists could look to the Royal Art Collection, proudly ensconced since 1830 in Berlin's Altes Museum, located on the Luftgarten across from the Royal Palace, which was filled with academic and idealized art. Not only in Berlin, but throughout Germany, museums were filled with artworks portraying heroic subject matter and sentimental realism. Despite the Kaiser's dictum, however "official" art was rejected by a growing number of painters and sculptors.

Even though the fine arts in Prussia were dependent on government sponsorship and patronage, artists resented political intervention. A bitter controversy erupted between old and new values - with royal taste dictating traditional, academic art, and vanguard artists eschewing

academicism altogether in favor of modernism.³⁸ It is important to point out here that even though the Kaiser hated the modern, and tried to discourage its growing popularity, he did not censor it. During the Wilhelmine Empire censorship was only applied to court commissions. This important fact explains why international modernism was eventually able to flourish in Germany, despite the Kaiser's attempts to eradicate it.³⁹

French art had a strong impact on much German art before the turn of the century. This was especially evident in the Impressionist paintings of three leading German artists: Max Liebermann, Max Slevogt and Lovis Corinth. However, since the Kaiser disliked all forms of Impressionism, particularly French manifestations, German Impressionists were dismissed as mere imitators of a French cultural style.⁴⁰ Ironically, even though French art was perceived by some as undermining the national characteristics of a specifically Germanic art, it was in Berlin that Impressionism and Post-Impressionism found early acceptance outside of France.⁴¹ A combination of several different factors led up to the enormous popularity of French art at the turn of the century in Germany.

Even before the impact of Impressionism in Germany, German artists had admired and synthesized a number of stylistic trends from France. Gustave Courbet's Realist

paintings at the 1869 International Art Exhibition in Munich had a strong effect on the work of many German artists, including the painter Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900). Numerous German artists also made study trips to Paris and worked at the Académie Julian, and after returning to Germany it was not unusual for them to continue looking to France for aesthetic trends.⁴² There was also a proliferation of independent artists' groups in late nineteenth century Germany who sponsored their own exhibitions and included works by French artists. Art dealers also exhibited and sold French and German artworks, and they provided German artists with a new means of earning an income without court patronage. The increasing importance of independent artists' groups and art galleries replaced the role of nineteenth century "Kunstverein" (Art Associations), and together these two forces encouraged the inception of international modernism.⁴³ A brief overview of artistic developments in Berlin alone, between 1880 and the 1890s, demonstrates that early manifestations of international modernism were stirring before Wilhelm II ascended to the throne in 1888 and continued to grow.

In 1880 Fritz Gurlitt opened his Berlin art gallery, and three years later he exhibited the first examples of French Impressionist works in the city.⁴⁴ In 1892 the artist Max Liebermann founded the independent artists' group, the "XI," which was comprised of painters and

sculptors who rebelled against the power of the Berlin Academy and academic art. The following year there was further dissension and signs of change. In November 1892, the Verein Berliner Künstler (Association of Berlin Artists), the largest and most important private organization of painters and sculptors in Prussia, invited the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch (1863-1944) to participate. Munch was represented in their annual exhibition with 55 paintings and drawings. The Berlin Academy, however, objected vehemently to Munch's work, and since the Verein had strong ties with the academy, it voted to close the show.⁴⁵ The closing of the exhibition escalated into a bitter split between the Verein Berliner Künstler and an off-shoot of the group, the Freie Künstler Vereinigung (Free Artists Association). The latter group, comprised of pro-Munch members from the Verein, had voted to keep the artist's works on exhibit despite pressure from the academy. The controversy indicated to those in power that it was unwise to grant too much freedom and decision making policies to a private organization, and that the academy should continue to play a strong role in the arts.⁴⁶

In 1894 the writers and art critics, Julius Meier-Graefe, Otto-Julius Bierbaum, and Richard Dehmel, founded the organization PAN to promote modern design and fight against historicism, and they published an aesthetics journal by the same name to disseminate these ideas.⁴⁷ In

1897 Eduard Schulte established a second art gallery in the center of Berlin (across from the old Reichstag) which exhibited French paintings and German contemporary artworks. These were all early manifestations of modernism and internationalism in the arts, but the Berlin Secession became one of the most vexing problems for the Kaiser to combat.

The artist Max Liebermann (1847-1935), along with many members of the "XI," founded the Berlin Secession in 1898.⁴⁸ Liebermann was elected the Secession's first president and the cousins, Bruno and Paul Cassirer, served as joint managers of the independent artist's association.⁴⁹ Although only a few of the artists who joined the Secession were concerned with politics, or depicting contemporary political issues in their work, there was instant hostility towards its members. The antagonism came mainly from officials who controlled prestigious exhibitions and awarded state commissions. Many powerful officials resented the secessionists because they were an independent organization of artists who no longer relied exclusively upon court and state patronage for sales and commissions. As Peter Paret has pointed out in his book, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, the founding of the Secession, therefore, became politicized.⁵⁰

One of the Secession's staunchest opponents was Anton

von Werner (1843-1915), the director of the Royal Institute for the Fine Arts in Berlin, and the president of the Verein Berliner Künstler. Werner was also the Prussian court's favorite painter and the premiere painter of Imperial propaganda. Due to his influential and powerful dual positions in Berlin's art world, Werner was able to negotiate state funded financial support for the Verein Berliner Künstler. However, this brought the Verein under closer government control.⁵¹ When the Verein became divided about the Munch exhibition in 1892, it was Werner who had made the motion to close the exhibition.⁵² Werner firmly believed that the academy should continue to play a decisive role in Prussian artistic life, and he received the Kaiser's full support in this matter. Werner became known for his hatred of the Secession and his fight against German Impressionism, which made him even more popular with the imperial family. His annual graduation addresses at the Academy were well known for their attacks on modern art.⁵³

Despite a barrage of strong opposition, the Berlin Secession held its first independent exhibition of German artists in 1899. The following year they included a variety of foreign artists, with works by Cézanne, Auguste Rodin, Constantin Meunier, Alfred Sisley, and Camille Pissarro in their annual show. In Berlin the Secession became an important arena for German artists to exhibit and sell their work, as well as a place to view foreign art on a larger

scale than previously possible. The Secession attracted a diverse audience - from middle class buyers to multi-millionaire collectors. One of these millionaires was Karl Ernst Osthaus, who purchased his first painting by a French artist at the Berlin Secession, and consequently helped to eliminate the barriers towards international modernism in Germany.

NOTES

¹ Gert Schiff, "An Epoch of Learning: An Introduction to German Painting in the Nineteenth Century," German Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Drawings from the Federal Republic of Germany, Exhibition Catalog, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981) p. 23.

² When Wilhelm I died in 1888 at the age of 81, his oldest son, Crown Prince Friedrich III, was to become the next emperor of Germany, however Friedrich was diagnosed as having advanced throat cancer. Therefore, Friedrich's son, who was Wilhelm I's grandson, the 29 year old Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albrecht von Hohenzollern, better known as Wilhelm II, became the next emperor of Prussia. See Michael Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1972) for a fascinating account of Wilhelm II's early life and family background.

³ Peter Paret, Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980) p. 28. Hereafter known as Berlin Secession.

⁴ Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 14.

⁵ William Carr, A History of Germany: 1815-1985, 3rd edition, (London and New York: Edward Arnold Division of Hodder & Stoughton, 1987) p. 87. Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister of Prussia by Kaiser Wilhelm I.

⁶ Carr, p. 86.

⁷ Carr, pp. 97-98.

⁸ Ernst Johann and Jörg Junker, German Cultural History of the Last 100 Years, (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH, 1970), p. 24.

⁹ Johann and Junker, p. 27.

¹⁰ Richard J. Evans, Rethinking German History. Nineteenth Century Germany and the Origins of the Third Reich, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987) p. 147.

¹¹ Johann and Junker, p. 27. Wilhelm I had been King of Prussia since 1861 and became Emperor of Germany in 1871.

12 Carr, p. 168.

13 Robert Herndon Fife, Jr., The German Empire Between Two Wars. A Study of the Political and Social Development of the Nation Between 1871 and 1914, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1916) pp. 160-161.

14 Dietrich Orlow, A History of Modern Germany: 1871 to Present, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987) pp. 37-38.

15 Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany: 1840-1945, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969) pp. 281-282.

16 Holborn, p. 283.

17 George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, Reprint, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981) p. 9

18 Mosse, p. 4.

19 Mosse, pp. 4-5.

20 Mosse, pp. 16-17.

21 Mosse, p. 15.

Although this emphasis on spiritual values and mysticism had some ties to the occult, it was not necessarily linked with theosophy. Many Volkish thinkers rejected Madame Blavatski's occultism as being too superstitious. Julius Langbehn, for example, did not accept Blavatski's belief in the existence of ghosts.

22 Ernest K. Bramsted, Aristocracy and the Middle Class in Germany, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974) pp. 66-67.

23 By mid-nineteenth century, German literature also advanced these ideas. The German peasantry was equated with the soil and "rootedness," and the Jew was often portrayed as being a destructive snake at the ancient "root" of a tree. See Mosse, pp. 27-28.

24 Holborn, pp. 389-390.

25 Holborn, p. 404.

For example, Heinrich Wagener, a wealthy collector and Berlin businessman, left his collection of 262 paintings to the Prussian state in 1861, which later became the nucleus

of Berlin's National Gallery. See Masterworks of the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, trans. John Gabriel, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), especially Henning Bock's excellent essay, "The History of the Collection," pp. 10-35. Although these wealthy industrialists and business moguls had larger fortunes than most members of the aristocracy, they were, however, looked down upon by Germany's elite.

26 Ivo Frenzel, "Prophet, Pioneer, Seducer: Friedrich Nietzsche's Influence on Art, Literature and Philosophy in Germany," German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985, (Munich: Prestel Verlag, and London: The Royal Academy of Arts, 1985) p. 76. The Birth of Tragedy grew out of Nietzsche's essay, "Music and Words," which he had written while being closely associated with Richard Wagner, whom Nietzsche met in 1868. Although the book is derived from Nietzsche's interest in ancient Greece, it is heavily influenced by Wagner's ideology.

27 Michael Haar, "Nietzsche and Metaphysical Language," The New Nietzsche: Contemporary Styles of Interpretation, ed. David B. Allison, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985) p. 24.

28 Frenzel, p. 76.

29 Alphonso Lingis, "The Will to Power," The New Nietzsche: Contemporary Styles of Interpretation, ed. David B. Allison, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985) p. 54.

30 Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times, p. 161. The Kaiser was so incensed when the Berlin High Court removed the police ban on Hauptmann's the Weber, that he retaliated by canceling the playwright's Schiller Prize for his play, Die Versunkenen Glocke.

31 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 21. Kollwitz's Weaver series, comprised of three etchings and three lithographs, received a great deal of attention when it was displayed in 1898 at the Great Berlin Art Exhibit at the Lehrter Railway Hall. Adolph von Menzel, a member of the exhibition jury, nominated her for a small gold medal for achievement of excellence. Although the Kaiser blocked her receipt of the award, Kollwitz became a recipient of this award one year later.

32 Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 27-28.

33 Gottfried Lindemann, History of German Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, trans. Tessa Sayle, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 200.

34 Robin Lenman, "Politics and Culture: The State and the Avant-garde in Munich 1896-1914," Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany, ed. Richard J. Evans, (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1978) p. 105.

35 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 27.

36 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 27.
It is interesting to point out that Adolph Hitler's artistic taste was almost identical to the Kaiser's, including their shared aversion to modernism.

37 Kaiser Wilhelm II, as quoted by Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 26-27.

38 When the Kaiser realized that his intervention, and low opinion of modern art, made him highly unpopular in artistic circles, he excused himself by saying that the only knowledge of artistic matters he knew came from his mother. As an aside, he also pointed out that since becoming Emperor, he was too busy to keep up with new trends. See Michael Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times, pp. 161-163, for the Kaiser's opinion on art, music, and literature.

39 Tilmann Buddensieg, "Introduction: Aesthetic Opposition and the International Style," Berlin 1900-1933. Architecture and Design, Ed. Tilmann Buddensieg, Trans. John Gabriel, (New York: The Smithsonian Institution, and Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987) p. 26.

40 Peter Paret, "The Tschudi Affair," Journal of Modern History, Vol. 53, December 1981, p. 591.

41 Niels von Holst, Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs: The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present, Intro. Herbert Read, Trans. Brian Battershaw, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967) p. 330.

42 Ulrich Fincke, German Painting: From Romanticism to Expressionism, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1975) p. 156.

It is important to point out here that some German artists were also highly esteemed in France. For example, Leibl's

work, which was also exhibited at the 1869 International Art Exhibition in Munich, was well liked by the French. Leibl was invited to work in Paris, where he was widely celebrated and received numerous commissions. He lived there until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in the summer of 1870. Also see Fincke, p. 217.

43 Stephen Waetzoldt, "Artists and Society," German Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Drawings from the Federal Republic of Germany, Exhibition Catalog, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981) p. 44.

44 Hartmut Pätzke, "Gründerbarock, Naturalismus, Secession. Expressionismus: Der Sturm - Brücke - Erster Weltkrieg. 1871-1918," Kunst in Berlin 1648-1987, Exhibition Catalog, Alten Museum: June 10 - October 25, 1987, (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987) p. 303.

Wolfgang Gurlitt (1888-1965) took over his father's gallery in 1907, and under his guidance the gallery remained dedicated to exhibiting modern art by both German and foreign artists.

45 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 12.

46 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 14.

47 The painter Christian Rohlf (1849-1938) later became the Folkwang Museum's artist in residence. Hans Baluschek (1870-1935) studied at the Berlin Academy from 1889 to 1894, and became known for his paintings, graphic works and illustrations. He joined the Berlin Secession in 1898 and served as the association's secretary. An early believer in social democratic ideas, he joined the SPD in 1919. Baluschek later became the chairman of the Big Berlin Art Exhibition (Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung) and held that position from 1929 to 1933.

48 Liebermann was born in Berlin and began his art training there. He later studied in Weimar, Paris, Barbizon and Holland. His work in the 1890s was initially influenced by the Realist painting of Gustave Courbet, but later Liebermann's work was more indebted to the artists Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas. Liebermann became one of the most important German Impressionist painters. He served as president of the Berlin Secession from 1899 to 1911. After the association split, he joined the Freie Secession and became president of that organization as well.

49 Pätzke, p. 304.

The Cassirers also established their own gallery in Berlin, which opened on November 1, 1898, on Viktoriastrasse. The Cassirers were both very active in fostering the acceptance of foreign and modern art in Germany. In 1902 Bruno Cassirer founded the journal Kunst und Künstler. Paul Cassirer became President of the Berlin Secession in 1911. See Paret, Berlin Secession, for a thorough history of the Berlin Secession and the Cassirer's important role in Germany's art community.

50 Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 1-2.

51 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 15.

52 Fincke, p. 161.

53 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 17.

Chapter II

Karl Ernst Osthaus: Origins and Background

In the 1918 preface of his doctoral dissertation, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung (The Fundamental Development of Style), Osthaus (Fig. 1) wrote the following biographical statement:

I, Karl Ernst Osthaus, was born on April 15, 1874, in Hagen in Westfalen. My father was the banker, Ernst Osthaus, my mother, Selma, was the daughter of the big industrialist Wilhelm Funcke, whom Germany can thank for the woodscrew industry.¹

This brief description immediately conjures up an image of wealth, and he indeed did come from a very privileged background. But who was Osthaus? The above statement only schematizes his origins and offers no hint as to why or how he became interested in art. In order to find out who Osthaus was, it is necessary to briefly discuss his familial and academic background, and some of the political and cultural circumstances peculiar to Germany during the 1890s. A combination of all these things played a decisive role in determining Osthaus's ideological position towards art and culture.

Osthaus was the only child of Ernst (1842-1902) and Selma Osthaus (1852-1974). Ernst Osthaus, born and raised in Hagen, was closely associated with wealthy industrial

families since his youth.(Fig. 2) In 1867 he founded the first and only bank in Hagen, which was mainly patronized by wealthy factory owners and businessmen. Selma Osthaus, née Funcke, came from a rich, powerful family of industrialists and businessmen.(Fig. 3) Her paternal grandfather, Bernhard Wilhelm Funcke (1793-1857) owned an indigo dye factory and was also a well-known collector of rare, first edition books. Her father, Wilhelm Funcke (1820-1896), initially followed his father's footsteps into the dye industry, and later became one of the founding members of a woodscrew factory.(Fig. 4) Wilhelm Funcke became one of the wealthiest and most important industrialists in the Ruhr region, where the first stages of the industrial revolution took place during the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition to his business acumen, Funcke was an avid music lover and very interested in modern city planning. His grandson, Karl Osthaus, later developed an interest in these topics also.²

Selma Osthaus died a few days after giving birth to her son, Karl. Several years after her death, Ernst Osthaus married the Funcke's younger daughter, Laura (1854-1932), who became a devoted mother to her sister's son. Karl Osthaus grew up in "Elfriedenhöhe," his father's large and ornate villa in Hagen.(Fig. 5) The house, a historicized, pompous looking mansion, was designed by the Berlin architect, Carl Gérard, who later designed the exterior of

the Folkwang Museum.³ Over the years Osthaus became one of eleven brothers and sisters, and although his family was extremely wealthy, the children were raised with few luxuries. Since Osthaus strongly resembled his mother, Selma, he became his maternal grandparents' favorite grandchild. They personally guided his religious upbringing and raised him in the Catholic Church.⁴

In 1892 Osthaus graduated from Hagen's Realgymnasium (high school), where he had developed an interest in German poetry, literature, and writing. After completing school, he thought about becoming a playwright, but his father considered this to be a frivolous activity; he was adamant that his son go into business. Ernst Osthaus insisted that his son go into the textile industry, and arranged for him to be an apprentice at the Mühlenthaler Spinning Mill in Dieringhausen. Osthaus tersely wrote about his brief apprenticeship many years later, and almost defiantly stated that, "Shortly thereafter I had a nervous breakdown, which influenced my choice of career."⁵ His father reluctantly accepted the fact that his son was not suited for a career in the textile industry and allowed him to pursue academic studies.

Osthaus's university student years were spent searching for, and defining, his interests. He had the financial means to attend a variety of different schools and

apparently he did so, not only for the sake of scholarly knowledge, but also to experience different lifestyles and cultural environments outside of the small city of Hagen. He enrolled in the University of Kiel in spring of 1893, and studied aesthetics, philosophy, Roman history and literature.⁶ During a semester break, he went to Copenhagen and visited several museums which, according to Osthaus, sparked his interest in art. It is not known what museums he visited in Copenhagen, or what artworks particularly interested him, but when Osthaus returned to Germany, he decided to change schools and his course of study.⁷

Osthaus transferred to the University of Munich for the Winter Semester of 1893, and decided to concentrate his area of studies in art history and architectural history.⁸ In Munich he attended lectures on Albrecht Dürer by the historian Berthold Riehl, and took classes in French literature and Roman history. He also found time to enjoy the cultural sights in Bavaria, and wrote his grandparents about what he saw there. On one occasion he naively wrote them that he was surprised and disappointed to discover that not one single German sculpture was displayed in Munich's Glyptothek Museum.⁹ Evidently he was not aware that the museum's sculpture collection was mainly comprised of classical works from antiquity. In the Glyptothek Osthaus probably viewed Egyptian art, the pediment sculptures from the classical Italian Temple of Aegina, the Barberini Faun,

the Rondarini Medusa, and the most modern work in the collection, Antonio Canova's sculpture Paris, but no German sculpture.¹⁰ Obviously Osthaus was not aware that he could have seen numerous examples of German art in the Bavarian State Collection in the Neue Pinakothek Museum.

In the 1890s Munich was a city of artists and the Crown and the State both actively supported the arts there. Modern German art works were acquired for state collections on a regular, yearly basis, from 1890 onwards. However, a large portion of the Bavarian State's annual budget of 90,000.- marks went to support only a select group of local, established painters. For example, in 1892 the ministry spent an enormous sum of money, 20,000.- marks, on a religious work by the conservative German painter, Friedrich August von Kaulbach, who was then the Director of the Munich Academy.¹¹ Kaulbach's painting, Burial of Christ, was criticized by Otto Julius Bierbaum, who described it as an example of "... the dreariest, most conventional and most inartistic kind." The Kaulbach purchase immediately antagonized younger, more needy, unestablished artists who were forced, due to economic circumstances, to publicly auction off thousands of their own works in 1892.¹²

However, the Bavarian government also showed an awareness and interest in less academic, experimental art during the 1890s. Unlike Berlin, where official taste and

government sponsorship favored conservative, academic art, the ministry in Munich occasionally purchased the works of more controversial artists. For instance, even though the religious paintings of Fritz von Uhde were perceived to be offensive by many Bavarian Catholics, because of the artist's naturalistic treatment of religious subject matter, the Bavarian government purchased them anyway. The ministry paid large sums of money for his work, and even defended public attacks against these acquisitions in Parliament. Another example of the state's sponsorship of unorthodox art was the work of the artist, Franz Stuck. In 1894 Stuck was paid the large sum of 25,000.- marks for his symbolic painting, War, and shortly thereafter the Bavarian government accepted, from a private collection, Stuck's highly erotic and unconventional painting, Sin (1893), for the Neue Pinakothek.¹³

Yet, despite these less academic art acquisitions, not one single example of French Impressionist painting was in the Neue Pinakothek's collection until shortly before the First World War.¹⁴ In this respect, the fairly progressive Bavarian purchasing policy in the 1890s tended to follow the same pattern that Berlin did; they both neglected foreign artistic trends and allowed gaps to develop in their state collections. Although in the 1890s, it was easier to view the latest German contemporary art trends in Munich than almost anywhere else in Germany, international modernism was

non-existent in the German Empire.¹⁵

During the Winter Semester of 1894/95 Osthaus again changed academic settings and enrolled at Berlin's Friedrich Wilhelm University.¹⁶ In the 1890s in Berlin, a rapidly changing metropolis. At that time a plethora of banks, train stations, hotels and art galleries sprouted up all over the capital of Prussia. Of all the German cities, Berlin had the first electric street lights, the first telephone lines, the first electric streetcars, and the first movie.¹⁷ At the time that Osthaus was studying there, the German architect Paul Wallot had just completed the grandiose Reichstag Building,¹⁸ and Alfred Messel was erecting urban apartment buildings to accommodate the city's working population.¹⁹ The city's mile long, tree-lined street along Unter der Linden, which ended at Brandenburg Gate, was dotted with elegantly dressed promenaders. On Potsdamer Platz one could purchase fresh cut flowers on a daily basis (delivered by railway from Italy), which caused quite a sensation among the cosmopolitan Berliners.²⁰ All in all it was an exciting time to be there, and the city was attracting a wide diversity of people to work in it.

In Berlin Osthaus took time to enjoy the city's cultural life. He attended concerts, the theater, and visited museums,²¹ when not attending classes to become a professor in aesthetics.²² It is interesting to point out

that while Osthaus was studying in Berlin, many of the people he would later become associated with were also there. For example, Munch was painting in Berlin then, and Meier-Graefe was writing for PAN. The artists Christian Rohlf and Hans Baluske, made their painting debuts in 1895 in Fritz Gurlitt's art gallery.²³ Within the next seven years Munch's paintings would be purchased and exhibited by Osthaus. In 1900 Osthaus would read an article by Meier-Graefe about the Belgian designer and architect, Van de Velde, and this would have a significant impact on Osthaus. And by 1902, Rohlf would become Osthaus's artist in residence in Hagen.

In the summer of 1895 Osthaus enrolled at the University of Strassburg where he studied archaeology, early Christian architecture and positivist philosophy. In Strassburg Osthaus joined the Verein deutscher Studenten (Association of German Students), which was closely associated with the anti-Semitic pro-German group, the Alldeutsche Verband (All German Group). His affiliation with these anti-socialist, anti-Jewish groups marked the beginning of his temporary elitist views, which will be discussed in more detail later. In between classes and political meetings, Osthaus visited Gothic churches in small villages near Lothringen. His multi-millionaire grandfather, William Funcke, owned a castle not far from Lothringen, and Osthaus frequently retreated to Marimont

Castle during his summer semester to rest and enjoy the countryside.²⁴

When Osthaus returned to Berlin for the Winter Semester of 1895, he became involved with a radical group of students who were interested in national and social politics. At that time Osthaus temporarily became a staunch anti-Semite, and his prejudice against Jews is clearly evident in a letter to his grandmother Funcke. From Berlin he wrote his grandmother that, "one sees too many Jewish faces on the stage" and that "Jews sour life."²⁵ Unfortunately, his simpleminded anti-Semitism was symptomatic of the time.

Although the Jews had fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and defended Germany, many Germans considered them to be second-class citizens. They were discriminated against and denied access to many professions and higher posts due to their ethnic origins and religious beliefs. From the early 1880s on, German nationalism was on the rise and it had an intolerant political attitude towards minorities. Partly to blame for this widespread prejudice was the German historian, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896), and the Volkish writer Wilhelm Riehl (1823-1897), who both identified and specifically linked the alienating characteristics of modern, industrialized life, to the destructive influence of Jews on society.²⁶ The negative aspects of modern life were perceived to be liberalism and

capitalism, and Jews were singled out as the evil symbols of these symptoms. To borrow the words of the historian Fritz Stern, the Jew in nineteenth century Germany was perceived to be a "symbol and profiteer of modernity, of liberalism and capitalism."²⁷ The following passage from a widely read book of the 1880s, La Société de Berlin, demonstrates the bigotry against Jews at that time.

In the capital of the new German Empire ... prejudices still exist. Among these prejudices, one must include a certain repugnance to shake the hand of a Jew in front of a witness or to go to his house or to receive him at one's own.... There is no city in the entire world where the children of Israel are more repulsed by society or where that society makes more use of them.²⁸

Anti-Semitism, of course, was not exclusively a German bias, nor particularly virulent in, nor limited to, the German Empire during the nineteenth century.²⁹ During the 1880s wide-spread prejudice against Jews existed in Austria-Hungary, and was pervasive in Austrian literature. In fact, some German literary critics strenuously objected to the Austrians' obsessive and negative preoccupation with Jews in their literature. In France anti-Semitism also existed and in the early 1880s the Alliance anti-semitique universelle was founded in Paris.

Unfortunately, throughout Europe, anti-Semites practiced a deplorable political attitude, one that was

filled with nuances of social codes against class and race. This racial prejudice against Jews was frequently discussed and openly practiced in Berlin at the time that Osthaus attended school there. This by no means excuses his own prejudice, but perhaps offers an explanation for his temporary susceptibility to the anti-Semitic ideology of his time. Fortunately, attitudes do change over a period of time, and Osthaus gradually relinquished his anti-Semitic ideas and became an extremely universal and unbiased person. He later ventured outside his own class parameters and promoted a variety of different artists without regard to race, gender, religion or nationality.

In the Spring and Summer of 1896 Osthaus studied at the University of Vienna. The university was located on Vienna's Ringstrasse which boasts a potpourri of historicizing styles. In close proximity to the Renaissance style university were the highly ornate Royal Opera House, the classical Parliament Building, the neo-Gothic Town Hall and the Votivkirche.³⁰ The Ringstrasse was the most prosperous district in Vienna and the large nearby apartment buildings behind the parliament were owned by, and home to, nobility and the highest levels of the social strata.³¹ While Osthaus was attending school he did not live far from this exclusive section, on the Piaristengasse.³²

At the University of Vienna, Osthaus took classes in

philosophy, Italian, and the fairly new subject of art history. He attended lectures on the evolution of Italian Renaissance painting by the art historian, Alois Riegl, whose book Stilfragen (Questions of Style) was published in 1893.³³ Riegl's book traced the transformation of style through the flat ornamental use of design and he argued that the abstraction of line required more creativity and thought processes than the three-dimensional replication of nature.³⁴

In the 1890s Riegl and his university colleague, Franz Wickhoff, were developing a totally new way of viewing art history. Both scholars questioned mid-nineteenth century aesthetic values. Riegl and Wickhoff both argued that although their predecessors had denounced late Roman and early Christian art as "decadent" and inferior, they believed that this dismissal was an individual, not a universal, aesthetic judgment. They specifically questioned the supremacy of classical Greek art. Riegl argued that each epoch gave birth to intrinsically unique forms, and he suggested that one must understand a particular society's "Kunstwollen," or "the intention and purpose of art in every culture." For Riegl, art forms underwent a constant transformation, and he advocated a plurality, or an appreciation of various types of styles, not just one aesthetic standard by which to judge all art.³⁵ Riegl's lectures, filled with these new ideas, had a profound effect

on shaping Osthaus's ideology towards art and culture and made him receptive to accepting all different kinds of art. For Osthaus, Riegl's concept of "Kunstwollen" became an important lesson that he never abandoned or forgot.

During his second semester of studies in Vienna, Osthaus became involved with a group of anti-Semitic students who were associated with Viennese nationalists, such as Ritter von Schönerer and Karl Lueger (later the mayor of Vienna). Even though the university itself was a center of liberal learning, the conservatives' political ideology, anti-Semitism, invaded the institution.³⁶ This rising prejudice against Jews in Vienna strengthened Osthaus's own bigotry at the time. With his new found acquaintances, Osthaus frequently participated in discussions and meetings which favored anti-Semitism and political unification of all the German states. In Vienna he once spoke to a packed audience of 2000 students about the need for a strong and united Germany, and his ideas were greeted with a resounding "Heil Osthaus!"³⁷

By the time of his summer semester in Vienna, Osthaus had become very politically oriented. In fact, he was so militant about his German nationalist views that the Austrian police investigated his political activities. The Austrian government ordered him to leave Vienna in July 1896 because of his close association with both German and

Viennese nationalists there. Even though he was expelled from Austria, Osthaus managed to remain there for several more months while he attempted (unsuccessfully) to publicly defend his political activities before returning to Germany.³⁸

Back in Germany, Osthaus again attended the University of Berlin during the Winter semester of 1896. He studied with the historian Herman Grimm (1828-1901), who had recently published a monograph on Michelangelo, and also with the widely acclaimed cultural historian, philosopher and sociologist, Wilhelm Dilthey.³⁹ After completing this semester, Osthaus contemplated writing his Ph.D. dissertation on an art historical topic, but a series of events intervened which delayed and dramatically altered his plans.⁴⁰

Both of Osthaus's maternal grandparents, Wilhelm and Adeline Funcke, died in November of 1896. His grandparents had made him the sole beneficiary of 65 million marks, and at the age of twenty-two he became independently and enormously wealthy. He suddenly found himself in a position to simultaneously question and realize his personal goals. Osthaus decided to reserve two-thirds of his inheritance to build a museum in the near future, but for the time being continued his academic studies. In the Winter and Summer semesters of 1897/98 he studied in Bonn and became friends

with Walter Colzman, a fellow student there. Through Walter, Osthaus met his future wife, Gertrud Colzman, the tall, blonde, beautiful daughter of a wealthy textile industrialist from Langenberg.⁴¹ (Fig. 6) They became engaged in May of 1899 and were married in October of the same year.⁴² (Fig. 7)

In 1897 Osthaus frequently began to see Theodor Rocholl, an artist, to whom he was distantly related. Rocholl (1854-1933), an obscure painter of hunting scenes, was stylistically influenced by several older German artists. The two became quite close, and Osthaus evidently confided in him about wanting to build a museum of natural history. Rocholl, twenty years older than Osthaus, offered lots of advice. First of all, he advised Osthaus to concentrate on collecting and displaying art in his future museum, and discouraged him from founding a museum of natural history, which Osthaus originally intended to do. Rocholl argued that a museum of natural history would not have the same strong impact that a painting gallery would have. A staunch nationalist, Rocholl also advised Osthaus not to purchase any foreign artworks because they were seldom first rate works. He specifically counseled Osthaus not to buy any French art or Old Master works.⁴³ Osthaus would eventually heed only part of his advice and rely upon his aesthetic lessons from Riegl: beauty and quality are an individual aesthetic judgment and reside in the eye of the

beholder. Plurality and Riegl's concept of "Kunstwollen," not nationalism, would eventually guide his aesthetic taste.

By the Spring of 1897 Osthaus began collecting paintings. His early purchases, evidently recommended by Rocholl, were exclusively paintings by German artists from Düsseldorf. Exactly what he purchased is not known and these early acquisitions did not remain in the Folkwang Museum's painting collection.

In the spring of 1898, Osthaus traveled to North Africa with J. Heinrich Schmidt, his former Hagen high school teacher.⁴⁴ Osthaus diligently kept a diary during their three week trip to Algeria and Tunis, and his impressions of North Africa were published in a small, forty-three page pamphlet. According to this journal, the exotic culture there made a deep impression on him, especially the colorful Arabian architecture, and the once functional antique remnants from the past. He became convinced that art and everyday life were interconnected. During this trip, Osthaus began randomly collecting an assortment of valuable ethnographic objects, and antique rugs, ceramics, coins, glass objects and weapons.⁴⁵

Osthaus and Rocholl traveled to the Orient together in the Fall of 1898 and his accumulation of ethnographic objects continued.⁴⁶ When Osthaus returned to Hagen in the

spring of 1899, he decided to leave academic life, and concentrate on the physical construction of his museum.⁴⁷

More than anything, Osthaus wanted to bring culture to the Ruhr region and help educate the people there.⁴⁸ He felt that it was his social responsibility to provide some semblance of culture for this culturally deprived area. He idealistically believed that a museum would provide superior examples of well-made objects for industrial manufacturers to emulate, and that culture would provide an important, even elevating, balance for the workers' dismal lives.

However, in the Ruhr region there was a deeply imbedded antipathy towards culture in general. The large industrial regions between Köln, Münster, Krefeld and Iserlohn, had no universities, technical schools or museums. In addition, there were virtually no institutes of higher learning there, even though its industry provided the Prussian state with more than one third of its tax revenues. Osthaus wondered why the millions of people who lived in this region were not interested in, or concerned about, preserving their cultural heritage. He was incensed that the millions of marks provided by the Ruhr industrial region were siphoned off to beautify and culturally enrich Berlin. Osthaus wanted to improve the living conditions in Hagen and he believed that building a museum would be a catalyst for change.⁴⁹ It was.

But, initially not even Osthaus envisioned that the heavily polluted, ugly industrial city of Hagen would become a Mecca for artists and architects and an important artistic center for the international avant-garde.

NOTES

¹ Karl Ernst Osthaus, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung, Ph.D. Dissertation, (Hagen, Germany: Hagener Verlagsanstalt, 1918) p. I.

² Walter Erben, "Karl Ernst Osthaus, Lebensweg und Gedankengut," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel-Bongers Verlag, 1971) pp. 15- 17.

³ Erben, p. 22.

⁴ Erben, pp. 18-21.

⁵ Osthaus, p. I.

⁶ Erben, p. 24.

⁷ Osthaus, p. II.
From Copenhagen Osthaus sent his maternal grandparents copies of Bertel Thorvaldsen's (1770-1844) two majolica reliefs, Day and Night. The reliefs were modernized version of the Italian Renaissance style of pottery, richly colored, glazed and ornamental. This style of pottery was quite popular at the time, and found in many German middle-class homes. Although Osthaus chose this particular gift for his grandparents, it does not mean that this was a reflection of his own aesthetic taste. He probably chose it in hopes that it would please them.

⁸ Osthaus, p. I.

⁹ Erben, pp. 24-27.

¹⁰ Niels von Holst, Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs. The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present, Intro., Herbert Read, Trans., Brian Battershaw, (Thames and Hudson, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967) pp. 228-230.
Munich's Glyptothek was designed by the German architect, Leo von Klenze, for the Bavarian Monarch, Ludwig I. The museum was begun in 1815 and was conceived as a single story, windowless structure. Klenze later also designed Munich's Pinakothek.

- 11 Kaulbach was the director from 1886 to 1891.
- 12 Robin Lenman, "Politics and Culture: The State and the Avant-Garde in Munich 1886-1914," Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany, ed., Richard J. Evans, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978) pp. 90-92. In 1892 5000 oil paintings were auctioned off by artists in Munich.
- 13 Lenman, p. 93. Stuck's painting, Sin, was given to the museum in 1895 by E. J. Haniel, from Dauchau/Haimhausen.
- 14 After being dismissed from Berlin's National Gallery, Hugo von Tschudi became the director of the Bavarian State Galleries in 1909. Although Tschudi preferred French art to German art, he had insufficient time to incorporate many changes in the state collections in Munich before his death in 1912.
- 15 Lenman, pp. 92-93. After the turn of the century, large government funds were not spent on contemporary art in Munich.
- 16 Erben, p. 31.
- 17 Hartmut Pätzke, "Gründerbarock, Naturalismus, Secession. Expressionismus: Der Sturm - Brücke - Erster Weltkrieg. 1871-1918," Kunst in Berlin 1648-1984, Exhibition Catalog, (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987) pp. 302-304.
- 18 Pätzke, p. 304.
- 19 Tilmann Buddensieg, "Von der Akademie zur Avantgarde," Berlin 1900-1933, Ed., Tilmann Buddensieg, Exhibition Catalog, (New York and Berlin: The Smithsonian Institution and Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987) p. 132.
- 20 Ernst Johann and Jörg Junker, German Cultural History of the Last Hundred Years, (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH, 1970) p. 60.
- 21 Erben, p. 31.
- 22 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus, Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 119.

23 Pätzke, p. 304.

24 Erben, p. 31.

25 Erben, pp. 30-32.

26 Dietrich Orlow, A History of Modern Germany: 1871 to the Present, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987) p. 39.

While at the University of Munich, Osthaus was probably also exposed to the Volkish ideas of Wilhelm Riehl (not related to Berthold Riehl), who wrote Land und Leute in 1857. In this widely read book, Riehl discussed the importance of a Volk fused with nature, and criticized the evil influence of urban centers. For Riehl the city symbolized modernity, unrest, instability, and lack of rootedness. His animosity toward the city was extended to its inhabitants, especially Jews. It was after Riehl's book that Jews came to be equated with being anathema to Volk ideology. For a discussion of Riehl's ideas see George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, Reprint, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981) pp. 19-27. Treitschke was also a professor at the University of Berlin and he lectured on the purposes of patriotic duty. In his essay, "A Word About Jews" (1879), he advocated the possibility of assimilating German-born Jews, but only if they discarded their "Jewishness." See Mosse, pp. 200-202.

27 Fritz Stern, Iron and Gold: Bismark, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire, Reprint, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979; New York: Knopf, 1977) p. 462.

28 Comte Paul Vasili (a pseudonym, attributed to Princess Catherine Radziwill), La Société de Berlin, 1884, as cited by Fritz Stern, Iron and Gold: Bismark, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire, p. 463.

29 Orlow, p. 39.

30 Peter Vergo, Art in Vienna: 1898-1918, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1975) p. 39.
The architect Heinrich Ferstel (1828-1883) designed both the university and the Votivkirche.

31 Erben, p. 32.

32 Carl E. Schorske, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980) pp. 50,

54, 56.

33 Osthaus, p. I.

34 Michael Podro, The Critical Historians of Art, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982) p. 71.

35 Schorske, pp. 234-235.

36 Schorske, p. 38.

37 Erben, pp. 32-33.

38 Osthaus, p. II.

Also see Fritz Meyer-Schönbrunn, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk," Westermanns Monatshefte, Vol. 121, (Part II) No. 726, February 1917, pp. 806-807.

39 Grimm wrote the monograph Leben Michelangelo in 1863. In Berlin, Grimm lectured extensively on the German poet and writer Wolfgang Goethe and actively petitioned, in vain initially, for women to be allowed to attend the university in 1896.

40 Erben, p. 35.

41 Erben, p. 35.

42 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 122. The Osthauses eventually had four children, three sons and one daughter. None of their children are alive today.

43 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 120-121.

44 Schmidt, a retired schoolteacher, was an enthusiastic collector of bugs, insects and minerals, and may have initially influenced Osthaus to consider building a museum of natural history.

45 Erben, pp. 35-36.

46 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 121. No archival documentation specifies which geographic locations Osthaus and Rocholl visited during their trip, other than the "Vorderen Orient" (Near East).

47 Osthaus, p. II.

48 Osthaus, p. II.

49 Meyer-Schönbrunn, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein
Werk," pp. 797-798.

Chapter III

The Evolution of a Museum

Filled with enthusiasm and didactic intentions, Osthaus decided to name his museum the "Folkwang." According to a 1902 newspaper account, he chose the name from ancient Nordic mythology; the "Volksanger" was the home of the goddess Freya in Walhall. The newspaper noted that "Freya symbolizes work, especially the work in nature and art - the work in beauty."¹ However, the Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology states that the "Folkvanger" was the dwelling of Freya (also spelled Frejya).² According to Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Osthaus had been interested in Nordic mythology since his youth,³ and his choice of the name Folkwang is probably a reflection of that interest as well as his knowledge of the subject matter. In addition, it appears that the name Folkwang may have signified Volkish connotations.

An important aspect of Volkish ideology was its rediscovered past and connection to ancient Germans. The sense of a heroic past and an ancient people who had lived in an ancient landscape helped to legitimize the "rootedness" of the Volk. As the cultural historian George Mosse has noted in The Crisis of German Ideology, rootedness and antiquity implied "youth, the moment of inception, when

the pure, unadulterated, heroic and virtuous qualities of the Volk had been first thrust into history." This, Mosse argues, entailed meshing the values and "aspirations of the Volk in the modern era ... with its heroic past."⁴ Osthaus, like many Volkish thinkers at that time, turned to history and applied ancient, heroic images from the past to the modern. The goddess Freya and her palace are both mentioned in the Edda, a collection of ancient German legends.⁵ According to Mosse, the Edda was widely read and an inspirational source for Volkish ideology. At the time of the Folkwang Museum's inception, the Edda was even more popular than the Niebelungelied. The name Folkwang, however, can best be translated as "Domain of the People," and indeed Osthaus' private museum in Hagen was built to serve the people in the Ruhr region.⁶

Osthaus, not surprisingly, commissioned the Berlin architect Carl Gérard to design the Folkwang, even though he would grow to thoroughly dislike the architect's style.⁷ As mentioned earlier, he had known Gérard since 1890, when the architect had designed "Elfriedenhöhe," his father's ornate villa in Hagen. Apparently they had established a friendly relationship over a period of time, and when Osthaus was a student in Berlin he frequently visited the architect in his home and in his atelier on the Kurfürstendamm.⁸ Gérard was a proponent of historicism, which relied on using an eclectic array of motifs from past styles. He designed the

relatively small three-story Folkwang Museum for Osthaus in a neo-Renaissance style. When the exterior was completed, Osthaus was thoroughly disappointed and dissatisfied with its appearance. He asked Gérard to make several changes to the interior so that it would project a more modern looking style, but the architect refused and all work on the building temporarily ceased.

In the Spring of 1900, Osthaus commissioned the Belgian architect and designer, Henry van de Velde (1863-1957), who was well known for his Art Nouveau designs, to complete the interior of the museum. (Fig. 8) Prior to his work as a designer, Van de Velde was a painter with strong connections to French Symbolism and Neo-Impressionism and these styles later partially shaped his own principles of design. Van de Velde's work as an architect, designer and interior decorator was also impelled by social and moral considerations. His interest in creating an art for an industrial society was influenced by the writings of William Morris and the British Arts and Crafts Movement. However, Van de Velde, unlike Morris, theorized that the transformation of industrialized society demanded new forms of expression. Van de Velde denounced nineteenth century historical styles and advocated a new, modern style that employed new forms and techniques. He not only designed the interior of the Folkwang as a manifesto of modernity based on these tenets, but also encouraged Osthaus to concentrate

on collecting modern art, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Construction on the Folkwang had initially commenced in 1898. Gérard designed the two-story museum, an unusual wedge-shaped building, to conform to a triangular, corner plot of land on Hagen's Hochstrasse.⁹ (Fig. 9) He employed several early Renaissance motifs for the Folkwang's exterior, such as columns, arches, dormers and small turrets. The museum's exterior was partially faced with decorative red brickwork and five small arches and two columns spanned the building's lower facade which rested upon a shallow staircase. The entrance was flanked by arched, shallow niches on either side, and directly above the entryway was a large, semi-ornate window, which allowed sunlight to flood the upper story. The building's roofline was dominated by an elaborate dome that towered above several nearby buildings.¹⁰ Stylistically Gérard's museum conception was totally unoriginal, and it typified and blended in with the existing hodgepodge of Hagen architecture.

When construction on the exterior of the Folkwang was completed in January 1900, Osthaus was not pleased with its appearance, nor its exorbitant cost. Although work on the museum's interior had not begun by that time, Osthaus had already spent more for construction costs (the sum of

200,000.- marks) than he had originally intended to spend on the entire project. Shortly after the exterior was completed, Osthaus and Gérard reached an impasse concerning the museum's interior style. Gérard intended to expand the exterior's neo-Renaissance style to the museum's interior, but Osthaus rejected his plan. Osthaus stressed that he wanted the interior to reflect a more streamlined, "new" type of style. He asked Gérard to make a number of changes to the interior's design and layout, but the architect refused.¹¹ Part of Osthaus's concept for a more original looking style for the museum's interior stemmed from his interest in non-Western architecture that had evolved during his travels to Constantinople, Tunis and Algeria. His propensity for exotic-looking, colorful and curvilinear styles of architecture attracted him to the style of Art Nouveau and the work of Henry van de Velde (1863-1957).

Art Nouveau in France and Belgium flourished from 1893 to 1902.¹² Artists involved with this international design movement were committed to reuniting art and craft, and discovering a new and modern style that would replace the historicizing designs of the nineteenth century. These artists rejected the use of recycling past styles and studied the designs of floral and stylized plant forms. They admired and emulated the rhythmic, curvilinear, decorative effects of these organic forms, and in their designs they emphasized their dynamic sense of flowing

movement. Van de Velde was one of the major proponents of Art Nouveau, and played a seminal role in advancing this style, known as Jugendstil, in Germany. His aim was to eliminate the barriers between the fine and applied arts, and create decorative yet modern and functional forms for industrialized society.¹³

Van de Velde's role in the popularization of the decorative arts had a strong impact in his native country, as well as in France, Holland, and Switzerland, and especially in Germany, where his principles of style were widely applied.¹⁴ In 1897 Van de Velde participated in the large Dresden Kunstgewerbe Exhibition that introduced Art Nouveau to Germany. The style was enthusiastically received, and although Van de Velde's identity was not revealed at the exhibition, his work generated much interest. Meier-Graefe, who admired these anonymously created designs, sought out the designer's identity, discovered it was Van de Velde, and wrote an article about him in the periodical Deutsche Dekoration.¹⁵ Due to Meier-Graefe's essay, which included some photographic examples of the designer's work, Van de Velde acquired several important patrons in Germany and realized many of his most important projects there. Prior to his work on the Folkwang Museum, Van de Velde was commissioned to design the interior of the Kunstsalon Keller und Reiner in Berlin, and the art dealer Paul Cassirer hired him to do the interior of his Berlin art

gallery, which opened in November of 1898.¹⁶

Prior to his success as a Jugendstil designer, interior decorator and architect, Van de Velde was trained as a painter at the Académie des Beaux Arts in Antwerp.¹⁷ However, Van de Velde was critical of the academicism which had developed during the nineteenth century and he eschewed its elitist form of culture. Van de Velde's principles of style evolved from a wide array of international artistic sources: Jean-Francois Millet's Realist paintings of peasants, Georges Seurat's Neo-Impressionist color theories and his highly decorative canvases, Belgian and French Symbolism, Vincent van Gogh's undulating use of line and the British Arts and Crafts Movement. His exposure to international modern trends, combined with a deep interest in social theories and the British Arts and Crafts Movement, led to his abandonment of painting in 1893.¹⁸

After Van de Velde completed his training in 1884 at the academy in Antwerp, he went to France and briefly studied with the artist Emile-Augustus Carolus-Duran and a group of Belgian landscapists in Barbizon. While in Barbizon Van de Velde had the opportunity to view Millet's paintings of monumentalized peasants toiling in the fields. He was deeply impressed with Millet's work and also admired the French artist's status as a social activist. At that time images of peasants became a symbol of hard, honest

labor and Millet's emphasis on this universal theme appealed to Van de Velde.¹⁹ By that time the idea of the artist as a reformer in society already appealed to Van de Velde, and in Millet he found his first artistic role model to emulate.

When Van de Velde returned to Belgium one year later, he worked intermittently in the company of several Belgian artists, whom he had met earlier in Barbizon, and began painting numerous landscapes and drawings of peasants.²⁰ He also exhibited with the luminist artists' group "Als ik Kan" and was a founding member of "L'Association pour l'Art Indépendant."²¹

By 1888 Van de Velde's work became strongly influenced by the Neo-Impressionist painter Georges Seurat, and he began experimenting with pointillism and color theory after seeing Seurat's large canvas, Dimanche à la Grande-Jatte (1884-86), in Belgium. Seurat's flat, highly stylized forms and his emphasis on ornamental artifice appealed to Van de Velde's budding interest in design. He also admired the decorative and luminous quality of Seurat's work and began reading about Neo-Impressionist color theories in the journal L'Art Moderne.²²

In 1889 Van de Velde was invited to become a member of the Belgian avant-garde artists' group Les Vingt, whose members exhibited together from 1884 to 1893.²³ From the

beginning Les Vingt had an internationalist point of view and consistently presented an international lineup of artists at their exhibitions: in 1884 they included works by James Ensor, Auguste Rodin, James Whistler and Max Liebermann; in 1886 they displayed paintings by Renoir; in 1887 several canvases by Seurat, Camille Pissarro, and Berthe Morisot were featured; and in 1889 works by Paul Cézanne and Van Gogh were shown. When Van de Velde joined Les Vingt, he had the opportunity to meet Seurat and view Paul Gauguin's flat and highly decorative Symbolist painting, Vision After the Sermon of 1888.

Around that time Van de Velde also began reading Symbolist poetry and literary theory, while contemplating the expressive content and anti-naturalistic quality of Symbolist painting. By the late 1880s Van de Velde was on friendly terms with the Belgian literary avant-garde, such as the poet Charles van Lerberghe, and became acquainted with the political activists Emile Vandervelde and Max Hallet, who were the leaders of the Belgian Worker's Party.²⁴

In 1890 Van de Velde again exhibited with Les Vingt and met the French artists Paul Signac and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, and the Symbolist writer Stéphane Mallarmé, who became his friend.²⁵ The following year Van de Velde viewed the memorial Van Gogh perspective at the Vingtist Salon, and

he remained a devout enthusiast of the Dutch artist's work. Van de Velde's participation in Les Vingt allowed him to become thoroughly familiar with the latest international contemporary trends, and he remained friends with many of the artists and writers that he met through this group.

By 1892 Van de Velde's aesthetic concerns began to encompass broader social concerns. In his memoirs he later recalled that:

Little by little I came to the conclusion that the reason why the fine arts had fallen into such a lamentable state of decay was because they were being more and more exploited by self-interest or prostituted to the satisfaction of human vanity. In the form of 'easel pictures' and 'salon statuary' both were now being executed as often as not without the least regard to their eventual destination like any other consumer goods. It seemed clear, therefore, that the old relatively frank and straightforward transactions for the sale and purchase of artists' work might soon give place to the odious modern machinery by which commercial publicity hoodwinks the public over the quality or value of whatever it is paid to advertise. Thus in the not far distant future we could expect to find genuine works of art insidiously branded with the same sort of mendacious descriptions and fictitious valuations as ordinary mass-produced merchandise for household use. Unscrupulous dealers willing to risk the initial outlay required would then be able to promote whatever smart and sufficiently young art student that happened to fancy to the eminence reserved for those arrogantly opinionated 'artistic celebrities' whose pronouncements are sycophantly recorded in the press.²⁶

Due to Vandervelde and Hallet, who encouraged him to synthesize his artistic theories with political and social

activism,²⁷ Van de Velde became deeply interested in the social theories of Tolstoy, Marx, Engels, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Dostoyevsky, and the philosophical writings of Nietzsche that challenged the rational and scientific principles of positivism.²⁸

Van de Velde later recalled his interest in Nietzsche's cult of the individual and that for him: "The evenings were devoted to reading Zarathustra and other works by Nietzsche. I meditated long on the philosopher's thoughts ... which to me were better nourishment than real food."²⁹ As many other artists at that time, Van de Velde began to believe that art could initiate social change. As a result of this belief, he became interested in the craft revival in England, and began reading the writings of the British critic John Ruskin and the socialist theories of the Arts and Crafts designer William Morris.

Van de Velde was especially attracted to Morris's writings which emphasized the union of art and craft, and stressed the importance of simplicity, craftsmanship and a congenial spirit of cooperation between artists and artisans.³⁰ Van de Velde became convinced that as an artist he could benefit, and even transform, society through art. While studying Morris's theories, Van de Velde met his future wife, Maria S  the, who shared his interest in design.³¹ Before her marriage to Van de Velde in 1894,

Sèthe twice visited Morris in England on Van de Velde's behalf, and collected more material for him about the English Arts and Crafts Movement.³² After evaluating the information that she had gathered for him, Van de Velde decided that even though he agreed with many of Morris's basic ideas, he disagreed with the Englishman's condemnation of machine made, mass produced products.

Although indebted to Morris's ideas, Van de Velde formulated his own theories.³³ Van de Velde deplored ugly designed products and shoddy mass produced goods, but theorized that:

Form and construction can be justified only in the light of their own absolute logic.... The nature of the material employed must determine form and construction.... The refinement of all form and construction must be limited by their own essential characteristics.³⁴

He believed that what was lacking in quality machine made products was "a logical system of production, uncompromising logic in the use of working materials and the proud, frank exhibition of working processes." In respect to the machine, Van de Velde concluded that it could "create beauty," but only if the machinist was directed by a "rationally conceived" design.³⁵ Van de Velde favored utilizing machine technology, new techniques and modern materials, if the final product was functional and well made. He believed that the solution to artistic reform was in the applied arts.³⁶

In 1894 Van de Velde turned his attention to the applied and industrial arts and began to practice his own theories of functional aesthetics. He founded and managed a furniture factory in Uccle that specialized in handsome, well-made, functional designs for the home, and published several articles on modern design, and lectured extensively on industrial and ornamental art.³⁷ Although Van de Velde believed that the road to artistic reform was to be found in the applied arts and not in painting, he still, however, admired certain "easel paintings," especially Van Gogh's.

When he married Maria Sèthe in the Spring of 1894, they especially traveled to Holland on their honeymoon to see Van Gogh's work. They visited the Dutch artist's widowed sister-in-law, Madame Théo van Gogh, in Bussum and viewed her vast collection of Vincent's work before it was dispersed and sold to various collectors. Many years later Van de Velde still remembered how deeply this visit affected him:

To find oneself suddenly admitted to the closest intimacy with one of the greatest geniuses painting has ever produced - to be able to follow the whole course of his tragic career step by step turning over a succession of canvases - was an experience in which the most intense emotion mingled with an almost religious sense of awe. As we examined one after another we felt ourselves carried away by the same transports as Vincent himself must have felt at those moments when, irresistibly impelled by the abrupt discovery of what had

never before been seen, by the revelation of something no painter's eye had ever yet arrested - a landscape, some motif or other, a group of flowers like the famous series of 'Sunflowers' - I had just come across one of these that was of a majestic grandeur, a plastic monumentality, such as flower-painting had till then never so much as faintly approached - he had feverishly set up his easel and seized his brushes, frenziedly squeezing tube after tube on to his palette in a tumult of cerebral excitement.... The man's stupefying power left us speechless.³⁸

When Van de Velde returned to Belgium, he remembered the emotional impact of these images, and gradually began to adapt the Dutch artist's use of expressive color and curvilinear lines in his own designs.

The following year, in 1895, Van de Velde designed his own villa, Bloemenwerf, to demonstrate the harmonious integration of architecture and interior decoration.³⁹ (Fig. 10) He decided to design his house without imitating any historical style and consciously avoided the use of extraneous decoration. The house had numerous windows with gently curved tops (which became characteristic of Van de Velde's style), and allowed the interior to be flooded with light. In contrast to most nineteenth century homes, which were relatively dark and compartmentalized, the interior of Bloemenwerf was airy and open with a flowing floor plan.⁴⁰ On the exterior and throughout the interior, Van de Velde used generous amounts of the colors yellow and pale grey to further emphasize its sun-dappled cheery mood. Later in his memoirs Van de Velde claimed that his unconventional-looking

house drew a great amount of attention from pedestrians passing by. He recalled that:

A solitary pedestrian would stop as if thunderstruck [as] soon as he came abreast of 'Bloemenwerf,' turn around irresolutely and look for someone to share his stupefaction. When two or three went past together they exchanged angry scowls or else pointed it out to one another with undisguised hilarity, as often as not addressing a rude remark to anyone visible in the garden or at an open window.⁴¹

Osthaus, who later became Van de Velde's biographer, noted his dazzling and untraditional use of color. He commented that, "today one can hardly imagine what wildness this was.... A house, colored in such hues, produced an impression on most [people] like a Bird of Paradise on crows."⁴² Shortly after Bloemenwerf was completed, Meier-Graefe and the German born art dealer, Siegfried Bing, visited Van de Velde's home in Uccle.⁴³ Bing was favorably impressed with its elegant yet uncluttered simplicity, and he commissioned Van de Velde to design four rooms for his new gallery, Maison l'Art Nouveau, in Paris.⁴⁴

Osthaus became aware of Van de Velde's work in April of 1900 when, glancing through a two-year old back issue of the journal Dekorative Kunst, he read an article about him by Meier-Graefe.⁴⁵ Osthaus was impressed by the photographic reproductions of the designer's work that accompanied the article. He was especially intrigued by Van de Velde's curvilinear, exotic-looking designs, and perceived that

their modernity exemplified the "Weg der Zukunft" (way of the future).⁴⁶ Osthaus immediately sent Van de Velde a telegram which boldly announced:

On Tuesday morning, May 1st, at approximately 10 a.m., I am taking the liberty of visiting you. I am presently occupied with founding a museum, which will have the express purpose of serving the aesthetically ignored industrial region in the Ruhr.... As the independent owner of my institution I am in the fortunate position of not being bound by any [preconceived] prejudice, and want to create an exciting, exemplary building... based on a modern point of view. This desire, along with your valuable assistance, is what brings me to Brussels. I hope that you will be interested in my project.⁴⁷

According to Van de Velde, within a matter of days Osthaus arrived at his home in Uccle, an elegant suburb near Brussels. In his memoirs, Geschichte Meines Lebens, Van de Velde vividly recalled meeting Osthaus for the first time, and described him as:

A tall, slender, blond, cleanly shaven man, approximately twenty-five years old. He had piercing blue eyes and pale skin. His bearing was confident, his demeanor unaffected, and his clothing impeccable and elegant, yet understated. He looked more Dutch than the Germans I had met.⁴⁸

Van de Velde immediately liked Osthaus and remembered that their first meeting was pleasant. In Uccle Osthaus scrutinized Bloemenwerf from all angles and was given a complete tour of its impressive interior. Dissatisfied with the abundance of "ugly," sloppy merchandise and a lack of

well designed existing homes, Van de Velde had designed every facet of Bloemenwerf - from silverware to doorknobs.⁴⁹ The interior was totally devoid of bric-a-brac and was tastefully decorated with numerous artworks. Van de Velde recalled how fascinated Osthaus was with his art collection which hung on almost all the walls of the house. His collection included several Japanese woodcuts and contemporary graphics and paintings, some of which Van de Velde claimed were done by anonymous artists.⁵⁰ However, Van de Velde's collection also included works by Seurat, Signac and Van Gogh.⁵¹ Discussing his eclectic collection, Van de Velde suggested that perhaps Osthaus should concentrate on displaying modern art in his museum.⁵² This suggestion was somewhat similar to Rocholl's advice, but Van de Velde's idea included an important variation: his suggestion encompassed collecting an international array of art.

Van de Velde and Osthaus discussed the museum project at length and discovered that they shared many similar ideas. They agreed that as an architectural style, historicism was a dead-end, and that it did not reflect contemporary life. They also both believed that the aesthetic presentation of the museum itself was crucially important, but that the interior design should not detract from the artworks. Osthaus offered Van de Velde the commission to design the interior of the museum. He invited

him to visit Hagen and view the existing museum structure before making a final decision, and Van de Velde accepted his invitation. When Osthaus left Uccle he believed that he had found the right person to complete the museum's interior. Still influenced by Volkish ideology, especially its emphasis on regeneration, Osthaus was convinced that the Folkwang would be "a protest against the misuse of style, a call to artists and become a fountain of youth for German culture."⁵³ The museum later fulfilled his expectations and ironically it was Van de Velde's connections with avant-garde artists and knowledge of international artistic trends helped pave the way for its success.

A few weeks after Osthaus visited Van de Velde, the Belgian arrived in Hagen. In his memoirs, Van de Velde wrote about his vividly remembered initial impression of Hagen and the partially completed museum project:

At the time Hagen was a provincial city, in the heart of the old industrial center ... an ugly sight. No less ugly were the pompous villas of the industrialists ... set in small yards, in which one could hardly breathe ... everything was covered with a thick layer of soot.

The upper middle class industrialists in Westfalen then had absolutely no interest in art or culture. At the construction site ... I found a half finished building, with a neoclassical facade that was an example ... of the empty formalism used as a world recipe for banks, post offices, theaters or hospitals.... From country to country the forms varied only a little.⁵⁴

Although he intensely disliked the grand pretense of the

museum's architectural style, Van de Velde was won over by Osthaus's enthusiasm and he accepted the commission to complete the interior.

In October of 1902, just three months after the Folkwang opened to the public, Van de Velde wrote an article in the journal Innendekoration about his work inside the museum. According to this article, he spent several days studying the layout of the partially completed building before formulating his ideas on paper. He was highly critical of Gérard's haphazard layout of the museum, especially since it did not appear to follow any logical pattern. Van de Velde not only faulted the arbitrary general design, but felt that its overall construction demonstrated a total lack of understanding.⁵⁵

Working with these limitations, he also had to consider Osthaus's special needs for the interior, which included that the museum would initially function as a private residence for him and his young bride.⁵⁶ This presented Van de Velde with an additional challenge and resulted in his decision to play down the sense of the monumental in the museum in favor of the festive and the practical.⁵⁷ Evaluating the structure's dual requirements and Osthaus's personal preferences, Van de Velde designed an interior environment that was completely untraditional and elegant, yet intimate and not overwhelming. The museum's ultra

avant-garde interior contrasted dramatically with the Folkwang's mundane exterior.⁵⁸

In designing the museum's interior, Van de Velde synthesized his knowledge of mood-evoking Symbolism and Van Gogh's energetic use of line. Van de Velde carefully considered the use of harmonious colors throughout the museum's interior so that the interior would not detract from the artworks. He therefore limited himself to employing only three colors in each of the three separate exhibition areas on the three floors of the museum. The bottom floor, or the basement, (Fig. 11) was specifically designed to house both European and non-Western sculpture, non-Western and European period rooms, and an assortment of handcrafted items from Egyptian to contemporary times.⁵⁹ Van de Velde chose a simple yet durable floor treatment of red ceramic tiles for the large exhibition area in the basement. Since there was no natural lighting there, light was an important factor and the walls and low ceiling were painted white. The heavy ceiling was supported by several rows of weight-bearing columns constructed from iron. For a variety of aesthetic reasons, Van de Velde decided to cover the iron and not leave it exposed, even though this decision went against his principles based on the respect for the nature and the use of materials.⁶⁰ Van de Velde alternated the shapes of these cream colored columns. Some of them were abstracted and shaped like organically growing forms

and others were simple vertical columns that were partially faced with red brickwork. The overall effect was decorative yet not ornate.

For the ground floor, or the entrance level of the museum, Van de Velde also chose smooth white walls and a bright red ceramic tile floor. (Fig. 12) The walls were trimmed with natural yellow oak and the woodwork matched the built-in display cabinets (Fig. 13) which he had also designed.⁶¹ On this floor he again used iron columns as part of the overall design, but they were much more slender in their proportions than on the basement level. For the entrance level, however, Van de Velde covered the columns and painted them a creamy white. But instead of using traditional capitals to top the columns, Van de Velde used a curvilinear, organic design that is reminiscent of both Celtic nibbon-work and an abstracted human face. (Fig. 14) Tucked behind glass and wood doors off to the sides of this level were private living areas, including the dining room and the kitchen.⁶² Devoid of any furnishings, the entrance was light, spacious and dramatic. A simple staircase (Fig. 15) with decorative iron grillwork connected this main level of the museum with the upper, second floor. (Figs. 16 and 17)

Upstairs was the Painting Gallery which was built to house the permanent painting collection. (Fig. 18) The rectangular shaped room had no windows to provide natural

lighting, and Van de Velde, appalled by the room's dreary appearance, designed a dramatic overhead skylight. (Fig. 19) The skylight was constructed of brilliantly colored stained glass and curved strips of black wrought iron, and its colors (yellow, green and violet) were carefully chosen to harmonize with the gallery's green and purple architectural wall trim. Here too, Van de Velde designed built-in curving yellow oak display cabinets in the corners.⁶³ The walls in the Painting Gallery were painted dark purple to provide an atmospheric, exotic background for the paintings and non-Western art objects that would be displayed there alongside Western European paintings.⁶⁴ As on the entry floor below, the doors leading off the second floor vestibule led to additional private living quarters.⁶⁵

A unique aspect of Van de Velde's role in the evolution of the Folkwang Museum is that he also became Osthaus's artistic advisor, mentor, friend and influential teacher. Before his association with Van de Velde, Osthaus had rather conservative, even pedestrian, taste in painting and sculpture, and he was totally unaware of international artistic trends, or even contemporary works by Berlin and Munich artists. The only "modern" painters that Osthaus was vaguely familiar with prior to his association with Van de Velde were the Düsseldorf landscapists and the Swiss artist, Arnold Böcklin.⁶⁶ It was Van de Velde who educated and broadened Osthaus's artistic taste, and he played an

important and formative role in helping Osthaus gather an international collection of outstanding artworks. Due to Van de Velde's guidance Osthaus also relinquished his anti-Semitism which had been influenced by Volkish ideology. Osthaus became an internationalist, and the Folkwang Museum became an important center for the international avant-garde and German modernism.

NOTES

¹ Rheinisch-Westfälischen Zeitung, 6 July 1902, n. page.

Also see Henry van de Velde, "Das Museum 'Folkwang' in Hagen," Part I, Innendekoration, Vol. XIII, October 1902, p. 274.

According to German folklore, Freya was the Nordic goddess of love and fertility who shed amber tears when her husband, Odr, deserted her. Freya's special duty was choosing which fallen heroes to care for in her palace.

² Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology, (London: Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1961) p. 78.

The name "Volksanger" is the German equivalent of the Scandinavian name "Folkvanger."

³ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1971) p. 130.

⁴ George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, Reprint, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981) p. 67.

⁵ Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 130.

⁶ Paul Vogt, "Introduction," Christian Rolhfs: 1849-1938. The Later Works, Exhibition Catalog, Trans., David H. Wilson, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1965) n. page.

⁷ In December of 1896 or early in January of 1897, Osthaus commissioned Gérard to design the Folkwang.

⁸ Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 122. There is very little information available about Gérard. The Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive in Hagen has no copies of the correspondence that Osthaus sent Gérard, although there are some letters from the architect to Osthaus. Evidently Osthaus did not keep any copies of these letters, or they have been destroyed.

⁹ It is interesting to note that the Kaiser Friedrich (now Bode) Museum, begun in 1898 by the court architect,

Ernst Eberhart von Ihnen, was also designed as a wedge-shaped building. Since Gérard practiced in Berlin, he may have been aware of Ihnen's design and perhaps decided to adapt a smaller, modified plan for the Folkwang. For an account of the Bode Museum, see Henning Bock, et al, "The History of the Collection," Masterworks of the Gemäldegalerie, Trans., George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986) p. 25.

10 The Folkwang was heavily bombed during World War II and its dome and turrets were destroyed, as well as the third floor attic art studios that were built later. The entrance stairs were also destroyed and the museum may no longer be entered as originally intended. A new addition, attached to the left of the original museum structure, now serves as the main entrance. Due to the heavy damage that the building sustained, the museum appears much lower today and less ornate than Gérards's original structure.

11 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 122-123.

Even though Osthaus and Gérard dissolved their architect/client working relationship in 1900, Gérard remained in charge of tallying all the related expenses for the museum's building costs. In the spring of 1903 he presented Osthaus with a final bill that included the combined cost of the interior changes and decorations that Van de Velde made, and the exterior construction, for a total sum of 322,000.- marks.

12 Although a major aspect of Art Nouveau was design for mass-production of objects for the working class, very few of Van de Velde's designs were ever mass produced.

13 For a detailed and excellent account of Van de Velde and his work, Karl-Heinz Hüter's book, Henry van de Velde: Sein Werk bis zum seiner Tätigkeit in Deutschland, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), remains the best study. Also see Debora L. Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France, (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), for an analysis and history of this design movement in nineteenth century France.

14 Donald Drew Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts: Western Europe, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970) p. 610.

15 Henry F. Lenning, The Art Nouveau, (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951) p. 35.

At that time Meier-Graefe also asked Van de Velde to design the interior of his Paris gallery, La Maison Moderne.

16 Hüter, p. 264.

Martin Keller and Karl Reiner commissioned Van de Velde to design the exhibition and salesrooms for their gallery, located on Berlin's Potsdamerstrasse, in 1898. Cassirer's gallery was on Berlin's Victoriastrasse.

17 Henry van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, ed. Hans Curjel, (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1962) p. 23. In Antwerp Van de Velde had studied at the academy from 1881 to 1884 with the Belgian animal painter Charles Verlat (1824-1890).

18 The architect Siegfried Giedion has claimed that he asked Van de Velde in 1938 why he had abandoned painting for architecture and that the Belgian replied: "The real forms of things were covered over. In this period the revolt against the falsification of forms and the past was a moral revolt." As quoted in Siegfried Giedion, Time, Space and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition, 5th Edition, Revised and Enlarged, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967) p. 293.

19 Susan M. Canning, "Henry van de Velde: The Early Career as a Painter 1880-1895," Henry van de Velde: Painting and Drawings, Exhibition Catalog, (Otterlo, Netherlands: Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, 1988) p. 53.

20 Lenning, p. 22.

21 Canning, pp. 51 and 54.

22 Canning, p. 56.

23 Some of the artists who belonged to Les Vingt included: James Ensor, Fernand Khnopf, Jan Toorop, Theo van Rysselberghe, Félicien Rops, Paul Dubois (Van de Velde's brother-in-law who was a sculptor), George Minne and Auguste Rodin. For additional information on this topic, see Jane Block's study, LES XX and Belgian Avant-Gardism, 1868-1894, Part of the series, Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, No. 41, Series Editor, Stephen C. Foster, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), for an in depth history of this group.

24 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, p. 48.

- 25 Hüter, p. 253.
- 26 Henry van de Velde, "Henry van de Velde: Extracts from His Memoirs," Trans., P. Morton Shand, Architectural Review, Vol. CII, 1954, p. 146.
- 27 Canning, p. 61.
- 28 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, p. 54. Van de Velde later became a personal friend of Nietzsche's sister, Elisabeth Förster, who commissioned him in 1903 to design the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar.
- 29 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, p. 37. Die Abende waren der Lektüre des "Zarathustra" und anderer Werke Nietzsches gewidmet. Lange meditierte ich über die Gedanken ... die mich besser nährten als die wirkliche Nahrung.
- 30 Stephan Tschudi Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau, trans. Ragnar Christophersen, (New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1975) pp. 143-144. Morris's theories of design evolved from his admiration for the arts and crafts of the Middle Ages. Closely associated with Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement in England were the pre-Raphaelite artists Ford Madox Brown, Edward Burne Jones and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Two additional members of Morris's Arts and Crafts firm, called the Red House, were the mathematician Charles J. Faulkner and the engineer Paul Marshall.
- 31 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, pp. 78-79. Sèthe was a student of the Neo-Impressionist painter and anarchist Théo van Rysselberghe, when she met Van de Velde in 1893.
- 32 Egbert, p. 612.
- 33 See Egbert, pp. 603-616, for a discussion of Morris's impact on Van de Velde.
- 34 Henry van de Velde, Vom Neuen Stil, (Leipzig, Germany: Insel-Verlag, 1907) p. 28. Und wenn dich der Wunsch beseelt, diese Formen und Konstruktionen zu verschönern, so gibt dich dem Verlangen nach Raffinement, zu welchem dich deine ästhetische sensibilität oder dein Geschmack für Ornamentik - welcher Art sie auch sei - inspirieren wird, nur insoweit hin, als

du das Recht und das wessentliche Aussehen dieser Formen und Konstruktionen achten und beibehalten kannst!

35 Lenning, p. 19.

36 Canning, p. 68.

37 Hüter, p. 253.

Also see Canning, p. 21.

38 Van de Velde, "Memoirs," p. 146.

39 Lenning, p. 31.

40 Lenning, pp. 31-32.

41 Van de Velde, "Memoirs," p. 154.

42 Karl Ernst Osthaus, Henry van de Velde. Leben und Schaffen des Künstlers, (Hagen, Germany: Folkwang-Verlag, 1920; Reprint, Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann GmbH, 1984) p. 15. Man kann sich heute kaum noch eine Vorstellung von der Verwilderung machen ... Ein Haus, dessen Farben überlegt waren, wirkte auf die Menge wie ein Paradiesvogel auf Krähen.

43 Van de Velde and Meier-Graefe (1867-1935) first met at the 1891 Vingstist Salon where Van de Velde presented a lecture on the peasant in art. At that time they discovered a shared mutual interest in Van Gogh's work and discussed this topic at length. In the 1890s Meier-Graefe began his career as a critic within the Art Nouveau movement and was an early, but brief, supporter of the flat, curvilinear style of the Norwegian artist Edvard Munch. Although Meier-Graefe admired the stylistically flat and decorative design qualities of Art Nouveau, he felt that flatness detracted from the aesthetic quality of a painting because it lacked the individualized artist's "touch." The physical act of painting itself became the single most important aspect of Meier-Graefe's criteria for a significant work of art, not the aesthetic effect achieved.

44 Osthaus, pp. 17-18.

The German art dealer, Bing, specialized in selling Oriental art and was originally from Hamburg. See Silverman's Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France, especially the last two chapters, for a discussion of Bing's gallery in Paris.

45 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, p. 175.

The Jugendstil journal, Dekorativen Kunst, was founded by Meier-Graefe in 1897 and functioned as a forum for aesthetic ideas.

46 Osthaus, p. 21.

47 A facsimile of the telegram, dated 26 April 1900, that Osthaus sent to Van de Velde is reproduced in Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, see p. 38.

48 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, pp. 174-175.

Ein hochgewachsener, magerer, blonder, glattrasierter Mann von ungefähr fünfundzwanzig Jahren. Er hatte Augen von stechendem Blau und blasse Haut. Sein Auftreten war sicher und seine Haltung ungezwungen, seine Kleidung korrekt, aber ohne betonte Eleganz. Er machte eher den Eindruck eines Holländers als eines Deutschen, wie ich sie kennengelernt hatte.

49 Giedion, p. 294.

Van de Velde began building Bloemenwerf in the summer of 1895 and completed this project in 1896. The compact, two-story house was located in Uccle on Avenue Vanderaey. Also see Hüter, pp. 264-265.

50 Van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, p. 175.

51 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 151.

52 Klaus Jürgen Sembach, Henry van de Velde, trans., Michael Robinson, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989) p. 126.

53 Osthaus, p. 22.

Als der Verfasser Brüssel Verliess, stand es fest, dass das Museum Folkwang ein Protest gegen den Missbrauch des Stiles, ein Weckruf an die Künstlerschaft und ein Jungbrunnen deutscher Kultur werden sollte.

54 Das industrielle Grossbürgertum Westfalens hatte sich bisher überhaupt nicht für Dinge der Kultur und Kunst interessiert. Auf dem Bauplatz ... fand ich ein halbfertiges Gebäude vor, dessen Fassaden Beispiele jenes Neo-Klassizismus waren ... leeren Formalismus als Allerweltrezept für Banken, Postgebäude, Theater oder Krankenhäuser.... Von Land zu Land variierten die Formen nur wenig.

55 Van de Velde, "Das Museum 'Folkwang' in Hagen," p. 249.

56 Van de Velde later designed and decorated Osthaus's private residence, the palatial mansion, Hohenhof. As in Bloemenwerf, Van de Velde personally designed every detail of Hohenhof, including the silverware, dishes and other functional items for daily use.

57 Van de Velde, "Das Museum 'Folkwang' in Hagen," p. 254.

58 Due to the heavy damage that the Folkwang sustained during World War II, most of the interior was destroyed. However, some of Van de Velde's work in the museum is still discernible today.

59 One of the earliest period rooms that Osthaus exhibited on this floor was an authentic Arabian room, which he had shipped to Hagen in the Spring of 1899. Later a vast collection of natural science specimens, including fossils and insects, would also be displayed in glass cabinets on this floor. See Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 130.

60 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Hagener Architektur 1900- 1914," Westfälische Kunststätten, Heft 25, Hagen, 1983, p. 6.

61 Osthaus, p. 25.

62 Walter Erben, "Karl Ernst Osthaus, Lebensweg und Gedankengut," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1971) p. 41.

63 Osthaus, p. 25.
Unfortunately, the skylight did not provide adequate, or even sufficient illumination because its lighting was dependent on weather conditions.

64 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 214.

65 The private living quarters in the museum were luxurious and contained furnishings designed by Van de Velde and rugs by William Morris.

66 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 120-122.

Chapter IV

The Folkwang, 1902-1906

During the course of the Folkwang's interior construction, Osthaus's cultural ideas and knowledge about art changed dramatically. Through his association and friendship with Van de Velde, his artistic taste became much more sophisticated, and Osthaus gradually relinquished his staunch German nationalism and anti-Semitic ideology for an internationalist outlook. The Folkwang's European painting and sculpture collection was initially determined by both Van de Velde and Osthaus. In contrast to other museum directors, such as Wilhelm von Bode, the General Director of Berlin's Kaiser Friedrich Museum, who despised modern art and assembled an outstanding collection of Old Master paintings, Osthaus decided to collect modern and contemporary art almost exclusively.¹ Since Van de Velde had extensive knowledge of the latest artistic trends and was on friendly terms with many artists, he advised Osthaus about what to buy and collect. He encouraged Osthaus to acquire artworks by artists that virtually no one else considered purchasing at that time, such as paintings by Van Gogh and Gauguin, plus numerous other modern works while they were still relatively inexpensive.

At first Osthaus depended on art dealers, and their

current inventory of stock, to expand his collection. However, he quickly became dissatisfied with their inflated prices, and began to purchase and commission works directly from the artists themselves. In this way Osthaus became known as a patron and a staunch champion of struggling young artists. His acquisitions for the Folkwang quickly set new standards of excellence for both private collectors and public museums. When the Folkwang opened, in the summer of 1902, the museum owned an astonishing number of modern and contemporary works, and within a few years the most progressive art journals and scholars were writing about Osthaus's collection in Hagen.²

Osthaus's first French painting acquisition was a large painting by Auguste Renoir titled Lise (1867). (Fig. 20) When the unknown 27 year old Osthaus purchased it at the 1901 Berlin Secession, from the Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer, he surprised the Berlin art world. The sophisticated Berliners were totally baffled and curious. Who was this young man? When it became known that the painting was purchased for a museum somewhere in the Ruhr region, they wondered why they had not heard of its existence. Furthermore, people speculated why Osthaus would buy such an expensive painting, especially by an artist that was hardly even known in cosmopolitan Berlin, to hide somewhere in the provinces.³ Among the curious spectators was Max Liebermann, the president of the Secession, who also

wanted to purchase the Renoir painting. Liebermann liked the work so much that he immediately offered to buy it from Osthaus, who declined.⁴ Von Tschudi was allegedly so shocked when he learned that the Renoir would be displayed in a provincial museum in the Ruhr, that he asked Osthaus: "Why do you want to bury the painting in Hagen?"⁵ Van de Velde, no doubt amused by the sensation that Osthaus caused, watched quietly in the background. He had advised Osthaus to purchase the work.⁶ From that time onwards Osthaus continued to astonish his museum colleagues with his acquisitions. In addition to relying on Van de Velde's expertise and his connections with the international artistic community, Osthaus had the financial means to compete with major museums for acquisitions. He was also able to act swiftly in acquiring works, because he had the personal freedom to accumulate his collection without political or administrative approval.

Osthaus quickly absorbed Van de Velde's ideas about art, and when the Folkwang opened in 1902 there were many works in the museum's collection which clearly reflected Van de Velde's influence. In addition to Renoir's Lise, some of the works that Osthaus had purchased at Van de Velde's suggestion were Van Gogh's The Wheatfield Behind Saint Paul's Hospital with a Reaper (Fig. 21), Paul Signac's The Seine at St. Cloud, Theo von Rysselberghe's Moon Over the Harbor at Boulogne (Fig. 22), Henri Cross's Sunset at Sea,

Maxmilian Luce's Foundry Work and several landscapes by the German artist Christian Rohlf's.⁷ Van de Velde was acquainted with all of these artists, other than the deceased Van Gogh, whose large body of work he was thoroughly familiar with. Although by the time that the museum opened in 1902, Van de Velde had been appointed artistic advisor to the Grande Duke of Saxe-Weimar, he continued to keep in close contact with Osthaus, and became his mentor, advisor and lifelong friend. Up to 1906, Osthaus relied heavily on Van de Velde's advice about what artworks to purchase, but Osthaus also had a mind of his own. Even though he was initially indebted to Van de Velde, Osthaus never purchased anything that he disliked, and gradually trusted his own aesthetic judgments more and more.⁸ As mentioned earlier, Riegl's theories had questioned the traditional standards of determining aesthetic excellence, which greatly influenced Osthaus in formulating his own views on aesthetic criteria. In his memoirs, Van de Velde noted that although Osthaus was a willing student who quickly learned to recognize quality artwork, he later became quite astute and independently expanded and developed his collection.⁹

The Folkwang opened in July of 1902.¹⁰ Among the invited guests to the museum's opening were several of Van de Velde's friends, including: the art historian and politician, Baron Eberhard von Bodenhausen (1868-1918), Dr.

Friedrich Deneken (1857-1927), the museum director from nearby Krefeld, and the wealthy industrialist Peter Bruckmann (1865-1937) from Heilbronn.¹¹ Illustrious local Hagen personalities, such as the factory owner Theodor Springmann (1840-1927) and Osthaus's friend and former teacher, Professor Schmidt, were also invited to the museum's official opening ceremony. Frau Osthaus and Madame van de Velde also attended the relatively small, but festive affair and they both wore elegant, loose flowing reform gowns that Van de Velde designed especially for the event.¹² (Fig. 23) Sensitive to the taste of his intended audience in Hagen and the industrial Ruhr region, Osthaus chose the motto "Ohne Konsumenten keine Produzenten" (Without Consumers No Producers) for the museum's opening theme.¹³ Acknowledging the importance of manufacturing in the region, he paid tribute to the anonymous workers behind these products. Believing in the ennobling nature of art, Osthaus declared that he intended his museum to serve the general working populace, not only the educated and wealthy classes. His aim was to make the museum a vehicle for uniting art and life. Osthaus wanted the museum to help reinvigorate traditional, regional, cultural values and give them contemporary relevance. Ironically, he wanted to benefit the poor and uneducated workers in the Ruhr region whose long hours and low wages had helped to amass his inherited fortune.

During the museum's opening ceremony, the guests were given a tour of the museum, and the Folkwang no doubt made quite a dramatic impression. In the middle of the red and white entrance hall, directly under a circular light fixture, stood Constantin Meunier's large sculpture, Tränke (Drink).¹⁴ Towards the end of 1905, George Minne's sculpture, Fountain of Five Kneeling Youth (Fig. 12), replaced Meunier's work in the museum's entryway. Osthaus commissioned Minne, a Belgian Symbolist, to specifically design this work for the entrance hall. Comprised of five nude male figures, Minne placed these inward-turning, attenuated, marble figures on the rim of a simple circular fountain basin. The sculpture was functional as well as decorative, since it also provided seating in the entrance vestibule.¹⁵ Directly behind this sculpture, on a wall beyond a triple archway, hung paintings by Van Gogh and Gauguin. On simple rectangular pedestals were a variety of small sculptures by artists such as Auguste Rodin, Constantine Meunier, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Tauillon, Georg Gaul and Hermann Haller.¹⁶

Most other museums at that time primarily exhibited collections of Old Master paintings, Greek and Roman sculptures, and antiques. The Folkwang, however, exhibited a wide variety of works from different epochs and cultures, and these works were displayed next to each other.¹⁷ Osthaus also freely mixed his Ethnographic collection and

non-Western items with his collection of modern and contemporary works. (Fig. 24) Unencumbered by any pre-existing collections or historical arrangements, he displayed non-Western sculptures, artifacts and batik fabrics next to European paintings. This was a highly unusual and unprecedented approach in museology. The logic behind this arrangement was that Osthaus wanted to emphasize aesthetic similarities via cultural diffusion, not differences. To him, a well-made, handcrafted object was just as aesthetically pleasing and as beautiful as a painting or sculpture. After the guests toured the museum, there was a reception and Schmidt, Deneken and Bodenhausen each gave short speeches, praising Osthaus and Van de Velde for their successful joint endeavor.¹⁸

It is important to remember here that Van de Velde had achieved recognition for his accomplishments prior to his association with Osthaus and the Folkwang. When Van de Velde moved to Berlin in 1900, he was immediately accepted into the most prestigious social and artistic circles there.¹⁹ Count Harry Kessler (1868-1914) and Meier-Graefe both energetically promoted Van de Velde in Germany. Kessler was Van de Velde's mentor.²⁰ He introduced the Belgian designer to high society in Weimar and Berlin, and these introductions quickly led to additional commissions. In 1902 Kessler was appointed director of the Grand-Ducal Museum for Arts and Crafts in Weimar, and he hired Van de

Velde to supervise the arrangement and display of the artworks there.²¹ According to Laird Easton, Kessler's collaboration with Van de Velde arose from Kessler's "effort to make Weimar again a center of cultural innovation."²² Although Hagen, unlike Weimar, had not previously been a cultural center, this nevertheless raises an interesting question. Did Van de Velde encourage both Kessler and Osthaus to attempt to construct cultural centers in their respective areas of residence, or was this an idea that both Germans arrived at independently? Or was the promotion of cultural regeneration a prevalent idea among wealthy, educated young men at that time?

Osthaus and Kessler shared some interesting commonalities, and similar ideological views. Only six years older than Osthaus, Kessler also came from a well-to-do family and was educated in the finest universities. Both men were avid art collectors, and museum directors, and both staunchly supported progressive tendencies in the arts. They were both internationalists, although Osthaus was strongly influenced by Volkish ideology before becoming an internationalist. They also shared and arrived at a common goal and belief: a museum could be an instrument for revitalizing German culture and society. According to Easton, Kessler was painfully aware of the inferiority of the culture of Imperial Germany compared to that of its western neighbors and political rivals, France and

England.²³ Osthaus and Kessler both wanted to promote a sense of regional identity through their respective museums. Like Osthaus, Kessler also wanted to provide a venue for German modernism.²⁴ In addition, they both believed that modern art was "rooted in the past," and that art should function to beautify and enhance everyday life.²⁵ An interesting relationship exists between Kessler, Van de Velde and Osthaus, which has not been explored. Their interconnected relationship and shared ideologies suggest that there was a small inner circle of arbiters of taste, who influenced the arts in Germany shortly after the turn of the century.

Although Osthaus was part of the wealthy ruling class in the Ruhr region, he was not a member of Berlin society, and without Van de Velde's connections, he would not have had access to, or knowledge of, artistic circles there. While working together on developing and accumulating the Folkwang's collection, Van de Velde introduced Osthaus to several influential acquaintances, which included artists, art dealers, museum directors, critics and collectors. Two important art dealers that Osthaus met through Van de Velde were Paul Cassirer (1871-1926) in Berlin and Ambroise Vollard (1865-1939) in Paris.²⁶

When Van de Velde designed the interior of Cassirer's gallery on Viktoriastrasse, in Berlin, he became friendly

with Cassirer and had ample opportunity to see the type of artworks that he exhibited and sold there. Cassirer specialized primarily in French art, but he also exhibited and sold works by a variety of other artists, including the Belgian sculptor Meunier, the German Impressionist Liebermann, and Van Gogh.²⁷ Van de Velde was therefore familiar with the kinds of works that Cassirer sold, and he later realized that the Berlin art dealer would be a good source for Osthaus to cultivate, especially since Osthaus had decided to concentrate almost exclusively on collecting modern art for the Folkwang's Painting Gallery. Van de Velde introduced Osthaus to Cassirer, and Osthaus purchased several paintings from him over a number of years. Between 1902 and 1907 Osthaus purchased some of the Folkwang's most important examples of modern art, mainly due to Van de Velde's guidance and advice, and many of these acquisitions reflect Van de Velde's personal artistic taste, especially his preference for Van Gogh's work.

When the museum opened, Osthaus already owned Van Gogh's The Wheatfield Behind Saint Paul's Hospital with a Reaper (1899) (Fig. 21), which he purchased from Cassirer at an unknown time, but prior to 1902, for 4000.- ffrs. Thereafter Cassirer periodically sent Osthaus large shipments of paintings to look at for possible purchase. It was in this manner that Osthaus acquired Van Gogh's painting, Portrait of Armand Roulin (1888) (Fig. 25), from

Cassirer in the fall of 1903. Van de Velde probably guided Osthaus in selecting this work from the nineteen additional Van Gogh works that Cassirer shipped at that time.²⁸

Osthaus, however, did not rely exclusively on Van de Velde's advice in this matter, but also sought out Meier-Graefe's acknowledged expertise on Van Gogh's work. According to a letter in the archive in Hagen, in October of 1903, Osthaus wrote to Meier-Graefe and asked him to evaluate the painting's authenticity from an enclosed photograph of the work. Meier-Graefe wrote back, "Your Van Gogh painting is no doubt genuine, and is a portrait of the son of the Marseille postman [who was] a friend of Van Gogh.... The painting is evidently from his first Arles period, when Gauguin was visiting Van Gogh."²⁹ Trusting Meier-Graefe's evaluation, Osthaus purchased the painting from Cassirer for 1000 ffrs. With these acquisitions, Osthaus became the first director of a museum in Germany to buy Van Gogh's paintings.³⁰ Van de Velde suggested that Osthaus acquire as many Van Gogh works as he could before they escalated in price and became highly sought after commodities in the booming art market. Apparently Osthaus heeded his advice, and between 1903 and 1905 Osthaus purchased several Van Gogh drawings from the Parisian art dealer Ambroise Vollard.³¹ Towards the end of 1905 Tschudi followed Osthaus's example and purchased the Berlin National Gallery's first Van Gogh paintings, which unfortunately irritated the Kaiser and later led to Tschudi's political demise in Berlin.³²

Van de Velde had admired Paul Gauguin's paintings ever since he saw them exhibited in the Belgian Vingtist Salon of 1898.³³ In 1903 he encouraged Osthaus to quickly purchase some works by the recently deceased artist before they too skyrocketed in price.³⁴ By October of 1903, just five months after Gauguin's death, there were several of his paintings in the Folkwang, including Contes Barbares (1902) (Fig. 26), Breton Seaweed Gatherers (1889) (Fig. 27), and Haere pape (1892). With these acquisitions Osthaus became the first German to collect Gauguin's paintings, and the Folkwang was the only museum in Germany then where one could view and study the artist's work.³⁵ In December of 1903, the Folkwang Museum had its first Gauguin exhibition. Although the exhibition was quite small, with only seven paintings in the entire show, six of them belonged to Osthaus.³⁶ In many ways this was quite astonishing because the museum was only one year old, and in November Vollard, who had been Gauguin's art dealer, had just mounted the first large scale posthumous exhibition of the artist's work in his Paris gallery.³⁷

The following year Osthaus purchased three additional Gauguin paintings from Vollard, including Woman with a Fan (1902) (Fig. 28) and Riders on the Beach (1902).³⁸ (Fig. 29) All of these works were purchased before there was any real interest in the artist's work in Germany.³⁹ In 1904 Osthaus

also bought several additional works from Vollard, including Maurice Denis's painting, Madonna, and a small sculpture, Crouching Woman (1900), by Aristide Maillol. (Fig. 30) By this time, however, Osthaus had become increasingly dissatisfied with Vollard's high prices.⁴⁰ He felt that Vollard and Cassirer were both taking advantage of his wealth and inflating the prices of artworks.⁴¹

By 1905 Van Gogh's work was becoming quite popular and the art market demand for his paintings was beginning to reflect their rapidly rising prices.⁴² Meier-Graefe had helped to generate this interest in Van Gogh's work in Germany. In his collected essays of 1899, Beitrage zu eine Moderne Aesthetik, Meier-Graefe praised Van Gogh's work, and presented him as an important link to the future of modern art.⁴³ However, Van de Velde was familiar with Van Gogh's work long before the artist became popularized in Germany by Meier-Graefe. As mentioned earlier, Van de Velde had visited and met Frau Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger (the remarried widow of Theo van Gogh) in Bussum (near Amsterdam), in 1897, when she showed him Vincent's entire body of work before it was sold off and dispersed. Apparently Van de Velde told Osthaus about this visit, and suggested that he should try to buy Van Gogh's work directly from Frau Bonger in Holland, without paying exorbitant commission fees to either Cassirer or Vollard.

In August of 1905 Osthaus began corresponding with Frau Bonger, and shortly thereafter he went to Holland to meet her. During the course of their visit she mentioned that due to all the sudden interest generated in Vincent, numerous art dealers were clamoring to exhibit the artist's work. She confided that Cassirer had written to her and asked to mount an exhibition of the artist's work in his Berlin gallery the following month. Osthaus, however, made her a counter offer. He proposed that if she loaned him some of her Van Gogh collection, he would gladly not only exhibit the works in his museum, but also help sell them. Frau Bonger accepted Osthaus's offer and agreed to send him eleven works. Shortly after the shipment arrived in Hagen, Osthaus purchased almost all of the eleven works himself: four paintings and three drawings.⁴⁴ With these acquisitions the Folkwang owned more works by Van Gogh than any other museum at that time, and Osthaus sponsored the first large-scale exhibition of the artist's work in Germany, from September through October of 1905.⁴⁵ In addition to these exhibitions devoted to Van Gogh and Gauguin's work, between 1903 and 1905 the Folkwang also exhibited works by Georges Minne, Meunier, Puvis de Chavannes, Bernhard Hoetger, Munch, Rohlf's, Emil Rudolph Weiss, Wilhelm Trübner and Ferdinand Hodler, plus photography and non-Western arts and crafts shows.⁴⁶

Although reaction to the museum took years to be fully

formulated, art magazines, journals and newspaper accounts mostly praised the Folkwang. However, there were also some detractors who criticized the museum and found fault with its overall design. In 1903 Karl Kötschau, a writer for the prestigious art journal Jahrbuch der bildende Kunst, wrote a highly flattering review of the museum. He praised Osthaus for exhibiting works that were not available anywhere else in Germany, and said the Folkwang was an exemplary model for other museums to follow.⁴⁷ The widely read magazine Kunst und Künstler also devoted several pages in 1903 to an article titled "Das Folkwang Museum," by the writer Emil Waldmann, whose review provided readers with an overview of the collection in Hagen. Waldmann was so impressed with the wide array of works that he saw there, that he referred to the painting collection as a "documentation of a new movement ... the first of its kind."⁴⁸ An anonymous reviewer in Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration in 1903 was full of praise for Van de Velde's work on the interior design of the museum. The writer called the interior a "work of art,"⁴⁹ and commented extensively on the high quality of the modern paintings there. The author was also amazed to discover that a museum of such high quality was located in Hagen, especially since there was only a population of 70,000 people there. The writer referred to the Folkwang as "the first modern museum."⁵⁰

The 1905 March issue of the art journal Die Rheinlande

was almost exclusively devoted to the Folkwang Museum. In his article, "Die Galerie Osthaus," Wilhelm Schäfer called the museum's painting gallery a sensation. He predicted that "the museum will make Hagen famous - even more so that its valuable industry." Like many others, Schäfer was surprised that such an exemplary collection of artworks was in the provincial city of Hagen, and he found the museum's geographic location to be its only flaw. He recommended that Osthaus move the museum to a better location, such as Düsseldorf, Köln, Frankfurt or Darmstadt, where the artworks, he reasoned, would be better appreciated in a more cosmopolitan area.⁵¹ Although Schäfer liked the museum, his article demonstrates that he was totally unfamiliar with Osthaus's ideas for deliberately founding the museum in Hagen.

Osthaus realized that the Hagen citizens themselves were initially indifferent to the museum and perceived it to be quite strange. He felt that their reaction was quite normal, however, since they had been previously isolated from exposure to any form of art and their cultural heritage. This was precisely the reason why he founded the museum in Hagen. Osthaus was determined to benefit the people there and transform Hagen into a major cultural center. He felt that the museum would play an important role in the increasingly industrial times, especially in the heavily industrialized Ruhr region where art could provide

high quality examples for industry to emulate.⁵²

In contrast to the many glowing impressions and positive reactions to the museum and Osthaus himself, there was the extremely negative reaction of the director of the Hamburg Kunsthalle, Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914). Architecturally, Lichtwark hated the Folkwang. He was highly critical of the museum structure and felt that "the entire effect is terrible ... clumsy and heavy."⁵³ Some out of town newspaper reviews were also highly critical, especially about the artworks themselves. One review, which singled out paintings by Rohlf and Weiss as being examples of the "sick, crazed and insane," was an early chilling condemnation that is reminiscent of National Socialism's bias against modernism later in the 1930s. The author of this review also accused Osthaus and the Folkwang of presenting "pathological collections of modern art."⁵⁴ Artists, however, flocked to the Folkwang to view the works and their reaction was pure joy. Upon visiting the Folkwang for the first time in 1905, the artist Emil Nolde called the museum a "haven for modern and foreign art."⁵⁵

Between 1902 and 1906 Osthaus continued to expand his French art collection and he acquired works by Daumier, Corot, Courbet, Manet, Bernard, Signac, Seurat, Rodin, Maillol, and Cézanne.⁵⁶ By 1907 Osthaus employed several people to acquire artworks for him throughout Europe, and

the German artist Karl von Freyhold (1878-1944) frequently acted as Osthaus's acquisition agent in Paris with Vollard.⁵⁷ Osthaus, however, made all the final selections himself. Osthaus greatly admired Cézanne's work and wanted to add a few of the artist's paintings to his collection. When the opportunity arose to visit the artist, in 1906, in route to Germany after returning from Africa, Osthaus stopped in Aix-en-Provence with the hopes of acquiring some works directly from Cézanne. Although the visit was evidently unannounced, Cézanne welcomed him and they spent the day together.

Osthaus wrote a fascinating account about meeting the reclusive Cézanne, whose seclusion was legendary by 1906. The following excerpts are from Osthaus's 1920 article from the journal Feuer, simply titled "Cézanne." These excerpts are noteworthy because they provide some interesting insights about the artist.

On April 13 of 1906, my wife and I stood in front of a modest middle-class house in a small street in Aix-en-Provence... In this house, far from the main street, the big Master Cézanne lives in seclusion. As someone opened the door, a view of the livingroom came into sight... There were no pictures on the walls at all. Cézanne greeted us without ceremony. While we remained standing we told him ... that our admiration for his work was long standing and that we wanted to acquire, for our collection, one of his works directly from him. He asked us questions and agreed to allow us to choose a picture.⁵⁸

According to Osthaus, during this visit Cézanne talked at length about the painting process itself. When their conversation moved on to the topic of artists, Cézanne "singled out Holbein as the pinnacle of all masters." However, Cézanne lamented that "Holbein is unattainable, and therefore I have stuck to Poussin." At first Osthaus was puzzled by this comment, since Poussin's work was usually associated with classical ideals. Gradually, though, he realized that for Cézanne, Poussin was not a classicist, but simply a painter first and above all else. Cézanne also admired the work of Courbet and compared him to Michelangelo, but felt that Courbet's work was "missing the elevation" of the Renaissance master. With few words Cézanne allegedly dismissed the work of Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Neo-Impressionists, but was full of praise for Monet and Pissarro.⁵⁹

Cézanne invited the Osthauses to see his paintings in his nearby country house, where he stored most of his work. Osthaus recalled that:

He led us into the one story house ... with a roomy studio. On an easel stood a hardly begun still life and his major work, the Bathers.... Cézanne complained about the narrow minded mentality of the province, which precluded him from using female models [for the Bathers]. He explained that for all of these women an old invalid posed.⁶⁰

When the Osthauses left the artist that evening he promised to soon send some works to Hagen. Cézanne, however, was

unable to keep his promise; he became ill shortly thereafter and died later that year.⁶¹

In 1907 Osthaus purchased three of Cézanne's paintings from Vollard, and the artist's landscape, Rock Quarry, Bibémus (1898-1900) (Fig. 31), remained in the Folkwang's permanent collection.⁶² Perhaps Osthaus kept this painting because it reminded him of Cézanne and the small town of Aix. After Cézanne's death the value of his paintings escalated rapidly. In 1911 Osthaus wanted to expand his Cézanne collection, and he speculated about buying twenty-seven paintings en bloc from the Dutch art dealer Komter for 75,000 to 110,000.- Gulden (75,000.- Gulden was approximately 126,922.- goldmarks). A shrewd businessman, Osthaus wanted the option to select only the paintings he wanted from the en bloc offering. When Komter refused, Osthaus retracted his offer, and the Folkwang never acquired any additional Cézanne paintings.⁶³

Another artist who Osthaus admired tremendously and personally knew was the French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). When the Folkwang opened in 1902, the museum owned two of the sculptor's works: Eve (c. 1881) and the once controversial sculpture, The Age of Brass (1875-77). When Rodin first exhibited The Age of Brass in the Salon of 1877 it was whispered that he had cast the statue from a live model because of its anatomical realism. Rodin vehemently

denied the charges. A controversy ensued which thrust Rodin into the public limelight, and ultimately helped to establish his reputation in Paris after years of being shunned there.⁶⁴ Osthaus acquired both of the bronze sculptures, Eve (Fig. 32) and The Age of Brass, directly from the artist. Although neither of these works strike us as being radical or shocking today, as late as 1907 Rodin's work still raised eyebrows and evoked controversy. Kessler was dismissed from his post at the Weimar Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1907 for exhibiting some of Rodin's nude figure drawings, one of which was dedicated to the Grand Duke of Weimar.⁶⁵

In 1920 Osthaus wrote an article about Rodin, in the journal Feuer, which is an essay about their friendship. This essay, titled "Rodin," provides an interesting view of the artist and the author as well. Exactly how the two men met is not clear, but they were probably introduced to each other by the Hagen born painter Ida Gerhardi, who lived and worked in Paris for a number of years and was a close friend of Rodin. Nevertheless, the two men were good friends and their friendship lasted until Rodin's death in 1917. The following extracts are from Osthaus's essay in which he recorded purported fragments of conversations that they had during the last twelve years of Rodin's life in his studio in Meudon, near Paris, and in his Paris atelier. Osthaus begins:

Ever since I've known Rodin ... around 1901 or 1902, I often met him on weekends in his Parisian atelier ... [but] I personally never saw him with a chisel in his hand; he was shy about that.... He frequently complained that there were few good sculptors any more ... [and] he never forgave France for ignoring him until he was much older.... On my first visit to Rodin, I went there to acquire some of his works for the Folkwang Museum. His sculpture, The Age of Brass, had deeply impressed me when I first saw it in Luxembourg, and I kept thinking about it. Rodin [said] ... the figure of this youth was from an episode of Philemon and Baucis.... The second work I chose was his Eve. What convinced me to purchase it was Rodin's explanation that this was the birth of Impressionism in his work.... The third work I [chose] ... was ... the erotic work ... Jupiter and Antiope.⁶⁶

Although Osthaus selected these three works in either 1901 or 1902, Jupiter and Antiope was not yet finished and arrived in Hagen a year later. Osthaus recalled how the surface of this Grecian marble sculpture "shimmered" with small chisel markings, and that "Rodin was well known for these little beauty mistakes."⁶⁷

Osthaus noted Rodin's generosity towards young sculptors and that he helped Maillol become known in the Salon. He also mentions Rodin's admiration for Gauguin and that they frequently discussed the painter's work. According to Osthaus, one time Rodin showed him a small landscape painting that he owned, and asked him to guess the artist's name. Osthaus erroneously guessed that it was by Daubigny, and Rodin was delighted to tell him it was an

early Gauguin.⁶⁸ Standing in the midst of the future Musée Rodin, the elderly sculptor suddenly showed Osthaus a small photograph of a work in progress. Osthaus wrote that, "The work was of an unbelievable transcendental beauty, and I was unsure which period it was from. It was Rodin's last work; he called it Beethoven."⁶⁹ Upon seeing the photograph, Osthaus immediately wanted the Beethoven death mask. Although he had originally intended to only purchase Rodin's Crouching Woman, Osthaus quickly decided to buy both works. The sculptor and the museum director began negotiating a price; one was bluntly honest, the other relied on flattery. According to Osthaus:

Rodin asked a fantastic price for both. He noticed my surprise and excused his prices because he needed a lot of money for his museum. The matter remained unsolved.⁷⁰

After Osthaus returned to Hagen, he reopened these negotiations with Rodin. He was determined to acquire both works, and wrote Rodin a long letter appealing to the artist's vanity. The letter reads in part:

[My] goal has always been to represent your work in the Folkwang.... My museum is more and more the artistic center of the industrial region and its growing population. Our large cities ... have not understood the need, to present art to the millions of people there.... Of course, this can only be accomplished with master works, of which your late art has achieved the perfect expression.... My wish is to acquire your Crouching Woman which is currently in Luxembourg.... I also beg you to suggest a

price for the Beethoven mask.... Of course, I would like to help you support your museum in Paris, your idea is wonderful. However, ... I have even more to accomplish, giving five million people in our industrial region the opportunity to become acquainted with the high spiritual and eternal beauty of your art.⁷¹

Rodin accepted Osthaus's offer and agreed to send the works as soon as they were cast.⁷² A few months later the Crouching Woman arrived in Hagen. The Beethoven mask was not completed before the outbreak of the First War and Osthaus never acquired the work. Familiar with his friend's habit of continuously making changes to his work, Osthaus mused, "if it would have ever been finished, escapes my knowledge."⁷³ Osthaus never parted with any of Rodin's works, and today they remain in the Essen collection of the Folkwang Museum.⁷⁴

After 1905 Osthaus continued to expand his collection of international art and added works by Henri Matisse, Henri Le Fauconnier, Alexei Jawlensky, Wassily Kandinsky, Alexander Archipenko, and a host of other artists which will be discussed in the following chapter. However, after amassing the bulk of the Folkwang's French art collection, his primary concern was collecting and promoting the work of German artists.

NOTES

1 Walter Erben, "Karl Ernst Osthaus, Lebensweg and Gedankengut" Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 45.

2 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Karl Ernst Osthaus," Westfälischen Lebensbilder, Vol. IX, 1962, p. 151.

3 Fritz Meyer-Schönbrunn, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk," Westermanns Monatshefte, Vol. 121, February 1917, p. 797.
Renoir's painting Lise was first exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1868 and was fairly well received by the public. See Paul Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen. Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet, (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1983) p. 14. (hereafter referred to as Folkwang Museum Essen.) Meier-Graefe later wrote about this particular painting in his 1911 monograph on Renoir. According to Meier-Graefe, five years after Renoir completed the portrait he was financially destitute, gave up his studio, and left the work with the concierge to help pay for his debts. At the time Theodore Duret was interested in Renoir's work, and the concierge showed him the rolled-up abandoned painting. Duret purchased it and paid him 1200 francs for the painting. Duret later traded it for a different painting with the Parisian art dealer, Durand-Ruel. After that the painting wound up in Berlin, where Osthaus acquired it from Paul Cassirer for the sum of 17,000.- Goldmarks. Also see Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1971) p. 233, endnote 7, and p. 138.

4 The painting was Osthaus's only work by Renoir for many years, and it remained one of his favorites. In 1912 he obtained five additional small Renoir paintings: Olive Branch, Cagnes Landscape, Portrait of a Girl, Still Life and Gabriele. Gertrud Osthaus purchased these works directly from Renoir in Cagnes, and gave them to her husband as a gift. She developed a close friendship with Renoir, who later painted her portrait in 1913. In 1912 Osthaus also acquired Renoir's small pastel, The Bather, for 3000,- marks, from the writer Theodor Daubler in Berlin. See Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 138-139.

5 Hugo von Tschudi, as quoted by Meyer-Schönbrunn, p. 797.

"Warum wollen Sie das bild in Hagen begraben?"

6 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 137. According to Hesse-Frielinghaus, Van de Velde advised Osthaus to purchase the Renoir because he thought it was a good investment, not because it was an example of modernism.

7 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 134. Although Osthaus did not own any of Georges Seurat's work at the time of the museum's opening in 1902, one year later, at Van de Velde's suggestion, he purchased Seurat's Harbor at Honfleur (1886). When Van de Velde had seen Seurat's work exhibited at the Vingist Salon of 1889, he liked the artist's work and purchased his painting, Sunday at the Harbor by Bessin (1889), which he later sold to Osthaus in 1906. Also see Hesse-Frielinghaus, p. 142.

8 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 155. For example, in the early 1900s virtually no one in Germany was interested in the British artist George Frederick Watts (1817- 1904), except Osthaus, who admired his work so much that he corresponded with him. According to a letter in the archive in Hagen, in 1903 Osthaus traveled to England to visit the elderly artist and purchased a large canvas from him titled The Messenger. See Kü 166, Letter from Osthaus to George Frederick Watts, not dated, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Other than the city of Munich, which owned a small painting by Watts, Hagen was the only city in Germany at that time which had an example of his work.

9 Henry van de Velde, Geschichte Meines Lebens, Ed. Hans Curjel, (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1962) pp. 217-218.

Although Van de Velde was quite busy by 1902 with his new duties as the director of Weimar's Kunstgewerbeschule, he continued to advise Osthaus on aesthetic matters, especially French and Belgian art. As late as 1907, Osthaus occasionally still relied on Van de Velde's advice before buying works.

10 When the museum opened it was not completely finished. The architect Peter Behrens (1868-1940) began working on the Folkwang's lecture hall in 1904 and it was completed one year later. The hall was used to present slide lectures, frequently delivered by Gertrud Osthaus, on a variety of topics, including the museum's collection and

special topics by guest art historians. Unfortunately the lecture hall was totally destroyed in World War II. See Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 155.

11 Bruckmann owned a silverware factory and later served as the chairman of the Deutsche Werkbund. In 1909 Van de Velde designed a large villa in Hagen for Springmann's brother, Rudolph.

12 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 130. Between 1901 and 1902 Van de Velde designed dresses and lectured extensively on the necessity of reforming women's fashions because they restricted body movements. The dresses that Frau Osthaus and Madame van de Velde wore to the opening both exemplified Van de Velde's principles of clothing design. See Henry van de Velde, "Das neue Kunst-Prinzip in der Modernen Frauen-Kleidung," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration, Vol. X, No. 1, April 1902-September 1902, pp. 363-374.

13 Erben, p. 41.

14 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 174-175.

15 Erben, p. 47.

16 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Karl Ernst Osthaus," p. 152.

17 Erben, p. 41.

18 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 141.

19 See Karl Ernst Osthaus's monograph, Henry van de Velde: Leben und Schaffen des Künstlers, (Hagen, Germany: Folkwang-Verlag, 1920; Reprint, Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann GmbH, 1984) pp. 28-33, for a brief discussion of Kessler's support and patronage of Van de Velde. Also see Laird McLeod Easton, The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler 1868-1914, Ph.D. Dissertation, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: U.M.I., 1991) pp. 215-247.

20 See Easton, pp. 228-229, for a discussion of Kessler's mentorship and his role in advocating Van de Velde's appointment as director of the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts.

21 Van de Velde also designed the interior of Kessler's luxurious apartment in Berlin.

22 Easton, p. 5.

23 Easton, p. 236.

24 Easton, p. 240.

25 Easton, p. 267.

26 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 137.

27 Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980) p. 71. The wealthy cousins Paul and Bruno Cassirer jointly owned the gallery until August 1901, when they dissolved their partnership and Paul took it over.

28 The sales receipt from Cassirer listed these works as: Vallon de St. Rémy (avec moissonneur) for 3000.- ffrs., and Tete de garçon (fond vert) (Portrait of Armand Roulin) for 1000.- ffrs. Paul Vogt provides a complete list of the 19 Van Gogh paintings that Cassirer offered to Osthaus sometime before 1905, on page 16 of his book, Folkwang Museum Essen. Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet. Also see Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus's essay, "Folkwang 1. Teil," especially her section on "Sammlungen Freier Kunst," p. 139, in Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk, in which she notes that a local newspaper article (Westfälisches Tageblatt, 19.7.1902) reporting on the Folkwang's opening on July 19, 1902, specifically mentions Van Gogh's painting, Ernte, the German title for Vallon de St. Rémy (avec moissonneur) (The Wheatfield Behind St. Paul's Hospital with a Reaper). Frielinghaus has speculated, accurately I believe, that Cassirer included the Ernte in the shipment of 19 paintings to Hagen on February 18, 1902. The painting was displayed when the Folkwang opened five months later and evidently belonged to Osthaus by then. In 1922 the painting was sold to the city of Essen and is part of the Folkwang Museum's permanent collection there.

29 Kü 226, Julius Meier-Graefe, Letter to Osthaus, October 15, 1903, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. "Ihr van Goghsches Portrait ist zweifellos echt, und zwar stellt es den Sohn des Marseiller Postboten, des Freundes van Gogh.... Das bild ist, offenbar in der ersten Arles-Zeit entstanden, als Gauguin bei van Gogh war."

30 Even the famous collection of Van Gogh works, owned by the wealthy Dutch family, the Kröller-Müllers, was not begun until 1909. Van de Velde later designed the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterlo, Holland, to house their Van Gogh collection in 1937.

31 Z100/13 Hagener Zeitung, dated September 30, 1905, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Osthaus's acquisition of these Van Gogh drawings was reported in the daily newspaper, the Hagener Zeitung, as well as their prices, which ranged from 200.- to 300.- ffrs. each.

32 Vogt, p. 20.

33 Vogt, p. 16.

34 Gauguin died on May 8, 1903, in the Marquesas Islands.

35 Z100/3 Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, dated October 3, 1903, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. The Rheinisch-Westfälische newspaper reported the acquisition of these two paintings, and a copy of a sales receipt in the archive (F1/104) verifies that Osthaus paid Vollard the sum of 4500.-ffrs for Gauguin's Contes Barbares and 2000.- ffrs. for The Seaweed Gatherers. Osthaus held on to these paintings, and they remained in the Folkwang's collection. In 1912 Osthaus loaned The Seaweed Gatherers to the Köln Sonderbund Exhibition, and in 1922 it was sold, along with the rest of the collection, to the city of Essen. The other painting, Haere pape, Osthaus either sold or traded for another painting not long after he purchased it. In 1906 the French art dealer Bernheim Jeune purchased it from Theodore Duret for 4000.- ffrs., and today it is in the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania. Also see Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 142. Paul Vogt contends that The Seaweed Gatherers did not enter the Folkwang's collection in Hagen until 1904. See Vogt, p. 14. In addition to The Seaweed Gatherers, Contes Barbares and Haere pape, Osthaus also owned Gauguin's The Wave (By the Sea) and Ta Matet by 1903. In 1916 Osthaus sold both Ta Matet (to Cassirer for 21,100.- marks) and The Wave (to the Munich art dealer Thannhauser for 12,000.- marks).

36 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 142. The sixth painting that Osthaus owned by Gauguin in 1903 was

his Girl with Ducks, which he later sold at an unknown time.

37 Gloria Groom, "Chronology: July 1895-November 1903," The Art of Paul Gauguin, Exhibition Catalog, Ed., Richard Brettell, et al, Washington, DC: The National Gallery of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago, 1988/89) p. 387.

In November Vollard exhibited a total of twenty-seven transfer drawings and fifty paintings by Gauguin. The Salon d'Automne also honored Gauguin with a retrospective in October through December of 1903 with five of his paintings displayed in a special, separate room.

38 Vogt, p. 14.

39 Count Harry Kessler, founder of the Cranach Press in Weimar, wrote the first monograph on Gauguin in 1906.

40 Vogt, p. 14.

41 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 140.

42 Between 1904 and 1905 Cassirer published several excerpts from Van Gogh's letters (mostly written to his brother Theo) in the magazine Kunst und Künstler. Although the general German public at that time was more interested in Van Gogh's personal life than his paintings, these excerpts also helped to generate the interest of collectors in the artist's work.

43 Carol Zemel, The Formation of a Legend: Van Gogh Criticism, 1890-1920, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980) p. 111.

According to Kenworth Moffett, Meier-Graefe was the first German to own a work by Van Gogh, when he purchased the artist's painting Les Amoureux (1888) in 1893. See Moffett's study, Meier-Graefe as Art Critic, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1973) p. 179, note 483.

44 Vogt, p. 18.

The paintings that Osthaus purchased from Frau Bonger were The Hospital at St. Rémy, Cliffs with Trees (1,200.- hfl), The Garden (1,400.- hfl), and the Olive Grove. He later purchased two additional works from Frau Bonger in 1905, Van Gogh's First Steps (After Millet) and The Return (After Millet).

45 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," pp. 140-141.

Frau Bonger was evidently so pleased with the success of this exhibition and the sales that it generated, that in 1909 she again sent Osthaus a shipment of 10 drawings to display in the Folkwang and sell. The prices for Van Gogh drawings had continued to escalate and by 1908 the asking prices for these works varied between 1050 and 1500 marks each.

46 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Austellungen des Folkwang-Museums und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen 1902-1922," Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1971) p. 511.

47 Karl Kötschau, "Museumswesen und Kunstförderung," Jahrbuch der bildende Kunst, Vol. II, 1903, p. 93. Kötschau later became the editor of the influential journal Museumskunde, which was exclusively devoted to museology and museum news.

48 Emil Waldmann, "Das Folkwang Museum," Kunst und Künstler, Vol. XII, 1903, pp. 261-262.

49 Anonymous. "K. E. Osthaus' Museum 'Folkwang' - Hagen in Westfalen," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration, Vol. XIII, 1903, p. 149.

50 Anonymous, pp. 146-149.

51 Wilhelm Schäfer, "Die Galerie Osthaus," Die Rheinlande. Monatsschrift für deutsche Kunst, Vol. IX, January-June, 1905.

52 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 136.

53 Alfred Lichtwark, Reisenbriefe, Vol. II, (Hamburg: np, 1923) p. 324.

54 Erben, p. 75.

55 Emil Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, (Berlin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1934) p. 75.

56 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 147.

57 The young, then unknown architect Walter Gropius (1893-1969) also briefly worked for Osthaus as a purchasing agent from 1908-1909. See Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 191.

- 58 Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Cézanne," Feuer, Vol. II, No. 1, 1920/21, p. 81.
- 59 Osthaus, "Cézanne," p. 82.
- 60 Osthaus, "Cézanne," p. 84.
- 61 Osthaus, "Cézanne," p. 84.
- 62 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 142.
- 63 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 148.
- 64 Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, 19th-Century Art, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984) pp. 476-477.
- 65 Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, Henry van de Velde, trans. Michael Robinson, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989) p. 94.
Sembach points out that Kessler had acted in good faith when he persuaded Rodin to dedicate one of the drawings to the Grand Duke. He evidently believed that the duke would be duly impressed, but the opposite occurred and Kessler was fired. Also see Easton, pp. 331-337, for a discussion of the Rodin exhibition and the controversy that ensued.
- 66 Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Rodin," Feuer, Vol. II, 1920/21, p. 598.
- 67 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 598.
- 68 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 600.
- 69 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 601.
- 70 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 602.
- 71 Osthaus, "Rodin," pp. 602, 604.
- 72 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 604.
- 73 Osthaus, "Rodin," p. 604.
- 74 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 179.

CHAPTER V

The Avant-Garde and the Folkwang, 1906-1912

The Folkwang attracted many artists who were not only awed by its display of non-Western and modern European artworks, but by artists who also saw the museum as a venue for their own work. Although Osthaus was not able to exhibit every artist who wanted to show their work in the museum, the Folkwang nevertheless became a springboard for launching the careers of many who did. Osthaus's aesthetic agenda here, however, was not to feature the best known artists of their day, but the work of talented, unknown artists who he felt offered something new and of value to society.

In 1906 he began to exhibit and promote contemporary German and foreign artists whose work he believed would help to strengthen the cultural life in Hagen and its surrounding regions. Many of the artists whom he promoted, today considered the masters of early twentieth century art, were treated with indifference in Berlin and some of them had early successes at the Folkwang in Hagen. These future innovators, both foreign and native, included artists such as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Emil Nolde, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Max Pechstein, Erich Heckel, Alexei Jawlensky, Moissey

Kogan, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Oskar Kokoschka, Alexander Archipenko, and numerous others. Although the main focus of this chapter will be Osthaus's sponsorship of the young, then relatively unknown, German avant-garde, it will also discuss some of the foreign artists who were closely interconnected with the modernist movement in Germany.

The Folkwang Museum was the prototype of the modern museum. Since its activity was not exclusively limited to the exhibition of its permanent collection, it included the display of temporary, traveling exhibitions of contemporary art from other galleries in Germany. Some of these exhibitions in the Folkwang were organized around specific themes, such as interior design, drawings, paintings, sculpture, or artists' groups. The first floor of the Folkwang was used to display these rotating exhibitions. Usually more than one artist would be featured in this exhibition space, but on occasion solo exhibitions were also displayed there. Through 1908 the Folkwang's exhibition policy maintained the practice of changing exhibits every few weeks, and in some instances, these exhibitions were even as short as four days.¹ Although the public was often baffled by these exhibitions, which were devoted to the latest contemporary trends in art, attendance at the museum continued to increase.² According to the daily Hagen newspaper, most of the visitors to the Folkwang were initially not local people.³ The museum attracted numerous

out of town visitors that included art connoisseurs, critics, journalists, art historians, museum directors and artists.

The artist Emil Nolde was an early visitor to the museum, and he called the Folkwang a "sign from heaven."⁴ His enthusiasm for the museum there never altered, and many years later, in 1914, he wrote Osthaus from Kawieng, New Guinea:

I know that you intend to order tribal art artistically and I was very happy to see our beautiful exotic objects treated in this way at the Folkwang Museum.⁵

Shortly after visiting Hagen, Nolde participated in the Brücke artists' group (1906-07), along with Kirchner, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff and Pechstein.⁶ The first German Expressionist group, the Brücke, was founded in 1905. They aspired to express their subjective artistic views by creating anti-rational, anti-realistic images. They rebelled against the confines of the conservative, accepted standard of art that was prevalent in academic and German Impressionist painting. After leaving the Brücke, Nolde worked alone and experimented with stylistic distortions, flattened forms, and high pitched colors. He appropriated tribal art, which he saw as a liberating alternative to academic art, and became known as a major Expressionist artist.

In Nolde's memoirs, Jahre der Kämpfe, published in 1938 from earlier notes, he acknowledged the deep gratitude that he owed Osthaus for launching his career and providing financial backing when he was virtually destitute. Nolde and Osthaus began their friendship in 1906 and their wives, Ada Nolde and Gertrud Osthaus, also became friends around this time. The Noldes were often guests at the Folkwang, when the museum also served as Osthaus's private residence, and later they were frequent house guests at Hohenhof. There are many letter exchanges which document their long four-way friendship. Although there are pauses in their surviving correspondence (a total of 148 letters), a lively letter exchange between the two women continued until Gertrud Osthaus's second marriage to a Bavarian farmer.⁷

Prior to his association with Osthaus and the Folkwang, Nolde was a penniless, struggling, unknown artist who was sporadically exhibiting his work in Germany.⁸ Nolde first visited Hagen in the winter of 1906 to see the Folkwang. During the course of this visit, Osthaus invited Nolde and his wife to dinner and purchased one of his paintings, titled Spring Indoors (1904) (Fig. 33), which is a portrait of the artist's wife in an iridescent interior. Nolde later wrote about this occasion and recalled how Osthaus:

Went from one room to another, and when he found the right place, he asked what it cost, and when I told him, he paid more. Tears and good fortune, mixed together.⁹

We can imagine Nolde's surprise and joy when Osthaus hung the painting in the Folkwang. It was the first of Nolde's works to be acquired by a museum. From that time onwards, his career gained rapid momentum and two months later Nolde had his first of many exhibitions in the Folkwang.¹⁰

Shortly after Osthaus purchased Nolde's painting in 1906, the artist was featured in a small exhibition at the Kunstsalon Ernst Arnold in Dresden, where a newly formed group of young artists, who called themselves Die Brücke, saw his work displayed there.¹¹ They were evidently so impressed with Nolde's painting style that they sent him a letter and asked him to join their artist's association. Although Nolde accepted their invitation, he only remained a member of their group for approximately eighteen months, but his connection to Osthaus and his knowledge of the Folkwang would become crucially important to the Brücke artists.

Virtually every study on Expressionism suggests that Nolde's style was influenced by the Brücke, yet the opposite may be true. The impact of Nolde's work on the Brücke's art has been unexamined. For example, Jill Lloyd credits the non-Western art collection of Dresden's Ethnographic Museum as influencing Die Brücke artists. According to Lloyd, the museum displayed examples of African sculpture prior to 1910. However, this argument becomes somewhat nebulous when she writes that in 1954 the Brücke artist Karl Schmidt-

Rottluff (1884-1973) stated that Cameroon sculpture was the single most important influence on Die Brücke's artwork, even though prior to 1908-1910 the museum in Dresden had very few examples of Cameroon sculpture in its collection, other than one painted Cameroon figurine.¹² What the Folkwang research indicates is that Nolde's exposure to and interest in non-Western art predates the other artists of Die Brücke, and that Nolde possibly provided the impetus for the group's interest in non-Western art and Cameroon sculpture. Nolde was a tremendous colorist and interested in non-Western and tribal art before his Brücke association. These were two of the few aesthetic interests that he shared with the younger Brücke artists, and strongly encouraged in their own work. According to a letter that Schmidt-Rottluff wrote to Nolde, when he invited him to join their group in early February of 1906, it was Nolde's "violent" use of color combinations that first attracted the Brücke's attention to his work at the Arnold Gallery.¹³ On February 4, 1906, Schmidt-Rottluff contacted Nolde after seeing the small exhibition of his paintings at the Arnold Gallery, and wrote:

The Brücke would consider it a great privilege to welcome you as a member ... one of our aims is to unite all the revolutionary and radical elements. Another aim - only a dream right now as there is no money - is to get our own exhibition space. We ... wanted to let you know how much we admire your violent color storms.

Nolde claimed that his first exposure to, and interest in,

non-Western art occurred in Hagen when he first visited the Folkwang in January of 1906.¹⁴ This appears to be quite possible, since Osthaus was the only museum director in Germany at that time who displayed both European and non-Western art together, side by side. (Fig. 24) Not long after Nolde's first visit to the Folkwang, his style changed; his use of color became higher pitched and brighter, and his forms became more simplified.

Moreover, Nolde may have provided the impetus for the Brücke's interest in non-Western art due to the impact of observing the Folkwang's juxtaposition of modern and non-Western art. It appears that Nolde told the Brücke artists about Osthaus, and about the things he saw displayed in the museum in Hagen. Towards the end of 1906, which was the same year that Nolde joined the Brücke, the artist Erich Heckel (1883-1970), who often acted as the business manager for the Brücke, wrote a letter to Osthaus proposing an exhibition of their work.¹⁵ It seems highly unlikely that the Brücke, who had previously only exhibited in the Siefert Lamp Factory in Dresden and small local art galleries, would have made such an audacious attempt to show their work in a museum, without Nolde's connection to Osthaus. The Brücke's first contact with Osthaus must have come about through Nolde, whom Osthaus had befriended early in 1906 and decided to promote in Germany. According to the letter exchanges in the archive in Hagen, the Osthauses and the Noldes had begun

to form a close friendship by this time, and Osthaus was aware of Nolde's then newly formed affiliation with the Brücke in Dresden from the correspondence of Ada Nolde.¹⁶

Heckel's letter to Osthaus, dated December 12, 1906, asked him to consider "an exhibition of our work in the beautiful rooms of this first and only modern museum which is under your highly esteemed directorship."¹⁷ Surprisingly, Osthaus agreed to display a fairly large exhibition of their work, and in the summer of 1907 the Brücke had their first exhibition in the Folkwang. The exhibition featured works by Cuno Amiet, a corresponding member of the Brücke, who was represented with four paintings, Heckel eight, Kirchner six, Nolde five, Schmidt-Rottluff eleven, and Pechstein one.¹⁸ In addition to these paintings, Osthaus also displayed twenty-eight graphic works by Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff and Pechstein.¹⁹ According to a letter that Heckel wrote Osthaus in July of 1907, Osthaus was evidently pleased with their show and he remained in close contact with the Brücke.²⁰ Thereafter, the work of the Brücke artists, both individually and collectively, were actively promoted by Osthaus.

Kirchner and Osthaus especially developed a close friendship and bond, which is documented by their letter exchanges over a number of years. A major portion of their correspondence has been preserved, and the Karl Ernst

Osthaus Archive in Hagen owns approximately ninety-nine percent of these letters. The largest bulk of their correspondence dates from the years 1910 to 1914, and tapers off during the war years when Kirchner suffered from mental and physical collapse.²¹ Osthaus not only supported Kirchner the artist, but also Kirchner the person, who needed financial help and friends to see him through times of personal adversity. He often paid his medical bills and also frequently corresponded with the artist's physician, Dr. Oskar Kohnstamm (1870-1917), who treated Kirchner for a nervous breakdown during the war years in the Königstein Sanatorium, in the Taunus mountains near Frankfurt.²²

In 1910 the Brücke had their second exhibition in the Folkwang, and by that time their work began to attract wealthy collectors. It was during their Hagen exhibition that Eberhard von Boldenhausen (1868-1918), then the director of the Krupp factory in Essen, became interested in Kirchner's work and began collecting it.²³ The year 1910 was an especially pro-Brücke year for Osthaus, who began to energetically champion their work. He staunchly promoted their work, and insured its inclusion in international exhibitions, such as in the Düsseldorf and Köln Sonderbunds, where it would have a larger audience than in Hagen.²⁴ Osthaus presented their work specifically as an example of the new trend in contemporary German art, which gained momentum between 1910 and 1911.

By 1911, the term Expressionism was used to refer to both German and foreign painting. In the June 1911 issue of Kunst und Künstler, Karl Scheffler, one of the few who questioned the validity of the term, wrote that "a group of young Frenchmen ... have become noticed under the repulsively silly name 'Expressionists'" which is being "immediately parroted by all," or used in "cheap jokes."²⁵ Initially the Austrian artist Oskar Kokoschka, the French Fauves, Die Brücke and the Blaue Reiter - even the Cubists and the Futurists - were all referred to as Expressionists.²⁶

Osthaus linked the Brücke's (and Nolde's) style with their foreign precursors: Gauguin, Van Gogh, the Fauves and non-Western art. He exhibited the Brücke's work in the Folkwang because it fit in with his artistic program which emphasized the positive affinities between modern European and non-Western art. In the Folkwang Osthaus displayed their modern works, and Nolde's, with non-Western arts and crafts to show their historical and artistic connections via the process of cultural diffusion. Osthaus's unprecedented presentation method of displaying the Brücke's work in the Folkwang may have also stimulated their interest in non-Western art.

In addition to the artists of the Brücke, Osthaus also

exhibited and promoted the work of the Neue Künstlervereinigung (NKV) artists' association, which was founded in Munich in January of 1909. Essentially, under the leadership of the Russian-born artist Wassily Kandinsky, who had come to Munich in 1896 to study art, the Neue Künstlervereinigung was internationally oriented.²⁷ Unlike the Brücke artists, the NKV was comprised of both male and female members who were not only artists, but also musicians, dancers, poets and theoreticians.²⁸ Its founding members included the German artists Alfred Erbslöh, Alexander Kanoldt, Alfred Kubin, Franz Marc, Gabriele Münter, Karl Hofer, Marianne von Werefkin, Erma Barrera-Bossi and Paul Baum. Some foreign members, other than Kandinsky, included the Russian artists Alexei Jawlensky and Moissei Kogan, the Russian dancer Alexander Sacharoff, and the French artists Henri Le Fauconnier and Pierre-Paul Girieud.²⁹ When the Neue Künstlervereinigung disbanded later in December of 1911, due to irreconcilable differences, Kandinsky, along with Münter, Kubin, Le Fauconnier, the Russian composer Thomas von Hartmann, and the German artist Franz Marc, formed the loosely organized splinter group, the Blaue Reiter.³⁰ Both of these artists' groups and their individual members were featured in several exhibitions in Hagen.

Osthaus was aware of, and in contact with, the Neue Künstlervereinigung shortly after their formation in Munich.

According to a letter, dated February 9, 1909, Osthaus had already contacted the NKV by this early date and suggested that they have their first exhibition in Hagen. The Neue Künstlervereinigung, however, declined his offer, and Erbslöh, the author of the letter that declined this invitation, responded, "It has been decided that our first exhibition will take place in Munich and then in other cities."³¹ Erbslöh's letter continued, "however, two of our members, Mr. Jawlensky and Mr. Kandinsky, two very special personalities, that you would find quite interesting, would like to exhibit in June [in Hagen]. The gentlemen will write to you themselves about this matter."³² Jawlensky and Kandinsky both corresponded with Osthaus, and arrangements were made and finalized for their upcoming exhibition that summer in the Folkwang. A price list, along with two handwritten display plans for this project from Jawlensky, documents that their exhibition in Hagen occurred in June of 1909.³³

The Hagen art critic Ernst Lorenzen reviewed the Jawlensky-Kandinsky exhibition in the summer 1909 issue of the Westfälischen Kunstblatt. His essay, titled the "Folkwang im Juni," noted that "whoever is searching for his artistic ideal, will not find it in the Folkwang this time." Although Lorenzen did not personally like the exhibition, he attempted to remain open-minded in his brief discussion of these two artists. It is difficult to ascertain precisely

which works Kandinsky exhibited from Lorenzen's review because most of his comments pertain to Jawlensky's brightly colored paintings of portraits, landscapes and still lifes. He did mention, however, that in the work of Kandinsky, the Munich Jugendstil influence was quite apparent, especially in some of the artist's more decorative paintings, which Lorenzen referred to as "pointillist."³⁴ Two of Kandinsky's woodcuts were sold during this exhibition, but it is not clear whether Osthaus acquired any works for the Folkwang from either of the artists at this time, although there were examples of both of their works in the museum by 1912.³⁵ In the fall of 1909, Osthaus again showed works by Kandinsky, which consisted of his graphics from Meier-Graefe's private collection. Shortly after this exhibition, the works of the artists Carl Hofer and Paul Baum were also featured in the museum.³⁶ In addition to these artists from Munich's Neue Künstlervereinigung, another member of their group, Moissey Kogan (1879-1942), also had an exhibition of his graphic works in the Folkwang during the summer of 1909.

Osthaus was especially close to Kogan for a number of years. He was an early patron and supporter of this Russian sculptor and decorative artist's work, whom he later secretly subsidized with anonymous financial help throughout the First War.³⁷ Through his friend Hans Brandenburger, Osthaus first became aware of Kogan's work in May of 1909. Brandenburger wrote Osthaus that Kogan was a talented young

artist who was living and working in Munich where he was on the brink of financial destitution.³⁸ Osthaus sent money to Brandenburger to buy one of Kogan's works, and shortly thereafter the sculptor sent a note expressing his sincere thanks that Osthaus purchased one of his plaques.³⁹ According to their letters in the archive in Hagen, Kogan and Osthaus began a lively correspondence at that time. When Kogan exhibited in the Folkwang in June of 1909, Osthaus invited him to live and work in Hagen, and offered to provide him with a studio and a monthly stipend.⁴⁰ In return, Osthaus had first choice in buying Kogan's work.

In the winter of 1910 Kogan finally accepted Osthaus's invitation and moved to Hagen, but he remained there for only a short period of time. Kogan returned to Munich in the Spring of 1910, but Osthaus continued to help the young sculptor and supported his work. He provided Kogan with a monthly stipend of 150.- marks, which Osthaus told him were payments toward works that he would purchase from him. In the following years Osthaus acquired several works from Kogan with funds that he had donated to the "Verein der Kunstfreunde in den Ländern am Rhein" (The Friends of the Arts in the Rhein Region Association).⁴¹ During the war years, he remained loyally supportive of Kogan's work, even though the Russian sculptor was technically an enemy of the German Empire then.

Early in 1910 Osthaus deliberately refrained from showing the works of the Neue Künstlervereinigung artists in the Folkwang until later that year. There were two reasons for this decision. Osthaus did not want to show the same works over and over again, and by that time he was also intensely competing with other areas, such as Düsseldorf and Essen, for presenting exhibitions which represented the latest, most significant contemporary trends. Osthaus wanted exclusivity, and decided to not show any of the Neue Künstlervereinigung's work again unless the Folkwang would be designated the only place in the Ruhr region to show these artists. When Erbslöh, on behalf of the NKV, approached Osthaus for an exhibition in the spring of 1910, he was informed of these terms; they had to agree to not show any of their works in Düsseldorf, Elberfeld, Köln, or any other area in the Ruhr region prior to their exhibition in Hagen.⁴² Erbslöh responded that the NKV agreed to these concessions, and assured Osthaus that their upcoming exhibition in the Folkwang would consist of all new works. According to Erbslöh's letter to Osthaus, the NKV planned to invite several other artists to participate in this exhibition, including Henri Matisse, Kees van Dongen, Hermann Haller, plus "various assorted Russians."⁴³ Osthaus was satisfied with their plans, especially Erbslöh's promise of sending all new, previously never seen works in the Ruhr or Rhein regions. Shortly after negotiations were worked out with Erbslöh, Osthaus instructed one of his museum

assistants to respond:

We ... are willing to put our museum at your disposal for the "International Traveling Exhibition" of your Künstlervereinigung during the month of December [1910].⁴⁴

Since the exhibition turned out to be so large that it required 65 running meters of wall space (approximately 214 feet) to accommodate all of the drawings, paintings and sculptures, Osthaus and Erbslöh decided that it would be best to display these works in two separate stages.

When the show opened on November 27th, the Folkwang first exhibited only the drawings and sculptures from the NKV's "International Traveling Exhibition," and on December 17th, when the show officially opened, only the paintings were on display in the museum. The show caused quite a sensation, and Guido E. Neumann, a journalist from the Hagener Zeitung, reviewed the exhibition. From his review we are able to semi-reconstruct who some of the artists were that participated in this exhibition: Wladimir Bechtejeff, Georges Braque, David and Wladimir Burljuk, Erbslöh, Kanoldt, Le Fauconnier, Girieud, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Gabriele Münter, Marianne von Werefkin, Hoetger, Haller and Diana von Soundbinine. Neumann was mystified by many of these anti-naturalistic artworks. For example, he found Braque's landscapes "wander in the wrong direction," and the paintings of the Burljuk brothers "horrifically insipid and clumsy ... dilettante products of the worst kind." He

dismissed Münter's work, saying she "merits little mention," and criticized her "use of brutal color."⁴⁵

According to Hesse-Frielinghaus, the German painter Auguste Macke made a special trip from Bonn to Hagen to see the Neue Künstlervereinigung's exhibition there. Although he was highly critical of the show and disliked it, he participated in the Blaue Reiter's exhibition in Hagen the following year. Macke shared his intensely negative views of the NKV's exhibition in a letter to his friend, Franz Marc (1880-1916), who evidently did not share his opinions, since he joined the group of Munich artists one month later, in January 1911.⁴⁶

There are letters in the archive in Hagen which document that not long after Marc joined the Neue Künstlervereinigung, he began to correspond with Osthaus on a fairly regular basis. By the summer of 1911 Marc and Osthaus had become friends, and corresponded about arranging an exhibition of the then relatively unknown artist's works for the month of November in the Folkwang.⁴⁷ By October their plans had become more definite and Marc shipped some of his works from Emmy Worringer's Gereon Art Club in Köln, where he had just had an exhibition, to Hagen. Marc also sent additional works to Hagen from his home in Sindelsdorf, such as his recently finished paintings titled Deer, Dog and Fox, in preparation for his upcoming show. Although no

exhibition lists have survived of Marc's debut at the Folkwang, there are two newspaper reviews, which allow us to gain some insight into the kinds of works that the artist exhibited at that time in the museum.⁴⁸

Neumann also reviewed this show, and he wrote a brief commentary for the local newspaper, which evidently kept abreast of the Folkwang's exhibition activities. Neumann was surprised to discover that the Folkwang, by now well-known, was actually displaying "colorful pigs," horses, small deer, monkeys, "violet donkeys," plus other paintings that incorporated the human figure with animals in rather strange-looking canvases.⁴⁹ "K.K.," a journalist from the Rheinisch-Westfälischen newspaper, also reviewed this Folkwang exhibition, and his review was far more sympathetic and sophisticated. Whoever "K.K." was, he made some interesting connections between Marc's style and his artistic predecessors. He praised Marc's "prismatic color forms" and "bright colors," which he found to be aesthetically pleasing. "K.K." noted that Marc's figure paintings of "female nudes are not too far removed from the influence of Manet and Cézanne." He ended his review on the optimistic note that "Once again another artist is shown here, who one hopes will [continue to] steadily develop." Osthaus apparently agreed with "K.K.'s" opinion and purchased Marc's painting The Red Horses (1911) from this exhibition.⁵⁰ (Fig. 34)

In the summer of 1911, before the dissolution of the Neue Künstlervereinigung, Kandinsky wrote Marc that he had an idea for writing an almanac. This idea eventually become known as the now famous Der Blaue Reiter Almanac, which was a compilation of essays and art reproductions that encompassed both past and present art.⁵¹ Marc and Kandinsky collaborated on this project, and by the fall of 1911 their endeavor was far enough along that they were actively looking for a patron to finance the publication of their almanac. On November 6th, while Marc was intensely involved with the exhibition of his work in Hagen, he wrote to Kandinsky:

I am secretly convinced that if we cannot find someone to sign the signature we should have the courage to get the Blaue Reiter going on our own. Without Tschudi they will not be found so easily ... Men like Koehler I would rather approach later if things should go wrong. First of all I am thinking of Flechtheim and Osthaus. I do not trust people from Munich without Tschudi intervening directly.⁵²

This letter demonstrates that Marc thought highly of Osthaus and that he was confident about his support of their project. The three patrons that Marc mentions in this letter were asked for financial support. According to Klaus Lankheit, Osthaus and the Düsseldorf art dealer Alfred Flechtheim both agreed to donate five hundred marks each to help finance their project, but Bernhard Koehler (1849-1927), a wealthy Berlin manufacturer and a first cousin of

Macke's wife, decided to pay for all of the almanac's expenses.⁵³

When the Neue Künstlervereinigung disbanded on December 2, 1912, Kandinsky and Marc formed the Blaue Reiter, and were joined by Le Fauconnier, Münter, Kubin and Hartmann.⁵⁴ Within a few months after the formation of the Blaue Reiter, a large exhibition of their work was scheduled to appear in the Folkwang. By May of 1912 plans were already well under way for this project, and a large shipment of their works containing thirty-nine paintings and one wooden sculpture arrived in the museum. According to the inventory list in the archive in Hagen, the shipment included works by several artists who had been members of the Neue Künstlervereinigung, as well as some of the Brücke artists. This exhibition took place in Hagen during the summer of 1912, and featured works by Albert Bloch, David and Wladimir Burluk, Heinrich Campendonk, Robert Delaunay, Elisabeth Epstein, Natalia Goncharova, Erich Heckel, Kirchner, Eugene Kahler, Kandinsky, August Macke, Marc, Münter and Pechstein.⁵⁵

Both Neumann and "K.K." reviewed the exhibition, as well as Kurt Freyer, who was one of Osthaus's assistants at the Folkwang. "K.K.", the journalist from the Rheinisch-Westfalen newspaper, wrote the most concise review of this large exhibition of modern painting. According to his

review, we are able to ascertain that Kandinsky exhibited a painting from his Improvisation series, which "K.K." speculated had either "visionary" or "mathematical" intentions. In regard to Kandinsky's work, he mused, "Does the artist want the public to relinquish participating in the recreation of this construction?" His judgment of Marc's work remained the same as before; he liked the artist's painting, especially his canvas titled the Yellow Cow. Macke's landscape, titled Storm, reminded "K.K." of the Dresden painter "Kätharina Schaffer" [sic], but not as accomplished.⁵⁶ He classified Delaunay's painting as belonging to the "Futurist camp," and noted that the artist's composition, Eiffel Tower, demonstrated his interest in solving new problems concerning simultaneous vision, or multiple points of view.⁵⁷ Neumann, however, was perplexed by and highly critical of the exhibition. Whereas he found Kandinsky's work to be "brutal looking," he surprisingly liked Marc's work and noted that his "Teutonic" paintings of animals were able to "hold their own against the domination of these Russian influences." The artist whose work he liked the least was Delaunay. In comparison to "K.K.'s" perceptive comments about Delaunay's abstracted work, Neumann sarcastically dismissed it as being nothing more than "erratic lines, haphazardly thrown together in a fury of anarchistic demolition."⁵⁸

Surprisingly even Freyer, who in 1912 had recently

become one of Osthaus's chief assistants in the Folkwang, found the Blaue Reiter exhibition to be perplexing and virtually incomprehensible.⁵⁹ In his short essay about the exhibition, which was written in 1912 and published in Cicerone, Freyer wrote:

The July exhibition of the Folkwang Museum features the work of Munich artists, who have banded together under the name 'Blaue Reiter.' Other than their name, however, they appear to have little else in common, ... their art generally strives towards abstraction ... Kandinsky through the play of pure colors and lines, Macke, Marc and others through the elimination of three-dimensional space and [the use of] bright, unnaturalistic colors, Bloch through chaotic sentimental pictures, others through the use of a consistent cubism. On the whole one is more interested in these works as an experiment rather than pure artistic pleasure.⁶⁰

Despite the public's lukewarm reception of the Blaue Reiter, Osthaus purchased several examples of their work and continued to staunchly support their endeavors in exhibitions that he organized throughout Germany.

Until 1912, the works of Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881-1919) and Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964) were better represented in Hagen than anywhere else in Germany. By that time Osthaus had acquired two of Lehmbruck's sculptures, which included an elongated, simplified torso of a female nude, a portrait bust of Osthaus's son Manfred, and four etchings. When the Russian born sculptor Archipenko was nearly seventy years old, he fondly remembered Osthaus's generosity and

early support of his work. In 1912 the Folkwang had a large exhibition of the young, then unknown, artist's works, which featured thirty of Archipenko's sculptures.⁶¹ Archipenko credited Osthaus for launching his career at that time, and in 1960 the sculptor reconstructed that show at the Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum in Hagen, claiming that it had opened many doors for him which would have remained shut otherwise. When Archipenko died in 1964, his will stipulated that half of his sculptures be given to the Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum in Hagen, the former Folkwang, in gratitude to Osthaus's unflagging support.⁶²

Osthaus became a friend to all of these artists. He was an early collector and champion of these then unknown modern masters. Due to his support of modernism in Germany, many of these artists officially launched their careers in Hagen, where their work was accorded by far more status than in Berlin. Kogan received a monthly stipend from him, even during the First War. Nolde became successful after exhibiting in the Folkwang. The Brücke artists attracted wealthy collectors after their work was shown by Osthaus, and they were inspired by his presentation method in the Folkwang, which displayed non-Western art with modern works. Osthaus offered to help finance the publication of the now famous Blaue Reiter Almanac, and acquired one of the earliest collections of works by the artists of the Blaue Reiter. With few exceptions, this chapter has focused

exclusively on the male artists of the German avant-garde. The next chapter, however, will provide a counter balance to this one and discuss some of the women artists of the Folkwang.

NOTES

¹ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 192.

² Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 218. Between 1902 and 1907 the museum's attendance increased from 520 to 1015 visitors, and yearly museum memberships increased from 41 to 176. According to a museum memo in the archive, by the summer of 1920 attendance at the Folkwang was up to 1000 people a month. See Kü 476/87, unsigned, Typewritten Memo, June/July 1920, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

³ Z100, Copy of the Rheinisch-Westfälischen Zeitung, November 28, 1908, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

⁴ Emil Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, (Belrin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1934) p. 70.

⁵ Emil Nolde, Briefe aus den Jahren 1894-1924, ed. Max Sauerlandt, (Berlin: Fische-Kunstverlag, nd) p. 101. Also translated in Jill Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1991) p. 172.

⁶ For a discussion of the Brücke and their early manifestations of Expressionism, see Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, (New York: G. K. Hall & Company, 1992) pp. 21-73.

⁷ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed. Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefewechsel, (Bonn, Germany: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985) p. viii.

⁸ Emil Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, (Berlin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1938) p. 70.

⁹ Emil Nolde, Mein Leben, (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, GmbH & Co., 1976) p. 137.

¹⁰ Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 137.

¹¹ For a discussion of Nolde and the Brücke, see Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, pp. 21-25.

¹² Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, pp 68-69.

¹³ Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, as quoted by Barry Herbert, German Expressionism. Die Brücke and Der Blaue Reiter, (London: Jupiter Books Limited, 1983) p. 21.

¹⁴ Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, p. 170.

¹⁵ Kü 27, Erich Heckel, Letter to Osthaus, December 12, 1906, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

¹⁶ See the evidence of their friendship in Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed., Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefewechsel.

¹⁷ Kü 27, Erich Heckel, Letter to Osthaus, December 12, 1906, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

¹⁸ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, Special Edition, Westfalen, Vol. 52, No. 1-2, (Munster, Germany: Verlag Aschendorff, 1974).
Also see Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 197.

¹⁹ Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 195. The prices for the Brücke's paintings in 1907 were already relatively high, between 400.- and 3000.- marks. Their graphics ranged in price between 15.- and 200.- marks. Although Osthaus purchased a few of their graphics during this exhibition, it is difficult to ascertain if additional buyers purchased any of the Brücke's works during this exhibition in Hagen.

²⁰ Kü 27. Erich Heckel, Letter to Osthaus, July 1, 1907. Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

²¹ Many of these letters have been edited by Hesse-Frielinghaus and published as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen.

²² Kohnstamm, a psychiatrist and brain specialist, was the director of the sanitarium in Königstein. He treated

and befriended Kirchner and frequently wrote to Osthaus about the artist's physical progress. Osthaus often paid Kirchner's medical bills, and he aggressively sought potential buyers for the artist's work.

23 P218, Eberhard von Bodenhausen, Letter to Osthaus, June 27, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Bodenhausen was also an art historian. Krupp Steel was founded in Essen in 1811 and headed by Friedrich Krupp, until 1848 when his son, Alfred, took over the firm.

24 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 196.

25 Karl Scheffler, as quoted by Marit Werenskiöld, in The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses, Trans. Ronald Walford, (New York: University Press, 1984) pp. 5-6

"Ein Gruppe junger Französen ist - auch von der Sezession leider - unter dem abschreckend dummen Namen 'Expressionistin' angekündigt werden. Dieser Name wird nun von allen Wortgläubigen sofort nachgeschwatzt oder von anderen zu wohlfeilen Witzen benutzt."

26 More than any other individual's writing on what constituted "expressionism," it was Wilhelm Worringer's (1881-1965) theoretical formulations of what this new style was attempting to achieve that became the model for what Expressionism was. By 1910 his doctoral dissertation, Abstraktion und Einfühlung (published in 1908), had become a source of inspiration for many German artists who sought to break away from the European, classical Renaissance tradition of art based on illusionism and rationalism. Worringer urged viewers to seek metaphysical connections with the new art, which shunned classical traditions because it sprang from different artistic and cultural intentions. Like Osthaus, Worringer was also heavily influenced by Riegl's concept of "Kunstwollen," or artistic intention. For a discussion of Worringer, see Long, German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, pp. 9-13. Also see pp. 18-20 for a translation of Max Deri's 1912 essay from the journal PAN, "Cubists and Expressionism."

27 For a discussion of the Neue Künstlervereinigung and a translation of Kandinsky's forward to the NKV's exhibition catalog, 1909-1910, see Long, German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, pp. 37-40.

28 Klaus Lankheit, "A History of the Almanac," The Blaue Reiter Almanac, Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., New Documentary Edition, Ed. and Intro by Klaus Lankheit, Henning Falkenstein, trans., (New York: The Viking Press, 1974) p. 12.

29 Hans K. Roethel, The Blue Rider, Hans K. Roethel and Jean Benjamin, trans., (New York: Praeger Publications, Inc., 1971) p. 12.

30 Lankheit, pp. 13-14.

31 F1/400, Alfred Erbslöh, Letter to Osthaus, February 9, 1909, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. "Es is beschlossen worden, unserer erste Ausstellung in München zu veranstalten und erst später in anderen Städten."

32 F1/400, Alfred Erbslöh, Letter to Osthaus, February 9, 1909. Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. "Dahingegen würden zwei unserer Mitglieder, Herr Jawlensky und Herr Kandinsky, gern im Juni bei Ihnen ausstellen, zwei sehr eigenartige Persönlichkeiten, die Sie gewiss interessieren würden. Die Herren werden Ihnen noch selbst darüber schreiben."

33 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, Brochure No. 4, Special Edition, (Hagen, Germany: Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum Hagen, 1980) npn.

According to this list, Jawlensky exhibited 24 works which ranged in price from 150.- to 1000.- marks. Unfortunately, the price list for Kandinsky's work is missing from the archive.

34 Z100/6, TM, Copy of Lorenzen's review, "Folkwang im Juni," Westfälischen Kunstblatt, No. 9, 1909, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

35 See Dr. Agnes Waldstein's catalog and complete inventory of the Folkwang Museum's collection, Museum Folkwang: Malerei, Plastik, Grafik, Vol. I, (Essen, Germany: Museum Folkwang Essen, 1929), especially pp. 19, 45 and 46, which document that by 1912 Osthaus had acquired Kandinsky's painting, Improvisation, and two abstract watercolors, both titled Farben Komposition (Color Composition), and Jawlensky's watercolor titled Sitzender Frauenakt (Sitting Nude).

36 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung

München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum, Hagen,
npn.

37 F2 1347/38, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Bernheim-Jeune, December 22, 1914, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, and F2 1347/40, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Bernheim-Jeune, February 15, 1915, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

See the correspondence, in the archive in Hagen, between Osthaus and the Parisian art dealer Bernheim-Jeune during the First War, especially the years 1914 and 1915. In their correspondences are several references made to Moissey Kogan's financial plight during this time. On December 22, 1914, Osthaus wrote to Bernheim-Jeune, then living in Switzerland, that he was deeply concerned about the Russian sculptor's financial situation in Paris. In this letter, Osthaus stated that it was virtually impossible "for me to help him at this time due to the war situation." Under these circumstances, he appealed to Bernheim-Jeune for help and asked him to buy a few of the artist's drawings on his behalf. Osthaus promised to send him the equivalent of one hundred francs as soon as he was able to get money out of Germany. On January 15, 1915, Osthaus contacted Bernheim-Jeune again, and wrote that he was having difficulty sending German marks out of the country, since it was currently forbidden and punishable by law. Despite these restrictions and risks, Osthaus managed to have funds reach Kogan with assistance from Bernheim-Jeune, who sent several of Kogan's drawings to Hagen via Switzerland for Osthaus to purchase.

38 V197, Hans Brandenburger, Letter to Osthaus, May 4, 1909, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

39 V197, Moissey Kogan, Letter to Osthaus, May 21, 1909, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

40 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang Museum Hagen,
npn.

41 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang Museum Hagen,
npn.

42 F1/648, Alfred Erbslöh, Letter to Osthaus, April 20, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. According to the letter that Erbslöh wrote to Osthaus, which agreed to these terms, their exhibition was scheduled to first be shown in Munich, Karlsruhe and Mannheim. This did

not violate the terms of Osthaus's conditions since these cities were not in the Ruhr region.

43 F1/648, Alfred Erbslöh, Letter to Osthaus, April 20, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

44 F1/648, Alfred Erbslöh, Letter to Osthaus, April 20, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

45 Guido E. Neumann, as quoted by Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, npn.

46 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, npn.

47 F1/614, Franz Marc, Letter to Osthaus, June 1911. Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

48 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, npn.

49 Z100/7 Guido E. Neumann's review of the exhibition for the Hagener Zeitung, dated November 10, 1911. Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

50 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, npn.

After Marc's death, Osthaus loaned this painting to the Munich Secession in July, 1916, which honored Marc at that time with a large memorial exhibition. This painting, along with most of the Folkwang's collection, after Osthaus's death, was sold to the city of Essen, where it was later labeled "degenerate" by the Nazi museum director Klaus von Baudissin. The painting fortunately escaped the large 1939 bonfire in the courtyard of Berlin's fire department, which destroyed 5000 artworks labeled "degenerate."

51 See Long, German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, pp. 44-47, for a translation of the unprinted preface, written by Kandinsky and Marc in 1911, for the Blaue Reiter Almanac, and Marc's subscription prospectus for the almanac.

52 Franz Marc, Letter to Wassily Kandinsky, November 6, 1911, as quoted by Lankheit, p. 27.

53 Lankheit, p. 28.
Koehler was a cousin of Macke's mother-in-law, Sophie Gerhardt, née Koehler. Her daughter Elisabeth Gerhardt, who married Macke in 1909, was therefore Koehler's first cousin once removed. Two years after Macke's death, in 1914, Elisabeth married the writer Lothar Erdmann.

54 Lankheit, pp. 13-14.

55 F2 611/6, Unsigned Inventory List, May 2, 1912.
Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

56 K. K. is referring to Katharina Schaffner, an accomplished artist from Dresden, who had displayed drawings and paintings in the Folkwang in January, 1911.

57 Hesse-Frielinghaus, Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Der Blaue Reiter und Das Folkwang-Museum Hagen, npn.

58 Z100/7, Copy of Guido E. Neumann's review of the Blaue Reiter exhibition in the Hagener Zeitung, July 16, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

59 In 1913 Freyer left the Folkwang and moved to Moritzburg, near Dresden, where he worked with Max Sauerlandt, then the director of the Halle Museum there. Freyer remained in Halle as an unpaid volunteer until the outbreak of the First War. See Andreas Hüneke, "Moritzburg Halle - Folkwang Hagen/Essen. Parallelen und Unterschiede von der Gründung bis 1937," Museum und Gegenwart, (Halle, Germany: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1985) p. 8.

60 Kurt Freyer, "Hagen i. W. Die Juli - Ausstellung des Folkwang-Museums," Cicerone, No. IV, 1912, p. 609.

61 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 180.

62 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 237, endnote 25.

CHAPTER VI

Women Artists and the Folkwang

Between 1909 and 1921 Osthaus promoted the work of numerous female artists on a regular basis, which was an unprecedented and unusual practice at that time. This chapter is about Osthaus and the women who exhibited at the Folkwang. Many of the women artists to be discussed in this chapter knew each other, studied with the same teachers, and exhibited at the same places. This was not coincidental, but due to the limited number of places where women could receive art instruction, and the relatively few places that exhibited or promoted their work. Not surprisingly, the same schools and exhibition places will appear again and again in this chapter: the Salon on the Champ du Mars and the Academy Colarossi in France, the Arts and Crafts Schools and the newly established Women Artists Associations in Munich and Berlin, and the Folkwang Museum in Hagen.¹

Women were denied access to formal art training until the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867 the first private art academy for women, the Verein der Künstlerinnen zu Berlin (Association of Women Artists in Berlin), was founded. This was the only art academy that accepted women into their program until 1883, when a second school opened in Munich, the Künstlerinnen Verein

(Association of Women Artists). Although these two schools did not offer the same, or even comparable, training that men received in state-supported academies, there were no other alternatives for women artists other than private art lessons.² When female art students completed their art training, they struggled for professional acceptance, artistic recognition, and equality. It was difficult for them to achieve artistic recognition because no one initially wanted to exhibit their work, or even buy it.

During the 1890s there were restrictions imposed upon women when they submitted their works to art galleries. Gallery owners discouraged women from signing their works, even though it was customary for male artists to sign their full names, or last names, on artworks. Women artists were directed to use their initials only, especially on works for sale. Evidently, many art dealers believed that they could eliminate the low selling prices of female artists' works by instituting this deceptive practice. This ploy attempted to disguise the artist's gender and was implemented because the majority of art buyers were men, and they were neither inclined to buy, nor to pay high prices for, a female artist's work.³ At the turn of the century this bias against women artists remained.

Osthaus promoted German women artists just as he promoted their male counterparts.⁴ He did not celebrate

women's' works within a self-enclosed structure. Their works were not displayed and promoted as unique examples of specific women's achievements. They were featured in both group exhibitions, along with their male colleagues, and in solo exhibitions. Most of the women to be discussed were loosely linked to the avant-garde, because they also eschewed academic techniques and subject matter.

The women in this section have been selected because of their association with Osthaus and the Folkwang Museum. Käthe Kollwitz, the most well-known German female artist at that time, is only briefly mentioned in this chapter. The artist Paula Modersohn-Becker was only posthumously connected to the Folkwang Museum, but Ida Gerhardi, Milly Steger, Ada Nolde, Else Lasker-Schüler, Maria Slavona, and numerous other women, exhibited and sold their works there. Gerhardi, a painter, is probably the least known artist in this group. She first met Osthaus in 1902, and was commissioned to paint a large portrait of him the following year. Gerhardi was an important liaison, or connecting link, between Osthaus and many French contemporary artists, from Auguste Rodin to Henri Matisse.⁵ Steger, a sculptor, was the most politically active among this group of women, and was most closely associated with the international avant-garde. She seems to have been on a level of complete equality with her vanguard male colleagues. Ada Nolde, married to the painter Emil Nolde, was an award winning

craftswoman. The first war eclipsed her short lived career. Lasker-Schüler, the first wife of the writer, publisher, and Sturm Gallery owner Herwarth Walden, was a member of Berlin's literary avant-garde and a gifted caricaturist. A large exhibition of her drawings was exhibited in the Folkwang fifteen years before they were featured in Berlin's National Gallery in 1931. Slavona, a painter, had the distinction of being recognized in her own lifetime for artistic excellence by both the French and the Germans. Her marriage to the Paris based art dealer, Otto Ackermann, introduced her to an influential social circle, and enabled her to make important contacts. Yet she refrained from using these contacts to advance her own career. All of these women encountered difficulty in finding adequate art training at home, they were all concerned with establishing their identities as artists, and they all exhibited at the Folkwang where women artists were welcome.⁶

Daughters from the German middle-class were more likely to study art than less prosperous females. Most women who came from lower working-class backgrounds did not have the inclination, the luxury of time, or the financial means to study art. These poorer women received a limited education, if any. They were expected to contribute financially to the parental household at an early age. They either married very young (one less mouth to feed in the parental home), or went to work as factory workers, farm helpers, or house

servants.⁷ Their goal was economic survival, not artistic achievement.

The women artists that exhibited in the Folkwang sought and attained artistic recognition. Osthaus provided some of these women artists with large, prestigious commissions, and some were included in international exhibitions, both in Germany and in other countries. Osthaus was not the only museum director in Germany who featured the work of women artists. However, he was one of the earliest to consistently promote women, and in doing so, he presented a balanced overview of modernism. His aim was to link contemporary German artists, regardless of their gender, to the new international art movement.

The Dresden born painter Paula Modersohn-Becker (1876-1907) met Osthaus late in 1905, when she visited the museum in Hagen, but her work was never exhibited there in her own lifetime.⁸ Nevertheless, one of the first large scale exhibitions of her drawings and paintings was presented by Osthaus in 1913. After this exhibition, her work was more readily accepted in Germany and entered both private and public collections.

Modersohn-Becker came from a cultured middle-class background. Her father worked as a railroad engineer in Bremen, and her parents both supported their daughter's

plans to study art. Modersohn-Becker's father specifically encouraged her to become an art teacher. At the age of 15 she received her first instruction in painting and drawing from a local Bremen artist, and later studied art in London. In 1898 Modersohn-Becker moved to the small artists colony of Worpswede, not far from Bremen. She remained there, and in 1901 married the Worpswede artist, Otto Modersohn.

Early in 1905 Modersohn-Becker and her husband decided to visit Westfalen, not far from Hagen. Their friend Heinrich Vogeler, also from Worpswede, accompanied them on this trip, and the threesome enjoyed viewing various new sights. For Modersohn-Becker, the highlight of this trip was visiting the Folkwang Museum in Hagen.⁹

A letter that Modersohn-Becker wrote to her sister, Herma Becker, dated November 8, 1905, provides a detailed account of the visit and her reaction to it:

A short while ago, Otto, Vogeler, and I took a three-day side trip through Westphalia.... The most beautiful thing in Hagen for me was the museum owned by a Herr Osthaus. He has collected the newest and latest art around himself there: Rodin, Minne, Maillol, and Meunier, Gauguin, van Gogh, an old Trübner [Lady in Gray], an old Renoir [Lise], and many other beautiful things.

In 1905 the Folkwang was also Osthaus's private residence, and the letter to her sister continues with a charming, informal view of family life within it:

The Osthaus family, with their four blond children, had a wonderful effect on me. He is a strikingly tall person between thirty and forty, with remarkably searching eyes. She [Gertrud Osthaus] is a figure of light - blond, graceful, and shining. She came walking towards us with her naked two-year old child, and it was like a picture. They are the kind of people that I would very much like to see more of.¹⁰

Osthaus was 31 years old at the time of this meeting and Modersohn-Becker was only two years younger. They never met again, and two years later she died.

Evidently Osthaus gave Modersohn-Becker a tour of the museum, but none of her published letters, or documents in the Hagen archive, reveal if she discussed her own artwork with Osthaus. Most likely she did not; Modersohn-Becker concealed her body of work, even from her husband. Her work was relatively unknown in 1905, except to a handful of Worpswede artists.¹¹ Furthermore, she only participated in two exhibitions in her own lifetime. Gustav Pauli, the director of the Bremen Kunsthalle, included a few of her works in a small exhibition of three unknown women artists in December 1899. The exhibition included two paintings and seven studies by Modersohn-Becker,¹² and a few works by her friend, Clara Westhoff and the painter Maria Bock.¹³ This was Modersohn-Becker's first and only exhibition when she met Osthaus in 1905. She did not participate in another exhibition until 1906, after she met Osthaus.

Approximately three months after visiting the Folkwang, Modersohn-Becker left Worpswede, separated from her husband and went to live in Paris.¹⁴ In her journal entry of February 24, 1906, she wrote: "Now I have left Otto Modersohn and am standing between my old life and my new life.... what will become of me in my new life?" Nine months later she left Paris (she was pregnant with her husband's child) and return to Worpswede and Otto. She died in 1907 shortly after giving birth to a daughter.¹⁵ One year after her death her work was featured in exhibitions.

In 1908 there was a retrospective exhibition of her work in Worpswede and, later in the same year, at the Bremen Kunsthalle. The following year her work was exhibited in Dresden, at the Arnold Gallery, and in Berlin Paul Cassirer mounted 44 of her paintings in his gallery.¹⁶ In 1912 Modersohn-Becker was represented in the large Köln Sonderbund with one painting, Old Woman Praying. Although the catalog for this show does not list the work as part of a private collection, it was probably loaned by either Otto Modersohn or a member of the Becker family.¹⁷ The painting may have been included in the Sonderbund due to Osthaus's intervention. By 1912 Osthaus was corresponding with Frau Mathilde Becker, Paula's mother, who asked him to be the editor of her daughter's letters and journals.¹⁸ Osthaus declined the offer because his publishing company, the Folkwang Verlag, was not yet fully established.¹⁹ However,

since he was the honorary chairman of the Sonderbund, he may have offered at that time to instead arrange the acceptance of one of Modersohn-Becker's works in the exhibition.

Osthaus, as all other German museum directors, purchased none of Paula's work before her premature death. However, he quickly capitalized on the potential marketability of her work. He mounted a large exhibition of her drawings, etchings and paintings in February 1913, in the Folkwang.²⁰ At that time Osthaus purchased her painting, Self-Portrait with Camellia Branch (1906-07) (Fig. 35), from Otto Modersohn for only 250.- marks.²¹ The painting was the first Modersohn-Becker work to enter a museum's permanent collection. Osthaus informed Frau Becker that he purchased one of her daughter's works and wrote:

The self-portrait of your daughter with the camellia branch is something I bought for the Folkwang collection. I find a great similarity in it with the way she appeared. And remarkably it has exactly the impression of her which has always remained in my memory. I would never have recognized her from the other self-portraits.²²

Although the letter may appear to be somewhat insincere, since Osthaus had only met the artist one time, it was undoubtedly meant to comfort and please Frau Becker.

The first catalog of Modersohn-Becker's work was written by the young Worpswede artist, Kurt Störmer (1891-?), who was also the catalyst for the Hagen exhibition.²³

Störmer intended the catalog to be the first of a two volume work, but the second volume was never written. The Störmer catalog accompanied the Folkwang exhibition, and was used for all the subsequent shows of Modersohn-Becker's work in 1913. No new catalog of her work appeared until after the 1917 exhibition in Hannover, by the Kestner Gesellschaft.²⁴

Immediately after the 1913 Hagen exhibition of Modersohn-Becker's works, August von der Heydt exhibited the same show in nearby Wuppertal. Von der Heydt, a banker and wealthy private collector, exhibited the works in his private residence, in Wuppertal. Five years later he became one of the largest collectors of Modersohn-Becker's works.²⁵ After Osthaus's large scale promotion of Paula Modersohn-Becker, albeit posthumously, her work entered both private and public collections and was shown in various German museums.

The Hagen born painter Ida Gerhardi (1862-1927) met Osthaus in 1902, and was closely affiliated with him over a number of years. (Fig. 36) Gerhardi worked primarily in Lüdenscheid and in Paris where she exhibited extensively until 1912, when she returned to Germany. She was mainly a portrait painter and employed a strong use of line and painted in a Post-Impressionistic style.²⁶ Although she only participated in a few Folkwang exhibitions, she was an important liaison between Osthaus and several French

artists, including Rodin, Aristide Maillol, Maurice Denis and Matisse.²⁷

Gerhardi was the daughter of a medical doctor. When her father died in 1869, her mother moved with her three young children to the small town of Detmold. At the age of seven Gerhardi was enrolled in Detmold's Töchterschule (School for Girls) and was taught painting and drawing as pleasant feminine pastimes. Middle-class females were encouraged to become accomplished in these skills because they were considered ladylike activities. However, they were not encouraged to become professional artists. When Gerhardi decided to become a professional painter at the age of twenty-eight, her brother Karl-August, a medical student in Munich, supported her decision and helped to pave the way for her to study art.²⁸

In 1890 Gerhardi went to Munich and enrolled at the Künstlerinnenverein (Women Artists Association), where she studied for one year with the Viennese painter, Tina Blau-Lang (1845-1916). Gerhardi's training there consisted of sketching landscapes out of doors and working directly from nature. Anatomy lessons were not included.²⁹ Evidently Blau-Lang was well liked and respected by her pupils. An anonymous student penned the following tribute about her nurturing teaching style:

What was Tina Blau as a teacher! Even the smallest talent - as long as it was a real one - could count on active sympathy from her, from the great artist Only honest, intense efforts, earnest work - that she demanded. And that she promoted.³⁰

But the scope of her studies in Munich was limited, and Gerhardi decided to go elsewhere.³¹

She obtained additional financial support from family friends in 1891 and decided to continue her studies in Paris. Gerhardi left Munich and went to Paris, where she remained until 1912.³² In her letters home, Gerhardi frequently expressed her frustration at the restrictions placed on women. She was disappointed to discover that even in Paris she did not have access to the same political, business, scientific and artistic areas of knowledge as her male counterparts. Her letters to family members are filled with examples of these injustices, and the issue of inequality surfaces time and time again in her correspondence.³³ Yet, despite these inequalities, she felt that it was easier for women to study in Paris than in Germany.³⁴

In Paris Gerhardi settled into a small apartment on the Rue de la Grande Chaumière, and enrolled in the Académie Colarossi. (Fig. 37) Her choice to study there was probably influenced by the school's inexpensive fee and its waiver of entrance examinations for admission. The school was a

popular place for foreign students to study, especially women. Instruction at the Académie Colarossi was sparse, and consisted mostly of weekly critiques which were provided by obscure artists who rarely had any affiliation with government sponsored academies.³⁵ As a student there, Gerhardi studied with the painter Ernest Courtois-Bonnencontre, who encouraged her to concentrate on drawing and painting the human figure from live models. Courtois-Bonnencontre's impressionistic style of painting and his technique of rapid execution, had a strong impact on her own work.³⁶ Her early work, done under his direction, consisted of numerous individual and group figure studies which eliminated extraneous detail.

In 1893 Gerhardi's studies were interrupted when she was needed at home to nurse her mother (even though her brother was a doctor), and she remained there until late in 1894. While caring for her mother, Gerhardi painted several commissioned portraits for people in Hagen and Detmold. Apparently sometime early in the 1890s she met Frau Harkort, one of Osthaus's wealthy aunts, and by 1894 Gerhardi was also acquainted with Osthaus's uncle, Heinrich Osthaus. Although Gerhardi came from a solid middle-class family, her mother's illness apparently cost a lot of money, and she was forced to look for financial mentorship. Frau Elbers, whom Gerhardi met through Osthaus's uncle Heinrich, offered to sponsor her in 1894, so that she could return to Paris.³⁷

When Gerhardi returned to Paris early in 1895, she enrolled in the Académie Grande Chaumière, which was close to her apartment on the Boulevard Montparnasse. On the ground floor of her apartment house was the Café du Dôme, which became a well-known meeting place for German artists.³⁸ At the cafe Gerhardi became acquainted, in 1895, with the German artists Rudolph Levy, Hans Purrmann, Walter Bundy, the Bulgarian artist Jules Pascin, and the art dealers Wilhelm Uhde and Otto Ackermann. Levy later became a teacher at Henri Matisse's painting school, where Gerhardi sent several female pupils between 1908 and 1912, and Uhde, who was one of her closest friends, became an early collector of Braque and Picasso's works.³⁹

In March of 1895, Gerhardi traveled throughout Italy to study artworks. From Pisa she wrote her brother that she had just been notified that one of her paintings, a portrait of an old man, was accepted at the Paris Salon. In the letter she pointed out that: "... of the 6000 paintings that were submitted [to the Salon] only 300 were accepted - You can imagine my joy over this small step forward."⁴⁰ Gerhardi returned to France in May and continued to take classes at the Académie Grand Chaumière.⁴¹ However, by this time she also worked on her own and made numerous drawings in cafés and dance halls.

In Paris Gerhardi met, and became friends with, the German graphic artist, Käthe Kollwitz, who noted in her diary how diligently Gerhardi worked:

Evenings I went to dance halls, in Montmartre or in Bal Bullier. A colleague of mine, Ida Gerhardi, was there evening after evening making sketches. All of the coquettes knew her and always gave her their things [to watch], while they would dance.⁴²

Gerhardi frequented the Bal Bullier, a dance hall located in the city's Latin Quarter, where she tried to capture the atmosphere and swirl of humanity in her sketch books. She painted a series of dance paintings from these sketches (Fig. 38), which have an affinity, in both subject matter and style, with Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's cafe scenes. Less exacting in style and more spontaneous looking than her portraits, the dance paintings constitute some of Gerhardi's best work. Some are so simplified that they almost border on abstraction. (Fig. 39) Her dance series and cafe scenes appear to have been executed more quickly and there is a freshness to them. In a letter to her friend Elisabeth Gebhardt, she wrote that an upcoming exhibition of these works in a German museum would probably be canceled because these works were considered to be "too unmoralistic" by the museum exhibition jury. She speculated that these "city fathers" no doubt feared for their daughters and sons morality. Unperturbed by their judgment of her work she wrote: "I laugh about it all people with moralistic opinions [about art] are always questionable."⁴³ The dance

painting were widely praised in Paris, and Gerhardi's reputation continued to grow, yet she remained relatively unknown in Germany. This situation changed after she met Osthaus in 1902.

By 1900 Gerhardi frequently participated in exhibitions in Germany, but the critics there barely noticed her work. When her Bal Bullier dance paintings were exhibited at Victor's Kunstsalon in Wiesbaden, one critic grudgingly reported: "One begins to become more comfortable in the proximity of women artists... and such a surprise is Ida Gerhardi."⁴⁴ Later, in 1909, several of her Bal Bullier drawings were displayed in Berlin, and one year later they were featured in the International Exhibition of United Austrian Women in the Fine Arts, in the Vienna Secession. Her paintings were displayed there along with works by Angelika Kauffmann, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Berthe Morisot, Maria Casper-Filser, Käthe Kollwitz, and several other women artists.⁴⁵

Gerhardi also painted a number of commissioned portraits for wealthy German patrons and foreign society members, which was her main means of support. Most of these society portraits are painted in a Post-Impressionistic style, with broad sweeps of color application. In these formal portraits Gerhardi usually painted her subjects seated within a generalized, sketchy background. In Hagen

Osthaus had his portrait painted by her in 1903 (Fig. 40), and the two began a friendship which lasted until his death in 1921. Gerhardt first met Osthaus in 1902 when he visited her in Lüdenscheln, after seeing an exhibition of her work there. Although he purchased one of her works from the exhibition at that time, it is not known whether he purchased a painting or a drawing, titled The Parisian. Osthaus was also interested in acquiring Gerhardt's portrait of Jelka Rosen, Gerhardt's long time friend, which was also displayed at this exhibition, but apparently someone else had already purchased it.⁴⁶

The large portrait that Gerhardt painted of Osthaus in 1903, as an elegantly dressed, slender, aristocratic-looking young man in his office at the Folkwang, still hangs in the Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum today. Gerhardt carefully recorded his features as well as his energetic personality. Casually standing by his desk, with pen in hand, it appears as though Osthaus has briefly paused in his busy schedule. His slightly averted gaze and long slim fingers, temporarily stilled, convey an air of arrested energy, even impatience. The background here is less generalized than in most of her portraits, and includes the accouterments of Osthaus's office - books and pictures. Using primarily blues with yellow and white accents, Gerhardt painted a graceful-looking, elegant image of the young museum director. After this portrait was completed, Osthaus was so impressed with

Gerhardi's skill that he invited her to become a teacher in the "Folkwang Painting School," but the school never materialized.⁴⁷ Gerhardi returned to Paris, and she and Osthaus remained in close contact.

In Paris Gerhardi became an important liaison between Osthaus and several French artists. She kept Osthaus informed about the latest developments in the Parisian art world, and frequently accompanied him when he purchased works in Paris. Gerhardi recommended which artists' works were especially noteworthy to see, and she introduced Osthaus to the artists Denis, Matisse, Rodin and Maillol. She was on friendly terms with all of these artists, and was especially close to Rodin.⁴⁸ (Fig. 41) Through Gerhardi's close friendships with these artists, Osthaus gained access to their studios, and he purchased works directly from them long before other museum directors.

Gerhardi became very ill in 1912, and she left Paris permanently. She returned to Germany and lived with her physician brother, Karl-August, and his family in Lüdenscheid, not far from Hagen. Unfortunately, Gerhardi never fully recovered her health, but she sporadically continued painting. Due to the severity and length of her illness, Gerhardi did not participate in many exhibitions after 1912.⁴⁹ Her late work consists of small floral still-lives and cityscapes, which she painted from her studio

window.⁵⁰ Many of Gerhardi's paintings are not displayed in museums today because they remain in the possession of family members in Lüdenscheid.

The German sculptor Milly Steger (1881-1948) was associated with Osthaus and the Folkwang Museum from 1910 to 1918. Osthaus admired Steger's work and invited her to live and work in Hagen. Steger was born in 1881, the same year as the well-known German sculptor Wilhelm Lehmbruck, and she grew up in Rheinberg, not far from his birthplace.⁵¹ Although Steger was well-known in her own lifetime, and the cause of a city's scandalous uproar, she has not been studied in depth. She was widely recognized for her work and in 1918 participated in the Arbeitsrat exhibition.

Steger also came from a solid middle-class background. Her father, a lawyer, encouraged her to pursue a career in art.⁵² At the time most unmarried, middle-class females helped to manage the family household, and as pleasant feminine diversions they either learned how to play a musical instrument, paint floral still-lives, or sew and do needle-point work.⁵³ It was not common practice for them to study sculpture. Steger rejected the traditional career choices for women, and, with her family's support, she decided to become a sculptor.

Steger first attended the School of Arts and Crafts in

Elberfeld and then studied with Lehmbruck's teacher, Karl Janssen, in Düsseldorf. Janssen, who specialized in sculpture, recognized and nurtured Steger's ability to become a sculptor, and he taught her how to carve and chisel in stone and hard wood blocks.⁵⁴ Under Janssen's guidance, she received a basic, yet thorough knowledge of sculpting the human figure in a variety of media. Unfortunately, no examples of her early work period in Janssen's studio have survived, and therefore it is impossible to determine her style at that time. Most of Steger's later work, however, focuses on the nude female figure. She portrayed women as strong, confident, and frequently heroic figures. Her blocky forms are simplified and graceful, with a minimum of detail. Generally, her images of women have their eyes closed or their gaze averted, which conveys a quality of introspection. After studying in Düsseldorf, Steger went to Berlin to continue expanding her training as a sculptor.⁵⁵

At the turn of the century, Berlin was the main center for modernism in Germany, but it was also a city that had an overabundance of art production and trained artists.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Steger was determined to become a sculptor. After a period of searching for a teacher who would work with her, she found a young, then unknown, artist and teacher, Georg Kolbe, who was willing to take her as a pupil.⁵⁷ Under Kolbe's guidance, she continued to learn the technique of carving and began to concentrate on the female

figure. Within a short period of time they were jointly co-winners of the prestigious Villa Roma Prize. The award allowed Steger and Kolbe to travel to Paris and Belgium to observe and study contemporary developments in sculpture there.⁵⁸ In Paris, Steger met the artists Rodin and Maillol, and in Belgium she met the Symbolist sculptor Georges Minne. Allegedly, when Steger showed Minne an example of her work, he barely glanced at it, and dismissed her with: "You are not a sculptor!"⁵⁹ Ironically, her work was later frequently compared with Minne's.

After returning to Berlin, Steger left Kolbe's studio to pursue her career as an artist. It was extremely difficult for artists to find work in Berlin at that time, and the number of unemployed artists there had risen sharply between 1895 and 1907. By 1907 Steger joined the ranks of Berlin's 8,724 artists, of which 1,476 were women, who struggled to eke out a living. Not even included in the 1907 Reich census were art students, apprentices, assistants and art teachers outside of the academy who listed their occupation as "artist."⁶⁰ The city was a bastion of academic art, and there were only a very limited number of opportunities available to artists not connected with the academy. It was especially difficult for female sculptors, such as Steger, who had no academy affiliation and relied upon public commissions to earn a living.

In 1910 Osthaus was actively recruiting new artists to work in the thriving art colony that he had established in Hagen. Kolbe, who was on friendly terms with Osthaus by then, probably recommended Steger.⁶¹ Osthaus invited Steger to work in Hagen, and offered her a small monthly stipend and a studio located on the grounds of Hohenhof, his palatial mansion. (Figs. 42 and 43) Although many artists worked for Osthaus in Hagen by this time, Steger was the only female artist. Not long after her arrival, Osthaus commissioned her to create two sculptures, life-size standing Muses, to be placed in niches on the sides of the Folkwang's main entrance doors. (Fig. 44) Unfortunately, the plaster models for this project were never cast and if still intact, their present location is unknown.⁶² Steger also executed a small sandstone portal sculpture of a female head (Fig. 45) which was placed directly above the museum's entrance doors. This work typifies Steger's simplified style by that time, including the depiction of eyes that are cast so downward that they may be perceived as being closed. Although the portal head is still visible today, it was severely damaged during heavy bombing raids in World War II. Between 1910 and 1918, Steger obtained a variety of public commissions in Hagen, including sculptures for the exterior of newly built schools, and the city's courthouse.⁶³

In 1911 Steger was awarded the commission for Hagen's newly constructed Municipal Theater.⁶⁴ Osthaus played a

very influential role in this decision; he was the main financial investor behind this project, and he wanted Steger to create the architectural sculpture for the theater's facade. However, he had difficulty persuading the mayor and other city officials to commission a female sculptor. Eventually they acquiesced and grudgingly agreed to award Steger the commission. However, they did not anticipate that she would execute four full-bosomed, monumental, nude Muses for the theater's facade.⁶⁵ (Fig. 46) Carved in sandstone, Steger depicted four almost identical-looking figures in different frontal poses. Reading the whole work, from left to right, each one holds a drapery in a slightly different way, each emphasizing the disrobing, or unwrapping, of these solid, close-formed figures. Again, detail has been suppressed and each one has a downward or averted gaze. Steger did not draw her subject matter from historical or literary sources for this work. She supplied no complex narrative to sanction the nudity of these regal mannered figures. Instead, she portrayed them as independent women who chose to display their nude beauty for no specific reason. The sculptures became the topic of a heated controversy which divided the city of Hagen on the issue of public art, propriety and censorship.

A festive theater opening was planned to coincide with Steger's completion of the sculptures in 1911. The opening was attended by Hagen's social elite and illustrious guests

from far and wide. Steger's sculptures had been kept secret until the event, and when the colossal nudes, towering over the spectators below, were unveiled, the city fathers were outraged and the public was scandalized. The audience's expectation was that public sculpture told a story, or alluded to a moral, and Steger's work did neither. The Hagen people were unaccustomed to nudity in public art. Female nudity without any obvious sanction represented an explosive and shocking subject. Steger had designed the four idealized, yet provocatively smiling nude figures in Berlin, prior to her Hagen work period. This was unknown to Osthaus, and he felt duty bound to staunchly defend her theater sculptures.⁶⁶

Almost immediately a loud protest was raised to have the works removed. Priests objected, women petitioned and teachers forbade students to view the theater sculptures because they were perceived to be titillating, even potentially pornographic.⁶⁷ Osthaus and Steger found themselves embroiled in the center of the controversy. The public knew that Steger had come to Hagen exclusively due to Osthaus's request and they made lewd connections between Osthaus, the Folkwang, and the "smutty" sculptures.⁶⁸ Osthaus fought vigorously against the public's attempt to censor the nude figures. He questioned why a different set of criteria was applied to museum art than to public art, and he waged a battle to keep the works from being removed

from the theater.

In a letter writing campaign to numerous well-known sculptors, critics and museum directors, Osthaus requested their expertise and guidance in helping to resolve the public controversy. His letter to Hugo von Tschudi, a strong supporter of modernism, and then the director of the Pinakothek in Munich, is an example of Osthaus's determination to save Steger's theater figures. The letter that Osthaus sent him, dated 13 October 1911, reads in part as follows, and illustrates the nature and scope of the controversy.

I have taken the liberty of sending you photographs of Milly Steger's four figures on the facade of Hagen's new Municipal Theater... these figures have become the source of an ugly controversy. Some of the mildest expressions being said are things such as "an obscene artist has created filth and shocking ugliness," etc. These figures are even being discussed in the City Council. So far it has not been ruled out that the figures will be removed, and replaced with some kind of kitsch. Although I do not wish to influence your opinion about these works, the entire incident has an important underlying principle, one that must be dealt with sharply by those who have knowledge of artistic meaning and merit. I would like to try to change the opinions of the Hagen citizens... to make them reconsider removing these figures.... it is also being debated whether these figures would not be better placed in a museum.... please respond with a few diplomatic words that the Hagen citizens can understand.⁶⁹

Unfortunately Tschudi was unable to respond in depth to Osthaus's request because he was seriously ill at the time.

Nevertheless, he wrote Osthaus a brief note stating that he strongly supported both modern art and the idea of a free environment in which to view it.⁷⁰

Osthaus also asked Friedrich Wichert, the director of the Mannheim Kunsthalle, to comment on Steger's theater figures. Wichert, familiar with Steger's earlier work, admired her modern, untraditional style and he fully agreed with Osthaus that the sculptures should remain intact.⁷¹ In his response to Osthaus he pointed out the hesitant acceptance of modernism in general, and noted that,

... art is almost always judged harshly by the public ... and I believe that this situation will not change until artists unite and their art is better accepted. I admire Milly Steger's Hagen sculptures, especially their modernity... but the majority of the people do not understand them... because they do not wish to relinquish old traditional styles. Most people today still prefer sculptures from the Greek or Renaissance and Baroque periods, because of their anatomically correct canons and smoothness of execution.⁷²

Eventually Osthaus succeeded in persuading the Hagen citizens to leave Steger's theater sculptures in place, and today the Municipal Theater figures are proudly singled out as an important cultural sight in Hagen for visitors to see.

In 1912 Osthaus offered Steger a small, yet luxurious house to live in (Fig. 47), in recognition of her outstanding work.⁷³ Her house, designed by the Dutch architect, J. L. M. Lauweriks (1864-1932), was located in

the "Stirnband" (Headband) section (Fig. 48), not far from Osthaus's luxurious villa, Hohenhof. Steger's house, a small-scale villa, was part of an exclusive building project that consisted of private residences, all financed by Osthaus, for six of his "star" artists.⁷⁴ Steger carved a large sandstone female figure on the side of this villa, which temporarily became her home in this idyllic and elegant artists' colony. As one of Osthaus's stellar artists, Steger's work was also frequently featured in the Folkwang.⁷⁵ In addition, her work was promoted in exhibitions outside of Hagen, including the large 1912 Köln Sonderbund (where she was the only living female artist represented), in Dusseldörf, the Freie Secession in Berlin, the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition in Köln, and numerous other cities throughout Germany.⁷⁶ After firmly establishing her career, Steger left Hagen in 1918 and returned to Berlin.

Shortly after her arrival in Berlin, Steger participated in one of the first postwar artists' group, the "Arbeitsrat für Kunst" (Workers' Council for Art), along with the artists Max Pechstein, César Klein, Georg Tapert and others. As a member of this group, she wrote a short essay which was selected for publication in the Arbeitsrat's pamphlet, Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrat für Kunst in Berlin (Yes! Voices of the Workers' Council for Art in Berlin). Her essay advocated reforms in the teaching of the arts and state support for artists. She supported the idea of a

socialist state that would help "promote unknown, but talented artists," and also eliminate barriers for female artists. Steger proposed that the government help struggling young artists through small stipends, and provide opportunities for them to attend free workshops to further their knowledge. She also recommended that museums should be established in every town, from small villages to large cities, to encourage the arts to flourish. In addition, she suggested that well-known, established artists should contribute a certain percentage of the moneys from their sales to help support needy artists. She believed that art could do universal good and change society for the better.⁷⁷ Interestingly, Steger's beliefs about the roles of art and society echoed her own nurturing experience with Osthaus in Hagen. In Berlin, Steger also joined the Novembergruppe, which was founded by César Klein, Pechstein, Heinrich Richter-Berlin, and Tapert.⁷⁸ While a member of this group, Steger also wrote an essay titled "Aufruf zum sozialismus" (A Call for Socialism), which was included in their pamphlet, An Alle Künstler (To All Artists). Again she strongly urged all artists to unite and initiate social reforms through the arts.⁷⁹

In addition to creating numerous sculptures for public buildings and decorative work for architectural projects, Steger executed her first free-standing sculpture in 1919, titled Jephthah's Daughter. (Fig. 49) This sculpture was a

life-size female dancer, cast in bronze, and acquired by Osthaus in 1920 for the Folkwang.⁸⁰ The title of the work is derived from a scene in the Old Testament, and Steger chose to depict the moment when the hunter Jephthah returned home and contemplated sacrificing his dog as an offering to God. Her interpretation of this event depicts the precise moment when Jephthah's daughter decides to deliberately distract her father with what has been called a "dance of death" by the German critic Max Osborne.⁸¹ The life-size sculpture was exhibited in 1920 at the Berlin Secession, and Osborne singled it out for praise:

Milly Steger ... has seldom before managed to achieve a figure such as Jephthah's Daughter... She has captured the bloom of youth in a dance of death, and depicts this emotion... [by employing] a harmonious use of line and dissonance that forces the eye to move about the figure from all sides, without losing the magical personal life of the work.⁸²

After Steger's Hagen period, the critics began to notice her work and she participated in numerous exhibitions. Steger corresponded and kept in contact with Osthaus until his premature death in 1921. She participated in the Folkwang's second memorial exhibition (June 1921) in Osthaus's honor, titled "Die Künstler um Karl Ernst Osthaus."⁸³

The correspondence between Ada Nolde and Gertrud Osthaus illuminates an interesting, yet unknown fact; Ada

also exhibited work in the Folkwang. Although she was a self-taught craftswoman without any formal art training, Osthaus frequently exhibited her colorful weavings in the Folkwang, and he promoted her work in international exhibitions outside of Germany.

Ada Nolde (1877-1945), née Vilstrup, was born in Denmark. She was the twelfth born and youngest daughter of a Protestant minister and was raised in a solid middle-class household. Ada was just beginning to pursue a career as an actress when she met a struggling artist, Emil Hansen, in Copenhagen, in the winter of 1900-1901.⁸⁴ When Emil left Denmark to return to Germany, they corresponded and traveled between Copenhagen and Berlin, where he lived. They conducted a long-distance romance for one year, and, in 1902, they were married in Berlin. (Fig. 50) At that time Emil also changed his last name from Hansen to Nolde, in honor of his birthplace.⁸⁵ Shortly after their marriage, they moved to Flensburg, and in this isolated region of northern Germany Ada learned to weave.⁸⁶

According to Nolde's memoirs, the winters in Flensburg were long, cold and uneventful. A neighbor, Toni Eckner, befriended Ada and taught her how to weave. Ada initially began weaving to help pass the lonely hours while her husband painted in solitude. She made drawings for her designs and carefully chose colors that would brighten the

drab interior of their small cottage, and was soon weaving on a daily basis and creating small pillows and rugs.⁸⁷

The Noldes were extremely poor. Their friend Hans Fehr provided them with their only regular income for many years.⁸⁸ One day Fehr visited them in Flensburg and brought them a small piano. Ada, who had been raised in a musical household, happily played the piano every day and practiced singing while Emil painted.⁸⁹ She temporarily stopped weaving, and planned to pursue a career as a singer, hoping that this might ease their economic hardship. In the fall of 1904 Ada went to Berlin in search of a job. She found employment as a singer in a variety dance-hall theater which presented popular entertainment for the working-classes. Too impoverished to buy costumes for her performances, Ada sewed her own outfits and created colorful costumes in bright colors. Her show business career was short lived.

In Nolde's biography, Mein Leben, he wrote about Ada's Berlin period. He recalled that some (unnamed) acquaintances heard about Ada's performances in Berlin, and that they were allegedly quite shocked to find out that she lived in a run down hotel and was a dance-hall singer. According to Nolde, they insisted that Ada leave the "bad, dirty" environment there, and gave her 100.- marks to leave Berlin immediately. She was told that the money could be thought of as a down payment towards one of her husband's

paintings. Ada was deeply humiliated and heartbroken by this condescending, yet no doubt well-meaning gesture: she had a nervous breakdown and became very ill. Nolde confided in Fehr, who gave him money so that he could go to Berlin to look after Ada. In Berlin Nolde consulted a doctor and was told that his wife needed a warmer climate and complete bed rest. Nolde later remembered how he had to "half drag" his wife to Italy where she rested, but did not recuperate.⁹⁰

The Noldes spent the winter of 1904-05 in Taormina, Italy. Since Ada was visibly distraught and quite ill when they first arrived there, no one else was willing to rent them a room. In addition, they had very little money, so the Noldes spent part of Christmas Eve on the bitter cold streets of Taormina. Late that night, however, an Italian man, a Mr. Marziani, offered to provide them shelter and invited them into his home. When Emil and Ada arrived at Marziani's house on Christmas Eve, they were warmly greeted by his German-born wife, and an elegant Norwegian couple, who were house-guests. The Norwegian woman, Ingeborg Lindholm, was a poet and her husband, a military officer.⁹¹

The Noldes remained in the Marziani household for several weeks during the winter of 1904-1905. Emil painted during the day and spent evenings talking with Ingeborg, her husband and the Marzianis. Emil must have been surprised to learn that Ingeborg's cousin was the painter Edvard Munch.

According to Nolde, she talked at length about Munch and avant-garde writers that she knew in Christiania. Nolde claimed that during this visit he painted a small portrait of Ingeborg (present location unknown), which she jokingly titled "Frau Satan."⁹² Ada, however, still remained in low spirits and did not get better.

The Noldes returned to Germany in the spring of 1905 and Ada entered a sanitarium. Emil went to Munich and Berlin and visited galleries, where he saw paintings by van Gogh, Gauguin and Munch. In Weimar, Count Harry Kessler mounted a small exhibition of Emil's paintings, but the Noldes remained in financial difficulty and Ada's lingering illness continued.⁹³

As discussed earlier in chapter five, Nolde met Osthaus in January of 1906, when he stopped in Hagen after visiting Ada in a nearby sanitarium in Hilchenbach.⁹⁴ One month later, Osthaus invited the Noldes to be his houseguests for several days. Evidently, Ada was released from the sanitarium by this time and accompanied her husband to Hagen. During this visit the Noldes were the guests of honor at a dinner in the Folkwang Museum. Several other guests were also invited and Ada was seated next to Osthaus at dinner. Emil was seated next to the elegantly dressed Gertrud, and later recalled that during the course of the evening, "Frau Osthaus, a proud, pretty woman, sat and

talked with my Ada for a long time." It was during this visit that Osthaus acquired Emil's painting Spring, and generously paid more than the artist asked for it. Apparently the Osthauses initially pitied the impoverished Noldes and decided to help them in any way they could. In March Emil had his first exhibition at the Folkwang,⁹⁵ and his career in Germany was launched. Gertrud and Ada became close friends and the former came to think of Nolde's wife as a sister.⁹⁶

The letter exchanges between Ada and Gertrud provide an intimate view of their friendship over several years. The women eventually used the informal "Du" (you) when corresponding and Gertrud's letters to Ada were affectionately signed "Mäuz."⁹⁷ In none of the surviving letters did Ada mention her short-lived singing career in Berlin, nor did she discuss her lingering illness and breakdown before meeting the Osthauses. These letters depict Ada as a much less fragile and unsure woman than Nolde's brief character descriptions of his wife in his writings. It appears that Ada recovered from her breakdown and became more confident during the span of her friendship with Gertrud. She also began weaving again and it appears that the craftwork provided a positive and therapeutic effect on her well-being. Gertrud, a nurturing woman, probably played a role in persuading her husband to look at her friend's craftwork; (Figs. 51 and 52) beautifully woven

pillows and small, colorful, woven rugs.

Ada and Osthaus also corresponded and he evidently asked to see her work. In June, 1910, Ada shyly wrote Osthaus,

I am keeping my promise and sending you samples of the wonderful wool that you wanted to see.... I also sent you two pieces from my [woven] dress.... I would very much like to exhibit my weavings [in Hagen].... They are only small pillows and not very much.⁹⁸

In October 1910, Ada wrote Osthaus again and pursued the idea of exhibiting her work. She boldly wrote him, "I would like to send you about six or eight of our best pillows, and would like to know when would be a good time for you to exhibit them. I think they are very good."⁹⁹ Osthaus decided to display Ada's work in the Deutsche Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe, which shared space with the Folkwang Museum. At that time Osthaus was very interested in handmade craft items; especially functional and well made items. This interest in crafts was most likely encouraged by Van de Velde, whose aesthetic theories were heavily indebted to and influenced by the British Arts and Crafts movement. Osthaus's interest in hand crafts may have also been linked with the Volk movement, and/or his desire to revive regional crafts and traditions in Hagen.¹⁰⁰

August Kuth, Osthaus's young assistant at the Folkwang, took the liberty of answering Ada's letter of October, 1910.

He informed her that although the Osthauses were in Greece until mid-November, she should send her pillows to Hagen. Kuth was no doubt acting on Osthaus's orders to accept Ada's work and display it. Kuth wrote Ada that Osthaus was interested in including her craft items in the German Industrial Museum's Christmas Exhibition at the Folkwang. He cautioned her that the museum would take a fifteen percent commission from any work that was sold, and to adjust her selling prices accordingly.¹⁰¹ Ada responded that she "would gladly send the pillows,"¹⁰² and mailed six woven pillows for a total value of 240.- marks.¹⁰³ The only pillow that sold during the Folkwang's Christmas Exhibition was purchased by Kuth for the museum. However, Ada was not disappointed; she was also sending her pillows elsewhere to exhibit and sell. In Kuth's letter to Ada, dated 11 January 1911, he apologized that "we did not sell as many pillows as [Ernst] Gosebruch in Essen."¹⁰⁴ Gosebruch was also a supporter of her husband's work and a close friend of Osthaus. It appears that Gosebruch was also exhibiting and selling Ada's work and willing to help the impoverished couple. Ada had become an enterprising artist and was actively seeking a marketplace for her work.

In December 1912, Osthaus invited Ada to participate in the Ghent World Exhibition in Belgium. The large exhibition was scheduled to take place in 1913 and Osthaus was asked to participate in this international event. He selected

various artists, including Ada, whose works would be displayed in the specially constructed "German House" there.¹⁰⁵ Ada accepted Osthaus's invitation to exhibit and wrote him, "I am so pleased about your invitation for Ghent."¹⁰⁶ She sent Osthaus two small multi-colored woven rugs and four finely woven pillows for the exhibition. All of her works were accepted by the jury, and she cleverly requested that "... my things to be hung at eye level."¹⁰⁷ The exhibition was a success, and the Belgian Jury awarded Ada a silver medal for one of her pillows.

Shortly after the Ghent Exhibition, the Noldes left Germany for a South Sea expedition, and Ada had her things shipped from Ghent to the Folkwang in Hagen. Osthaus arranged for both of them to be represented in the 1914 German Werkbund Exhibition in Köln, even though they were out of the country. Nolde was represented at the Werkbund Exhibition with three paintings and Ada with the remaining woven pillows from the Ghent Exhibition. The Noldes returned from New Guinea in the summer of 1914, and the outbreak of war curtailed Ada's own artistic link with Osthaus and the Folkwang.

During the war years both the Folkwang's and Deutsche Museum's exhibition activities became restricted, and Osthaus shifted his interest away from the promotion of decorative crafts to more timely issues, such as the

historical and political roles of art. Although Ada did not participate in any Folkwang related exhibitions after 1914, she still remained in close contact with Osthaus and her correspondence and visits with Gertrud continued. In 1916, as a tribute to the Osthauses' mentorship and friendship, Ada presented Osthaus with an assortment of ethnographic objects that she and Emil had brought back from their travels to New Guinea and Korea, and these items were prominently displayed in the Folkwang.¹⁰⁸

The Expressionist poet and writer Else Lasker-Schüler (1869-1945) was born in Elberfeld, not far from Hagen. Her father, Aron Schüler, was an architect, and he encouraged her interest in the arts.¹⁰⁹ Lasker-Schüler studied painting in Berlin before she became known as a writer, and she had the first exhibition of her drawings at the Folkwang Museum in 1916.

Else Schüler married a medical doctor, Johnathon Berthold Lasker, in 1894.¹¹⁰ After settling in Berlin, she decided to study painting and studied with the painter Simon Goldberg. As the wife of a medical doctor, Lasker-Schüler could afford to have her own studio in the then exclusive section of Berlin's Tiergarten quarter where she worked.¹¹¹ Her interest in painting and drawing remained one of her lifelong interests, and she produced a large body of drawings by 1916. Her son Paul was born in 1899, and he

later became a talented, yet penniless caricaturist.¹¹²

After Paul's birth, Lasker-Schüler pursued a career as a writer, and she became a regular member of Berlin's avant-garde literary circle. In 1902 she published her first novel, Styx, divorced Lasker, and met her future second husband, the composer and publisher, Georg Levin (Herwarth Walden, 1878-1941).¹¹³ She married Walden in the fall of 1903, but kept the name Lasker-Schüler.¹¹⁴ In Berlin the couple held regular open house concerts for their numerous friends, which included the literary, musical and artistic avant-garde.¹¹⁵ During her marriage to Walden, Lasker-Schüler began writing prolifically, and she published several books, stories, and a play. However, by 1906 marital problems, due to a lack of money, began to erode their marriage, and in 1910 Lasker-Schüler and Walden separated.¹¹⁶

Walden was the founder and editor of Der Sturm, Germany's first Expressionist journal. The journal made its debut in 1910 and had been inspired by Lasker-Schüler. Der Sturm was considered to be the "painters' journal" and space was devoted to full-page reproduced woodcuts by the Viennese artist Oskar Kokoschka, the German Brücke artists, Wassily Kandinsky and the Blaue Reiter artists, and later the Italian Futurists.¹¹⁷ Lasker-Schüler contributed essays and prose to the journal, and later her work also appeared in

Franz Pfemfert's leftist journal, Die Aktion. Although Pfemfert and Walden were arch enemies, Lasker-Schüler, as did other writers and poets, flitted from one journal to the other.¹¹⁸

Lasker-Schüler frequently took Opium, and in her drug induced stupor wrote bizarre stories with Orientalized imagery.¹¹⁹ She was called the "Black Swan of Israel" by her friends, and her exotic appearance and highly imaginative prose and writing style elevated her to idol status among the young literary avant-garde.¹²⁰ The writer Kurt Pinthus provided a vivid physical and character description of Lasker-Schüler when he wrote:

Else Lasker-Schüler [was] black-eyed, black-haired, small and dark, wearing bizarre jewelry and always in the throes of some passionate love affair. She read her poems with the same intensity with which they had been written, [and] sent everybody postcards decorated with coloured stars and flowers and profiles....¹²¹

Her letters to Osthaus (Fig. 53), addressed to "Herr von Hohenhof," were also decorated with these whimsical drawings of stars, flowers and profiles.

Osthaus knew Lasker-Schüler through his business associations with Walden, and probably followed her career years before her work appeared in the Folkwang. Osthaus and Walden personally knew each other, and the Berlin writer and art dealer frequently asked Osthaus to loan him paintings

for exhibitions in the Sturm Gallery. On February 15, 1912, Walden wrote to Osthaus and asked to borrow paintings by Hodler and Oskar Kokoschka for an upcoming exhibition to coincide with the celebration of Sturm magazine's 100th edition on March 1st.¹²² In the summer of 1912, when Walden was faced with financial difficulties, he contacted Osthaus and offered to sell him some shares of stock, at 20.- marks per share, in the Sturm Verlag.¹²³ It is not known whether Osthaus purchased any of the stock. Walden also sent Osthaus special invitations on a regular basis to attend the openings of art exhibitions at the Sturm Gallery in Berlin.¹²⁴ Walden and Osthaus frequently shared exhibitions on a regular basis from 1912 onwards.¹²⁵

A publicity release, comprised of various Berlin newspaper reviews, all dated September 1909, is in the Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive in Hagen. The small brochure was sent to Osthaus by the Verein für Kunst zu Berlin (Association for Art in Berlin), and it features a photograph of a demurely dressed Lasker-Schüler on its frontispiece. (Fig. 54) The pamphlet is comprised of a compilation of newspaper articles that reported on Lasker-Schüler's poetry and book readings in Berlin. Virtually all of the newspaper accounts commented on how she looked (beautiful), what she wore (exotic and colorful), and the special, staged environment in which she performed (colorful and mood evoking). For example, the Nationalzeitung reported that Lasker-Schüler

wore a black dress at a poetry reading at Paul Cassirer's Berlin gallery. During her performance, "seven candles flickered in a dark red and gold environment" as she read a selection from her book, Die Nächte Tino von Bagdads (The Nights of Tino from Bagdad) to a packed audience. She sketched many of the fantasy inspired literary characters from her writings over a number of years, and these drawings were exhibited in 1916 at the Folkwang.¹²⁶

In late 1915, or early 1916, Lasker-Schüler wrote to Osthaus that she would like to have the first showing of her drawings in the Folkwang.¹²⁷ (Figs. 55 and 56) Osthaus complied and mounted a large exhibition of her drawings during the spring of 1916 (April-May). A few of the black and white line drawings were portrait sketches of her literary acquaintances, such as Karl Kraus and Richard Dehmel, but most of Lasker-Schüler's works depicted imaginary characters from her writings.¹²⁸ Many of these drawings were of "Abigail," one of her invented, literary characters. Several of the titles of these works also reflected her on-going interest in Oriental imagery, such as the drawing of Fakir, a Jewish sultan.¹²⁹

On May 9, 1916, a museum staff person from the Folkwang sent Lasker-Schüler a letter informing her that two of the drawings from the exhibition sold. Her portrait sketch of the sharp-tongued satirist writer, Karl Kraus, sold for

150.- marks, and a drawing of one of her literary characters, titled Jussufs Häuptlinge (Jussuf's Chieftain), sold for 50.- marks.¹³⁰ The exhibition was by no means a financial success, and the war probably played a role in the show's small number of sales. Nevertheless, this was the only exhibition of Lasker-Schüler's drawings in a museum until 1931, when the National Gallery in Berlin displayed her work.¹³¹

The German Impressionist painter Maria Slavona (1865-1931), née Schorer (Fig. 57), was born into a middle-class family in Lübeck. She studied art in Munich and Berlin, before going elsewhere to pursue her career. Slavona moved to Paris where she felt there were fewer constraints for women and remained there for fifteen years. In Paris she painted mostly portraits and floral still-lives, subject matter that was deemed suitable at that time for women. It was widely believed then that women could only excel in these less vigorous art categories due to their limited training.¹³² However, Slavona did more than just excel. The German art critic Julius Meier-Graefe and the writer and editor Karl Scheffler both thought highly of her work. Scheffler held her work in such high esteem that in his memoirs, Die fetten und die mageren Jahre (1946), he referred to her as "one of the three most talented women artists of the time."¹³³ Ironically, as late as 1971, she was erroneously listed by Hesse-Frielinghaus as "Ackermann-

Slavonas, Maler" (male artist), not "Malerin" (female artist) in a German text.¹³⁴ Furthermore, she never used the name "Ackermann-Slavona" professionally, and first began using the name Slavona in 1890, and continued to do so after her marriage to the Swiss art dealer Otto Ackermann.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, not many of her works have survived because a large portion of them were destroyed in Berlin during World War II.¹³⁶

Slavona, the daughter of a Lübeck pharmacist, was raised in a progressive and cultured household. Her parents encouraged all their children to have careers. Slavona's two brothers were career professionals, one a lawyer and the other a teacher. Her three sisters also became professionals: a medical doctor, an actress, and a concert pianist.¹³⁷ At the age of seventeen Slavona went to Berlin to study art. In spite of the exclusionary academy policies of the day, Slavona decided not to attend one of Berlin's several private "Damen" (Ladies) schools that were run by male artists such as Lovis Corinth, Hans Baluschek, Curt Herrmann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Jacob Alberts and Heinrich Hübner. Instead, she chose to study at the integrated Privatismalschule Eichler (Eichler Private Painting School) which was associated with the Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums (Royal Museum of Arts and Crafts), founded in 1868. Eichler taught anatomy, drawing and painting there, and Slavona studied with him until 1886.¹³⁸

An example of Slavona's early work while she studied with Eichler is a small charcoal drawing, Self-Portrait from 1885 (Fig. 58), which shows the intense scrutiny of her self directed gaze. She admired the work of the German Renaissance artists Albrecht Dürer, and her interest in rendering an accurate likeness here is somewhat reminiscent of Dürer's penetrating self-portraits. The three-quarter view portrait shows Slavona's talent for portraiture, which remained one of her favorite subjects.

In 1887 Slavona joined the Zeichen und Malschule des Berlin Vereins der Künstlerinnen (Drawing and Painting School of the Berlin Association of Women) and studied with Carl Stauffer-Bern, a Swiss painter and etcher. The school had been founded twenty years earlier because there was no place for women to obtain art instruction in Berlin. The German graphic artist Käthe Kollwitz had briefly studied with the same teacher at this school in the winter of 1885/86, and later in Munich she and Slavona became classmates.¹³⁹ When Slavona went to Munich, shortly after the death of Stauffer-Bern, she enrolled at the Künstlerinnenverein (Fig. 59) and was in the same painting classes with Kollwitz.¹⁴⁰ The two women became friends and Kollwitz later recalled that Slavona was by far a more talented than she was.¹⁴¹ Slavona studied in Munich for two years and in 1890 she decided to study in Paris.¹⁴² Initially, Slavona's family was hesitant about their

daughter's plan to study in Paris, but since she was prevented from pursuing her career at home, they eventually accepted and supported her decision.¹⁴³

Slavona's early years in Paris, 1890 to 1893, dramatically altered her life. Shortly after arriving in Paris, she met and moved in with the Danish painter, and budding art dealer, Vilhelm Petersen (later known as Willy Grétor), whom she had met earlier in Lübeck. Slavona became pregnant with his child during her first year in Paris. Too ashamed to ask her parents or family members for help, she sent Grétor to Munich to bring her friend and her former classmate, Rosa Pfäffinger, whom she hoped would be sympathetic, trustworthy, and perhaps assist her financially. However, when Grétor returned to Paris, he was engaged to Pfäffinger! In September, 1891, Slavona gave birth to a daughter (Lilly) and Grétor temporarily disappeared from Slavona's life. Two years later Grétor suddenly re-entered Slavona's life and gave her the first of several van Gogh and Cézanne paintings.¹⁴⁴

The Slavona-Grétor story must have been well-known at the time and the subject of intense gossip. In Meier-Graefe's Geschichten neben der Kunst (Stories Surrounding Art, 1928), he mentioned Grétor and noted that:

[Grétor] knew all the museums in the world...
Already in 1893 he was deeply convinced about

the future importance of Vincent van Gogh, so much so, that instead of money he gave the mother of his child, from whom he was separated, several paintings by Van Gogh, from his late period, with instructions to hold onto them for twenty years.¹⁴⁵

Slavona was undoubtedly given valuable collateral by Grétor to use as financial security in the future for Lilly (Fig. 60) and herself, but she continued to paint portraits, domestic interior scenes and still-lives for survival in the present. Her main means of support was painting and selling picturesque street scenes, such as this later work, painted in 1898, Houses in Montmartre (Fig. 61). In this sun-bleached scene of apartment houses, painted from an upper window view, Slavona uses value contrasts and linear modeling, which shows her concern for compositional balance and clarity. A carefully composed painting, it does not have an effect of spontaneity.

In 1893 Slavona exhibited in the Fourth Exhibition of the Société des Beaux Arts, under a male pseudonym, as Carl Maria (to disguise her gender), and under her own name at the Salon on the Champ du Mars.¹⁴⁶ Her entry in the latter exhibit, a sensitively rendered portrait of an old woman selling flowers (Alte Blumenverkäuferin, Fig. 62) shows the strong influence of French Impressionism on her work. Like the Impressionists, Slavona selected her subject from contemporary, daily life, but her painting demonstrates a more conservative approach to Impressionism. In this work,

she minimizes the use of broken, choppy brushwork, a hallmark of Impressionist technique. Slavona's painting technique is more smooth, precise and less sketchy. Painted primarily in various shades of brown and yellow, the figure of the old flower seller retains its solidity and the contours remain firm. Although Impressionism left its imprint on a number of artists, her work was frequently compared with Berthe Morisot's paintings, even though Slavona acknowledged that it was the work of Manet, Monet, Renoir and Pissarro had a strong impact on her own work.¹⁴⁷ Evidently her gender affected the critics' expectations of what they saw when looking at her work and therefore they compared her with Morisot, not with the male Impressionists.

Between 1894 and 1896 Slavona and her daughter lived in Tirol, Switzerland, and Berlin. In 1897 they returned to Paris, and shortly thereafter Slavona met the Swiss art dealer, Otto Ackermann, whom she married in 1899. Ackermann was a member of the group of art dealers, artists, and writers who gathered at the Café du Dôme to exchange ideas and discuss art and literature. Slavona accompanied her husband on some of these visits, where she became friends with Gerhardt, who was also a regular member of the Café du Dôme circle.¹⁴⁸ By the mid-1890s, both women exhibited at the Salon on the Champs du Mars, and they knew many of the same artists and had friends in common.

In the Ackermann-Slavona's elegant Paris residence, the artists Edvard Munch, Max Liebermann, Walter Leistikow, and Camille Pissarro were frequent guests, as well as the German art collector Uhde and Rainer Maria Rilke, the German writer and friend of Paula Modersohn-Becker.¹⁴⁹ In 1904 Kollwitz and her son visited Slavona. Ackermann graciously showed his wife's friend from Berlin all the major art galleries in Paris, and introduced her to several artists.¹⁵⁰ French and Swiss art collectors and art dealers were also regular visitors in the Ackermann's home and Slavona became acquainted with them all. But she never pursued the opportunity to advance her own career through her husband's influential associations and preferred to establish her career on her own merits.

When the Ackermanns moved to Berlin in 1909, after briefly living in Lübeck, Slavona did not exhibit her work, but devoted her time to Lilly and her husband. After supporting herself and Lilly for a number of years, she evidently enjoyed spending time with her daughter, and her domestic duties were also time consuming. In 1911 she began to exhibit in Berlin, but remained shy about her work, even though one of her paintings had been purchased by the French government in 1907 for the Musée de Luxembourg. In a 1931 newspaper article about Slavona, Meier-Graefe wrote that Slavona was generally always hesitant about showing her work to friends. He wrote that, "In her Berlin home, one saw

only her latest paintings, and when one wanted to look at them, she would immediately remove them, and bring a small Corot, a Géricault or a Delacroix sketch to look at instead."¹⁵¹ Surrounded by masterpieces on a daily basis, Slavona probably felt inadequate artistically when she compared her paintings to the work of well-known masters.

Although Slavona had been a corresponding member of the Berlin Secession since 1901, she did not participate regularly with the secession until 1911. After moving to Berlin, her work gradually became known there, and in 1912 Paul Cassirer mounted a one-person exhibition of her paintings in his gallery.¹⁵² One year later Slavona's paintings were featured in the Folkwang Museum.

Ada and Emil Nolde knew the Ackermanns quite well in Berlin and they were the liaisons between Slavona and Osthaus. On April 4, 1913, Ada sent Osthaus a postcard with a brief message, "Frau Slavona's address is: Charlottenburg, Schillerstrasse 41."¹⁵³ Six days later Osthaus wrote Ada:

The enclosed postcard that we mailed to Frau Ackermann, at the address that you provided, has been returned. Would you or your husband be so kind as to personally deliver it to Mr. and Mrs. Ackermann. I understand that you see them quite often.¹⁵⁴

The Noldes had probably seen Slavona's work at her

Berlin home and the Berlin Secession. They apparently told Osthaus about her exhibition at the Cassirer Gallery. By that time Osthaus and Cassirer were long-standing competitive rivals, and what one showed in Hagen, the other promoted in Berlin, and vice versa. The Noldes felt an allegiance towards Osthaus (both economically and socially), and they kept him well-informed about various new exhibitions in the metropolis. Slavona's work was exhibited at the Folkwang in April and May of 1913.

Art historians have not yet examined the extent of Slavona's affiliation with the Folkwang. The 1981 seminal exhibition catalog of her work by Dr. Margrit Bröhan does not mention her Hagen exhibition in 1913. It is not known what Slavona displayed at the Folkwang in 1913, or if Osthaus purchased one of her paintings. However, none of her paintings were listed in the 1929 Essen catalog, which documents the inventory of Hagen works that were sold to the city of Essen in 1922.¹⁵⁵ Seven years after exhibiting at the Folkwang, her hometown honored her with an exhibition of her work in the Lübeck Museum. In 1927, at the age of sixty, her painting Houses in Montmartre was purchased for Berlin's National Gallery.¹⁵⁶ Additional research on Slavona would no doubt expand and clarify the precise nature and scope of her activities in Germany after her move there from Paris in 1906.

In addition to Modersohn-Becker, Gerhardi, Steger, Nolde, Lasker-Schüler and Slavona, many other women artists were also featured in the Folkwang Museum on a regular basis between 1909 and 1921. Interestingly, all of these women were German. Many of these women artists, today long forgotten or as yet unexplored, were highly thought of in their own time. Some of them were from Hagen and nearby regions, but several came from Berlin and other areas. Most of these women participated in group exhibitions at the Folkwang. Osthaus probably became familiar with the work of some of these women artists through their associations with van de Velde, Curt Herrmann, and the Bauhaus in Weimar.

The Düsseldorf artist Rosa Weibel and her husband, Karl, displayed batiks in the Folkwang's large Christmas Exhibition (Nov. - Dec.) of 1909. The works of the Hagen born painter Bertha von Seld were featured in January 1910, along with paintings by Gerhardi and several male artists in a group exhibition titled "Westfalen Artists." In November of the same year, von Seld had a small solo exhibition of her paintings in the museum. Katharina Schöffner, from Dresden, displayed drawings and paintings in January 1911, and Erika von Scheel (1881-1966) exhibited batiks in November and December of the same year.¹⁵⁷ Von Scheel was a former student of the Berlin artist and private collector Curt Herrmann. She had attended his Berlin "Mal und Zeichenschule für Damen" (Painting and Drawing School for

Ladies). Von Scheel later became a co-worker of Van de Velde in Weimar, where she mainly specialized in designing fabrics for curtains and wall paper.¹⁵⁸

In October 1911 Osthaus mounted a group exhibition of German graphics which included works by the well-known artist Käthe Kollwitz. This show also traveled to America and included works on paper by Adolph von Menzel, Max Klinger, Nolde, Pechstein and several other male artists. This appears to have been Kollwitz's only association with the Folkwang Museum in Hagen. However, during the war, one of her former printmaking students from Berlin, Stella Hasse, exhibited graphic works at the Folkwang.¹⁵⁹

In the spring of 1912, the Stuttgart artist Nina Brühlmann and her husband, Hans, exhibited together in the museum. She displayed jewelry and her husband exhibited paintings. On the eve of war, Osthaus featured works by the Berlin sculptor Bertha Wiemann.¹⁶⁰ In June, 1916, Lore Masius, from Essen, had an exhibition of her newest paintings, and the following year the Berlin artists Emmy von Hofe and Toni Farwick, both displayed sculptures. In 1918 Dora Brandenburg exhibited paintings, and in January 1921 Harriet von Rethel, a Bauhaus student, showed her latest sculptures at the Folkwang.¹⁶¹

Despite the success of these German artists, Germany

did not accept the concept of women as professional artists until the early years of the twentieth century. Up until that time, drawing and painting (but not sculpture) were certainly sanctioned skills for women to learn, but these skills were thought of as mere extensions of women's feminine accomplishments, but not as a career choice. Barred from entry into exclusive male-dominated state academies in Germany, these women were forced to seek alternative art training. Most of them, therefore, either studied privately or joined women's art associations. When possible, they also went elsewhere to study, leaving Germany and going to Paris, where the atmosphere was less confining and there were fewer patriarchal restrictions for women artists. In addition to these barriers, women artists in Germany were discriminated against and their works were generally excluded from exhibitions and museums.

An exception to these prevailing attitudes was Osthaus, who was an early supporter and champion of female artists and their works. He gave women artists an opportunity to exhibit their work before, during, and after the First World War. He did not exhibit women artists in isolation, but alongside male colleagues, where their works could be examined in relation to these and other works. Modersohn-Becker, Gerhardi, Steger, Nolde, Slavona and other women exhibited a wide range of works at the Folkwang Museum, years before other museum directors included their work in

exhibitions. Osthaus evidently promoted only German women artists, which was a different tactic than his practice of promoting the male international avant-garde. He apparently intended that his sponsorship of German woman artists would be a springboard, to propel them into the international art world, as indeed it did in some instances.

NOTES

¹ See J. Diane Radycki, "The Life of Lady Art Students: Changing Art Education at the Turn of the Century," Art Journal, Spring 1982, pp. 11-13, for a brief discussion of art education for German women artists.

² Helga H. Harriman, "Olga Wisinger-Florian and Tina Blau: Painters in Fin de Siècle Vienna," Woman's Art Journal, Vol. 10, No. 2, Fall 1989/Winter 1990, pp. 27-28.

³ Mina C. Klein and H. Arthur Klein, Käthe Kollwitz: Life in Art, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 46.

⁴ In addition to promoting women artists, Osthaus also sponsored exhibitions for a female audience. For example, in February and October of 1913, he exhibited fashion shows from the Vienna Werkstätte which featured the latest dress designs and accessories (jewelry, hats and sun umbrellas). In February 1913, Osthaus also presented a lecture in the museum titled "The Designs of Josef Hoffmann and the Vienna Werkstätte." These fashion shows were jointly co-sponsored by the Deutsche Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe. In January 1913 and December 1917, the Folkwang Museum also sponsored presentations on "Body Training" and physical fitness for women. Osthaus was an early proponent of exercise for women, and he frequently invited Herr Merz, the director of the Elizabeth Duncan Institute in Darmstadt, to lecture on the benefits of dance and exercise. See Kü474/43, January 10, 1913, Kü474/73, Kü474/53, 54, 55, February 22, 1913, October 4, 1913, and Kü476/49, December 6, 1917, unsigned Press Releases, Folkwang Museum, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

⁵ For a discussion of Matisse's rarely mentioned ceramic triptych, which was commissioned in 1907 by Osthaus for Hohenhof, see Jack Flam, Matisse: The Man and His Art, 1869-1918, (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986) pp. 199-200.

⁶ That all of these women came from solid middle-class backgrounds is an interesting side issue, that is not examined in depth in this study, but could be the basis for

additional research.

⁷ See Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, Frauenleben im 19. Jahrhundert. Empire und Romantik, Biedermeier, Gründerzeit, (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1983) for an excellent social history of German women in the nineteenth century. See Section III, "Gründerzeit," p. 94-201, which discusses the lower-working classes and middle-class women.

⁸ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus set the date of this visit in 1906 or 1907. See her article, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," Westfalen, Vol. 55, No. 1-2, 1977, p. 184. Hesse-Frielinghaus may have not been aware of Modersohn-Becker's letter to her sister. See Günter Busch and Liselotte von Reinken, eds., Paula Modersohn-Becker. The Letters and Journals, Ed. and trans., Arthur S. Wensinger and Carole Clew Hoey, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., 1983) p. 370.

⁹ Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 342.

¹⁰ Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 370.

¹¹ Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 527.

¹² Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 553.

¹³ Ellen C. Oppler, "Paula Modersohn-Becker: Some Facts and Legends," Art Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, Summer 1976, p. 364.

¹⁴ Jane Kallir, Paula Modersohn-Becker: Germany's Pioneer Modernist, Exhibition Catalog, (New York: Galerie St. Etienne, 1983) not paginated.

¹⁵ Busch and Von Reinken, eds., pp. 426-428.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Werner, "Checklist of Exhibitions," a compilation included in Busch and Von Reinken, eds., Paula Modersohn-Becker. The Letters and Journals, Ed. and trans., Arthur S. Wensinger and Carole Clew Hoey, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., 1983) p. 553.

¹⁷ Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Köln, (Köln, Germany: Köln Sonderbundes, 1912; Reprint, Köln, Germany: Wienand Verlag, 1961) p. 61.

¹⁸ Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 512.

19 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," p. 185.
Osthaus suggested that Frau Becker contact the Reinhard Piper Verlag in Munich, about the publication of her daughter's letters and journals. The letters first appeared in their entirety in 1917.

20 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," p. 181.
August von der Heydt (1851-1929), was already interested in Modersohn-Becker's work by the end of 1905, or early in 1906. Heydt purchased two of her paintings in 1909, and he sold them later that same year. Today the von der Heydt-Museum in Wuppertal owns several of her works. Also see Roland März, et al, Expressionisten: Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920, Exhibition Catalog, (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie und Kuperstichkabinett, Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1986) pp. 430-431, for a brief discussion of Von der Heydt.

21 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," p. 184.

22 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," p. 184.

23 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," p. 181.
Störmer was originally from Hagen and in October 1912 he had an exhibition at the Folkwang. He exhibited woodcuts and drawings. During this show he thought about having a Paula Modersohn-Becker retrospective exhibition there. Störmer and Heinrich Vogeler were both closely involved in all the early planning stages of Modersohn-Becker's 1913 Hagen exhibition.

24 Werner, p. 553.

25 Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 513.
By 1918 von der Heydt owned 28 of Modersohn-Becker's paintings. Also see Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Paula Modersohn-Becker im Folkwang-Museum Hagen," pp. 181, 183.

26 Wilhelm Tell, "Ida Gerhardi - Das Leben und Schaffen einer Lüdenscheider Malerin," Lüdenscheiderbeiträge No. 8, 1960, p. 5.
Hereafter referred to as "Ida Gerhardi."

27 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongers Verlag, 1971) p. 512.

28 Wilhelm Tell, Ida Gerhardt: Ihr Leben und Werk, Exhibition Catalog, (Lüdenscheid, Germany: Kunstgemeinde Lüdenscheid E.V. in Verbindung mit dem Kulturant der Stadt Lüdenscheid, 1977) p. 11.

29 B1192. Ida Gerhardt, Letter to Elisabeth Gebhardt, June 21, 1890, "Auszüge aus Briefen von Ida Gerhardt," TM, A Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, Germany.
"Auszüge aus Briefen von Ida Gerhardt" is a chronological selection of unpublished letters, typewritten by an anonymous typist. B1192 refers to all of the letters of Ida Gerhardt that are available in the archive. These groups of letters are individually distinguished by their dates and addresses.

30 Harriman, p. 28.
For additional information about Blau-Lang, see Tina Blau 1845-1916. Eine Wiener Malerin, Exhibition Catalog, (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie, 1971).

31 Tell, "Ida Gerhardt," p. 5

32 Tell, "Ida Gerhardt," p. 5.
Gerhardt went to Paris with her friend Jelka Rosen, who later married the British composer Frederick Delius. See Tell, Ida Gerhardt: Ihr Leben und Werk, p. 3.

33 Tell, "Ida Gerhardt," p. 10.

34 B1192. Ida Gerhardt, Letter to Elisabeth Gebhardt, April 19, 1891, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

35 The academy was named after Philipppo Colarossi, an Italian sculptor, who took over the ownership of the school after its heyday in the last third of the nineteenth century. The school was formerly known as the Académie Suisse, at which Courbet and some of the Impressionists had studied. See Busch and Von Reinken, eds., p. 472n. Modersohn-Becker also attended classes at the Académie Colarossi from January to June 1900 and she also studied with Ernest Courtois-Bonnencontre.

36 Tell, Ida Gerhardi: Ihr Leben und Werk, p. 10.

37 See B1192 for a series of letters to Gerhardi's family and brother, dated between February 27, 1893, and June 20, 1894, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, Germany.

38 The Café du Dôme was very close to the academies Grande Chaumière and Colarossi. They were both located on the Rue de la Grande - Chaumière. See Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann, et al, Matisse und seine deutschen Schüler, Exhibition Catalog, (Kaiserslautern, Germany: Pfalzgalerie des Bezirksverbandes Pfalz, 1988) p. 181.

39 Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," pp. 11-12.
Uhde remained one of Gerhardi's most loyal friends and many years later he organized an exhibition of her work in Wiesbaden, Germany.

40 B1192. Ida Gerhardi, Letter to Karl-August Gerhardi, April 9, 1895, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, Germany.

41 B1192. Ida Gerhardi, Letter to Karl-August Gerhardi, May 5, 1895, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, Germany.

42 Käthe Kollwitz, Tagebuchblätter und Brief, Ed., Hans Kollwitz, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1948) p. 44, also Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," p. 13.

43 B1192, Ida Gerhardi, Letter to Elisabeth Gebhardt, June 19, 1904, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

44 Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," p. 13.

45 Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," p. 14.

46 Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," p. 14.
For a discussion of Osthaus's plans for a Folkwang School, see Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Die Folkwang-Schule, Ein Entwurf von Bruno Taut," Genius, Vol. II, 1920, pp. 199-205.

47 B1192. Ida Gerhardi, Letter to Gerhardi's sisters, 21 September 1902, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

48 Tell, "Ida Gerhardi," p. 22.
Gerhardi met Auguste Rodin for the first time in 1902. She

frequently visited the sculptor in his studio and their friendship lasted until his death in 1917. Gerhardt sketched him at work in his studio in 1906. She depicted him with his head slightly tilted back and his eyes closed. According to Gerhardt's niece, Frau Malve Steinweg, her aunt told her that Rodin always worked with his eyes closed. Interview with Frau Malve Steinweg, the daughter of Gerhardt's brother, Karl-August, Lüdenscheid, Germany, January 13, 1990.

49 In 1913 Gerhardt participated in the "Friends of Art in the Lands of the Rhein" exhibition in Düsseldorf, where she received the honor of winning the coveted Count Ernst Ludwig prize.

50 Interview with Frau Malve Steinweg, January 13, 1990. Frau Steinweg told me that she can still vividly remember her Aunt Lilli (Gerhardt's sister) patiently holding up small canvases for the bedridden Gerhardt to paint on during her illness. Lilli also never married, and devoted her time to managing her brother's household, caring for their mother, and later caring for Ida. The last small floral still life that Gerhardt painted, Blumenstücke, is owned by Frau Steinweg's children.

51 Friedrich Karl Schwebel, "Zur Einführung," Milly Steger (1881-1948), Exhibition Catalog, (Hagen: Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, 1981), n. page. Also see Stephanie Barron, German Expressionist Sculpture, Exhibition Catalog, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984) p. 198.

52 Walter Rossow, Arbeitsrat für Kunst. Berlin 1918-1921, Exhibition Catalog, (Berlin: Akademie Der Künste. 1980) p. 153.

53 Weber-Kellermann, p. 209.

54 Schwebel, n. page. Janssen also taught two other famous sculptors: Ernst Barlach and Wilhelm Lehmbruck.

55 Schwebel, n. page.

56 Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980) p. 168.

57 Georg Kolbe (1877-1947) was trained as a painter before switching to sculpture. This change in medium was influenced by the work of Rodin and Taillon, sculptors whom Kolbe admired. Kolbe moved to Berlin in 1903 and later became well known for his depictions of the human figure. He exhibited at the Berlin Secession from 1904 onwards.

58 Schwebel, n. page.

59 Schwebel, n. page.
Although the exact date of this meeting is not known, they probably met in 1903 or 1904, and by that time Minne was already connected with the Folkwang Museum and Osthaus. Minne's sculpture, Fountain of Kneeling Youths, was prominently displayed in the Folkwang Museum's entrance since 1902. Osthaus paid 500.- marks for Minne's fountain in 1902. See F2 567/1, Letter dated 28.4.1914.

60 Paret, pp. 168-169.

61 By 1910 Kolbe's work had been featured in several Folkwang exhibitions, and he had become friendly with Osthaus.

62 Steger exhibited the two plaster cast models for the Folkwang's exterior facade at the 1914 German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne.

63 Schwebel, n. page.

64 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghaus, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 205.
The theater was designed by the Darmstadt architect, Ernst Vetterlein (1873-1950), and cost the city of Hagen the enormous sum of two million marks. See also Walter Erben, "Lebensweg und Gedankengut," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghaus, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 60.

65 Maria Hertwig, "Milly Steger," TM, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, undated, p. 2.
These figures were severely damaged during World War II, and after the war they were restored by the Hagen sculptor Karel Niesrath. See Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 205.

66 Schwebel, n. page.

67 Erben, p. 64.

68 Erben, p. 63.

69 P 390/10, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Hugo von Tschudi, October 13, 1911, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

70 P 390/20, Hugo von Tschudi, Letter to Osthaus, November 5, 1911, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

71 P 390/22, Friedrich Wichert, Letter to Osthaus, n.d., Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

72 P 390/23, and P 390/24, Friedrich Wichert, Letter to Osthaus, pages 1 and 2, n.d., Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

73 F2 63/12, Milly Steger, Letter to Osthaus, January 22, 1915, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Lauweriks lived and worked in Hagen from 1909 to 1916, where he did numerous commissions for Osthaus.

74 Peter Stressig, "Hohenhagen - Experimentierfeld modernen Bauens," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) pp. 429-430.

The central feature of the Hohenhagen development (which includes the "Stirnband" section) is Osthaus's house, Hohenhof. Van de Velde designed Hohenhof in 1906-08.

75 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 514.

In December 1913, Milly Steger participated in a group exhibition at the Folkwang, titled "Hagener Künstler" (Hagen Artists). The show also included works by Christian Rohlf, Walter Bötticher, Moissey Kogan and Kurt Störmer.

76 Schwebel, n. page.

77 Milly Steger, Untitled Essay, Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrat für Kunst in Berlin, (Charlottenburg, Germany: Photographischen Gesellschaft, 1919) p. 94

78 Ida Katherine Rigby, An Alle Künstler! - War-

Revolution-Weimar, Exhibition Catalog, (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 1983) p. 69. The Novembergruppe was mainly composed of painters and they, like the Arbeitsrat artists, initially supported the new German republic of 1918.

79 Schwebel, n. page.

80 P2 63/27. Milly Steger, Letter to Osthaus, February 14, 1920, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

81 Schwebel, n. page.
Also see Barron, p. 198, for a discussion of this work.

82 Max Osborne, as quoted by Schwebel, n. page. After Osthaus's death, the sculpture was sold to Essen, and it was destroyed in World War II. A duplicate of the sculpture is in an anonymous private collection.

83 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," p. 516.

84 Emil Nolde, Mein Leben, With a Postscript by Martin Urban. (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag GmbH & Co., 1976) pp. 84-88.

85 Nolde, Mein Leben, pp. 93-97.

86 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 107.

87 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 113.

88 Fehr (1874-1961), a Swiss by birth, was a judge and became a professor of law at the University of Jena in 1906.

89 Nolde, Mein Leben, pp. 111-112.

90 Nolde, Mein Leben, pp. 117-119.

91 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 121.

92 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 121.

93 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 135.

94 Emil Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, (Berlin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1934) p. 70.

95 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 137.

96 Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed. Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefewechsel, (Bonn, Germany: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985) p. ix.

97 According to Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Gertrud Osthaus was affectionately called Mäuz (an untranslatable nickname) by her family and close friends. See Hesse-Frielinghaus, Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus Briefwechsel, (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1985) p. 77, endnote 3.

98 Kü 496, Ada Nolde, Letter to Osthaus, June 4, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Also see Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed., Emil und Ada Nolde - Karl Ernst und Gertrud Osthaus, Briefewechsel, for reprinted copies of many of the letters between both Karl and Gertrud Osthaus and both Emil and Ada Nolde, including this one which appears on p. 54. The Hesse-Frielinghaus book offers the advantage of being able to read typed copies of the letters, rather than working from handwritten documents. For those that I checked, I found the typed copies to be accurate transcriptions of the letters.

99 Kü 496, Ada Nolde, Letter to Osthaus, October 6, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

100 The writer Ferdinand Avenarius (1856-1923) was also very interested and active in the Arts and Crafts movement in Germany. In 1877 he founded the journal Kunstwart, which helped to shape middle class taste. Avenarius was actively engaged in trying to create a new national culture. He also later founded the Dürerbund, which was closely linked with the Volkish movement, especially its emphasis on ancient Germanic ways, and the arts and crafts movement. See George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, (New York: Schocken Book, 1964) p. 84, and John Heskett, German Design 1870-1918, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1986) p. 38.

101 F1/652, August Kuth, Letter to Ada Nolde, October 7, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

102 F1/652, Ada Nolde, Letter to August Kuth, October 11, 1910, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

103 F1/652, Ada Nolde, Letter to August Kuth, January 10, 1911, and F1/652, August Kuth, Letter to Ada

Nolde, January 11, 1911, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

104 F1/652, August Kuth, Letter to Ada Nolde, January 11, 1911, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Gosebruch later became the director of the Folkwang Museum in Essen.

105 Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Die Genter Weltausstellung," Neudeutsche Bauzeitung, Vol. 9, 1913, pp. 601-602.

106 HG67, Agnes Graves, Letter to Ada Nolde, April 7, 1913, and Ada Nolde, Letter to Agnes Graves, April 8, 1913, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

107 HG67, Ada Nolde, Letter to Miss Agnes Graves, March 14, 1913, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Agnes Graves worked at the Folkwang Museum. In Ghent the commission was 30 percent of the selling price, and Ada quickly raised her prices to 55.- marks for each of the pillows and 100.- marks each for the rugs.

108 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 219.

109 Erika Klüsener, Else Lasker-Schüler, Rowohlt Monographs, ed. Kurt Kusenber, (Reinbek, Germany: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1980) p. 11.

110 Klüsener, p. 33.

111 Klüsener, p. 138.

112 Klüsener, pp. 33, 138.

113 Klüsener, pp. 33, 138.

114 Klüsener, pp. 58, 67.

115 Lasker-Schüler later became good friends with Franz Marc, whom she met in 1913, and his wife Maria. See Klüsener, pp. 87-92, for a discussion of their friendship.

116 Klüsener, p. 80.

117 See Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1993) pp. 55-66, for a discussion of Walden

and Der Sturm.

118 Walter Mehring, "Berlin Avant-Garde," The Era of German Expressionism, Trans. J. M. Ritchie, Ed. Paul Raabe, (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1985) p. 113.

Also see März, et al, pp. 434-435, for a brief discussion of Else Lasker-Schüler and Expressionist literature.

119 Klüsener, p. 75.

120 Carl Jung, "Memories of Georg Heyme and His Friends," The Era of German Expressionism, ed. Paul Raabe, (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1985) p. 38.

121 Kurt Pinthus, "Leipzig and Early Expressionism," The Era of German Expressionism, trans. J. M. Ritchie, ed. Paul Raabe, (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1985) p. 72.

122 F2 628/1, Herwarth Walden, Letter to Osthaus, February 12, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

123 F2 628/6, Herwarth Walden, Letter to Osthaus, July 3, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

124 F2 601/1, Der Sturm, Invitation to Osthaus, Kandinsky Exhibition, October 2, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

125 See, for example, the letter exchanges between Walden and Osthaus, January through February 1913. F2 628/10 through F2 628/12, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

126 F2/999, Brochure, September 1909, n. page, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

127 F2/467, Else Lasker-Schüler, Letter to "Herr von Hohenhof" [Karl Ernst Osthaus], n.d., Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

128 A total of 76 Lasker-Schüler drawings were displayed.

129 F2 467/5, undated inventory list of drawings for Else Lasker-Schüler Exhibition.

130 F2/465, Unsigned Letter from the Folkwang to Else

Lasker-Schüler, May 9, 1916, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

131 Klüsener, p. 140.

No documentation in the archive in Hagen has survived to verify if Osthaus purchased one of her drawings.

132 Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, "Introduction," Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence, Ed. Denis Rouart, Trans. Betty W. Hubbard, (Mt. Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1987) p. 7.

133 Karl Scheffler, Die fetten und die mageren Jahre, (Munich: P. List, 1946) pp. 209-210.
The other two women artists that Scheffler singled out were the Berlin painter Dora Hitz (1856-1924) and the graphic artist Käthe Kollwitz.

134 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," p. 514.

135 Deutsche Malerei 1890-1918, Exhibition Catalog, (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitute, 1978) p. 62.

136 Magrit Bröhan, Maria Slavona 1865-1931: eine deutsche Impressionistin, Exhibition Catalog, (Lübeck, Germany: Hansestadt, 1981; and Berlin: Wissenschaft und Kulturelle Angelegenheiten, 1981) p. 1.

137 Bröhan, p. 9.
Slavona's father, Theodor Schorer, owned the Löwen Pharmacy in Lübeck. Her mother originally came from Kiel and was the sister of the sculptor, Fritz Steger, who was not related to Milly Steger.

138 Bröhan, p. 11.

139 Bröhan, p. 11.

140 Karl Stauffer-Bern was a Swiss painter and etcher. He encouraged Kollwitz to study graphic arts instead of painting.

141 Bröhan, p. 14.

142 Deutsche Malerei 1890-1918, p. 68. 1

- 143 Bröhan, p. 15.
- 144 Bröhan, p. 18.
- 145 Julius Meier-Graefe, as quoted by Bröhan, pp. 18-19.
Willy Grégor may have been one of the earliest private collectors of van Gogh paintings.
- 146 Bröhan, p. 22.
- 147 Bröhan, pp. 19-22.
- 148 Slavona also frequently accompanied Otto Ackermann to the Café du Dôme after their marriage. See Ahlers-Hestermann, et al, p. 18.
- 149 Bröhan, p. 22.
- 150 Kollwitz, p. 44.
- 151 Julius Meier-Graefe, as quoted by Bröhan, p. 23.
- 152 Bröhan, pp. 22-23.
- 153 F2/790, Ada Nolde, Postcard sent to Folkwang Museum, April 4, 1913, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.
- 154 F2/790, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Ada Nolde, April 10, 1913, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.
- 155 See the catalog by Dr. Agnes Waldstein, Museum Folkwang: Malerei, Plastik, Graftik Band, Moderne Kunst, (Essen, Germany: Museum Folkwang, 1929), for a complete inventory of the Folkwang Hagen collection that was sold to the city of Essen after Osthaus's death.
- 156 Bröhan, pp. 22-23.
- 157 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," p. 512-513.
Schäffner also exhibited batiks at the Folkwang in October 1912.
- 158 Thomas Föhl, "Briefe," Curt Herrmann: Ein Maler der Moderne in Berlin, 1854-1929, Exhibition Catalog, ed. Rolf Bothe, (Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1989) p. 351f.

Herrmann founded the school in 1893. The tuition, which he received from the 20 to 25 female students that he taught, guaranteed him a monthly income of 500.- marks. See also Thomas Föhl, "Ausbildung in Berlin und Erste Erfolge im München," Curt Herrmann: Ein Maler der Moderne in Berlin, 1854-1929, Exhibition Catalog, ed. Rolf Bothe, (Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1989), p. 36, endnote 14.

Another interesting Herrmann student was Elisabeth von Stephani, who later designed the elegant display windows for Berlin's Wertheim Department Store. Although it appears that von Stephani was not associated with Osthaus and the Folkwang Museum, it is worth noting that she came from an upper middle-class background. Her father, Georg Merleker, was a well-to-do Berlin lawyer and the business manager for the magazine Pan. After von Stephani completed her studies with Herrmann, she lost contact with her former teacher. She was married to Major Franz von Stephani, and they lived in one of the most exclusive areas in Berlin, near Brandenburg Gate. See pp. 36 and 224.

159 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," pp. 513, 515. Also see Kollwitz, p. 58, for a statement from Stella Hasse about Kollwitz.

160 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," p. 514.

161 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museum und des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922," pp. 515 and 516.

Chapter VII: The Battle for International Modernism

By 1910, Osthaus had helped to firmly entrench modernism in the Ruhr region and the Rhein provinces with his promotion of the international avant-garde and the young German modernists (soon to be called Expressionists) in the Folkwang Museum's monthly, rotating exhibitions. After succeeding in these areas in Germany and influencing museum professionals to acquire modern artworks, regardless of an artist's national origin, the battle for international modernism and Expressionism expanded and intensified between 1910 and 1912. During these years Osthaus helped to organize several large scale international exhibitions, called Sonderbunds, in which he energetically promoted the same avant-garde artists whose works he collected and exhibited in Hagen. He played a major role in the success of these exhibitions which helped to firmly establish the acceptance of international modernism in Germany.

In 1910 Osthaus joined "Der Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler" (The Association of West German Artists and Friends of the Arts) which was specifically founded, in 1909, to promote the works of German regional artists. Upon joining, Osthaus was elected the president of the association, and he became responsible for organizing

and shaping their exhibitions. Osthaus, however, steered the association away from its founding principles, the promotion of German regional artists, towards the promotion of international modernism and the exhibition of the most innovative trends in German contemporary art. He thereby eliminated the conservative works of the Düsseldorf School and the traditional works of other regional artists from these exhibitions. Under Osthaus's leadership, the exhibitions that the association sponsored became larger and more international in scope, and quickly became known simply as "Sonderbundes" (Special Exhibitions).¹

Among the founding members of "Der Sonderbund Westdeutsche Kunstfreunde und Künstler" were the artists Max Clarenbach, August Deusser, Christian Rohlf, several museum directors, art dealers, collectors and a number of passive members who all paid a small fee to join.² In addition to Osthaus, the board of directors in 1910 included Josef Feinhals, a wealthy collector of modern art and a prominent businessman in Köln's tobacco industry, who served as the Sonderbund's Second Chairman; the art collector Alfred Flechtheim, who was the organization's treasurer³; Dr. Fritz Maase, a Düsseldorf lawyer, who oversaw the Sonderbund's business and legal matters; and the writer Herbert Eulenberg who served as the association's literary advisor. The Sonderbund's jury was comprised of Deusser and Clarenbach, the only two artists on the jury, Richard Reiche (the

director of the Barmen Art Association), Dr. Friedrich Wichert (director of the Mannheim Kunsthalle), and Dr. Max Creutz (director of Köln's Arts and Crafts Museum).

Appointed to the position of artists' representatives, or liaisons, were Dr. Adolf Brüning from Münster, Dr. Alfred Hagelstange (the director of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Köln) and Dr. Walter Cohen, a writer and supporter of modern art.⁴ The association became a profitable and successful endeavor, and by 1912 it had the support of 54 wealthy patron donors, including Osthaus, who each contributed an additional 100.- marks, in return for being able to choose one piece from a selection of predetermined artworks from participating artists.⁵ In principle, this practice was similar to that of nineteenth century German Kunstvereins (Art Associations), which financed the expenditures of their group by allowing its paying members to participate in a lottery for a number of artworks.⁶ The first Sonderbund took place in Düsseldorf in 1909, as did the group's next two exhibitions held in 1910 and 1911. The group's fourth and final exhibition culminated in the large 1912 Köln Sonderbund, which presented a broad survey of international modern art.

Almost from the beginning the Sonderbund Association was beset with internal jealousies and rivalries which led to its dissolution a few years later. Shortly after Osthaus joined the organization, his decision-making policies and

powerful influence in determining the direction of Sonderbund exhibitions became a major source of resentment and jealousy. For example, the theme for the 1910 Sonderbund, "New German and French Art,"⁷ showed the immediate and influential impact of Osthaus's agenda to promote international modernism in their exhibitions. Many artists who participated in the Sonderbund that year did so because they were indebted to Osthaus for his early support of their work. In addition, Osthaus was also one of the major lenders to the exhibition, thereby ensuring the inclusion of many modern works that would not have been included otherwise. In many ways the 1910 exhibition could have been called the "Osthaus Sonderbund" because it was a reflection of his personal taste, and an extension of his aesthetic forum in the Folkwang. Whenever the jury rejected his suggestions, Osthaus would apply pressure by pointing out that the whole exhibition grew out of his earlier endeavors.⁸ This caused deep resentment among many of the association's members. For example, the art historian, Wilhelm Niemeyer, a founding Sonderbund member, resigned from the organization when Osthaus became the president because he resented the power and influence that Osthaus would have on Sonderbund policy.⁹ When Osthaus was forced to resign from his position a few years later, Niemeyer rejoined the group. Reiche took over Niemeyer's position as an administrator in 1910, as well as serving on the jury, and Reiche gradually gained more voice in determining

Sonderbund policy.¹⁰ Reiche and Osthaus later clashed on many occasions, and Reiche became the balance of power that kept Osthaus in check from determining virtually all exhibition decision making policies.

Despite internal problems, the Sonderbund's second exhibition took place in Düsseldorf from July 16 to October 9, 1910. Without exaggeration this exhibition was a showcase for Osthaus's artists whom he either promoted, collected, commissioned, or financially supported: Gerhardi, Carl Hofer, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Kanoldt, Kirchner, Maillol, Matisse, Nolde, Pechstein, Hans Purrmann, Rohlf, Schmidt-Rottluff, Signac, Thorn-Prikker, Vuillard, Weiss, Barlach, Rudolph Bosselt, Haller, Kogan, Minne, Steger and van de Velde.¹¹ The exhibition featured French Impressionist paintings by Monet, Renoir and Pissarro; several Post-Impressionists canvases by Cézanne and one work by Van Gogh, which Osthaus loaned to the Sonderbund.¹² The Neo-Impressionists were represented with works by Henri Cross and Signac; the Nabis with Pierre Bonnard and Vuillard. Several works by the former Fauve artists, in addition to Matisse, were also included with paintings by Orthon Friesz, Andre Derain, Maurice Vlaminck, and a few early works by Braque. This was the German public's first large scale exposure to the anti-naturalistic style of French Fauvism. Jawlensky and Kandinsky, both members of Munich's Neue Künstlervereinigung, and the Brücke artists

from Dresden participated in the 1910 Sonderbund for the first time due to Osthaus's personal invitation.¹³ By 1910 Osthaus was widely recognized for his staunch support of international modernism, and many artists were indebted to him for exhibiting their work in the Folkwang when other museum directors either ignored their work, or were hampered by constraints which did not allow them to display modern or foreign artworks.

The Sonderbund's third exhibition was held in Düsseldorf's Kunsthalle, from May 20 to July 2, 1911. It was significantly smaller in size than the previous year's show and only featured a total of 147 works, the majority of which were by French artists. The exhibition, titled "Rheinische und Französische Kunst" (Rheinish and French Art), included many of the same French artists who were represented in 1910, for example, the artists Braque, Derain, van Dongen, Friesz, and Vlaminck.¹⁴ Although Matisse's work was not included, the exhibition did feature a few paintings by the artist Pablo Picasso, who was then relatively unknown in Germany.¹⁵ Osthaus's support of international modernism and the German avant-garde was again clearly evident in the composition of the exhibition, especially since fewer Düsseldorf and German academic artworks were included. Osthaus probably persuaded the other members of the board of directors to be more highly selective and present fewer, yet better examples of German

modernism, specifically those works that would become known as German Expressionism. Again many of the German artists that were invited to participate in 1911 were invited by Osthaus, and most of them either were, or had been, associated with the Folkwang in Hagen.

In 1911 Osthaus invited the Brücke artists to participate in the exhibition, and their paintings were prominently featured at the Sonderbund. However, neither the public nor the critics liked their work. The critics immediately associated the Brücke artists' style with the new modernist movement in Germany, which emphasized distortion and anti-naturalism. The critics found the Brücke's work to be damaging to the German cultural heritage. Their subject matter and their use of brilliant, anti-naturalistic colors were perceived to be part of the controversial modernist art movement in Germany which several critics felt should be "stopped immediately." Their painting, the critics cautioned, were yet another example of the corruptive influence of French art on German culture. Some reviewers noted the Brücke's strong Fauvist affinities, and equated their style with being an example of those German artists who were culturally and artistically siding with the "sworn enemies," the French and the Russians.¹⁶ The journalist Meyerheim, writing for the Köln Zeitung, connected the Brücke's work with "perverse" French artistic tendencies which he reported had been observed in Germany

the previous year. He wrote:

The expression "Brücke" should probably refer to the connection between German and French art. Most of their exhibited pictures belong to the new French directions [in painting] that were brought to Düsseldorf last year by Russians who are now settled in Munich. The [Brücke's] paintings do not surpass their [the Neue Künstlervereinigung] paintings, and mean nothing more than the harsh and colorful playing of some cannibals.¹⁷

Meyerheim strongly objected to the Brücke's paintings on moral grounds. He perceived their work to be nothing more than shocking perversions. He equated their "vulgar" depictions of nude women with "the poisonous breath of the darkest vice in any city."¹⁸ Meyerheim asserted that only "pathological" and perverse artists could produce such paintings. He urged critics to not believe that these crude works were representative of Düsseldorf's art in general, and advised them to beware of "fashionable" slogans which currently touted the Brücke's art "hints at renewal." Meyerheim suggested that these artists were as "base and vulgar" as their artwork, and warned that their corruptive influence should be stopped immediately. He called for an end to this "crime" against German culture and its youth, and concluded his tirade with "away with this baseness!"¹⁹

Georg Howe, a critic for the journal Die Kunst für Alle reviewed the 1911 Sonderbund exhibition, and proclaimed that the work of French artists and their German followers only

appealed to elitist "German snobs" who clamored to collect these new artworks at exorbitant, record breaking prices.²⁰ Howe's highly critical review of the exhibition's primary emphasis on international modernism is an example of the negative feelings that many Germans harbored against both French art and German modernism at that time. Although the exhibition had its detractors, it traveled to three other German cities: Barmen, Köln and Bonn. After the 1911 Sonderbund was so viciously attacked, it is not surprising that the works of French artists were not included in the traveling exhibitions, and to avoid gaps in these shows substitutions were made with paintings by more conservative German artists from Düsseldorf and the Rhein region.²¹

However, the battle for the acceptance of international modernism was not squelched, it intensified. In 1911 the chasm between the avant-garde and the academy erupted into a controversy which focused on the subject of national art, and was precipitated by the purchase of French art by German museums. The German avant-garde defended museums for acquiring French and other foreign artworks. Those with a pro-nationalistic outlook condemned this museum practice because they claimed that museum directors and art dealers valued French art above anything that German artists produced.²² Ironically, it was Gustav Pauli's purchase of Van Gogh's painting, Field with Poppies, for the Bremen Museum, that sparked numerous bitter objections in 1911

about the continuous influx of foreign art into Germany. Although Van Gogh was ethnically Germanic, some earlier critics had linked his work to French Impressionism and evidently this perception was still observed as late as 1911.²³ The old nationalistic argument surfaced once again; what about the promotion and superiority of German art? This time, however, it was not the Kaiser who precipitated the attack against French art and German modernism, but an artist.

In 1911 the landscape painter Carl Vinnen (1863-1922) penned an essay in Berlin with the Latin inscription "Quousque Tandem" ("How far indeed," or "To what point indeed"), which signaled his irritation and exasperation with the German art market and the popularity of foreign art.²⁴ His essay became the introduction in a pamphlet titled, A Protest by German Artists, which provoked a controversy and divided the German art world.²⁵ In this essay he accused German artists of negating their own culture by turning to foreign artistic sources, and thus compromising their creativity. Vinnen advocated the promotion of an indigenous "Nordic," Germanic art, and totally rejected modernism, which he claimed was alien, poisonous, even dangerous to the German nation.²⁶ Vinnen's attack on German modernism was specifically directed against museum directors and art dealers, who he claimed favored French artists over German artists. He was angry about the

economic imbalance that he felt was caused by this favoritism. Vinnen argued that even though many German artists had won prestigious state or private commissions, they lacked the public acclaim due them because their work was not exhibited in the Berlin Secession, or prestigious art galleries which were patronized by the intellectual elite.²⁷ Vinnen's resentment also stemmed from the popularity of French Impressionism and Post-Impressionism in Germany. His polemic was especially directed against art dealers, such as Cassirer, who primarily imported and sold French art and thus influenced public taste and the art market.²⁸ Vinnen's accusations contained some measure of truth, and his protest was signed by 125 German artists. A response to Vinnen's criticism, titled Im Kampf um die Kunst. Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler", was published in 1911. It contained essays by Osthaus and numerous others, who strongly disagreed with Vinnen's nationalistic viewpoint and refused to have foreign art branded as "dangerous" to the German nation.

Osthaus was asked to write an essay for the proposed Antwort by the publisher Reinhard Piper.²⁹ Osthaus's response to Vinnen illustrates his philosophy on collecting, his belief in the role of museums, his business acumen, and his biting sense of humor as well. In this essay Osthaus refrained from naming names, unlike several other contributors to the Antwort. Curiously, he also refrained

from pointing out that by 1911 the Folkwang had an equal number of French and German artworks. His essay begins by posing the question "whether museums exist to help artist or to present art." Osthaus acknowledges that artists and "art associations maintain the first position," but that "museum directors must take the quality of an artwork into consideration." Museums, he points out, are not charities, but "a school for artists." He argues that museums have the task of educating not only artists, but also the public, and in order to perform this task museums "need the best educational material." Osthaus stresses the importance, therefore, of museum directors selecting "the best works, without questioning the nationality of a work or an artist." He credits nineteenth century French artists for significantly enriching and advancing the visual arts, and he points out that German art is indebted to, and intertwined with, their aesthetic advances. Osthaus argues that "even today German fine art is linked with the French" and that German art is not an isolated, or indigenous, stylistic development. In regard to Vinnen's criticism that museums acquired more French than German art, Osthaus strongly disagrees and points out that "In virtually every collection in Germany the comparison weighs more favorably on the German's side." He firmly states that he has not practiced favoritism in forming his collection, and that he has "purchased works according to their quality," not their art market value.³⁰

On the volatile issues of nationalism and German patriotism, Osthaus noted that:

The argument in Germany first began 159 years ago, when Frederick the Great of Prussia collected paintings by Watteau ... How amused Old Fritz would have been if he knew how they tried to excuse his lack of patriotism today! ... One glosses over the fact that he had a good instinct for collecting ... People who believe that they know what's best for the masses, the type who blow Vinnen's horn ... know so little ... hopefully the French will not give up listening to German music because they understand it any less than the Germans who are too ignorant to understand French art.³¹

For Osthaus, Vinnen and his supporters were confusing the issue of universal appeal and aesthetic quality with nationalism. Despite the growing number of opponents who argued that modernism was anathema to German culture, Osthaus helped to organize two large international exhibitions in 1912 in which he continued to fight for the acceptance of international modernism in Germany.

Early in April of 1912, Osthaus was invited to organize the German section for an upcoming exhibition of contemporary religious art in Belgium. But, his participation in that event resulted in a bitter, international controversy, which involved the censorship of Emil Nolde's expressionistic nine-panel Biblical painting, The Life of Christ (1911-12).³² (Fig. 63) Twenty-two years

later Nolde still vividly remembered this incident in his autobiography, and recalled that:

I did not want to show it to the world immediately, but Osthaus had agreed to organize the religious section [in Brussels] under the condition that my work [The Life of Christ] would be [hung] in the central place there. However, everything turned out differently than he envisioned.³³

Despite Osthaus's efforts to promote Nolde's expressionistic work, the artist's painting was denounced, defamed and rejected from exhibitions in both Belgium and Germany.

At the end of February of 1912, Nolde had written to Osthaus that he had just completed a nine-panel biblical painting, The Life of Christ, and that he wanted it to be included in his upcoming exhibition at the Folkwang, scheduled for the following month. Since the work was quite large, approximately 7 1/2 feet high and 20 feet wide, he asked Osthaus if he had room to display it properly. Osthaus did, and the painting has its first, and only, successful public viewing for many years.³⁴

During the Hagen exhibition of Nolde's work, Osthaus was invited by M. H. Fierens-Gevaert, Secretary of the Royal Commission for Fine Arts in Brussels, to organize the German section for the International Exhibition of Modern Religious Art in Brussels, scheduled from May to June of 1912. Osthaus accepted the invitation, but with one stipulation:

that the works he selected would be guaranteed jury-free entrance. His condition was granted. Osthaus therefore planned to display Nolde's religious cycle and Jan Thorn-Prikker's large, multi-panel, stained glass window, designed for a church in Neuss, as the two major works in the German section.³⁵

Osthaus shipped The Life of Christ to Brussels and went there to personally supervise the installation of the large painting. But, Nolde's work was barely uncrated and assembled when a heated argument erupted. Some members of the Belgian Exhibition Committee, partially comprised of the Catholic clergy, were present during the unpacking of the work, (Fig. 64) and they were outraged. They strongly objected to Nolde's unconventional, modern style and misinterpreted the painting to be a blasphemous "altarwork." From that time on, the work was labeled an "altarpiece," even though Nolde never intended it to be one.³⁶ Nolde defended his religious imagery by stating: "The fact that during the Renaissance the Apostles and Christ were painted to look like Italian scholars may have given the clergy the idea that this traditional treatment had to remain constant."³⁷ Nevertheless, Nolde's work was banned, and Osthaus left Brussels in a frenzied wrath.

Within days after returning to Hagen, Osthaus received an official rejection letter from Fierens-Gevaert concerning

Nolde's The Life of Christ. His letter hinted that religion played a strong role as a guardian of values, and therefore "This altar[piece] would be perceived by the majority of the people as an attempt to provoke scandal."³⁸ Osthaus was so angry about the censorship of Nolde's work that he returned to Brussels and withdrew Germany from the show, before the King of Belgium even had a chance to open the exhibition. Letters from Belgium poured into Osthaus's office in Hagen, asking him to reconsider his decision to withdraw all German art from the exhibition, but he refused to be swayed.³⁹

Berlin's leading newspapers sent journalists to Brussels to cover the controversy, and most of them sympathetically (perhaps also nationalistically) sided with Osthaus because his jury-free status had been revoked. The German press fully supported Osthaus's decision to withdraw Germany from the exhibition. Berlin's Vossich Zeitung was especially supportive of Nolde's religious cycle. The journalist from this newspaper perceptively noted that Nolde's work was evidently "too ultra modern in its color combinations" and that this "offended the [Belgian] public's religious sentiments." Surprisingly, the press even suggested that contemporary religious paintings, such as Nolde's, should be used to decorate the interior of churches, instead of the mass produced religious objects, which they referred to as "kitsch," that were currently being used.⁴⁰ The press also reported that several

additional paintings by German artists had been refused by the Belgian Exhibition Committee. Although these works were also rejected, they did not receive much attention, nor did they incite a controversy like Nolde's The Life of Christ which was not only rejected, but also banned. Max Beckmann's painting The Mourning of Christ, Max Liebermann's Samson and Delilah, and Gabriel Weisgerber's The Holy Sebastian were all refused by the Belgian Exhibition Committee. Evidently, Osthaus was invited to display these rejected works in a different show in Brussels, titled the "Spring Exhibition," and decided to enter the paintings of Beckmann, Liebermann and Weisgerber, but not Nolde's work.⁴¹

Despite strong support from the German press, Nolde's work remained censored in Brussels. However, Osthaus did not abandon his plan to exhibit Nolde's religious cycle. He shipped it back to Germany, to the Köln Sonderbund, where he was certain it would be exhibited. Yet, after hearing about the Brussels controversy, the Sonderbund Board of Directors were not receptive to Osthaus's plan to display Nolde's The Life of Christ there. Reiche informed Osthaus that only the jury, not just Osthaus, could determine if the work would be accepted.⁴²

The 1912 Sonderbund was specifically organized to sanction and affirm modern art in Germany and demonstrate its international character. Originally the show was

planned to take place in Düsseldorf, but due to protests from the academy there, they were denied exhibition space.⁴³ The mayor of Köln came to the organization's rescue and offered the Sonderbund association rent free use of Köln's Kunsthalle. In addition, he put 25,000.- marks at their disposal to defray the cost of the exhibition.⁴⁴ The generous offer was accepted by the Sonderbund Association and the exhibition was scheduled to take place in Köln from May 25th to October 30th. Government officials, university professors and wealthy industrialists were made members of the Sonderbund's honorary council, and they lent their full support to this massive endeavor which was to encompass a wide survey of contemporary paintings and sculpture.⁴⁵

Selecting and gathering the various works for the exhibition was an enormous task. All works to be displayed had to have the approval of the four members of the jury: Deusser, Clarenbach, Reiche and Hagelstange. Most of the works by foreign artists, such as van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne, were loaned by German collectors and art dealers. Surprisingly, when Reiche asked Osthaus about loaning some of his paintings, he was initially reluctant to do so. Osthaus was always hesitant about loaning his paintings by Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne because he felt that their absence in the Folkwang disrupted the museum's continuity. He usually refused all requests to loan these works. However, in this instance Osthaus relented and wrote Reiche

that "I will make an exception, since it is the Sonderbund, but understand that I am not willing to transport half the contents of my museum to Köln."⁴⁶ In addition to Osthaus, several other major collectors of modern art also loaned works to the show, including Bernard Koehler, Dr. Hugo Cassirer and Margarete Mauthner from Berlin; Frau Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger (the former sister-in-law of Vincent van Gogh) and her husband from Amsterdam; the German art dealer Alfred Flechtheim from Düsseldorf; the German painter, teacher and collector, Curt Hermann, from Charlottenburg; Hugo Natan and Victor Moessinger, from Frankfurt; and Baron Franz von Hatvany and Dr. Wolf Kohner from Budapest.⁴⁷

Köln's large Kunsthalle was divided into twenty-five separate rooms for the Sonderbund exhibition, which featured works by artists from France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Holland and Norway. All of the works in the exhibition were modern, except a few paintings by Meier-Graefe's most recent "discovery," the seventeenth century Spanish painter, El Greco. Of the 634 works displayed, 577 were paintings and fifty-seven were sculptures. The exhibition itself was divided into two main parts; one section was devoted to retrospectives which showed works by Van Gogh, Cézanne, Gauguin, Munch, Cross, Signac and Picasso. Since Van Gogh was considered to have been the seminal figure in the modernist movement, his work was the most prominently displayed. Five of the main

exhibition rooms featured Van Gogh's paintings and drawings, and he was represented with 125 works, more than any other artist at the Sonderbund. Munch was represented with thirty-two works, Cézanne with twenty-six, Gauguin with twenty-five and Picasso with sixteen.⁴⁸ This particular section of the show was carefully arranged to present an overview of the evolution of modern art. Although the second section was primarily dominated by contemporary German works, and mainly featured the expressionistic style of the artists from the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter, it also included some works by more conservative artists, such as Deusser and Clarenbach.⁴⁹ Several paintings by the former Fauve artists were also included to demonstrate the evolution of the expressionistic trend in modernism. Few women artists, however, were invited to participate in the show, and only two German female artists were represented: one painting by the deceased Paula Modersohn-Becker and two sculptures by Milly Steger.

Located in the middle of the exhibition was a specially constructed, 55 feet high "kapelle" (chapel), which was situated between the Austrian and Norwegian sections.⁵⁰ Osthaus commissioned Jan Thorn-Prikker to design and execute the three stained-glass windows for it, and the Brücke artists, Heckel and Kirchner, to decorate the interior of the chapel with murals on jute.⁵¹ Kirchner and Heckel collaborated on the paintings, and Kirchner created the only

religious work in his entire oeuvre for this event, a 13 foot tall Madonna.⁵²

In the introductory essay to the Sonderbund catalog, Reiche stated that the exhibition aimed to present an overview of the new, expressionistic trend in art, which was characterized by simplified forms and intensified colors, that moved away from Naturalism and Impressionism.⁵³ Although all of these characteristics applied to Nolde's The Life of Christ, the jury rejected it. The jury informed Osthaus "that due to a lack of space the work cannot be accepted under any circumstances." He was incensed; there was ample room for more than 600 other works to be exhibited.⁵⁴ To appease Osthaus, the jury did accept Nolde's Still Life of Masks III,⁵⁵ (Fig. 65) which clearly underscored that non-European sources were acceptable subjects, but not for a religious work such as The Life of Christ. Not only Nolde's polyptych was rejected by the Sonderbund jury, but so was Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's painted copper relief work, The Four Evangelists.⁵⁶ (Fig. 66) Ironically, the promoters of German modernism perceived Nolde's and Schmidt-Rottluff's works to be too controversial to be displayed because their modern style was too avant-garde for traditional religious subject matter, and their work was therefore potentially offensive. Since the Sonderbund was supported by state funds, the jury and working committee wanted to avoid offending the public or

causing a scandal. Therefore, they only accepted works that were not potentially threatening or offensive to solid, middle-class values and beliefs; such as landscapes, still lifes, secular figures and genre scenes.⁵⁷

The Sonderbund board of directors were especially cautious about what they accepted in 1912 because modern art had recently been so bitterly attacked in Germany by its opponents. Vinnen's polemic the previous year against modernism no doubt influenced the Sonderbund's rejection of Nolde's religious painting. However, the jury's decision to not accept Nolde's polyptych also involved a power struggle within the Sonderbund Association.

As president of the Sonderbund, Osthaus had fully expected Nolde's work to be accepted, especially since he was one of the exhibition's chief organizers, and also one of the major lenders to the show. But, his authority and influential position had been resented from the beginning, and it was now openly challenged by Deusser, who felt that Osthaus had become too powerful.⁵⁸ Deusser adamantly refused to have Nolde's work forced upon the jury because he was angry that Osthaus had not attended several preliminary meetings about the 1912 exhibition. At the time Osthaus was over-extended, organizing exhibitions at the Folkwang, in Brussels, and exhibitions in conjunction with his Deutsche Museum für Kunst im Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, and he in

fact did not attend many Sonderbund meetings.⁵⁹ By the summer of 1912 Deusser was also voicing many other complaints, not only about Osthaus, but also about Reiche and Hagelstange. Deusser ultimately created enough internal friction in the Sonderbund to cause the organization to split into two factions. Much of the disharmony was the result of irreconcilable organizational differences between Deusser and some of the artists who were clamoring for more decision-making input, and Reiche and Hagelstange who were opposed to this idea. Caught in the middle, Osthaus resigned as President of the Sonderbund, and became its Honorary Chairman, a position which theoretically had no active voice in decision making policies. Not surprisingly, Deusser took over Osthaus's former position in July of 1912, but ironically, he was not to be president for long, since there was never another Sonderbund.⁶⁰

Despite internal problems among the board of directors, the 1912 exhibition was a resounding success. Numerous paintings were purchased by private collectors and art dealers. Due to Osthaus, the show also helped to establish the "new art," specifically Expressionism and its relationship to international modern art. The positive perception and reception of the 1912 Köln Sonderbund was in complete contrast to the 1911 Düsseldorf Sonderbund exhibition. Although many of the same artists were featured in both shows, in 1911 these artists had been ridiculed by

the German press. Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, an early admirer of the Brücke's work and a champion of the new expressionistic style in German art,⁶¹ wrote that the 1912 Köln exhibition was the biggest and the best Sonderbund that Germany had ever produced.⁶² Unlike the hostile response of the critics and the public in 1910 and 1911 conservative Düsseldorf, the Köln audience was evidently not scandalized by the 1912 exhibition. The Köln audience knew, however, that the 1912 show was heavily supported by municipal funds, and that it was officially sanctioned. Furthermore, the jury had carefully avoided offending the predominantly Catholic public in Köln by not accepting any works that could be deemed scandalous or objectionable. For the most part, the critics and the press reacted favorably to the show, but such a grand scale exhibition was not repeated in Germany. Although two additional Sonderbund exhibitions were planned for 1913 and 1914, they did not materialize, and due to continual internal problems, the Sonderbund organization formally disbanded by the summer of 1915.⁶³

Osthaus's leadership of the Sonderbund Association between 1910 and 1912, and his unflagging promotion of international modernism over conservative regional artistic trends helped to make the Sonderbund exhibitions a success. Although his restructuring of the organization's original intent was initially opposed, it was precisely this change that helped to nurture the international modernist movement

on an unprecedented scale in Germany. By including the works of major Post-Impressionists and the former Fauve artists in these exhibitions, he was able to demonstrate that the German Expressionists had stylistic roots and affinities with a wide array of international artistic sources. By 1912 the public and the critics refrained from attacking the infiltration of foreign art into German culture, because by that time Osthaus had demonstrated that German modernism, or Expressionism, was connected to international modernism by the process of on-going cultural diffusion. Osthaus's staunch support and promotion of Expressionism and international modernism helped to lead to its wide acceptance and eventual popularity in Germany.

ENDNOTES

1 The forerunner of Sonderbund exhibitions was the 1904 Internationale Kunstausstellung (International Art Exhibition) in Düsseldorf, which took place in Düsseldorf's large Kunstpalast, from May 1st to the 23rd and featured a total of 3522 works. It established an important precedent in the western region of Germany with its presentation of international artworks. This exhibition featured a wide variety of foreign art, as well as German contemporary art, which were both presented to the Düsseldorf public for the first time. The exhibition featured works by the Barbizon artists, the French Impressionists and artworks from Belgium, Denmark, England, Holland, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Spain and America, as well as the Düsseldorf School. See Magdalena M. Moeller, Der Sonderbund. Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge, (Köln, Germany: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, 1984) for more detailed information about this exhibition, especially pp. 31-32.

2 Moeller, pp. 149, 153.
Additional founding members included the artists Julius Bretz, Wilhelm Schmurr, Otto Sohn-Rethel, Alfred Sohn-Rethel, Walter Ophey, Ernst Te Peerdt, Rudolph Bosselt, and F. H. Ehmke.

3 Flechtheim (1878-1937) first began to collect art in 1908 and later became an important art dealer. In 1913 he opened an art gallery in Düsseldorf, and after the First War expanded his gallery with branches in Köln, Frankfurt, Berlin and Vienna. Artists whose work he helped to promote in Germany included Picasso, Matisse, Henri Rousseau, Max Beckmann, Karl Hofer and Paul Klee. Between 1922 and 1933, his gallery was the most important art gallery in Berlin. See Roland März, et al, Expressionisten. Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920, Exhibition Catalog, (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie und Kuperstichkabinett; Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1986) p. 426.

4 Moeller, pp. 149-151.

5 S8 118/18, Alfred Flechtheim, Letter to Osthaus, September 12, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

6 In the early part of the nineteenth century

Kunstverein were first introduced in Berlin by Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Minister of Culture and Education. Even though Kunstverein are indigenous to nineteenth century Germany, a much earlier version of this association originated in Holland, in 1445, where lotteries were held and paintings awarded as prizes. See Francis Henry Taylor, The Taste of Angels: A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948) for a brief survey of art lotteries prior to the nineteenth century. In Germany, during the mid-nineteenth century, Kunstverein purchased works from artists which they then donated to various museums to help enrich their permanent collections. For example, in Frankfurt's Städel Kunstinstitut, several museum plaques document this practice. Kunstverein are still important artists' organizations throughout Germany today.

⁷ S8a/1, Ausstellung des Sonderbunds Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler, 1910 Sonderbund Exhibition Catalog. Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archive, Hagen.

⁸ Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 202.

⁹ Neimeyer (1874-1960) briefly worked at the Berlin Museum for eighteen months before becoming a docent at the Düsseldorf Kunstschule in 1905, where Peter Behrens was the director. In 1912 Neimeyer met and became friends with the artist Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and at that time began collecting Brücke artwork. See März, et al, Expressionisten. Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920, p. 438.

¹⁰ Moeller, pp. 149-151.

¹¹ Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 202

¹² Moeller, p. 140.

Most of the works displayed in the 1910 Sonderbund were on loan from private collections, and some were loaned by the French art dealer Bernheim Jeune. In its entirety, the exhibition was comprised of a total of 242 paintings and sculptures, and 278 craft items. See Moeller, p. 153.

¹³ Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 202.

¹⁴ Moeller, p. 153.

15 Peter Selz, German Expressionist Painting, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1957) p. 241.

16 Meyerheim, as quoted by "Trust" (Hervarth Walden), "Fuchtbar Draut der Erbfeind," Der Sturm, No. 63, 25 May 1911, p. 501.

17 Trust, p. 501.

18 Trust, p. 501.

19 Trust, p. 501.

20 Georg Howe, "Austellung des Düsseldorf Sonderbundes," Die Kunst für Alle, Vol. 26, June 1911, p. 475.

21 Moeller, p. 147.

22 Theda Shapiro, Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society, 1900-1925, (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, Inc., 1976) p. 119.

23 Marion Wolf, "Van Gogh, Vinnen, and Vasily Kandinsky: The Threshold to Abstraction," Art Criticism, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1991, p. 92.

24 I would like to thank my colleague Stephen Newmyer, in the Department of Classics at Duquesne University, for bringing to my attention Vinnen's appropriate usage of this Latin expression of irritation, which he borrowed from Cicero's opening speech in Catilinam I. Vinnen was no doubt showing off by using this quote from Cicero to impress the intellectual and artistic elite in Berlin's Secession and members of the Künstlerbund, the two largest audiences for his circulated essay in Germany.

25 For a partial translation of Vinnen's essay, see Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, (New York: G. K. Hall & Company, 1993) pp. 6-8.

26 Carl Vinnen, "Quousque Tandem," Ein Protest deutscher Künstler, (Jena, Germany: Eugen Diederichs, 1911) pp. 2-16.
Eugen Diederichs, who published Vinnen's essay, was one of the best known and most influential publishers in Germany

from the first decade of the century until his death in 1927. Diedrichs was a proponent of Volkish ideology, but he had a more tolerant outlook in regards to race and ethnic origins. He totally rejected anti-Semitism and admired Chinese, Indian and Islamic ideas, which he felt could help to regenerate European culture. In this respect he was very similar to Osthaus and quite different from Vinnen, who advocated a pure, Germanic art and culture devoid of foreign influence. Diedrichs coined the "New Romanticism" to explain the revitalization of romanticism in the last years of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century. His ideas were meshed with Volkish ideology, but they were more moderate, and connected to mysticism and social theories. He had some ties to the occult and initially called his publishing house "theosophical," but rejected this name as being too narrow. Through his Jena publishing house, Diedrichs disseminated his ideas by primarily publishing books which reflected his own ideological outlook. It is therefore somewhat odd that he published Vinnen's essay, which in many ways was in opposition to his philosophical beliefs. For a fascinating discussion of Diedrichs and his concept of "New Romanticism," see George L Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, Revised Edition, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981) pp. 52-66.

27 Peter Paret, Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980) p. 198.

28 Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 191.

29 P 662/2, Reinhard Piper, Letter to Karl Ernst Osthaus, May 20, 1911, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

30 Karl Ernst Osthaus, Im Kampf um die Kunst. Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler," (Munich: R. Piper & Co., Verlag, 1911) pp. 17-18.

31 Osthaus, Im Kampf um die Kunst, p. 19.

32 Nolde's nine-panel Biblical painting The Life of Christ consists of: The Twelve-Year Old Christ, The Three Kings, Christ and Judas, Holy Night, The Women at the Tomb, The Resurrection, The Ascension, Doubting Thomas, and The Crucifixion, the central panel and largest canvas in the cycle.

33 Emil Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, (Berlin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1934) p. 169

"Ich wollte ungern es sogleich der Welt vorstellen, aber Osthaus hatte die Übernahme der religiösen Abteilung dort nur unter der Bedingung angenommen, dass mein Werk den Zentralplatz der religiösen Abteilung erhalten sollte. Doch alles kam anders, als er vorgesehen war."

34 Kü 498, Emil Nolde, Letter to Osthaus, February 20, 1912, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Archive, Hagen. Nolde's exhibition at the Folkwang Museum in Hagen was well attended. The exhibition opened with a lecture on the artist by Botho Graef, a Jena archaeologist and collector of German Expressionist art. Mary Ehrenberg, the gallery director from the Münster Art Association, scheduled Nolde's show for the following month, but she declined exhibiting his religious cycle, allegedly due to a lack of space. Osthaus wanted to purchase The Life of Christ, but Nolde asked the enormous sum of 30,000.- marks for the painting. Since Osthaus had recently founded and privately financed a second museum, the Deutsche Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe (German Industrial Museum for Arts and Crafts), also in Hagen, a large portion of his funds were already committed at that time, and he decided to not purchase the work. Therefore Nolde's polyptych was not sold, but remained on display at the Folkwang. See Herta Hesse, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und Emil Nolde," Westfalen 45 (1967), pp. 203-204, and Nolde, Jahre der Kämpfe, p. 169.

35 Hesse, p. 204.

36 Emil Nolde, Mein Leben, Postscript by Martin Urban (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1976), p. 191.

37 Nolde, Mein Leben, p. 191.

38 Hesse, pp. 204-205.

39 Hesse, p. 205.

40 Hesse, p. 205.

41 Kü 453/1-3, TS, 1912 newspaper account from the International Exhibition of Modern Religious Art, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

42 Hesse, p. 205.

43 Selz, p. 242.

44 S8/27, Richart Reiche. Letter to Osthaus, December 27, 1911, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archive, Hagen.

45 Selz, p. 242.
Also see the exhibition catalog, Europäische Kunst 1912, (Köln: Richartz Museum, 1962), which presented a semi-reconstruction of the 1912 Sonderbund, especially Gert von der Osten's short essay, "Europäische Kunst 1912," pp. 9-15.

46 S8/36, Richart Reiche, Letter to Osthaus, February 10, 1912, and S8 37/1, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Richart Reiche, February 12, 1912, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

47 Internationale Kunstausstellung Des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln, (Schauberg, Germany: DuMont Buchverlag, 1912)
See pp. 14-16 of the 1912 Sonderbund catalog for a complete list of the lenders to the exhibition.

48 Selz, pp. 243-244.

49 Moeller, p. 153.
The German section of the Sonderbund consisted of four separate galleries which displayed a total of 149 works by 73 different artists. Also see Peter Selz, p. 246.

50 Selz, p. 245, and Donald E. Gordon, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968) p. 80.

51 S8/29, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Richart Reiche, January 17, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archiv, Hagen.
Leopold Reidemeister has convincingly argued that Karl Schmidt-Rottluff probably created the copper relief work, The Four Evangelists (1912), for display inside the chapel. See his interesting article about this work, "Die vier Evangelisten von Karl Schmidt-Rottluff und die Sonderbundaussstellung in Köln, 1912," Brücke-Archiv, Heft 8, 1975/76, pp. 12-25.

52 See Gordon, p. 80, for comments about the Madonna for the Sonderbund, and Long, p. 27, for Heckel's letter to Franz Marc about his collaboration with Kirchner on the Sonderbund chapel.

53 Richart Reiche, "Vorwort," Internationale Kunstaussstellung Des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln 1912, exh. cat. (Köln: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1912), n. pag.

Also see Long, pp. 17-18, for a complete translation of Reiche's "Vorwort" from the Sonderbund exhibition catalog.

54 Hesse, pp. 205-206.

Unlike the Köln Sonderbund Association, Osthaus was not hampered by the need for official state support, and shipped The Life of Christ back to the Folkwang, and displayed it directly across from Henri Matisse's painting, Bathers with a Turtle of 1908.

55 See the Internationale Kunstaussstellung Des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln 1912, p. 62.

56 Reidemeister, p. 14.

57 S8/27, Richart Reiche, Letter to Osthaus, December 27, 1911, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

58 Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," p. 202.

59 Several letters that Osthaus wrote to Reiche, early in 1912, verify that he did indeed miss several meetings due to other commitments. See letters S8/29, dated January 17, 1912, and S8/35, dated February 2, 1912, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archive, Hagen.

60 Sa 197/1, 2 and 3, Joseph Feinhals, Letter to Osthaus, three pages, July 5, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen, and Sa 197/5, Joseph Feinhals, Letter to Osthaus, July 8, 1912, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen. When Deusser took over Osthaus's former position as president, a new jury was also appointed, and surprisingly Nolde was selected to replace Hagelstange as one of the four jurors on the committee. Also see Moeller, p. 153.

61 Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, "Die Internationale Ausstellung des Sonderbundes in Köln, 1912," Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1912, Vol. XXIII, No. 10, p. 229. Schmidt first met Heckel and Kirchner in 1908 when he was the assistant director of the graphics department in the Magdeburg Museum. When the two Brücke artists visited Schmidt in the museum in 1908, they asked him to buy some of

their graphic work, which he did. Schmidt liked their work and later wrote that their etchings, woodcuts and lithographs reminded him somewhat of the simplified styles of Van Gogh and Munch, but that the Brücke's work was more stylistically advanced. From the time of their first meeting, Schmidt remained a loyal supporter of the Brücke's work and wrote many articles about their work. Also see Paul Ferdinand Schmidt's important article, "Blutezeit der Dresdener Brücke," Aussaat, Vol. II, No. 1/2, 1947, pp. 49-55.

62 Schmidt, pp. 30-31.

The Köln Sonderbund became the model for the 1913 International Exhibition of Modern Art in New York City, better known as the Armory Show. In America this was the public's first large presentation of European modernism, and the impact of this exhibition altered American art. See Milton W. Brown, The Story of the Armory Show, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988) for an in-depth study of this exhibition and its impact on American modernism.

63 Moeller, pp. 153-154.

Shortly after the Köln exhibition, Deusser and Nolde planned for a 1913 Sonderbund to take place in Munich and in 1914 for it to be held in Frankfurt.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

Osthaus's promotion and endorsement of cultural renewal via international modernism was gradually emulated in the Ruhr and Rhein regions of Germany. Osthaus was thought of as a positive harbinger of change, and he and the Folkwang became models for other neighboring industrial towns and cities. Following Osthaus's example, Ernst Gosebruch (1872-1953), an art historian and the director of the State Museum in Essen, acquired paintings by Monet, Van Gogh, Signac, Kirchner, Heckel, Rohlf, Derain and Thorn-Prikker, and by 1907 he mounted exhibitions of contemporary art.¹ Thanks to Osthaus, who had introduced Nolde to his friend, Gosebruch, in 1906, Nolde's work was well represented there. By 1912 Osthaus's influence had also spread to the nearby towns of Elberfeld and Barmen where nouveau riche industrialists became patrons of the arts and readily supported international modernism. The relatively small, but active and well-endowed, Barmen Kunstverein had several works in its permanent collection by avant-garde German and foreign artists, which included paintings by Marc, Jawlensky, Nolde, Kokoschka, Vlaminck, Munch and Macke. In Elberfeld's Städtische Museum, there was also an international line up of artists by 1912, which included works by Hodler, Vlaminck, Picasso and Cézanne. This was not the norm

elsewhere in Germany.²

In some areas outside the western region of Germany, museum directors began to follow Osthaus's lead and acquire and display examples of international modernism. For example, in Halle, near Dresden, Max Sauerlandt, the director of the Moritzburg Museum, acquired Nolde's painting Evening Meal in 1913.³ Other than the Folkwang, which already owned four of Nolde's works by 1912, this was the first state museum in the eastern region of Germany to acquire an example of Expressionist painting.⁴ However, Sauerlandt was severely criticized by Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929), the powerful but conservative General Director of the Berlin Museum, for acquiring this work by a relatively unknown artist for a state owned, public museum.⁵ The progressive Kunstverein in Jena, near Weimar, also began to exhibit and collect modern artworks in 1912, when under Eberhardt Griesbach's direction, efforts intensified to make Jena into a Kunststadt.⁶ In 1912 Griesbach invited the Neue Künstlervereinigung to exhibit, as well as the Brücke artists.⁷

In the Ruhr region, people accepted internationalism in the arts much more rapidly than elsewhere in Germany because there were few artistic precedents. The Ruhr had no art academies that dictated artistic standards of excellence or artistic taste. Before the turn of this century, this area

had been ignored by cosmopolitan Berliners because western Germany was considered to be a cultural wasteland. However, due to Osthaus, artists, art historians, and museum directors became interested in the arts there, and in the large scale international art exhibitions which he organized in the Rheinland. Osthaus provided opportunities for international exchange through these exhibitions in which all the major European art movements participated.

In 1912 the Berlin based journalist, Anselma Hein, wrote a lengthy article for the Frankfurter Zeitung about the small city of Hagen and some of the changes that Osthaus initiated there. The article, titled "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk: Ein Tag in der Hagener Kunststadt," was printed on the front page of Frankfurt's most popular, widely circulated newspaper. One of the most notable things about this highly descriptive essay is that Hein was completely "surprised" with what he saw there, and duly impressed. According to Hein, even though the Westfalen "sky was gray from industrial smoke" that day and "many houses [were] dark from soot," the atmosphere, sights, finely crafted items, and especially the Folkwang Museum made the visit there worthwhile. Hein noted that Osthaus transformed Hagen, because while growing up there he had "always hated it that his fellow citizens lived so poor and drab."⁸ Osthaus was upset that the vast sums of money generated from industry in Hagen and its surrounding area

were siphoned off to Berlin. The Ruhr and Rheinland regions supplied the Prussian state with more than one third of all its tax revenue which was used to beautify Berlin and support the arts there.⁹

The outbreak of war in the summer of 1914 destroyed the cosmopolitan nature of Hagen's artistic community, enlisted many of its members in active service, and ushered in a period of gloom and foreboding for those who stayed behind. Although Osthaus never publicly acknowledged his disillusionment with the war, he must have been disappointed to discover that Germany was intent on destroying all that he had set out to achieve in the arts - universal unity and the positive effects of cultural diffusion. The war suspended the presentation of many planned events and exhibitions at the Folkwang. However, through Osthaus's organizational efforts, the Deutsche Museum für Kunst im Handel und Gewerbe still managed to sponsor four traveling exhibitions which were shown in Switzerland in 1915.¹⁰

On the eve of war, Van de Velde was relieved of his position as the director of the Kunstgewerbeschule in Weimar. Almost overnight he became an enemy of the German nation. Although a pacifist, Van de Velde and his family were viciously, physically attacked when they ventured out into public, and he was threatened with arrest. Shortly thereafter Van de Velde was befriended by the German

psychiatrist Dr. Oskar Kohnstamm, who hid Van de Velde in his clinic until the national hysteria died down.¹¹ When Osthaus learned of Van de Velde's harassment by the Germans, he published a letter to his friend and mentor in the Frankfurter Zeitung and wrote:

We Germans know how much we are indebted to the French, and surely we are not spiritually bankrupt enough to not be ashamed of ourselves over this incident.¹²

At the time of this letter, written in the winter of 1914, Antwerp was occupied by German troops. Osthaus defended Germany and blamed the British for the conflict. He accused the British of firing the first shots in the city of Antwerp, which he believed led to the occupation of Belgium by Germany. Osthaus pointed out how much Van de Velde had done for Germany, and in his zealous attempt to protect and redeem his friend among the Germans, he inadvertently portrayed him as being more German than Belgian in spirit. Unfortunately Osthaus's effort to protect him did more damage to Van de Velde's career in Belgium than to help his career in Germany.¹³

In September 1914, German artillery severely damaged Reims Cathedral in France. When the German military discovered that French troops had stored ammunition near the church, and were using one of the cathedral's towers as a watchtower, they felt it was imperative to launch an attack. Consequentially one of the cathedral's towers and its main

portal were heavily damaged. The French were outraged by the destruction, whereas the Germans blamed the French for using the cathedral as a strategic military position. According to Walter Erben, this incident was sensationalized by the foreign presses and became a pivotal source for launching a campaign of psychological warfare against Germany. The British press lambasted the Germans for their aggressive destruction. They printed and circulated a political cartoon depicting smirking German soldiers, with a bottle of schnapps in one hand and a gun in the other, standing next to the cathedral. Alongside the soldiers, stuck into the ground, was a bayonet, with two dead, speared infants. Emblazoned above the barbaric soldiers' helmets was the word "Kultur." The Swiss press also loudly protested Germany's generally barbaric ways during the war. The writer Maurice Maeterlinck and the artist Ferdinand Hodler were among those who publicly denounced Germany's destruction of Reims Cathedral. Osthaus felt obliged to respond to Hodler's and Maeterlinck's sharp criticism. He defended Germany and blamed the French for the damage to Reims Cathedral. According to Erben, in the September 10th issue of the Frankfurter Zeitung, Osthaus, who knew Hodler and admired his work, urged the artist not to lose faith in the German people, and assured him that the Germans would return whatever art treasures they seized after the war.¹⁴

When the war first erupted, the artworks in the

Folkwang were packed and stored in the cellar for safekeeping, but when it became apparent that the war would not end quickly, the works were unpacked and the museum was reassembled.¹⁵ By 1915 everyday life at the museum returned to a semblance of normalcy, and the exhibition of works continued once again. However, due to the political situation, Osthaus's association with most foreign countries and artists ceased during the war years.¹⁶ Most of the museum's exhibitions in 1914 to 1915 showed a marked change of emphasis due to the political climate, as well as the need to service a new audience.¹⁷ Since most males were drafted into military service, Osthaus tried to interest a new audience to attend the museum during the war years. He invited local high school students to attend lectures in the museum, which were geared to their interests and introductory knowledge of art.¹⁸ The Folkwang also sponsored lecture series aimed at female audiences. In 1916 the Hamburg art historian Rosa Shapire founded a local Frauenbund (Women's Association) in Hagen, and gave a series of talks which encouraged women to support the arts.¹⁹

During the war Osthaus was not able to expand his art collection on the same grand scale as before. German currency was not allowed to leave the country, and a large portion of his money was tied up in land, which he was not allowed to develop during the war years.²⁰ In addition, there were transportation difficulties which hampered the

shipment of artworks, and most German artists, drafted into military service, were at the front. However, Osthaus did not stop purchasing artwork altogether, and he managed to continue to enlarge the museum's collection. He acquired a large sculpture by Walter Gropius titled Die Badende (Bather), designed for the 1914 Köln Werkbund Exhibition, which was transported to Hagen during the early months of the war.²¹ In 1916 Osthaus purchased watercolors and drawings portraying the front line trenches of the war from the artist Paul Klee.²² Early in 1916, Nolde's entire series of New Guinea watercolors were displayed in the Folkwang. A large portion of the paintings that Nolde worked on during this trip through the German colonies in 1913 have been lost, and his watercolors from New Guinea are among the only records of his work there. These works were exhibited for the first time in the Folkwang.²³

In 1916 a large exhibition, titled "Die Kunst im Krieg," sponsored by Osthaus and the Hagen German Museum of Industry and Commerce, traveled throughout many German cities. The exhibition, focusing on the theme of art and war, featured designs for tombstones, invalid workshops, sanitariums, window displays, and included crafts, paintings and graphics. The exhibition was highly praised and subsidized by several organizations, including the Deutsche Werkbund, the Association for Social Reform, the Office of Social Politics, and the German Garden City Association.²⁴

By September of 1916, Osthaus was drafted into war service, at the age of 42, and his involvement with the museum was sharply curtailed. Although drafted and sent to Krefeld for training, he was not active in war duty and was given the task of overseeing the safety of public sculpture in Belgium. During his military service he organized several lectures on art and taught a high school level course for the 6th Army Division.²⁵

To honor his financial responsibilities, Osthaus liquidated some of his art collection during the war. Osthaus sold a few works from the Folkwang's collection in the summer of 1916 in an auction in Munich. The auction, however, was relatively unsuccessful and did not net a large profit. In 1917 Germany began a military campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare against Britain, and the United States entered the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.²⁶ By the summer of 1917 Osthaus was seriously ill, soon to be diagnosed with tuberculosis. In addition to his deteriorating health, the Folkwang and the Museum für Kunst im Handel und Gewerbe were both heavily in debt. Although far from being bankrupt, Osthaus was faced with enormous debts, and decided to sell some of the more valuable works in his collection. He therefore asked Cassirer to auction several important works in Berlin for him.²⁷ According to Hesse-Frielinghaus, the two paintings which obtained the

highest prices at this auction were Gauguin's Ta Matete, 20,100.- marks, and Van Gogh's First Steps (After Millet) for 30,000.- marks. The Berlin auction brought record prices for artworks and netted a total sum of 77,950.- marks.²⁸

In the last weeks of the war Osthaus remained at home, at Hohenhof, where his once elegant villa was no longer filled with priceless artworks and furnishings, but with farm animals, produce and military troops.²⁹ On October 29, 1918, a mutiny broke out aboard the German High Seas Fleet at Wilhelmshaven. A little more than a week later, on November 9, Wilhelm II abdicated as German Kaiser and King of Prussia, and the Weimar Republic was proclaimed. Two days later, on November 11, Germany announced that the prospect of continuing the war was futile, and an armistice was announced.³⁰ During the tension-filled days of the 1918 November Revolution, which was sparked by the short-lived mutiny of sailors, the Folkwang Museum was protected by a quickly formed group called the "Arbeiter und Soldatenrat" (Workers and Soldiers Council). In the next few weeks, during the November Revolution, Hagen was filled with approximately one half million soldiers who needed housing and food. Hohenhof was designated the military headquarters for these German soldiers. Cuno, the mayor of Hagen, joyfully declared that November 1918 marked the "time of a new freedom."³¹ In a letter to a friend, Osthaus somberly

wrote, "I fully anticipated the revolution, more so than anybody else in Germany."³²

Osthaus joined the "Arbeitsrat für Kunst," and he wrote a short essay which was published in its 1919 pamphlet, Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrat für Kunst in Berlin. In this essay Osthaus strongly advocated government support for artists, and stressed the important role that museums could play in educating the public about the arts.³³ Many of the artists and architects who joined the Arbeitsrat, such as Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut, Nolde, Pechstein, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff, Kolbe, Steger and Hoetger, had been closely associated with Osthaus prior to the war, and in several instances their statements in the Arbeitsrat pamphlet echoed their own experiences, on a small scale, in Hagen. Disillusioned by the events of the last four years, Osthaus became more directly involved with political issues. He grew to believe that art would not ameliorate social problems and cultural differences.³⁴

After the war Osthaus wrote his PhD dissertation, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung, which was heavily indebted to Riegl's teachings. In 1920 he wrote several articles, including essays on Rodin, Renoir, Cézanne and Behrens which were published in the journal Feuer. During this time he also wrote the first monograph on his long-time friend and mentor, Van de Velde, who was then exiled in Switzerland.

In this monograph, titled Henry van de Velde. Leben und Schaffen des Künstlers, Osthaus compared the Belgian's work and artistic goals to artists during the Gothic period, when craftsmanship was highly prized. He also noted Van de Velde's emphasis on the importance of the social function of architecture, which Osthaus again compared to Gothic times.³⁵ By 1920 Osthaus's health was rapidly failing; he suffered from severe coughing spells and shortness of breath. However, before finally succumbing to his illness, by then diagnosed as tuberculosis of the larynx, he waged a public battle with the influential Berlin writer and critic Karl Scheffler.³⁶

Towards the end of 1919, old hostilities surfaced once again when Scheffler accused Osthaus of trying to deliberately undermine the Berlin art world. In his essay titled "Die Rheinland und Berlin," Scheffler criticized Osthaus for pitting Hagen, the Folkwang Museum, and the Rheinland region against Berlin. He vehemently proclaimed that despite Osthaus's success in the Rheinland region, quality art belonged in Berlin, not in the provinces.³⁷

In the 1919/20 issue of the journal Feuer, Osthaus published a sharp response to this tirade against him, titled "An Open Letter to Mr. Karl Scheffler." In this essay he staunchly defended the Folkwang and the cultural renaissance in Hagen and the Rheinland. Osthaus wrote that

although Scheffler "has Berlin at his feet," he was evidently suffering from pure jealousy about the cultural awakening in the Rheinland. Osthaus's response continued:

Why sir, must you measure everything against Berlin? Why can you not simply accept this phenomena?... You had your chance. The door was equally open for you [Berlin], and what occurred [in the Rheinland] was never a secret.... For Berlin we were the milked cows. They liked our taxes, plundered our natural resources and used up our talent.³⁸

Osthaus pointed out that Berlin profited from the Ruhr and Rheinland's coal production, and the taxes that the region paid to the Kaiser in Berlin was only used to benefit the Berliners. However, when the Ruhr and the Rhein regions were finally able to compete with Berlin's dominance in the art market, they were severely criticized for daring to compete. Osthaus was dismayed that Scheffler was so blindly jealous of his success in the 1912 Köln Sonderbund, that he accused Osthaus of succeeding "only to spite the Berliners."³⁹ Osthaus also noted that although Scheffler could not discern a relationship between Renoir's painting, Lise, and a factory worker in Hagen, a new generation would hopefully be inspired to reach for something higher than factory work. Osthaus concluded his defense by asking Scheffler, "Now do you understand why the Folkwang is located in Hagen?"

In 1920, Osthaus entered a sanitarium in Meran, Hungary, where he died on March 27, 1921.⁴⁰ Prior to the

First War, Osthaus was widely recognized for his achievements, and the Folkwang was one of Germany's most important museums. In 1912, in conjunction with the Folkwang Museum's tenth year anniversary, Osthaus was honored by the city of Hagen. He was cited by Mayor Cuno of Hagen for his "local patriotism," his promotion of culture, and generally improving the quality of "national" life there. His founding of the Folkwang Museum and the German Museum for Art in Industry and Commerce had helped to put Hagen on the map as a cultural center, provided employment for local craftsmen, and encouraged visitors to come to a city that had previously been ignored. Through Osthaus's promotion of the fine arts, the Folkwang was associated with fifty-seven contemporary German and foreign painters, sculptors, and architects who participated in the museum's various educational programs, and contributed to the transformation of Hagen, from an "ugly" factory town to a center of artistic activity. Several of the architects that he commissioned, including Van de Velde, Behrens, and Thorn-Prikker, designed public buildings and private residences in Hagen that improved the existing architectural landscape of this industrial city. Osthaus was honored with gifts from Hagen officials, and each of the fifty-seven Folkwang affiliated artists contributed a specially created work. The assortment of paintings, graphics and sculptures were presented to Osthaus in a red leather portfolio box that was designed by Van de Velde and executed by some of his Weimar

Kunstgewerbeschule students. Those artists who were unable to attend the Hagen celebration sent letters of congratulations and thanked Osthaus for his patronage, unflagging support, and promotion of contemporary art.⁴¹

The festivities in Hagen honoring Osthaus in 1912 provided a strong contrast with Vinnen's earlier criticism, in 1911, which claimed that German museum directors were undermining the national culture by promoting foreign art. Osthaus did not follow a policy of cultural isolationism and he was an important arbiter of public taste, and an important figure in the dissemination of international modernism in Germany. He succeeded in promoting international modernism in the arts, as exemplified in both the Folkwang Museum's program of equally championing all the arts and the successful 1912 Sonderbund exhibition, and he simultaneously enriched the quality of culture in early twentieth century Germany. His true aim was to educate the public's taste, especially in Hagen, and to provide excellent aesthetic models for industry to emulate.

Although other museums were larger, the Folkwang provided the public with the most diverse examples of international quality artworks, crafts, furnishings and artifacts that were gathered together in one German museum. The Folkwang also presented works by modern artists, such as Van Gogh and Gauguin, before Osthaus's museum colleagues

were aware of who those artists were. Although Osthaus was influenced by Volkish ideology, he gradually relinquished his nationalist and anti-Semitic views for an internationalist outlook after meeting Van de Velde. Van de Velde initially guided him in accumulating an outstanding collection of artworks, but Osthaus also trusted his own aesthetic judgment, which was strongly influenced by Reigl's theory of "Kunstwollen." From Riegl Osthaus learned to only judge a work by its intrinsically unique quality of aesthetic excellence. Osthaus believed that good art transcended national boundaries through its universal appeal.

Today the Folkwang Museum is in Essen. When Osthaus died in 1921, his will stipulated that the collection be kept intact, and that the city of Hagen be allowed to purchase the museum's collection.⁴² However, the city of Hagen wanted to purchase only certain items and sell a major portion of the collection. Therefore the issue was not successfully resolved, and the city of Essen offered ten million marks to purchase the Folkwang Museum en bloc.⁴³ The selling price, however, was almost fifteen millions marks, and the city of Essen quickly raised the additional five million marks through loans and private donations to the newly formed "Folkwang-Museumvereins" (Folkwang-Museum Association).⁴⁴ The Folkwang Collection, comprised of 99 paintings, 148 watercolors and drawings, 342 graphic works

and 43 sculptures, was carefully transported to Essen in 1922 and became the nucleus of the collection there.⁴⁵ The new Folkwang Museum in Essen officially opened to the public on October 29, 1922, and began the second phase of its evolution.⁴⁶ After Hitler rose to power in Germany, almost all of the artworks that Osthaus collected for the Folkwang were declared "degenerate" in 1937. Although some of the works have remained in Essen, many were sold and secretly shipped out of the country during World War II for safekeeping. Today many of these salvaged works are in private collections and museums throughout America.⁴⁷

The former Folkwang building, which Gérard designed and Van de Velde completed, was sold by the Osthaus family in 1922, and for a number of years it was used as administrative offices. During World War II the building was heavily damaged by air attacks on the industrialized Ruhr region. In 1954, the city of Hagen purchased the former Folkwang, restored it, and renamed it the Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum.

Notes

1 The museum in Essen was founded in 1904 and Gosebruch became its first director. Unlike Osthaus, Gosebruch relied heavily on donations from private collectors and wealthy museum patrons to endow the museum's collection. Originally located in a small building, the museum in Essen was relocated in 1919 when it was moved into an elaborate villa. In the early 1920s, when the Folkwang's collection came to the city of Essen, a second villa was especially built to house this collection, and the two buildings were attached. A new museum was built thirty years later because both buildings were extensively damaged in World War II bombing attacks on the heavily industrialized city of Essen.

2 Paul Vogt, Geschichte der deutschen Malerie im 20. Jahrhundert, (Köln, Germany: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1972) p. 133.

3 Sauerlandt (1880-1934) studied with Heinrich Wölfflin and wrote his PhD dissertation on Giovanni Pisano. Before becoming the director of the Moritzburg Museum in Halle (1908-19), he had worked on the Lexicon Thieme und Becker in Leipzig. In 1905 he worked at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Hamburg under Justus Brinckmann, and in 1933 Sauerlandt took over the directorship there.

4 Andreas Hüneke, "Moritzburg Halle - Folkwang Hagen/Essen. Parallelen und Unterschiede von der Gründung bis 1937," Museum und Gegenwart, (Halle, Germany: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1985) p. 7. The Moritzburg Museum in Halle was founded in 1885 and remained under the custodianship of the provinces for 23 years, until 1908 when Sauerlandt became its director.

5 Hüneke, p. 8.

6 Griesbach (1840-1945), a philosopher took over the daily administration of Jena's Kunstverein in 1912. He encouraged young artists to exhibit in Jena, and founded the Kunstverein's collection which consisted of less conservative works than had been previously sponsored by the association. Griesbach's circle of friends included Hodler, Munch, Kirchner, Macke and Amiet.

7 Volker Wahl, "Über das 'Phänomen des Eindrigens aktuellster Kunst in einer kleine Universitätsstadt.' Der Jenaer Kunstverein und seiner Sammlung moderner Kunst zwischen 1903 und 1928." Museum und Gegenwart, (Halle, Germany: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1985) p. 58.

8 Anselma Hein, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und sein Werk: Ein Tag in der Hagener Kunststadt," Frankfurter Zeitung, Sunday, July 7, 1912, No. 186, p. 1.

9 Fritz Meyer-Schönbrunn, "Karl Ernst Osthaus und Sein Werk," Westermanns Monatshefte, Vol. 61, No. 121, Issue 726, February 1917, p. 797.

10 Karl Ernst Osthaus, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung, (Hagen, Germany: Hagener Verlagsanstalt, 1918) p. v.

11 Walter Erben, "Karl Ernst Osthaus, Lebensweg und Gedankengut," Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971, pp. 84-85.

12 Z100/16, Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Offener Brief an Herrn Van de Velde," Frankfurter Zeitung, December 12, 1914, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

13 Erben, p. 85.
After the war, in 1918, Osthaus reiterated his strong defense of Van de Velde, in more detail, in Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Deutschland und Belgien in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts," Belfried, Vol. 3, No. 5, 1918, pp. 224-232.

14 Erben, p. 86.
Ironically, the topic of Osthaus's PhD dissertation, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung (Fundamentals of the Development of Style), published in 1920, was inspired by his trip to Reims in 1912.

15 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971, p. 214.

16 Hesse-Frielinghaus, p. 219.

17 For example, when Turkey joined forces with Germany and Austria in 1914, Osthaus displayed Islamic art in the Folkwang, which he coordinated with several lectures on these works. In January 1915, he also gave a lecture in

Hagen's Municipal Theater on "The World Position of the Islams in the Past and in the Future." See Erben, p. 89.

18 Erben, p. 89.

In the summer of 1915 Osthaus gave a series of lectures in the museum on the theme of "The Artistic Rebuilding of the German People After the Thirty Year War," which was organized to attract the attention of the Hagen and nearby local schools.

19 Kü 476/35, Unsigned Press Release from the Folkwang Museum, November 11, 1916, Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen.
Schapire was the president of the Frauenbund.

20 Hesse-Frielinghaus, p. 215.

21 Hesse-Frielinghaus, p. 216.
Today the sculpture is prominently displayed out of doors at Essen's Kennedy Platz, in the middle of the city.

22 F2 515/7, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Friedrich Fries, June 26, 1916, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

23 In the summer of 1913, Ada and Emil Nolde were part of an expedition which traveled to the German colonies. They traveled through Siberia, Japan, China and the southern Archipelago to their final destination in New Guinea. According to a 1916 press release issued by the Folkwang, the Noldes returned to Europe on the day the First War broke out. Upon landing in Marseille, the captain of their ship, a Dutch citizen, intervened on their behalf and saved Nolde from being arrested and interred in a French prison. Kü 476/21, Unsigned Press Release from the Folkwang Museum, February 15, 1916, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

24 Kü 476/14, Unsigned Press Release from the Folkwang Museum, 1916, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.
Also see Osthaus, Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung, p. v.

25 Hesse-Frielinghaus, pp. 218-220.

26 Ernst Johann and Jürg Junker, German Cultural History of the Last Hundred Years, (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag GmBH, 1970) p. 120.

27 During the war a large portion of Osthaus's wealth was invested in land, which he was not allowed to sell or develop at that time. In addition, he had previously spent

large sums of money to finance Hagen's municipal theater and the luxurious villas on the Stirnband.

28 Hesse-Frielinghaus, pp. 220-221.

29 Erben, p. 96.

30 Johann and Junker, p. 121.

31 Erben, pp. 96-97.

32 P2/310, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Letter to Frau Merkel, February 12, 1919, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

33 Karl Ernst Osthaus, Untitled Essay, Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrat für Kunst in Berlin, (Charlottenburg, Germany: Photographisches Gesellschaft, 1919) pp. 48-49.

34 Erben, p. 97.

35 See Karl Ernst Osthaus, Henry van de Velde. Leben und Schaffen des Künstlers, Reprint, (Hagen, Germany: Folkwang Verlag, 1920; Berlin: Verlag Frölich & Kaufmann GmbH, 1984).

36 Scheffler (1869-1951), born into a working-class family in Hamburg, briefly worked as a decorative painter before meeting Meier-Graefe in Berlin and becoming a writer. In 1906 Scheffler took over the editorship of the art journal Kunst und Künstler, which Bruno Cassirer had founded in Berlin in 1902. For additional information on Scheffler, see the exhibition catalog, Roland März, et al, Expressionisten. Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920, (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1986) p. 447.

37 See Karl Scheffler, "Die Rheinland und Berlin," Feuer, Vol. I, October 1919/March 1920, pp. 47-50.

38 Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Offener Brief an Herren Karl Scheffler in Berlin," Feuer, 1919/1920, Vol. 1, p. 268.

39 Osthaus, "Offener Brief an Herren Karl Scheffler in Berlin," p. 267.

40 Although Osthaus and Gertrud were separated by 1921, she went to see him in the hospital in Hungary before his death. Osthaus was fond of Mozart's music, and Gertrud

arranged for musicians to play a selection of Mozart's music for him. An avid reader of Rudolph Steiner's work, she spoke with Osthaus about the mysteries of life, death and Karma. Osthaus's last word was "Karma." See Walter Erben, Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, (Recklinghausen, Germany: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971) p. 103.

41 Hesse-Frielinghaus, p. 215.

42 P 680/1, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Last Will and Testament, April 6, 1921, Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive, Hagen.

43 Paul Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen: Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet, (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1983) pp. 33-34.

44 Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen, pp. 38, 40.

45 Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen, p. 49.

46 Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen, p. 42.

47 Vogt, Museum Folkwang Essen, pp. 154, 156

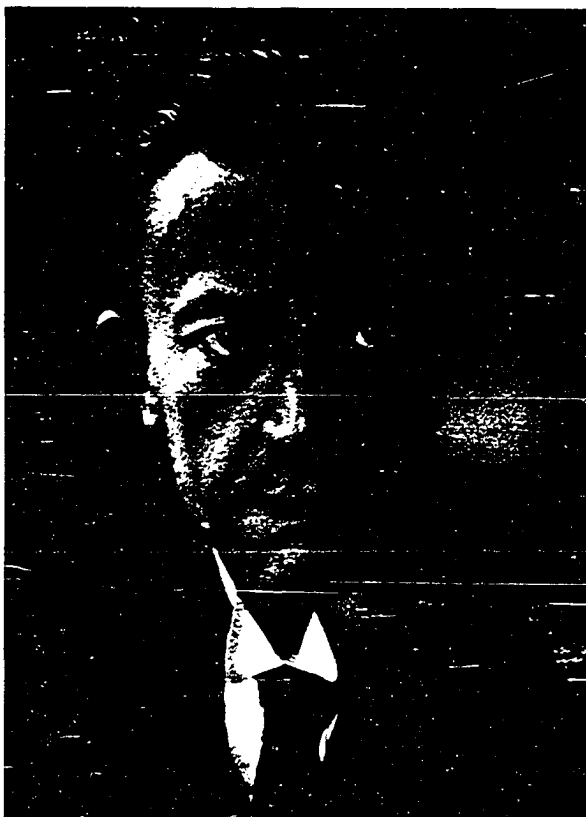


Fig. 1 Karl Ernst Osthaus
c. 1918-20



Fig. 2. Ernst Osthaus



Fig. 3. Selma Osthaus

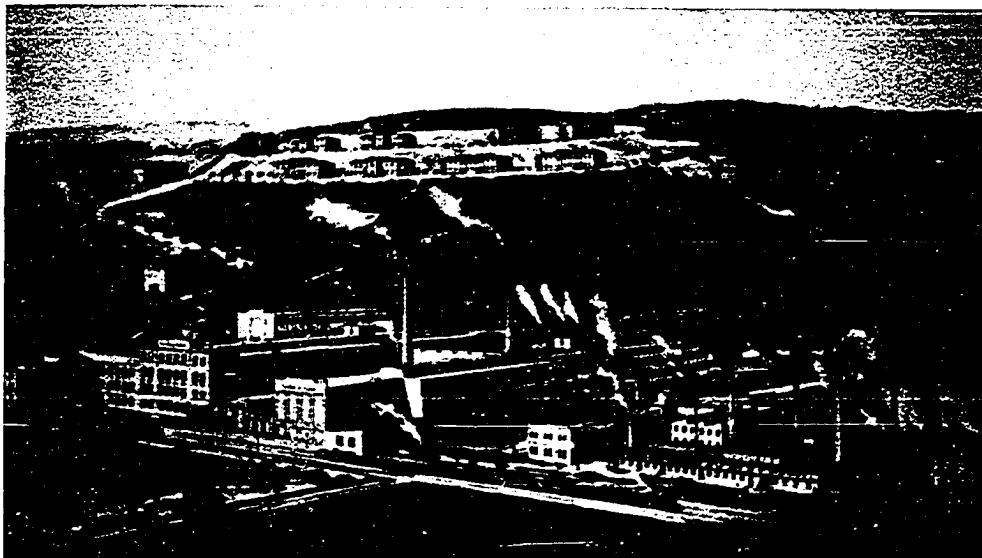


Fig. 4. Funcke & Hueck Screw Factory and Foundry
Hagen, founded 1844.



Fig. 5. Salon in Ernst Osthaus Mansion, Hagen.

Designed by Carl Gérard.



Fig. 6. Karl Ernst Osthaus and Gertrud Colsman



Fig. 7. Wedding Photograph: Karl Ernst and Gertrud Osthaus

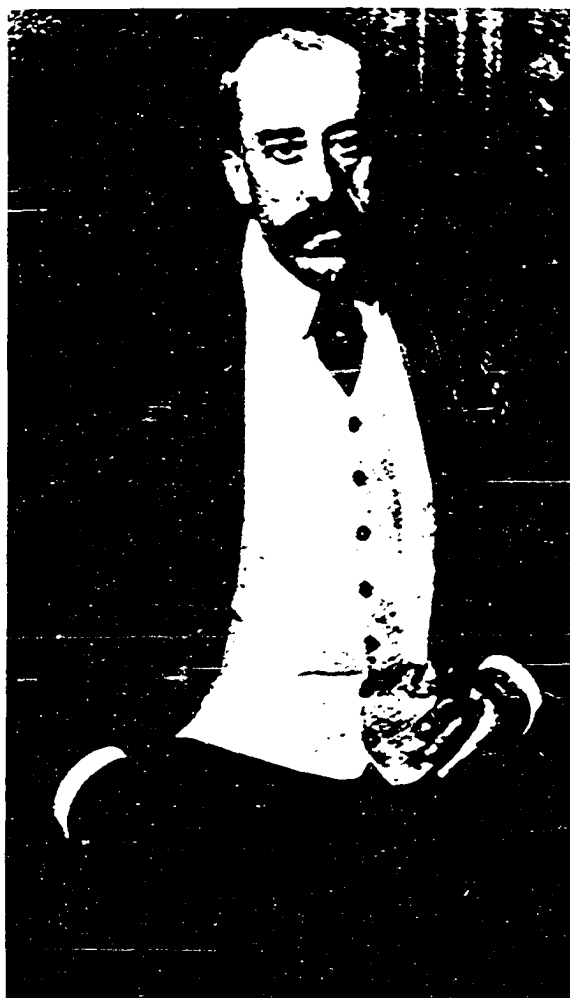


Fig. 8. Henry van de Velde

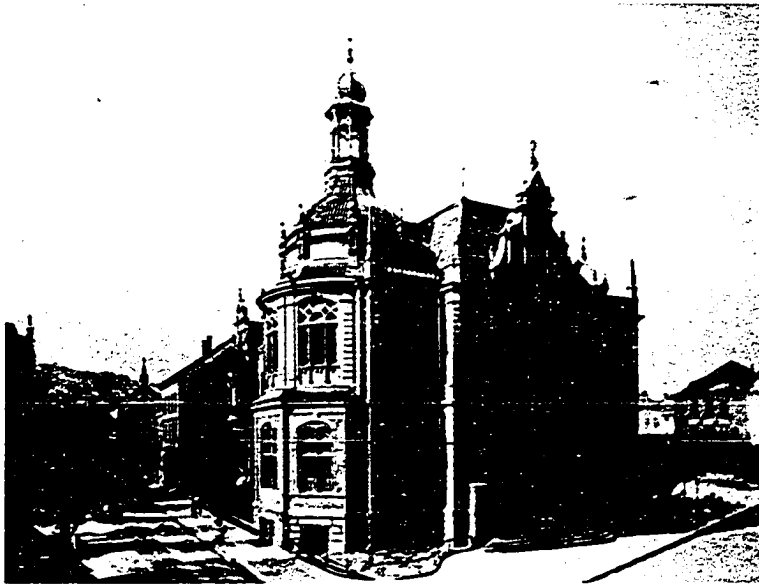


Fig. 9. Exterior, Folkwang Museum, Hagen.
View facing east. Designed by Carl Gérard.

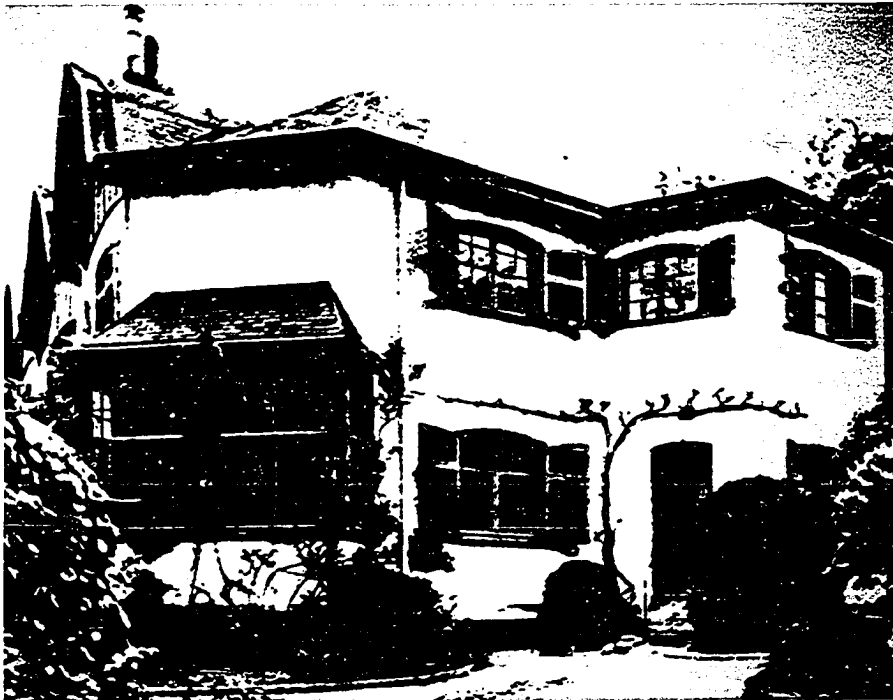


Fig. 10. Henry van de Velde
Exterior of Bloemenwerf, 1895-1896.



Fig. 11. Interior of the former Folkwang Museum, basement level. Designed by Henry van de Velde



Fig. 12. The entrance hall of the former Folkwang Museum;
in the middle the Fountain of Five Kneeling Youths
(copy) circa 1902.

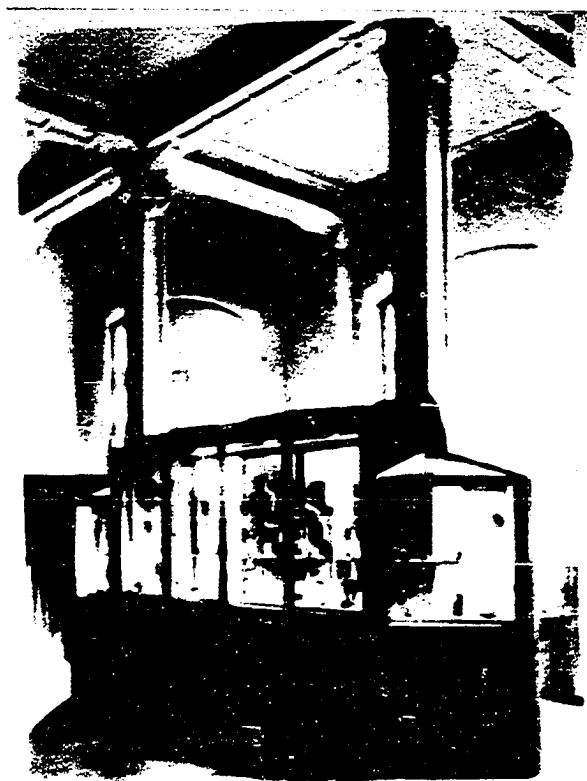


Fig. 13. Interior, former Folkwang Museum, display cabinet
designed by Henry van de Velde



Fig. 14. Interior, former Folkwang Museum, view facing east



Fig. 15. Interior, former Folkwang Museum, staircase

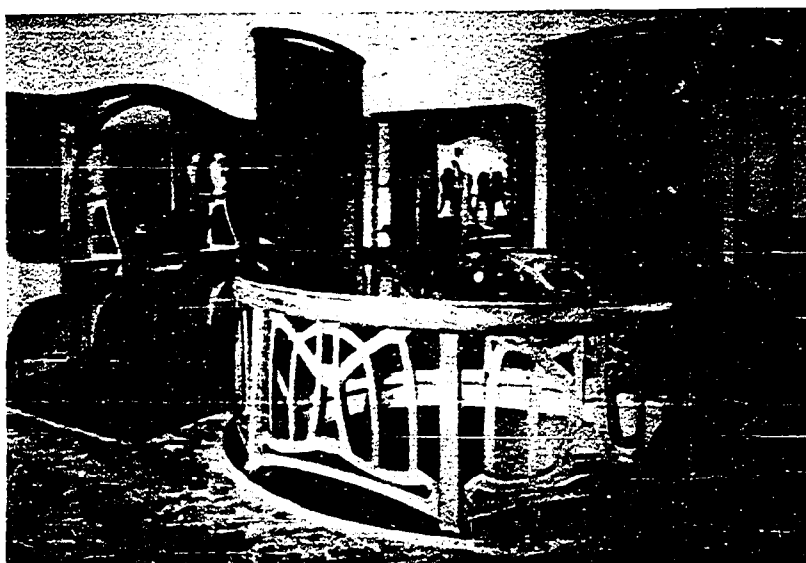


Fig. 16. Interior, former Folkwang Museum, upper level
leading to painting gallery



Fig. 17. Interior, upper level of Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum
Hagen, former Folkwang Museum

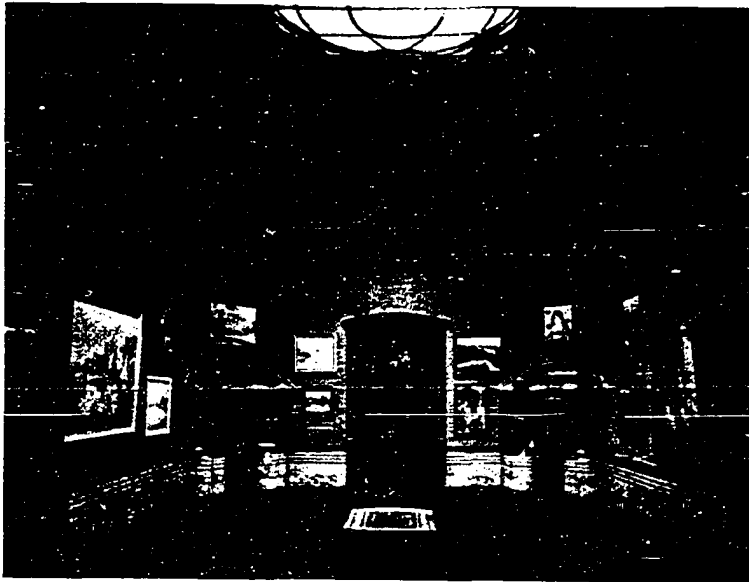


Fig. 18. Interior, Folkwang Museum, Painting Gallery

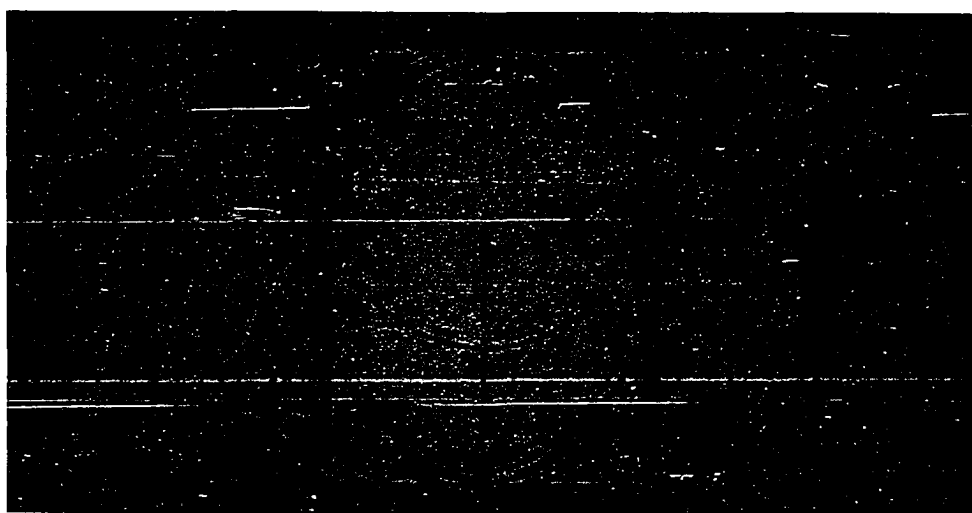


Fig. 19. Skylight in Painting Gallery, Folkwang Museum.

Designed by Henry van de Velde



Fig. 20. August Renoir, Lise, 1867. Oil on Canvas.

184x115.6

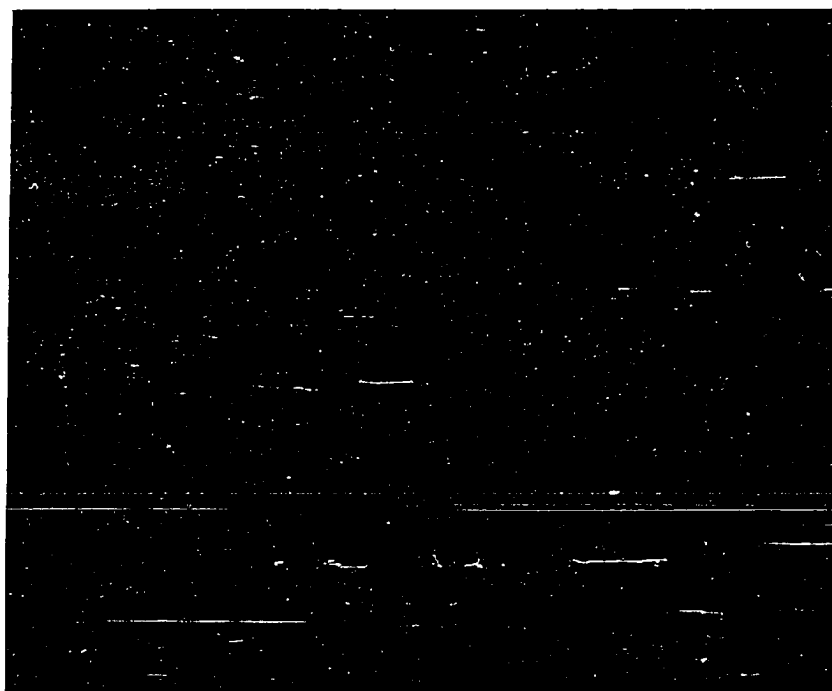


Fig. 21. Vincent van Gogh, The Wheatfield Behind St.
Paul's Hospital with a Reaper, 1889. Oil on Canvas.
Formerly in the Folkwang Museum, Hagen.



Fig. 22. Theo van Rysselberghe
Moon Over the Harbor at Boulogne, 1900.
Oil on Canvas. Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen.



Fig. 23. Gertrud Osthaus,
in a dress designed by Henry van de Velde



Fig. 24. Interior, Folkwang Museum, c. 1912.
Emil Nolde Exhibition, displayed with African art



Fig. 25. Vincent van Gogh, Armand Roulin, 1888. Oil on
Canvas. Folkwang Museum, Essen. 65 x 54.1 cm



Fig. 26. Paul Gauguin, Contes Barbares, 1902. Oil on Canvas. Folkwang Museum, Essen. 131.5 x 90.5 cm



Fig. 27. Paul Gauguin, Breton Seaweed Gatherers, 1889.

Oil on Canvas. Folkwang Museum, Essen.



Fig. 28. Paul Gauguin, Woman with a Fan, 1902.
Oil on Canvas. Folkwang Museum, Essen. 91 x 43 cm

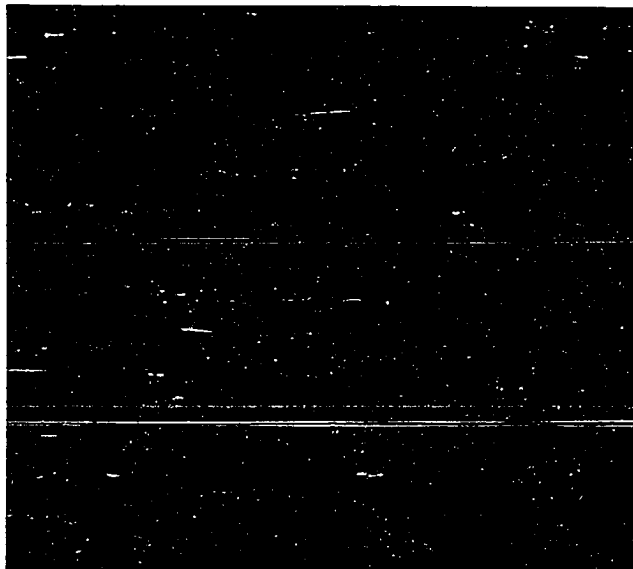


Fig. 29. Paul Gauguin, Riders on the Beach, 1902. Oil on Canvas. Folkwang Museum, Essen. 65.6 x 75.9 cm



Fig. 30. Aristide Maillol, Crouching Woman, 1900.

Bronze. Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen.

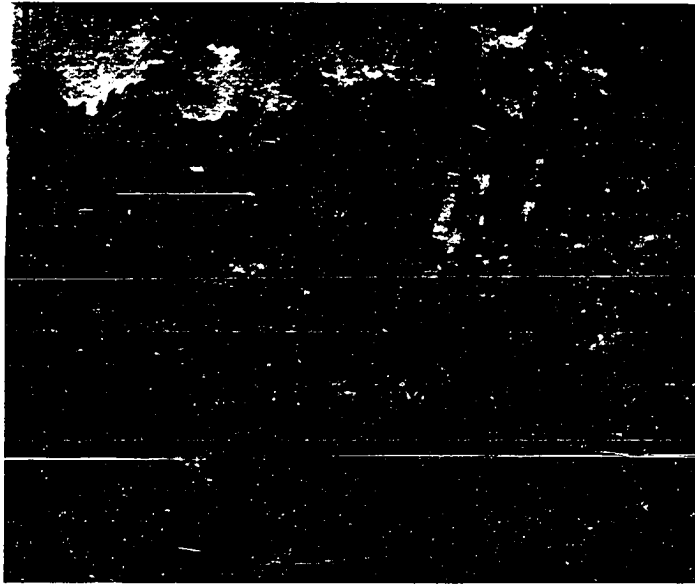


Fig. 31. Paul Cézanne, Rock Quarry, Bibémus,
c. 1898-1900. Oil on Canvas.
Folkwang Museum, Essen. 65 x 81 cm.



Fig. 32. Auguste Rodin, Eve, Bronze.

Formerly Folkwang Museum, Hagen.



Fig. 33. Emil Nolde, Spring Indoors, 1904.

Nolde Stiftung, Seebüll. 88 x 73 cm.

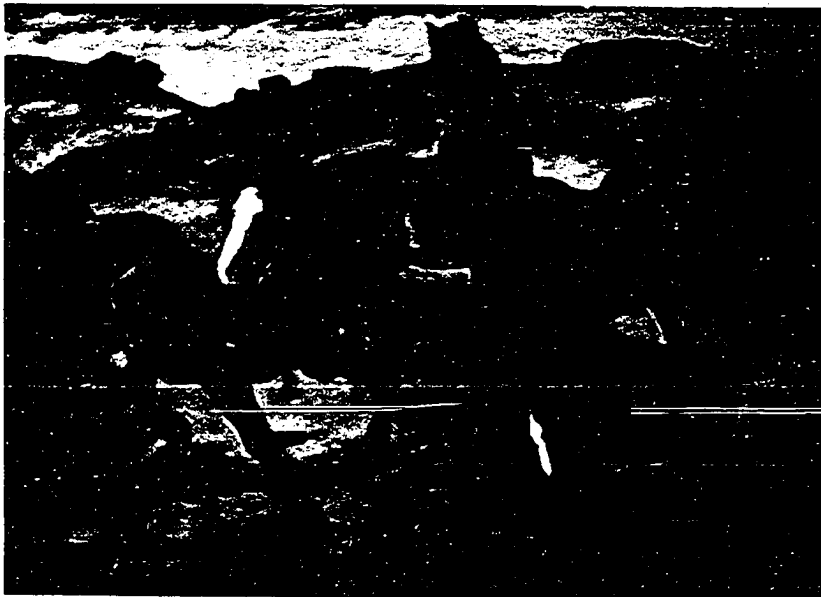


Fig. 34. Franz Marc, The Red Horses, 1911.

Oil on Canvas. Private Collection, Rome.

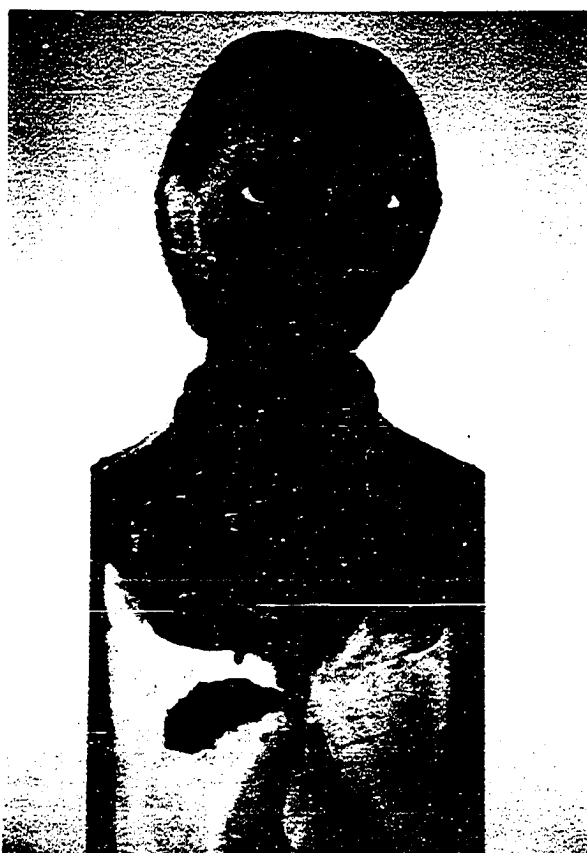


Fig. 35. Paula Modersohn-Becker, Self-Portrait with
Camellia Branch, 1907-07. Oil on Canvas.
Museum Folkwang, Essen.



Fig. 36. Ida Gerhardt, Self-Portrait, 1904.

Oil on Canvas. Museum der Stadt Lüdenscheid.

43.7 x 32 cm.



Fig. 37. Ida Gerhardt, Académie Colarossi, 1893.

Charcoal on Paper. Private Collection.

47.4 x 61.5 cm.



Fig. 38. Ida Gerhardi, Bal Bullier, 1903.
Oil on Canvas. Westfalen Landesmuseum, Münster.



Fig. 39. Ida Gerhardi, Cabaret Scene, 1905.

Oil on Canvas. Private Collection, Germany.

49.4 x 55.5 cm.

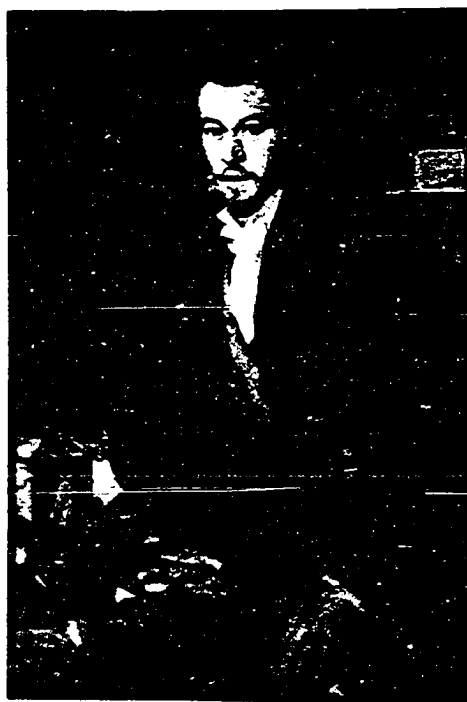


Fig. 40. Ida Gerhardi, Karl Ernst Osthaus, 1903.

Oil on Canvas. Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen.

110.5 x 76 cm.



Fig. 41. Ida Gerhardt, Auguste Rodin in His Atelier,
1906. Red Conte Crayon on Paper. Private Collection,
Germany. 30.7 x 23.9 cm.



Fig. 42. Hohenhof, Main Entrance, c. 1909.

Designed by Henry van de Velde.



Fig. 43. Hohenhof, View Facing South, c. 1909
with Aristide Maillol's sculpture, Sérénité.



Fig. 44. Milly Steger, Figure, for exterior of Folkwang Museum, Hagen. Plaster, life-size. Location Unknown.



Fig. 45. Milly Steger, Portal Sculpture. Sandstone.

Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen. Size unknown.



Fig. 46. Milly Steger, Facade Figures, c. 1911.
Sandstone. Municipal Theater, Hagen. Over life-size.



Fig. 47. J. L. M. Lauweriks, Steger House.

Far left, Stirnband Section, Hagen.

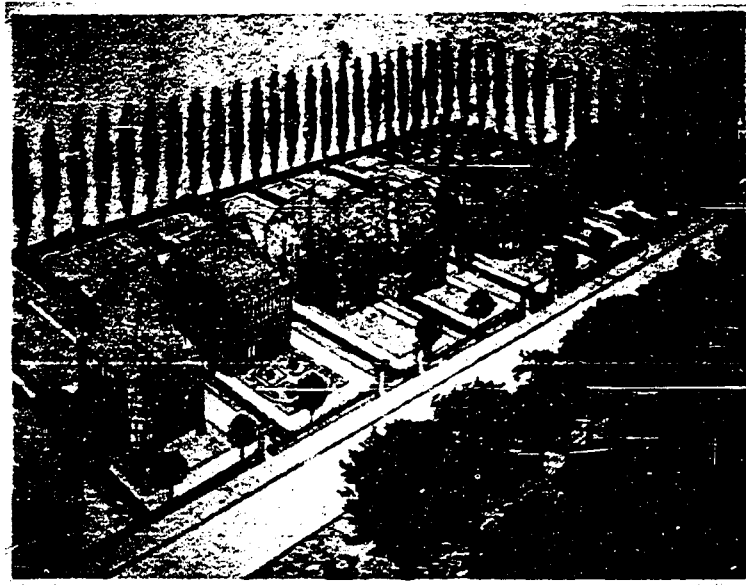


Fig. 48. J. L. M. Lauweriks
Drawing of Houses on Stirnband, Hagen, 1912.
Milly Steger's House, second from left.

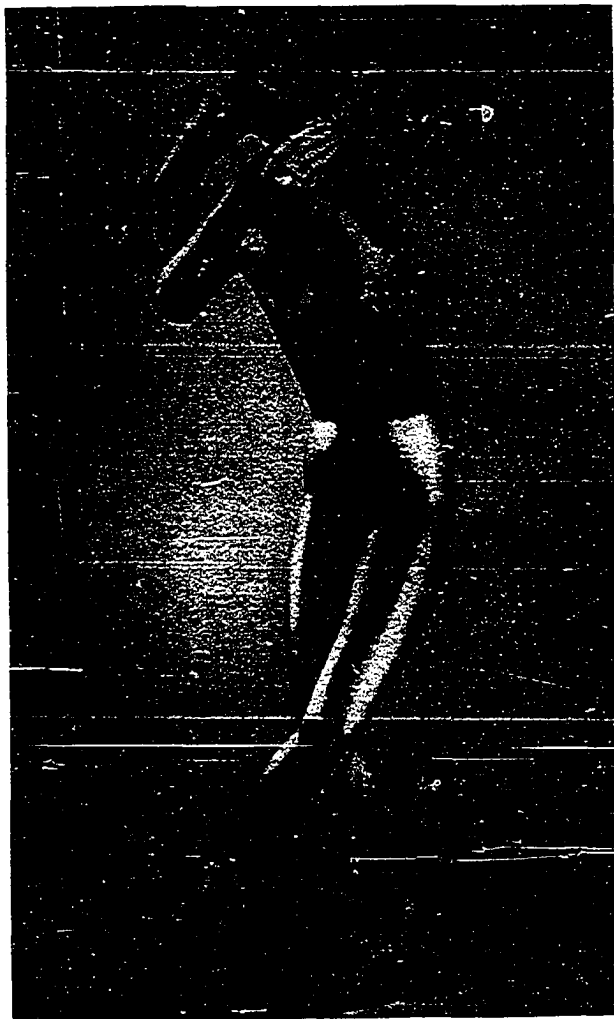


Fig. 49. Milly Steger

Jephthah's Daughter, 1919. Bronze. 148 cm. high.

Original destroyed in 1944.

Duplicate in private collection.



Fig. 50. Emil Nolde

The Artist's Wife. Drypoint.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 9 1/16 x 7 3/16"

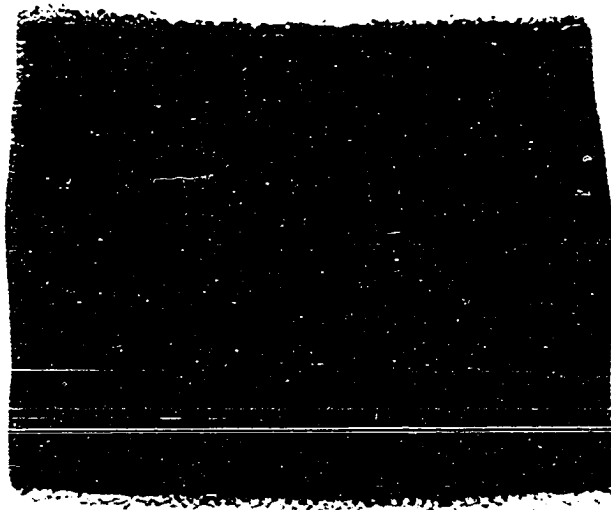


Fig. 51. Ada Nolde, Hand Woven Pillow.
Designed by Emil Nolde, Woven by Ada Nolde.
Nolde Stiftung, Seebüll.

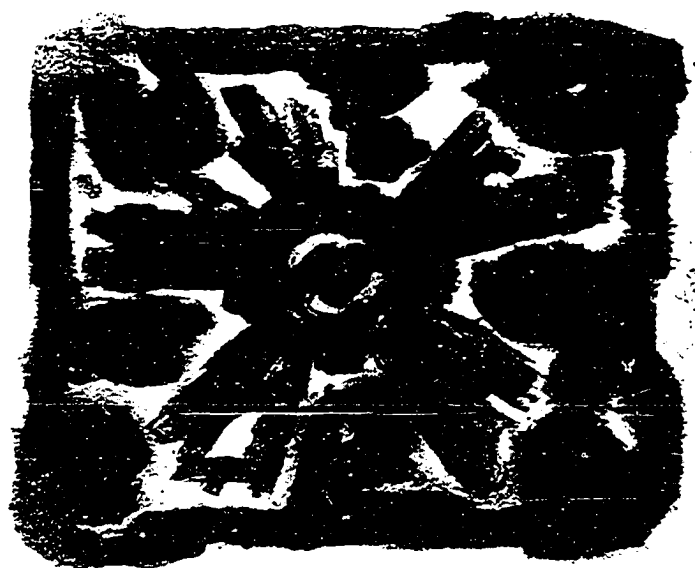


Fig. 52. Ada Nolde, Hand Woven Pillow.
Designed by Emil Nolde, Woven by Ada Nolde.
Nolde Stiftung, Seebüll.

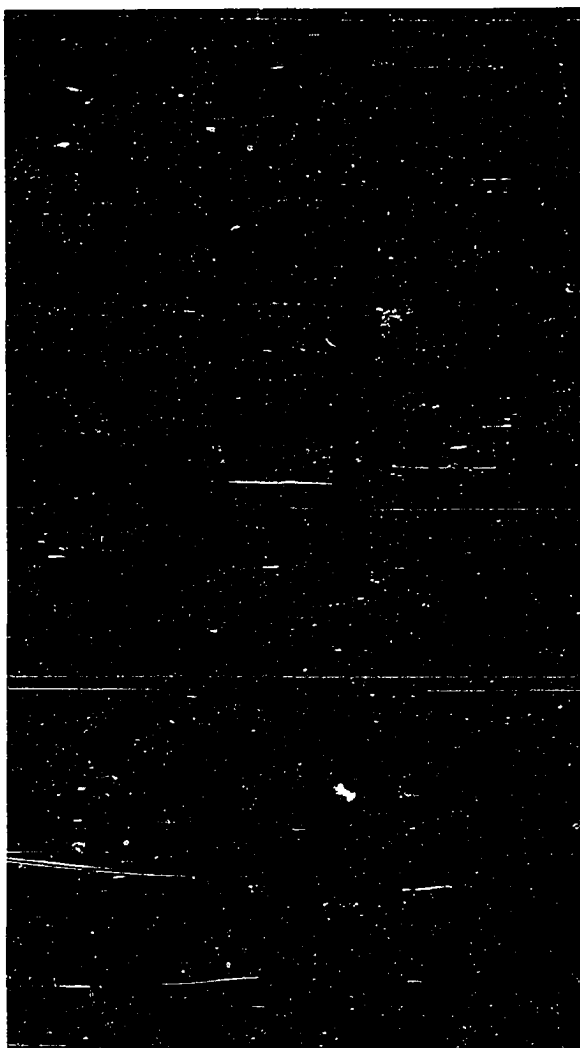


Fig. 53.

Letter from Else Lasker-Schüler to Karl Ernst Osthaus

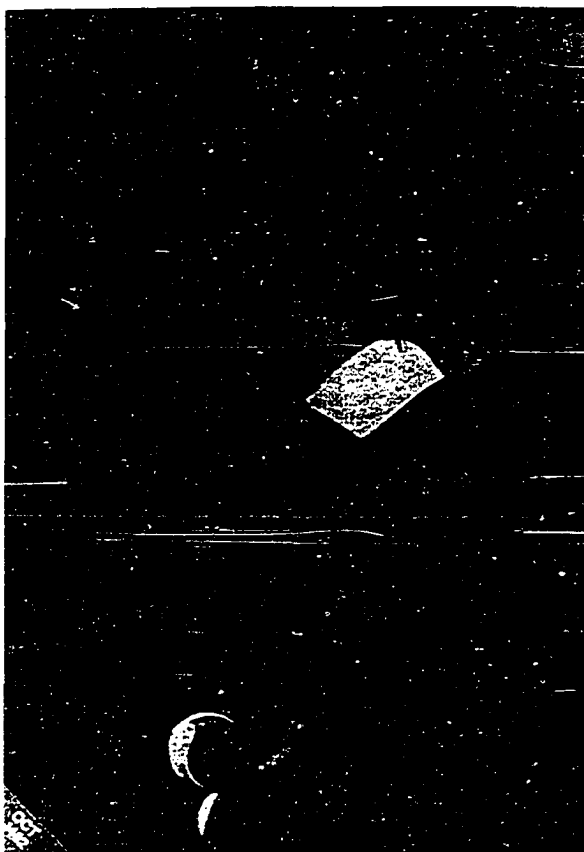


Fig. 54. Else Lasker-Schüler, 1908



Fig. 55. Else Lasker-Schüler
Princess of Theben, c. 1915.
Pen and Ink Drawing.



Fig. 56. Else Lasker-Schüler
Theben, c. 1915. Pen and Ink Drawing.



Fig. 57. Maria Slavona
Self-Portrait, 1887. Pastel on Paper.
Private Collection. 48 x 38 cm.



Fig. 58. Maria Slavona
Self-Portrait, 1885. Charcoal on Paper.
Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der
Hansestadt. Lübeck. 42 x 30 cm.



Fig. 59. Atelier of Munich Künstlerinnenverein,
c. 1885-1886. Maria Slavona seated, bottom right,
next to Käthe Kollwitz.



Fig. 60. Maria Slavona, Lilly with Cat, 1902. Oil on canvas. Private Collection. 127 x 95 cm.



Fig. 61. Maria Slavona

Houses in Montmartre, 1898. Oil on Canvas.

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Nationalgalerie, Berlin. 116.5 x 81 cm.



Fig. 62. Maria Slavona

Alte Blumenverkäuferin, 1893. Oil on canvas.

Bröhan Collection, Berlin. 121 x 61 cm.



Fig. 63. Emil Nolde
The Life of Christ, 1911-1912. Oil on Canvas, nine
separate panels. 7 1/2 ' x 20 '



Fig. 64. Emil Nolde
The Crucifixion, 1912. Oil on Canvas.
Nolde Stiftung, Seebüll. 220.5 x 193.5 cm.

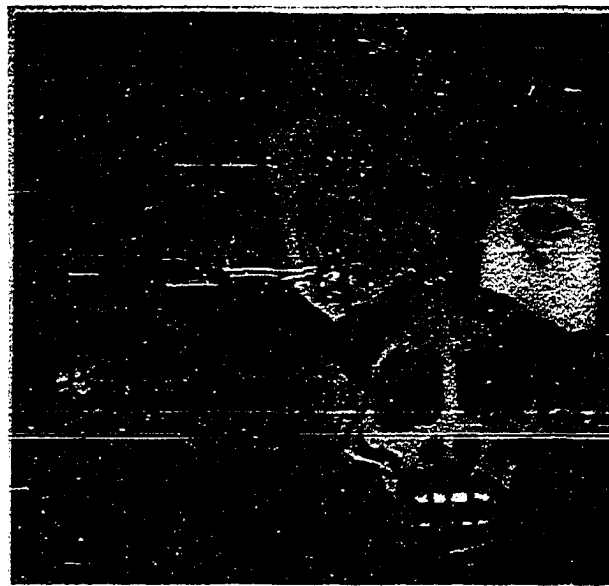


Fig. 65. Emil Nolde

Still Life of Masks III, 1911. Oil on Canvas.

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

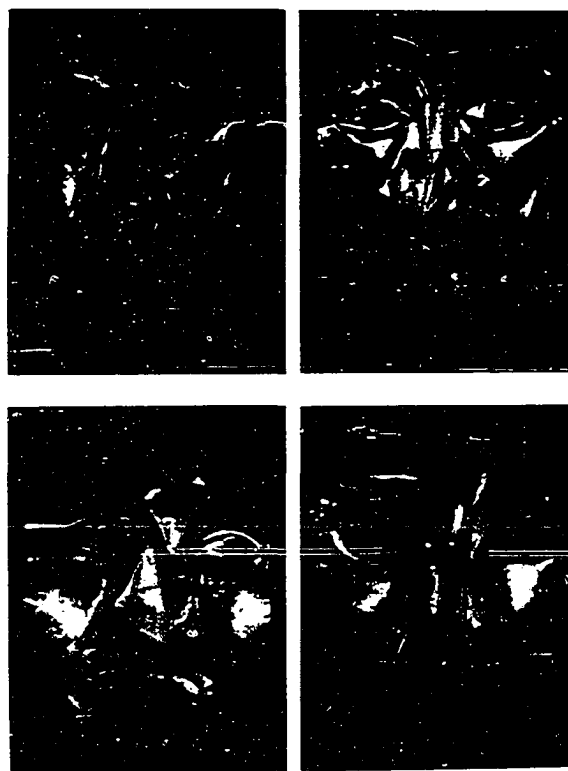


Fig. 66. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
The Four Evangelists, 1912. Oil over brass relief.
Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseums, Schleswig.

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